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**Old Clothes, New Consumption: Exploring Second-hand Clothes
Consumption Practice in the UK**

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ABSTRACT

BACKGROUND. The shift and approach towards sustainable lifestyles and the corresponding changes in consumption patterns play a significant role in addressing challenges such as global environmental issues. In the controversial fashion industry, second-hand clothing consumption not only presents a consumption pattern that is adapted to the new market environment but is also given a sustainability value. Based on the research gaps identified, this study explores research questions including places, knowledge/understanding, meanings, social norms, and values, based on a practice theory perspective.

METHODOLOGY. A multifaceted qualitative research approach, combining semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation and picture elicitation, was used to explore second-hand clothes consumption in the UK in light of the research questions posed in this study. Thematic analysis was used to analyze the qualitative data.

RESEARCH FINDINGS. The findings of the study provide evidence for understanding the entire range of second-hand clothing consumption from purchase to disposal. The study integrates the different stages of second-hand clothing consumption and identifies changes in the new market environment, the social and symbolic significance of second-hand clothing consumption, and the consumer values it reflects. The data from this study also provides evidence of social class and spillover effects.

CONTRIBUTION. The contributions of this study are twofold. The first is a theoretical contribution, as this study provides new insights into understanding second-hand clothing consumption as a whole, as well as the associated places, language use, meanings, and values. It also provides insights into understanding the possible spillover effects in second-hand clothing consumption. A pluralistic qualitative research approach is the methodological contribution of this study.

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Giving the old, secondhand material a new lease of life.

--William Booth

1. INTRODUCTION

The ongoing detrimental effects on climate, ecosystems, and biogeochemicals (Steffen et al., 2015) have heightened interest in how this might be altered (Hicks et al., 2016). Sustainability has risen to the top of the international agenda. In the United Kingdom, for example, the government pledged in 2019 to achieve "net-zero" emissions by 2050. (Sdgdata.gov.uk, 2021). In addition, the United Nations has set 17 goals for attaining global sustainability (United Nations, 2021). However, today, sustainable development is still a long way off. Between 2000 and 2017, the material footprint, for example, increased by 70%. (DESA, 2021). Aside from the complexity of resolving the issue, the concept of sustainability is itself complex and difficult to define. The Brundtland Report is the most often referenced source for the concept of sustainability, which states that sustainability development is an approach to development that fulfills current demands without jeopardizing future generations' ability to satisfy their needs (WCED, 2019). As a result, sustainability has become an issue that various organizations, such as governments, businesses, and academic institutes, are attempting to investigate in depth. Today, sustainability research spans a wide range of industries and sectors, including policy development (e.g., Zuo et al., 2012), international cooperation (e.g., Robert and Diederichs, 2002), engineering (e.g., Thürer et al., 2018), transportation (e.g., O'brien et al., 2014), food (e.g., Zhu et al., 2013), the environment (e.g., Zhu e (e.g. McNeill and Moore, 2015).

Individual behavior, as well as technology change, must be recognized and analyzed in order to attain long-term objectives (Southerton et al., 2004). One of the 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals clearly mentions responsible production and consumption (Goal 12). This is because present consumer lifestyles have a negative influence on the environment to some extent, and the consumption culture in today's society is a severe impediment to long-term growth (Wynes and Nicholas, 2017). The fashion business, which is the second most polluting industry in

the world after the oil industry, is part of the consumer sector that has garnered a lot of attention in recent decades for its detrimental ecological and social implications (WRAP, 2016). The study puts the content of the answer to target 12 under the category of "waste reduction" in the sustainable development management plan 2020/25 published by Public Health England, and stresses reduce, reuse, recycle, and recover (Public Health England, 2021). This study explores second-hand clothes use and responds to the request for sustainable consumption research by including a recycling component. This paper will introduce the research circumstances, research goal, and research structure in the next section.

1.1.FOCUS ON SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

Clothing and footwear spending in the UK grew from roughly £62.3 billion in 2015 to £72.2 billion in 2018. (Statista, 2019a). However, due to the high level of expenditure and consumption, UK consumers have generated roughly £10 billion in clothing waste (Halliday, 2019). For example, approximately 23% of items in London residents' wardrobes are never worn (TRAID, 2019). In the fashion business, these have become symptoms of over-consumption and over-production. Thousands of workers were killed in Pakistan and Bangladesh in 2012 and 2013, respectively, due to overproduction, overconsumption, and bad working conditions in the factories (BBC, 2019). Furthermore, the fashion business emits 10% of global carbon emissions and consumes 25% of all chemicals produced globally, making it the second most polluting industry behind the oil industry (WRAP, 2016). Overconsumption and overcapacity, as well as the unfavorable news surrounding the business, necessitate action to practice more sustainable consumption in the fashion industry. Sustainable fashion (Niinimäki, 2013), ethical fashion (Joergens, 2006), and eco fashion (Chan and Wong, 2012) have infused sustainability into the fashion business in recent decades, with the goal of allowing consumers to purchase sustainable items from the production to the consumption side. While these new production processes or business models provide additional options for customers, some academics have questioned them. They merely

set a concept or agenda for sustainability in the fashion sector because these terminologically different but interchangeable notions lack defined definitions, boundaries, and categories (Niinimäki, 2015; Gurova and Morozova, 2016). A typology of modern forms of sustainable fashion was presented to better comprehend this sort of consumption, which includes recycling, vegans, upcycling, fashion libraries, second-hand, collaborative consumption, and slow fashion, among other things (Todeschini et al., 2017). Todeschini et al (2017).’s study, on the other hand, looks at the business model or production side of things rather than the consumption side. To summarize, sustainable fashion is still in its infancy, and its definition is marked by ambiguity (Gurova and Morozova, 2016), necessitating a deeper understanding of sustainable fashion consumption. Furthermore, the abuse of the term sustainability necessitates a more thorough and complete examination of specific types of consumption by academics (Smith, 2019).

One of the key responsibilities of the sustainable clothing map is to maximize reuse, recycling, and better waste management systems, and the second-hand market is one of the most important examples of sustainable fashion (Gov.uk, 2019). Furthermore, some significant sustainable systems, such as enhanced recycling, waste reduction, and extended life cycles (Dissanayake and Sinha, 2015), as well as collaborative consumption, circular economy, and sharing economy, share comparable ideals with second-hand clothing channels (Heinrichs, 2013). These sustainable notions, as well as their low price and great prevalence (Castellani et al., 2015), highlight their distinctive qualities and research implications.

A large number of studies have contributed to the field of second-hand clothing research (Stone et al., 1996; Crewe and Gregson, 1998, Williams, 2002; Crewe and Gregson, 2003; Roux, 2006), but studies that focus on traditional second-hand clothing consumption channels often do not provide an updated examination of second-hand clothing consumption channels in the current market context. Sihvonen and Turunen (2016) and Seyfang and Smith (2007) both focus on developing forms of second-hand

clothing consumption, such as online flea markets or community swaps, but neither of them looks at second-hand clothing consumption from the perspective of the customer. Furthermore, while many studies on second-hand clothing consumption tend to focus on consumer motivations (Ruiot and Roux, 2010; Medalla et al., 2020; Zhang and Cude, 2018; Ferraro, Sands, and Brace-Govan, 2016), consumers' second-hand clothing consumption experiences, as well as what they are chasing in that consumption, are still contentious issues. Guiot and Roux (2010), for example, discuss the conflict between bargain seeking and rising prices, whereas Medalla et al. (2020) discuss the conflict between sustainable motivations and overbuying due to low prices (Petrescu and Bhatli, 2015). All of these factors prompted this study to try to learn more about secondhand apparel usage.

1.2. THE CHALLENGES OF STUDIES IN SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION AND SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

When the difficulties discussed in the previous section are combined with research on sustainable consumption, this study discovers that second-hand clothes consumption is highly complex (Moraes et al., 2015; Lehner et al., 2016; Sahakian and Seyfang, 2018). While attitudes and motivations are significant facets of sustainable consumption research (Maichum et al., 2016), these studies are frequently based on neoclassical economics' rational decision-making assumptions (Mont and Plepys, 2008). The widespread application of the idea of planned behavior in the field of consumption research is one indication of this assumption (Ajzen and Fishbein, 2002). However, according to Ajzen (2011), the link between intentions and actual behavior is relatively weak. The attitude-action gap (Cooper, 2017), knowledge-action (Lehner et al., 2016), value-action gap (Reid and Ellsworth- Krebs, 2018), and intention-action gap (Reid and Ellsworth- Krebs, 2018) are all examples of issues with models that assume human behavior is logical (Reid and Ellsworth-Krebs, 2018). At the same time, rational choice does not always explain the ethical and altruistic ideals stressed by sustainable consumerism (Shaw et al., 2000). (Scott, 2000). In fact, most consumers are

likely to be able to identify which behaviors are sustainable; the key question is whether they actually engage in these behaviors (Rettie et al., 2012). Rettie et al. (2012) argue that so-called sustainable consumers exist only when they engage in these behaviors, which explains why many researchers have been unable to explicitly identify sustainable consumers as a market segment.

As a result, many scholars in the field of sustainable consumption have focused on theory of practice (Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014). Theory of practice is a philosophical attempt to reconcile the two. It was created by Charles Taylor and Ludwig Wittgenstein (Taylor, 1993), as well as sociologists like Bourdieu and Giddens (1984). (1984). Shove et al. (2012) and Warde (2005) have expanded and enhanced the theory of practice in the domains of management and business studies, respectively. The unit of analysis in the theory of practice framework switches from the product or the customer to the practice itself, and the consumer therefore becomes the vehicle for the practice's many parts (Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014). Both forecasts based on individual rational decision making (Ajzen and Fishbein, 2002) and assertions that individual choice is strongly influenced by structure (Bauman, 2000) clearly offer a duality of analytical views and represent response limits. Practice theory appears to give this study a new perspective on particular consumption as an important theory that bridges the contradiction.

As a result, the purpose of this research is to learn more about second-hand clothing consumption in the United Kingdom in the context of sustainable consumerism. Because the second-hand sector is developing as customers seek a more sustainable lifestyle, the circular economy has benefited the second-hand sector (Yan et al., 2015).

The first objective of this study is to explore potential 'places' where consumers seem to engage in second-hand consumption practices. By understanding more about the 'place' of this consumption practice, we will understand more about where and how consumers engage with those practices and what those spaces mean to them.

The second objective of this study is to investigate consumers' knowledge about

second-hand clothes consumption practices. Exploring more about consumers' knowledge in the form of understanding will enable this study to gain a deeper understanding of the way individuals understand and define second-hand clothes consumption.

The third objective of this study is to explore the symbolic and social meanings embodied in sustainable second-hand fashion consumption. By understanding more about symbolic and social meanings of such practices, the study will gain deeper insights about what sustainable second-hand clothes consumption means to consumers.

The fourth objective of this study is to explore the social norms and values embodied of sustainable second-hand fashion consumption. Exploring more about social norms and values will enable this research to gain deeper understanding about the interplay between egoistic values and altruistic values in terms of second-hand clothes consumption.

1.3.STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

There are six chapters in all in the thesis (excluding reference and appendix). Each chapter contributes to the thesis's study purpose, which is to aid in the exploration of second-hand clothing consumption in the United Kingdom via the lens of practice theory.

The purpose of this chapter, introduction (CH1), is to define the research topics and create a writing structure for the entire thesis. The second chapter, literature review (CH2), gives an overview and investigates the literature and concepts surrounding second-hand clothing use in the perspective of sustainable consumption. In addition, chapter 2 provides an overview of the underlying theory of practice, as well as its updating and expansion in the fields of management science and consumer research, as well as an exploration of methodological issues encountered in related fields, thus providing support for the study of second-hand clothing consumption within the context of practice theory. Finally, Chapter 2 creates a conceptual framework for

comprehending the key issues of this study based on the research questions raised in Chapter 2 and the framework of practice theory applied to the study of consumption.

Chapter 3 is the methodology. This chapter begins by describing and justifying the ontological and epistemological stance of the study, i.e., the relativist ontology and constructivist epistemology that provided the philosophical basis for the study. It also outlines the data collection methods used in this study, including semi-structured interview, non-participation observation and photo elicitation. The chapter then describes the specific sampling method, recruiting method and provides a detailed step-by-step data analysis based on the thematic analysis process. Finally, Chapter 3 also examines research ethics and the impact of pilot studies on primary research.

Chapter 4 presents the analysis of data from qualitative studies. This section consists of five main sections of analysis. The first three sections correspond to the three main pillars of the research framework, namely place, knowledge, meaning, and social norms and values, and the last two sections contain new themes that emerged from the data analysis, namely social class distinctions and spillover effects. The analysis in the first three sections answers the research questions of this study, while the two new themes expand the research area of this study, giving it additional contributions and providing additional avenues for future research. The two new themes broaden the scope of this study with additional contributions and offer further avenues for future research.

Chapter 5 is a discussion chapter in which the thesis expands on the research questions raised in chapter 2 and refines the conceptual framework established in chapter 2, taking into consideration relevant literature and findings from chapter 4. This study's significance to the connected fields of second-hand clothes consumption and sustainable consumption is also highlighted in Chapter 5.

Chapter 6 offers advice for policymakers and practitioners, as well as a discussion of the limitations of this study. The study findings and application-level contribution to

practice theory are then presented in Chapter 6. Other papers, reports, or web sites cited in this work are listed in the Reference list. Additional materials cited in this work can be found in the appendix.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the relevant literature and to identify the research gaps that need to be addressed in this thesis based on an exploration of the literature. The first section reviews research on second-hand clothes consumption and establishes links between second-hand clothes consumption and sustainable consumption in order to develop a discussion of the literature in related areas since this study is focused on the practice of second-hand clothes consumption in the UK (Chapter 2.1). And because practice theory serves as the primary theoretical framework for this study, the second section discusses how practice theory is used and where there is still unresolved research, particularly in the area of sustainable consumption and behavior (Chapter 2.2). Several main sections follow by integrating and exploring existing research with second-hand clothes consumption and sustainable consumption as the subject of study, as well as combining the basic components of practice theory with the material objects and places of second-hand clothes consumption practices in general (chapter 2.3), competence (chapter 2.4), meaning (chapter 2.5), and social norms and values (chapter 2.6). Finally, this study theoretically clarifies the rationale for using practice theory to study second-hand clothes within a sustainable consumption framework and proposes a research framework for this study based on research gaps (Chapter 2.7).

2.1. SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION AND SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION

Sustainability is a critically important theme, which supports the overlapping relevance of this study in the fields of second-hand clothes consumption and sustainable consumption. Large amount of research in this area then focuses on production, looks at business models, or discusses about the benefits and drawbacks of the strategy (Rizos et al., 2017; Nosratabadi et al., 2019; Keeys and Huemann, 2017). Yet, there is little research on consumer consumption or even everyday sustainable behavior (Kirchherr

et al., 2017; Hobson and Lynch, 2016). Corresponding to this circumstance, this study makes an effort to concentrate on sustainable consumption.

This study cannot ignore the sustainability value demonstrated by the use of second-hand clothes because there have been numerous studies that identify second-hand clothes as a sustainable product or attribute sustainable characteristics to it. Second hand clothes are viewed as an eco-friendly fashion option because it uses fewer natural resources than new clothes would (Kestenbaum, 2017).

Additionally, buying used goods is regarded as one of the best practices for environmental sustainability and product reuse (Park et al., 2020). Sustainable consumption, according to Kilbourne et al. (1997), is the use of products and services that enhance quality of life while minimizing those that have negative effects on resources, product life cycles, and waste emissions. Second-hand clothes consumption is thus a major focus of this study because it involves the ethical purchase, use, and disposal of clothes as well as the purchase of second-hand clothes itself (Soyer and Dittrich, 2021).

The relationship between final consumption and sustainability is rapidly becoming a complex and difficult issue in the academic world. Although academic research has made progress in the areas of supply chain and sustainability, and there have been many commodities used to replace less sustainable commodities on the market, we can still find that the overall consumption and solid waste level are still on the rise synchronously (CO data, 2020; Kaza et al., 2018). As such in European and American countries that claim that sustainability is well developed, the proportion of waste has also increased (Sensoneo, 2020), If we focus on clothes, the consumption of clothes in the UK continues to rise year on year, and with it, the amount of waste generated (Statista, 2021b). The UK, as one of the key developed countries that has been advancing sustainability strategies (Public Health England, 2021), still presents sustainability issues that cannot be ignored and need to be addressed, which is one of

the reasons why this study is located in the UK. Taken together, this study centres on the consumption of second-hand clothes in the UK market.

But when we focus on sustainable consumption research, In addition to falling back on technological progress and innovation (Bastinaoni et al., 2019), much of the research on sustainability has sought to explain the development of sustainability at the consumer level. For instance, Maichum et al. (2016) suggested that attitudes, subjective norms and perceived behaviour control would have positive impact on consumer intention on buying sustainable products; Zafar et al. (2021) suggested that the social media use would positively influenced consumers' green awareness and responsibility; Panda et al. (2019) suggested that sustainability awareness can positively affect consumer perchanche intention through altruistic values; Martins et al. (2019) discussed the limitations to purchasing organic food while still focusing on predicting intention of purchase. Consequently, they seem to focus on two main areas. Firstly, they investigate whether it is possible to predict consumers' intentions, and secondly, whether it is possible to enable consumers to perform sustainable consumption behaviours (Sahakian and Wihite, 2014; Wei and Jung; 2017; Ng et al., 2018). To achieve these aims they have used a range of theoretical models and constructs. One of the most influential and wide-used approaches to sustainable consumption research is the Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen, 2011) and its prototype, Theory of Reasoned Action (Ajzen and Fishbein, 2002). Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) considers consumer's behaviour as a function of consumption intention and is influenced by attitudes and personal norms (Ajzen, 2011). After being criticized, the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) was introduced by Ajzen (2011) based on the TRA with additional variables such as social norms and perceived behavioural control. Using the TPB, a large number of researchers have generated better analysis than previous studies in terms of sustainable consumption (Hassan et al., 2015). In addition to attitude, social norms and perceived behavioural control, Shaw et al. (2000), Bateman and Valentine (2010), and Barnes and Mattsson (2016) regarded value as major independent variables to test the relationship between values and purchase intention. However, as Ajzen (2011)

pointed, the relationship between intention and actual behaviour is quite weak and therefore, contested.

In addition, the widely used perspective in sustainable consumption studies, psychology, has built many reductionist or individualistic models of behaviours, but uncommonly put the specific behaviour in larger political, economic and social context (Uzzel and Rätzzel, 2009). These models with the core of scientific psychology or 'rational choice' have offered great insights about consumers motives, intentions and perception, however, they fail to explain and analyse the non-conscious, habitual and contextual elements that foster or drive behaviours (Frezza et al., 2019; Zimmerman, 2013).

Fourthly, considering the uniqueness of fashion consumption, fashion items are typically employed by the individual to define or achieve specific social status, power, class and social approval (Armstrong et al., 2016). Veblen (2017) has pointed out the symbolic meaning of fashion items and its important role in consumption practices, which highlighted the symbolic value that leisure class values. Veblen's point of view, to some extent, is consistent with Baudrillard's argument about waste caused by symbolic meanings. Bourdieu (1984) also pointed fashion consumption is highly associated with social norms and social context, and finally guide individual' behaviours through aesthetic dispositions internalization. Simmel (2019) regarded fashion as one form of social relationship with various social roles. Moreover, Jense (2015), sheds lights on the personal feelings of stylers, which have come from the symbolic meanings attached to the vintage or passed-on clothes. Given this point of view, Moraes et al. (2015), Piacentini and Mailer (2014) and Franklin (2005) suggested the consumption practices driven by symbolic and emotional factors (e.g., fine Jewellery consumption, teenagers' choices on clothes and retro consumption) are out of the framework of 'rational choice'.

These studies have undeniably contributed to the study of intention of purchase, but as Mont and Plepys (2008) then suggest that consumer behaviour is far from being

a simple rational decision, it is not linear, it is unpredictable, and it is influenced by multiple internal and external factors. Sourtherton et al. (2004) also argue, through their exploration of consumer autonomy, that much consumer behaviour is even unconscious and that much consumption is derived from collective and normative sources. Therefore, using consumers as the core of research to predict their behaviour, while meaningful, is also extremely limited.

To summarise, the intention-action gap, disharmony of altruistic values and larger-scale sustainable concern, the overlook of non-conscious and contextual drive of behaviours, as well as the role of standing-outside played by social norms mentioned above serve as three significant problems of rationalist approaches, then they drive the academia and policymakers to seek another way to explore sustainable consumption.

2.2 . THEORY OF PRACTICE AND SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

The theory of practice is one of the significant branches of social theory. Social theory mainly based on totality and individuality's central dualism, and the analysis of it ontologically starts from either of them (Naples, 2007). However, the theory of practice has challenged such dualism for a long time (Schatzki, 1990). In detail, Bourdieu put forward the theory of "practice" on the basis surpassing the contradiction between "social physics" and "sociology phenomenology". Bourdieu (1990) pointed out that both objective and subjectivism in sociology have a wrong tendency to replace "practical reason" with "theoretical reason", and his research aim is to reveal the practical theory implicitly used by theoretical cognition, so as to form a scientific cognition of practice and its way of cognition (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990). Although Bourdieu's words are obscure and incomprehensible, he didn't clearly define the term of "practice". However, the present research, based on previous studies (see Shove et al., 2012; Warde, 2005; Moraes et al., 2015) lists three keywords of "habitus", "symbol capital" and "field" as the key to the theory of practice to understand the Bourdieu's

theory. “Practice” itself has inherent dual reality (Bourdieu, 1990), it is on the one hand the “habitus” generated on the body, on the other hand is “symbolized capital”. “Habitus” is the basis of the practice; it is neither objective nor purely subjective. “Habitus” is a long-lasting system of potential behavioural tendencies that can be transformed. “Symbol capital” is the other end of the sense of practice. Bourdieu (1990) introduced the concept of “symbol” to classical Marxist capital theory, and then pointed out that there are both of “tangible” and “intangible (symbolic)” in the actual practice. “Field” is the place where practice is born and functions and is an objective network of social relations (Bourdieu, 1990).

Practice theory has been widely used in numerous research fields over the last few decades (e.g., Sahakian and Whihite, 2014; Moraes et al., 2015; Warde, 2005). Practice theory challenges many dichotomous research approaches because it departs from the individual- or social structure-centered paradigm framework, such as the theory of planned behavior (e.g., Ajzen and Fishbein, 2002) and social structure impact theory (e.g., Bauman, 2000; 2001). Practice theory moves the attention from the moment of decision-making to ‘doing’, ‘saying’, related materials and social contexts of practices and consumption (Shover and Warde, 2002). In fact, almost all integrated practices require consumption (Warde, 2005), as consumption is an important part of the chain of production and reproduction in the social order (Jäger-Erben and Offenberger, 2014). So, practice theory offers an alternative way of studying sustainable consumption (Warde, 2005, Shove et al., 2012, Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014). As Sahakian and Wilhite (2014) and Southerton et al. (2005) suggested, research on sustainable consumption using practice theory is not about educating or persuading consumers to make alternative choice, but about transforming practices to be more sustainable and making such practices as a normal way of life (Shove, 2004).

Specifically, Reckwitz (2002) described the practices as routinized actions including interconnected elements such as material objects, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivation knowledge,

forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, etc. Although Reckwitz (2002) did not distinguish them into different blocks, he highlighted the interconnections of them, thus supported the analysis on the basis of 'practice-as-entity'. In addition, Schatzki (1996) suggested implicit understanding as one of three major components of practice, and in consumption field, Warde (2005) distinguished practice as "understanding, procedures, and engagements", Shove et al. (2012) deconstruct practice as material, competence and meanings, which provide a potential perspective for practice study.

Schatzki (2002) integrates arrangement theory and practice theory in the process of extending the field of application, providing more specific scenarios and directions for the application of practice theory, improving it, and enabling it to assist researchers in the fields of management and business as well.

In a study of sustainable consumption using practice theory, Moraes et al. (2015) combined Magaudda's (2011) practice framework circuit to examine ethical consumption of fine jewellery. In that study, Moraes et al. (2015) creatively added place to Magaudda's (2011) circuit because the local environment plays an important role in the production of behaviours and habits (Warde, 2014).

Additionally, we must first comprehend the context of particular practices in order to better understand them (Evert et al., 2011). An ontology of site, developed by Schatzki (2002) in particular by fusing practice theory and arrangement theory, aims to aid researchers in understanding how meaning, affect, saying, and doing are integrated in terms of a geography of order and arrangement.

The emphasis on the material and immaterial entities in practice, as well as the spatial dimensions that make them up, is then provided by this order and arrangement.

The study of place enables us to better comprehend other aspects of practice, such as culture and emotion, because the presence of place necessitates the arrangement of physical and meaningful activities (Evert et al., 2011). This study therefore attempts to

examine this consumption practice from the perspective of the places where second-hand clothes are consumed.

2.3 THE PLACE AND MATERIAL OBJECTS OF SUSTAINABLE SECOND-HAND FASHION CONSUMPTION

2.3.1. THE PLACE AND MATERIAL OBJECTS IN THE THEORY OF SOCIAL PRACTICE

Although the theory of social practice introduced by Bourdieu (1984, the author did not mention the material objects in his work as his work are nearly purely “social” (Shove et al., 2012); while in the further development of social practice theory, Reckwitz (2002) and Cetina et al. (2005) argued that practices are intrinsically interwoven and related with the objectives, the highlighted the important role that material agency plays in the practices. Shove et al. (2012) further supported such agreement that material agency or “Things” should be regarded as one element of practice and defined it as a set including objects, tools, infrastructures, and even bodies. Also, Sahakian and Wilhite (2010) consider material objects as the technologies and objectives involved in specific consumption practice. Similarly, Warde (2005), also focuses on the objects consumed and shared similar concepts with Reckwitz and Schatzki about the intertwined relationship of objects and considered it as a conduit for performance (Pickering, 2001). Moreover, According to O’toole and Were (2008), material culture is the object that humans make, use and experience. Human beings and the material culture influence each other through interaction between the two, so studying material culture can help the present research understand people’s daily life and history. Specifically, for this research, through the study of material culture, the present study can learn about the values of second-hand clothes consumers and their changes over time. Therefore, material culture can help this study have a deeper understanding of the daily life and history of second-hand clothes consumers.

2.3.2. THE PLACES AND MATERIAL OBJECTS OF SECOND-HAND CONSUMPTION PRACTICE

With the advancement of technology and social media, online second-hand clothes consumption has drawn more attention in recent years. Second-hand clothes consumption has emerged as a growing area for consumers to buy or sell second-hand items (Sihvonen and Turunen, 2016). Sihvonen and Turunen (2016) focused on the Facebook online fashion flea market to examine its value proposition. Rather than offering a thorough analysis of the online platform from the viewpoint of the consumer, they only examined the Facebook flea market from a value-oriented and economic perspective, but their analysis offers a fresh way to look at second-hand consumption behaviors by taking online second-hand platforms into account. Seyfang and Smith (2007) define "grassroots" innovations as networks of activists and organizations developing bottom-up solutions for sustainable development in addition to formal online platforms for second-hand clothes. This kind of innovation reflects regional preferences and social ideals. One typical method of fostering grassroots innovation is through online free reuse groups. Members can exchange or give away items they no longer need in these groups. Once the group members agree to give them something, they post their offering on the group's message board and set up a time and place for the exchange. Furniture, kitchenware, consumer electronics, and clothes are among the items traded in the free reuse groups (Groomes and Sefang, 2012).

As stated previously, a significant portion of recent research on collaborative consumption has focused on online second-hand fashion platforms or other innovative business models in the context of sustainable development. According to O'Toole and Were (2008), the physical layout of the environment, the spatial layout of the environment, and the physical objects in the environment (secondhand clothes in this study) and the places they form have great potential for qualitative research. Particular retailers' political, economic, and cultural constructions are emphasized by place-related research in retailing (Goodall, 2002). Consequently, Goodall (2002) emphasizes

the significance of the study of place and material objects in the study of consumption, which is fundamentally an active and creative process. In other words, the objects of a place are frequently imbued with meanings such as function, power, and culture (O'Toole, 2004). Due to the ethnographic methodology employed in this study, Heath and Hindmarsh (2002) suggest that objects can be viewed as the result of the activities of the study's participants. Although activity and practice are distinct, this suggestion is still instructive for this study. Foucault (2012), Giddens (1984), and Bauman (2000) all assert that neither objects nor people can be separated from the social state in which they exist. It is the particular social state that gives objects and the people who use them significance. The emphasis on products is also appropriate for those who have completed one phase and are beginning another, such as second-hand items (Goodall, 2002).

Turning to place in practice theory, Bourdieu mentions the geographical phenomenon of Paris's fashion capital (Johnson, 1994). For instance, the old luxury brands were located on the right bank of Paris, which represented the old bourgeoisie, whereas the new fashion brands were located on the left bank, which represented the emerging classes. In France at the time, this dichotomy mirrored that between the left and the right. This community's location, culture, and fashion can be a good reflection of the social class, lifestyle, and social change reflected in the clothes (Rocamora, 2002).

According to Stanszus and Iran (2015), sustainable fashion refers to fashion items that are designed, manufactured, (re)used and disposed of in a manner consistent with the concept of sustainability, a definition that thus assigns the value of 'sustainability' to second-hand fashion. Furthermore, sustainable fashion is an art form that complements the long-term goal of sustainability (Hinninger et al., 2016). Therefore, this study will use 'sustainable second-hand clothes' to represent the material objects of this study. In practice theory, material objects include these tangible goods as well as places of practice (Mylan, 2015).

This study summarizes potential places for sustainable second-hand fashion consumption, including but not limited to sharing economy-based sustainable second-hand fashion consumption; vintage shops and boutiques; consignment shops; charity shops and thrift shops; swap meets; flea markets and car auctions; grassroots social innovation; and online free reuse platforms (see Han, 2013; Weil, 1999; Belk et al., 1988; Gregson and Crewe, 2003; Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2009). Moreover, based on the practice theory perspective and the existing research gap, use and disposal beyond purchase must also be considered to achieve a practice study of sustainable consumption practices from a practice theory perspective (Soyer and Dittrich, 2021). Therefore, this study focuses on the various stages from purchase to disposal of places and products.

In particular, sustainable second-hand fashion consumption is based on collaborative consumption, which shifts from ownership-centric to experience-centric by sharing, trading, exchanging, and renting second-hand items (Machado et al., 2019). The Fashion Library, a user-based clothes rental and wardrobe sharing platform, is an example of collaborative consumption (Strahle and Erhardt, 2017). Vintage shops and boutiques are outlets for the sale of second-hand clothes that reflects the fashion of a particular era or region (Weil, 1999). Consignment shops are outlets for handing over items to be sold and cared for in exchange for a commission. Heiskanen et al. (2015) define grassroots social innovation and online free reuse groups as online groups based on social media or other social connections. Home or family activities can also be viewed as places where clothes are passed along or traded. The ownership of these garments is transferred due to their exceptional sentimental value or residual worth (Holmes, 2019).

The element of "place of practice" must be updated and refocused on the perspective of the consumer; this can be accomplished through the lens of practice theory in order to investigate the "material objects" and places in particular practices. Gregson and Crewe (1997), for instance, cite car boot sales as one of the most popular

household activities in the United Kingdom at the time. What is the current state of car boot sales and how are consumers interacting with them? Another example of location is vintage or retro fashion. Rocamora (2002) poses the question of why retro consumption is so prevalent and why it continues to grow in the marketplace (ASOS, 2019). An obsolete object can inspire a revolution because the act of reclaiming it after it has been discarded is a form of resistance. These fashion items may lack initial recognition, but consumers can give them new significance in their second life (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998), this anti-trend behaviour is a form of fashion arhythmia, something cool in contrast to the dominant culture. To demonstrate this coolness, they require the proper context and location. Only this context and space can satisfy the demand, and only this radical gesture can demonstrate its significance (Franklin, 2005), a practice that combines object, place, and symbolism. If second-hand clothes is always perceived as casual, its use will be restricted in many settings (Park and Lin, 2020). This study will be able to shed light on an under-researched area and contribute to research that provides a deeper understanding of consumer engagement with sustainable second-hand fashion consumption sites and overall sustainable social practices with this knowledge.

Place, material objects, and meaning are intricately intertwined, with an important manifestation being the blurring of production and consumption boundaries in the consumption of second-hand goods (Goodall, 2002). Buying and selling share similar discursive and process characteristics, for instance, in the sale of automobile garages (Gregson and Crewe, 1998). Goodall (2002) calls for research on products and places in the consumption of second-hand products to escape the production-consumption dichotomy and investigate the symbolic nature of the meanings that objects and places can represent within the blurred boundaries. Moreover, for the second-hand clothes channel, both purchase and disposal occur within the same context. People and things are intertwined, and specific elements associated with people, such as events or locations, give things significance (Cieraad, 2010). Consequently, as the material partners of people (Lovatt, 2015), dispositions are required for consumption

(Hetherington, 2004), and the places and objects of dispositions are also the places and objects of consumption. Therefore, material objects can be understood as extensions of personhood (Hallam and Hockey, 2001), and by focusing on both their subjective meaning and themselves, we can better comprehend them (Appadurai, 1986).

Elsden et al. (2019), using charity shops as an example, argue that charity shops are places that mediate between donors, shoppers, and volunteers to create greater value for society, while also possessing the characteristics of a place of social change (Kjellberg et al., 2013) and playing a crucial role in community exchange and product re-flow (Elsden et al., 2019). Consequently, Home and Broadbridge (1993, 1995) proposed the 'wheel of retailing' based on their study of charity shop volunteers to demonstrate how charity shops progress from immaturity to maturity and to categorize the products sold in charity shops. In response, charity shops in the United Kingdom have had to revise their retail strategy and brand image (Du et al., 2010). Thus, Du et al. (2010) suggested that charity shops could be transformed into fashion boutiques or antique shops. They also classified the colour presentation of charity shops according to the colour scale of taekwondo belts, i.e., black, red, blue, green, yellow, and white, with decreasing fashionability from black to white. Several academics have also confirmed this shift concerning branding, visual merchandising, etc (Podkalicka and Meese, 2012).

This shift has created a state of tension for second-hand clothes stores, such as charity shops, as it leaves them oscillating between the roles of charity and business (Podkalicka and Meese, 2012). Podkalicka and Meese (2012) note that established charity shops in Melbourne are not constrained by this tension, but rather by using marketing language to emphasize elements such as recycling, sustainability, and helping others, and by employing various market segmentation strategies to appeal to a trendy demographic. Through this shift and the use of market language, the Salvation Army's charity shop in Melbourne became a cultural venue (McFall, 2002) and helped change the low value attributes of second-hand clothes. This study of place not only

demonstrates the significance of this study in examining the state of second-hand clothes consumption in the United Kingdom in a new market context, but it also suggests culturally significant elements, another essential topic of this research.

As a third point, Podkalicka and Meese (2012) point out that the gentrification embodied by city centre shops in the transformation of charity shops has marginalised the traditional customers of these shops. Henninger et al. (2019) also found that swap shops tend to be found in trendy neighbourhoods in cities in the UK and Finland, which tend to embody characteristics such as hipster and are easily accessible. Therefore, the geographical locations in which second-hand clothes shops appear can take on a different meaning. Exploring the places where second-hand clothes shops appear in the UK makes sense in the current market environment.

Furthermore, it is worth investigating whether the previously mentioned transformative endpoint of the charity shop - the fashion boutique or vintage shop - is a shop type with a clear definition or simply a change in market language. In their study, Park et al. (2020) continued to refer to thrift stores as non-profit second-hand clothes stores such as charity shops. This study also aimed to examine the applicability of this classification on the contemporary British market. Few studies even consider second-hand clothes shops, especially so-called thrift stores, to be distinct from traditional retail sectors (Park et al., 2020). For example, in a study on second-hand fashion, Machado et al. (2019) place the study site in the so-called thrift shop, implying that second-hand fashion shops and thrift shops are similar. Ryding et al. (2018) also mentions both second-hand clothes, preloved and preowned in the same context. Additionally, vintage is a frequent word to describe second-hand material objects. Turunen and Leipäma-Leskinen (2015) defined the term vintage, which can be a product from a specific era that was once owned but not necessarily used (Turunen and Leipäma-Leskinen, 2015); or a treasure in the eyes of the consumer (Cervellon et al., 2012). However, Ryding et al. (2018) argue that vintage has been misused in today's market environment, so what consumers are consuming is also a question that needs to be explored in depth.

Moreover, if consider the sustainable consumption as kind of collective action, according to Bourdieu (1990), the collective action is actually the product of a necessary tendency and an objective event. Only for those who are ready to “answer”, the specific situation (such as a revolution or other types of social change) can carry out the conditional stimulus actions on these people. From this perspective, the engagement from consumers to second-hand consumption can be regarded as the “answer”. More importantly, Jäger-Erben and Offenberger (2014) claimed that the physical and spatial factors of practice, such as the products (second-hand clothes) and the places (places sell/swap second-hand clothes) are significantly important for the research.

From the perspective of theory of practice, objects carry social meanings that conform to the social structure, and place provides a stage for the agency to perform a certain practice, in order to better deconstruct sustainable second-hand clothes consumption practice, and understand the role of objects and places in the production and reproduction of this daily practice. This study will explore *how do consumers engage with places and objects of second-hand consumption in the UK?*

2.4. THE COMPETENCE OF SUSTAINABLE SECOND-HAND CONSUMPTION PRACTICE

2.4.1. THE COMPETENCE IN THE THEORY OF PRACTICE

Competence, as the second pillar, refers to the skills and knowledge to perform specific practice (Røpke, 2009). Reckwitz (2002) described the practices as routinized actions including interconnected elements such as material objects, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivation knowledge, forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, etc. Although Reckwitz (2002) did not distinguish them into different blocks, he highlighted the interconnections of them, thus supported the analysis on the basis of ‘practice-as-entity’. In addition, Schatzki (1996) suggested implicit understanding as one of three major components of practice, Warde (2005) distinguished practice as “understanding,

procedures, and engagements”, according to the explanation to “competence” by Shove et al. (2012), competence refers to Schatzki (1996)’s understanding and knowledgeability. At the practice level, Moraes et al. (2015) applied the theory of practice by focusing on norms, knowledge, and understanding as components of competence.

Although some of these literatures used the word ‘knowledge’ as one of the components of competence, and others used the word ‘understanding’, they have not distinguished the difference between ‘knowledge’ and ‘understanding’ when employed in practice theory. It may be due to the fact that the practices they studied are ‘routinized behaviours’ and low-involvement consumption practices. However, as Maturana and Varela (1987) suggested, the knowledge serves as the root for comprehensive understanding, and the understanding is a process to make meanings from knowledge. While the understanding of low-involvement practice may not spill over to high-involvement consumption practice such as sustainable fashion consumption. Allaying with the concepts of ‘practice-as-entity’ (Warde, 2005) and ‘gluing together’ (Røpke, 2009), the topic of this research, ‘sustainable second-hand fashion consumption’ needs to be ‘glued’ with understanding or knowledge of ‘sustainable second-hand consumption’. However, the ‘root’ of understanding about ‘sustainable second-hand fashion’—knowledge, is still underdeveloped as consumers lack sustainable knowledge or the relationship between knowledge about sustainability and such consumption practice is still in debate (Thøgersen, 1999; Kennedy et al., 2009), which cannot lead to co-creation of comprehensive understanding of specific consumption practice (Moraes et al., 2015). Also. As Reckwitz (2002) suggested, one element of components making up practice is ‘knowledge in the form of understanding’, which highlight the importance of ‘knowledge’ as a premise.

In this case, Røpke (2009) suggested a new angle to apply the theory of practice to the research of consumption, which is to consider the specific consumption practices as a set of activities through consumers’ own way to integrate material objects,

competence, and meanings. It thus distinguishes the present research with other researches applying the theory of practice to study sustainable consumption: this research will explore the potential knowledge involving into this consumption practice to gain a deeper understanding of sustainable second-hand fashion consumptions practice within the pillar of competence. This also distinguishes this study with other research that seek opportunities to transfer consumers to be more sustainable by presuming consumers do have knowledge about sustainability.

Also, although the ‘knowledge’ about ‘sustainable second-hand fashion consumption’ needs more exploration to ‘glue’ on this practice, the cornerstone of the theory of practice: *Habitus* introduced by Bourdieu (1984) provides another angle to explore the ‘competence’. As *Habitus* suggested, the repeated activities may transform the *Habitus* to a more durable activity, and *Habitus* also against the concepts of ‘rational choice’, because the assumption of ‘rational choice’ ignores the ‘history’ and ‘previous experience’ (Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014).

2.4.2. THE PRACTICE-BASED KNOWLEDGE IN SUSTAINABLE SECOND-HAND FASHION CONSUMPTION PRACTICE

In the research of sustainable consumption, a large number of scholars have considered knowledge as a necessary premise or an important influencer for the sustainable behaviour (see Bamberg and Möser, 2007; McEachern and Warnaby, 2008; Bolderdijk et al., 2013). Through awakening the awareness and providing answers to specific actions, knowledge could have an impact on particular behaviours (Kaiser et al., 2008).

Werner and Alvensleben (1981) suggested that knowledge on sustainability and results of consumption has a positive impact on an individual’s habits of purchasing and using sustainable products. Rahbar and Abdul Wahid (2011) agreed and highlighted the positive relationship between knowledge of sustainability and sustainable behaviour. Peattie (2010) and Zhao et al., (2014) supported the argument

that knowledge of sustainability often serves as the primary motivator of sustainable behaviours. Finally, Kumar (2012), Zhao and Zhong (2015) also stated that knowledge about the environment has a positive relationship to purchase behaviour toward to sustainable product. In summary a wide range of studies/authors have agreed that environmental knowledge or knowledge of sustainability can activate consumer's sustainable consumption. Moreover Kennedy et al. (2009) claimed that the significant barrier of sustainable consumptions is lack of knowledge. In addition to the above clear statement about the positive impact of knowledge, Alwitt and Pitts (1996) suggested the positive effect on the actual consumption behaviour from knowledge does exist but impacts on behaviours only indirectly. However, such statements about the positive relationship between knowledge and behaviours have not been consistently supported in academia. In order to investigate the relationship between knowledge and sustainable behaviour, Hines et al. (1987) categorized knowledge into two groups, first is the knowledge about environmental and social issues, which is called problem-based knowledge (Bauer et al., 2018). It refers to the knowledge about specific ecosystem and the impacts that behaviours have on such an ecosystem (Liefländer et al., 2015). Jensen (2002) suggested the problem-based knowledge is the starting point for sustainable consumption; Second is knowledge about how to deal with the environmental and social issues, which is also called solution-based knowledge (Bauer et al., 2018; Frick et al., 2004; Hines et al., 1987). In these two knowledge categories (Bauer et al., 2018), Frick et al. (2004) provide similar argument and support. Although these two categories of knowledge are identified as relevant to specific sustainable consumption, Hines et al. (1987) also studied them with different approaches, the knowledge-behaviour gap still lacks consistent and convincing explanation, which means the knowledge does not have a strong reference to support and promote sustainable consumption behaviours. Furthermore, Peña-Vinces et al. (2020), in their study of the Spanish second-hand clothes market, point out that the relationship between consumers' knowledge about the environment and responsible consumption is not obvious and attitudes are not sufficient to produce sufficiently clear behavioural

changes. Even younger consumers may be less likely to receive pressure from social rules on sustainability if they perceive themselves as knowledgeable (Kang et al., 2013).

The debate around this relationship between knowledge and sustainable behaviour, as well as the knowledge-behaviour gap, indicate the significance of applying the theory of practice: the knowledge about sustainability may be only one of the components of specific practice rather than the precondition of it. Also, the mainstream approaches investigating the relationship reflect the shortcoming of approaches based on 'rational-choice', which has been discussed earlier. When considering knowledge as one essential factor to predict behaviours, these studies employ (e.g., Bauer et al., 2018) the concepts that the wants and desire of specific activity are created by those presumption factors such as knowledge. But the theory of social practice follows the reversed concept: activities (practices) create individuals desires (Marshall, 1926; Warde, 2005). In addition, unlike most of rationalist studies, which normally aim to measure the degree of consumers' knowledge and the impacts of knowledge, this research aims to explore, it is necessary to explain what the *knowledge* is in the theory of practice. From Reckwitz's perspective, the knowledge in practice is far more than just 'knowing that (Reckwitz, 2002:253)'. In practice, knowledge includes knowledge in the form of understanding, knowing how, and feelings of motivation or desire. In detail, knowledge in practice is a way to understand the world. It includes an understanding of objects and carrier him/herself (consumer), which is historical and cultural, and finally, these understandings together form part of the practice.

Moreover, in order to better understand practice, knowledge is not just understanding, it also includes know-how (e.g., instance the hug for showing love), motivational and intentional knowledge (e.g., desire or avoid particular objects or activities), and practice-specific emotional knowledge (e.g., the pleasure from the time when the shopper in the car boot sales of retro items, Franklin, 2005).

Specifically in relation to second-hand clothes consumption itself, research on the relationship between knowledge and second-hand clothes is scarce. Peña-Vinces et al. (2020) note that environmental knowledge and second-hand babywear purchasing behaviour are positively correlated. Knowledge is also expressed as important cultural capital in the purchase and wearing of second-hand kimonos (Valk, 2020) and provides a safe entry point for young women to safely and appropriately enter the world of kimono. Unlike the objectivity of knowledge in many theories and studies on sustainable consumption (eg, Chekima et al., 2016), knowledge in practical theory is more subjective and comes from text, discourse and communication. Therefore, in practical theory, knowledge is an understanding of the subject, so it can be qualitatively studied in the research. Blazquez et al. (2020) explored the constructs of consumer knowledge through interviews and showed consumers' awareness of terms such as sustainable fashion. Furthermore, Blazquez, et al. (2020) provided research and interview ideas for this study by determining the composition of consumer knowledge through consumers' definitions of specific terms.

Because the *knowledge* in the theory of practice is considerably different from the knowledge in traditional research, so in sustainable consumption practice, what does consumer's knowledge include? What is their understanding of second-hand clothes, and what motivational and emotional knowledge do they have in the entire consumer practice? These will be the questions that this paper will explore.

2.5. THE MEANINGS OF SUSTAINABLE SECOND-HAND CONSUMPTION PRACTICE

2.5.1. MEANINGS IN THE THEORY OF PRACTICE

Bourdieu (1977, 1990) argues that there are "non-economic interests" or symbolic capital in economic practice, in contrast to economism such as Marx, which abstracts the economy as a network of relations centered on cash payments (Marx, 2018). The ebb and flow of economic and symbolic capital is essential to the

reproduction of culture and society, according to Bourdieu's theoretical system. This study cannot deny that fashion consumption entails a degree of symbolic capital (Almila, 2016) and that the differences in economic capital and even social structures behind this symbolic capital give fashion consumption a deeper meaning. Røpke (2009) described meaning, as a component of practice, is about making sense of it. As mentioned above, almost all researchers studying practice theory struggle with what constitutes practice and how to categorise them (Whilhite, 2013, Moraes et al., 2015). In other words, the components are often interwoven with each other from each scholar's perspective.

Reckwitz (2002) described meanings as motivational knowledge, emotion and other forms of mental activities. Shove et al. (2012) short-circuit the Schatzki's (1996) discussion, they treated meaning as one component standing inside of practice, to represent the symbolic and social significance of participating in a specific practice. Specifically, for the consumption, if combine the symbolic value from Bourdieu and the postmodernism consumer culture, it is easy to find that the symbolic quality of the product may exceed its own practicability. Consumers may construct their own identities through these products and to express their resistance to a certain dominant condition (Wright, 2003).

Based on this short-circuit definition, Shove et al. (2012) employed symbolic and social meanings of product and values to explore the meanings of specific practices. Further, to study meanings, social norms, renewed symbolic meaning of product were employed by Moraes et al. (2015) to study luxury ethical jewellery and suggested that the social affective moral value, luxury, and recycling serve as the meanings of such practice. These meanings thus may take the form of motivations that originally existed outside the field (Schatzki, 1996), for example, or they may be presented as values co-created by consumers and firms within the field (Tynan et al., 2010). Similar findings are also found in Nairn and Schatzki's (2015) study. Nairn and Schatzki (2015) studied children's consumption by using practice theory and found that in terms of meanings,

motivations to use products, strengthen emotional bonds, compensate for feelings, peer socialisation are presented as social or symbolic meanings. In other words, from the perspective of practice theory, meanings can be presented in terms of consumers' saying, such as motivation and knowledge, or in terms of doing, such as understanding in practice or value co-created with the business.

2.5.2. THE SYMBOLIC AND SOCIAL MEANINGS OF SUSTAINABLE SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

Fashion products usually are employed by the individual to define or achieve specific social status, power, class and social approval (Armstrong et al., 2016). Veblen (2017) has identified the cultural and social factors of consumerism, thus developed and formed the theory of conspicuous consumption driven by symbolic meanings. Wilk (2002) also pointed out that people are consuming competitively and through endless purchase to emulate people who are more wealthy and powerful. This issue is highly related to the social norms and social class, and finally be reflected by individual's behaviours through so-called aesthetic dispositions internalization (Bourdieu, 1984). Medalla et al. (2020) thus suggested that fashion research can help us better understand consumer behaviour. **Consumer research must concentrate on consumer behavior and market and cultural dynamics (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). Focusing on the product as a vehicle, Jackson (2005) examines the meaning created by the product and the change in the consumer's identity throughout the process, from the purchase of the product to its disposal. Camacho-Otero and Pettersen (2018) argue that the symbolic significance of consumption is crucial to the entire consumption process. Functionality is the foundation of the circular economy, but symbolic value is also important (Camacho-Otero and Pettersen, 2018).**

For the second-hand market, fashion items are also one category of essential products (O'Reilly et al., 1984). The social and symbolic meanings of second-hand clothes are many times expressed through consumers' motivations, for example Turunen and Leipämaa-Leskinen (2015) in their study on second-hand clothes

meanings state that second-hand luxury brand buyers tend to have sustainable choice, real deal, preloved treasure, risk investment, unique find and other motives. The following sections will review the existing literature on the motivation, understanding and co-creation of meaning within the field of second-hand clothes consumption. Most of the extant literature has considered the economic constraints as the most important factor to motivate consumers to choose second-hand clothes (Roux and Korchia, 2006), second-hand clothes shops thus serve as the shopping centres for consumers with limited incomes (Norum and Norton, 2017; Williams and Paddock, 2003). Yan et al. (2015) argue that second-hand clothes consumers are often motivated by the search for low prices as they are very price sensitive. Petrescu and Bhatli (2015) suggest that these consumers are more likely to buy a large quantity of clothes rather than spend the same amount of money on new ones. This low price-oriented analysis reflects, to some extent, consumers' stigma towards second-hand clothes, as Adıgüzel et al. (2020) found that there are negative associations such as low quality and low price, to recycled materials. Thus Guiot and Roux (2010) state outright that thrift shops are places where basic needs are met with minimal budgets. However, this analysis, centred on low prices, seems to be different from the current changes in the market, the price for a jumper in some second-hand clothes shops is similar or even higher than one from fast fashion channels such as H&M (ASOS, 2019; H&M, 2019). The price of second-hand clothes no longer seems to be so low, so is the significance of second-hand clothes for consumers still low prices and basic needs? Case and Fair (2007) suggest that second-hand clothes consumption may be a strategy to maximise the benefits of consumers' greater focus on practicality, and that buying good quality second-hand products seems to be a very reasonable consumer decision (Williams and Paddock (2001), and as Hamilton (2009) found, Millennial and Generation X buyers tend to maximise the utility of their spending by purchasing second-hand products. So despite studies that suggest second-hand clothes is of poor quality, there is also an increase in demand from second-hand clothes sales channels or high-quality clothes (Ferraro et al., 2016). So the balance between quality and price seems to be inconclusive for second-hand clothes consumption. However, at the same time, consumers' brand awareness can reduce

consumers' perceived risk (Rulikova, 2020; Giovannini et al., 2015), so since second-hand clothes serves as a stock market for first-hand clothes, whether branding is an important implication of this is another question worth exploring. And to implement this into sustainable consumption, it appears that the influence of brands must be investigated (Abbey et al., 2015; Agrawal et al., 2015). The suggestive effect of brands on consumers' evaluation of products is positive in first-hand products (Dodds et al., 1991), and also exists in second-hand luxury goods (Bardhi and Arnould, 2005) and is considered to be one of the most important motivations for consumers when purchasing second-hand products (Alam, 2015). However, excluding the branch of luxury goods, this study will also investigate the role of brands in general second-hand clothes.

Bargain hunting, as mentioned by Ruiot and Roux (2010), is also a consumer motivation related to economic significance, but it also seems to reflect the excitement that second-hand clothes consumption can bring to consumers (Cox et al., 2005). Frugality is also associated with economic significance. Frugality is often demonstrated through smarter shopping strategies, recycling resources, etc. (Edbring et al., 2016), and it seems to be associated with sustainability and is considered a way of life (Cervellon et al., 2012).

In addition to economic significance, uniqueness and vintage appear in a symbolic and social way in second-hand clothes consumption; Roux and Guiot (2008) suggest that treasure hunting allows consumers to be surprised by second-hand shopping, and Weil (1999) notes that second-hand consumers not only find unique products from second-hand sources but also gain pleasure. Ultimately, however, this uniqueness reflects the consumer's desire for self-satisfaction and to be different from others (Zhang and Cude, 2018; Guiot and Roux, 2010) . The second-hand clothes sometimes are unique and peculiar, they can meet consumers' desire to dress differently from others or to avoid losing their own identities (Sweetman, 1999; Titton, 2015). Jensen and Ostergaard (1998) provided a deeper explanation for uniqueness seeking, they thought some consumers might focus on differentiation, personal style and

originality instead of pursuing the so-called standards of social norms and 'good taste'. But uniqueness may also have two sides, with hippie and bohemian styles being considered cool and an expression of cultural progress. Yet for conservative consumers, this in turn implies a lower social status and income (Camacho-Otero et al., 2020).

Moreover, nostalgia is a topic that is often explored in research on second-hand clothes. Nostalgia is a state of mapping memories of the past onto an object, and the meaning derived from nostalgia is vintage (Cervellon et al., 2012; Roux and Guiot, 2008). Second-hand clothes shops sell many vintage items that have been discontinued, giving many people the opportunity to pursue uniqueness (Tully, 2012). From this perspective, the vintage meaning is again closely related to uniqueness. Not only this, but vintage wearers are people who challenge the hierarchy of clothes and are naturally rebellious (Bourdieu, 1993). Previously, material consumption was a symbol of social status, but today circular consumption is a form of rebellious consumption and even a political stance, a form of political consumerism (Camacho-Otero and Pettersen, 2018). However, he also argues that vintage requires expertise, and that this rebelliousness therefore has certain intellectual limitations. Also, vintage refers to the authenticity of the product. Jenss (2004) defines the authenticity of this product as a negotiation between cultural participants. Subsequently, Vannini and Franzese (2008) defined it as sincere, true, original, and practical. The above two definitions of authenticity of vintage involve cultural capital and subjective field. Koontz (2010) then believes that "otherization" and "traditionalization" are two important forms of finding so-called "real" products. Others use mainstream culture as a reference, and foreign cultures, subcultures and other non-mainstream cultures are regarded as "real", while traditionalization includes the popular "DIY", "original formula" and retro personalization.

Thornton (1995) believes that knowledge of identifying vintage clothes styles and years can be defined as subcultural capital, but Bourdieu (1993) believes that the ability to identify potential fashion is a kind of cultural capital. Bourdieu believes that

this ability comes from upbringing and education, while economic strength is the foundation. Jenss (2005) also highlights that vintage buyer tend to come from the middle class, which contradicts the previous exploration of economic significance. In the exploration of vintage, as long as consumers perceive it to be authentic and vintage, then the products they purchase are vintage (Veenstra, and Kuipers, 2013; Beverland and Farelly, 2010). While identifying vintage requires knowledge, knowing what is not fashionable in a given consumption seems to be the more important knowledge (Thornton, 1995). The above exploration therefore not only reflects the contradictions and complexities presented by vintage, but also links vintage to economic meaning and knowledge in practice. This link between complexity and meaning therefore needs to be examined in greater depth. Indeed, the uniqueness mentioned earlier presents a similar complexity to that of vintage, where unique subcultural fashion can be encroached upon by mainstream fashion, and then this uniqueness seems to become the uniqueness of mainstream fashion (Washida, 1997). Thus, both vintage and uniqueness can be seen both as consumer motivations and as meanings co-created by different agents within the field, and what exactly they are in the current marketplace and how they are connected need to be examined in more depth.

Second-hand clothes consumption is also related to sustainability meanings. Medalla et al. (2020) suggested that social responsibility would make many young people more inclined to buy second-hand clothes, and McKinsey & Company (2021) found in a study of young people after the COVID-19 pandemic that young people were more inclined to buy second-hand products with a commitment to sustainability. Reiley and DeLong (2011) also suggest that second-hand clothes that reduces the consumption of raw materials can make a contribution to sustainable development. This sustainable meaning also seems to reflect a rebellion against the mainstream market (Guiot and Roux, 2010), by purchasing second-hand products in order to separate themselves from it. Charity shops even convey the promotion of other meanings (e.g., affirmative action) to consumers through in-store sales (Elsden et al., 2019). However, in the context of the above discussion alone, second-hand clothes consumption, while reflecting

recycling (Pierce and Paulos, 2011), but if second-hand clothes is mainstreamed and vintage is being promoted in the fashion industry, can this rebellion, and the sustainability based on recycling, really be reflected through second-hand clothes consumption? What does sustainability mean for the consumption of second-hand clothes? And while it is contingent that consumers are exposed to new practices in various practices, the practices that will occur in social activities and in everyday pathways are also deserving of discussion, whether it is contact with others or the exploration of everyday pathways (Huber, 2017). Some new meanings may reshape practices as entities, thereby revitalizing these established practices (Huber, 2017). These questions reflect the relevant knowledge gaps. Therefore, the research question in this section is: what social and symbolic meanings are displayed by the consumption of second-hand clothes, and how do these meanings interact?

2.6. THE SOCIAL NORM AND VALUES IN SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

2.6.1. SOCIAL NORM AND VALUES IN THE THEORY OF PRACTICE

It is also necessary to think about social norms (Lessig, 1995) when studying social meanings. Bourdieu (1984) introduced the concept: Doxa, a Greek word referring to common belief or popular opinion. In practice study, Doxa means social rules or norms and values related to the consumption practices (Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014). Wilk (2002) suggested the social norms and values could be contested when they involved in discussion and debate (Bourdieu (1984)'s concept of Heterodoxy). Considering the complexity of sustainable consumption and the fact that values and social norms are underdeveloped in this realm (Bly et al., 2015), the social norms and values will be taken into account for this research as elements of an expanded framework of practice theory. Also, social norms and values are highly related to practice stability (Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014).

Therefore, combining Shove et al. (2012)'s definition of meanings and previous work of applying practice theory to study consumption, the present research will discuss the symbolic meanings, social norms, and values in the following section.

2.6.2. SOCIAL NORMS IN SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION PRACTICE

Social norms are often considered to be an important driving force for changing human behavior (Cialdini and Trost, 1998; Ajzen, 2011), Therefore, in the research of sustainable consumption, a large number of scholars use social norm as an independent variable to conduct predictive analysis on sustainable consumption behaviour and prove that social norm can have a positive impact in many consumer fields (Zhao et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2014; Ritter et al., 2015). Vermeir and Verbeke (2008) looking at dairy consumption indicated that subjective norms have a positive relationship with sustainable purchase behaviour. Moreover, Vermeir and Verbeke (2006) pointed out that personal values, participation and social norms may all harmonize consumers' behaviour and attitude gap in sustainable consumption. in other words this means that in sustainable consumption, the social norm is an external factor that must be taken into account. But at the same time, many studies have emphasized that social norm has very limited impact on sustainable consumption behaviour. In other words, they do affect people's decision-making process, but only in terms of the intention, and does not affect their actual behaviour (Nguyen et al., 2016)., Di Fabio and Rosen (2018), add that when attitudes and behaviours are inconsistent, individuals will use social norms to support their own inaction. These models or frameworks that consider consumers as agents that are self-interests driven and making decisions based on 'rational choice', these consumers only seek their own benefits even the social norms are added into the decision-making process. Even consumers' 'saying' demonstrated their concern about social norms, from the perspective of practice theory, their 'doing' demonstrated another story, which is the gaps between 'saying' and 'doing' mentioned above. These contradictions are partly a reflection of the intention-action gap in sustainable

consumption. In terms of second-hand clothes consumption, only a few studies have mentioned social norms. for instance, Xu et al. (2014) suggest that social norms influence consumer behaviour towards second-hand clothes consumption. Mhango et al. (2005) argue that the social norm in second-hand clothes consumption is the creation of reciprocal social relationships. However, further research is needed to determine what kind of social norm is reflected in second-hand clothes consumption in the current UK market.

Even though Ajzen (2001) has been emphasizing that social norms have a huge impact on purchase intentions, while the goal of practice theory is not to explore the causal relationship between the two. so, the current study will explore individual's understanding of social norms and the experience that individuals may be affected by social norm in second-hand clothes consumption to enable us to better explore and understand what kind of social norm exist in second-hand clothes consumption and the role that social norm plays in such practice.

2.6.3. VALUES IN SUSTAINABLE SECOND-HAND FASHION CONSUMPTION PRACTICE

In terms of value, especially for fashion consumption, value is one of the major influencers of sustainable consumption such as collaborative fashion consumption behaviour (Barnes and Mattsson, 2016). However, values need to be explored in more depth in the study of sustainable consumption (Bly et al., 2015). Values can be understood as consumption values (Sheth et al., 1991) and consumer values (Schwartz et al., 2012). As this study attempts to examine practices with consumers serve as carriers of values, the main focus is thus on consumer value. while sustainable fashion does not only meet social-environmental benefits as most of the research in this field suggested but also need to fill the ordinary people's daily demand (Niinimäki, 2010), it is hence meaningful and necessary to shed light on consumer-oriented values instead of mainly discussing the social-environmental oriented values. However, the exact consumer-oriented values with consideration about egoistic, altruistic and biosphere are

not clear yet (Becker-Leifhold, 2018). Moreover, only altruistic values inherently motivate the consumers' actual sustainable behaviours (Shaw et al., 2000); this altruistic value is also against the cornerstone of 'rational choice'. Referring to the research about value in sustainable consumption, Richins (1994) and Browne and Kaldenberg (1997) indicated consumers with materialism value or egoistic value tend to use fashion items as the approach of impression management and to reflect the success, prestige and social status. In other words, ethical value is more significant in sustainable consumption (Jägel et al., 2012; Achabou and Dekhili, 2013) When talking about second-hand clothes shopping, in particular, Guiot and Roux (2010) suggested that the motives of second-hand shopping are negatively related to materialism, which seems to be contrary to the aforementioned fashion conscious and big brand hunting.

Holt (2012) asserted that unsustainable consumption is driven by consumerist values and even possessiveness and individualism. Therefore Holt (2012) suggests that people should replace consumerist values with values of ethical calculation. But as mentioned above, even a strong sustainable value does not necessarily bring sustainable consumption behaviour. as such, egoistic may be sustainable consumption egoistic may be an endogenous and important value of sustainable consumption, one that is even more important in consumption than values such as social responsibility and social justice (Lundblad and Davies, 2016). Therefore, in addition to the widely mentioned ethical or altruistic value, egoistic value must not be neglected in the study of sustainable consumption (Kim and Damhorst, 1998).

The two types of seemingly opposing consumer values mentioned above appear several times in different studies, but in sustainable consumption, altruistic and egoistic values seem to strike a balance (Lundblad and Davies, 2016). While consumption may no longer be a social activity seeking social recognition, and its purpose is to realize the personal values of happiness, practicality and pleasure (Lipovetsky, 1994). In terms of value study, hedonism has been mentioned several times in studies on sustainable consumption (Roux and Guiot, 2008; Cervellon et al., 2012, Luedicke et al.2010;

Caruana et al., 2020) and be considered as one of the barriers to conduct sustainable consumption. Furthermore, hedonic value is often regarded as self-interests value (Shaw and Shiu, 2003); While in the study of new market environment and consumption, Soper (2016) introduced alternative hedonic value to represent consumer's new interpretation of good life with the consideration of sustainability.

Moreover, in the practice of second-hand clothes consumption, values are also reflected in community values. Firstly, different values and consumption patterns influence the way consumers dispose of clothes, and this difference is reflected in the community-based behaviour of exchange (Albinsson and Perera, 2009). study, it was noted that clothes that are not accepted by a specific community are donated to charity shops or disadvantaged communities. This re-evaluation of second-hand clothes seems to be contrary to the values of promoting sustainability and equality (Camacho-Otero et al., 2020).

In short, values in sustainable consumption are still an under-researched area (Bly et al., 2015). The role of values in sustainable consumption has been interpreted differently by different scholars, not to mention in the context of second-hand clothes consumption. Therefore, what are the values in second-hand clothes consumption, how do they relate to each other, and how do they change in the current market environment are all topics that need to be studied in this paper.

2.7 SUMMARY

The above review of practical theories and their extensions, second-hand clothes consumption and sustainable consumption, reveals that the places and objects of second-hand clothes consumption have changed in the new market environment, while the consumer's understanding and definition of them have been adapted to the new era; the knowledge and skills possessed by consumers in second-hand clothes consumption need to be explored more fully in the context of the new market environment; the meanings presented in second-hand clothes consumption, whether in the form of

motives or in the form of meanings co-created by consumers and businesses in the field, are complex and contradictory; the social norms embedded in second-hand clothes consumption need to be more deeply explored more deeply, and values need to be understood more fully. In addition, in the light of the problems that have arisen in existing research on sustainable consumption, such as the intention-action gap and individual-centric issues mentioned in this chapter, and the advantages of practice theory in bridging the dichotomy and presenting a more comprehensive picture, this study applies practice theory to sustainable second-hand clothes consumption. Applying practice theory to sustainable second-hand clothes consumption, this study aims to more fully explore, interpret and understand second-hand clothes consumption in the UK in a new market context.

In summary of Chapter 2’s discussion of different documents, the following Table 1 shows the main literatures represented by different themes, related questions and research questions from them.

Table 1. Literature Review Table

Research Themes	Issues	Literature	Research Question
	Most studies of second-hand product consumption are limited to specific consumption segments, which need to be studied as a whole	Turunen et al. (2018)	

	Sustainability research needs to be anchored in consumption research	Mont and Plepys (2008)	
	Many scholars have highlighted the paradox between the changing nature of the fashion industry and sustainable consumption practices.	Petersen and Riisberg (2017); Fletcher and Tham (2015)	
Places and material objects	The research about places of purchase/selling	Podkalicka and Meese (2012); McFall (2002); Machado et al. (2019); Henninger et al. (2019); Ryding et al. (2018); Weil (1999); Strähle and Erhardt (2017); Belk et al. (1988); Gregson and Crewe (2003); Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2009); Du et al. (2010)	<i>How do consumers engage with places and objects of second-hand clothes consumption in the UK from practice perspective?</i>
	Research about Disposal	Bianchi and Birewistle (2010, 2012); Turunen et al.	

		(2018) ; Henninger et al. (2019); Belk (1988)	
	The boundary of problem of production(disposal)-consumption	Goodall (2002) ; Gregson and Crewe (1998) ; Hetherington (2004)	
	Place of Use	Smolak et al. (2014) ; Workman and Freeburg (2000); Gurung et al. (2018)	
	Material Objects	Jenss (2005); DeLong et al. (2005) ; Beverland and Farelly (2010); Turunen and Leipäma-Leskinen (2015); Cervellon et al. (2012) ; Ryding et al. (2018) ; Gregson et al. (2001); Palmer and Clark (2005)	
Competence	Knowledge Construct in Consumption	Gregson et al. (2012); Gregson et al. (2001) ; Thornton (1995) ; Peña-Vinces et al. (2020); Blazquez, et al. (2020) ; Valk, 2020 ; Bourdieu (1896) ; Veenstra and	<i>What type of knowledge in the form of understanding consumers have with the sustainable</i>

		Kuipers (2013) ; Moraes et al. (2015)	<i>second-hand clothes consumption in the UK from practice perspective?</i>
	Knowlegde of Sustainability and Knowledge/action Gap	Bamberg and Möser (2007); McEachern and Warnaby (2008); Bolderdijk et al. (2013) ; Peattie (2010); Zhao et al. (2014) ; Alwitt and Pitts (1996); Hines et al. (1987); Moraes et al. (2015)	
Meanings	Motives and Meanings	Turunen and Leipämaa-Leskinen (2015)	<i>What are the social and symbolic meanings ascribed to sustainable second-hand clothes consumption in the UK from practice perspective?</i>
	Economic Meanings with the Low-Price Seeking	Roux and Korchia (2006); Williams and Paddock (2003); Petrescu and Bhatli (2015); Guiot and Roux (2010)	
	Other Interpretations of Economic Meanings	Case and Fair (2007) ; Hamilton (2009); Ferraro et al. (2016); Rulikova (2020); Giovannini et al. (2015); Edbring et al. (2016) ; Cervellon et al. (2012)	
	Social and Symbolic Meanings	Roux and Guiot (2008) ; Zhang and Cude (2018); Jensen and Ostergaard (1998) ; Cervellon et al.	

		(2012); Bourdieu (1993); Jenss (2004); Koontz (2010)	
	Interpretation of Meanings in the New Environment	Medalla et al. (2020) ; Reiley and Delong (2011) ; Jencks (2002) ; Veenstra and Kuipers (2013)	
Social Norm	Social Norm and Sustainable Consumption	Vermeir and Verbeke (2008) ; Nguyen et al. (2016); Ajzen (2011)	<i>What are the social norms and values embedded in the sustainable second-hand clothes</i>
	Social Norm Construct	Xu et al. (2014) ; Mhango et al. (2005) ; Nguyen et al. (2016)	
Values	Values in Sustainable Research Need to be Discussed in Depth	Bly et al. (2015) ; Niinimäki (2010) ; Southerton et al. (2004)	<i>consumption in the UK from practice perspective?</i>
	Values in Sustainable Research	Becker-Leifhold (2018); Shaw et al. (2000); Browne and Kaldenberg (1997); Jägel et al. (2012); Guiot and Roux (2010)	
	Balance and New Definition of Different Values	Kim and Damhorst (1998); Lundblad and Davies (2016); Soper (2016)	

The above review of practice theory and its extensions, second-hand clothes consumption and sustainable consumption, reveals that the sites and objects of second-hand clothes consumption have changed in a new market context, and that consumers' understandings and definitions of them have adapted to the new context of the times; the knowledge and skills that consumers possess in second-hand clothes consumption need to be more fully explored in the new market context. The meanings presented in second-hand clothes consumption, whether in the form of motivations or in the form of meanings co-created by consumers and businesses in the field, are complex and contradictory; the social norms embedded in second-hand clothes consumption need to be explored in greater depth; the social norms embedded in second-hand clothes consumption need to be explored in greater depth and values need to be more fully understood. Furthermore, given the issues that arise in existing research on sustainable consumption, such as the intention-action gap and individual-centredness mentioned in this chapter, and the strength of practice theory in bridging the dichotomy and presenting a more holistic approach, this study applies practice theory to sustainable second-hand clothes consumption. Applying practice theory to sustainable second-hand clothes consumption, this study aims to explore, explain and understand second-hand clothes consumption in the context of the new market in the UK more comprehensively.

The research gaps summarised from previous literature are firstly, the *places* for the development and reproduction of second-hand clothes consumption practice, including outlets and platforms still lack comprehensive exploration (Stanszus and Iran, 2015; Park and Lin 2018). Also, most of the evidence for this type of consumption practice is outdated, For example, charity shops embody the qualities of a place of social change (Kjellberg et al., 2013). Furthermore, the so-called second-hand clothes consumption sites are vaguely defined by different scholars, and many studies do not even consider them as a separate retail sector (Park et al., 2020). Moreover, most of the existing studies focus on a particular stage of consumption, but a practical perspective on the consumption practices at each stage from purchase to disposal and the places where they occur also need to be studied. This gap leads to the first research question

(RQ1. How do consumers engage with places and objects of second-hand consumption in the UK?).

Secondly, the so-called knowledge of sustainability may not exist in the actual consumption practice (Moraes et al., 2015; Reckwitz, 2002), the question that what kind of knowledge exists in such practice needs more research into it. In addition, this research takes the perspective of the theory of practice, the knowledge in the practice theory is different from the knowledge in traditional marketing research, which includes understanding, know-how, emotional and motivational knowledge. Since there is no research on second-hand clothes consumption using theory of practice, the practice-based knowledge in second-hand clothes consumption practice therefore needs deeper exploration. This gap then leads to the second research question (RQ2: What is their knowledge in the form of understanding in second-hand clothes consumption in the UK); Thirdly, the symbolic and social meaning embodied of sustainable second-hand fashion consumption need a deeper understanding and updated evidence (Roux and Korchia, 2006; Zampier et al., 2019; Medalla et al., 2020). **Functionality is crucial in sustainable consumption, but symbolic value is also an important part (Camacho-Otero and Pettersen, 2018).** The role that brand meaning plays in the overall practice of second-hand clothes consumption also needs more research. **Even throughout the practice, meaning reshapes the practice as an entity (Huber, 2017),** This gap leads to the third research question (RQ3: What kind of social and symbolic meanings does it represent). Finally, the social norms and value are underdeveloped in the account of practice theory (Warde, 2005, 2014; Nguyen et al., 2016). **Even different values can influence consumers' dispositional behaviour (Albinsson and Perera, 2009).** This gap leads to the fourth research question (RQ4: What are the social norms and values embedded in the sustainable second-hand consumption practices in the UK from practice perspective?).

These research gaps echo the objectives of this research and support visualising a theoretical framework for the following research (Figure 1).

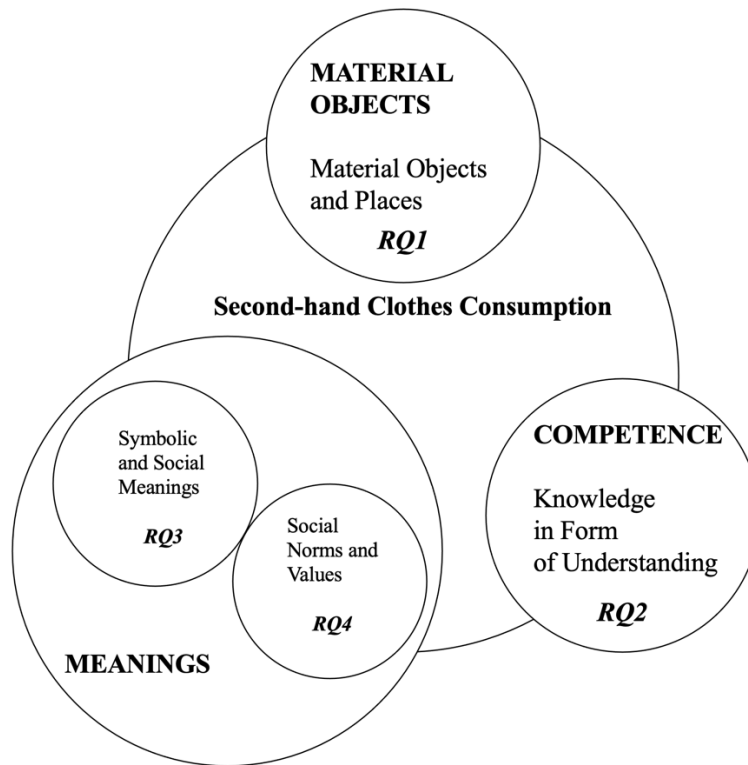


Figure 1. The conceptual framework of this research

In other words, based on practice theory and Shove et al.'s (2012) definition of practice, by giving additional attention to the understanding of practice-based knowledge, social norms, values and the sites of performance and reproduction of such consumption practices, this study aims to acknowledge the ways in which practices are formed, performed, shared, understood, and advanced in sustainable second-hand fashion consumption. Specifically, the deconstructed elements of practice that this study seeks to examine are similar to those deconstructed by Reckwitz (2002), Warde (2005, 2014) and Shove et al. (2012), and although Reckwitz (2002) does not distinguish these elements into distinct blocks, he does highlight the connections that exist between them. In Warde (2005, 2014), and in particular Shove et al. (2012) and Moraes et al. (2015) in their refinement of the practice framework in the area of consumption, relationships exist between the elements.

The elements of these structures are divided into three groups: the first group comprises material objects and locations; the second group comprises understandings; and the third group comprises symbolic and social meanings, as well as social norms

and values. These elements are consistent with the deconstruction of practice theorists and, on the other hand, provide a framework that fits with the elements of place, material objects, knowledge, understanding, meaning, and values when addressing the consumption of secondhand clothes. The resulting research framework will guide the subsequent chapters' data collection, data analysis, and data presentation.

3. METHODOLOGY

The aim of this study is to explore second-hand clothes consumption practices in the UK through the lens of practice theory. In order to address the research questions and fulfil the corresponding research objectives, this chapter discusses the methodological approach used in this study and demonstrates the specific analytical logic and process. The first part (Chapter 3.1) explores the ontology, epistemology and why they were used in this study; the second part (Chapter 3.2) presents in detail the specific qualitative research methodology used in this study, as well as the specific research design, which was based on semi-structured interviews, supplemented by methods such as ethnographic non-participant observation and photo-elicitation; the third section (Chapter 3.3) describes the specific method of data collection used in this study, i.e. thematic analysis, and presents the data analysis process in detail and in stages; the fourth section (Chapter 3.4) presents the ethical considerations of this study, and the final section (Chapter 3.5) summarises the findings and reflections of the pilot study.

3.1 ONTOLOGY AND EPISTEMOLOGY

Social theory serves as the foundation for the 'performance' of the entire theory, and it is critical to study social theory in order to understand how the human being shapes the social system (Coleman, 1986). As a result, social theory is frequently embedded in the research process and plays a critical role in understanding the research methodology strategy, data collection procedure, and analytical framework design. As such, it is vital to examine the social theory underpinning this research before developing specific research techniques and data collection methods.

Quantitative research on second-hand clothes consumption has attempted to explain the motivations, attitudes, influences, or effects of other social factors on purchases, whereas qualitative research has concentrated on the meaning of second-hand clothes purchases, identity construction, and the interpretation of other social

meanings. Additionally, several studies employ a mixed approach, although they place a greater emphasis on the causal links between variables than on the interpretation of consuming patterns in their entirety. If we broaden the discussion to include sustainable consumption, a substantial body of quantitative research has contributed to a better understanding of sustainable purchase intentions (Cheung et al., 1999; Echegaray and Hansstein, 2017; Wang et al., 2016), sustainable food consumption (Sparks and Shepherd, 1992; Vermeir and Verbeke, 2008), purchase behavior of energy-efficient products (Ha and Janda, 2012; Tan et al., 2017), and purchase behavior (Chan, 2001; Kautish et al., 2019; Maichum et al., 2016; Paul et al., 2016; Taufique and Vaithianathan, 2018).

Numerous studies, however, have demonstrated that neither purchase intention nor the elements that influence purchase intention have been successfully converted into real purchase behavior (Vermeir and Verbeke, 2006; Reid and Ellsworth-Krebs, 2018; Cooper, 2017; Lehner et al., 2016; Young et al., 2009). While several qualitative studies have revealed some possible explanations for this intention-action gap (Harris et al., 2016; Hiller Connell, 2010), such gaps in sustainable consumption continue to be a mystery (Zraek 2017). And, while Cervellon et al. (2012) take a quantitative approach, they acknowledge that one of the study's weaknesses is its inability to forecast actual results based on purchase intention.

ONTOLOGY

The paradigm of qualitative research and what distinguishes it from quantitative research is firstly that the aim of qualitative research is to focus on meaning and to understand meaning in context in order to create practices that produce knowledge about the context (Braun and Clarke, 2022). In contrast, the purpose of this study is to explore, explain and understand second-hand clothes consumption in the UK, not to draw conclusions about the relationships between the variables that influence it, but to gain insight into what second-hand clothes consumption is and the meanings it presents. Therefore, in conjunction with an examination of related research areas using different

research methods, this study concludes that quantitative research based on positivism helps to explain the causal relationships in a given consumption, but always lacks a comprehensive explanation of that consumption because positivism always has a limited understanding of objective reality (Bryman, 2008). More importantly, this study attempts to provide an in-depth explanation of second-hand clothes consumption through the eyes of the participants, and this explanation based on the participants' perspective implies that reality is heterogeneous rather than a unification of different perspectives (Creswell and Poth, 2016 p.71).

Based on the qualitative attributes of this study, this section will first further state the ontology and epistemology of this study. ontology and epistemology enable the researcher to have a clearer understanding of the boundaries and rationality of the study, and as such they are the philosophical roots that underpin all research (Braun and Clarke, 2022). Ontology is the theory of being, relating to its existence and structure (Rawnsley, 1998). Pure positivism holds that truth is completely independent, that it is independent of the researcher, independent of the research worker, independent of the context, and that it is fully connected to causality (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Braun and Clarke (2016) see the researcher who believes in positivism as one who collects shells on the beach, and that truth is what is there whether or not we go collecting, it is there in the presence. Pure positivism has been applied not only to the natural sciences, but also to qualitative research in the social sciences, but Braun and Clarke (2022) argue that this position is problematic because pure positivism has difficulty accepting subjectivity in research, that is, constructed meaning. The counterpart to positivism is relativism. Relativism argues that reality arises from human behaviour, that is to say, that reality does not exist apart from human practice, and that reality is multiple and constructed (Stahl, Taylor, & Hill, 2012). How people perceive the world is highly relevant to relativism; this perception includes elements of behaviour, society, values, emotions, etc. In a relativist perspective, researchers need to read, analyse and interpret the data collected; there is no single truth, there is no final arbiter, and what matters for analysis is the meaning that comes from the data (Braun and Clarke, 2016; 2022). The research unit of this

study is the practice of second-hand clothes consumption, which, as relativism emphasises, is not divorced from the reality of human practice. This study therefore adopts a relativist stance to read and analyse the practices of second-hand clothes consumers and provide a convincing explanation of them, extracting the significant meanings within the practices.

EPISTEMOLOGY

The role of epistemology is to reflect the researcher's view of knowledge itself and how it is acquired; post-positivism, contextualism and constructivism are three epistemologies commonly used in qualitative research in the social sciences (Braun and Clarke, 2022). Positivism is highly related to realism in that it requires a hypothesis and then data to prove the objectivity of the hypothesis. Researchers based on positivism are looking for a reality that already exists whether it is studied or not (Guba and Lincoln, 1994), therefore positivism involves hypothesis testing and a focus on causality, generalisability and internal validity (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). For this study, the practices of second-hand clothes consumers are the research unit and interpreting the meanings carried by the practices is the purpose of this study, therefore an epistemology that requires advance assumptions is incompatible with this study. By their very nature, the social sciences may be more complex than pure logic, as they deal with phenomena that are inherently unstable and irregular (Meier 2005, 655; Kaplan 2017). Therefore, many of the criteria of the natural or logical sciences cannot be forcibly applied to the social sciences (Kaplan 1964, 398).

Unlike positivism, and similar to the relationship between relativism and positivism, constructivism emphasises the study of practices that produce knowledge, rather than revealing evidence that produces knowledge (Terwel, 1999). Knowledge is therefore subjective (Guba and Lincoln, 1994) and can be obtained through subjective interpretation. More critically, the study of people and society must be seen through the lens of meaning than the natural sciences, and it also places greater emphasis on the influence of values on research (Bell et al., 2022). Braun and Clarke (2022) emphasise

that knowledge is in human practice, which is sometimes not necessarily a given reality, but rather a way of making reality in order to be a way of making reality. In particular, knowledge very often does not reflect the nature of certain realities but is the product of particular practices within particular cultural and historical contexts. This view coincides with the aim of this study's attempt to explore the research question of the significance of second-hand clothes consumption practices in the contemporary British market environment. Moreover, constructivism does not deny the material world, but the reality of this world is understood through the need for human practices (Madill et al., 2000). As embodied in the research framework of this study, this research can approach reality through the study of meaning (Myers, 2019), even reflecting on multiple aspects of the same practice theme (Alharahsheh and Pius, 2020).

Therefore, this study adopted a qualitative research design based on a constructivist paradigm (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2003). The central goal of constructivism is to explain how learners construct their own body of understanding and knowledge; however, this study does not seek to explain how individuals involved in a particular consumption construct their own knowledge through interaction; furthermore, given the theory of practice employed in this study, an individual-centred approach is inappropriate. Individual-centred research is not appropriate because individuals are, rather than being, the central vehicle for a number of factors in practice (Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014; Warde, 2005). Therefore, constructivism is more appropriate for this research, as positivist ontologies view the world as external with a single objective reality, making it difficult to explain the various meanings that individuals receive (Weber, 2004). In conclusion, qualitative research is appropriate when a more thorough and in-depth understanding of an issue or phenomenon is required (Creswell and Poth, 2016) and the previous analysis established that quantitative research is not appropriate for this study. Having established the philosophical underpinnings of this study and the nature of the research methodology, the following aims to identify the methodology for the qualitative investigation.

3.2. DATA COLLECTION

3.2.1. DATA COLLECTION APPROACHES

In addition to the aforementioned analyses, this study collected data using semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation, and photo elicitation. The next sections will cover each method in detail.

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

A research interview is the process of asking relevant questions and eliciting responses from participants. This process can help the researcher gain more detailed insights and data related to the research questions and objectives (Patton, 2015). In addition, interviews are often an important component of research centred on/constructivist interpretivism (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2003), and semi-structured interviews are the type of interview most often used in qualitative research. Semi-structured interviews are a series of pre-determined questions based on theoretical frameworks and research questions that help the researcher to interpret the meanings that are much reflected in particular practices (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006), and these questions can help the researcher to elicit personal accounts of their world and practices (Kvale, 1996). After all, people many times need to perceive the world through concepts, which are often expressed by language (Joseph Maxwell, 2012b). So the interviews themselves were well suited to the purpose of this study's attempt to explore consumer practices. In addition, semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to prepare interviews in a planned and organised manner and provide the researcher with more focused information than other forms of interviews (Bernard, 1988). Hu et al. (2019), Gopalakrishnan and Matthews (2018), Ozdamar Ertekin et al. (2020) and other more recent studies provide methodological support for this type of interview; in the area of sustainable consumption, Tunn et al. (2019), Seyfang (2007), Zkaya et al. (2021) and Tang and Bhamra (2008) also use semi-structured interviews. Therefore, this study collected data through semi-structured interviews.

NON-PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

The social theory and theoretical framework for this research include components on "place" and "material objects." Observation will assist the researcher in gaining additional information about the consumption/acquisition "places" of second-hand clothes consumption and "material objects" of these practices as an observer in stores/events in sites, since this current study's observation procedure is primarily concerned with the theory framework's placement.

The analysis of the physical environment analysis can offer depth and richness to study (O'toole and Were, 2008), as relying just on interview data can result in data flaws. As Hodder (2000) noted, certain material items are inextricably linked to particular actions. Only through an interpretation of the physical world, the interaction of material items and humans, can the associated cultural and symbolic meanings be better described, which suits the theory of practice's perspective.

As indicated previously, participant observation is heavily used in numerous ethnographic studies (Creswell and Poth, 2016). Tang and Bhamra (2008), for example, integrate observation and interviewing to enhance the information's multifaceted nature and completeness. Due to time constraints and potential ethical concerns, this study will employ non-participant observation. Non-participant observation does not need the researcher to interact with the people in the setting being studied, and hence poses fewer risks of personal contact or offense.

While non-participant observation can collect necessary details while maintaining a certain distance, it also has clear drawbacks, which are inconvenient for potential participants being observed in the area (Allen, 2017). When the theory of practice and the observation objectives are combined, the object of observation is not "people-centered," but rather "situation-centered," with individuals serving as required contextual content. Such a setting alleviates some of the ethical concerns associated with it. Furthermore, Jones (1996) believes that observations are used to make

inferences about a particular setting, and that the primary determinant is participant motivation. However, according to the theory of practice, the purpose of this research is not to forecast behavior or to understand motive. Thus, observational data are mostly used to assist researchers in explaining second-hand clothes consumption places and the pieces that comprise this behavior, rather than to infer intentions.

PHOTO ELICITATION

For interviews, those that use photo elicitation frequently yield more information (Collier, 1957). Simultaneously, photo elicitation facilitates rapport building between researchers and participants and can also increase participants' interest in the interview, offering a more concentrated perspective for ethnographic research (Samuels, 2004). Additionally, Bennett (2015) reflects on his own work on the Bennett (2015) highlights the use of picture elicitation in phenomenological research, providing support and guidelines for its application in phenomenological research.

In practice, Lachal et al. (2012), who used photo elicitation to investigate the role of food in the lives of obese teenagers, suggest that photo elicitation is an effective way for researchers and participants to connect and for participants to share more detailed information. Additionally, as discussed in this study about the personalization or fetishism associated with clothes purchases (Kopytoff, 1986), photographs of these consumers' clothes appear to be more effective at eliciting stories from consumers. As a result, photo elicitation was used in conjunction with the semi-structured interview to collect data in this study.

3.2.2. DETAILED DATA COLLECTION DESIGN

Creswell and Poth (2016 p.278) provide a data collection circle for researchers conducting qualitative research (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Data collection circle for qualitative research

To begin, the site or individual chosen is determined by the nature and purpose of the study (Creswell and Poth, 2016). Each data collection technique used in this study corresponds to a distinct research subject. The table below will list the sites or individuals associated with the various data collection methods and the research questions that will be addressed.

Table 2. Data collection circle for qualitative research

Approaches	Site/Individual	Description	Research Questions (RQ)
Semi-structured	Individuals	Individuals who have been	RQ1,2,3,4

interview		involved in second-hand clothes consumption	
Observation	Site/material objects	Characteristics of the physical space of second-hand clothes stores/events; colours, brands and types of material objects	RQ1,3
Photo elicitation	/	Photos taken by participants of their clothes and wardrobes	RQ1,2

The table above provides an overview of the data collection methods used in this study, with more detailed data collection plans and criteria provided in the next sections.

3.2.3. SAMPLING METHOD AND RECRUITING STRATEGY

INTERVIEW AND PHOTO ELICITATION

It is necessary to distinguish between the terms 'representative sample' and 'a sample' when conducting interview-based research. Denzin (1971) argued that representative samples are more valid, particularly when conducting qualitative research. In general, researchers have two primary sampling methods: reasoned sampling and random sampling (Neuman, 2013). However, because random sampling

is typically used in studies that do not require representative samples, it is not feasible in this case.

The sample size is determined by the epistemology and practical considerations of the research (Robinson, 2013). Because the majority of studies that used interviews found that the sample saturation point was between 10 and 30 participants (Galvin, 2015), this study planned to recruit at least 30 participants. Due to the study's focus on second-hand clothes consumption practices and the study's ultimate goal of understanding this consumption, these participants are British individuals who have had second-hand clothes consumption experiences. Consumption is not limited to the act of purchasing; rather, due to the unique nature of second-hand clothes, donors, resellers, and second-hand clothes shop staff are all considered to have consumed second-hand clothes. To conduct a more comprehensive examination of second-hand clothes consumption in the United Kingdom in the current context, this study does not employ strict gender, occupation, or income criteria during the sampling process, but does attempt to ensure a balanced sample. Although Statista (2019b) and McKinsey & Company (2021) both indicate that younger people are more likely to purchase second-hand clothes, the age range of participants in this study was set at 20 to 70 years to gain a more comprehensive understanding of second-hand clothes consumption and to avoid ethical concerns associated with research on minors.

Specifically, the sampling criteria for this study are as follows: 1). Geographical: Participants should be British citizens whose sustainable second-hand consumption occurred in the United Kingdom. 2) Age range; participants will be between the ages of 20 and 70. 3). Personal experience: participants should have purchased or participated in a second-hand clothes swap. 4). Finally, because gender and economic and educational background are beyond the scope of this research project, participants may be male or female and from any economic or educational background.

To recruit potential participants, the researcher will first make full use of my existing social networks and personal contacts in Sheffield, The University of Sheffield,

Sustainability Committee in Student Union of Sheffield University and some second-hand fashion businesses/organizations in Sheffield to identify and approach potential participants. Additionally, researcher's personal contact in other cities in the UK will enable researcher to identify and approach the participants in other cities. Through these existing social networks, the researcher will use the snowball method to identify more potential participants. Additionally, the researcher posted messages on the Facebook group, Twitter groups and Instagram groups of second-hand clothes consumption to recruit more potential participants (please see the appendix).

The following is a transcript of the final sample of interviews for this study:

Table 3. The demographic information of participants

No.	Age	Gender	Occupation	Household Income p/a
001	20s	Male	Security	10,001-15,000 (I)
002	30s	Female	Academic	40,001 and above
003	70s	Male	Academic	70,001 and above
004	30s	Male	Entrepreneur (B) *	50,001 and above
005	30s	Female	Corporate staff	20,001-30,000 (I)
006	20s	Male	Retail staff	15,001-20,000 (I)
007	30s	Male	Academic	50,000-60,000
008	20s	Male	Doctoral student	/
009	30s	Female	Academic	40,001-50,000
010	30s	Female	Corporate staff	20,001-30,000 (I)*

011	30s	Female	Academic	40,001-50,000
012	40s	Female	Academic	40,001-50,000
013	40s	Male	Entrepreneur (B)	40,001-50,000
014	20s	Female	Undergraduate student	/
015	60s	Female	Retail staff	15,001-20,000 (I)
016	30s	Female	Corporate Staff	30,001-40,000 (I)
017	40s	Female	Researcher	50,001-60,000
018	50s	Female	Corporate staff	30,001-40,000
019	50s	Female	Corporate staff	50,001-60,000
020	30s	Male	Corporate staff	40,001-50,000
021	30s	Male	Teacher	30,001-40,000 (I)
022	30s	Male	Unknown	/
023	30s	Female	Teacher	50,001-60,000
024	20s	Female	Corporate staff	15,001-20,000 (I)
025	20s	Female	Entrepreneur(B)	20,001-30,000 (I)
026	20s	Female	Unknown	/
027	50s	Female	Academic	50,001-60,000
028	40s	Male	Corporate Staff	50,001-60,000
029	20s	Female	Corporate staff (B)	30,001-40,000

030	60s	Female	Cleaning staff	15,001-20,000 (I)
031	20s	Male	Barista	15,001-20,000 (I)
032	20s	Female	Cafe waitress	15,001-20,000 (I)
033	40s	Male	Entrepreneur (B)	/
034	30s	Female	Entrepreneur(B)	40,001-50,000
035	20s	Male	Master Student	/
036	30s	Female	Unknown	/
037	40s	Female	Master Student	/
038	40s	Male	Corporate staff	40,001-50,000
039	20s	Female	Corporate staff	30,001-40,000

*(I) Personal income

*(B) Owner or staff of a second-hand clothes shop

The sample size for this study was 39 individuals. For more details, please refer to the gender and age distribution charts below (Figure 3 and Figure 4):

Figure 3. The Gender Distribution Chart of Participants

Gender Distribution Chart

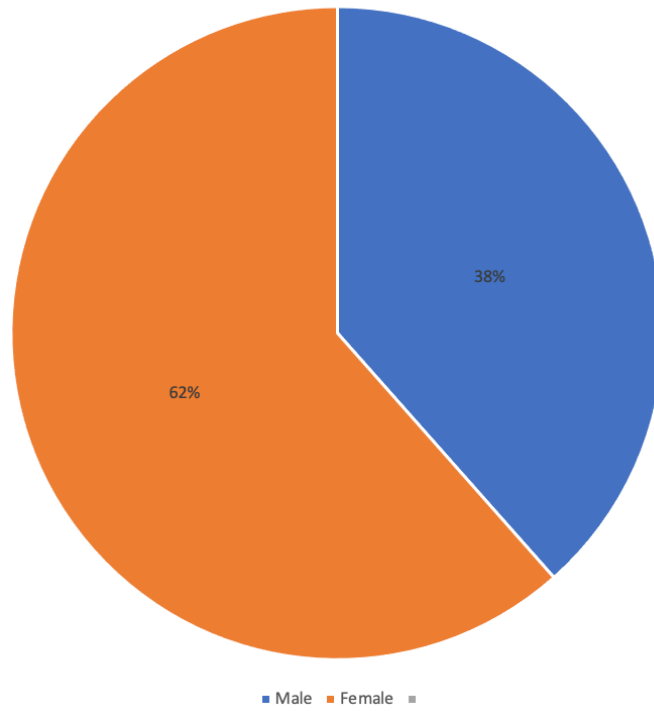
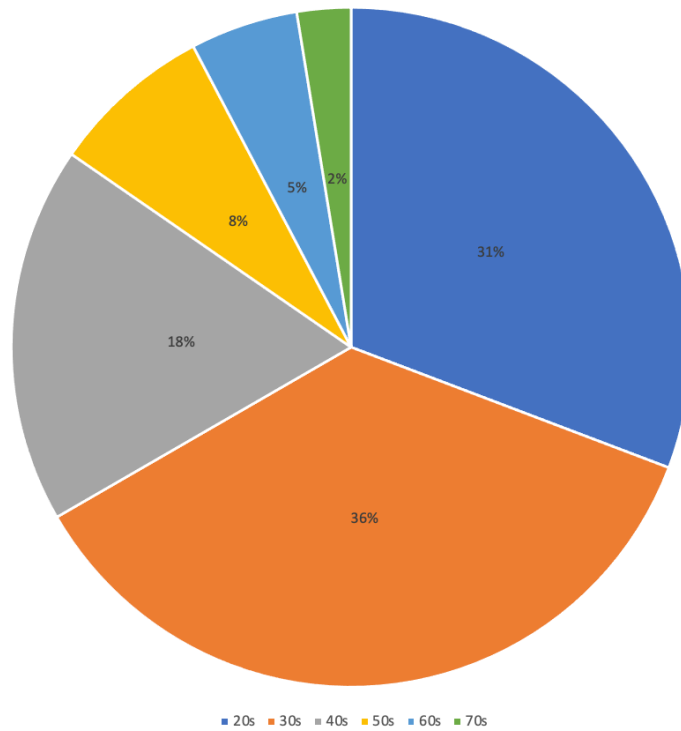


Figure 4. The Age Distribution Chart of Participants

Age Distribution Chart



Six of them were owners or shop staffs of second-hand clothes shops or

organizers of kilo-sales, accounting for 15% of the total. Additionally, this study gathered demographic data, such as occupation and household income. A household earning between £27,000 and £72,000 is considered middle class in the United Kingdom (OECD, 2019). However, because some participants indicated during the data collection process that they only knew their personal income or were currently living alone, the income information does not accurately reflect household income. When examining the numerical values alone, seven participants had incomes below the £27,000 minimum.

Eight additional participants refused to provide information or indicated that they were unaware of their household income. Additionally, the data on household income did not take taxation into account.

To facilitate photo elicitation, participants were asked to take photographs of their favourite clothes and wardrobe prior to the interview. However, more than half of respondents did not provide them due to concerns about privacy or for other reasons.

In summary, to conduct and assess the semi-structured interview, the procedure and suggested provided by Creswell and Poth (2016 p.303) will be considered.

Table 4. The procedure for conducting the semi-structured interview

Interview procedure	
Identify the research questions that participants need to help the researcher answer	The interview protocol questions will be based on the conceptual framework presented in chapter 2.
Select the most appropriate participants	This issue has been addressed in chapter 3.3.2
Identify the type of interview to be used	This issue has been addressed in chapter 3.3.1

Use appropriate and adequate data collection methods in the interview	The time limit for each interview of this research will be approximately 2 hours. The data form of this research will be the sound record of participants' storytelling and answers to my semi-structured questions. The whole interview will start from the introduction of the research topic and background, the information sheet and consent forms will be presented to the participants
Designing and using interview protocols	Please see Appendix 8.9
Using pilot study to revise interview questions	This issue has been addressed in chapter 3.6
Choosing the right place for the interview	The research work will only be conducted in the daytime and public places such as high street clothes shops, coffee shops, or the campus of the Universities.
Obtaining permission from participants	This issue has been addressed in Chapter 3.3.3 and can be seen in Appendix 8.4
Adhering to the interview process	/
Deciding on the content and format of the transcription	This issue has been addressed in chapter 3.4

OBSERVATION

Collecting the necessary data requires identification and focus on the research focus (Millen, 2010), which is why this study's observations are limited to PLACES and MATERIAL OBJECTS. To collect these data, the researcher will pre-screen potential observation locations by searching for 'second-hand', 'vintage', 'thrift', 'charity shop', and 'kilo-sale' items. When observing locations, the researcher typically spent 1-2 hours at each location. The researcher would navigate the location from the perspective of a 'consumer' and take photographs.

When the researcher recorded with a phone camera, the researcher's identity and intentions might influence the shooting and selection of photos, so the researcher will attempt to ensure that the photos of each type of place contain the same elements, such as the front door, the layout, the in-store advertisement, the products, and other relevant elements that are probably useful for analysis. Regarding the observation site, the table below will present more information.

Table 5. The list of sites that observed

City	Places	Types	Date
Sheffield	SHS001	Non-charity shop	10-02-2020
	SHS002	Non-charity shop	12-02-2020
	SHS003	Non-charity shop	13-02-2020
	SHS004	Non-charity shop	13-02-2020
	SHS005	Charity shop	19-12-2019
	SHS006	Charity shop	20-12-2019
	SHS007	Kilo-sale event	08-12-2019
	SHS008	Flea market	10-01-2020

Leeds	SHS009	Non-charity shop	22-01-2020
	SHS0010	Non-charity shop	23-01-2020
	SHS0011	Fashion community/vintage market	24-01-2020
Manchester	SHS012	Non-charity shop	25-01-2020
	SHS013	Non-charity shop	25-01-2020
	SHS014	Non-charity shop	25-01-2020
London	SHS015	Non-charity shop	13-01-2020
	SHS016	Fashion community/vintage market	14-01-2020
	SHS017	Charity shop	14-01-2020

Photographs or handwritten notes were primarily used to record observation data.

The researcher was unable to observe several sites due to the early 2020 COVID-19 Pandemic outbreak. When there was a high volume of people or when polite refusals were encountered, the researcher took the initiative to withdraw from the observation sites. When the researcher attempted to contact some shops for additional information in 2021, the researcher discovered that several of the establishments on the list above had closed and some events had been discontinued. All of these factors place limitations on this study.

In summary, to conduct and assess the observation, the procedure and suggested provided by Creswell and Poth (2016 p.307) will be considered.

Table 6. The procedure for conducting the observation

Observation procedure	
Selecting the right place to observe	This issue has been addressed in chapter
Determine the object (who or what), time and frequency of observation	This issue has been addressed in chapter 3.3.3.
Identify the type of observation to be used	This issue has been addressed in chapter 3.3.1.
Design and use the observation protocol	Please see Appendix 8.10
Record the objects to be observed	Main contents are photographs
Use pilot study to revise interview questions	/
Establish a rapport with the person in charge of the site	The study has prepared a business-specific information sheet and consent form to establish relationships and obtain permission, please see the Appendix.
Follow the observation process	/
Prepare observation notes and present them in the study in language	This issue has been addressed in chapter 4.

3.3. DATA ANALYSIS: THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) was used to analyse the qualitative data in this study. For example, McEachern et al. (2020) used the data collected by their

research team to develop a better understanding of sustainable behaviour change and consumption associated with upcycling workshops. More importantly, the theoretical underpinning of this study (McEachern et al., 2020) is social practice theory, which is similar to the theory used in this study. Furthermore, thematic analysis is rooted in a specific type of research aim, namely, to understand meaning, to ask about meaning and to create specific practices. Moreover, the epistemological and ontological position of thematic analysis is that meaning, and interpretation are always located in practice. The intellectual contribution of this study is to provide a rich understanding of second-hand clothes consumption practices (Braun and Clarke, 2022), which fit in with thematic analysis.

Thematic analysis requires familiarity with the data and the generation of initial codes, followed by the use of inductive logic to generate themes, which are then defined, named and reported (Braun and Clarke, 2012). As Braun and Clarke (2006) emphasise, thematic analysis must be explicitly driven by the research questions and the research framework, and the analysis of the data should always be guided by addressing research questions; therefore, this thesis adopts Braun and Clarke's (2022) thematic analysis procedure for the analysis. As such, the interviews will be coded and progressively organised into themes related to the research questions (see the appendix for specific coding and thematic templates). Although the conceptual framework for this study has been prepared in advance, most of the themes will be pre-determined within it, coding is the labelling of units of meaning (Miles and Huberman, 1994), and coding is the process of giving meaning to texts. As such, this thesis is open to further research and additional themes may be identified during the coding process, hence the thematic analysis in this study combines inductive and deductive features. An example of the coding process for this study is shown below.

Specifically, the analytical process of the thematic analysis approach can be broken down into six processes: 1) data set familiarisation; (2) data coding; (3) initial theme generation; (4) theme development and review; (5) theme refining, defining and

naming; and (6) writing up.

Phase 1: Data familiarisation. The researcher began with a clear classification of the data collected. This data included voices, transcripts of voices, photographs provided by participants, photographs taken by the researcher, field notes made by the researcher and web information. The researcher used electronic means and storage for the data, organising the data from a jumble to an ordered story trail.

Phase 2: coding. after familiarisation with the data, the study entered the coding stage. code is the smallest unit in the analysis process of this study. The researcher first explored the dataset with the research questions and identified its diversity and meaning patterns, and in this process, everything that was noted by the researcher and relevant to the study was marked by well-defined, exclusive and concise code. Furthermore, during the interpretation process, I found that participants showed more pronounced emotions and I realised that participants' words and emotions would be interwoven into the data, so I recorded participants' emotions accordingly. The specific generation of the initial codes can be found in appendix 8.11, codes for observation data (partial) can be found in appendix 8.12 and 8.13.

Phase 3: Generation of initial themes. In this stage, the researcher collates and compares datasets that have similarities in the data that has been coded (Braun, Clarke and Rance, 2014) and integrates them together to form segment-like datasets that form the initial themes. The boundaries between the different themes were guided by the entire RESEARCH framework. During the identification of themes, certain specific themes will have an obvious depth that needs to be explained in detail, and these themes will have a number of subthemes. The sample of initial theme generation diagram can be found in appendix 8.14.

Phase 4 and Phase 5: In this phase, this study further refine and collate the themes that emerged in Phase 3 and map the corresponding theme map. upon completion, this study cross-referenced them with the research framework and has identified the

boundaries of the themes and the potential contribution of the themes to the research (Braun and Clarke, 2022). Some of the specific theme sheets can be found in appendix 8.15.

After completing the first five of the six stages mentioned previously, this study underwent several rounds of revision to fit the framework of this study and to better address the research question of this study. The results and contributions to the interpretation of the data will be explained in detail in the subsequent chapters.

3.4.ETHICS CONSIDERATION OF THIS STUDY

Academic and professional codes of ethics have long served as the traditional vehicle for moral principles (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018). Schnell and Heinritz (2007) also emphasised the importance of considering ethics in order to protect both researchers and participants. To address potential ethical concerns, this section will first discuss several issues that may arise from the current study, which has received ethics approval from the University of Sheffield (see Appendix 8.1).

Ethical concerns may arise at any stage of the research process. Punch (2014) introduced the concepts of autonomy, trust, and beneficence into the ethical discussion. To address this issue, the researcher prepared the information sheet and consent form in advance, in accordance with the guidance of the relevant ethics committee of the University of Sheffield. Additionally, autonomy should ensure that participants have the right to withdraw at any time, which was adhered to in this study's ethical application. Trust implies that the researcher must be trusted with regards to information security, which necessitates that the researcher adheres to ethical regulations (Punch, 2014). Privacy and confidentiality are essential components of the beneficence principle. Privacy refers to an individual's right to say what they want, while confidentiality refers to the right to privacy being respected as a 'precautionary principle' (Hammesley and Traianou, 2012). In this research, privacy requires the researcher to refrain from pressuring participants to share information that makes them

feel uneasy; this issue has been addressed in the ethics application as well. Additionally, because it is difficult to maintain complete anonymity during semi-structured or face-to-face interviews, no traceability would be used in this case. All of the above points are also addressed in the participant information sheet and consent form.

As such, this research may include the mention or discussion of sensitive topics, such as monthly spending on fashion items, guilt, and so on. To address confidentiality concerns, the question design or structure of the interview questions would be guided by existing works of literature conducted in the western world that have a relatively high volume of citations and a global reputation. However, Thompson (2017) suggested that, given the purpose of the research, a researcher should not be afraid to ask specific questions, as they will be speaking with participants in order to gather information. Additionally, the present study accepted the condition that consumers refused to answer specific questions for any reason. Additionally, as Alwitt and Pitts (1996) suggested, when asked political, moral, or responsibility-related questions, participants may tend to respond in a widely accepted or politically correct manner. To address this issue, this study firstly emphasised the commitment to participants' complete autonomy and voluntariness, and then the researcher expressed the expectations and interests regarding genuine intrinsic awareness and perceptions about sustainable second-hand clothes consumption practises.

Another critical issue is the researcher's and participants' safety. To address this issue, this study adhered to the University of Sheffield's personal safety procedures, as well as the University's ethical principles. The research was conducted exclusively during the day and in public locations such as high street clothes shops, coffee shops, and university campuses.

3.5.PILOT STUDY

Pilot studies can assist investigators in optimizing the design and flow of interviews (Castillo-Montoya, 2016; Creswell and Poth, 2016). Because interviews are

a practice characterized by questions and answers, their inherent flexibility frequently results in a slew of unexpected problems. Thus, researchers can use pilot studies to determine whether the questions designed for an interview are valid or meaningful, and they can also assist researchers in identifying additional questions that may help answer research questions (Majid et al., 2017). Additionally, pilot studies can reveal flaws in existing interview designs, enabling researchers to fine-tune the protocol and strengthen the research design, resulting in more valid data for subsequent formal research.

The purpose of this thesis is to gain a better understanding of secondhand clothes consumption in the United Kingdom. Specifically, the primary objectives of this pilot study are as follows: 1) to explore the places of second-hand clothes consumption in the United Kingdom; 2) to explore the level of knowledge about second-hand clothes consumption in the United Kingdom; 3) to explore the meanings of second-hand clothes consumption in the United Kingdom; 4) to explore the social norms and values associated with second-hand clothes consumption; and 5) to determine whether the interview design is reasonable in order to improve it for the main study. However, due to time constraints, the pilot study recruited three second-hand clothes consumers who were fluent in English and lived or worked in the United Kingdom. The three participants were a 25-year-old Chinese woman born in the United Kingdom, a 30-year-old Italian researcher based in the United Kingdom, and a 28-year-old Malaysian male researcher based in the United Kingdom.

The limitations of this sampling strategy are self-evident. Due to the small sample size and the fact that not all of these participants were British, they may not have a thorough understanding of British culture and social history and may not follow a similar lifestyle to the British. As a result, the following section will provide a concise summary and overview of the pilot study's key findings and their implications for this study.

The pilot study's findings were primarily expressed at the level of meanings. Participants frequently mentioned that they regularly visited second-hand clothes shops

that were conveniently located near their daily routines and that these second-hand clothes shops frequently exhibited a very distinct shop style. Additionally, they discovered that secondhand clothes consumption is becoming a more accepted trend in the United Kingdom. At the same time, their knowledge of sustainability was not evident in their shopping experiences, with one consumer reporting that, despite his/her awareness of sustainability, (s)he did not consider it when shopping for second-hand clothes. Another consumer stated that he would contribute to the creation of a sustainable society, but not through clothes purchases. Surprisingly, in the pilot study, the spillover effect was identified as a component that was not included in the initial framework.

At the end of the pilot study, this study has summarised several key issues from the pilot study. 1) The sample collection should be diverse and relevant. Due to the fact that the pilot study participants were not all British, their understanding of elements such as locations is limited. As a result, all samples in the primary study had to be British in order to adequately address the research questions. Additionally, because almost all samples in the pilot study were composed of young adults with a higher level of education (at least a master's degree), many of their perspectives were highly similar and did not differ significantly in terms of their spending power. As a result, the primary study will use more flexible criteria for the sample's age, gender, occupation, and income in order to ensure that the demographic information is diverse.

2) Using different opening questions for different sections of the interview can prevent participants from more easily developing the topic. As a result, these questions must be revised.

3) In interviews, certain proper nouns, such as the term "sustainability," can be perplexing for participants. Thus, in the primary study, the researcher would either explain the meaning of the noun to the participants or substitute a more colloquial term.

Although the meanings of the various terms will differ, this will enable the consumer

to provide additional information.

4) The emergence of new themes in the pilot study demonstrates the unexpected benefits of thematic analysis. Thus, the primary study will continue to analyse data using thematic analysis and will leave the data open to the possibility of emerging themes reappearing.

4. MAIN RESEARCH FINDINGS

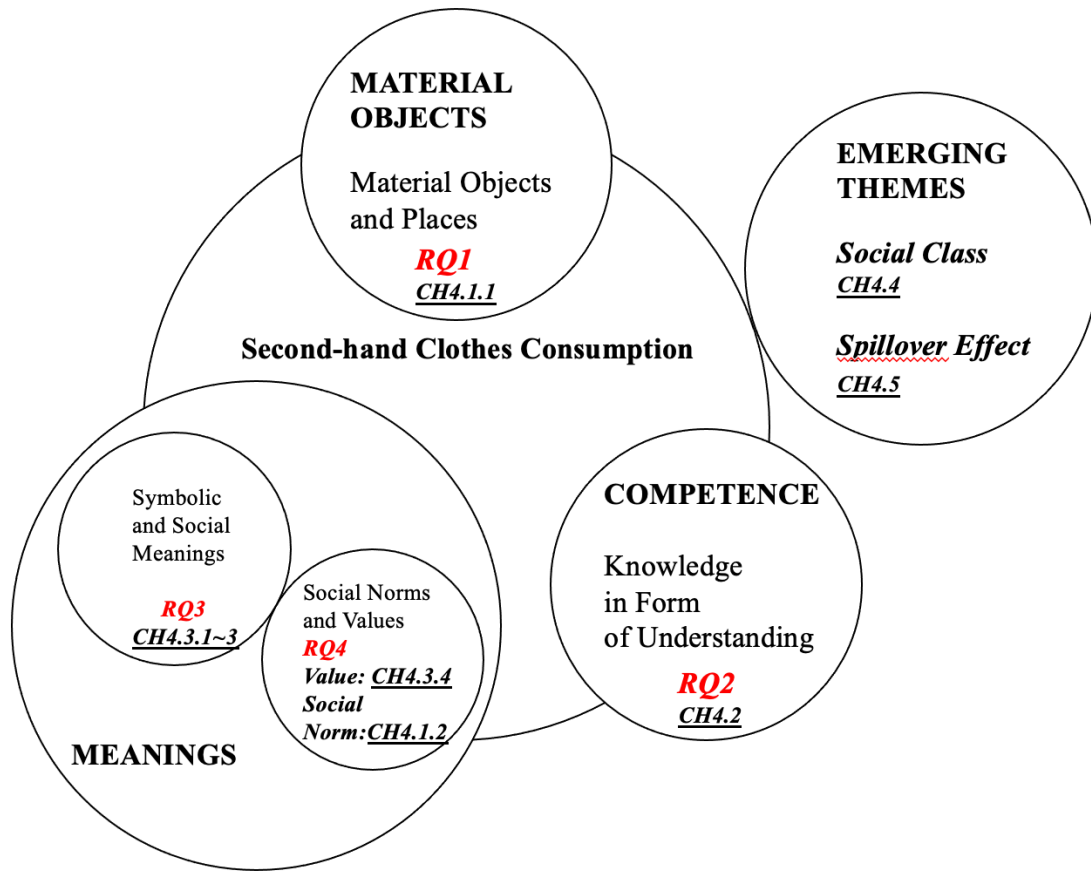
This section provides a summary of the results of a qualitative study conducted via semi-structured interviews, observation, and photo elicitation. This research employed these methodologies to 1) investigate the status quo of second-hand clothes consumption practice, which, according to the refined Bourdieu's theoretical framework, is the result of habitus and structured structure in the existing field; and 2) investigate the constituent elements of the practice field and present characteristics that correspond to practice by individuals who serve as carriers of the practice.

The essence of Bourdieu's practical theory consists primarily of "field," "capital," and "habitus." As the fundamental principle of practice in Bourdieu's theory of social practice, habitus is not spontaneously generated by individuals. In this study, the field is second-hand clothes consumption, which is the field that second-hand clothes consumers initially choose to enter, and they have been influenced by their habits since the time they made this decision. Therefore, at the initial node of entering the field, certain characteristics embodied in the field and the game of various types of capital contained within it are already in line with certain habits of these consumers, thereby generating their initial practice in this field.

The first part (Chapter 4.1) is the determination of the field, including the basic description of material objects, places, and corresponding social trends; the second part (Chapter 4.2) focuses on the fit and non-fit with the consumer's own habitus and characteristics in the field, which includes the characteristics presented by material objects and places, the types of capital included, and the analysis of the correspondence between the characteristics of consumers habituation (symbolic meanings, competence); the third part (Chapter 4.3 and 4.4) are the construct and findings emerging from the inducing analysis and extend existing framework in terms of emerging themes such as social class and spillover effect.

The outline of the findings chapter is presented in Figure 5.

Figure 5. The Outline of Findings based on Practice Theory



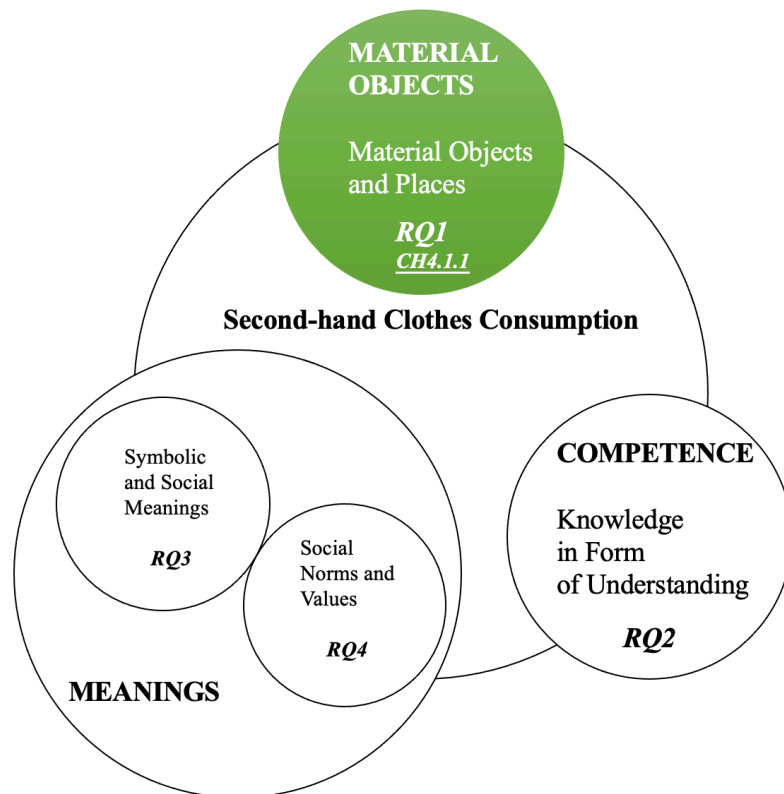
4.1. DETERMINATION OF THE FIELD OF SUSTAINABLE SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

Figure 1 depicts the first set of themes that emerged during the investigation of practices: places, objects, and social norms. These themes assisted the researcher in defining the practice's context. Given that the nature of practice and associated capitals vary across fields, there may be variations in the analysis of the same practice across disciplines. This study aims to examine secondhand clothing consumption in the context of sustainability. The section that follows will provide a brief summary of the 'field' confirmation and basic capitals that have appeared in previous research.

In addition, consumer and industry data indicate that people are becoming increasingly concerned about environmental issues and that a stronger and more in-depth understanding of sustainable development aids in redefining the image of second-hand clothes in consumers' minds. And negative information about the unsustainable

practices of the fast fashion industry is offsetting some consumers' prejudice against secondhand clothing. The majority of participants believe that second-hand clothes is trendy and gaining in popularity. This new social trend and value concept superimposed on the traditional field of second-hand clothes consumption also redefines the scope of the field. This research's field of study is the result of the overlap between sustainable and second-hand clothes consumption. Consequently, the following section of Chapter 4 will discuss the findings in this field and provide evidence and support in response to research question 1. Figure 6's green-highlighted section headings indicate the topics that will be discussed in greater detail in the subsequent section.

Figure 6. The Guideline of Findings_Material Objects



4.1.1. PLACES AND OBJECTS OF SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION PRACTICE

4.1.1.1. PLACES AND OBJECTS OF PURCHASE IN THE FIELD


According to the research structure of this study, this section will focus on the “places” and “objects” of second-hand clothes consumption practice.

In addition to traditional second-hand clothes purchase channels, online second-hand trading platforms have gradually developed in accordance with the form of the internet of things. Participants in the interviews have mentioned ‘swap’, ‘charity shops’, ‘second-hand shops (and ‘modern second-hand shop’)', ‘thrift shops’, ‘kilo-sale events’, ‘flea market’, ‘car-boot sale’, ‘vintage shops’, ‘online platforms’, and ‘mobile phone apps’ are the places they can get second-hand clothes. the following table captured the language used by consumers but also by the observation of this study in terms of what is classified as second-hand consumption places:

Table 7. The typology of second-hand clothes consumption places for purchase

	Places	Quotes and Description
Offline Channel	Car-boot Sale	<i>“It tends to be like Sunday morning, say, um, and you just go to the car-boot and you wander up and down the roads.” -P007, Male, Mid 30s, Academic</i>
	Kilo Sale	<i>“Are you aware about these um, buying clothes by weight? ...Yeah, that's becoming more popular, isn't it?” -P003, Male, 70s, Academic</i>
	Charity Shop	<i>“But more recently I've actually been making a more concerted effort to go to charity shops and look for stuff.” -P027, Female, Mid-50s, Academic</i>

Vintage Shop	<p><i>"I'd say about fifty percent of my clothes were either from kind of secondhand stores, um, vintage, charity shops, or like kilo fares. Yeah, like we go and pay for close by the kilo. And then I used to also do a lot of swapping clothes with friends."-P012, Female, 40s, University staff</i></p>
Second-hand Shop	<p><i>Yeah. Um, but I really like rummaging in second-hand shops. Um, so I do have quite a lot of secondhand clothes and also things from eBay and that kind of thing. -P011, Female, 30s, Academic</i></p>
Modern Second-hand Shop	<p><i>"This is not just vintage, I prefer to call them modern, modern vintage stuff. We have vintage, like clothes from 70s, 80s, we also have something new, the vintage stuff is more in line with current fashion trends."-P034, Female, 20s, Entrepreneur.</i></p>
Swap	<p><i>"I have been given clothes from family members that some didn't fit that weren't suited for them, you know."-P003, Male, 70s, Academic</i></p> <p><i>"And even now in my thirties, I still would go for more expensive pieces and only have a few and share them with my sister, um, or even share some with my friends. So if my friends are going to a wedding or to going to a big party or something, we will share dresses." -P009, Female, 30s, Academic</i></p>

	Thrift*	 <p><i>Image 001: SHS001 with 'thrift shop' as part of brand</i></p>
	Flea Market*	<p><i>In terms of the flea market, let me give you an example, a niche market. Yeah, they have a collection, sometimes they just sell them or they or they just give them away or. But classic football shirts. I went to the sponsor Sheffield fc its response as Sheffield. But when I was in London, they open, they have pop up shops. So they don't have permanent. I don't know if they have permanent stores, but that popper, you know, pop up stores. Um, it's like temporary -P003, Male, 70s, Academic</i></p>
Online Channel	Mobile App	<p><i>"I think Depop is more focus what you got your clothes, jewellery and stuff. So that's good." -P001, Male, 20s, Security.</i></p> <p><i>"VINTAGE is an APP. It's kind of like an online marketplace. vintage just got all kinds of things on."-P019, Female, 50s, Corporate staff</i></p>

	Platform	<p><i>“So I don't go to Depop. No, never use Depop, I am aware of it, it's just feels a time consuming to do that. Uh, just yeah, I think the main one would be eBay and ASOS marketplace. and ASOS marketplace.” –P008, Male, 20s, Doctoral student</i></p>
		<p>In terms of relatively large online second-hand trade platforms such as eBay, although there is no participant mentioned second-hand clothes purchase experience on eBay, according to researcher's experience in charity shop volunteering, the shop manager and volunteers would select good quality donated clothes and put them on eBay auction.</p>

As mentioned previously, the table highlights consumption locations. The researcher discovered through observation that only one thrift store in Sheffield's city centre was marked with the words 'THRIFT SHOP' (image 001). When the researcher used Google Maps to search for 'Thrift' in Sheffield, there were only a few results (See image 002), and the majority of them were charity shops. On the basis of these two pieces of evidence alone, this study cannot definitively define the boundary and relationship between thrift shops and other types of second-hand clothes shops labelling, but it can infer that, while Google labeled these search results as 'thrift store,' the branding of second-hand clothes shops does not appear to emphasize 'thrift' as a primary feature. The internet of things is fast changing the market and its language. In other words, language used to describe the type of second-hand shops needs to be consistent, clear and transparent as consumers seem to have experienced different places of consumption.

As such, the language used by second-hand clothes shops is critical in terms of place, as consumers are unaware of all the variations associated with second-hand clothes consumption (as evidenced by the interview quotes in Chapter 4.1.1.1).

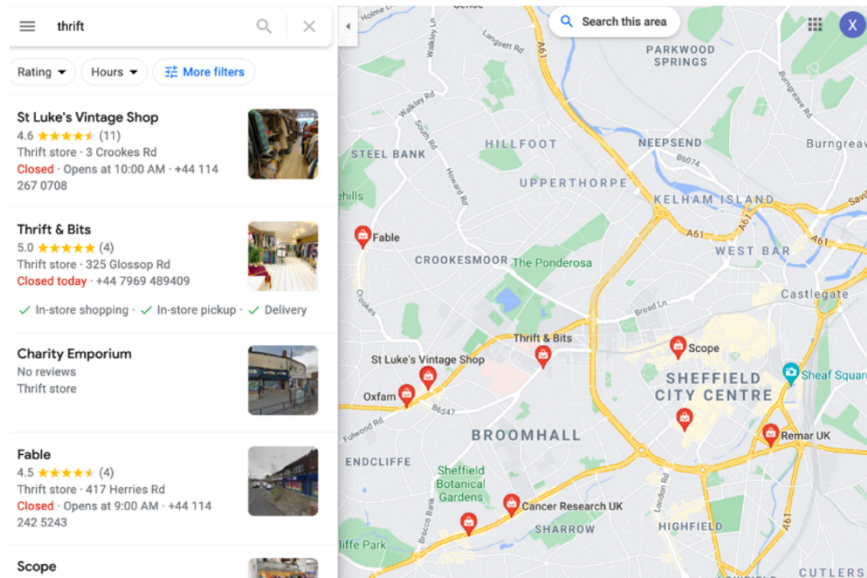


Image 002: the result of searching 'thrift' in Sheffield

This demonstrates the importance of language as a symbol of consumption for both policy and branding. While in terms of flea market, researchers have found one in Sheffield. It is located in the city's northern suburbs, a short distance from the city centre. The percentage of secondhand clothes is decreasing. Handcrafted items, vintage furniture, and decorations may be more prevalent.



Image 003: This photograph was taken at SHS008 in Sheffield. Clutter and variety



Image 004: This photograph was taken at SHS008 in Sheffield. Clutter and variety

MIXED PRODUCTS AND SELLING APPROACHES IN THE FIELD

This research also found through the interview that in addition to the relatively simple product composition in the shop and the pure second-hand clothes sales channels, consumer P032 mentioned a new type of mixed second-hand clothes sale channel.

“That's a nice place because you can get the new...but they're making it. Or you can do the second hand in one shop.”-P032, Female, 20s, Cafe waitress

The consumer stated that the clothes sold in these shops is not mass-produced by large corporations but is instead brand-new clothes handmade by shop owners or assistants.

These types of clothes shops, in the consumer's opinion, can meet the needs of second-hand clothes enthusiasts as well as consumers looking to purchase unique first-hand clothes.

Indeed, this type of handmade can be found in pure secondhand clothes shops. Several shops recycled old jeans and other materials to create new products such as bags (see image 005). This reflects the 3R policy of 'reuse' component of sustainable fashion.



Image 005: the re-made bag bought from second-hand clothes shop

This bag was provided by a participant (P040). According to this consumer, the bag has been used for over three years, the quality is still good, and the price at that time was about 10 pounds. Because of the material, the bag can also be waterproof.

Analysing from the consumer's words, consumers are very satisfied with the quality and price of this type of product, which also proves from the side that this type of re-made product can attract consumers.

Along with a variety of product categories for sale, some secondhand clothes shops combine different selling channels. For instance, some second-hand clothes shops that are not charity shops will hold a sale that includes a kilo-sale. £15/1KG is the more prevalent selling price, which is consistent with the standard kilo sale.



Image 006: This photograph was taken in SHS008, Leeds, and shows an in-store promotion with a similar billboard to the one in the kilo-sales.



Image 007: This photograph was taken from a second-hand shop in SHS016 in London's fashionable market. This shop also has a buy by weight sign.

HYBRID FORMS OF SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION: FLEA MARKET/POP-UP MARKET

Participant 032 also mentioned a market form similar to flea market. This form of market appears more flexible and does not always exist.

“...or I know that they used to do like pop-up market. I don't know if they do that anymore. I don't see them advertised if they do.”-P032, Female, 20s, Cafe waitress

Additionally, Participant P003 mentioned a flea market that sells football jerseys, which exhibits the same characteristics of being adaptable and temporary. However, P032 used the phrase 'used to do' in the interview, implying that this type of market is becoming less prevalent and is no longer easily accessible.

In comparison to the declining flea market and chain-style vintage/second-hand stores, this appears to indicate that the second-hand clothes consumption market is transitioning from an informal or relatively decentralized state to a more formal, scaled, and commercial business model.

OBJECTS IN THE FIELD

Additionally, the preceding argument leads to another topic discussed in this section: objects. Consumers have varying definitions and descriptions of second-hand clothes.

This distinction reflects consumers' emotions, perceptions, and even certain expectations regarding second-hand clothes. For instance, a consumer defined secondhand clothes using a positive and emotional term:

"I call them a preloved...I think people need to be more educated about what the word second hand or prelove means." -P013, Male, 40s, Entrepreneur

This consumer used the term 'preloved' to describe second-hand clothes, demonstrating the consumer's favorable attitude toward second-hand clothes and an emotional attachment. At the same time, he believes that people should be 'educated,' implying that he believes that some consumers may be unfamiliar with second-hand clothes, and thus expected more consumers to understand and accept second-hand clothes.

Another consumer made a comparison between second-hand cars and second-hand clothes, claiming that terms such as 'pre-owned' convey a greater sense of the products' value than 'second-hand' does. Additionally, he believed that a term such as 'vintage' better reflected the value of second-hand clothes than the term 'second-hand'.

"...Um, and pre-used is another term, yes, or pre-owned. If you're talking about cars, they talk about pre-owned, clothing is sometimes pre-owned or

pre-reused, which is just second hand doesn't have a quality field to it, but vintage does.” -P003, Male, 70s, Academic

Although the aforementioned consumers provide more emotional definitions of second-hand clothes or attempt to increase its value, some consumers stated that various product features cannot alter the nature of second-hand clothes, and thus just serve as market segmentation or positioning standards.

“I think they're still second-hand, but I think they're fulfilling different niches in the market only. ”-P027, Female, Mid-50s, Academic

Along with these emotional or value-based definitions, the occasions when consumers wear secondhand clothes appear to be related to the consumer's definition of secondhand clothes. Although the majority of consumers in this study still refer to second-hand clothes as 'second-hand' during the interview, they viewed second-hand clothes as equivalent to regular clothes and would wear it on a variety of occasions, including work, weekends, and holidays:

“Second-hand clothes are probably more for your informal day to day. Like just, like study, yeah, study, work, office, go to town, shopping.” -P008, Male, 20s, Doctoral student

Meanwhile, P008 indicated that secondhand clothes should be used for casual occasions or when playing with friends, rather than when dealing with or meeting with someone. They do not dress in secondhand clothes to work or on dates:

“...but I wouldn't say that formal. Still informal...then like if I'm going to a formal event, a really formal event, probably not wear...” -P008, Male, 20s, Doctoral student

While it appears that the majority of consumers still view second-hand clothes as casual wear, some believe that if the company did not have a dress code, they would happily wear second-hand clothes. And because her current work environment is relatively liberal, she is free to dress as she wishes.

"I often wear second-hand clothes at work. Our company currently does not have a dressing code, every colleague of mine dresses casually, so am I." – P010, Female, 30s, Corporate staff

It seems that second-hand clothes have a relatively wide range of applications. It can be inferred that in the minds of this group of consumers, second-hand clothes are the same as other casual clothes. As such, if the boundary between second-hand clothes and other clothes is not that obvious, consumers are more likely to develop this purchase behaviour into a stable tendency, which is what Bourdieu calls 'habitus'.

4.1.1.2. EMERGENCE OF PLACES AND POPULARITY OF RELATED CONSUMPTION

PRODUCTION OF PLACES

Second-hand clothes consumption as a form of consumption and business model is now showing an upward momentum of development. First of all, from a macroeconomic perspective, some consumers attribute the increase in the number of second-hand shops to the decline of the city centre and low rent/tax relief for charity shops. As one participant said:

"...think if you're a charity shop, you don't pay, um, rents to the local council. So, one of the things that again has happened especially as the high street as struggled more and more in the UK as contracted, um, particularly in, let's say, towns like where I come from and things, basically a lot of the biggest stores closed. And so you find that the those previously vacant um, stores, the charities move in." --P007, Male, Mid 30s, Academic

Another participant who is an expert in marketing, did not directly attribute the increase in second-hand clothes shops to the decline of the city centre, this participant believes that physical stores have a decline, and this trend reversely supports the development of online shopping: *“So if you look in any city centre twenty five percent of retail space is vacant because there's been a big move towards online shopping.”—P003, Male, 70s, Academic*

Although this view provides an explanation for the development of online second-hand retail, it also supports participant P007's view that physical shops in the city centre may indeed be unpromising. Along with the two experts mentioned previously, an employee in the retail industry believes that the rapid growth of charity shops is not a good sign. She expressed concern about this occurrence and alluded to the impending economic downturn:

“...such a rich city, why do you have some charity shops? But Sheffield used to be a very rich city a long time ago, but now it's got many chances to get more charity shops to show than anything. Sheffield. I don't know. I just wondered why, it's scary.”—P015, Female, Mid 50s, Retail staff.

Participants mentioned macroeconomic concerns, which may be one of the reasons for the increase in charity shops. This is also confirmed by prior research (e.g., Hampson and McGoldrick, 2013). One of the participants, who also is a practitioner in second-hand clothes industry supported the consumers' arguments above and then showed their optimistic forecast about this industry:

“I think it's a really fast, it's a really developed developing industry. Now I think secondhand experts are saying that the secondhand map market is actually gonna overtake the fast fashion market and soon, which is really, really exciting.” --P013, Male, 40s, Non-profit organization member.

POPULARITY OF CONSUMPTION PLACES AND OBJECTS

From a consumption point of view, an increase in second-hand shops means that consumers can purchase second-hand clothes more easily; availability is thus a prerequisite for consumers to enter the field. This type of availability is also viewed positively by some practitioners of secondhand clothes industry. A consumer-participant expressed her joy and excitement about the increase in second-hand clothes shops during the interview.

“Now I think second-hand experts are saying that the second-hand map market is actually gonna overtake the fast fashion market soon, which is really, really exciting.” --P029, Female, 20s, Corporate staff.

A participant who has bought second-hand clothes for a long time also observed the booming of second-hand clothes shops and made a simple classification.

“So, um, there's a real boom in second-hand clothing shops, particularly charity shops, but also kind of um, more vintage ones or slightly more exclusive type of second-hand shops. There are lots. “—P011, Female, 30s, Academic staff.

Although some consumers do not agree that the status of second-hand clothes in the fashion industry will rise, they believe that second-hand clothes consumption is indeed becoming popular and trendy. As a few participants said:

“...vintage wasn't really considered like the cool or trendy thing to do. Like it is now like how it's really popular.” --P031, Male, 20s, Barista.

“...I don't think it becoming mainstream, but I think things become fashionable like everything else. It's on trend at the moment.” --P009, Female, 30s, Academic

As mentioned previously, this study's field of second-hand clothes consumption is a superposition of sustainable consumption and second-hand clothes consumption. As a result, the social norms associated with sustainability also play a role in this field.

To begin, some consumers expressed their enthusiasm for secondhand clothes and emphasized the environmental benefits of secondhand clothes. Finally, consumer prejudice against secondhand clothes is gradually being eliminated or reduced as a result of negative news and unsustainable practices by the fast fashion industry.

“... I think those attitudes are changing. Time goes on. And those that stigma will just get smaller and smaller.” --P029, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

“second-hand clothes are a substitute for me, a more environmentally friendly alternative to fast fashion.” –P039, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

According to the analysis above, the popularity of secondhand clothes is related to an increase in people's acceptance of secondhand clothes and sustainable awareness. At the same time, this study discovered that popularity and acceptance are influenced by the consumer's growth stage and living environment. One consumer mentioned that during their adolescence, it seemed quite embarrassing to wear secondhand clothes, and many teenagers desired to wear fashion brands.

“So like 11 to 15, it was very you had to wear a brand. And uh people got picked on if they weren't wearing the right out there or I wouldn't wear second hand in those because there was a bit of a weird thing around. It was like you have to wear at school certain type of trainers or.” -P032, Female, 20s, Cafe waitress

P032 then discussed her post-puberty experience with the researcher. When she gained the ability to purchase clothes on her own, she developed a taste for shopping in second-hand clothes shops. Due to the popularity of big brands and fast fashion at the time, she began seeking out uniqueness, bargains, and treasure.

“And then as soon as I was 17 or something buy my own clothes, I would say it was quite trending, and so I wouldn't go to a lot of. But more the thrift stores, the vintage stores I prefer, those it was in my early 20s. I think more charity

shopping. It is better. I like get in the bargain like I find it more excited to I would go again and again, and not buy anything for weeks and then find something amazing”-P032, Female, 20s, Cafe waitress

The above interview revealed that for consumers, their social environment, phase of growth, and so on, have a significant impact on their preferences, and more specifically, on their attraction to the second-hand clothes consumption field. This finding demonstrates the impacts of government propaganda and social trends on consumer behavior. And the growth of the second-hand clothes industry may be inextricably linked to government propaganda, student education, and the subtle influence of a large social environment.

Additionally, this research uncovered the history and evolution of this industry through consumer interviews. Numerous consumers have stated in Chapter 4.2.3.2 that the prices of certain second-hand clothes are increasing, and some believe that the reason for the increase is closely related to the rent in the area where the shop is located. This consumer believed that more second-hand clothes shops would open in city centres or on high streets, where rents are relatively high, which explains the increase in product prices.

“Yeah, I think that's due to just logistics like if they're on the high street, then the rent for that shop is gonna be higher. So they have to make the money obviously location if a charity shop is way out of town, then the prices are going to be lower, simple because the rent of the office is lower. So it comes down to logistics. I have noticed it. Definitely. I also understand it. So I don't mind paying that extra.”-P020, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

The high prices of second-hand clothes will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.3.2, in relation to the type of consumption trend discussed in this section. This study discovered not only the relationship between place and price, but also the relationship between place and quality. At the same time, this study believes that the proliferation

of second-hand clothes stores in areas with higher rents may reflect a trend toward commercialization, capitalization, and specialization in the second-hand clothes business. Additionally, consumers mentioned in Chapter 4.1.1.1 that different second-hand clothes shops have distinct segments and target groups, demonstrating the industry's refinement, marketization, and maturity.

4.1.1.3. PLACE OF PRODUCTION

This research explores the practice of secondhand clothes consumption. Because consumption encompasses the entire process from purchase to disposal (or, in the case of second-hand clothes, from production to disposal), clothes disposal thus will also be discussed. The responses to the question "How do you dispose of unwanted clothes?" indicate that consumers who purchase secondhand clothes have four options for disposing of unwanted clothes: donating, selling, gifting to friends/relatives, and keeping.

DONATE TO CHARITY AND SELLING

Certain consumers stated that they always place clothes in the charity shop business cycle, which means that they purchase a large quantity of clothes from charity shops and then donate their unwanted items to charity shops or drop them off at donation points. This method of disposal was also used by the majority of interviewees in the research. In the minds of these participants, donating clothes to charity stores is ingrained, as one participant put it:

"I'd probably just donate them to charity shop, but never throw them in the bin." --P029, Corporate staff, 20s, Corporate staff

Whereas another discussed their process in terms of donations:

"So she just took a whole, I mean she regularly clears out the children's clothes and her clothes and just takes them to a charity shop or I think this time it was at school. So she just took them along to school. And then you pay

by weight not by the clothes. Yeah, I don't know, which is actually from an environmental perspective and they're getting more use out of them, is good."

--P003, 70s, Academic staff

According to the analysis, the above two consumers chose to donate their unwanted clothes to charity shops, believing that this was a sustainable way to dispose of them. Although P029 did not directly address the issue, she made a comparison between throwing clothes and donating them, implying that she would never engage in such behavior. This is consistent with the social norm of 'recycle,' and demonstrates once again that recycle, as a significant element influenced by social norms, does indeed influence the consumption of second-hand clothes.

In terms of reasons for donations, participants discussed various reasons such as making room for house, as a participant said donating clothes helps with creating space in the home:

"Well, I found there were too many things in the house, and I felt very troubled. ... But now I just started maybe this one year or two to really donate away things I don't wear anymore to clear space because it's just not workable. There are so many clothes in my house. Sometimes you just can't walk properly. "—P002, Female, 30s, PhD candidate

While P002 also expressed the tendency of self-reflection and sustainability awareness, which is consistent with the sustainability awareness expressed by the first two consumers.

"Moreover, I am a person who will habitually reflect on myself. For example, now if I see some things that I bought but are useless, I often think that if I didn't buy these things, money could be spent more meaningfully. ...I will often consider environmental issues and over-consumption issues that have been discussed in recent years."—P002, Female, 30s, PhD candidate

P002 also put forward the view of 'spend money more meaningfully', and some consumers also mentioned that they would sell unwanted clothes:

"I've sold things on eBay and gumtree. And there's also a thing called freecycle."-P011, Female, 30s, Academic

Although donating and selling are two distinct behaviours, both allow for the flow of their clothes out of their personal cycle. To summarize, participants appear to donate their unwanted clothes to charity shops for a variety of reasons, including recycling, living a more sustainable lifestyle, and cleaning the house; when asked about selling, the majority of participants indicated that they would like to earn some money. Thus, the disposal locations are inextricably linked to daily practice in this field, demonstrating the diverse capitals sought by consumers.

PASS, AND GIVE TO FRIENDS AND RELATIVES OR SWAP AND SHARE

Giving them to friends, family, and children is another option for disposing of unwanted clothes. According to the interviews, these consumers frequently have an extended family and have stronger relationships with their immediate family. Some young consumers even have their own small clothes exchange group. Members of this small group prefer vintage or secondhand clothes. They frequently host small gatherings to share or exchange attractive secondhand clothes they have acquired. Additionally, older consumers will have a close circle of friends. They will discuss their perspectives on fashion and their interpretations of aesthetic trends. When they shop for clothes, they will solicit the advice of these friends. Simultaneously, when these consumers discover that their clothes are no longer suitable for them, they will first ask their friends if they like them.

"...my unwanted clothes, I would either given to my sister or give them to my friends." --P011, Female, 30s, Academic

Another participant mentioned the clothes swapping and sharing between friends:

“And even now in my thirties, I still would go for more expensive pieces and only have a few and share them with my sister, um, or even share some with my friends. So if my friends are going to a wedding or to going to a big party or something, we will share dresses. You know, we don't need to go out and buy something new because we are a big group of friends. And we have loads of things to share between us, because we're all kind of the same size.” --P009, Female, 30s, Academic

In contrast to other modes of disposal such as donation and sale, these methods maintain the flow of clothes within the personal cycle. It makes no difference whether clothes flow outward or inward; consumers do not create the flow of clothes; rather, they all reflect the capitals that consumers are pursuing within the field through their various daily practices.

KEEP THE UNWANTED CLOTHES

As with the previous findings, disposal behavior demonstrates the flow of clothes out or within the personal cycle, and the following findings illustrate the difference in the size of this personal cycle, which is associated with the term highlighted in this research—emotional distance. Participant 006 expressed an interest in keeping his clothes for himself or his child.

“I still have it, I kept this because I suppose I thought maybe one day my child might actually wear it or you know, it's a different way of looking at it, and keeping it, I suppose is a vintage piece, isn't it?” --P006, Male, 20s, Retailing

As P006 suggested, he attempted to keep the unwanted clothes and then pass them on to the child, and he expressed affection for these clothes during the interview, referring to them as 'vintage' that could be passed down through the family. Another consumer mentioned this method of preserving emotions through clothes preservation:

“Um, and it makes me feel good. That I'm continuing its life.” --P012, Female, 40s, University staff

But more consumers are willing to keep clothes out of body considerations. They may not be able to wear some existing clothes because of changes in body. But they anticipate returning to their happy body in the future:

“So I tend to, I have a thing. And if it doesn't fit me anymore, for example, if my weight goes up or down, then I put it in a wardrobe, because I think one day, I will fit back into it. Um, I have one entire wardrobe of clothes which I can't fit into. So I kind of keep them, um, just in case I can fit it one day or in case I do need to fit into them. Um, so different sizes I have of thing.” --P011, Female, 30s, Academic

Generally, all participants in this study preferred to recycle unwanted clothes rather than throw it away. And they all have particularly negative attitudes toward clothes disposal.

While another intriguing point was made by a consumer who also demonstrated that 'he does not throw things away'. When discussing disposal, this consumer made it clear that he treated types of clothes differently. Because he is not a casual clothes thrower, for those clothes he 'wanted to throw' but 'wouldn't throw,' he would place the clothes in a bag and leave it at the front door of the charity shop. However, for some clothes he considered to be acceptable, he would sell them online or give them to friends.

“I do that because that's so easy. Why not? It's really good and then. So their charity shops that just will leave a bag. I will do that, or I do sell some things on eBay. Very cheap, but just because I don't want to throw them away and I usually save up any money that I make from that I'll save up and then take on holiday or something like that. Yeah. I don't really throw anything away, and for clothes I think, they are good, but don't fit me anymore, I'll give to friends.”-P032, Female, 20s, Café waitress

Another consumer also mentioned a similar behaviour, that is, giving priority to unneeded clothes to people close to her, and then donating to charity shops.

“So she gives a big bag (of clothes) to my mom and says can you take that's all going to charity shop, but you look through it first and take what you want and then take the rest to charity shop.”-P017, Female, 40s, Researcher

Combing the words of P017 and P032, when some consumers dispose of their own clothes, they will also decide on the basis of the emotional distance between people or institutions around them.

In the section on meanings (Chapter 4.3), this research will mention that some consumers will only purchase work clothes from second-hand clothes shops if they dislike wearing them and do not want to spend an excessive amount of money on them.

The emotional intimacy reflected in the disposal behavior described previously appears to be consistent with the emotional intimacy reflected in the purchase of second-hand work clothes; more precisely, the charity shop appears to be the most distant part of the emotional distance in this closed loop, regardless of whether it is for purchase or disposal behavior.

4.1.2. SOCIAL NORM OF SUSTAINABLE SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION PRACTICE

Social norm is a term that refers to a group's shared understanding or belief about a particular behavior (Lapinski and Rimal, 2005), which classified groups as 'normal' or 'abnormal' based on their agreement on whether a particular behavior is acceptable or not. Additionally, Marxist theory examined social norms as a component of social structure (Johnson, 2000). Then, Bourdieu (1984, p171) defined habitus as a type of structuring structure, implying that habitus is a dynamic process of external structure formation and presentation in the individual body. In other words, social norms, as a component of social structure, act as an external force influencing habit formation. In this case, the social norm is a macro-level shared belief rather than a micro-level subjective personal interpretation and behavioral logic. As a result, this study discusses

the boundary between social norm and practice concurrently, as both are elements that can serve as a marker for a sustainable second-hand clothes consumption practice.

The most significant theme that emerged as a social norm in this study as a result of the data is 'recycling.' P013 believed that recycling is a critical responsibility for individuals. The term 'responsibility' implies not only individual behavior, but also group or social behavior.

"...Always wherever possible there even from being at home to the recycling in the 500 different bins that have outside my house. I think it's our responsibility to make sure that we are doing our little bit to be at home or at work."-P013, Male, 40s, Entrepreneur

Another consumer associates the social norm of recycling with clothes consumption, believing that recycling clothes not only satisfies the basic requirements of recycling but also extends the life of clothes. Additionally, she expressed a strong appreciation for clothes recycling.

"If people are like recycling clothes in a way that the use of the clothing lasts for longer, rather than just having it in your wardrobe. It's good to know that the clothing is (re) used."-P009, Female, 30s, Academic

Apart from mentioning recycling, some consumers make a connection between recycling and purchasing. She believed that recycling as a behavior does not exist in isolation; it can also serve as a proxy for a person's consumption habits to some extent. This connection of disposal and purchase seems to also reflect a certain sustainability characteristic of the second-hand trade market.

"So the bin can has never been my first choice. For electronic products, it must be recycled, and the random disposal of electronic products is very unfriendly and wasteful. Many of the small appliances I use today are taken from international students who have left Sheffield. So these habits are not

only reflected in the disposal behavior, but also affect my purchasing behavior, which is a bit like a cycle.”-P002, Female, 30s, PhD candidate

Another consumer broadened the recycling definition. From a macro-perspective, she connected purchasing behavior to recycling. She believed that recycling's purpose was not simply to recycle, but to save money and extend the life of materials.

“So buying less is one recycle to. And perhaps extending the left circle of the clothes is another one. it's much more important for me.”-P024, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

Taking into account all of the aforementioned consumer perspectives, the current study believes that social norms serve as an important external structure that can assist consumers in defining the boundaries of sustainable second-hand clothes consumption practices and forming the so-called 'structuring structure' that can further generate the field's specific habitus.

Simultaneously, this study discovered from the aforementioned arguments that some consumers mentioned the mutual influence of various types of recycling behavior (see P002), as well as the same type of sustainable behavior transferring across contexts (see P013). These all exhibit the spillover effect's characteristics, and thus the spillover effect is another emerging theme in this study, which will be presented in greater detail in Chapter 4.4.

Although the preceding analysis briefly discusses some symbolic or emotional aspects of secondhand clothes, it does not delve deeply into consumer comprehension and associated symbolic meaning. The purpose of this section is to introduce the research field and structure; in the following section, the characteristics of place analysis will be combined with the various capital types found in the field. The following sections will discuss consumer behavior and the various types of capital available in the field. In terms of field and habits, the actor's growth activities shape the actor's habits. External objective opportunities are unconsciously internalized in the actor's body during this process. The existing opportunity structure will remain

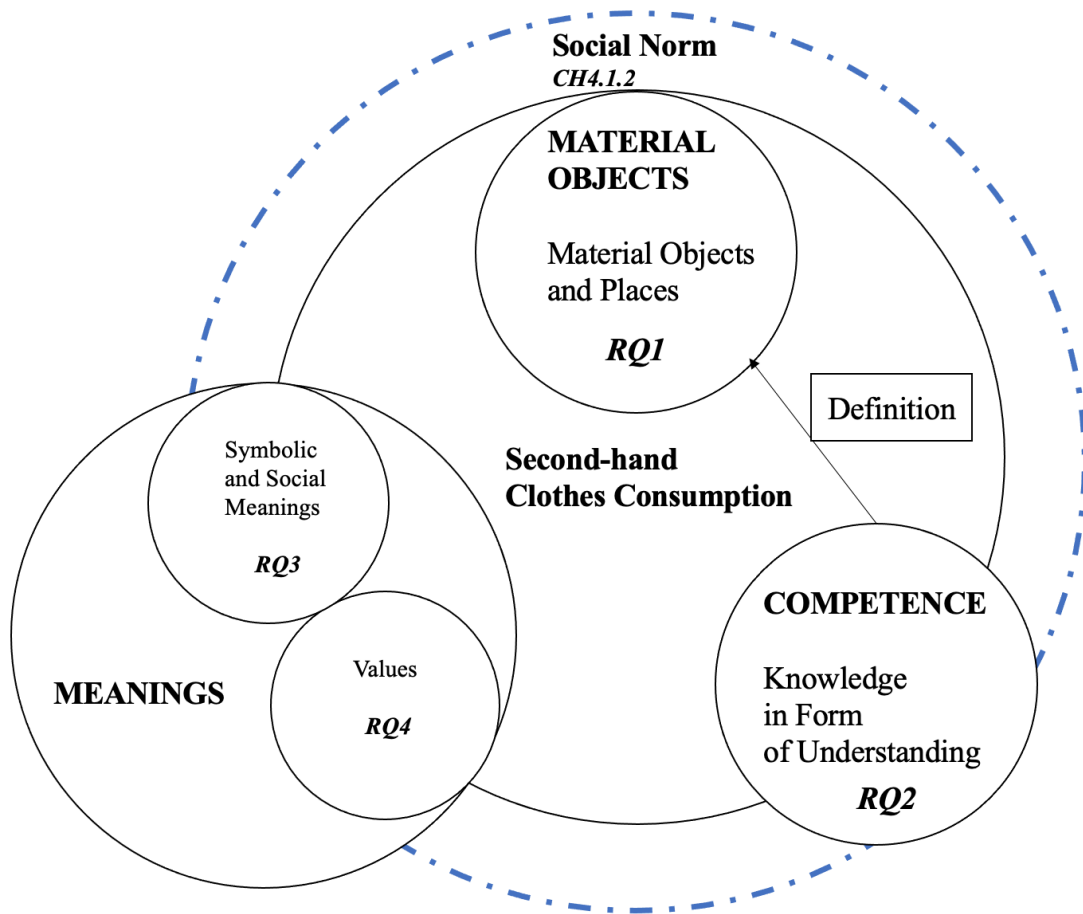
permanent during this process, while the external structure will be internalized into the body's structure. The actor's compliance with the field's rules is a manifestation of the external structure being internalized; that is, once consumers accept and adapt to a change in the field's rules, the external structure becomes ingrained in the consumer's habits.

Simultaneously, the field's rules cannot simply and rudely alter the consumer's behavior while influencing the consumer's judgment through success or failure feedback. Consumers who are influenced by the field will develop expectations for the outcomes of their consumption behavior. Bourdieu referred to this 'expectation' as an 'illusion'. This 'illusion' can be embodied in this research as a purpose and expectation of consumption. Thus, whether the illusion can be transformed into a real result is determined by the feedback of success or failure that consumers' capital seeking mentioned previously, which has an effect on consumers' habits and practices.

Thus, according to this study's findings, social norms, while embedded in a conceptual framework of meanings, act as a sort of umbrella over the entire field. Thus, the social norm is represented by the blue dashed circle in the figure 7.

Because the aforementioned findings are field-related, they also contribute to the completion of Bourdieu's practical formula. The following section will discuss the findings regarding capitals (meanings) and competence.

Figure 7. The Guideline of Findings_Social Norm



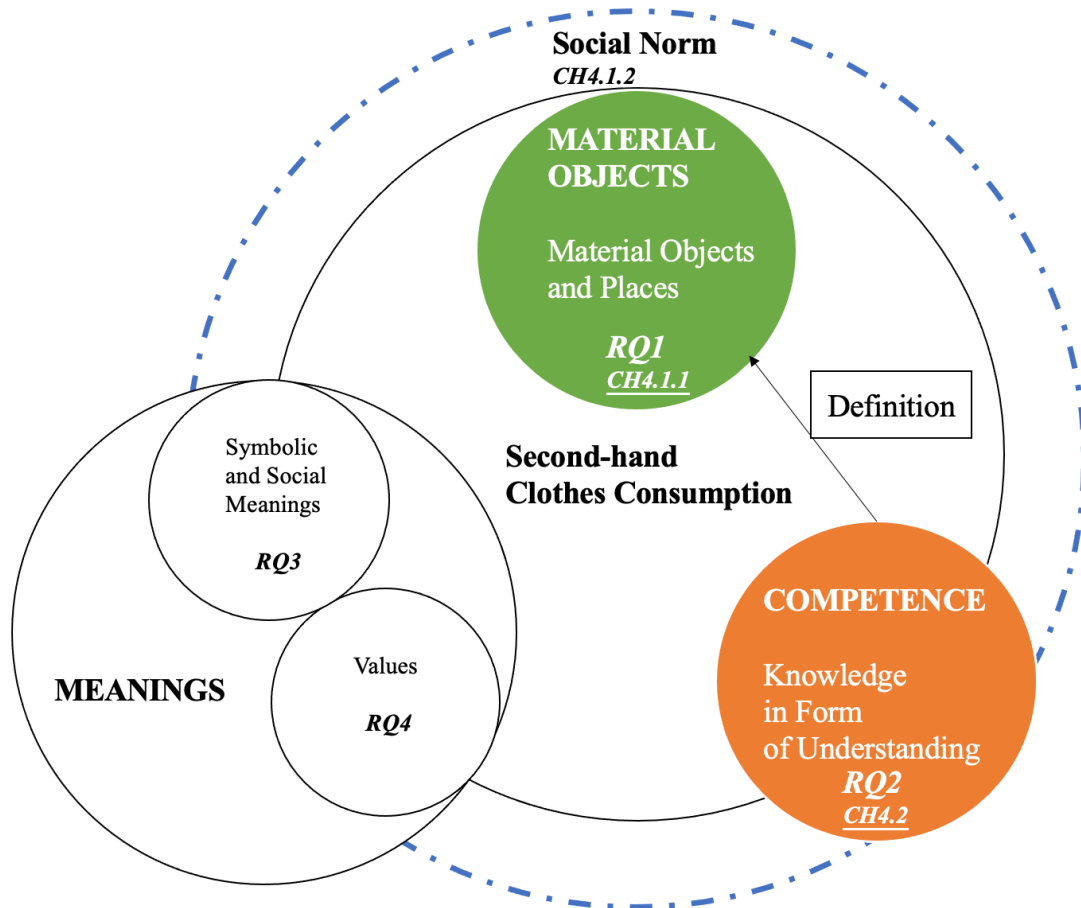
4.2. COMPETENCE IN THE SUSTAINABLE SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION FIELD

The premise that consumers (agents in the field) can accept the call is the ‘initial fit’ between their habitus and the field. Subsequently, these habitus are easier to reproduce and produce practices and ideas that are compatible with the structure of the original habitus. This is the ‘structuring structure’.

After incorporating Shove et al. (2012)'s definition of consumption practice into Bourdieu's practice formula, the core of practice theory—the mechanism of habitus and capital interaction—can be analyzed from the two perspectives of competence and meanings. When viewed through the lens of the field's "calling," competence is more akin to one of the conditions that can be inspired. As such, the following section will demonstrate competence. The following figure illustrates how the evidence and

findings in the subsequent sections will address the research question 2 highlighted in orange in figure 8.

Figure 8. The Guideline of Findings_ Competence



4.2.1. KNOWLEDGE/UNDERSTANDING OF SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION PRACTICE

As suggested by the literature review, knowledge in practice encompasses fundamental understanding of objects and carriers (consumers), know-how, motivational and intentional knowledge, as well as emotional knowledge. Thus, this section of the study will concentrate on consumers' perceptions of the secondhand clothes industry and practice, particularly their perceptions and knowledge of sustainability.

The majority of previous research supports the argument that increased consumer awareness of sustainable development increases consumers' intentions for sustainable consumption, which has an effect on actual behavior (Mohd Suki, 2016). The interviews revealed no evidence to support or refute such arguments.

Due to the fact that this study interviewed individuals at various stages of their lives, some were well educated and had the energy and financial resources to consider sustainable development. However, many consumers claim to be unaware of the government's promotion of sustainable development. This finding does highlight the fact that, while some consumers purchase secondhand clothes, it is not because they are aware of the fashion industry's sustainability and negative consequences. The connection between sustainability and secondhand clothes appears to be missing in some ways.

“I don’t know what sustainability is... I don’t even watch TV you know, I really don’t know.”—P001, Male, 20s, Security.

Thus, this study speculates that the driving forces behind secondhand clothes may be other factors, resulting in the so-called knowledge-action gap. Numerous previous quantitative studies have established mathematical regression models for 'sustainability knowledge' and 'consumption intention', with the assumption that more relevant knowledge translates into more significant sustainable consumption intentions (e.g., Haron et al., 2005). On the other hand, this research explores the role of 'sustainability-related knowledge' in consumer decision-making and then makes contributions to closing the knowledge-action gap. If there is no knowledge of sustainability or if the knowledge that exists is insufficient, the hypothesis that there is a positive correlation between sustainability knowledge and intention is questionable. Although some consumers are aware of sustainability and have learned about pertinent research, reports, news, and current events, they lack understanding of second-hand clothes and the fashion industry, for example, the sustainable characteristics of second-hand clothes or the dark side of the fashion industry, and they may be unable to connect their knowledge

and products. In other words, they have failed to effectively establish a link between the consumption of secondhand clothes and sustainability. When asked about second-hand clothes and sustainability, for example, some consumers attempted to connect the fashion industry and supply chain, while avoiding the connection between second-hand clothes and sustainability:

“I don't know, but I can probably, if we're talking about organizations that have no ethics, then I can guess what they are, paying people a very low wage, really poor working conditions, probably using very unsustainable products.”
-P027, Female, Mid-50s, Academic

Moreover, this participant often used words such as ‘guess’, ‘suspect’, ‘probably’ when discussing issues with the researcher in the fashion industry.

“And then I guess when we come here to the UK, there's lots of issues around clothes that aren't lasting very long. Another violent impacts of disposing making something just to use it for a little while and then throw it away. Again. I suspect we probably got people zero-hour contracts in those shops as well. And so just a whole kind of very unethical, unsustainable stance where profit is everything.” -P027, Female, Mid-50s, Academic

Thus, this study concludes that, while consumers' knowledge or understanding of the fashion industry's problems and the sustainable attribute of secondhand clothes exists, it is insufficient or unstable. As a result, this study believes that while sustainability-related knowledge/understanding may help individuals gradually understand related issues, as some studies have suggested (e.g., Chekima et al., 2016), there are still some critical connections that require additional research in the field of specific consumption.

Based on these findings, the research can conclude that knowledge of the field cannot be a determining factor in consumers' decision to enter the field. Perhaps this is one of the factors, but this study cannot simply comprehend this knowledge because it

will compel consumers to enter the field and develop new habits. To a certain extent, this discovery based on practice theory can account for the knowledge-action gap mentioned previously. Concerning the specific mechanism, it will be discussed in detail in the section on spillover. Simply put, whether consumers can enter the field and cultivate new habits requires the dynamic interaction of multiple 'powers' both inside and outside the field, and it is contingent upon the executor's success in pursuing the field's 'illusion.' If we view consumption as a practice, we cannot simply describe the entire process of consumption using a linear relationship.

4.2.2. SKILLS/AVAILABILITY OF SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION PRACTICE

According to chapter 3, as competence in practice theory, skills can be seen as objective conditions to help consumers enter the specific field. The following section then will provide the findings of skills and availability.

4.2.2.1. KNOW HOW TO FIND THE SHOP

For consumers who prefer to purchase secondhand clothes offline, several participants stressed the importance of using wayfinding (particularly the Google Maps app) and social media. Some second-hand clothes shops (including charity shops and vintage shops) are located in back alleys or back streets. Because they are located outside the scope of the some consumers' daily shopping activities, it is easy for consumers who lack pathfinding skills to ignore or miss these shops.

"You know, sometimes they are hard to find...Sometimes I have to follow some social media influencers to know, wow, there is a great shop. Then you can get the address of it and go. But like I said, sometimes you have to use map..."

–P039, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

4.2.2.2. HAVE TIME TO FIND MATERIAL OBJECTS

Additionally, many consumers report that shopping for secondhand clothes is time consuming, as they must choose each item individually. This type of consumption necessitates a certain amount of leisure time on the part of the consumer. This also confirms the previous analysis: some charity shops located near communities are frequently regarded as excellent places to relax and socialize by local residents:

"I think, even when you go to a charity shop, there's so many...not in good condition. maybe there will be two or three items that's what you're looking for, but that's quite time consuming, isn't it?" --P008, Male, 20s, Doctoral student

However, as mentioned previously, second-hand clothes shopping is typically quite time-consuming, and many participants indicated that being concerned about sustainability issues such as supply chain or fabric will add additional burden to the decision-making process. For people who struggle to make ends meet and lack leisure time, quick shopping for new clothes at an affordable price serves as a primary source of pleasure:

"My income is not high. I spend a lot of time and energy every day to make money. I really don't have time to go shopping and choose clothes. If I really need anything, I'll buy it online directly." --P001, Male, 20s, Security.

4.2.2.3. KNOW-HOW TO JOIN THE ONLINE COMMUNITY AND USE SOCIAL MEDIA

Although some second-hand clothes shops are community-based, the Internet and social media have expanded the size and reach of such communities. As a result, an increasing number of consumers are attempting to sell or purchase second-hand items via mobile applications and social media groups, and proficiency with social media has become a necessary skill for purchasing second-hand clothes online.

“More and more shops are using social media to attract consumers, you know, in Sheffield, we have so many international students, so we have Facebook, twitter and Instagram to attract local people, and have Weibo and Xiaohongshu to attract Chinese students. If consumer follow our accounts, they would know the new arrivals, they can buy somethings they like online, we have delivery service.” --P029, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

According to some consumers, it is quite convenient to browse and purchase second-hand products on social media. Commuters, in particular, are likely to be able to purchase a second-hand item by swiping their mobile phone on public transportation. This is clearly more advantageous for the exchange of second-hand goods than physical stores or temporary pop-up markets. Additionally, when we discussed car-boot sales and flea markets, some consumers mentioned that, at car-boot sales, for example, local residents would bring items they no longer needed to a place and conduct transactions with other residents. However, when combined with consumer reports that car boot sales and flea markets are declining in popularity, this research speculates that it may be due to the transaction volume or transaction methods of offline communities to some extent. If this speculation is correct, it demonstrates the critical role of social media in second-hand consumption, particularly among busy office workers.

“Use the all just like social media, like Facebook, and Twitter, they've actually got pages for second hand items. If I'm just on the metro or taking the bus to class or work, I will often just go on the pages, just flip through the photos. What I usually do is if I see something that I like, I'll take a screen shot and then when I get paid and then uh make an offer.”-P040, Female, 20s, Corporate Staff

Apart from using social media to connect with the online community, practitioners stated that from a marketing standpoint, social media influencer marketing is now a widely used marketing communication strategy for second-hand clothes retailers.

Similar to the mechanism of celebrity endorsement, if the lifestyle represented by these influencers can serve as the 'illusion' those consumers pursue, then this marketing strategy can serve as one of the impetuses for consumers to enter the field, and it is possible for consumers to remain in the field to develop corresponding habits and practices.

“Yeah, ...like I follow influencers and they'll say, this might be teaching them, to dress vintage. I thought a lot of influencers in Sweden, and they love buying, like vintage handbags and they'll buy more high-end vintage like Chanel, Celine, Ralph, Denny, just normal brands. And I guess like, maybe because it's more affordable, might be more affordable instead of buying a new one.”

—P034, Female, 20s, Entrepreneur.

When it came to the celebrities, social media influencers, and social media usage, one consumer did not directly associate it with second-hand clothes, but to a certain extent mentioned the possible negative impacts of social media:

“It's like when they go to Primark, is a really big problem. But people still go to because it's cheap and affordable, especially with social media nowadays, like you see celebrities wearing all these kind of stuff like really big brand stuff, one thing is that perhaps everyone wanted to mimic that kind of style, and sometimes they can't afford it. That's why runs like Primark and H&M, they release these kind of similar copies. Then people buy them just to like kind of feel like a celebrity kind of thing, I think. ” -P006, Male, 20s, Retailing

However, some consumers believed that social media can let more people understand the social and environmental problems caused by sustainability issues:

“You see the polar bears on social media, the change, there's no food for them. This all has an impact. All these actions have impacts on this from the world.”-P013, Male, 40s, Entrepreneur

This research is not intended to examine the social impact of social media. The study then discovered that while consumers have varying attitudes toward social media, they all use or understand it. Although the objects are distinct, the words of P034 and P006 demonstrate that social media can be used in a similar manner for marketing communication, whether for fast fashion or second-hand clothes.

4.2.2.4. AVAILABILITY OF SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION CHANNELS

While the consumers have the knowledge to find stores or the ability to use online platforms/apps, the premise of these capabilities is the availability of second-hand clothes shops/platforms in the market. An offline second-hand clothes store owner believes that second-hand clothes consumption channels can provide consumers with the possibility of a new way of consumption.

“I think what I can think of is if people don't have access to vintage shops...I know deep pop is a great platform for people to buy second hand. I don't know that does really well, but I guess if people don't have access to deep pop or like eBay or to access event, or shop, then they are just gonna go buy from primark, H&M, because it is easier for them.” –P034, Female, 20s, Entrepreneur

Additionally, based on the words above, this demonstrate owner appeared to believe that if there is no channel for second-hand clothes consumption, consumers will opt for whatever method they believe is the simplest. Thus, this study believes that the availability of second-hand clothes consumption channels can provide consumers with another 'easier choice' while also expanding their options. As a result, the availability of secondhand clothes channels may facilitate consumers' entry into the field of consumption practice.

The study examines the intersection of second-hand clothes consumption and sustainable consumption. Thus, it is necessary to discuss the availability of sustainable

consumption in this context. Consumer P035 believed that the reason for the proliferation of unsustainable behaviors in the modern era is that consumers have too many options.

“I think the problem is that we have too much choice. I think choice originally was a good thing. But I think that choice is, I think the choice is sort of lost ability to serve... So reducing that choice and making it sustainable in some way or another.”-P035, Male, 20s, Master Student

Although today's large-scale and rapid production has increased consumer choice, it is very likely that those choices are not sustainable. Simultaneously, P032 discussed this issue from a different angle. She was convinced that contemporary lifestyles result in an insufficient supply of sustainable products. For example, a significant amount of disposable waste will be generated in the name of food safety and sanitation, such as disposable gloves:

“I know that's the thing it's hard to think of the answer, but I think a lot of the food industry is quite bad. Not being very environmentally friendly, but because there aren't as many options that you say... A lot of the suppliers we use just don't have an eco-friendly option. It leaves us without a lot of choice. If we want eco-friendly products, there's only certain things we can buy. Like if somebody's call and roll me, have to use a plastic apron. Plastic gloves, yeah. So I think when handling food, you have to change your gloves every time you touch something new. It's very...” -P032, Female, 20s, Cafe waitress

In light of this situation, this study concluded that it is critical to have access to sustainable products or suppliers. As with the previous argument about the availability of second-hand clothes shops, if consumers wish to cultivate a particular habit or lifestyle, the corresponding availability is critical.

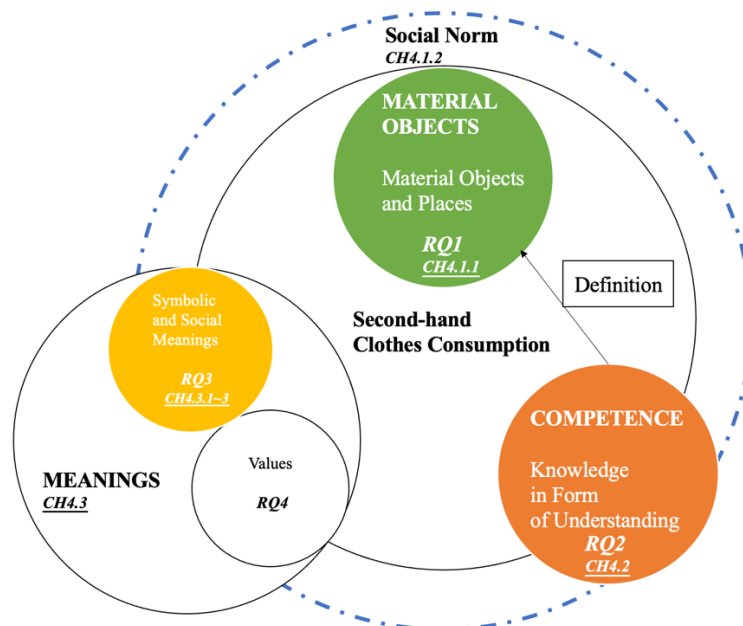
According to Bourdieu's theory, structured structure is a necessary condition for habit formation. Although the aforementioned competences do not appear to be directly

related to the consumption of secondhand clothes, the location of shops, consumers' availability of time, and consumers' adaptation to the online environment are all socially structured structures. Consumers' behavior cannot be transformed into habit unless they adapt to these structures; in other words, their behavior cannot become a stable consumption tendency. Thus, the availability of the secondhand clothes market, as well as consumers' shopping ability and lifestyle, are necessary conditions for the field to more effectively "call" consumers.

4.3. CONSUMERS' PURSUIT OF CAPITAL (SOCIAL AND SYMBOLIC MEANINGS) IN SUSTAINABLE SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

As the field into which "call" individuals actively enter, it has already screened consumers to some extent from the start. After becoming consumers of second-hand clothes, consumers will develop stable practices and transform their original habits as a result of capital's integration into the field and the realization of "illusion". Thus, this study will analyze capitals (social and symbolic meanings) in the field of second-hand clothes consumption. As such, the following section provides an answer to research question 3, which is highlighted in yellow in Figure 9.

Figure 9. The Guideline of Findings_Symbolic and Social Meanings



4.3.1. IMPEDING MEANINGS

As previously discussed, once consumers enter the field, they will seek various forms of 'capital' for the purpose of 'illusion'. However, if the field is defined as all capital capable of assisting consumers in realizing the "illusion," then habit and practice become an inescapable tendency that violates normal market laws.

There are also some types of capital in the field of second-hand clothes consumption that run counter to consumer habits or prevent consumers from realizing "illusions". According to this research's analysis, these capitals will either affect the economic capital that consumers pursue or will influence the symbolic capital that consumers pursue, which is why this study refers to them as "impeding capital" in the field. From a market perspective, these impeding capitals are factors that prevent consumers from meeting their demands. As a result, the following section will discuss how impeding capital was discovered in the field. The Chapter 2 notes that the second-hand clothes market is considered informal and niche, and that some consumers have prejudices against second-hand clothes consumption. Additionally, the data gathered in this study confirms consumers' negative attitudes toward secondhand clothes consumption.

4.3.1.1. SIMPLICITY AND TEMPORARILY

According to the study's observational findings, certain secondhand clothes sales channels exhibit "simple" and "temporary" characteristics, such as some kilo-sale events. The photograph below (image 008) was taken on the day of the 'Pxxx Kilo-sale Event. As we can see, consumers tossed a variety of carefully chosen garments wherever they pleased, while belts and bags were strewn about. As a result of this study, it was concluded that the organizers and consumers place a low value on these garments.

Additionally, the fitting rooms and other event-related facilities are relatively simple and temporary. The fitting room's curtains cannot be completely closed, and the distance between fitting rooms is not fixed. Additionally, many customers did not use

the fitting room when trying on jackets or sweaters, but instead changed them directly in front of the open area's fitting mirror. When changing clothes, some customers did not draw the fitting room curtains. The event as a whole was not as good or as fancy as the cloth stores on the high street, with their bright lights and well-organized areas. At the same time, the clothes worn in these activities is typically less clean than that found in other physical clothes stores. Numerous garments were sticky to the touch, and the odor pervaded the entire event space.



Image 008, This photo was taken at SHS007 in Sheffield. Bags in Kilo-sale event

From the data collected in this study, not many participants talked about the kilo-sale specifically, but the parts that are similar to the arguments such as hygiene issues and unpleasant odours in this section have been confirmed by other consumers in the following sections.

While for some vintage shops or flea market, the presentation of the products is also very confusing.



Image 009: This photograph was taken at SHS001 in Sheffield. A messy arrangement. In this image we can see bags, clothes, trousers and shoes arranged haphazardly on the shelves. For the researcher, it is difficult to perceive the value of these products and creates a correspondingly bad experience and feeling.

4.3.1.2. HYGIENE ISSUES

More than half of the interviewees expressed concern about the hygiene of second-hand clothes, even if they are frequent customers of second-hand clothes stores. Additionally, based on the researcher's observations and experiences in the shop and at events, it can be concluded that many second-hand clothes are sticky to the touch, smell musty, or lack the 'new clothes' smell.

“Well, I just I think maybe just convince myself that the jumper hasn't a touch skin, I don't know, but like, you know, that sort of hygienic element, hygienic.”

-P008, Male, 20s, Doctoral student

From the data collected in this study, not many participants talked about the kilo-sale specifically, but the parts that are similar to the arguments such as hygiene issues

and unpleasant odours in this section have been confirmed by other consumers in the following sections.

“They kind of get a bunch of clothes see which ones are clean and good for selling and they just put them out there.”-P004, Male, 40s, Shop Owner

In terms of reasoning behind hygiene issues, some consumers mentioned ‘distrust’, which will be discussed in the sections below

4.3.1.3. DISTRUST FOR FORMER OWNERS AND INSTITUTIONS

Consumers who mentioned hygiene issues sometimes raised another problem, which is their distrust of the former owner of the item and the sales organizations.

*“Some people always say these are the clothes of the dead...it’s unacceptable.”
--P035, Male, 20s, Master Student*

*“...Um I see a lot of vintage shops in town. You know why don't we go into them? I don't really know much about them. I actually always think that they're going to be really...smell stuffy? gonna like old clothes.” --P009,
Female, 30s, Academic*

The above two analyses, based only on the data collected in this research, are typically focused on footwear. For most of the participants in this study, second-hand shoes are not their favourite second-hand products, and they did not provide photos of second-hand shoes.

A participant demonstrated to the researcher the used Dr. Martin boots she purchased on Depop (An online second-hand clothes platform). This participant explained to the researcher that because the previous owner of these boots purchased the incorrect size, they were sold cheaply on Depop.

“You know, the shoes I am wearing, I got them from Depop, I really like them. The seller bought the wrong size and sold them on Depop, they are great.” - P032, Female, 20s, Cafe waitress

In this case, although the shoes came from a second-hand platform, the participant regarded the shoes as a brand-new product. While for other second-hand shoes that were obviously used, some participants expressed the rejection.

“...don't really, when I go to the charity shop, I won't looking at shoes...trainers are something should be new, fresh, clean and like you keep it clean or rather...I don't know...” --P008, Male, 20s, Doctoral student

While some consumers stated that they would not purchase personal clothes, later in this study's analysis, many consumers stated that they would wear the clothes of their relatives and close friends (see Chapter 4.1.1.3). Additionally, the location of second-hand clothes shops will reflect to some extent the consumer habits in a region (see Chapter 4.3). As a result of this study, it was concluded that distrust of the source of secondhand clothes may be related to emotional intimacy and the consumer's position in the field (the difference in initial habits).

The above hygiene issues were also confirmed by a practitioner from the side. This practitioner believed that second-hand clothes consumption channels will be classified according to the cleanliness and quality of the clothes, which demonstrates another aspect of second-hand clothes' hygiene issues.

The distrust of the former owner can extend to consumers, at the level of clothes-wearing, delineate the invisible boundary between themselves and others. This boundary also shows consumers' rejection of other people's clothes and wearing other people's clothes. One participant clearly explained her own feelings to the researcher.

“...most people don't want to buy secondhand clothes because they don't want something that somebody else was worn. I would say A number of people that

I know where to turn their noses up by at wearing something that somebody else was worn. So that might be one thing.” -P027, Female, Mid-50s, Academic

This rejection is not only related to the distrust of the former owner but may also be related to the relatively low financial value of second-hand clothes. Because some consumers associated low prices with embarrassment as analyzed below.

Additionally, when combined with the previous content about clothes exchange/swapping between relatives or friends, this study believes that consumers have varying attitudes toward 'second-hand clothes.' Consumers have stated in the definition section (see Chapter 4.1.1.1) that 'second-hand' generally implies a lower value, and when discussing activities such as clothes passing on, consumers will not refer to clothes as 'second-hand,' even if it has been worn by relatives or friends. And this type of value is expressed through emotion, which can be thought of as a difference in the degree of trust resulting from differences in emotional intimacy. While these emotional and behavioral differences do not entirely impair capitals, and these findings do not fully represent the absolute universal situation, they do help to explain consumers' distrust of former owners of second-hand clothes and the disparity in their disposal behavior.

4.3.1.4. SIGNS OF LOW INCOME AND POTENTIAL EMBARRASSMENT

Low prices, hygiene concerns, and the origin of clothes all contribute to people's prejudice against second-hand clothes. These clothes, in the minds of some consumers, evoke feelings of poverty and embarrassment. However, because all of the study's interviewees are consumers of secondhand clothes, these negative attitudes are based on personal experience and subjective perception.

“I guess embarrassing. So, I'd started buying on eBay, because then you're not going into charity stores, vintage stores. Yeah, I'm thinking now but like,

might you go to a charity shop and like someone's walking by and say, oh, look, he is buying second hand...” --P018, Female, 30s, Corporate staff

4.3.1.5. LOW LEVEL OF FASHIONABILITY

Along with the slightly general impeding capitals mentioned previously, some consumers mentioned some more subjective factors, such as a sense of fashion. In comparison to other types of secondhand clothes retailers, charity shops are perceived as being 'less fashionable' by some participants. 'Fashionable' is a highly subjective term, with clear distinctions between consumer groups regarding what constitutes 'fashionable'. Based on the consumer group of consumers who expressed this opinion, this study can only conclude that clothes in charity shops may not conform to the mainstream fast fashion aesthetic trend. For some consumers entering the field, achieving the illusion of 'appearance' is difficult. Thus, while 'fashionable' is a subjective judgment result, it nonetheless indicates an unstable state across the entire field, and thus qualifies as impeding capital in this research.

“I usually don't go to charity shops...like, they are not stylish.” --P037, Female, 20s, Master Student

The overlapping of second-hand clothes consumption and sustainable consumption is the field of this study. At the node where consumers enter this field, these impeding capitals will partially prevent consumers from entering and developing corresponding habits. In summary, this study discovered that barriers to entry into this field include hygiene concerns, distrust of former owners and institutions, signs of low income and potential embarrassment, and a lack of fashionability.

Along with the relatively subjective notion of not being fashionable enough, consumers mentioned that some charity shops lack defined rules and standards for product layout and display, and that many clothes hung in prominent locations are unattractive. This haphazard placement even gives consumers the impression that the charity shop is not interested in making a profit. Following that, the consumer made

some suggestions to the charity shop, hoping that the charity shop could improve its display of products in order to attract more customers and provide a better shopping experience. Additionally, this suggestion confirms from the side that some thrift stores struggle with product selection and in-store display.

"I think if you actually pick up this, pick out some items and you make them look nice as an outfit rather than just hiding them in the big. From the. So I think it's showing demonstrating things can look nice together. Yeah, I think. I think charity shows, they maybe, they don't want money? but I think even with this little money, you can make things a little bit more. We're looking a bit more attractive. The other thing is maybe being more selective. I think Oxfam is more selective with their items than others"-P018, Female, 30s, Corporate staff

4.3.2. ECONOMIC MEANINGS

Economic capital often represents income in Bourdieu's theory (Bourdieu, 1984). However, this research has highlighted it in the previous section, and the consumption of second-hand clothes with preservation and pawning is not within the scope of this research. Therefore, in the following part, this study defines economic capital as a type of capital that "can meet the needs of consumers at the economic level".

4.3.2.1. MONEY SAVING

This finding is consistent with the traditional symbolic meaning of secondhand clothes, which is money saving. Even though the second-hand clothes market is developing, the majority of second-hand clothes is still less expensive than new clothes. Individuals on a tight budget frequently believe that purchasing second-hand clothes is a better way to save money:

"...you know mothers and families that want in just a cheap kind of alternative, perhaps which might find shopping in charity shops to save money or

shopping bitty shops, because they want their quality or better value for the money. And same thing, students often don't have tons of money to spend on clothes. So vintage is a great way to change up your wardrobe without putting a huge pressure in your student loan." --P011, Female, 30s, Academic

During the observations, the researcher photographed some information about clothes promotions and price tags in addition to the data from the interviews. Although the increase in the price of clothes in second-hand clothes shops was mentioned, the prices remained relatively low when these stores were on sale.



Image 010: This photo was taken at SHS010 in Leeds. low price under promotion



Image 011: This photo was taken at SHS001 in Sheffield. low price under promotion

Another example of money saving is the kilo sales event. Kilo-sale is a term that refers to a regular event where a company or organization sells second-hand clothes. Companies or organizations rent or utilize large warehouses or churches to host such events, and the venue's quality is determined by the organizer's selection. However, the space is typically adequate in size and the lighting is adequate. In comparison to other physical channels for secondhand clothes, this type of activity offers a broader selection of clothes, accessories, and footwear. Prices are lower than those found in the majority of so-called modern secondhand clothes shops and some charity shops. The only issue is that the clothes is of inconsistent quality. Unlike other stores, which are typically geared toward repeat customers, event organizers frequently pre-sell tickets online prior to the event, indicating that customers are fans of the event and thus tend to purchase less expensive clothes

"...the clothes here are quite cheap, you know, you can buy 3-4 tops for only 5 pounds". --P026, Female, 30s, Unknown

Participants mentioned that their family members maximize the value of their money, which can also be interpreted as a form of "frugality." Additionally, participants in this study emphasized the critical role of 'frugality' in the second-hand clothes market. As a result, 'frugality' can be viewed as a significant form of economic capital in this field.

4.3.2.2. FRUGALITY

Middle-aged and senior consumers demonstrate their thriftiness by purchasing secondhand clothes. According to the study's in-store observations, some older consumers may drive expensive cars or carry expensive handbags, but they continue to shop at charity stores. According to the interview, even if they are not in a tight financial situation, they either avoid spending a lot of money on clothes or believe it is unnecessary to purchase new clothes. And, according to interviews with some older consumers, they desired to conserve every resource and avoid waste as a result of World

War II, the Cold War, and other wars between the United Kingdom and other countries. These points of view will be expanded upon in the "Nostalgia" section:

"Perhaps because the war, WWII, cold war and something, the turbulence times in the war, old generation tend to avoid waste" --P007, Male, Mid 30s, Academic

"You know my family, my mom and dad, they would reuse everything, a jar, always became something else. They never just throughout. They always had that mentality because their parents went through the war. And in the war, everyone had to be careful about what they were using, because they didn't have much of it. I think that mentality, because that was their mom and dad was in their minds because they were children growing up with that. But they didn't pass that on to us because we haven't had war like that" --P017, Female, 40s, Researcher

Additionally, some young people have expressed an interest in preserving traditional frugal lifestyles and have demonstrated this interest through practical behaviors. These young consumers provided numerous examples of how their parents' habits frequently aligned with current sustainable development, such as using abandoned newspapers to wipe glass instead of chemicals, or mending clothes rather than throwing them away and buying new. This view broadens the definition of frugality and thus establishes a link between "extended clothes life cycles," "optimal resource utilization," and "frugality":

"And we haven't had hardship and we become better off. And so we're not thought more. So, we become a more throwaway society. like knitting, my grandma would knit clothes for everybody. So, when there's a baby born, she would net jumpers, everything. Then it starts to go down in my mom's generation, not as much. And then again, me, I was never taught to knit as a

child, so it's not in my thing to be able to knit. But again, that's more sustainable, isn't it?" --P017, Female, 40s, Researcher

In terms of maximizing the value of funds, this study suggests that bargain hunting and big brand hunting are also important economic capitals in the field, based on market data and prior literature, as well as information provided by the study's participants.

4.3.2.3. BIG BRAND HUNTING

Similar to saving money, consumers prefer to purchase second-hand designer clothes due to the lower price and higher quality. However, shopping for high-end brands is not solely for the purpose of saving money. For budget-conscious consumers, big brands equate to high quality and ostentatious features. While second-hand big brand clothes can meet consumer demand at a discount, this study discovered in the material objects section that many consumers are extremely loyal to a particular type of brand and find that first- or second-hand clothes is far less satisfying than the brand.

"Second-hand clothes, I normally go, like, more branded stuff. Like if I find anything like Levi's, I was trying to look for more branded stuff instead of just any kinds of stuff...Sometimes it's just interesting to look at, sometimes, because sometimes you can find some like really big brands for like a lot cheaper." --P006, Male, 20s, Retailing

According to the photographs (Image 012) provided by participants and the interviews, some consumers will purchase well-known or luxury brands through second-hand channels at a discount. Although this study does not distinguish between second-hand luxury and second-hand normal clothes strictly, some luxury brands, as well as some high-quality brands (light luxury brands) that fall between luxury and fast fashion, have a strong appeal to consumers.

“Sometimes it's just interesting to look at, sometimes, because sometimes you can find some like really big brands for like a lot cheaper.” --P006, Male, 20s, Retailing

“This Dolce & Gabbana shirt is my favourite shirt. I forgot where I bought it, but it is a second-hand store. This is what you call treasure hunting, right?” --P027, Female, Mid-50s, Academic



Image 012. Favourite second-hand clothes (Brand: Dolce & Gabbana, from P027)

When a consumer discussed sustainable products, he provided this study with several reasons to hunt for big-brand products. Along with purchasing high-end brands at discount prices, this consumer suggested that some consumers are more allergic to specific brands when purchasing pre-owned or second-hand clothes. This consumer's brand allegiance appears to support the notion of big-brand hunting.

“I don't think people are quite willing to not buy the product or switch the product based on a very strong brand allegiance. If people have used a brand

for their entire lives, then they have that trust, then they're not going to switch if.” -P035, Male, 20s, Master Student

Additionally, this consumer mentioned 'trust.' Thus, this study speculates that this type of strong brand allegiance may benefit consumers' attitudes toward and trust in certain clothes items sold in second-hand clothes shops. In other words, this type of strong brand loyalty could be cross-channel (for both first- and second-hand) and could be used to increase consumer loyalty to second-hand clothes channels.

Numerous the findings above pertain to clothes brands. Thus, brand loyalty or allegiance can be viewed as a positive spillover effect from the primary market to the secondary market for second-hand clothes consumption. For some participants, brand is paramount when purchasing both secondhand and new clothes. According to the photographs and interview data, the participant's preferred secondhand and new clothes frequently share the same brand, such as Fat Face or White Company. Thus, in the minds of some consumers, the brand's influence and inherent impression are more important than whether the clothes are secondhand.

“I often buy fat face. If I see a good fat face dress in a second-hand shop, I probably will buy it.” --P011, Female, 30s, Academic

Another economic capital related to the big brand is bargain hunting.

4.3.2.4. BARGAIN HUNTING

For consumers with average purchasing power, when they find big brands of good quality in second-hand shops and can buy them at relatively low prices, they will have a sense of bargain hunting.

“When I found a good-quality Burberry in a second-hand shop, of course, the price is reasonable, I'll buy it I think.” --P038, Female, 40s, Corporate staff

Although this thesis makes no attempt to discuss second-hand clothes from luxury brands, through the observations, this study discovered that second-hand Burberry trench coats are extremely common and plentiful in second-hand clothes shops, with prices ranging from £100 to £500. For instance, this trench coat cost £350 in a London second-hand clothes shop. While £350 may not seem like a bargain to many shoppers, when compared to the cost of a brand-new Burberry trench coat, the price is a good price. This emphasises the importance of big branding and some of the economic implications of second-hand clothes shops.



Image 013: £350 second-hand Burberry trench coat.

The preceding discussion alluded to the awkward position of footwear in this category of second-hand clothes. Only one participant displayed the used shoes she purchased. While she was in need of a pair of sneakers, she was averse to spending a lot of money on items she did not normally use (see image 014).

“I don’t usually wear sneakers and don’t like them either. But once I did need a pair. You know, a pair of brand-new good sneakers is quite expensive, so I

went to charity shop. These shoes are comfortable and very cheap. They just met all my needs and maximized the use of resources.” —P017, Female, 40s, Researcher



Image 014. Favourite second-hand clothes (from P017) According to the above analysis, second-hand clothing consumers have a relatively large prejudice against shoes, but the consumer still buys second-hand shoes. It can be inferred that the impeding capital in this field is offset or even surpassed by the corresponding economic capital in the mind of the consumer.

From the foregoing, it can be concluded that in the game of prejudice versus low price, this consumer chose low price because their functionality and low price satisfy consumers' needs simultaneously, and thus this type of satisfaction defeats the game's prejudice. In other words, low prices and functionality eliminate this emotional distance.

Additionally, there is a form of positive capital that appears to bear some resemblance to the preceding argument. A consumer shared her friend's experience with the researcher, indicating that highly targeted functionality is a significant capital for secondhand clothes consumption.

“And it's not about money because she has enough money and she's got a good job at the council. But she says, ‘I just buy all my work clothes at the charity shop because I don't even like wearing them.’ because she has to wear smart clothes so. She doesn't want to spend much money.”-P018, Female, 30s, Corporate staff

This study discovered that the participant's friend did not believe the clothes in the second-hand clothes shop were valuable because she disliked wearing work clothes. Purchasing items that the consumer dislikes in second-hand clothes shops. After weighing the costs and benefits, this research concludes that purchasing items that people dislike is the best course of action. However, secondhand clothes represent a low-cost alternative in this decision-making process, even if it embodies the feature of functionality. Additionally, in the eyes of the consumer's friends, secondhand clothes are not emotionally connected to the consumer.

However, this study summarizes this type of behavior by stating that bargain hunting solely for the sake of a low price appears somewhat arbitrary. Because the data collected in this research demonstrates that even for bargains, the trade-offs between each consumer's consideration, motivation, and various capitals are clearly diverse. According to the preceding analysis, this type of bargain hunting may be motivated solely by a desire for low prices, or it may be motivated by consumers' lack of interest in the items they need to purchase and thus their unwillingness to spend much money. Thus, this study believes that bargain hunting occurs either as a result of a low price orientation or as a result of a significant emotional distance between the product and the consumer.

While this research concludes that categorizing material objects solely in terms of bargain or treasure is somewhat arbitrary and biased. Because 'social class and aesthetics' is a central tenet of Bourdieu's theory, although class is not the subject of this study, the consistency and extension of aesthetics are. Is price a critical factor for buyers when it comes to luxury/designed clothes at a low price? Or is it that some consumers are completely unconcerned about price? If price is irrelevant, secondhand clothes serves as a carrier of a particular aesthetic while also serving as a treasure.

According to the image data and analysis presented above, this study cannot determine whether consumers distinguish between skin-contacting and non-skin-contacting clothes when purchasing secondhand clothes. When participants displayed their favourite secondhand clothes, some displayed shirts or T-shirts (which are most likely to come into direct contact with the skin), while others displayed jackets and coats (most likely not to touch the skin).

It is worth noting, however, that according to Bourdieu's theory, individuals with a weak sense of capital pursuit are executors on the periphery of the field. According to the data in this study, there is no clear distinction between secondhand and new clothes in the eyes of some consumers. As a result, the field's boundary is ambiguous for these consumers, and the field's influence on them will be relatively weak.

It's difficult to tell the difference between 'second-hand clothes' and 'first-hand clothes' based on the photographs of the participants' purchases. Additionally, the current study discovered that these second-hand clothes can be highly coordinated with the color and style of the participants' other clothes. This finding directly supports the majority of participants' argument that there is no discernible difference between second-hand and first-hand clothes for the majority of consumers, and that second-hand clothes is not problematic clothes or 'stuff' from informal channels. They are considered to be ordinary clothes, and second-hand clothes selling channels simply provide consumers with additional options for purchasing clothes.

" I just see them as normal shops. I don't see them as different other clothes shops. For me, they're just a shop you can get clothes from." --P017, Female, 40s, Researcher

Additionally, the style of favorite items and clothes in the wardrobe can bolster the preceding argument. None of the participants demonstrated a marked stylistic difference between their preferred secondhand clothes and the types of clothes in their wardrobe. The most popular vintage clothes are typically those that complement the participants' personal style (see image 015 & 016). Due to the rapid evolution of fashion trends and the high turnover rate of fast fashion channels, it is difficult to locate these clothes through current mainstream channels.



Image 015. Favourite clothes (from P011)



Image 016. Favourite second-hand clothes (from P011)

The above piece of clothes seems quite similar with clothes that can be bought from first-hand clothes stores as the consumer suggested, but it is second-hand. This participant showed significant consistency of buying clothes no matter second-hand or first-hand.

“My current habit is that if I want a new top or a new dress or anything that I have a look at the charity shop first, because I think I want specific dress colour. I knew it wasn't in fashion and if you are trying to find something cool or in fashion and you will go to a shop. It's like, nah, sorry, we don't have that colour, no, we don't have that colour. You get might frustrated. As you walk into a charity shop, you can have a look, they may have the colour, may not have the colour, but luckily I found one.”—P015, Female, Mid 50s, Retail staff.

And some consumers also claim that fashion products are not just needed for them. If they have money, they are more willing to spend on 'experience':

"My holidays, I'd rather spend my money on a nice holiday than buying fashionable clothes. You wear what you want? Yeah, there's no fashion in my life. (for fashion) You can follow it, but you don't have to buy expensive clothes to follow it." --P015, Female, Mid 50s, Retail staff.

"...my kind of activities like kind of walking, like that kind of outdoor lifestyle. I've spent much money on sport equipment rather than fashion items." --P024, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

Consumers on the periphery of these fields exhibit certain characteristics, and their habits enable them to be 'called' by the second-hand clothes market. They do not, however, pursue economic or symbolic capital in the field. For example, consumers who blur the line between first- and second-hand clothes, as well as consumers who prioritize life experience over fashion, deplete the more complex symbolic capital to a certain extent. As a result, the field's influence on them will be diminished. While these consumers' behavior may be relatively stable, reshaping the field structure in the field is difficult.

4.3.3. SYMBOLIC AND SOCIAL MEANINGS

In the field, the term 'illusion' refers to an individual's perception of the field. It can be thought of as a consumer's perception of secondhand clothes consumption from a market perspective. According to Bourdieu's theory, consumers enter the field through the 'illusion,' in which they endow products with symbolic meaning and attempt to achieve the result of that symbolic meaning through purchasing and using the product.

As such, the following section will discuss symbolic meanings in detail and lay the groundwork for the subsequent dialectical relationship between symbolic and economic capital, as well as the extended spillover effect.

In discussions of economic capital, the term "big-brand hunting" has been used to refer to consumers' pursuit of big brands. However, once the economic capital associated with this 'illusion' is removed, many participants will express their desire to seek unique 'orphan' products or unbranded 'niche products'. From this point, the products consumed in the field are symbolic of 'treasure,' and thus treasure hunting is a form of symbolic meanings.

4.3.3.1. TREASURE HUNTING

For some brands that consumers particularly enjoy, if the style is one they enjoy, discovering these clothes in second-hand clothes shops comes as a surprise to consumers. This could be considered a form of treasure hunting. According to Guiot and Roux (2010), treasure hunting is a significant factor in secondhand clothes purchases. Although this is not the purpose of this research, it is quite similar to how Guiot and Roux (2010:358) described it: "second-hand shop is like Alibaba's cave; good things are buried, I want to find them." When consumers discover an item of clothes in the second-hand market that is difficult to purchase in a first-hand clothes shop, this item of clothes is regarded as a treasure.

"It's fun to search in second-hand stores. Every time you enter the store, you don't know what new products the store will have this time." --P014, Female, 20s, Undergraduate student

One consumer stated that she frequently enters second-hand clothes shops without purpose, and that shopping in second-hand stores frequently made her feel excited. However, the result of such shopping may be increased ineffective consumption in the eyes of consumers, as discussed in detail in Chapter 4.4.

"And just like there's not even a reason. Do you know what I mean? We get excited. I think I want this. And then later on, you know I feel a bit guilty. Sometimes if I buy, I think I didn't really need that. But it was nice!" -P031, Male, 20s, Barista.

In a vintage market in Manchester, clothes, second-hand furniture and other decorative objects come together to create an exhibition gallery effect.



Image 017: This photograph was taken at SHS014 in Manchester, with its diverse range of products and warm lighting. As the second-hand furniture or decorative objects reflect a more vintage character, the clothing in the venue also naturally has a certain vintage quality. This gives the researcher a sense of treasure hunting due to the unpredictable and extremely diverse range of products. The orange and light brown tones also made the researcher feel comfortable and warm during his observations.

For this group of consumers, the nature or label of ‘second-hand’ is not important to them, and second-hand clothes can only provide consumers with more choices, possibilities and excitement.

4.3.3.2. NOSTALGIA

This study discovered that nostalgia is also the social symbolic significance that consumers associate with secondhand clothes. Utilizing clothes manufactured many years ago may imply that second-hand clothes have a nostalgic social/symbolic significance.

According to the analysis of this research and the interviews with consumers, this study discovered that while not all secondhand clothes can be classified as vintage, a significant number of them do. As previously stated, some consumers have extremely delicate emotions, and they will associate those emotions with their clothes. This study defines this behavior in the abstract as the emotional distance between people and their clothes.

In terms of nostalgia, they believe that wearing vintage clothes can help them "feel" a bygone era and way of life. This nostalgia may be triggered by anxiety or disappointment about today's world's large-scale production, complexity, turbulence, and uncertainty, which may coincide with the rebellion against existing capital markets' large-scale production. And these nostalgic complexes more or less exemplify postmodernism's characteristics. As Charles Jencks noted in *The Language of Postmodern Buildings*, modernism belongs to the elite, who purposefully complicate things so that the general public cannot understand them; postmodernism, on the other hand, belongs to the general public; postmodernism has completely taken over the streets, blurring the line between fine art and popular culture (Jencks, 1991). Second-hand clothes carries a greater symbolic weight because it deviates from the fashion defined by the fashion industry and retains its uniqueness and sustainability.

"And all the changes that are happening. People again probably look to the past as a simpler time. Um, when things were less, um, less changing, less chaotic. Um, almost. But yeah, I don't know whether they were necessarily by

*the time it feels like it is looking back um, that it was less, um, less chaotic.
So maybe it speaks to that." --P007, Male, Mid 30s, Academic*

Additionally, some consumers point to the post-war impact on the lifestyles of senior citizens in the United Kingdom. The effects of the Second World War and the Cold War cultivated the British generation's thriftiness. While more people appear to be pursuing sustainability, the dramatic increase in industrial productivity has bred a culture of "throw rather than repair." In a previous discussion, a consumer made the comparison between 'wipe glass windows by used newspapers' and 'wipe glass windows by so-called environmentally friendly products' to illustrate her confusion about so-called sustainability and environmental protection. Additionally, she recalled the scene in which her grandmother repaired her clothes. In this instance, these consumers have expressed a desire for a more traditional way of life, which they believe is superior to the way things are now.

"It's been worse for the environment in our generation, but maybe my children's generation, they're trying to bring it back the older ways. The more traditional the more we reuse, reduce, recycle" --P017, Female, 40s, Researcher

Additionally, one consumer brought up an intriguing point that connects the mixed second-hand clothes shops mentioned previously to the new products made with recycled materials sold in the second-hand clothes shops, which are seeking uniqueness and sustainability. This consumer mentioned that a number of her friends have begun mending and sewing their own clothes, which is both sustainable and unique.

"I was never taught to knit as a child, so it's not in my thing to be able to knit. But again, that's more sustainable, isn't it? To make your own clothes and create like that, which is rare. And then I've got young friends who are starting to do that and they're getting into making their own stuff as well. Then because it's more unique, maybe is the driver, because people don't

wanna always look the same as everyone else.”-P017, Female, 40s, Researcher

And all of this stems from the revival of a traditional habit that appears to be a nod to a bygone era's way of life. Additionally, this type of tribute appears to demonstrate a degree of affection and love for the family. Although P017 did not elaborate, after discussing her parents' and her own lives, she stated: "It'll be good if my children choose to continue..." to express a positive attitude toward a particular way of life in the past.

P020 perceived the act of purchasing vintage clothes as an emotional investment for the family. This emotion is very similar to the ones discussed previously. This nostalgia stems from a sentimental attachment to one's childhood and family environment. For consumers born in the 1980s and 1990s, they claim that by purchasing 1980s or 1990s-style clothes, they can "feel" their lost childhoods and warm family memories.

"You know I work far away from my family... sometimes, some second-hand clothes, you know, old school style, can bring my memory with my father and brothers back home" -P020, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

Moreover, when participant P020 was talking about second-hand clothes shops, he used the word 'shock'. He felt that these clothes were all he had never seen before, and they should belong to his father's generation.

"But if you go shopping to a second hand, shock, you can see stuff that you've not seen for a while, or you could see clothes maybe your older brother or even like your family members, like uncle, and they would wear.”-P020, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

Nostalgia appears to be quite important to participant P020, as evidenced by his willingness to spend a significant amount of money on a pair of second-hand shoes that

matched the style of the shoes he wore as a child. According to the consumer's interview, he believed that this pair of shoes associated with childhood memories was quite emotionally significant to him. P020, who has never spent a lot of money on clothes, spent nearly 900 pounds on this pair of shoes under the influence of this kind of feeling. This demonstrates that nostalgia, as a significant capital in the field, does have an effect on some second-hand clothes consumers' behavior and practice.

Additionally, the consumer believed that while low prices are a factor that attracts him to enter this field, they have the greatest influence on him during the initial stages. When consumers enter this field for the sake of low prices, other capitals (meanings), such as nostalgic emotional attachment, are likely to be a more compelling reason for them to stay longer and develop the corresponding habitus.

Not only does the preceding analysis of nostalgia reflect contemporary consumers' longing for a bygone era, but it also reflects other characteristics of second-hand clothes such as vintage, uniqueness, and sustainability. Vintage is derived from nostalgia in the following section, which will focus on vintage as a significant meaning in this field.

4.3.3.3. VINTAGE: FEELINGS OR MARKETING

Nostalgia demonstrates a fondness for bygone lifestyles, habits, and environments (Sedikides et al., 2008). Vintage is the fashion industry's embodiment of nostalgia. To begin, this research discovered that many charity shops have a branding strategy that emphasizes vintage as a selling point.

In the large London second-hand clothes market, they have named themselves directly after the vintage market.



Image 018: This photograph was taken at SHS016 in London.

Moreover, some second-hand clothes shops name them directly as vintage shops.



Image 019: This photo was taken at SH003 in Sheffield (now closed).

In addition to these second-hand clothes shops, kilo-sale is also working on a vintage-focused branding strategy.



Image 020: Above is the schedule for a kilo-sale event (2020) touring the whole of the UK. In the bottom right corner of the image is the company name: 'THE VINTAGE'.



Image 021: This is also a billboard for a kilo-sale event. Again, they are emphasising vintage.

And, the emails received by the researcher in the process of purchasing tickets to participate in the event also reflect the characteristics of vintage.

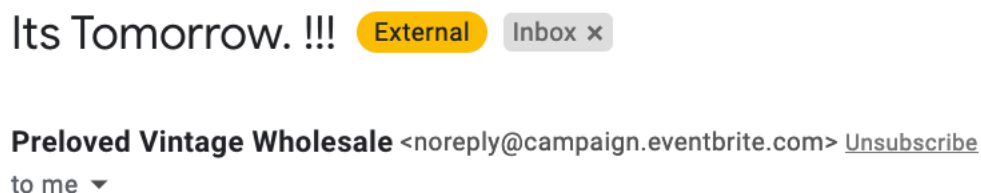


Image 022: This image is a screenshot of the researcher's email.

Along with some secondhand clothes shops and kilo-sales, this study discovered that some charity shops are attempting to reinvent themselves as "vintage stores" in order to attract a specific demographic of consumers. For instance, a charity shop in a residential community may decorate the store with vintage bicycles, turn-of-the-century posters, or vintage record players and televisions, emphasizing the store's retro appeal. This marketing strategy also demonstrates, on the contrary, that the 'vintage' feeling is a significant symbolic capital in the field.

These decorations can inspire young people's curiosity and old people's memories of the past.

"I can find loads of toys I played with when I was a kid, lovely. you know, and books..." --P037, Female, 20s, Master Student

As mentioned previously, charity shops' primary target consumer group is the local community, and the community's composition is relatively based on family, rather than consumers segmented by fashion taste, as is the case with fast fashion.

*"Our main customers are basically the residents of Broomhill, and students."
--P033, Male, 30s, Entrepreneur*

There may be a reason why these charity stores have positioned themselves as 'vintage stores' through market strategies (See image 023 and 024).



Image 023: This photo was taken at SHS005 in Sheffield. Branding as Vintage shop.

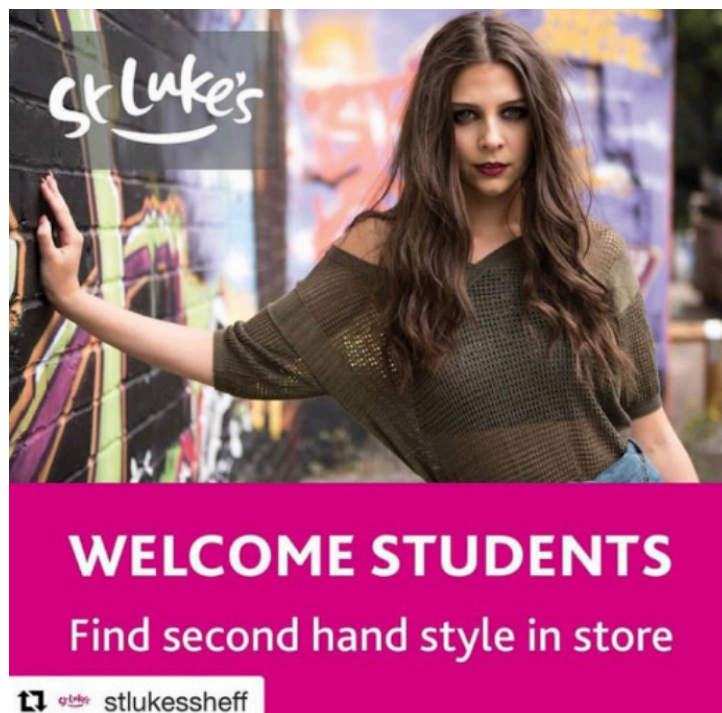


Image 024: The poster of St Luke's charity shop

The following map shows the vintage characteristics of the second-hand shops around the University of Sheffield (UoS covers the area from Weston park to Broad Ln).



Image 025, 'vintage shops' on map in Sheffield



Image 026, 'charity shops' on map in Sheffield

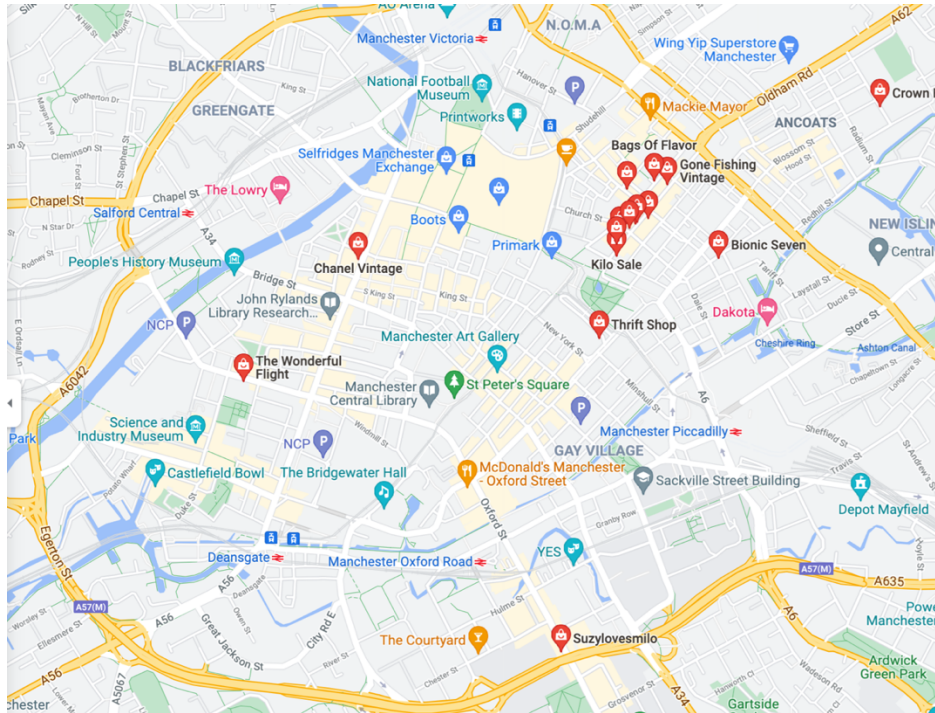


Image 027: 'vintage shop' on map in Manchester

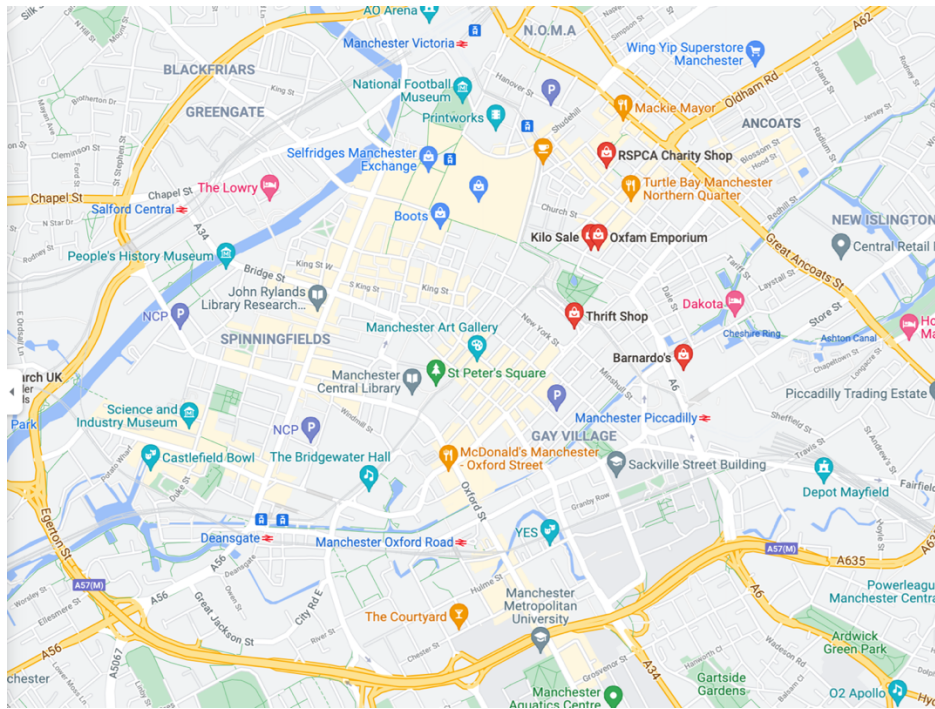


Image 028, 'thrift shops' on map in Manchester

By comparing the two Google Maps search results (see images 025 and 026), this study discovered that when searching for 'vintage' in a city, such as Sheffield, the majority of shops appear in the city centre and around universities, such as the University of Sheffield in the west and Sheffield Hallam University in the east. Additionally, the thrift store and charity shop are included. When I searched for 'charity shop,' the number of shops in the city centre dropped precipitously, and the majority were located in the suburbs. While in Manchester, the result of 'vintage' is greater than the result of 'thrift' on a city-wide scale, and the majority of the result of 'thrift' is charity shops. Both of these establishments sell secondhand clothes, and the differences in location and branding reflect the demographics of their respective target groups. The marketing strategy that emphasizes vintage appears to be more geared toward young people and college students who frequent city centres for shopping.

This marketing strategy for targeting students has also been confirmed by practitioners.

"I would say we get a lot a lot students come in and I'm actually seeing the same people come in daily. So I don't know if that's because the campus down the road, so they're walking through town and they're walking in"-P034, Female, 20s, Entrepreneur.

The practitioner's perspective implied that some student consumers have developed a routine when entering second-hand clothes shops. They may or may not purchase clothes, but frequent entry into the shop increases their likelihood of purchasing, which also explains why these shops are willing to open near universities. Another consumer, P032, mentioned that she frequently visits secondhand clothes shops. Often, she had no reason to enter a one, "and just like there isn't even a reason." -P032, because this behavior provides consumers with a sense of pleasure, combined with P032's perspective, she can discover interesting things each time she visits second-hand shops.

Thus, this study speculates that these hedonic values can help consumers form bonds with secondhand stores and then cultivate their habits. Additionally, the consumer's and practitioner's perspectives support Bourdieu's (2007) point of view: speaking of 'intention to do' out of habit is a false proposition; for many second-hand clothes consumers, this routinized passing by and unconscious entry are simply the formation of a habit under the action of time and field.

According to the map above, universities are located near these second-hand clothes shops that use vintage as a branding strategy. According to observations, research data, and the researcher's experience in charity shops, these establishments not only seek to attract more young consumers, but also to recruit more university students as volunteers.

"Most of our customers are nearby residents. And it is difficult for us to park...

We welcome more students to visit, and we also need more volunteers."—

P031, Male, 20s, Barista.

This strategy of targeting young people is also used at kilo-sale events, where organizers stamp a stamp on the back of the participant's hand or arm following ticket validation. The researcher observed and conversed with consumers in the queue and discovered that the style was very similar to that of pubs and clubs.



Image 029: This photograph was taken at the kilo-sale event SHS007 in Sheffield.

'PRELOVED' is the name of the event organiser.

However, this situation has created some complications. The first reason is that such branding is effective, and the second reason is that many charity stores attract a large number of young people and college students to volunteer. These young volunteers will price items based on their personal experience and fashion preferences. This has led many middle-aged consumers to believe that the prices of items in charity shops have become 'ridiculously' expensive:

“Um, you know, the price is ridiculous, I mean, this is a charity shop, isn't it? I remember like ten years ago, that's only 50p, now, it's 5 pounds. The economy is good? No.” --P018, Female, 30s, Corporate staff

The information above reflects changes in the value of symbolic capital (vintage and nostalgia) and economic capital (low prices in the group habitus). Vintage and nostalgia became the 'illusion' pursuits of various individuals in the field during this process. As a result, in addition to some charity shops, several of the for-profit second-hand clothes shops mentioned previously also emphasize this type of symbolic capital in a more commercial manner.

4.3.3.4. MODERN SECOND-HAND CLOTHES STORES

Along with the second-hand clothes shop using vintage/retro as a selling point, this research discovered that fast fashion also has a 'retro/vintage' style (see image 030). Fast fashion and luxury fashion reintroduced dress styles from the 1990s, 1980s, and even the 1970s to the contemporary market, and then produced fast fashion and luxury merchandise with a 'retro' style. Due to the new fashion trend, vintage clothes has regained its 'fashionable' characteristics.



Image 030, Fast fashion brand Urban Outfitters presented vintage clothes

A proprietor of a second-hand clothes shop referred to second-hand clothes that was in keeping with current fashion trends (and thus sold better) as 'modern second-hand/retro/vintage clothes.' In this case, these second-hand clothes and the fashion industry share the same target customers, and thus low-priced second-hand clothes have become the 'modern second-hand clothes' in the eyes of young consumers, then attracting young consumers to the second-hand clothes industry.

“This is not just vintage, I prefer to call them modern, modern vintage stuff. We have vintage, like clothes from 70s, 80s, we also have something new, the vintage stuff is more in line with current fashion trends.”—P034, Female, 20s, Entrepreneur.

A consumer's perspective can partially support this 'non-vintage vintage' position. Although, based on available data, vintage clothes appear to be more designed or older clothes, or simply a branding strategy, whereas secondhand clothes is a more generic term. However, this study did not fully grasp the distinction between vintage and secondhand clothes from the consumer's perspective. A consumer's perspective appears

to add a new dimension to the analysis; that is, for some second-hand clothes shops, vintage appears to be a true branding strategy. Because many of the garments sold in these vintage shops are likely to be 'retired' items from two weeks ago's high street fashion trends.

“It just been taken to a second hand shop because clothing stores they only have a certain amount of space in their store, so want something goes out of fashion. A little like maybe they saw a fashion for 2 weeks. It has to go somewhere; it goes to the second-hand shops. So it's called second-hand, but actually 2 weeks before it was in the shops, it was in the high street.”-P020, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

Thus, this research is attempting to define vintage clothes in the field of this study; that is, for some second-hand clothes shops, vintage clothes is not only a form of branding based on nostalgia, but also a clothes category that exists outside of the current fashion cycle. While its value may be higher when it is removed from the cycle, its market value may be related to the cycle's changes, presenting a state of dynamic equilibrium. In terms of 'modern second-hand clothes,' this study believes that these are second-hand clothes that are more in tune with the current fashion cycle and aesthetics.

Consumers, on the other hand, have difficulty distinguishing between second-hand/thrift shops and modern second-hand/retro shops (at least according to the consumer interviews conducted for this study), because this definition comes from practitioners of modern second-hand/retro shops, and thus the distinction is more akin to a value proposition or branding strategy. However, some consumers believe that these so-called modern second-hand/retro clothes shops operate more like traditional second-hand clothes shops, as they prefer this type of second-hand clothes store. The following section will detail the analysis.

4.3.3.5. FASHIONABLE SECOND-HAND CLOTHES FILTER (FASHIONABILITY)

Interestingly, young consumers and practitioners in this industry refer to certain second-hand clothes as 'modern second-hand clothes' or 'modern retro clothes' to differentiate it from traditional vintage/second-hand clothes and 'outdated (in comparison to current fashion trends)' second-hand clothes found in traditional charity shops. According to practitioners, the 'modern second-hand clothes' industry is still in its infancy. The majority of these small and micro businesses have flourished over the last decade.

“you may have discovered that there are more and more vintage shops, like us, on the high street.” --P029, Female, 20s, Corporate staff.

These new business phenomena can accurately reflect consumer and societal changes. These young practitioners, who are also consumers, combine their perspectives as practitioners and consumers, thereby acting as a 'filter for second-hand clothes'. They screened out a large number of second-hand clothes based on the aesthetics and fashion trends of young people in order to more easily adapt to current fashion aesthetics and attract more consumers. Additionally, a growing number of young consumers have shifted their attitudes toward secondhand clothes. Secondhand clothes represent a very different business environment and social trends than it did in the past, as explained in greater detail in the following chapters.

“Okay. So, I probably say the majority of it is vintage or kind of second hand. And modern second-hand stuff as well.” --P039, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

“I would probably describe it as a more "modern" vintage store, rather than "old-fashioned"/ traditional vintage- something that would appeal to students and young people in Sheffield.” --P029, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

If we still define second-hand clothes as a niche product in the current market environment, good design (good-looking) products will be one of the key factors to attract consumers. Based on this inference, compared to charity shops, consumers, especially young consumers, are more inclined to shop in these so-called modern second-hand clothes shops and then accept second-hand clothes because of fashionability. In this sense, fashionability and low price mentioned before seem to serve the starting-point capitals that can attract consumers into this field at the initial stage.

In the above section on using vintage as a branding strategy, the regional and community aspects of second-hand stores are mentioned.

4.3.3.6. SERVE THE COMMUNITY

The products of these charity shops usually come from local communities. Although the purpose of charity shops is to promote and support specific charitable activities, in fact they have become a key link in the community to connect production and consumption.

“I tend to my Saturday morning routine tends to be, um, I go into crooks, which is where I live and just have a little pot around, have a coffee, and just go in and out of all of the different charity shops and just rummage around and see. So I might not need any clothes. I just think, oh, that's nice.” –P011, Female, 30s, Academic

Indeed, as Bourdieu believes, an individual's or group's position in the field has an effect on the change in capital value to a certain extent, and the distinction between communities and geographic location also has an effect on the presence of various types of meanings. The field's value, in turn, has an effect on the consumers' consumption habits and practices. The middle class demonstration will include an analysis of group position, capital value, and practice changes (see Chapter 4.4).

In the section about competition, some participants mentioned that second-hand clothes consumption requires 'free time'. In addition to inferring that second-hand clothes consumption does require time for selection and exploration, the following data also illustrates that second-hand clothes consumption is also a form of entertainment.

4.3.3.7. PASTIME, RELAXED EXPERIENCE AND SOCIAL ACTIVITY

There are a group of consumers claiming that second-hand clothes purchase is a type of pastime, since the limited options for pastime in the city centres of most of the British cities, second-hand clothes stores have provided more options for fashion items purchase and pastime for spending time at weekends or holidays.

Also, some participants shared their weekend activities such as hanging around in the car-boot sales with their families.

"I would start on a Saturday regularly going walking down division street or things like that to get second-hand and look at things. And then as I've got older, I think when I was working full time, um, again, it was kind of like a relaxing hobby to do. Sometimes before I had children, I'd go to a different area sometimes and check out the charity shops in the area." --P017, Female, 40s, Researcher

When considering the meanings of second-hand clothes channels, some consumers suggested that second-hand clothes shops, flea markets, events, and car boot sales can provide a much more relaxed environment for consumers; loitering in second-hand clothes shops or car boot sales is more like an experience free of pressure. According to some consumers, the experience in fast fashion channels or large shopping malls may put them under more pressure and force them to make decisions, whereas the second-hand clothes channel may not.

"I find fast fashion stores themselves to be very stressful, and I feel, you know, and they have horrible lighting and I don't enjoy the experience. I don't like

being there. Um, and I kind of always leave feeling like an ugly, horrible person, not in terms of my ethics, in terms of like by how I actually look.” -- P005, Female, 30s, Corporate Staff

One symbolic meaning associated with secondhand clothes consumption is that they serve as a social activity. Several participants noted that on nearly every occasion when they purchased secondhand clothes, they were accompanied by friends who also purchased secondhand clothes. To communicate with their friends and to gain their admiration through a try-on of second-hand jackets, they may open their wallet to second-hand clothes.

“...when I was kind of an older teenager or uni shopping became a lot more sociable. Yeah, because suddenly there are a lot more options. Um, like when I was younger, there weren't that many options. So, you wouldn't really like go shopping with your friends because you could do it for half an hour and then you'd run out...I just bought them because my friends were like, yeah, by it. And it's just did it as a social thing. Um, and that was still fun. And then during my PhD is when I got really into vintage stuff and the kilo sales. Um, because I had a friend who was really into them, and she would always tell me about it. And she always got tickets, so we always be going to them...And then I used to also do a lot of swapping clothes with friends. So it's kind of like second hand but not officially second-hand. Yeah, I'm probably about a quarter of my wardrobe is still that.” --P012, Female, 40s, University staff

4.3.3.8. UNIQUENESS AND REBELLION AGAINST HIGHLY CAPITALIZED MARKETS

The aforementioned findings demonstrate the uniqueness of second-hand clothes. As previously stated, the second-hand clothes industry, particularly the emerging modern second-hand clothes, has largely inherited the characteristics of the last century's hippie culture. Uniqueness is critical to hippie and neo-hippie culture, which

explains why hippies began frequenting secondhand stores and flea markets in the last century (Pendergast et al., 2004). Regardless of whether modern secondhand clothes and the secondhand clothes industry truly adhere to hippie culture, many consumers view secondhand clothes as a product that is outside the mainstream of mass production and thus given a 'unique' characteristic. Rejecting mass-produced fast fashion and desiring to stand out, this segment of the population frequently wears vintage clothes to express their distinct aesthetic or attitude:

"I just went there because I was going to charity shops because I like looking at different clothes and different varieties, whereas the high street, but like it was all the same" --P029, Female, 20s, Corporate staff.

This uniqueness elevates second-hand clothes consumption to the level of rebellion against the system, and some consumers who claim to pursue uniqueness have also expressed their opposition to the highly capitalized fashion market. One such outcome is a highly homogeneous clothes industry and disposable society. Purchasing second-hand clothes may thus be a way of expressing an identity for the era represented by second-hand clothes, which can be interpreted as a radical discourse expressing dissatisfaction with the modern environment.

As a result of the highly developed fashion industry, this study made frequent reference to the fashion cycle. P020 made a direct reference to the 'trend cycle' during the discussion of uniqueness. He believed that the existing fashion cycle played a significant role in the uniformity of clothes styles.

"So I often went in there and actually there's a lot of good stuff in the reason, a shopping second clothing stores, just simply because a lot of it is it's gone out of the trend cycle. But with the you can play about with it. Not only just because of the price but, I like the fact that I can get items that are in the trends. I hate just wearing clothes that everyone's wearing. I don't want to be a sheep."--P020, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

Participant P020 also expressed a certain boredom of the current clothes market.

“If you go shopping on the high street in normal shops. Actually it's quite boring and quite tiring because a lot of the stuff you've seen before. Actually, if you go into work or you go to university, you see your friends wearing the same clothes that you find in the shops.”-P020, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

For many second-hand clothes consumers, uniqueness is a significant capital in the field, but this study discovered that uniqueness in terms of second-hand clothes may not be the same as uniqueness in design or production. These are pre-existing garments and designs. In essence, uniqueness reflects consumer preferences. According to Bourdieu's theory, this is also an aesthetic distinction that sets them apart from others and represents a defiance of the current trend. This distinction and rebellion are also reflected in certain shops' branding and marketing strategies. This study discovered in the previous section about nostalgia and vintage that many shops labeled themselves as vintage. Combining this section of the analysis, perhaps it is because, in addition to nostalgia, this branding strategy allows them to differentiate themselves from current fashion aesthetics, thereby forming a rebellion against a certain type of market (probably the mainstream fashion market).

Additionally, P020 established a link between consumers' desire for uniqueness and the rapid growth of the second-hand clothes market. He believed that as consumers' preferences evolve, the second-hand clothes market will continue to grow. Although this study cannot confirm this consumer's prediction, the consumption of second-hand clothes does suggest that uniqueness is a significant capital in the second-hand clothes consumption field.

“I think the second-hand clothes market in the last 5 to 10 years, as overtaken the high street because this attitude like if you look at vegetarianism, veganism, people want to be different people, and now one inter stand out from the crowd is no longer a case of following in groups, people want to

make a statement whether that's the things that they, the things that they wear and people want to be different so.”-P020, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

4.3.3.9. UNIQUE SUBCULTURE AND RELATED FRIEND CIRCLE

This sense of uniqueness and defiance of highly capitalized markets is also evident in the interior design of second-hand clothes shops. These retail establishments exhibited physical evidence consistent with their uniqueness and defiance of highly capitalized markets.

In terms of second-hand modern stores, it is fascinating to discover remnants of a "hippie" culture. This research discovered hippie-style posters, such as those by Wes Wilson, and anti-war content in photographs of several second-hand clothes shops on the street, and some stores even displayed models of "VW hippie vans." The "hippie van" is a significant symbol of 1960s hippie culture, evoking nostalgia and a retro vibe (Ebbert, 2017).

These shops stock a variety of non-Western decorative items, including rugs in the Indian style, Chinese theatrical facial masks, and Latin American handicrafts. This display of non-Western cultural symbols infuses the store's décor with an air of exoticism and mystery (see image 031). Certain second-hand shops specialize in Japanese-style traditional clothes, and one store has an entire section dedicated to selling Japanese vintage clothes.



Image 031: This photograph was taken in SHS015, London, and shows Japanese kimonos (women's) or yukata worn to fireworks displays on the left of the rack. To the right of the rack are modern clothes.

We cannot confirm, based on observational data alone, whether these 'ethnic inspired' decorations are comparable to the 'second-hand shops serve as museums' mentioned in previous literature (Weil, 1999), or whether they are related to Japan's highly developed second-hand clothes market, even if a participant mentioned Japan. Based on the evidence available, this study can only conclude that the Japanese corner in the second-hand clothes shop exists as a result of exoticism and international trade.

*“Japan has a very mature second-hand clothing market.” --P004, Male, 40s,
Shop Owner*

Additionally, these stores sell a variety of vibrant clothes and handmade items that combine western and non-western styles. Additionally, a shop sells printed images of some naked men and women (see image 032), which represent the original hippie movement's "love and sex" (Hipplanet, 2020). Wild animal decoration also reflects the hippie culture's emphasis on reconnecting with nature. These decorations commemorate hippie or neo-hippie culture by evoking symbolic meanings such as

uniqueness, the anti-standardized business world, and individualism, all of which can strongly reflect the rebellion against the highly capitalised market.



Image 032, This photograph was taken at SHS002 in Sheffield. The decoration of shop, from a vintage shop

One shop also has the original McDonald's clown character (see image 033 & 034), although because of the ethical movement of advertising and the social change, character of Ronald McDonald has 'retired' from commercials, he actually served as one of the key memories of children born from 60's to 90's (Cross, 2002). This shop also showed some characters of animations played in the last century. These characters can therefore mirror the nostalgia value of these second-hand or vintage clothes.



Image 033, This photograph was taken at SHS002 in Sheffield. McDonald's logo in shop, from a vintage shop



Image 034, This photograph was taken at SHS002 in Sheffield. McDonald's clown character, from a vintage shop

One shop even made a wall using clothes such as scarves and tops.



Image 035: This photograph, taken at SHS012 in Manchester, reinforces the character of the clothing shop (selling second-hand clothes) while creating a distinctive artistic quality. It also creates a strong impact of colour.

This uniqueness and rebellion can therefore also be expressed through features such as the colour of the shop.



Image 036: This photograph was taken in SHS008, Sheffield, and shows a very representative range of colours within the premises. Observations from this study show that the visual effect in most shops, whether charities, flea markets, or other types of second-hand clothes shops, is very strong. The products have a very strong and recognisable colour identity. SHS008, for example, has a very strong saturation and contrast of colours that will deepen the impression. This characteristic is different from most fast fashion or luxury brands. It reinforces a certain rebelliousness and uniqueness.

For a better comparison, this study selected the shop images of TOPSHOP and ZARA (see image 037 & 038). It is obvious that the decoration and style of second-hand clothes shops are not as neat, bright and fancy as these fast fashions. But they distinguish themselves from those fast fashion with a very unique temperament, thus highlighting their own uniqueness.



Image 037, TOPSHOP in Sheffield



Image 038, ZARA in London

As such, from a consumer's perspective, some consumers will spontaneously form sub-cultural communities to some extent when responding to niche culture.

Because of the uniqueness and subculture, some consumers believe that second-hand clothes stores, especially those for young consumers, are a kind of good place to socialize and make friends. Second-hand clothes shops are a kind of subcultural community in the eyes of this group of consumers. Shop owners are often friends with loyal consumers and can provide consumers with professional advice and new product

notifications. Combined with the issues of distrust of institutions and former owners, some consumers believe that familiar shop owners can alleviate this distrust of second-hand clothes and help consumers better experience the charm of second-hand clothes.

“...second-hand clothes, I mean, vintage clothes are very niche, and there are not many people around me like vintage clothes. but some owners and staffs of vintage shops are my friends in this circle. They can share some knowledge of vintage, history, and they can also give me some suggestions on how to wear them. This is so cool.”—P014, Female, 20s, Undergraduate student

“...many people always say second-hand clothes are dead people’s clothes, but I just like them. Good retro shops can make you no longer worry about the source of the clothes. They sort out the styles of clothes well and clean each piece of it.”—P020, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

When an individual or a group recognizes the type of capital available in a field, adheres to its rules, and develops a stable habit and practice, the individual's practice becomes the group's practice. If it is true that an individual's 'illusion' in the field is merely a projection of the individual's habitus, then when the individual becomes a group, the 'illusion' becomes truly a 'illusion'. At this point, the individual's prior capital pursuit has evolved into a relatively stable capital structure in group practice. This type of stable capital structure will further solidify consumer habits and practices, ultimately shaping the field's structure.

However, based on available data, this study discovered a paradox regarding uniqueness. Many consumers stated that they purchase second-hand clothes to differentiate themselves from the crowd, but when combined with the analysis of 'modern second-hand clothes' and fast fashion's retro series, the distance between vintage's uniqueness and the fashion cycle of mainstream aesthetics will be quite close. If some second-hand clothes shops screen second-hand clothes solely on the basis of mainstream aesthetics, the authenticity of this uniqueness is in doubt.

As emphasized before in this research, the field studied in this research is the overlap of the second-hand clothes consumption field and the sustainable consumption field. The data collected also supports the effectiveness of this research in overlapping the two fields. Because second-hand clothes shops and second-hand clothes consumers have shown the characteristics of sustainability.

4.3.3.10. STRONG SUSTAINABILITY VALUE PROPOSITION

The styles of these second-hand modern stores vary widely. In addition to the vintage style adopted by many second-hand stores, some stores also show significant elements of sustainability. A shop uses living green plants to decorate the space (see image 039). The combination of wooden walls and green plants gives customers a natural feel.



Image 039, This photo was taken at SHS004 in Sheffield. The green plants in shop.

A wall in this store and the door to the fitting room are constructed entirely of recycled sawdust boards, demonstrating the store's commitment to recycling and reuse. Unlike many modern second-hand clothes shops, this store's primary colors are wood, black, and green. Additionally, this store is one of the few participants that advertises recycling and green consumption prominently and plainly in-store. (See image 040)



Image 040, This photo was taken at SHS004 in Sheffield. The shop design.

Additionally, this store employs a modern minimalist aesthetic (see image 041), which is frequently referred to as the Nordic style aesthetic by influencers on Instagram and Pinterest (Zappavigna, 2016) or on Amazon. This style embodies a strong sense of modernity and clean lines in order to appeal to a younger demographic of consumers, particularly students who are more sensitive and adept at using social media.



Image 041, This photo was taken at SHS004 in Sheffield. Instagram or Nordic style wall décor.

The minimalism in the decoration design also adheres to the motto of the master of minimalism Ludwig Mies -'Less is more'. Minimalism and plant decoration often reflect people's longing for simple life and the fear of various 'excessive' life (Zafarmand et al., 2003).

Along with attracting young consumers with popular styles, the appearance of such decorative styles in second-hand stores can be interpreted as a metaphor for counterattacks on overconsumption. The shop instilled in the researcher a sense of 'greenness' during the observation. Simultaneously, the shop features numerous slogans promoting 'sustainability.' As a result, elements such as green plants, pressed wood chip wallboards, slogans, and other elements all demonstrate corresponding sustainability values.

“We don’t need so many clothes, right? Many people bought but never wear it. Our style, slogan, all want to awaken people’s environmental awareness.”—P034, Female, 20s, Entrepreneur.

“Yeah, exactly. So it’s beneficial for everybody, but it’s also really go to the environment, because you’re not just wasting loads of clothes.”—P009, Female, 30s, Academic

From the above data, it can be found that participants mentioned their opposition to over consumption. Therefore, in this field, anti-over consumption is also an obvious ‘illusion’.

THE WAY TO REDUCE OVERCONSUMPTION

Second-hand clothes consumption has also been questioned by some participants, although they are second-hand clothes consumers. The researcher also discussed the questions: “what if everyone starts to consume second-hand clothes?”, “In this case, what about the economy?”, “what about the economy of developing countries who have the contracts of making clothes for big fashion brands in developed countries?” with participants.

One consumer suggested that purchasing secondhand clothes is simply a way for her to assist herself in reducing her overconsumption. She is also a vegetarian rather than a strict vegan, and she views the vegetarian lifestyle as a means of reducing overconsumption in the food industry. The reason this section is separated from 'Sustainability' is that such concerns demonstrated a more moderate view of sustainability in light of industry realities and unbalanced global development. This group of consumers serves as a link between second-hand clothes consumption and major social issues, and they embrace multi-consumption strategies.

“Whether advocating the consumption of second-hand clothes or the extremes of vegetarians, these are not reasonable to me. Why can't we see the

nature of things? It's just a matter of reducing consumption. No matter what, excessive is not good. Regardless of whether we eat meat or vegetarian food, whether it is buying new clothes or second-hand clothes, control our desires and do not overdo it.” –P004, Male, 40s, Shop Owner

Thus, this study believes that even if secondhand clothes has a symbolic meaning associated with environmental sustainability, according to Bourdieu's perspective, each type of symbolic meaning (symbolic capital) must be transformable into economic capital. If, in order to promote second-hand clothes consumption, it is forced to give it a sustainable meaning and attack other product types, this symbolic capital will be difficult to transform into economic capital, regardless of whether it is for upstream or downstream of the supply chain. If economic and symbolic capitals cannot be transformed mutually, then specific forms of consumption cannot develop into a habit (stable practice), and thus cannot exert additional influence on the structure.

In the research field of sustainable consumption, recycling is an important element, and the data of this study also proves that recycling is an important symbolic capital in the field.

RECYCLING AND EXTENDING THE LIFE CYCLE

One of the cores of frugality is to extend the life cycle of products, but frugality therefore brings the difference of the spiritual core of sustainable consumption: recycling or extending the life cycle.

Recycling

Specifically, the interview revealed diverse definitions and interpretations of sustainable development from the consumer perspective. According to some consumers, the sustainable connotation attached to secondhand clothes is "recycling." In these consumers' minds, because there are places and institutions in society that specialize in clothes recycling, there is no issue with purchasing a large quantity of clothes because

clothes is recyclable. They can purchase a large quantity of clothes as long as they are recyclable, or they know where to recycle them. Under these circumstances, the second-hand clothes consumption system based on 'recycling' has no effect on excessive consumption:

"I am really addicted to fashion items, and luckily we have charity shops and donation points, so we can buy what I like without guilty." –P003, Male, 70s, Academic

This strong value of recycling is very clearly emphasised in a charity shop in London.



Image 042: This photograph was taken at SHS017, a charity shop in London, next to a Michael Kors bag (at a lower price) with a very prominent sign saying 'only 1% of clothing is recycled'. This sign not only blocked the shoes behind it, but was also larger than the price tag next to it. The contrast is very attention grabbing and through this attention grabbing the shop visually emphasises the need for recycling and the need to reflect on the current fashion industry.

Extending the Life Cycle

But another group of consumers believes that the core of second-hand clothes is "extending the life cycle":

"I don't buy much brand-new clothes or second-hand clothes. Normally I pay a premium price for good quality clothes, and take good care of them, so they last long." --P010, Female, 30s, Corporate staff

"I've got a jacket, a weather jacket from when I was in Sweden from 1979. Oh, okay, yes, yeah. Um, some of my, you know, some of my specialty like a wet suit I've had for twenty years. Yeah. Why do I need another wet suit? Yeah, you know, why would you buy it? I would buy a dry suit because they warmer. Yeah, but I wouldn't buy another wet suit because I don't need another wetsuit." --P003, Male, 70s, Academic

Although secondhand clothes consumption adheres to the 3Rs (reduce, recycle, reuse), and "recycling" and "extending the life of clothes" are pillars of sustainable fashion, these two similar but still distinct interpretations may reflect consumers have varying standards of value. In comparison to consumers who believe that fashion is sustainable through "recycling," consumers who believe that fashion is sustainable through "extension of the life cycle of clothes" tend to purchase less clothes, whether new or second-hand. They all avoid the rebound effect associated with recycled clothes. When they purchase brand new clothes, they tend to shop more carefully and pay closer attention while wearing it. This extends the life of clothes and reduces clothes waste. When people purchase secondhand clothes, they do so for a variety of reasons, the most common being cost savings and the absence of the need to purchase a brand-new item. This is corroborated by the visual record. A consumer's photo of a sneaker and her interview fully reflect her values of 'maximizing resource usage' and 'extending the life cycle of products'.

Simultaneously, some participants believe that sustainability can meet the needs of consumers by providing added value.

SUSTAINABILITY AS THE ADDED VALUE OF CONSUMPTION

Although the sustainable development factor is slightly awkwardly positioned in the decision-making process of ordinary consumers, according to an expert in the industry who has expressed strong concerns about sustainable development, buying second-hand clothes or even working in the industry is a way for her to have fun without feeling guilty in fashion goods, because she is very involved in the fashion industry and buys clothes, and second-hand clothes are a great choice for her to buy clothes without causing waste and feeling guilt:

"I think that definitely and brought attention to the subject, but I can't lie when I was younger, it wasn't something that I really cared about sustainability. I just wanted to find a really unique piece. And I just really enjoyed rummaging through the vintage stores. Whereas it's only now that we've seen consumers become buying second hand because it is sustainable, whereas 10 years ago that wasn't really on anyone's radar. So I think I think if I wasn't doing it responsibly and sustainable, I probably feel really guilty about the habit. So I think, this industry (second-hand clothes industry) can meet my interests on the fashion, and also gives me the opportunity to do something good. That's good." --P029, Female, 20s, Corporate staff.

Since the above participants mentioned that sustainability can eliminate the guilty brought by consumption to a certain extent, some consumers thus regard sustainability as a virtue.

SUSTAINABILITY AS A VIRTUE

Because second-hand clothes have a sustainable meaning, a small number of consumers say they buy second-hand clothes to show that they have the advantages of

being sustainable or frugal in a circle of friends. Some interviewees shared their inner hope of gaining admiration and building a good self-image by sharing used clothes on social media:

"Yes, to be honest, it makes feel great to see so many likes." --P014, Female, 20s, Undergraduate student

This meaning is mainly related to the social norms of sustainability and peer pressure on green consumption. This peer pressure is more common among young people. They have a wider range of information sources than older consumers. According to life history interviews, some young people said they received a lot of education on sustainability and environmental protection in high school or university. When certain values appear in an educational way, such values can easily become some kind of moral code. A young interviewee expressed aversion to an old colleague who was not actively involved in garbage collection:

"There is an old lady who works with our team, she always doesn't care about recycle...I really cannot understand... I cannot imagine that there is anyone who doesn't care about it." --P032, Female, 20s, Undergraduate student

In addition, as mentioned earlier, many participants believe that the stigma of buying second-hand clothes persists. One participant also hinted that she experienced hidden bullying for wearing second-hand clothes when she was a child, and that her poor family made her mother often buy second-hand clothes for her. Consistent with the previous analysis, in the eyes of many people, decent people will not buy second-hand clothes, and buying second-hand clothes is considered a lifestyle of the poor. However, the current society's moral consumption and recycling movement has given second-hand clothes consumption a virtue to help those struggling with this stigma to get out of the psychosocial dilemma.

"When I wore second-hand clothes in the school, you can see many students just looked at me...It is really embarrassing...And so I became proud of it to

a point that I would tell people that I'm buying second-hand clothes and telling people they must buy second-hand clothes', and that's because of what I study about the environment in the city." --P010, Female, 30s, Corporate staff

CHARITY SUPPORT

Another virtue is charity. One of the main types of second-hand clothes shops is charity stores. Participants indicated that they support the development of charities by buying clothes, books or furniture from charity stores:

"I always donate unwanted clothes to charity; you can clear your space and do something good at the same time." --P034, Female, 20s, Entrepreneur.

"You know I like reading books, but I normally go to charity shop first, if I can do something good for charity and at the meantime get what I want, I'll feel great." --P028, Male, 30s, Corporate Staff

As stated in the 'Place' section, some participants also claimed that most charity stores do not give second-hand clothes sustainable meaning, such as the positive environmental and social impact of second-hand clothes, they just highlight their charitable focus in the specific field.

But it's interesting that just as charities don't add universal sustainability value to their products, some consumers don't see them as indifferent. Some consumers buy second-hand clothes from specific charity stores because of their charitable nature. From the interview, the study found that in buying second-hand clothes from charity stores, what plays an important role in consumers' decision-making processes are the types of activities supported by charities. Consumers with friends who have cancer, they tend to buy second-hand clothes from the British Heart Foundation or cancer-related charity stores, rather than other animal-related, child-related stores; consumers

who are keen on animal rights more tend to buy from charity stores that care about animal protection:

"Good question. I get them in charity shops, but I only go to specific ones. Um, I would never buy anything second hand, like the British Heart Foundation and stuff like that, because they are involved with animal experimentation. Um, so I would only go to places that I support." --P016, Female, 30s, Corporate Staff

VEGAN AND VEGETARIAN

It is very interesting to find that some of the second-hand clothes purchasers are vegetarian or vegan. Because of the topic of this research, the deep reasons of vegetarian or vegan lifestyle have not and will not be discussed in this research.

This finding first can support the spillover effect of ethical consumption. The vegetarian or vegan mainly include ethical, environmental, feminist and religious types (Adams, 2015; Francione, 2009). Some interviewees clearly presented their ethical, environmental and feminist values attached to the vegetarian or vegan lifestyle. The ethical value of vegetarian lifestyle is reflected by not using animal product such as wool-made coats and leather product:

"I would never buy a wool, second-hand or not. I would never buy wool or anything. That's animal derived. So, I wouldn't buy leather. And, um, what else? Yeah, I wouldn't buy anything that's animal derived." --P016, Female, 30s, Corporate Staff

However, such vegan and vegetarian lifestyle can only be found from middle-class or higher middle-class participants. Some consumers from lower social class mainly suggested the cheap price of second-hand clothes serves as the major reason for them to purchase, and they did not present the resistance to some fashion brands such as Primark. With the same logic, they also showed their tendency to buy fast food

instead of organic or vegan food because of the high sensitivity to the price and nature of physical labour.

These tendencies can also be linked to the ‘Hippie’ or ‘Neo-Hippie’ culture discussed before. Although second-hand clothes consumption and vegetarian lifestyle are hard to be associated to the ‘anti-war’ value of Hippie culture (Burnett, 2002; Mercer, 2012), they have continued the patterns of it such as seeking for uniqueness, resistance to mass production, less meat consumption and environment protection. As such, the deeper cultural links can be discussed in the future research.

In the meaning part, in addition to discovering a lot of meanings related to material objects, the research also found that consumers gave social or symbolic meanings to the entire practice based on their shopping experience.

The game between vintage and nostalgia (symbol capital) and low price (economic capital) was mentioned above, that is, in some second-hand clothes stores, when the pursuit of symbolic capital such as vintage evolves into a group of habitus, the economic capital acquired by consumers will be reduced to some extent. This is the change in the capital structure when the group habitus occurs. In addition, the sustainability (symbolic capital) and low price (economic capital) in the field have also shown a certain degree of structural change.

Specifically, many consumers said that whether it is a sustainable product or a normal product, product performance, appearance and price often appear more important. If we consider the sustainability factors blindly, this is undoubtedly the cart before the horse. The above results therefore bring out the discussion about the marketing segmentation of ‘sustainable consumers’ and show that consumers would only engage with the sustainable product that they attach the meaning of sustainability onto, and then probably purchase other products that share the similar meaning with previous one.

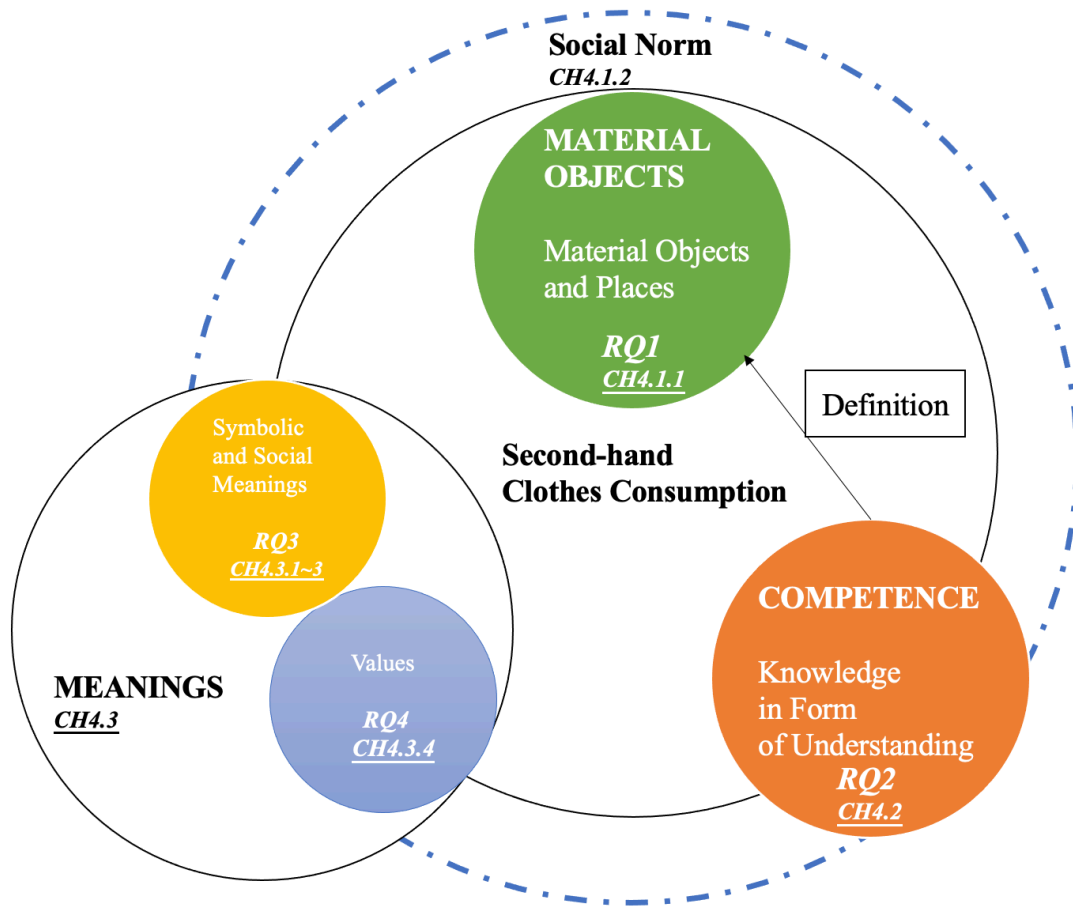
"You know, I bought, I cannot remember the name, some kind of organic washing liquid, trust me, it doesn't work...and it's more expensive than normal one. If this green product doesn't work, why should I pay premium for that? As a product, first it is a product, it should follow the basic business logic, to be a great product, instead of to be a product just with green label. It is nonsense." –P038, Male, 40s, Corporate staff

"If it is workable, I'll buy it. But it doesn't, most of so-called green products are not as good as normal one. Is it just branding?" –P022, Female, 50s, Unknown

4.3.4. VALUES IN SUSTAINABLE SECOND-HAND CONSUMPTION PRACTICE FIELD

In Bourdieu's formula on practice $[(\text{habit})(\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$, $[(\text{habit})(\text{capital})]$ represents the most basic unit of action in the field. The above analysis of the economic and symbolic capital in the field, combined with the research logic of this article, this research will then present the findings of the values, which can interpret to a certain extent that consumers enter the field before and into the field Habitus presented later. Based on the call of practice to performers out of the field, when there is a certain degree of economic capital in the field, consumers are bound to have corresponding economic-related values. The following section will present evidence and findings about values and answer the research question 4. In the figure 10 below, the section is marked in light purple.

Figure 10. The Guideline of Findings_Values



4.3.4.1. CONSUMERISM AND MATERIALISM

Although second-hand clothes is normally connected with the sustainable consumption, this research cannot ignore the unsustainable factors emerged from the interviews.

Seeking for great quality big brand second-hand clothes for pretending that is new one could demonstrate the egoistic and materialism value of consumers, which could provide a reasonable option for people who do not have good financial condition to get a better life quality:

“I usually buy good quality second-hand clothes, and many clothes are not easy to tell whether they are brand-new or second-hand.” -P010, Female, 30s, Corporate staff

While there is a group of consumers who applying the “throw away” logic in fast fashion to second-hand clothes purchase because of “low price” and “recyclable”, this type of behaviour sometimes could let consumers spend more money and generate more waste, moreover, this behaviour shows the negative spillover effect in sustainable consumption, which could be considered as “consumerism in sustainable consumption”.

4.3.4.2. EGOISM AND CARPE DIEM

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The second-hand clothes channels, as mentioned before, have provided more options for consumers to buy clothes, some consumers hence showed their carpe diem value in terms of buying clothes. They mentioned the reason why they sometime buy less clothes was because they did not have many options, they will buy more to feel satisfied and fight against the daily pressure once they have more options. Such buying behaviour does not concern about the impacts of consumption a lot, they care more about the pleasure they can get right now.

“My mother always told me, if you like it, buy it. So, whether it's first-hand or second-hand, I'll buy it if I like it” -P002, Female, 30s, PhD candidate

“I shop clothes when I feel unhappy... (Buying clothes) just makes you feel quite nice. And it's a moment for yourself. Um, and when you have a new item, it smells nice.” --P016, Female, 30s, Corporate Staff

4.3.4.3. HEDONISM

Some consumers have shown strong hedonism. This point is related to the treasure-hunting, big-brand hunting and museum-like store decoration analysed above. These consumers think that the process of shopping in a second-hand clothes store is an interesting ‘treasure hunt’, and unless they choose by themselves, they will never know what interesting clothes they will find. The entire browsing process and the expectation of the unknown before entering the store constitute the hedonism of second-hand clothes consumption practice.

“...every single item is a banger...everything here is a gem.”—P033, Male, 30s, Unknown

Through the above analysis, this study found that second-hand clothes are not naturally inherently sustainable. This discovery is related to the argument that ‘boundary between second-hand clothes and regular clothes’ mentioned earlier. For consumers who have blurred the boundaries, second-hand clothes are the same as regular clothes, which may provide consumers with opportunities and choices to buy more clothes. blurring the boundary thus may make second-hand clothes more acceptable, but it may not be able to promote sustainability.

4.3.4.4. THE COMBINATION OF DIFFERENT VALUES: ANTI-CONSUMERISM, ALTRUISM, POSTMODERNISM

As for consumers who attached sustainability, virtue, and lowsumerism to the second-hand consumption practice, they more or less showed the anti-consumerism, altruistic, and postmodernism values through the interviews.

As mentioned before, one participant clearly suggested the way to promote sustainability is to cut down the options that provided by business for consumption, which showed strong value about anti-consumerism.

Some participants also suggested they would pay the premium money that they can accept on the sustainable product to avoid guilty feelings to society or environment, which demonstrated the value of altruistic:

*“I will try and sometimes pay a premium for um, a sustainable brand” -P007,
Male, Mid 30s, Academic*

The results from the life history interview also reveal the participants’ expectations for the future life. Almost all the participants showed their expectation about a simple and balanced life. Some participants also expressed the hope for having the life with no guilty to anyone, which demonstrates the plain altruistic and sustainable value:

“I live a very simple life. I don't believe in excess. I don't think that you need to have a lot of things. I don't believe in materialism. I don't think that things make you happy.” -P009, Female, 30s, Academic

*“I just want to have a simple life, which is as much as I'm happy to obviously have the bed, I didn't say that minimum, but just like assume I guess simple as long as I got anything everyone need necessary.” -P008, Male, 20s,
Doctoral student*

In terms of the question “If second-hand clothes consumption can weaken the fashion industry, what about the economy?”, some consumers showed the value of postmodernism especially on the technical rationalism that was supported by Frankfurt school. They suggested individuals should care much about the well-being and individuality instead of chasing money immoderately and standardization ruled by industrial civilization:

“I don't think that consumption is happy. People should pay more attention to spiritual satisfaction and well-being. Technology and society are

*developing fast, but we should not be controlled by those things.” –P025,
Male, 20s, Corporate staff*

4.3.4.5. SUSTAINABILITY VALUE AND HUMANISM

Environmental value can be reflected by the concern to the carbon emission, water waste and pollutions:

“No, because I fly too much. Okay, I fly a lot. I fly home a lot and to my husband's country. Um, so that's bad thing that I do. Um, but in every other way I do try, okay, I don't eat meat. I don't own a car; I don't buy fast fashion. Um, so I do make the effort. But whether or not they actually managed to have a sort of a you know, a good level of carbon footprint.” --P005, Female, 30s, Corporate Staff

“Many people are protesting for the climate change, but when we talk about the fashion industry, we should also think about the pollution and water waste in developing countries. And also, we've exported the pollution to you (China) ...” --P003, Male, 70s, Academic

And the humanism value can be reflected by the knowledge about terrible working conditions for female and children in some developing countries and the value of resisting the capitalism:

“I know there are many terrible problems...Child labour, Female worker abuse, and overtime without pay... it's unfair.” --P039, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

“And I gained a lot of knowledge about the demand and supply system and capitalist economy and how we're basically pre-programmed to consume. And that that process of consumption is unsustainable. We're not able to continuous whether that's you know, when to basic loss, a fuel, etc or more complex than us. The bottom line is it's not sustainable...This we live in a

world of the capitalist society and capitalism tells us to consume. And it produces a system in a model where consumption is the main priority. And we have learned over the years that excess is good. That's not a good way of viewing it, because it's not sustainable. And the fact that excess has become accessible to the masses. So as we said earlier, Veblen theory and all Veblen it was all about class and being able to afford us. Now everything is affordable.” --P009, Female, 30s, Academic

4.3.4.6. DISTANCE OF EMPATHY

Although this study has discussed sustainability and humanism before, a paradox has emerged from the data analysis, which is about the “cry in the distance vs cry in the nearby”. “Cry in the distance” refers to consumers who care about the working conditions and global environment-protection are willing to pay the premium to second-hand clothes or other types of sustainable clothes, which demonstrated the low-level of moral blindness that caused by the long distance away from the place of ‘cry’; at the meantime, “cry nearby” refers to the circumstance that some consumers who argued the increasing price of second-hand clothes are unacceptable and unaffordable compared to brand-new items from Primark although this company has been criticised due to the low quality and unsustainable behaviours.

“I sympathize with those Bangladeshi women who are forced to work in harsh environments, but what can I do? I have no money; I can only buy clothes at Primark. Who doesn’t want to buy new clothes?” --P039, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

Considering the British government’s promotion of sustainable clothes consumption and the high prices of high-quality and well-designed second-hand clothes that has discussed before, from this paradox, although this study cannot infer that the purchase of sustainable product has, to a certain extent, become a privilege of people

with good financial ability, but at least for low-income groups, there is a conflict between the basic needs of individuals and the needs of sustainable development.

For some low-income consumers, buying brand new but cheap clothes from fast fashion channels is a passive choice. From the interview, some consumers who hold strong sustainable concern but still buy things from Primark or H&M because of lower prices. In this case, “affordability” as one of the major social meanings of second-hand clothes sometimes may malfunction. How? What do you mean?

More importantly, some participants from mid or higher than mid social class argued that poor people can still buy second-hand clothes to support sustainability, if they are in struggling financial situation, they can cut down the consumption in brand new clothes:

“I can saw sympathize with the idea that, um, I think it is harder, um, for people on a lower income to sometimes to be sustainable. At the same time, some people manage to do that very well on a low income. They can just buy things from car boot sale or to be frugal.” --P007, Male, Mid 30s, Academic

4.4. SOCIAL CLASS DISTINCTION IN SUSTAINABLE SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION FIELD

4.4.1. DIFFERENCES IN PRODUCTS AND TARGET GROUPS REFLECTED IN THE LOCATION OF SECOND-HAND SHOPS

The differentiation of the second-hand clothes market can also be reflected by the regional nature of charity shops. Unlike fast fashion and even luxury brands with similar prices and product ranges in specific markets, for some charity and vintage stores, differences in product range and prices more or less reflect differences in social class and income levels between different communities. This is partly due to the business model of charity stores. Charity stores in specific communities recycle clothes that are not needed by locals and then sell them to local communities.

Residents in a specific community are not only consumers of charity shops in the community, but also ‘producers’ at this level. Therefore, charity shops can be regarded as an internal circulation of clothes in the community. As such, based on the similar economic levels of residents in the same community, this study assumes that charity shops in different regions have different classes to a certain extent.

"And the clothes in there probably reflect the community because they're donated by the community who lives nearest. So maybe that's why they feel, you know community cause when I go to London sometimes and I'll pop into the charity shop there, you think, wow, we really feel the difference because it's much more of a focus on high brand fashion in those kind of charity shops in London...I've been in there and they have like the CHANEL dresses or whatever, like it's really posh stuff that people will have donated because of who lives around in that community as well" --P017, Female, 40s, Researcher

To a certain extent, brand differences can not only reflect the consistency of the economic level within a specific group represented by clothes, but also represent the aesthetic differences within a specific group, which has been repeatedly emphasized by Bourdieu. Because the distinction between aesthetics is most directly related to the class of consumers. Moreover, this aesthetic distinction is in conflict with the economic capital in the field, which is characterized by cost-effectiveness or low prices.

"You know, in London, charity shops in some communities sell really expensive clothes, like, Chanel. People who buy second-hand clothes there usually buy clothes from Harrod's." -P002, Female, 30s, PhD candidate

"I think it varies depending on where you live like. like, if you live in someplace where is affluent, then you tend to get better choice of clothes and things." --P024, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

Based on the above logic, the price of second-hand clothes, especially clothes in charity stores, also reflects the class represented by the source of clothes. Because factors such as the brand of second-hand clothes will affect the price that it ultimately presents to consumers. According to the observations of this study, in some second-hand stores, used Primark clothes is difficult to sell, because even when choosing second-hand clothes, consumers will value the quality of the clothes, and even the new Primark will not be considered by consumers as good quality, not to mention used. Therefore, the second-hand clothes that can enter the circulation market are still mainly based on slightly better brands and quality, but according to the observation, the volunteers will price according to their own experience, so the price fluctuations in different stores will be obvious. Many very cheap fast fashion brands represent low prices and low quality, and many second-hand clothes shops have made it clear that they do not recycle clothes from Primark:

"I often tell my volunteers that if you see Primark's clothes, you don't waste your time." --P022, Female, 50s, Charity shop manager

From the above analysis, it can be seen that second-hand clothes is difficult to be regarded as a completely independent clothes market, and its target market is closely related to the original brand and original sales location of the clothes to a certain extent. Because first-hand clothes retail places tend to be segmented among consumers because of price and brand, this segmentation will also be subtly transferred to the second-hand clothes consumption field. Moreover, when this distinction becomes obvious in the second-hand clothes consumption field, because of the unique game of economic capital and symbolic capital in this field, the price of some clothes will increase, while the price of some will decrease. Therefore, this study believes that a large number of previous literatures defines the second-hand clothes market as informal or profit-oriented, which is a bit biased in today's market environment.

The geographic location of second-hand clothes retailers can reflect the characteristics of the class they represent. According to the observations of this study,

modern second-hand/retro shops often locate on high streets, densely populated areas or special cultural and creative areas, while traditional second-hand clothes stores (excluding charity shops) are generally open on the back streets or the old town where the rent is relatively low. Since the marketing strategy and operation issues of modern second-hand/retro shops, the price of the product is not low, basically similar to the price of fast fashion such as H&M.

4.4.2. 'RIDICULOUS' HIGH PRICE OF SECOND-HAND CLOTHES

In terms of higher prices, a consumer who is also a shop owner believes that:

"...vintage clothes have become very middle class and middle-class people got more disposable income... You know so now, more people that shopping vintage shops are middle class, obviously students from middle class families." --P004, Male, 40s, Shop Owner

The above is not the only one participant mentioned 'class' in the interview. Although 'class' is an important section in Bourdieu's theory, it is not originally the research object of this study, the 'social class' just emerged frequently from the data. From observation and interview, the products in such shops, to a certain extent, have lifted the label of 'serving low-income people' as considered by traditional research, which is partly the stigma attached to second-hand clothes.

Some consumers claim that the prices of some charity stores are "ridiculous (ridiculously high)" because charity stores should target people with limited financial capability, which is their original intention as charity stores. But some products are more expensive than those in low-level fast fashion stores such as Primark, which may force some people who would like to buy second-hand clothes at low prices to choose Primark, a cheaper fast fashion retailer.

"I don't go to the charity shop anymore, you know, the price is ridiculous..."

-P015, Female, Mid 50s, Retail staff.

When talking about the price of second-hand clothes, a consumer with a relatively low income, P030, expressed almost anger. She believed that the price of second-hand clothes had exceeded her expectations:

“Yes, definitely. Emm... cross the border.” -P030, Female, 40s, Cleaning staff

Then she used the word ‘crazy’ to express her incomprehension of the price changes.

“so a lot of them have gone crazy high prices, there are some charity shops you can go to where the price is also...”-P030, Female, 40s, Cleaning staff

This consumer said very directly in the interview: “I’m poor” and used to go to charity shops to buy clothes. More interestingly, this consumer mentioned that when she went to charity shops, she felt embarrassed before, *“They used to be embarrassed in case I came out of the shop and saw someone from a friend or something.”*, but she then said, *“But now I’m quite proud of shopping charity shops and I think anyone who doesn’t is feel really because you can find some really good quality class”*.

In addition, P030 also thought charity shops are very positive: *“I see it as I just say it as positive things. It’s donating money to charity isn’t as opposed to the fat cats who run the big companies. And I think it’s a positive thing in that way. Personally, I don’t know, I can’t think of anything negative about it unless I’m just unaware.”*

From the above content, this study found that the consumer believes that second-hand clothes consumption is very positive to a certain extent and is also a very important channel of clothes shopping for her, but high prices are gradually exploiting her choice. And this research also found that the consumer complained about some big entrepreneurs. The ‘fat cats’ she used showed this kind of banter and ridicule, which highlight the distinction of social classes.

Participant 020 analysed the impact of higher second-hand clothes prices on ordinary people's lives from a more macro perspective. He believed that Brexits and rising prices make many consumers have negative expectations for the future, so they may try to buy relatively cheap clothes. However, the increase in the price of second-hand clothes has deprived consumers who once bought cheap clothes to have more choices, which will also increase their pressure to survive.

“But as we see, the change in price and the second-hand market is it? You're right. It's going more towards like vintage items and high end shoppers. It's quite worrying because these families who are of a working class, where would they go to shop you know and with the current political state in the UK with Brexit, and not knowing where our economy is going. A lot of families will be worried. And I think having clothes for your kids, it's up there, we're having food on the table. It's the first thing to think about. If there's no market for these working-class families, then I can imagine it's quite stressful for parents.”-P020, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

P020 later demonstrated that when a person only thinks about how to survive, specifically, when he needs to pay more attention to his own livelihood, it is difficult for him to consider other people. From this perspective, sustainability, a behaviour that embodies strong altruism, seems difficult to be the main consideration for people who still fight for living.

“Long hours for not that much money, but I think. When you're in a position where actually yourself have not got that money and that was the case when I lived in England I didn't have that much money. I think as soon as you start to think about yourself, you try not to think about the other things, which is a bad thing, but I'm being honest.”-P020, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

He further believed that attention to sustainability, and even attention to the people at the bottom, began with a certain privileged class. He thought that many lifestyles that are advertised as sustainable require financial strength. That way of life is not for everyone, they are for specific people in specific position:

“This is something that's actually quite close to me, like a lot of people who are quite well off and off. A privileged background, they will look down on the working class first. But what you said that in cheap places like McDonalds and places where the conditions for... in restaurants, the animals, and then for clothes lines, there will be the people, the producing it. We know how about it is for these people, but also we're not in a position to eat vegan meals that twice the price. We're not in a position to go out and buy things that are ethically produced. Because we ourselves haven't got that much money.”-
P020, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

Meanwhile, consumer P030 also expressed a similar view. She clearly admired the benefits of sustainable products and also expressed her willingness to buy. However, the excessively high prices made her feel helpless.

“So that you get for your kitchen and your cleaning products and they really good and they're sustainable in the refill, packaging and stuff like which I think is a great thing, but they are expensive. I'd love to be able to buy them, but it's just my money isn't.”-P030, Female, 40s, Cleaning staff

In addition, P020 considered the key to sustainable consumption is to reduce consumer choice, but in such a process, he believed that the prices of some products will inevitably increase. He then used supermarket shopping to pay for plastic bags as an example to prove his point that although prices will increase, consumers will gradually get used to it. However, compared with the cost of plastic bags, although this study did not measure the price elasticity of second-hand clothes, only from the interviews, this elasticity is relatively high. The situation that this consumer envisioned

seems unfeasible and unfair to many consumers with very little disposable income. This difference in values and attitudes also seems to reflect the distinction of social class. And this study would like to describe this situation as a paradox between price and quality of sustainable products for lower-income people.

4.4.3. LOW PRICE/LOW QUALITY VS. HIGH PRICE/HIGH QUALITY

In the section about recycle and sustainability (see chapter 5.2.3.3.10), this study emphasized the importance of clothes quality and clothes life cycle, which means that better quality often means a longer life cycle in general, and it also means more sustainable possibilities. While participant P020 thought that even if consumers living at the bottom try to buy better quality clothes, because they do not have enough disposable income, they do not even have the ability to spend a few more pounds. As such, they are not able to choose high-quality but also high-priced clothes.

“If I buy something from Primark, let's talk a jacket, maybe it will cost me £25. If I buy £50 jackets, it might last me for 1 year. The primate jacket will maybe last for 6 months. And then the color will start to fade away, or maybe does it will break something like that? But it's all about cash flow, because in 6 months, I will have 25 pounds. Disposable. But that £50 jacket right there. And then maybe I don't have £50 to just spend there.”-P020, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

Participant P035 also emphasized the dilemma of economic ability and choice. He believed that people with financial difficulties can only continue to replace cheap products with cheap ones. But at the same time, he also issued an appeal, if the financial ability permits, to choose higher-quality clothes as much as possible, because these clothes can last longer.

“But it's very difficult if you don't have much money, because then you have to keep buying the cheap product and you have to keep replacing the cheap product. So I think it depends on your financial situation if you can afford to buy it, quality item,”-P035, Male, 20s, Master Student

To a certain extent, the views of the above two consumers also hint at the importance of the financial situation in cultivating consumer spending habits. But at the same time, some consumers seem to passively escape the paradox between the price and quality of ethical products, and when consumers begin to escape the paradox, it means that this paradox has become an established reality for some consumers. In addition, the consumer mentioned a broader local sourced--country of origin, that is, she suggested that if people buy made in Britain, people should pay much more.

“I have no idea. I really don't know whether things are made. If I am honest, it's probably something that I'm trying to not to think about, because, again, if I in order to maybe that's just I think, but in order to buy ethically, for example, clothes made in Britain that there was no child labour and so on. ... But to buy clothes made in Britain you would have to pay a lot of money.” -- P018, Female, 30s, Corporate staff

Then P018 used her sister as an example to tell the researcher that when people are financially better, they are likely to choose expensive but better-quality clothes. This means that the rich have wider options while the poor do not.

“My sister. She tends to buy good quality clothes and she keeps them forever. She is um. She's very good with that. But she hardly ever buys in charity shops, so she buys new but good quality.”-P018, Female, 30s, Corporate staff

‘Choice’ frequently appears in the above analysis of social class, but this study found that this kind of choice seems to be only a ‘limited’ choice in the sustainable second-hand clothes market. If consumers choose higher-quality and more expensive clothes for sustainability as some consumers suggested, those with less financial ability

can also choose second-hand clothes from big brands. But with the increasing price of second-hand clothes, these consumers may only passively choose clothes that are probably cheaper, such as clothes from Primark. In this process, because of the constraints of the financial ability, consumers no longer make choices, but the choice chooses consumers. In such a process of ‘passive choice’, the sustainability of second-hand clothes market advertising will keep the poor out to a certain extent.

4.5. SPILLOVER EFFECT IN SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION

In the study of sustainable consumption, spillover effect is a quite important topic (e.g., Verfuert and Gregory-Smith, 2018; Frezza et al., 2019). According to Nilsson et al. (2017), Spillover can be presented across contexts, time and behaviour. Spillover effect in this study has emerged as an important theme mainly in two types: behaviour-to-behaviour and context-to-context.

4.5.1. PROMOTING FACTORS OF SPILLOVER EFFECT IN SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION

4.5.1.1. CONVENIENCE IN PLACE

A number of participants mentioned that they extend their second-hand consumption from online shopping practices to physical shopping as it comes naturally to them once they have experienced second-hand consumption.

“Uh, online eBay, eBay probably is where I started... And then in terms of shops, I do go to charity shops sometimes...” P008, Male, 20s, Doctoral student

The above data not only shows the spillover effect of behaviour, but also the spillover effect across contexts. The context changes from online to physical reflects the spillover of the same consumption type in different contexts. Moreover, the words of the participant above also imply that the degree of convenience in place may be able to stabilize the spillover effect that has occurred to a certain extent.

“I live near these charity shops...Now, when I’m bored, I just have a go, sort of on the road. And as you know, there’s a number of shops could always seem to be. I always find that the charity shops often seem to be close together, which naturally actually, so I may just go and browse.” –P008, Male, 20s, Doctoral student

The above consumer information thus reflects that after the number of places available for consumer practice in the field reaches a certain level, consumers will have corresponding habits (e.g., boredom will trigger consumption in charity shops in this case) and form corresponding practices (e.g., shop in both online and offline second-hand clothes stores), which can recall the section about *competence*.

4.5.1.2. EASE OF DECISION-MAKING

However, it seems that consumers not only shift their practices from the variety of second-hand consumption but in addition they layer their sustainable practices by adding additional practices organically in their lives. As one participant mentioned, spillover effects are related to challenging and complex everyday decisions.

“oh, yeah, absolutely. Like I said, I feel good about what I do. Could I do more? We don’t do plastic bags anymore. So you know these jeans, they are good jeans, what we’ll do is to cut them to make bags. You know so we kind of trying to do is have a zero waste and same time reduce our carbon footprint by in every way we can.”—P004, Male, 40s, Shop Owner

The words of this participant show that her sustainable behaviour can happen in the trivialities of daily life. The following words of the participant may provide an explanation for the above-mentioned spillover behaviour, that is, the difficulty of implementing a certain type of practice may have impact the occurrence of the spillover.

“I think for me the fact that it's reused and saying a lot of clothes can be wasted. If you're buying a second hand that could, you're kind of preventing

something new being made. That sort of thing I think that's what makes one the easier ones to go like. For example, like finding out the supply chain is ethical, is a lot more difficult than buying something second hand. –P024, Female, 20s, Corporate staff

In the decision-making process, searching for information is one of the important links. Participant P024 mentioned that it is relatively difficult to understand whether the supply chain is ethical, and the relevant information is not easy to obtain. Second-hand clothes consumption helps consumers save the time cost of searching for information compared to other types of sustainable consumption, thus becoming the object of consumers' sustainable consumption behaviour.

4.5.1.3. LOW PRICE

In addition to the time costs for searching for information, ease of consumption—low prices can also make consumers' sustainable behaviour spillover.

“Whereas now I think more and more people kind of waking up to the realization that even just buying second-hand, or vintage is a really easy and affordable way to be sustainable.” --P029, Female, 20s, Corporate staff.

4.5.1.4. SELF-CLASSIFICATION—REAL SELF VS. IDEAL SELF

One of the issues this study explored was the self-classification of participants. In other words, the participants were asked whether they consider themselves as sustainable consumers. Even though this is not an easy question to answer, especially with the term 'sustainable', which is complex. The question was more of a trigger for consumers' self-reflections that would trigger relative discussions.

According to moral cleansing theory (West and Zhong, 2015), after performing sustainable behaviour, consumers would reflect themselves between the 'real self' and the 'ideal self'. If becoming 'sustainable' is one of consumers' objectives ('illusion in the field of practice'), and consumers have performed some sustainable behaviours,

while (s)he thinks her/his self-reflection has not reached the standard of ‘ideal self’, then positive spillover effect would occur in such circumstance. The words of a second-hand clothes consumer highlighted this view. Even though she has done many sustainable practices, she believes that she is not a sustainable consumer, and there are still many sustainable things that she can do:

“...With my food. I often try to buy some dry products that are UK based locally source. I tracked by local, because I think if I buy local, at least there's less air miles to get it to me. And I also think that like if I buy local, at least, I'm keeping employment for somebody that lives near in this area. Um, that's kind of, you know, I try at least both myself and my husband, my husband cycles everywhere. He doesn't use the car for anything. Um, I walk everywhere except for going to work, um, or if there's someplace, I need to go that I can't get by public transport. ... sustainable consumer? no, I'm not. There are too many things I can do. No, I don't think I'm a sustainable consumer.”—P009, Female, 30s, Academic

When asked: “are there any sustainable consumers in the market?” , a participant who often performs sustainable consumption practices suggested, consumers can try to be sustainable consumers.

“I try to be um, like I vote green in elections and I'm pretty good on recycling. And you know, I kind of try not to throw away clothes like things I don't wear gets donated, and I buy furniture secondhand when I can. Um, and you know, I try and like eat as little meat as possible and all this kind of stuff. ... I think we can have people who are trying to be sustainable consumers.”-P012, Female, 40s, University staff

P012 did not directly answer the researcher’s question but believes that people can strive to become sustainable consumers. This research thus also believes that in the eyes of P012, the ‘ideal self’ is still not realized. When consumers who have practiced

sustainable consumption believe that ideal self has not been realized and the development direction is consistent with ideal self, spillover of sustainable consumption would occur.

4.5.1.5. CONSUMPTION SPILLOVER DRIVEN BY PRODUCTION SPILLOVER

Consumers also acknowledged the effect of fashion trends on their second-hand consumption practices. Some young consumers said that because the current fashion trends are 'retro' and 'unique', second-hand clothes, especially modern second-hand clothes with a 'retro' style, is an excellent choice for them to follow this trend.

"If you follow some social media influencers on YouTube or Instagram, you will find vintage style is really trendy. So, these days I always buy things from Urban Outfitter, you can find so many American vintage style clothes there.

" –P035, Male, 20s, Master Student

The above findings indicate that spillover occurs between fast fashion and second-hand clothes stores, which is context-to-context spillover. But this kind of spillover is different from other spillover effects discussed in this section. This kind of spillover effect is presented through product sales and store branding rather than consumption. This kind spillover effect can be regarded as a kind of production spillover effect.

An additional outcome of this production spillover is the additional *space* as this study also highlights such fashion trends from some fast fashion stores, such as Urban Outfitter and Topshop. They have special areas to sell second-hand clothes. The prices of these second-hand retro or vintage clothes are similar to the prices of other first-hand clothes in these brands, meaning that the target group of these second-hand clothes still includes the original consumer group of these brands, and intends to use these methods to attract more consumers.

“I found retro clothes in Topshop and Urban Outfitters, especially in Urban Outfitters. They have a special area to sell them. You know, fast fashion, right? So I often buy retro clothes from vintage stores these days, it is a fashion trend, isn't it?”-P014, Female, 20s, Undergraduate student

The above view also recalled the findings about ‘modern second-hand stores’ in this study, which is, vintage is now part of branding strategy of both fast fashion brands and second-hand stores at the same time.

4.5.1.6. SHARED BELIEF : RECYCLING

In the discussion of social norm in Chapter 5.1.2, this study found that when different behaviours share the similar social norm, the spillover effect will occur. Specifically, in the discussion of social norms, this study mainly found that recycling is an important part, therefore, in terms of the discussion of spillover effect, recycling also played an important role. A second-hand clothes consumer believed that recycling is quite important and tried to buy products that can be recycled or reused.

“Yes, I buy quite a few greens. So all my um, toiletries, most of my cleaning products, uh, kind of green things. And I take them to refill those things. Um, yeah, and I do recycle ever, you know anything that can be recycled like even things that you can't put in the bins in Sheffield. So for example, plastic tubs, I take those separately to be recycled in Waitrose, car park. And yeah.”-P011, Female, 30s, Academic

Another second-hand clothes consumer also claimed that she is very good at recycling, and because of the important reason for recycling, she will also buy other types of second-hand products, such as second-hand furniture. Even due to such belief, she also expressed political support for the Green Party.

“I try to be um, like I vote green in elections and I'm pretty good on recycling. And you know, I kind of try not to throw away clothes like things I don't wear

gets donated, and I buy furniture secondhand when I can. Um, and you know, I try and like eat as little meat as possible and all this kind of stuff.”-P012, Female, 40s, University staff

Another consumer emphasized the meaning of recycle, and at the same time, she has been highlighting ‘learn more’, which probably is related to education. This point seems to be related to the discussion on knowledge in Chapter 5.4.2.

“And the more that you learn, the more you realize that's wasteful, and my family is really into sustainability when it's like recycling or like reusing things, but just not clothes. But a lot of other things in the house we use, I suppose it was already like in my mind that you recycle, and you use things that you can like don't buy lots of plastic packaging. That's when I have more money as I got older and knew more about sustainability than I can put my money where I with what I agree. I agree with it. Does that make sense? ”- P025, Female, 30s, Entrepreneur

4.5.2. HINDERING FACTORS OF SPILLOVER EFFECT IN SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION

In addition to the trigger factors of spillover effect mentioned above, some consumer interviews also reflect factors that hinder the positive spillover effect.

4.5.2.1. HIGH PRICE

As analysed in the previous sections, the prices of many second-hand clothes are gradually increasing. Some consumers then believe that as long as it is not second-hand luxury, the price of second-hand clothes should be very low. And now many second-hand clothes are more expensive than they expected. And some consumers said that when a person finally makes some money, he naturally wants to buy a new dress.

“I've noticed things getting more relatively more expensive, even in second-hand shops over the years. ... if there was a dress from fat face in the charity

shop, and it's a really nice dress, but if it was priced at like 15 pounds, I wouldn't get it. Even though I know that's still cheaper than a new. But psychologically, I think it's not enough of a bargain to make me get it. ... (wearing second-hand clothes) has a side benefit of being a more sustainable way to dress yourself. it's just because, it's a lifestyle thing for me, because it's something I've always done.”—P017, Female, 40s, Researcher

At this level, the consumption of some second-hand clothes will become a ‘difficult’ sustainable consumption practice due to ‘high prices’, thus hindering the positive spillover effects. In terms of sustainable consumption, some participants also mentioned other sustainable products like organic food as being expensive and thus hindering them from consumption:

It can be found from the interviews that even if some consumers still insist on buying sustainable food, they also admit that the price of these products is not reasonable.

“Green products. Um, yeah, we don't buy them a huge amount. We have every other week we have a vegetable delivery. So somebody comes to the house and brings organic vegetables. So we do that. Sometimes buy organic in the store, but there's a premium price.”—P003, Male, 70s, Academic

Meanwhile, some consumers have suggested that they may stop buying sustainable products due to high prices.

“Organic food, yes, but don't anymore, because generally greener products are more expensive.”—P006, Male, 20s, Retailing

“If I have 5 pounds for food, I won't buy organic mushroom in Tesco, If I have 10 pounds for a shirt, I'll go to Primark.” --P001, Male, 20s, Security.

4.5.2.2. LOSS OF FUNCTION

In addition to the high price, only based on the data of this research, functionality also seems to hinder the occurrence of positive spillover effect. Many consumers said that their sustainable consumption priority overall focus on the quality of the products, which sends some important signals to marketers and the way they promote sustainable products and consumption overall. As one participant mentioned quality of sustainable products still needs some research and attention:

"You know, I bought, I cannot remember the name, some kind of organic washing liquid, trust me, it doesn't work...and it's more expensive than normal one. If this green product doesn't work, why should I pay premium for that? As a product, first it is a product, it should follow the basic business logic, to be a great product, instead of to be a product just with green label. It is nonsense." –P038, Female, 40s, Corporate staff

The importance of functionality is also reflected in another aspect, for those who claim that they do care about sustainability when buying second-hand clothes, sustainability is not a top priority:

"Um, I try and buy like zero waste pam products. Um, but they're not very good. So I don't know how long that's going to work. But I kind of try and be sustainable where I can. ... Because if I buy something that's not functional, I won't bear it. And then I'll end up getting rid of it. And then it kind of, I mean to me, that's the bigger issue is people like buying clothes constantly and getting rid of clothes constantly. So I mean like I said with the leather jacket, I'd rather like make very conscious, mindful purchases of specific things that I know I'm going to wear until they probably need to be thrown away." –P012, Female, 40s, University staff

P012 believes that durability and function are both very important. If a sustainable product causes more waste due to quality problems, this will undoubtedly

make consumers question the sustainable product and shake its corresponding purchase behaviour. While questioning the quality of sustainable products, some consumers even consider 'sustainability' is just the branding strategy of the business rather than the product characteristics in the true sense.

"If it is workable, I'll buy it. But it doesn't, most of so-called green products are not as good as normal one. Is it just branding?" –P022, Female, 50s, Charity shop manager

4.5.2.3. BURDEN ON DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

This study mentioned above that consumers' subjective judgement on the difficulty of implementing sustainable consumption will affect whether they will implement or spill sustainable consumption behaviour. Some consumers think that sustainable consumption can start from the trivial activities in daily life because they are less difficult to implement, but there are also consumers who think that the decision of sustainable consumption is time-consuming and laborious, and they don't want to consider whether this product is sustainable nor not when making consumption decisions. They are unwilling to actively think about whether the supply chain behind the product is ethical. This group of consumers try to simplify today's consumer decisions instead of adding extra thinking content.

"There are so many things I have to worry about. Think about the supply chain when shopping? No. too tired." –P001, Male, 20s, Security.

P001 is a working-class man with two jobs. He thinks that he has very little free time and has a lot of work pressure. He then has no way and is unwilling to think about more problems.

"...Look, I'm still working now (11pm), here, what I worry about is money. I even don't have weekends, right? I only care about myself." –P001, Male, 20s, Security.

In the previous section, this study mentioned that second-hand clothes consumption takes more time to a certain extent (see chapter 5.2). These consumers do not have time due to work and hope to simplify the complexity of consumption decision after work. This study thus speculates that over-standardized and busy work may hinder the spill over and practice of sustainable consumption.

4.5.2.4. LACK OF RELATED KNOWLEDGE OR AWARENESS

In terms of simplifying the decision-making process, Some consumers are only concerned about the “affordability” of second-hand clothes, rather than “sustainability”. Many of these consumers are highly educated and even engaged in sustainable scientific research, but they admit that such knowledge often does not play a role in the purchase of clothes. Especially when buying second-hand clothes, these consumers did not make purchases based on whether the products are sustainable or environmentally friendly.

“When I am shopping in a second-hand store, if I like something, I’ll buy it, if you ask me why I like it, I would say style and cheap price. I don’t think I would consider supply chain issues.”—P033, Male, 30s, Unknown

“That is if I am buying second clothes and I’m going to try to shop, I’m probably buying more for the style rather than for sustainability.”-P008, Male, 20s, Doctoral student

When asked why this happened, P008 said:

“I probably didn’t feel it was like, I don’t know too much about sustainable issues. Uh, like I don’t know the impact of clothes.”-P008, Male, 20s, Doctoral student

This study believes that the lack of relevant knowledge or awareness is one of the reasons preventing the occurrence of spillover in sustainable consumption. When consumers lack the knowledge or awareness of sustainability in the field, this element

will be weakened or even never appear in the decision-making process. If sustainability plays an important role in consumer's decision-making process but not in another sustainable consumption practice, the two consumption behaviours may still occur at the same time, but it may not generate spillover that is driven by sustainability.

4.5.3. REBOUND EFFECT IN SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION

In addition to the factors that promote, and hinder spillover mentioned above. This study also found the spillover effect in the opposite direction, which is rebound effect.

Although the current social trend has led consumers to pursue uniqueness and personalization, it is undeniable that some young consumers who define second-hand clothes as 'uniqueness' have been affected by major fashion trends. If it emerges from a fast fashion trend with standardized aesthetics, then this "uniqueness" will follow Adorno's pseudo-individualization concept (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2020) that refers to standardized products and trends that take individualization as packaging.

If consumers believe that this uniqueness is derived from the fashion trend promoted by fast fashion, then uniqueness is still an important symbolic meaning of second-hand clothes consumption, but it can only be used as a potential cause of spillover of uniqueness clothes consumption, while it cannot be the basis for the occurrence of spillover in sustainable consumption.

“Because I noticed that the things you are selling and you know, I bought some of the things from this shop before. And I bought some of second-hand clothes from other vintage shops like the cow and mooch. But I think that the clothes you are selling, are similar with things in, you know that Topshop. considering you're a shop owner of the second-hand shop, do you think that in order to develop further, this you know, this kind of shop should be more commercial to fit in the mass fashion trend?”-P004, Male, 40s, Shop Owner

While the production spillover triggered by fast fashion is mentioned above. The two spillovers seem to show similar behaviours, but they may bring different results. This study thus analyzed both spillovers with different directions. This reflects the complexity of spillover effect in second-hand clothes consumption practice.

A consumer believes that she has recycled well in her daily life and bought second-hand clothes. Even if fast fashion is considered unethical by the public, she will not stop buying.

"I do buy second-hand clothes, and fast fashion. There is nothing wrong with buying fast fashion, right? I have already done what I can do." —P021, Male, 30s, Teacher

Another consumer who likes retro style believes that the budget for buying clothes is limited because the prices in second-hand clothes stores are cheaper, and retro clothes in first-hand clothes stores are more expensive, so she would buy more clothes from second-hand clothes stores. But these clothes are often worn only once.

"I like retro style. If I can buy them at a cheap price, definitely I can buy more.... but I'd admit, like, probably, most of them are worn only once." - P014, Female, 20s, Undergraduate student

Under such circumstances, although the low price makes more consumers choose second-hand clothes, it may generate more waste, which is contrary to the intention of sustainability to reduce waste. Another consumer clearly mentioned that she had bought a lot of clothes from charity shops.

"Okay, I have too many clothes. I'm constantly trying to get rid of them because I do go around charity shops, a lot and, If something catches my eye and and, the price is right. Then I think why not? But then ended up with too many clothes."-P030, Female, 40s, Cleaning staff

This large-scale purchase cannot be completely classified by this research as a rebound effect, because this purchase is in line with price elasticity of demand. But another consumer later mentioned that when these clothes were unwanted, they would be donated to charity anyway. Combined with this explanation, this study thus can attribute this type of behaviour to a rebound effect.

“If I see something, I think I like it, because it doesn't cost much. It doesn't matter if I don't wear it anymore or bring it back to the church.”-P018, Female, 30s, Corporate staff

In summary, in terms of spillover effect, this study has identified several factors that promote spillover, including convenience in place, ease of decision-making, low price, self-classification and consumption spillover driven by production spillover; factors that hinder the occurrence of spillover, including high price, loss of function, burden on decision-making process and lack of related knowledge or awareness. At the same time, this study also identified the rebound effect in such a consumption field.

4.6. THE SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

At the beginning of this chapter, this study introduced the research framework based on Bourdieu's practical theory, if we summarize the findings in the marketing perspective, this study found that:

In general, based on the interviews and observations with consumers and shop owners, this study delineated the sustainable second-hand clothes consumption field through mapping the current second-hand clothes business, and identified the different capitals and values presented in this field. In the process of data analysis, this research also analysed emerging themes including social class and spillover effect.

Whether it is the original paradigm of Bourdieu (1987) or the more targeted analysis frame of Shove et al. (2012) the determination of field boundaries begins with the mapping of consumption places and the definition of objects. Based on observations

and interviews, this study identified two main forms: online channels and offline channels. Online channels include platforms and APPs, and offline channels include car-boot sale, kilo-sale, charity shops, vintage shops, second-hand shops (modern second-hand shops), thrift shops, flea market and swapping. During the mapping process, it was found that it was different from the market situation decades ago. 1) There are many mixed shops on the market. These shops will sell carefully selected second-hand clothes, as well as new fashion or re-made clothes made by the shop owner; 2) only few people mentioned thrift shop when talking about second-hand clothes consumption, and many consumers have given more affection to second-hand clothes, whether it is out of personal feelings or out of counterattack against social prejudice. Except that the word 'thrift' is rarely used, increasingly more consumers use vintage, retro, pre-used or preloved, which can better reflect the value or shortening of the emotional distance. This change also reflects that consumers' acceptance of second-hand clothes is gradually increasing, and second-hand clothes shops have begun to plan more effective branding; 3) a shop owner of second-hand clothes shops defines some second-hand clothes in the store as modern vintage. These clothes are more marketable among young consumers, and their styles are relatively consistent with the mainstream fashion aesthetics. Meanwhile, the price of these clothes are relatively high, and the shops are often open in the bustling city centre; 4) many older consumers mentioned the flea market and pop-up second-hand market, but some young consumers did not mention it. Also, these older consumers mentioned that this kind of market is becoming lesser; 5) most consumers interviewed by this research believed that the second-hand clothes market is booming in recent years. Although some people think that the increasing number of charity shops is not a good economic signal, other types of second-hand clothes shops are also increasing, as well as the price. This study believes that the second-hand clothes market is showing differentiation, with different brandings and target groups, and the second-hand clothes market as a whole is showing a tendency to be more commercialized, larger-scale and market-oriented; 6) in the analysis of disposal place, some consumers will give priority to better clothes to their relatives and friends or sell. Donating to charity shops is the last choice. This study therefore

introduces emotional distance to describe this situation; if the last option is donating, then it means that consumers have a farther emotional distance for those clothes. correspondingly, when they try to buy second-hand clothes, because of longer emotional distance, they probably will not give priority to charity shops.

When consumers enter the sustainable second-hand clothes consumption field, the capitals in the field will follow suit. Some of these capitals hinder consumers from staying in the field, and some make consumers more loyal. But before analyzing capitals, this study first found that because of the differentiation of the second-hand clothes market mentioned above, more consumers, especially busy young white-collar workers, will browse and buy second-hand clothes on mobile apps. This behavioural change reflects the digitization of the second-hand clothes market, and also makes many traditional second-hand clothes sale forms lose the market even more, since many consumers do not have much time. In addition, if second-hand clothes are defined as a form of sustainable consumption, its availability is considerably important. Some consumers clearly mentioned that the availability of sustainable products is the prerequisite to ensure that consumers can consume. Moreover, the discussion on the availability of sustainable products also reflects the rebellion against mass production and the disappointment of some sustainable products.

In the discussion about capital, this research divides it into impeding capital, economic capital and symbolic capital. Impeding capital is mainly reflected in the temporary and informal nature of some second-hand clothes markets, which seems can reflect from the negative side a series of branding strategic actions that some second-hand clothes shops took to change such impression. In addition, hygiene issues, distrust for the clothes source, inherit stigma including signs of low-income and embarrassment, as well as the low level of sense of fashion are all impeding capital. In terms of economic capital, which include money saving, frugality, big brand hunting and bargain hunting. But from the section about economic capital, 'high price of second-hand clothes' as an important topic began to be frequently mentioned by consumers. The

increasingly large-scale and commercial second-hand clothes market has begun to increase clothes prices, on the one hand because of more expensive land rents, and on the other because of the marketization of the products. Although many second-hand clothes are still cheap, for some consumers, big-brand second-hand clothes and second-hand clothes that are more in line with the mainstream aesthetics are gradually beyond their financial capacity. This still reflects the differentiation of the second-hand clothes market and the difference in their target groups.

In terms of symbolic capital, uniqueness is a theme throughout the section. The uniqueness can also explain why a large number of second-hand clothes shops, including some charity shops, have begun to adopt a branding strategy with vintage as a selling point. But in the analysis, this study found that many second-hand clothes shops with vintage as selling point are opened in the city centre and close to the university, and fast fashion has also launched its retro series. This market situation seems to weaken the independence and initiative of the so-called uniqueness to a certain extent. But the second-hand clothes market also reflects its uniqueness from another aspect: the visual presentation of the shop, the service objects and the sustainable value. The shop design and visual presentation of many second-hand clothes shops illustrate strong subcultural characteristics, whether it is ethnic culture or hippie culture. Their display and decoration are different from the high consistency of fast fashion stores. Each shop seems to have its own style to fit in with consumers' desire to find 'treasure'. More importantly, some second-hand clothes shops clearly emphasize sustainability, and consumers have repeatedly mentioned that second-hand clothes consumption can satisfy their desire to practice sustainability.

Subsequently, this research explored the values presented in the practice of second-hand clothes consumption, while these values do not seem to be in the same direction. For instance, some consumers purchase second-hand clothes because of consumerism, materialism and hedonism. In such a process of consumption, they may buy more clothes and cause more waste, or second-hand clothes consumption channels

just provide them with more 'source of happiness' rather than a sustainable option. But there are also consumers showing strong sustainable value, humanism and altruism. The complexity and antagonism of these values may firstly demonstrate that the second-hand clothes market has indeed differentiated, and their target group are more diverse; secondly, it leads to the distinction of social class.

The distinction of social class is mainly reflected in three aspects: different target groups of second-hand clothes shops, higher prices, and the paradox between price and quality. After the second-hand clothes market develops in a more commercial and fashionable direction, its prices have also risen. Although as many consumers suggested, this is just a segment difference, but in fact, many low-income consumers do suggest that they have fewer choices. Many consumers also believe that if a person wants to achieve sustainability, s/he should buy better quality clothes. However, low-income consumers do not have enough disposable income and are not considered by those consumers. Later, some consumers thought that this was just a choice, low-income consumers can go to charity shops to buy clothes since the price of clothes in charity shops are in cheap fast fashion seem to be similar. While this study believes that this kind of 'arrangement' and 'suggestion' have already reflected type of class opposition and incomprehension. Additionally, if combined with sustainable consumption, this class difference seems to be more significant. Many consumers think that the price of sustainable products is too high, which prevents more consumers from practicing sustainable consumption. Some consumers even pointed out that sustainability has become a superior way of life, and it belongs to people in specific 'position'. This study is unable to judge people's argument, because there are some low-income participants were still practicing sustainable consumption, but it is certain that prices do give higher-class people more choices. However, if we only discuss second-hand clothes consumption, even though it is difficult for consumers with financial difficulties to consume clothes with a longer life cycle and then have to buy clothes with a shorter life cycle due to the lack of disposable income, this does not prove that consumers who buy clothes with long life cycle must be more sustainable than those who buy

clothes with a short life cycle. Because this study did not count the total amount of purchase and the amount of waste for each consumption. Therefore, for first-hand clothes, this study cannot directly judge whether the corresponding consumption is sustainable or not through the price and life cycle of the clothes, but for second-hand clothes, because of its attributes, it naturally has the characteristics of 'reuse', thus providing consumers with more sustainable possibilities.

In addition to the distinction of social class, spillover effect is also another emerging theme from data analysis. for the reason of promoting sustainable spillover effect, convenience (availability) and low price are quite significant. From the consumer's own perspective, if a consumer who has practiced sustainable consumption but always thinks that what s/he has done is not enough, in other words, s/he always thinks that his/her ideal self has not been achieved, then the positive spillover effect may occur. But as discussed in the distinction of social class in this study, price does not always play a positive role in this field. If the price of sustainable products rises, consumers are likely to stop buying sustainable products. In other words, for some consumers, price is more important than sustainability. In addition, many consumers have mentioned that the quality of some sustainable products on the market is not good. If the quality cannot meet the needs of consumers, then consumers will stop buying. Therefore, this study believes that even if it is a sustainable product, price and quality are still an important part of the decision-making process and the trigger for positive spillover effect. Based on the analysis of price, quality, rebound effect and spillover effect in this study, there seems to be a certain paradox in the sustainable second-hand clothes consumption. Since the low price of second-hand clothes is an important capital to attract consumers to enter the field, but from the perspective of sustainable consumption, this low price may also bring a rebound effect. Almost all participants in this study mentioned that the price of second-hand clothes is getting higher, which makes it difficult for some consumers who are attracted by low prices to accept. Although some consumers believe that some big-brand second-hand clothes are of better quality than ordinary fast fashion clothes, when the price difference between

second-hand clothes and fast fashion clothes narrows, some consumers do choose fast fashion. If low prices are really an essential capital to attract consumers into the field of sustainable consumption, then the gradual increase in prices seems to logically prove the distinction of social class at the level of sustainable consumption.

5. DISCUSSION

There have been numerous studies on the consumption of second-hand clothing over the past several decades. In these studies, some attributed second-hand clothes to a unique type of consumption based on limited economic capacity (Williams and Paddock, 2003), some classified it as a form of vintage consumption (Veenstra and Kuipers, 2013), others classified it as a rebellious consumption with subcultural characteristics to the contemporary highly homogenized market (Cassidy and Bennett, 2012), and some studies attributed a sustainability characteristic to second-hand clothes consumption (Gregson et al. 2001). However, the majority of studies continue to concentrate on the consumption motivation of consumers in various countries and regions, as well as the branding strategy of second-hand clothes (e.g., Cervellon et al., 2012; Ek Styvén and Mariani, 2020). The history of second-hand clothes in the United Kingdom is relatively long and its development is relatively mature; in addition to the research that has supported the notion that second-hand clothes is sustainable, some second-hand clothes stores on the UK market have emphasized sustainability as a selling point. With the use of the theory of practice to reinterpret and investigate sustainable second-hand clothing consumption, this study aims to depart from the framework of consumer motivation and the intention-action/attitude-intention gap that is commonly found in sustainable consumption research.

The purpose of this study is to move beyond the traditional structure-individual dualism and individual-centric framework based on the theory of practice, and to explore and comprehend the consumption of second-hand clothes from the perspective of place, material objects, meanings in the field, and values. Specifically, the focus of this study is to answer the four questions listed below.

***RQ1:** how do consumers engage with places and objects of second-hand clothes consumption in the UK from practice perspective?*

***RQ2:** what type of knowledge in the form of understanding consumers have with the sustainable second-hand clothes consumption in the UK from practice perspective?*

***RQ3:** what are the social and symbolic meanings ascribed to sustainable second-hand clothes consumption in the UK from practice perspective ?*

***RQ4:** what are the social norms and values embedded in the sustainable second-hand clothes consumption in the UK from practice perspective?*

The qualitative analysis results of this study show that the formation of practice fields, capitals and habitus presented by sustainable second-hand clothes consumption practice is quite complicated, and they have exceeded the framework of widely presented motivation to a certain extent. In the process of data analysis, social class distinction and spillover effect are two important themes that have emerged. As the most important theoretical basis of this research, the theory of practice emphasizes the important position of social class in practice, and Southernon et al. (2004) also adopted lifestyle choices and differences in the process of analyzing sustainable consumption in combination with practical theory, which indirectly emphasizes the possible impact of social class in sustainable consumption. In terms of spillover effect, whether it is positive spillover effect (e.g., Boca-motes et al.,2013; Van der Verff et al.,2014; and Thøgersen and Noblet et al.,2012) or negative spillover effect, for instance rebound effect (e.g., Chitnis et al., 2013; Noblet and McCoy, 2018; and Gholamzadehmir et al., 2019) have frequently become the research focus of sustainable consumption or behaviour. therefore, when these two themes appear in the data analysis process, this study believes that it is meaningful to analyse and discuss them.

In the following sections of this chapter, the impact of these findings on the conceptual framework of this study and the formation of sustainable second-hand clothes consumption practice and related elements will be discussed in more detail. First, the present study will revise the research questions and the initial conceptual framework (including emerged new themes) based on the main findings of the research.

5.1. THE DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1.1 THE DISCUSSION ABOUT PLACES OF SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION PLACES

5.1.1.1. PLACES FOR PURCHASE AND USE

Stanszus and Iran (2015) believed that channels or places of second-hand clothes lack clear identification and definition, and this study also found that consumers have a unique and very subjective definition and understanding of second-hand clothes consumption.

However, as mentioned in the previous chapters, different studies have diverse definitions and classifications of second-hand clothes shops. For instance, some studies believed that second-hand clothes are low-end shops that serve consumers with limited income (Gregson and Crewe, 2003), and some studies believed that they are unique shops that serve middle class (especially vintage shops). If we still believe that the main target groups of second-hand clothes shops are consumers with limited income, then the findings of this study cannot adequately support them. According to OECD (2019), based on the income level in 2016, the household income about to £27,000 to £ 72,000 can be classified as middle class in the UK. the demographic information collected by this research shows only two thirds of participants can reach the bottom line of middle class.

From the perspective of the two discourses and contexts of consumers' discourses and shop branding, 'thrift' is being consciously weakened. Consumers seldom used the rhetoric of 'thrift shop', and the shop itself hardly used 'thrift' as part of the brand.

From the updated price in 2021, this study roughly found that the price of products in second-hand clothe channels is approximately consistent with the average clothes price in the UK as £17 (Statista, 2021), for instance, a second-hand TOPSHOP

dress from Oxfam cost £7.99 to £50, and a first-hand TOPSHOP dress costs from over £30 to £100; a similar dress from chain vintage shops (WE ARE COW) cost over £30, while a dress from PRIMARK can only cost from £6 to over £20. Although the price of clothes from second-hand clothe channels is still not that high, the important capital 'cheapness' has fallen short in replace. Today, the search results of google map are also weakening the feature of 'thrift'. When a consumer tries to search for second-hand shops, whether the consumer is buying cheap clothes or not, the information (s)he receives first has little to do with 'thrift'. Although the above discussion is indirect with place itself, the meanings, no matter it is economic capital or cultural capital, attached to the place can reflect the positioning of the shop, which goes with the similar logic that mentioned by Bourdieu (1975) about differences in fashion brands between brands on left or right Paris.

In addition to the weakening and fading of the word 'thrift', the flea market mentioned by traditional research and the higher threshold of second-hand clothes consumption, these flea markets tend to appear in the countryside and urban suburbs, and their frequency of appearance is more flexible and does not always exist. Moreover, these flea markets often have more niche and unique products, such as jerseys. However, as Chapter 5 found, some older consumers think that these markets are not as good as before, and it is more difficult to experience this kind of market now.

In addition to the use of language, the place also presents a more distinctive "uniqueness". These stores do not directly mention uniqueness in the brand or advertisements, but they provide consumers with products that are difficult to manufacture with modern assembly lines. This study found that many second-hand clothes shops not only sell second-hand clothes, but also sell a very small number of hand-made first-hand products that made of recycled materials. The consumer sample in this study showed great tendency to visit such shops and to buy these products. Crane (2000) believes that fashion is not a universal language, but a dialect, which reflects people's aesthetic differences in a specific living environment. Under this difference,

some people insist on using the products provided by the market to build their identities, while others carefully build their identities through niche products that are different from those provided by the market. For this study, these hand-made products appearing in second-hand stores in a very small number seem to be a fashion "dialect". They are not mainstream fashion products, nor are they purely second-hand products, but they are a specific market that has been loved and purchased by some consumers. Second-hand stores are telling consumers a "new story" that is different from mainstream fashion markets and traditional second-hand clothes through their unique products. This story can be a story about sustainability, or about rebellion, at least, it is unique.

The second-hand clothes consumption channels are often mentioned in traditional studies also appeared from the data of this study and still exist in daily life. But this study also found that even though these channels still exist, their market focus and target groups are changing. Its geographic location, decoration style and target group are trying to re-branding second-hand clothes consumption. the change of geographic location seems to be an escape, which means in current marketplace, many second-hand clothes shops are escaping from the low prices and temporary nature of the past, and are moving towards a more advanced, more targeted, more professional, and more expensive direction. High streets and alleys, trendy places and ordinary communities, second-hand clothes consumption has changed the definition of 'place' in the minds of consumers with new meanings, and changes in physical location have subsequently strengthened this new definition.

The field of second-hand clothes consumption therefore contains increasingly more complicated capitals, and its boundaries will be more dynamic. Because of the dynamic boundary, the resulting 'fights' between different actors in the field will also be more obvious, for instance, second-hand clothes in the eyes of consumers, in today's environment, seems to be endowed with very strong emotions, and this sentiment then probably be captured by the merchants, so that they can tell deliver more targeted values to this group of consumers.

5.1.1.2. PLACE OF PRODUCTION (DISPOSAL)

Different from traditional clothes sales channels, second-hand clothes consumption can form a closed loop from "production" to "consumption". Therefore, the way consumers handle these clothes can reflect the "source of production" of second-hand clothes. Chapter 5 first discovered that many consumers would choose to donate their clothes to charities, and even some consumers' entire clothes consumption is in the "donation"- "purchase" cycle of the charity store. In the minds of these consumers, donating unwanted clothes to charities seems to be just a habit, because when asked why they should donate to charities, most consumers present researchers in a state of not knowing how to answer. That is, "donating to charity" is a behavior similar to common sense. However, Chapter 5 found the reason for this "common sense" from subsequent analysis: when many consumers need to dispose of old clothes or unwanted clothes, "Throwing clothes" is regarded as a "bad thing" under the influence of social norm. In addition, some consumers who often buy clothes from charity stores will think that they are in the cycle of charity stores. If people stop donating, it means that they can no longer get clothes from charity stores. In addition, people want to support charity, or to help the poor is the reason for donating to charity shops.

Belk (1988) believes that once items are purchased, these items are withdrawn from the market and become "singularized". In the process of singularization, these products will become personalized, even out of fetishism, and become an extension of self. As such, some consumers give clothes not used at home to children, relatives or friends. Therefore, in the eyes of these consumers, children, relatives and friends are still in the radiation range of a "singularized" circle. In addition, the service life of clothes will naturally decrease after being purchased for the first time. In other words, ordinary clothes will depreciate when it is sold second-hand. However, in the minds of some consumers, the true value or perceived value of the clothes they do not wear is still higher than other second-hand clothes. For these higher-value clothes, some

consumers will give priority to their relatives and friends or choose to sell them. Instead of donating to charity. This disposal difference determines to a certain extent the low value of clothes that enter the charity shop, and directly affects consumers' judgment on the value of charity shop clothes, because for charity shops, production to consumption is a closed loop. Therefore, this explains why some consumers think that the increase in charity shops is a response to the economic downturn. It also explains from the side that some charity shops try to use branding strategies to enhance consumers' perceived value of charity shop products. This disposal difference seems to explain Brooks (2015)'s finding that in the fast fashion era, consumers' frantic purchases are not proportionally converted into charity donations, nor can they be converted into consumption in charity stores. Because these charities can only resell 15% of the donations they receive.

This kind of 'singularization' is also reflected in two other aspects, one is the child or close family members, and the other is self. Some consumers mentioned that the clothes they don't wear will be reserved for their children because they think it can preserve "emotions". This behavior can be explained by this "singularization". That is to say, in the minds of these consumers, these clothes are their own private property, and even produce emotional sustenance similar to "fetishism". And this kind of emotion can only be passed on to one's own relatives, such as children. Some consumers insist on keeping their clothes, often on the grounds that "just in case they can still wear them in the future." This kind of behavior can not only reflect the maintenance of consumers' economic value, but it also seems to be able to see some feelings given by consumers to the goods themselves.

5.1.2. THE DISCUSSION ABOUT DEFINITIONS OF SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

This study found that the discourse presented by the branding of second-hand clothes stores and consumers' interpretation of second-hand clothes are consistent to a certain extent. This research found that many consumers think that second-hand clothes

is a kind of emotional sustenance, a product category that is more "warm" than first-hand clothes. At the same time, some second-hand clothes shops use store decorations and products themselves to tell these consumers a "warm" story. Kent and Stone (2007) believes that for shops, the products displayed in the window set the scene for their brand story, not only are these clothes original, but the handicrafts and decoration styles in the store are the original. They all contribute to the store atmosphere. When entering a store full of "story", consumers will have a subjective field in their minds after interpreting the story. This field can be full of nostalgia or full of sustainability. As found in Chapter 5, many consumers believe that the word "vintage" better reflects the value of second-hand clothes than "second-hand", even if they do not have the expertise to distinguish vintage.

In Chapter 5, many consumers still use "second-hand" to describe these second-hand clothes, and they will still buy them, wear them daily, and even second-hand clothes become part of their outfits. In the eyes of these consumers, the boundary between second-hand clothes and first-hand clothes is getting blurred. As can be seen from Chapter 5, "outfit style", "function", "convenience" and "unique" are more important consumer demands than the nature of clothes. Therefore, this research believes that if the research on second-hand clothes cannot be separated from its "second-hand" essence, it is difficult to find the various demands and capitals in the field implied by the consumption practices of contemporary consumers. In other words, the consumer's new definition of second-hand clothes weakens the "second-hand" itself to a certain extent. When the attribute of "second-hand" is weakened, the boundary between second-hand and first-hand will naturally be blurred, and some capitals in the field that are most closely related to "second-hand", such as cheap and some stigmas, will also be weakened.

Sassatelli (2015) use Hochschild (2013)'s view that consumers need to define what consumption is and what meaning can be attached to it to emphasize the dynamic relationship between consumption and production under the application of consumer

sovereignty. Although Sassatelli (2015) believes that the way consumers define consumption, which is treating consumption as a form of production is a way to de-commoditize and personalize the purchased goods. Though this view is questioned, it shows consumption and production from another angle. From the perspective of consumer sovereignty, they seem to have a certain connection. In other words, in this study, consumers' perceptions of second-hand clothes, whether it is based on emotions or authenticity, reflects to a certain extent the important of consumer sovereignty in the consumption. Although Southernton et al., (2004) believe that the active rights of consumers such as consumer sovereignty or autonomy are very limited and consumes autonomy does not conform to the position of practice theory to a certain extent, because practice theory does not support monism or dualism in essence. Not only this kind of consumer sovereignty, but the perceptual fusion of consumption and production, and the definition of a certain type of product or practice also reflects the market segment, cultural affiliation, and lifestyle (see Vanhonacker et al., 2010), motivation for purchase and habits (Verbeke et al., 2016) of different consumers.

This research then found that consumers' definitions of second-hand clothes, which include vintage/retro clothes, second-hand clothes and the carriers of emotion or history. Although theoretically speaking, vintage clothes and second-hand clothes are not exactly the same (Jenß 2005), in this study, in addition to the authentic vintage, the term vintage also represents a kind of 'retro-look' (DeLong et al., 2005).because as important actors in the second-hand clothes consumption, consumers do not have the corresponding knowledge in many cases to distinguish between pure vintage and retro appearance. As Sassatelli (2015) emphasized, consumer skills and knowledge are the basis for critique of contemporary consumer culture. Different from intensive professional work skills/knowledge, the knowledge in the consumption is often extensive, low-technical, and is type of perception of subjective elements such as meanings and values. At the same time, this knowledge also reflects aesthetics and ethics, so there are good workers but often no 'good' consumers. Therefore, although we are not sure how much the second-hand clothes on the market are truly vintage,

from the perspective of consumption, many consumers think that they are consuming vintage and second-hand clothes consumption is the consumption of vintage. According to the view about authenticity of Beverland and Farelly (2010), if consumers define it as real vintage, then the entire consumption presented to consumers is the benefits and happiness that real vintage can bring. In addition, the definition of second-hand clothes consumption as an accompanying definition of vintage is to define second-hand fashion consumption as trendy consumption. McColl et al. (2018) emphasized that hipsters use retro things to make themselves look cool. Many second-hand clothes shops gather in trendy communities frequented by young people and the retro series launched by fast fashion confirm this definition, that is, vintage is the new fashion trend. Moreover, sustainability, ethics and slow fashion are also closely related to this 'hipster' trend (Pookulangara and Shephard, 2013; McColl et al., 2018). therefore, the definition of vintage not only shows consumers pursuit of vintage itself, but also integrates elements such as sustainable lifestyle and fashion. This fusion also reflects the complexity embodied in today's second-hand clothes consumption.

When consumers simply define second-hand clothes just as 'second-hand' clothes, according to the findings of this study, we cannot classify and analyse this definition just simply. Because the data collected in this study are all consumers of second-hand clothes, this definition can reflect some consumers' pursuit of low prices. Yet, in this study, many consumers believe that there is no obvious difference between second-hand clothes and first-hand clothes. Southerton et al. (2004) mentioned that in order not to appear obtrusive, people need a variety of clothes to help them integrate into different social contexts. Some participants in this study mentioned that contemporary workplace have weakened the dressing code to a certain extent. This weakening allows them to wear second-hand clothes in an office environment without being judged, which allows them to further purchase second-hand clothes. because perceptions and clothes are indeed closely related (Smolak et al., 2014), dressing code is indeed a product of different norms (Workman and Freeburg, 2000), and a fixed judgement (Gurung et al., 2018). So, what is presented in this study is that consumers

have downplayed the boundary between first-hand clothes and second-hand clothes, without even making a specific definition, which lead to a further question that can it be understood as a weakening of the phenomenon of observing people through clothes? And can the weakening of dressing code in the workplace also be understood as a structuring structure or structured structure?

Another definition is mainly reflected in emotion. From the data in this study, one of these emotions is reflected by pleasure; the other is a certain emotion towards the parents and history. Regarding the first type, many consumers believe that the behaviour of visiting second-hand shops is often not motivated by any specific purchase motivation. These second-hand clothes shops may be next to the coffee shop or a certain point on the strolling path. This behaviour is more like a brand of entertainment. Cervellon et al. (2012) and Roux and Guiot (2008) pointed out that for Western consumers, second-hand shopping has obvious entertainment attributes, and this view seems to be able to support Southernton et al. (2004)'s view that many consumers behavior is routine and not affected by the so-called decision-making process. In addition, this kind of entertainment consumption behaviour nested into a certain routine seems to be similar to Giddens (1991) view, that is, people are not choosing products, but choosing the lifestyle, in other words, these products is nested in specific type of lifestyle. When consumers define second-hand clothes consumption as a certain kind of leisure and entertainment behaviour, it reflects the environment in which the behaviour occurs, and the lifestyle embodied in it. The other is about emotional attachment and possession. Belk (1988) believes that once items are purchase, these items are withdrawn from the market and become 'singularized'. In the process of singularization, these products will become personalized, even out of fetishism, and become an extension of self. But people who overemphasize this simplification may mind second-hand clothes, but for consumers who buy second-hand clothes, this definition is more like nostalgia for their fathers or past lifestyles, that is, nostalgia. As Berger et al. (1973) emphasized, nostalgia is a kind of metaphysical 'homelessness', which has become more and more common in a diverse and rapidly changing society.

And it, together with the rustic simplicity, traditional stability, and loss of cultural integration, has become an important emotion in contemporary culture (Turner, 1987). Although the conclusions made by Berger et al. (1973) and Turner (1987) are far from now, some participants in this study did show nostalgia for their parents and a certain dissatisfaction with current life when they showed nostalgia emotions.

5.1.3. THE DISCUSSION ABOUT CAPITALS (SYMBOLIC AND SOCIAL MEANINGS) OF SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

Bourdieu's concept of capital is a further deepening of Marx and Weber's capital theory. Marx (2007) believes that capital is not material, it is social, and it is a production relationship in a certain historical form. But its essence is in an object, and it gives this object unique social nature. Bourdieu followed and developed the capital theory, categorizing capital in the field into detailed capital forms such as economic capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. The reason is that Bourdieu (1997) believes that the purely economic logic of "profit maximization" is not feasible, because "intend to do" in the full sense does not exist. Bourdieu (1997) believes that there are many other reasons for practice in addition to the internal logic of "profit maximization", and these reasons cannot be reduced to "intention" and "motivation". It is impossible to explain the practical activities of human beings if we merely linearize human behavior mechanically. Therefore, in this study, price will appear as simplified economic capital, and other symbolic capital and cultural capital will be discussed in depth in the following. What needs to be explained is that the symbolic and social meanings in the proposed conceptual framework of this study are a more market-oriented view of capital in practice theory.

5.1.3.1. DISCUSSION FOR ECONOMIC MEANINGS

Many previous studies have mentioned that an important motivation for second-hand clothes consumption is to "save money" (e.g., Xu et al., 2014). The findings of Chapter 5 are consistent with those of these arguments. In this study, "saving money"

is an important economic capital, and at the same time “thrifty” can be regarded as a symbolic capital. As such, this type of capital can be regarded as the vision that is fully in line with the classical capitalist viewpoint, that is, "maximizing benefits" is an important behavioral logic of consumers (Case and Fair, 2007). As analyzed above, under normal circumstances, second-hand clothes will depreciate, so the low price at the same time is fully in line with this economic logic.

Similar to some studies (Machado et al., 2019; Guiot and Roux, 2010), this study also found obvious trends in big brand hunting and bargain hunting from the samples. Among these tendencies, "maximizing benefits" is still the main logic of consumers, but we can also find that consumers are divided. Some consumers are loyal customers of certain big brands, but they can find old products that have been removed from the shelves in the first cycle in second-hand clothes stores. In their eyes, price is not the main determinant. What the brand itself represents, such as quality and style, is the type of capital they pursue; But for other consumers, being able to buy very big-name clothes at low prices satisfies their pursuit of economic capital on the one hand, and also satisfies the symbolic capital that big brands can bring, such as conspicuous consumption (See participant 005, she thinks that others cannot tell whether her clothes are second-hand or first-hand).

In addition, Goffman (2009)'s concept of pollution seems to be reflected in the findings in this study. Goffman (2009) believes that some clothes once belonged to others and were worn by others, these clothes were once the private property of others. This kind of resale of second-hand clothes is an intervention in the private sector in the eyes of some people. Some consumers clearly believe that second-hand shoes are a category of second-hand clothes that they would never buy (see participant 008). Due to health concerns and distrust of former owners or institutions, second-hand footwear is not a category that will quickly gain favour. But some consumers will buy second-hand shoes, only because they need them temporarily or occasionally, which can be supported by the critical or utilitarian motives mentioned in Machado et al. (2019) and

Cassidy and Bennett (2012), as such, the emotional distance reflected therein seems to be weakened by these practicalities. Some consumers have clear boundaries between life and work. Like the group of consumers mentioned above, work clothes also have a long emotional distance for these consumers, so the purchase of work clothes and private clothes reflects this distance and the boundary between work and life, so they sometimes buy clothes that they would wear at work in second-hand clothes shops. This separation of emotions is therefore reflected in the shopping channels. In the eyes of these consumers, some second-hand clothes channels are synonymous with "temporary" and "distanced". Therefore, whether it is money saving to maximize profits or buying products with a long emotional distance in a second-hand store, low prices are key factors, that is, economic capital is an important type of capital pursued by these consumers.

This study also found that some types of capitals that hinder consumers from entering the second-hand clothes field, but these capital types are mainly symbolic capital, including simplicity, temporary, hygiene issues, distrust for former owners and institutions, signs of low income and potential embarrassment and low level of fashionability. These obstacles have been more or less mentioned in previous studies, but according to the conclusions of this study, there are three main reasons why these symbolic capitals become obstacles.

The first point is the low price mentioned above. In the previous analysis, the low price is the economic capital that many consumers chase, but we can find that this low price is only a reasonable reflection of the depreciation of second-hand clothes itself. But this reasonable reflection will form a subjective view in the eyes of many consumers, that is, "cheap is not good". This straight line thinking that second-hand clothes is equal to cheap and embarrassing needs to be offset by other symbolic capitals. This offset can be confirmed by the label of vintage and uniqueness as seen in later sections.

The second point is the distrust of the former owner and the organization, which is consistent with Goffman (2009)'s concept of pollution. Because of the large emotional distance, it is difficult for consumers to have "private" emotions for second-hand clothes, so it is difficult to purchase, and emotional rejection of such products will also occur.

The third is the low level of fashionability. Fashion here is a very subjective concept, but many young participants mentioned that the clothes in charity shops are not fashionable enough, and they also think that the furnishings of charity shops are very unattractive. Kent (2007) emphasized that the retro store itself is already the original store, and it can express the image and story that the store wants to present, which is in line with the classic brand identity (Ghodeswar, 2008) theory. Fashion can be understood as a part of aesthetics. This research found that, there indeed are some consumers think products provided by some charity shops are not that fashionable, and some charity shops tries to change branding strategy to attract more consumers. This finding cannot consider charity shops are not fashionable or do not attract younger consumers, but it shows that some charity shops are trying to change marketing strategy to attract young consumers. In detail, Chapter 5 mentioned that some charity stores try to change their marketing strategies and present consumers with a "vintage" brand image, but according to the observations of this research, most charity store managers lack an understanding of contemporary fashion and knowledge of store design. Even some managers are not good at online retail. This study thus highlights that when second-hand clothes begins to move closer to retro fashion, an invisible threshold will appear. Knowledge or experience about current fashion, vintage, and new retail becomes the threshold. This threshold for practitioners has further widened the distance between different second-hand clothes shops, because this threshold has also become the cultural capital of the consumer's market segment. When the new type of cultural capital appeared, according to Bourdieu's capital transformation theory, economic capital was effectively formed and transformed. For example, Chapter 5 found that the prices of products in vintage stores are higher than those in charity shops. This can

support the argument that cultural capital and symbolic capital are transformed into economic capital.

Based on the feedbacks from participants, low prices may be the selling point of some second-hand clothes shops, but they cannot be the basis for the transformation of second-hand clothes shops or targeting more young consumers. Because of the low price, in the eyes of some consumers, it has strengthened the low value of second-hand clothes and the unfashionableness of some second-hand clothes shops, thereby weakening the other potential advantages of second-hand clothes.

5.1.3.2. DISCUSSION FOR SYMBOLIC AND SOCIAL MEANINGS

Although many studies, such as Guiot and Roux (2010), regard nostalgia/vintage as an important consumption motivation for second-hand clothes consumers, Zaman et al. (2019) even specifically define a type of second-hand clothes consumers as nostalgia proneness. This study also believes that the meanings of vintage, as a capital in the field, are considerably important. While this study believes that it is not comprehensive to explain vintage or nostalgia in second-hand clothes consumption only by motive or consumer type.

First of all, vintage refers to the authenticity of the product since Jenss (2004) defines the authenticity of this product as a negotiation between cultural participants. Also, Koontz (2010) then believes that "otherization" and "traditionalization" are two important forms of finding so-called "authentic" products. Using mainstream culture as a reference, and foreign cultures, subcultures and other non-mainstream cultures are regarded as "real", while traditionalization includes the popular "DIY", "original formula" and retro personalization (Koontz 2010; Wang 1999). As a practical reflection of the above point of view, this study found that many second-hand clothes shops exhibit foreign-style decorations, or display many gadgets that were common in the past but are not common today, or sell handmade items made of recycled materials. Their decoration style is obviously different from that of mainstream fashion, especially

fast fashion stores. As emphasized by Veenstra and Kuipers (2013), this authenticity and commerciality are opposite. This antagonism is manifested by the differences between store designs, and it is also manifested in consumers' reactions. Therefore, many second-hand clothes shops that use vintage as a selling point reflect a certain kind of rebellion and uniqueness through this authenticity that is opposed to commerciality.

The second point is that when we visit these second-hand shops with peculiar styles that sell vintage or retro, we will find that the prices of these second-hand clothes are not low. Some consumers have made it clear that the products of these second-hand stores are 'ridiculously high (see participant 018)', and the second-hand market in London even has many non-luxury brand denim jackets of more than £100 or even £200. Jense (2005) believes that consumers who are accustomed to buying retro clothes are generally from the middle class. Cervellon et al. (2012) believe that retro consumption is directly affected by higher income and education. In other words, when these second-hand clothes are screened and labeled with the clear cultural capital and symbolic capital label of "vintage", the economic capital that can be transformed or represented is bound to grow, and this growth is manifested in the price of the product, the selected store location (cost). For example, this study found that once they are labeled as vintage, these second-hand clothes stores tend to actively target college students. This market tendency obviously fits with the views of Cervellon et al. (2012). Therefore, in addition to the authenticity of the so-called retro, second-hand clothes in today's market context, vintage, a capital that has relative cultural and social significance, gives second-hand clothes the characteristics of higher prices, younger generation and even more middle-class, so it has become a new fashion consumption form.

In addition, as mentioned by participants of this research (e.g., Participant 003), these re-used products are essentially second-hand products, but the use of language directly affects people's subjective interpretations. Such interpretations cannot change the nature of things while changes in subjective valuations, which probably affects consumers intention to purchase. At the same time, a paradox about the second-hand

clothes consumption emerged. as the stigma in second-hand clothes consumption demonstrated, for second-hand clothes, low prices may strengthen the low value of second-hand clothes, and this study also found that many consumers' perceived low value seems to revolve around the low prices. Combined with the second discussion mentioned above, when being marketing with the symbolic meanings such as vintage, sustainability, uniqueness, too low prices may be counterproductive.

Fourth, in the first point, this research mentioned the word 'screening'. Although identifying the authentic vintage is the real subcultural capital from the perspective of Thornton (1995), which require intensive knowledge. But for some second-hand clothes shops on the hight streets, their main products are not antique s or luxury goods in the true sense, so the existence of this subcultural capital does not seem to be strong. But in the eyes of many participants, these retro or vintage shops with unique designs and full of young shop assistants represent 'fashion'. Whether it is shop decoration, design, product selection or sales, as well as the dressing style of the clerk, it is quite intuitive to show consumers a retro, rebellious and unique temperament. For example, this study found that many so-called retro shops use retro toys, film-style posters, and ethnic minority-style displays on a large scale to differentiate them from the decoration styles of high street fashion shops. This differentiation not only reflects the unique product and store positioning, but also conforms to the 'authenticity' of vintage products, that is, the 'otherization' and 'traditionalization' emphasized by Koontz (2010). Hebdige (1988) and Jenss (2005) emphasized that this kind of retro cultural exchange is more common and popular among young people, which may also explain why some charity shops are trying to transform themselves to vintage shops and trying to recruit more young volunteers. This discussion about symbolic meaning actually echoes the previous discussion about consumers' definitions. It seems that consumers can create their own culture from the resources and commodities provided by the market (Fiske, 2010), but businesses in the consumer environment also strengthen this 'authenticity' through every element from the product to the shops.

Fifth, when we talk about vintage, nostalgia, the emotion behind vintage needs to be discussed as well. Boutique-style second-hand clothes stores can produce a nostalgic charm, thereby enhancing the corresponding shopping experience (Yan et al., 2015). Consumers in this study also frequently expressed this nostalgic mood. This kind of nostalgia first shows its gentle and warm emotional qualities, and it manifests itself as a kind of tenderness towards the family, especially the previous generation. Many consumers feel happy and shocked when they discover the clothes their father once wore, and then subconsciously think of their father, and then he will often go to second-hand stores to find an emotion that belongs to the past. This sentiment can indeed explain the reasons why some consumers try to buy second-hand clothes. However, according to the findings of this research, the sentiment of nostalgia has also produced obvious differentiation and brought different consumption results. The way the authenticity of the vintage clothes is presented has a resonance. According to Koontz (2010), the traditionality of retro consumption is reflected through nostalgia, and this embodiment is connected with sustainability. Many consumers think that the way people lived in the past was more sustainable, such as repairing clothes instead of discarding them or using waste newspaper to clean glass windows instead of using chemicals. Moreover, a consumer also mentioned the tendency of making clothes by themselves (e.g., see participant 017). Many consumers are now starting to repair and make clothes by themselves. This lifestyle is more sustainable and unique in the eyes of the consumer. As mentioned in the previous sections, many second-hand clothes stores will recycle fabrics or other materials, and then re-made them into new clothes or new decorations. This DIY re-enactment of the traditional lifestyle further resonates with Koontz (2010). Moreover, according to Palmer et al. (2005), many retro buyers value originality found that many second-hand stores sell clothes and accessories designed and made by the clerk themselves. These clothes and accessories are advertised as using recycled materials or made through sustainable approaches, as DeLong et al. (2005) discovered, modern fashion can be combined with original vintage or re-made to achieve a retro look. Therefore, the present study suggests that the pursuit

of vintage, originality, uniqueness, etc. are glued together. They are not independent capitals in the field, but a symbolic capital group.

Sixth, the nostalgia mentioned in the fifth point also extends the consumer's rebellion against contemporary mass production and highly homogeneous capital markets. And this rebellion is consistent with seeking for uniqueness through second-hand clothes consumption mentioned in a large number of studies. Jencks (2012) believes that modernism belongs to the elite, but the elite often complicates things and makes ordinary people unable to understand; postmodernism belongs to the masses, and post-presentism has taken to the streets, it breaks the boundaries between high art and popular culture. Although this view is not aimed at the so-called retro fashion of second-hand goods, its concept and consumption of second-hand clothes coincide to a certain extent. First of all, second-hand clothes consumption is inherently a sense of resistance. According to Hamilton (2012) and Mcrobbie (1989), retro fashion began in London in the 1960s and quickly spread to New York. In the 1970s, students were constrained by a limited level of consumption and would choose second-hand clothes that was very cheap at the time as an external manifestation of the struggle. It is not just this research that found this kind of retro expansion based on resistance and nostalgia. Cassidy and Bennett (2012) found that since the 21st century, retro shops have increased substantially, rather than second-hand shops or charity shops. The retro lifestyle is not only a nostalgia for a specific life, but also a resistance to excessive consumption. To a certain extent, the consumer's opinions in this study support the argument of these studies, that second-hand clothes naturally has the characteristic of resistance. In addition, in this stage of the discussion, this study does not deliberately distinguish between second-hand and vintage, because consumers in this study have clearly stated that they cannot clearly distinguish between second-hand and vintage clothes. It is just that when we combine the views of Jencks (2012), perhaps vintage itself is a field with extremely high barriers to entry and requires strong expertise (Thornton 1995). When there is a large number of 'vintage' in the streets and alleys, it is difficult for us to think They all have professional knowledge. But we have reason to

believe that they are a kind of rebellion against the peculiar cultural class, a kind of postmodern "cultural sinking", but this study finds that the degree of this kind of sinking is limited because they just have fallen from the cultural elite to the middle class.

Seventh, in the sixth point, this research mentioned that this retro fashion has a sense of rebellion and nostalgia. But when returning to the discussion of the field, will find that Bourdieu believes that the boundary of the field will change due to the game of capital. This is why this study believes that vintage is not just real emotions. It can also be a subjective perception that varies from person to person, or it can be a business one. Veenstra and Kuipers (2013) believe that this nostalgic and retro mood will not be ignored by companies. found that many fast fashions have launched so-called retro styles. Jeness (2005) believes that the pursuit of retro looks needs to be reminded and supported by convenience. When fast fashion began to enter the retro field, they were extremely high. Advertising frequency and ubiquitous stores meet the two key elements of reminder and convenience. When the retro style changed from emotional appeal to pure appearance appeal under the pursuit of capital, this kind of nostalgia and retro style no longer paid attention to the traditional sacredness and cultural value, but only became the pursuit of appearance (Guffey 2006). Palmer and Clark (2005) emphasized that, in terms of second-hand clothes, this re-occupation of consumer goods was once marginalized, but has now become a mainstream phenomenon of high commercialization. Baker (2012) also mentioned that when these second-hand stores evolve from shabby small shops to boutique fashion shops or enter shopping malls, the bargain hunting and other characteristics represented by second-hand clothes have ended. it is worthy to note that in the mind of consumers as shown in the chapter 5, many consumers would like to buy vintage clothes from second-hand clothes channels, and also buy retro-style clothes from fast fashion. The previous sections mentioned the authenticity of vintage goods, which is opposed to the 'falseness' of mass production. Beverland and Farrell (2010) emphasized that whether these products are mass-produced or not, as long as consumers think they are real, they are real. From this perspective, some consumers may not care about the production method of retro look,

but they pursue the authenticity brought by the retro look. In other words, this kind of nostalgia and retroism may not be pure, but the pursuit of uniqueness and the hidden spirit of resistance are inevitable. Just from the consumers' perspective and the paradox between authenticity of vintage and commercialization, this pursuit of uniqueness may not born from consumers' pure autonomy.

Eighth, from the beginning, this study emphasized that the field in this study is the overlap of the second-hand clothes consumption field and the sustainable consumption field. When talking about the vintage store, Kent (2007) believes that the goods and decorations in the vintage store are a kind of originality of the store. Together, they create a creative display and a corresponding atmosphere for the store, then set the background for the brand story. In the data analysis stage, this study found that, similar to these retro stores, some second-hand stores use green plants, environmental slogans and minimalist styles to tell stories that belong to the sustainable clothes store. Just as retro shops often display foreign-style decorations and hippie-style posters, this study found that these second-hand clothes stores with obvious and strong sustainability value use more DIY decorations, wall panels made of sawdust and lots of green plants. As such, this kind of store did not strengthen the attribute of vintage but stated in the interview that the clothes in its store should be called 'modern second-hand clothes'. This definition emphasizes the fashion and youthfulness of this store in addition to sustainability. Moreover, the design of the store has a certain degree of Instagram style (Zappavigna, 2016), which also attracts young people who can use social media proficiently.

In addition, the minimalism and plant decoration presented in the store often reflect people's yearning for simple life and the fear and counterattack of 'excessive' life (Zafarmand et al., 2003). As such, even if these stores use sustainability as the core value output or symbolic capital, they still create a rebellious image to the mainstream market and consumers. This rebellion is also expressed through colour, with observational data showing that most second-hand clothes shops present consumers

with warm colours or vibrant bright colours. Cool or dark colours are rarely seen. Colours such as yellow, pink, orange and red give consumers a sense of sincerity, excitement, happiness and warmth (Hoek and Gendall, 2010; Labrecque and Milne, 2012). Unlike black, which is presented in clothes shops such as fast fashion and is aimed at the upper classes and conveys elegance and sophistication (Ampuero and Vila, 2006), this colour opposition reflects a certain rebellion, antagonism and uniqueness. This is essentially similar to another market strategy that symbolizes capital with vintage as the core.

But this kind of rebellion, no matter from the perspective of the merchant or the consumer, cannot be completely opposed to the object of its rebellion. Many consumers have expressed concerns about the rapid expansion of second-hand clothes in interviews. They believe that the extreme admiration of second-hand clothes is detrimental to countries where the clothes industry accounts for a relatively large GDP. It is also disadvantageous for developing countries that have signed a large number of clothes contracts. In the past ten years, the market has witnessed the rapid growth of second-hand clothes (Machado et al., 2019), and the international trade industry has also witnessed the rejection of second-hand clothes exported from Western Europe and North America by many developing countries including Asia and Africa (e.g., Thelwell, 2021). For instance, in the UK, the number of second-hand clothes exported from 2012 to 2020 has shown a downward trend (Statista, 2021a), but apart from 2020, from 2012 to 2019, the overall purchase of clothes in the United Kingdom has shown an upward trend. (Statista, 2021b). Based on these two contradictory trends, this study believes that the rapid growth of the second-hand clothes industry in the UK seems to be the self-digestion of clothes produced by the country's excessive consumption under the general environment of sustainability.

Some consumers have similar views as this study, and they believe that second-hand clothes consumption is just a way to reduce excessive consumption. In the eyes of these consumers, absolute second-hand clothes consumption and absolute first-hand

clothes consumption are not beneficial to the balance between the economy and the environment. Therefore, they believe that the core of the sustainability issue is the management of 'excessive' behavior. But when consumers think that second-hand clothes is just a means to help the market reduce overall clothes consumption, it reflects the two different spiritual cores of sustainability in the practice of second-hand clothes consumption—recycling and extending the life cycle. In many previous studies on sustainable consumption (Yuracko et al., 1997; Woolridge et al., 2006), recycling and extending the life cycle of products are often discussed together. However, this study believes that these two terms, which seem to be mutually external or mutually causal, actually present different purchase behaviors of consumers. Some consumers believe that second-hand clothes are recycled products and are sustainable. Under such circumstances, this study found that many consumers who hold this view may increase their purchases of second-hand clothes and even other recycled products. This purchase may indeed be because recycling is a form of sustainable behaviour, but the result may not be sustainable, which can be supported by rebound effect that will be discussed in later section. some consumers believe that the core of sustainable consumption is to extend the life cycle of products. Under such circumstances, these consumers will tend to buy better quality products, whether first-hand or second-hand. In other words, as long as they can meet their needs and have a long-life cycle, they will be willing to buy, not just because these products are recycled. And these consumers are more inclined to buy fewer clothes.

Nineth, the participants in this study mentioned vegan or vegetarian many times. The motivation of vegetarian behaviour is not the subject of this study, while vegetarian behaviour and second-hand clothes consumption appear in the same context. This research has found that vegan and vegetarian also have certain 'rebellious' characteristics, while second-hand clothes also has 'rebellious' characteristics. Because one of the values of vegetarianism is concern for the environment and opposition to contemporary mainstream animal husbandry production methods (Vegetarian Society, 2021), this rebellion and value of sustainability are similar to the meanings presented

by second-hand clothes consumption. For example, some participants believed that wool coats and leather products violated the values and ethics of vegan and vegetarian. In addition, Gemar (2020) used Bourdieu's practice theory to conduct research on yoga, vegetarianism and meditation. These behaviours show more obvious cultural capital, which require educations. And for these emerging cultural capitals, the cultural makers behind them have played a key role. This finding is actually similar to the previous discussion of the cultural capital represented by vintage in this study. Therefore, this study believes that when second-hand clothes consumers mention vegetarianism or are vegetarians themselves, it can reflect the role of emerging cultural capitals in these emerging practices. It is not only a choice of consumers, but also the products of other agents or structures in the field. And in the discussion about vegetarianism, Johnston and Baumann (2007, cited in Gemar, 2020) believe that exoticism is a necessary configuration for new forms of consumption, which echoes the discussion about vintage authenticity of second-hand clothes, thus strengthening this type of consumption. The importance of cultural capital. Therefore, although the fourth point of discussion shows the initiative of consumers, and the seventh point illustrate the limitation of this initiative, this section does reflect the importance of cultural capital makers in emerging consumption, which indirectly shows the limited autonomy of some consumers in the field.

5.1.4. DISCUSSION FOR VALUES IN SUSTAINABLE SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

Martin and Upham (2016) emphasized that in the context of social science, values are a considerable controversial but widely used concept and values embedded in actual sustainable consumption still lack sufficient research (Bly et al., 2015). So for the consumption studies, according to Sivapalan et al. (2021), value can be understood as the specific consumer's value system, which can includes consumption values (Sheth et al., 1991) and personal values (Schwartz et al., 2012). In such practice field,

consumption values hence can be understood as consumers pursue of capitals in the field, and personal values can be understood as the specific personal features.

Lundblad and Davies (2016) highlighted, in sustainable fashion consumption, Consumers' altruistic value and egoistic value can reach a balance and achieve holism . The present research also found that this seemingly opposite value system can exist simultaneously. Although Lundblad and Davies (2016) believed that altruistic value or biosphere value can fade into the egoistic value, for instance, consumers probably consider lack of availability of sustainable products as individuality or uniqueness, this study did not find such dynamic relationship between these two groups of values. While the present study did find that these two groups of values show a dual way leading to the actual sustainable fashion consumption. and this study found, for some consumers, such egoistic value sometimes is more important than altruistic values in second-hand clothes consumption, which can be supported by Lundblad and Davies (2016) and Bly et al. (2015).

First of all, although Chapter 5 found that many second-hand clothes stores have begun to raise prices, the pricing of second-hand clothes in the market is still slightly lower than that of fast fashion clothes. Therefore, low prices have attracted consumers' pursuit of functionality, comfort, and reduction of economic risks and the corresponding values, which consistent with the economic value defined by Biwas and Roy (2015) and functional value defined by Lin and Huang (2012). If it is divided according to the basic value theory (Schwartz et al., 2012), then the low price inspires consumers, or attracts consumers' values such as conformity and security. More specifically, the consumerism and materialism found in Chapter 5 all show such values. But at the same time, some consumers also use low prices to obtain big-name clothes to 'arm' themselves, which shows the achievement and power value that consumers have. Moreover, considering the sustainability attributes of second-hand clothes, some consumers make more purchases on the grounds of low prices and recyclability. But the result of this purchase is still the 'possession' of material materials, so this behavior

reflects a strong materialism. This kind of sustainable materialism is not in harmony with the essence of sustainability, that is, reducing the waste of material materials. Therefore, in the part about spillover, this research will conduct a more in-depth discussion.

Secondly, hedonism has been mentioned many times in this study and other study about sustainable consumption (Roux and Guiot, 2008; Cervellon et al., 2012, Luedicke et al. 2010; Caruana et al., 2020). In the practice of second-hand clothes consumption, this kind of hedonism is a very significant capital, and it also reflects consumer hedonism. But in this kind of hedonism, Chapter 5 not only discovered the shopping practice based on curiosity or leisure mentality, but also more purchase driven by pleasing oneself. So this research regards this value as 'timely pleasure'. Moreover, Shaw and Shiu (2003) specifically regarded hedonic and self-interest values as hindering factor of ethical consumption, which also support the above view that two different group values are coexisting in such one practice. In a large number of studies of sustainable consumption, anti-consumerism or altruism are frequently mentioned (Jägel et al., 2012, Achabou and Dekhili, 2013; Caruana et al., 2020).this study also found similar topic. These consumers first believe that it is necessary to reduce their purchases. If they need to buy, they can buy through second-hand clothes channels. At the same time, they try to reduce the total consumption in other aspects of life, or spend a higher price to buy sustainable products or products with better quality and longer life cycles, which is consistent with the functional value that mentioned by Lin and Huang (2012) in sustainable consumption.

Thirdly, this study found sustainable value showed in such consumption, which also fits the original intention of this study to overlap the two practical fields. These consumers who show obvious sustainable value generally reflect their understanding and concerns about carbon footprint, labor issues, and environmental issues, show the sustainable value that is consistent with the altruistic value, biosphere value (De Groot and Steg, 2007) and ecological value (Koller et al., 2011). This also shows from another

aspect that the consumption of second-hand clothes is a part of completing the "sustainable lifestyle" of these consumers.

Fourth, when we consider sustainability, second-hand clothes consumption has certain moral elements, either actively or passively. Chapter 5 found that some consumers are adhering to the purely sustainable concept for corresponding consumption, and some consumers are trying to strengthen their morality through this type of consumption. as mentioned in the chapter 5, even though some consumers just consider sustainable consumption or ethical consumption as a way to show the virtue, from the interviews, these participants can get pleasure from sustainable consumption or just showing virtue behaviours. This finding can be supported by alternative hedonism introduced by Soper (2016), which refers to alternative interpretation of 'good life' that associated with sustainability and simplicity. Although the above has mentioned that hedonism may hinder the sustainable consumption, this type of 'alternative hedonism' can reflect consumer's change of lifestyle and the rebellion feature in second-hand clothes consumption. additionally, the pleasure expressed by participants also show this value has the feature of hedonism.

Finally, the altruistic value that refers to concerns with the welfare of others (De Groot and Steg, 2007) show quite complicated side from the analysis of present study. Some consumers explicitly mentioned their sympathy and concern for the harsh working environment in some developing countries, but at the same time they believed that the poor around them should not buy fast fashion products for sustainability. However, this kind of 'active choice' in the eyes of some consumers is a 'passive choice' in the eyes of consumers under huge economic pressure, who cannot afford expensive and high-quality clothes. But they also have the right to enjoy the joy of buying new clothes, so they can only go to fast fashion to buy clothes, even if fast fashion may be unsustainable. In Schwartz's value theory, benevolence (cry for people nearby) and universalism (cry for everyone) are a set of values that belong to the self-transcendence value at the same time. But this kind of worry and sympathy for the bad environment

upstream of the supply chain and low empathy for the poor people downstream of the supply chain seem to satisfy neither benevolence nor universalism. Combined with other findings in Chapter 5, this research will be further explored in the section on social class distinction.

To sum up, Goodwin (1998) believed that many values hinder sustainable consumption. For example, consumerism is one of them. Yet, this study finds that in second-hand clothes consumption, two sets of values that oppose each other in different directions coexist. And as Kim and Damhorst (1998) stressed, self-interested values such as egoistic value in sustainable consumption should not be ignored. At the same time, Caruana et al. (2020) also used alternative hedonism to explain sustainable tourism. This study thus believes that in addition to these values coexisting in second-hand clothes consumption, many values may also undergo iteration.

5.1.5. DISCUSSION FOR SPILLOVER EFFECT

Spillover effect is an important emerging theme in this research. In Chapter 5, some consumers' spillover consumption behaviour and the corresponding promoting or hindring factors are found. In addition, this research also found rebound effect behaviour, that is, the subsequent unsustainable behaviour caused by the previous sustainable behaviour.

Many previous studies on spillover effect behaviour have emphasized the moral logic of human behavior (Nilsson et al., 2017; Verfuert and Gregory-Smith, 2018). That is, the spillover effect implies a certain moral reflection. Even some studies on spillover effect in consumption behaviour have repeatedly emphasized the role of morality in it.

Firstly, many consumers emphasize the importance of convenience for the purchase of second-hand clothes. From the data collected in this study, the convenience of this second-hand clothes store is mainly reflected in three aspects. 1) The convenience based on the community and the high-street environment is strengthened

by hedonism, becoming a way for consumers to pass the time; 2) The simultaneous presence of online and offline gives many busy people who use social media the opportunity and time to spend on second-hand clothes (such as commuting time); 3) For some consumers, the buying behavior itself does not seem to be that important, but the "orphan nature", "uniqueness" and "unknownness" of second-hand clothes have become their ways to spend time offline or online, especially to pass the time online. Second-hand clothes stores can attract consumers with unpredictable products. Even if consumers do not purchase, they will probably form corresponding habits. Therefore, the availability and convenience, as well as behavioral stickiness based on convenience, which is characterized by convenient browsing and service communities, makes it easier for consumers to spillover in the field of second-hand clothes and sustainable consumption.

Secondly, as mentioned above, the spillover effects at the consumption level need to be returned to the basic elements of marketing, namely price. Most consumers mentioned that excessively high prices have hindered their sustainable consumption, while low (relatively) prices make it easier for them to choose sustainable products. Especially when consumers know the basic solutions to environmental problems, and are affected by social norms, consumers will make relevant consumption. Therefore, this study emphasizes that the knowledge-action gap in the research on sustainable consumption can actually be explained from the perspective of behavioral costs. When the cost is too high, a single sustainable behaviour may be difficult to occur, and the possibility of spillover will also be reduced. For example, in the study on the individual spillover effect, Steg et al. (2014) believe that when the individual's self-interest value is strong, the more accessible the self-interest goal is, the easier it is to implement self-interest behavior, and vice versa. For example, sustainable behaviour also has a similar operation mechanism. Zhang et al. (2007) believe that the goal can be activated. When the goals of the two behaviors are similar, one of the behaviors may activate the other behavior. In other words, when a person has a stronger sustainable goal, the preamble the sustainable behaviour is likely to activate the subsequent sustainable behaviour, and

the spillover effect will occur at the same time (Thøgersen et al., 2012). In addition, Carrico et al. (2017) studied the spillover effect between the reduction of red meat consumption and donation behavior and believed that two behaviors based on the same goal seem to indeed occur. Combined with the findings of this research, sustainability first exists in the social norm. Many consumers also believe that sustainability is a virtue, so when many consumers feedback their opinions to researchers, this study has reason to believe that they are unwilling to express anything that may affect this 'virtue'. This behaviour that participants would like to leave a good impression to researchers can be explained by many studies discussing sustainable consumption (e.g., Xiao and Li, 2011; Boylu and Gunay, 2017; Thøgersen and Ølander, 2002 ; Gleim et al., 2013) and seems to be an explanation of the knowledge/intention-action gap, that is, even under the same goal, when a certain type of behavior or purchase is limited by the agent's ability, spillover cannot occur.

Even if the consumer has a strong sustainable value, this study found that it is difficult for some consumers to put it into practice. In the research on consumerism, Fiske (2010) believes that consumers can create their own culture from the goods provided by the structural system. Bauman (2004) believes that individual initiative is powerless in the face of a strong structure, and consumption is only a response to specific living conditions. However, this study believes that consumer behavior is not this type of "black or white" behavior, it reflects the nature of performance, but also reflects the structural constraints; it reflects the black box of consumer mind between 'want' and 'be able to'. Second-hand clothes show this kind of struggle in this field relatively obviously, that is, second-hand clothes is a means for some consumers to resist the mainstream culture, but the increase in price restricts their ability to resist. Some consumers use second-hand clothes as a means to practice sustainability, and the increase in prices may restricts their ability to practice sustainability.

Thirdly, many consumers in this study have mentioned many deficiencies in the functions of sustainable products. When expressing lack of functionality, some

consumers have begun to suspect that sustainability is just the entrepreneur's market strategy and business logic. As Lundblad and Davies (2016) suggested, in sustainable consumption, consumers will pursue individual benefits include function and individuality. So sustainable consumption involves more complex cost considerations. Most of the participants in this study, when talking about the standards for buying clothes for themselves, price and style are still much more important factors than sustainability. The present study therefore regards these basic marketing factors lie in higher places than sustainability value. In addition, although this study does not consider knowledge about sustainability to be quite important in the analysis of second-hand clothes consumption, according to the analysis of spillover, knowledge seems to be an element that activates the spillover effect in sustainable consumption. Mont and Plepys (2008) also believe that knowledge boundaries are reflected in the limits on sustainable consumption of consumers. For instance, After the researcher introduced the second-hand clothes industry in detail in the interview, some consumers who have conduct other sustainable practices even sent an email to tell the researcher that they would try to consume second-hand clothes in the future.

Therefore, this finding supports Kong. et al. (2016) view that knowledge and other elements can activate consumers' sustainable consumption. from theory of practice perspective, this kind of knowledge or awareness makes consumers realize that the capitals they are chasing also exist in another field, thereby activating the corresponding spillover effect. This awareness or knowledge about the capital that consumers are pursuing also exist in other consumption field can lead to the spillover across contexts (different consumption). For example, many fast fashion brands have released retro/vintage series or displayed and sold second-hand clothes in stores. Some consumers who are not originally a second-hand clothes consumer group may look for the same capitals in other fields because of the capital presented by fashion stores, so they will go to vintage stores or charity stores to pursue them. This homogeneity of capitals makes it possible for spillovers between contexts.

In summary, the spillover effect found in the present study mainly revolve around the difficulty of the actions. If the above discussion is placed in the theory of practice, the goal that wants to become more sustainable can be understood as the pursuit of sustainability in the field. Consumers' perception of the difficulty of chasing becomes the standard for them to continue to chase in the field or even chase similar goals in other fields. This kind of perceived difficulties of specific behaviour is also confirmed by Thøgersen and Crompton (2009), that is, in spillover behaviours, individuals tend to do simple and low-cost sustainable behaviours. Although Thøgersen and Crompton (2009) mainly emphasize the substitution and priority between sustainable behaviours of different difficulty, their views do confirm that there are obvious considerations about cost and difficulty in the practice of sustainable behaviours by consumers. When these considerations are combined with consumers' ideal self, this study believes that this is not just a question of difficulty and substitutability, but more of a question of the way consumers realize their ideal identity. The inherent difficulty of these behaviors may not really affect spillover behaviour, but on the path to ideal identity, the necessity and perceived difficulties of realizing identity may play a more important role.

Finally, in addition to the aforementioned conditions for spillover consumption, Chapter 5 also found a rebound effect. Findings about rebound effect can support self-affirmation strategy (Sherman and Cohen, 2006), and moral licensing (Hofmann et al., 2014; Mullen and Monin, 2016) in previous literature. Specifically, many consumers will prove that they are sustainable because of the sustainable behaviour they have done before, thereby obtaining the corresponding moral licensing, which may lead to subsequent unsustainable behaviour. For example, according to the data of this research, an employee of a second-hand clothes store admitted that she loves buying clothes, but in order to compensate for ideal-self, she chose to enter the second-hand clothes industry. In this way, she can buy a lot of clothes, but it will not be so unsustainable. Therefore, some consumers will make a large number of purchases on the premise of pursuing uniqueness and retroness. At the same time, the sustainable feature of second-hand clothes will make up for the possible guilt brought by their large-scale purchase.

When this kind of compensation psychology forms a certain balance, the pursuit of uniqueness, mass purchase and sustainability also form a psychological delicate balance, and the rebound effect occurs. In addition, the ecological closed loop of second-hand clothes itself seems to be one of the reasons for this rebound effect. Some consumers mentioned that she often buys clothes and many of them have not been worn, but when she thinks that these clothes can be donated to charity shops, she will continue to buy a lot. This 'perfect' solution has once again formed a balance in the minds of consumers, leading to a rebound effect. The above findings are supportive to Iran and Schrader (2017)'s findings, that is, in second-hand clothes consumption, the addition transportation (for instance the donation or selling) and intention to buy more clothes are two essential factors leading to rebound effect.

5.1.6. DISCUSSION FOR SOCIAL CLASS DISTINCTION

An important link throughout Bourdieu's theory is social class. In Bourdieu's research, the division of class is a comprehensive division of different types of capital including economic capital, symbolic capital, and cultural capital. The upper-class society not only possesses strong economic strength, but also possesses cultural discourse power, educational ownership and unique aesthetic differences with learning thresholds that are not owned by the people at the bottom. Clothes has long been regarded as the expression and external manifestation of important identity; Therefore, clothes consumption can become the embodiment of economic capital, symbolic capital and cultural capital, and thus create a distinction. For instance, Sin et al. (2001) specifically introduced the aesthetic value of sustainable consumption. As Giddens (1991) emphasized, in the face of more and more commodities, consumers with the similar economic resources no longer simply choose a certain commodity. They will choose a lifestyle, an ideal self, or even a persona that can be perceived by others. As such, second-hand clothes consumption starts to represent a unique aesthetic, a certain economic level, represents a cultural trait with the advertising of vintage and sustainability, as vintage is traditionally targeting middle class (Jenss 2005) and

sustainability fashion is normally more expensive than normal fashion pieces (Adıgüzel et al., 2020).

First of all, this distinction is reflected in price. The price, the external manifestation of the economic capital of second-hand clothes, also reflects the class division in the market. In previous literature, price is rarely discussed. When discuss the price, many consumers think the second-hand clothes *should* be cheap, Adıgüzel et al. (2020) found that there are negative associations such as low quality and low price, to recycled materials. While a large number of consumers with limited income believe that the prices of some second-hand clothes, including those in charity stores, are very high compared to their expectations and economic levels. This high price keeps some consumers out of the door. In the previous sections, this research has explored the reasons why second-hand clothes stores increase prices. This reason partly points to the vintage fashion trend and partly points to the so-called sustainable consumption. This study therefore supports the view of DeLong et al. (2005), Jenss (2005), Palmer and Clark (2005) that the consumption of vintage belongs to the middle class. But slightly different is that this study found that when second-hand clothes stores use vintage as the branding strategy, its price simultaneously rise, so it implicitly expresses its welcome to the middle class, and the marginalization of low-income groups. In addition, many consumers have mentioned sustainable consumption. Some participants clearly stated that their limited wages cannot support them to eat twice the price of vegan meals, nor can buy expensive slow-fashion clothes. They showed their appreciation and yearning for a sustainable lifestyle, but the high price made them feel difficult to conduct such behaviours. Warde (2005) believed that almost all practices require consumption. when consumption occurs, it is inevitable to discuss the conditions of consumption. the price, thus serves as the condition for successful practice, is bound to reflect the differences in economic resources between different groups of people. Baker (2012) also emphasized that when these second-hand stores appear in the form of fashion shops or department stores, their 'bargain' characteristics are lost. And this research also found that not only a large number of second-hand clothes shops appear

in the bustling neighborhoods, but even some second-hand clothes shop brands have become large-scale chain companies across cities.

Moreover, some high-income groups believe that rising prices will help reduce consumer choice and reduce the number of consumers buying, thereby achieving sustainability. However, this study highlights that considering that a large number of second-hand clothes stores use vintage as a selling point to increase prices and increase consumer flow, as well as the rebound effect, this method of increasing prices to achieve sustainability is the invisible and gentle ‘violence’ mentioned by Bourdieu. It deprives consumers of the right of choice by the separation of economic capital and cultural capital, especially the right to realize sustainability. Therefore, this way of realizing sustainability essentially reflects the separation of classes. The paradox of this choice still appears in the first cycle. Some consumers believe that for sustainability, people with limited income should buy less cheap clothes. They should save money to buy more expensive but better-quality clothes. The life cycle will be longer and naturally more sustainable; In addition, some consumers also mentioned the issue of local source or local made, such as made in the UK. Because of the high labor costs, although British manufacturing is a relatively more sustainable product, it also means a high price. Therefore, the above discussion is not talking about right or wrong. This study believes that this is the dilemma of sustainable lifestyle in the consumer field. Once sustainability enters a certain field as a symbolic capital, it will inevitably mean a transformation with economic capital or cultural capital. These all mean that some agencies in the field can participate, but some agencies cannot.

This study therefore believes that, at the current stage, the term “sustainable consumption” itself, at least in the field of second-hand clothes consumption, is a paradox. This is a paradox between the possession of resources and the conservation of resources. The paradox between altruistic behaviors and prices, it is also the paradox between habitus between different classes due to differences in capital.

Thirdly, some consumers in this study also mentioned another point of view. They are not restricted by vintage, nor by sustainability. What they value is ‘maximizing economic value’. For example, some consumers will buy second-hand work clothes, and they will buy sneakers that they use only occasionally in second-hand stores. They rationally consider the relationship between expenditure and income, and second-hand clothes is their optimal choice after calculation.

But whether it is a consumer who is forced to be unable to choose a high-priced sustainable product, or a consumer who reduces consumption to maximize the value of money, it coincides with the characteristics of the “new poor” mentioned by Bauman (2005), who regarded these consumers as ‘flawed’ consumers. Their economic strength is limited, and they are passively unable to choose in the face of a large number of choices, and even new and healthy lifestyles will shut them out at high prices. According to Bauman (2005), the core of a consumer society is not production, but choice. Selection is also a word frequently mentioned by participants in this study. The changes in the second-hand clothes industry seem to make choices for consumers with limited incomes more limited. Therefore, the class division discussed in this section of this study is not just a difference caused by income differences, but a class division caused by differences in options.

5.2. SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

To sum up, through the discussion above, this study can answer the research questions: For the RQ1, part of the second-hand clothes shops has realized the self-transformation by changing from shabby shops (Baker, 2012) to fashion shops and to occupy the high streets. At the same time, material objects of these shops also present a clear vintage or characteristics of sustainability. As discussed in this study, when place changes and objects are given new meanings and even new names, the consumption field emerges, for instance, the cultural capital and economic capital represented by vintage, or the new lifestyle represented by sustainability. Consumers use these new places and objects to realize the pursuit of a certain type of capital or lifestyle. The

pursuit of lifestyle or capital also reflects consumers values (Berlin and Berlin, 2013). At the same time, because of the new values of objects, the changes in places are also weakening the temporaryity and low price of the second-hand clothes market in the past, which can be reflected by the weakening of marketing language such as thrift. To a certain extent, the change in language fits in with the new businesses that use cultural capital as the driving factor and emerging cultural capitals as the expression form mentioned by Gemar (2020) when discussing yoga and vegetarianism. In addition, for second-hand clothes consumption, there is a production-consumption loop, which is mainly reflected in charity shops and some online platforms. This platform or channel forms a complete loop of production-consumption-production.

In terms of RQ2, this research first believes that in specific consumption, such as second-hand clothes consumption, knowledge about sustainability may not exist. However, the knowledge presented by consumers in the form of understanding will be presented in the consumers' definition of consumption itself, and this definition embodies consumers' understandings. This study found that consumers have three definitions of second-hand clothes consumption, namely definition of authenticity, definition of emotion and definition of reality. These three different definitions reflect the different understandings and corresponding knowledge of consumers for this form of consumption. Although Gregson et al. (2001) believe that identifying vintage is a kind of cultural capital, it requires corresponding knowledge. Yet, this study also found that with the popularity of vintage in the post-modern context, when consumers understand it as vintage, then consumers can define it as vintage, which reflects the subjective elements such as meaning and value, and also reflects consumers' aesthetics and ethics.

In terms of RQ3, combined with the discussion about capitals, this study believes that the meanings embodied in second-hand clothes consumption are mainly presented in the form of economic capitals and symbolic capitals. Unlike many traditional studies (e.g., Zaman et al., 2019), this study does not believe that we can classify second-hand

clothes consumers quite clearly. Therefore, this study introduced the term capital group, in other words, consumers may be pursuing many capitals at the same time, and these elements are intertwined. For example, this study found that symbolic capitals such as vintage, nostalgia, and rebellion appear simultaneously, and even sustainable meanings, rebellion meanings and vintage are intertwined.

In addition, this study believes that many meanings are in conflict with each other in second-hand clothes consumption, such as the original attributes of second-hand clothes and the middle-class consumption group represented by vintage; the low value represented by recycled materials and the high price represented by sustainable products. these seemingly contradictory capital groups appear in the consumption, making it more difficult for us to clearly classify consumers in specific criteria.

In terms of RQ4, first is the discussion of social norm. This discussion is divided into two parts, the first part is about sustainability. This study found that many consumers regard casually discarding clothes or not doing recycle as a bad behaviour. therefore, in the context of recycling, second-hand clothes consumption naturally reflects a certain sustainable feature. In addition, Southernton et al. (2004) emphasized that most consumption is derived from collectives and norms and is carried out in the practice of social differentiation. Then the second level of social norm is the popularity of second-hand clothes. the market has observed the rise of second-hand clothes industry, and some consumers have mentioned the relaxation of the company's internal dressing code. Therefore, when the stigma for second-hand clothes weakens, that is, when the boundary between first-hand clothes and second-hand clothes weakens, this practice will gradually stabilize.

The discussion on values is similar to the discussion on symbolic meanings. Bly et al. (2015), Kim et al. (2021) all believe that in sustainable consumption, especially sustainable fashion consumption, the driving force of values on consumption is dual. According to the findings of this study, values might not be unitary in the entire consumption. As emphasized by Mont and Plepys (2008), sustainable consumption not

only involves human needs, but also concerns the quality of life, consumer sovereignty and other issues. This study then believes that for second-hand clothes consumption, if certain types of values are assumed to conflict with each other at the beginning of the study, it may affect the results of the research.

6. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis is to better understand the consumption of second-hand clothes in the UK and the characteristics of its consumption routine. Drawing from practice theory (Bourdieu, 2007), a theoretical framework has been developed to analyse the presentation of places, material objects, meanings, values and other potential elements in the consumption field through the practice perspective, and then this study used this framework to explain the second-hand clothes consumption practice in the current market environment, including the elements it contains, the values and habits of consumers reflected in the consumption. This thesis solved four research question questions: RQ1: how do consumers engage with places and objects of second-hand clothes consumption in the UK from practice perspective? RQ2: what type of knowledge in the form of understanding consumers have with the sustainable second-hand clothes consumption in the UK from practice perspective? RQ3: what are the social and symbolic meanings ascribed to sustainable second-hand clothes consumption in the UK from practice perspective? And RQ4: what are the social norms and values embedded in the sustainable second-hand clothes consumption in the UK from practice perspective? These questions will be answered in detail in Chapter 6.1.

6.1. SUMMARY OF THE THESIS

Using practice theory as the primary research theory, this study makes theoretical contributions to the meaning and value of the responses that consumers construct throughout their second-hand clothing consumption practices, from purchase to disposal, thereby supporting and refining the application of practice theory to the field of consumption. In addition, this study makes methodological contributions by employing qualitative semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation, photo elicitation, and the incorporation of online information to address the research questions more effectively. This study is one of the first to apply practical theory to the study of second-hand clothing consumption and to combine elements of sustainable

consumption to provide an interpretation of second-hand clothing consumption that is appropriate to the current market context, thus filling a gap in the existing literature.

In chapter 2, the current literature on second-hand clothes and sustainable consumption is reviewed, and practice theories and their applications and suggestions in the field of consumption are discussed. In addition, chapter 2 combines practice theory with second-hand clothes consumption, and therefore introduces key concepts and theoretical framework supporting the research of second-hand clothes consumption practice. This study then identified following major research gaps. First of all, the existing research on second-hand clothes consumption places lacks in adapting and updating the current market, and both the use of language and the changes in sales channels entities need to be updated and further studied. Second, previous studies have emphasized the role of knowledge about sustainability in sustainable consumption, and some studies have mentioned the influence of this type of knowledge in second-hand clothes consumption. However, the widespread knowledge-action gap in sustainable consumption suggests us to focus on knowledge in specific type of consumption. According to the perspective of practice theory, in the field of consumption, this knowledge is displayed in the form of understanding or particular competences. Therefore, what these understandings are and what competences are needed for corresponding consumption require further research. Third, chapter 2, 5 and 6 mentioned some studies on the classification of second-hand clothes consumers or their motivations, but some studies also believed that consumption is part of practice, not necessarily motivated, or even proactive. Then what kind of social/symbolic meanings of capital appearing in this field of practice presents another research gap. Fourth, although social norm and values have been extensively analysed and discussed, only in terms of second-hand clothes consumption, what role social norm plays in it and in what state the values exist is another research gap. In other words, this thesis is not intended to explore 'whether x is the cause of y' but to explore and discuss what's the experience of 'y'. Therefore, based on the framework proposed by chapter 2, this thesis aims to explore, interpret and discuss what second-hand clothes consumption looks like

in the current UK market environment. This interpretation and discussion is based on places/material objects, knowledge in the form of understanding/competence, meanings and values are presented.

In addition, the literature review suggests that researchers should give more consideration to the application and possibility of practice theories in sustainable consumption. therefore, this study does not impose sustainability restrictions on second-hand clothes consumption but gradually discovers the sustainability value embodied in the second-hand clothes consumption field in the research. due to the knowledge/intention-action gap mentioned above and the rationalist bias of neoclassical economics in the study of consumption, this study has established a qualitative research method. the main body of the research is semi-structured interviews, because in the practice theory, the individuals in the field are the carriers of the meanings of the whole practice, so the subjects of the interviews are consumers and the staff of some second-hand clothes shops. In addition, photo elicitation and ethnographic observation provide auxiliary data supporting places, material objects and other related research questions. Chapter 3 of this thesis describes the methodology used to provide data for this study. based on the paradigm of constructivism, this research explores and interpret the consumption of second-hand clothes.

In general, although the way practice is deconstructed is still not uniform in the academic community, the elements of material place, meaning, understanding, knowledge, and value are mentioned by a large number of practice theory scholars (Warde, 2005; Reckwitz, 2002; Røpke, 2009), and the findings, discussions, and contributions of this study based on practice theory are framed within such research framework. The practice theory framework was also found to be effective in analysing second-hand clothing consumption practices.

Regarding the first research question 'RQ1', how do consumers engage with places and objects of second-hand clothes consumption in the UK from practice perspective? That is, where in the field do consumers conduct their consumption

practices, and what are the products they buy or sell. Similar to the existing research, this research also found carboot sales, flea market, charity shops, kilo-sales, other types of second-hand clothes shops and online second-hand clothes shops. However, qualitative data and online data show that these channels have changed in the new market environment. For example, many for-profit second-hand clothes shops are larger, their branding is more professional and targeted, and they are gradually embarking on high streets or gathering in fashion communities. Flea market, carboot sales or other types of pop-up events appear less frequently and are far away from the city. Language use related to places also shows some changes. Words such as *thrift* and second-hand are being weakened, while words such as *vintage* and *pre-loved* are being strengthened. This language change is also reflected in the product. Language in practice thus acts as a tool and vehicle for practitioners to represent their understanding and knowledge, and as a tool and way for practitioners within the field to co-construct new meanings. Consumers' new definitions of second-hand clothes and businesses' marketing strategies for second-hand clothes are both represented by language, thus demonstrating the new construction of meaning and value around second-hand clothes, places and material products themselves in the current market context. The products sold in second-hand clothes shops are mainly second-hand clothes, but now there are also hand-made first-hand products (made of recycled materials). In the current market context, the boundary between vintage and second-hand is blurred to a certain extent, retro style has become a brand of mainstream fashion, and sustainability pursuit has been implied by these places and material objects. Whether it is the change of the product itself, the change of the product positioning and the change of the consumption places, these changes allow certain consumer groups to enter the consumption field and conduct the practice. Moreover, online channels have also become the choice of many consumers. Browsing during the commuting or precisely searching for a certain type of product is an advantage that attracts many consumers to purchase online. In addition to the more popular trend of second-hand clothes, this study also found contradictions in the consumption of second-hand clothes. for instance, some consumers believe that the increase in second-hand clothes shops, especially charity shops, is a sign of economic

downturn.

In addition, the research on places also reflects the engagement of consumer disposal. Donations, reselling, giving to friends/relatives or keeping them are still the main means for consumers to deal with second-hand clothes. While these methods seem to be related to the understanding of the second research question. Moreover, the way consumers handle second-hand clothes also reflects the obvious trade-off between emotional distance and perceived prices. This trade-off not only affects consumers' disposal behaviour, but may also affect their purchase and even use behaviour. After completing the study of the various stages of second-hand clothing consumption, this study concludes that, among the places of second-hand clothing consumption, the places of disposal are as important for the construction of meaning throughout the consumption practice as the places of purchase, and that the places reflect different values, behavioural logics, and identity constructions at different stages of the consumption practice. These results will enhance our knowledge of second-hand clothing consumption in general, as well as sustainable consumption.

Regarding the second research question 'RQ2': what type of knowledge in the form of understanding consumers have with the second-hand clothes consumption in the UK from practice perspective? the results of qualitative research show that knowledge in the form of understanding is reflected in the consumer's definition of second-hand clothes consumption, while for other consumers, knowledge of sustainability, at least from the data of this study, is not obvious in this type of consumption. The data shows that consumers have different definitions of second-hand clothes. This research divides these definitions into three categories: definition of authenticity, of emotion and of functionality. The different definitions reflect the different understandings and knowledge of consumers. These definitions also reflect the projection of the meanings of second-hand clothes consumption. Additionally, some second-hand clothes shop staff define second-hand clothes as modern second-hand clothes. This modern definition gives and strengthens the meanings of fashion, retro or

sustainability.

Regarding the third research question 'RQ3': what are the social and symbolic meanings ascribed to sustainable second-hand clothes consumption in the UK from practice perspective ? the data shows that the symbolic meaning of second-hand clothes consumption can be divided into two types. One is impeding capitals, and the other is meanings that consumers can chase, and form related habits. The former includes hygiene factors and distrust of the former owner. The meanings of these elements often represent negative meanings, for instance the stigma about low income. Positive meanings including treasure hunting, bargain hunting, vintage or uniqueness seeking also frequently appear in this field. yet, unlike many studies on the motivation of second-hand clothes consumption, this study believes that some symbolic meanings are extended by the habits of the first-hand clothes market. And to a certain extent, the pursuit of vintage or uniqueness is a rebellion against the mainstream market. Most importantly, this research does not believe that these symbolic meanings can be classified too clearly. They appear in the form of groups in the data of this research. whether it is related to economic meanings or other symbolic meanings, particular meanings will form meaning groups, thereby strengthening the meanings of the same type. What is interesting is that the role of price is highlighted, and the 'low price' under the influence of impeding meanings will be presented in the form of price increases under the influence of vintage meaning. In this way, social meanings, symbolic meanings and economical meanings together form a new meanings group. And vegetarianism also appears in the data of this study, and they seem to represent a certain new cultural capital at the same time in the way of consumer practice.

Sustainability as an important meaning also appears in the consumption field, but its presentation in second-hand clothes consumption is more specific. Compared with recycling value, extending the product Lifecycle is the meaning that consumers value more in this field. moreover, sustainability will also appear in the form of a certain virtue in this consumption. in addition, the mission of particular charity may also lead

consumers to purchase things from specific charity shops.

Regarding the fourth research question 'RQ4': what are the social norms and values embedded in the second-hand clothes consumption in the UK from practice perspective? The data of this research shows that 'recycling' is an important social norm. but it is more reflected in the consumer's disposal habits. At the consumption level, as mentioned above, extending the lifecycle of a product is more like a meaning that is more emotional and more in line with consumer needs. previous studies tend to classify and dualize consumers values in sustainable consumption. however, this study believes that consumer values in sustainable consumption, like meanings group, exist at the same time in a mixed and collaborative manner. The data of this research shows that egoism and altruism co-exist in the consumption of second-hand clothes, and, if we observe the entire practice of second-hand clothing consumption, there is a change in value from purchase to disposal, which is ultimately expressed not only in the variability of disposal methods, but also in the revaluation of the value of the disposed clothing by the consumer at the time of disposal. These practices fully reflect the organic unity of the different values reapportioned within the same practice, rather than a dichotomy.

Moreover, social norms are not simply a product of the field; that is, they are not limited to consumption but encompass many aspects of consumers' lives; they are more like an umbrella without clear boundaries that influences practices within their field. Similarly, as discussed previously, consumers' definitions of places, objects, and even entire forms of consumption reflect, to a certain extent, their knowledge in the form of understanding, which can be used as a starting point for analysis in order to better comprehend the components of consumption. Moreover, in line with the preceding discussion, meaning can be both a consumer's motivation to consume and co-created with other individuals once they enter the consumption field; thus, the two circles of meaning are not entirely contained in the consumption of second-hand clothing (see figure 11).

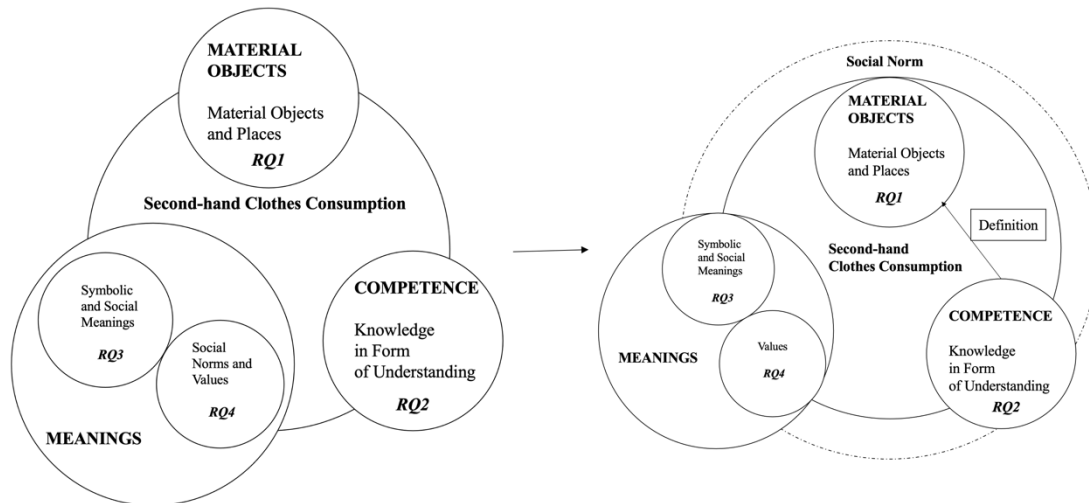


Figure 11. Refined conceptual framework

After answering the four research questions, there are two important themes emerged, social class distinction and spillover effect. In terms of social class distinction, price is the key to this theme. The data of this research shows that the prices of many second-hand clothes have increased, and this increase seems to have exceeded many consumers' expectations. The higher prices of second-hand clothes including other sustainable products make many consumers cannot afford or think it is not worth it. On the one hand, this economic restriction is the performance of economical capital, and on the other hand, it is also reflected in the limitations of consumers' ability to practice in the field. therefore, the changes in the second-hand clothes market represented by changes in prices and consumption places have changed the target group of second-hand clothes consumption to a certain extent. If vintage considers middle class as the target group, then now second-hand clothes, with the name as vintage, seems to be approaching the middle-class market. Meanwhile, sustainable consumption also shows the same characteristics. In this case, social class distinction becomes a potential issue in sustainable consumption.

In terms of spillover effect, the data of this study shows that not only positive spillover effect but also rebound effect is exhibited in second-hand clothes consumption. positive spillover effect involves different consumption field. if different fields show similar or the same meaning group, then spillover may occur, and consumers'

understanding of different fields or their knowledge makes them think that different field can help them to achieve the life they want, then the spillover effect may also occur. The balance of consumers' ideal identity and realistic identity may also cause spillover effect or rebound effect. In addition, this study believes that the research about spillover effect or rebound effect that occurs in the field of consumption also needs to be returned to the essence of market research, because factors such as price, convenience, and difficulties of implementation may all lead to the occurrence of spillover or rebound effects.

Additionally, due to the vintage/retro style in the new market environment, second-hand clothes and fast fashion overlap to a certain extent, as such, fast fashion may also cause spillover effect. Which allows consumers to enter the second-hand clothes consumption field from fast fashion field due to the similar style they chase. This further emphasizes the importance of meaning group or value group in sustainable consumption and development.

The impact of meanings and competencies across consumption domains has the potential to have spillover effects, allowing consumers to spill over from the second-hand clothes consumption domain to other consumption domains, as long as these domains share specific meanings and competencies. From a theoretical perspective of practice, identifying specific groups of consumers is not the task, but rather identifying meanings and possible shared meanings within and outside the domain can help policy makers and practitioners in the process of promoting sustainable development. The spillover effects generated by the practice of second-hand clothing consumption thus further enrich the research framework of practice theory and deepen our understanding of the practice of second-hand clothing consumption (see figure 12).

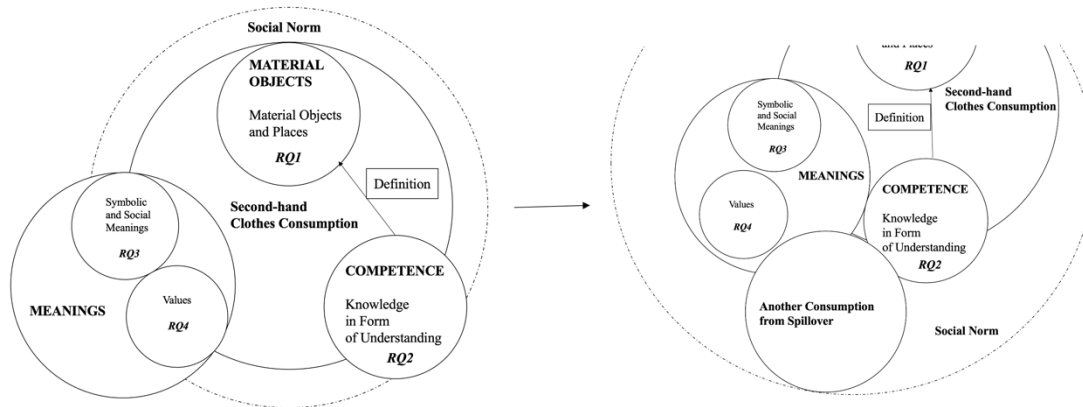


Figure 12. Spillover effect in the context of practice study

6.2. CONTRIBUTIONS

6.2.1. THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTION

6.2.1.1. CONTRIBUTION TO TAKING SECOND-HAND CONSUMPTION AS A WHOLE AND FOCUS ON EACH STAGE

Most studies focus on a specific part of consumption, such as purchase or disposal (Turunen et al., 2018), so Turunen et al. (2018) call for research exploring it as a whole as a way to see how culture, society influences that type of consumption, and how the different parts of that type of consumption affect each other.

This study thus contributes to the study of second-hand clothes as a whole. Taking place as an example, this paper finds that in many cases, place of consumption and place of production are highly intertwined. Examples include hybrid shops selling second-hand clothes and upcycled products or vintage shops that combine different sales methods.

For both disposal and purchase, consumers' awareness of recycling and recycling behaviour will make them happy to donate clothes to charity (Bianchi and Birewistle (2010, 2012). while these scholars ignore vintage or luxury products when discussing disposal behaviour (Turunen et al. (2018). Furthermore, consumers have their own assessment of clothes in making a disposal (Henninger et al., 2019), which appears in

the form of an EMOTIONAL DISTANCE in this study. This definition of consumer explains dispositional behaviour better than purchase behaviour. Combined with Belk's (1988) arguments on product appropriation and unitisation, this definition reflects a circle that consumers construct by relying on their emotions. The item being unitised can flow within this circle. This flow is also somewhat but not absolutely unidirectional, i.e., it flows out more easily than it flows in. Moreover, this outflow across the circle is adjusted to the value of the product and the emotional distance. When outflow is required, high-value products will flow to those within the circle who are emotionally close. This flow also reflects consumer attitudes towards the end of the flow, i.e. close emotional distance - high value, long emotional distance - low value. The value judgements resulting from this outflow can also influence consumers' understanding of the inflow. If the product is perceived by consumers as coming from the furthest end of the outflow chain, consumers will rarely buy from it.

In addition, at the level of use, this study finds that in addition to the decreasing stigma in society that would make consumers willing to try second-hand clothes, the openness of the work environment and the flexibility of the dressing code are likely to give consumers more opportunities to try second-hand clothes. This study therefore makes a contribution to the relationship between use and purchase.

In conjunction with the above discussion, this paper contributes to a better understanding of second-hand clothes consumption by considering it as a whole and echoing Turunen et al.'s (2018) call for a comprehensive exploration of the different components of second-hand clothes consumption, their connections to each other and the corresponding culture and meaning. The intersection of purchase and production gives the consumer multiple identities and becomes a 'host' to multiple meanings, and when these different stages are linked together for study, the meanings and values at their intersections are better explored, which forms the contribution of the other elements of this paper concerning meaning and value. Investigating and studying all stages of second-hand clothing consumption is therefore of great interest and will

enable us to better understand the practice as a whole.

6.2.1.2. CONTRIBUTIONS TO PLACE STUDY IN SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

Places are of great importance to the study of particular practices, the physical layout of the environment, the spatial layout and the physical objects in the environment (second-hand clothes in this study) and the places they form have considerable potential for qualitative research. Objects in a place often have meanings that include function, power and culture (O'Toole, 2004). This paper has three main contributions through the study of the places in which second-hand clothing consumption practices occur.

Firstly, in the literature review, this study refers to many of the channels of second-hand clothing consumption mentioned historically and in previous studies, but with the changes in the UK market today, what is new about the channels of second-hand clothing consumption, which channels consumers engaged in their daily practice and what kind of retail spaces or urban landscapes they are (Gregson and Crewe, 1997; Rocamora, 2002), is the first contribution of this study in relation to places. The channels of consumption of second-hand clothes identified through this study are consistent with those previously mentioned in the literature, both offline and the online channels that have emerged in recent years. However, these channels have undergone significant changes in the recent market environment. The channels show a divergence in their position in the market. The online channel includes not only large traditional platforms such as eBay, but also many offline second-hand clothing shops online, and there is an overlap between the practice of consuming on online platforms and the practice of commuting for some consumers, reflecting the adaptation of the online channel to new lifestyles. Moreover, channels such as flea markets, car-boot sales and pop-up events are fading out of the mainstream market environment in a physical way. In fading out of the mainstream, they passively reinforce the character of informal randomness. At the same time, however, more and more charity shops and retro shops are appearing in city centres, presenting a thematic and stylistic nature as a new urban

landscape. And this change in retail landscape and location further reflects the mutual construction of physical space and the economy of meaning, as will be illustrated later.

Secondly, in the study of places of practice and material elements, how these material elements are politically, economically and culturally constructed in relation to each other (Goodall, 2002) is an important topic. When it comes to the location of second-hand clothing consumption, research remains scarce (Elsden et al., 2019; Park et al., 2020). As previously mentioned, Baker (2012) mentions that the attributes associated with bargains have been erased as the channels of second-hand clothes consumption have been upgraded from small, shabby shops to high-end shops and even department stores. Although this study found that these second-hand clothes shops that have upgraded or are in the process of upgrading still retain some of their 'bargain' characteristics, the language used in their marketing campaigns suggests that bargains are no longer one of their core selling points. These second-hand clothes shops that have appeared on the high street are attracting more consumers with their unique and sophisticated look. At the same time, some consumers are marginalised by the higher prices. Consumers could make purchases without any particular knowledge of vintage. While Gregson et al. (2012) argue that only professionals can identify genuine vintage, the fact is that for consumers, these shops are acting as vintage advisors to consumers in the current market environment. In other words, in today's market environment, the 'products' that consumers buy are no longer simply referred to as second-hand clothing but are labelled as vintage products. This study has found that some of these vintage products are not really vintage, as distinct from the real vintage, the new vintage is a new meaning of belonging to second-hand clothing that is constructed by place, product and society together. The section on meaning will be described in more detail in later chapters, but in terms of the products themselves, this study defines them as second-hand clothing with a sustainable and vintage look.

Thirdly, and similarly to the second point, the changes in Places in terms of location fully reflect the inter-construction of economic and cultural elements.

Henninger et al., (2019), by comparing swapping events in the UK, Finland and Germany, points out that the UK-Finland ones are in trendy neighbourhoods, while the German ones are in poor places. While the current paper does not deal with the comparison of differences between countries, it is important to consider whether these places do have specific cultural or customary qualities. This study found that in addition to the second-hand clothes shops that are found on the high street and some charity shops, there are also a large number of second-hand clothes shops clustered in so-called fashionable neighbourhoods. Both in London and in other major cities in the UK, there are areas that young people refer to as 'fashionable communities'. Inevitably there are a large number of second-hand clothes shops in these neighbourhoods and the products sold in these second-hand clothes shops are often relatively expensive. Because of their location, they can weaken the negative aspects of the second-hand clothes themselves and reinforce the characteristics such as fashionability and uniqueness. This way of reinforcing one's value output through location (place) is a widely recognised marketing strategy. However, for the practice of second-hand clothes consumption, it reflects the path of the second-hand clothes industry, which is to weaken and reinforce specific market elements through changes in place to form a corresponding value group, a value group that further reinforces the perceived value of the consumer. Furthermore, this series of changes also shows a capital transformation within the sector. Trendy areas often represent higher land rents (economic capital). The high land rents reinforce the cultural capital of these second-hand clothes shops, which also become objects that consumers want to pursue, and which ultimately lead to specific consumer behaviour.

Overall, in the place-based component of second-hand clothing consumption, the places of purchase remain largely consistent with the channels of second-hand clothing consumption that have emerged historically, but some channels have been gradually diluted by the market and overlap with consumers' everyday practices is becoming less and less. Based on the overlap of practices and practices, charity shops that appear on the path of consumers' weekend walking practices or online shops on the path of commuting practices are being reinvigorated as a result of changing lifestyles,

becoming one of the shaping elements of consumer practices in the new market environment. Different channels are also attempting to construct new meanings through changes in location, changes in marketing and changes in product labelling, engaging in a rearrangement of meanings and thus creating new meanings within already existing second-hand clothing consumption practices, 'reinventing' such practices (Huber, 2017).

6.2.1.3. CONTRIBUTIONS TO LANGUAGE USE IN SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

THE LANGUAGE OF MATERIAL OBJECTS

In the contributions on place and material objects, this study refers to new constructions of meaning formed by the new labels of products and the new themes of places. Language, in this dimension, expresses the new labels of these material materials on the one hand, but also the new practices that suppliers try to construct, and the understanding and knowledge that consumers embody in the co-construction.

Ryding et al. (2018) mentioned the words second-hand clothes, preloved, and preowned, classifying them as one type of product; vintage clothes again seems to be a product category in the study that has boundaries and distinctions from second-hand clothes (DeLong et al., 2005), while Ryding et al., (2018) argue that vintage has been misused in today's market environment.

Some scholars have therefore attempted to define these things: from an ownership perspective, Turunen and Leipäma-Leskinen (2015) argue that the difference between second-hand clothes and vintage is that second-hand is a product that has been owned and used before, and it does not matter when it was produced. Vintage, however, is a product that has been owned, but not necessarily used, and comes from a specific time.

Cervellon et al. (2012) argue, from the perspective of consumer motivation, that second-hand product is primarily about cheapness and thrift. But vintage is about

treasure. Jenss (2005) defines vintage as the construction of images of the past and the appearance of history, which can be achieved through original objects and new objects that look historically significant; Gregson et al. (2001) argues that nostalgia induced through vintage requires the re-appropriation and re-creation of consumer goods, rather than a of authentic longing. So what is called, in the minds of consumers, second-hand clothes, or what they are buying in the field, in their minds, needs to be further explored.

Moreover, unlike the objectivity of knowledge in many theories and studies on sustainable consumption (e.g., Chekima et al., 2016), knowledge in practice theory is more subjective and comes from texts, discourses and communication. Therefore, in practice theory, knowledge is an understanding of the subject, so it can be studied qualitatively in the research.

The language of such items is reflected in the understanding of the consumer and also in the definition of second-hand clothes by the consumer. The definition of the consumer, in other words, the language of the consumer, is reflected in the definition of authenticity, the definition of emotion, and the definition of reality.

Firstly, the definition of authenticity: in defining second-hand clothes, this study found that many consumers weakened the term 'second-hand'. It seems that in their minds they are no longer buying second-hand clothes, but another consumption entity.

For example, many consumers believe that second-hand clothes represent vintage characteristics, so the analysis of second-hand clothes needs to go beyond the category of clothes. This study found that if a consumer perceives that they are buying vintage rather than a piece of second-hand clothes, then his/her needs, i.e., the type of capital sought in this area, are different. This definition is also reflected in the conversations between consumers and researchers. Many consumers would refer to "this is one of my favourite vintage clothes" or directly define this type of clothes shop as a "vintage shop". In other words, even if the consumer does not have the ability to identify vintage, if he/she thinks it is vintage, then it is vintage. Jenss (2004) argues that this definition is

a matter of negotiation between product authenticity and cultural participants. However, this study does not assume that most consumers participating in this study have the cultural capital to discern vintage. therefore, in the current market environment, this authenticity is the result of a game between different capitals in the field and is also influenced by the structure of the field.

In addition to the above consumer definitions of authenticity, this study clearly found that many consumers see clothes as an emotional attachment or extension. This finding is in line with that of Burcikova (2019) and Hirschfeld (2013).

The definition of reality is mainly reflected in the fact that some consumers think that second-hand clothes are just ordinary clothes that satisfy the function of clothes, or cheap clothes, or the products temporarily purchased for a certain purpose or demand. This definition of consumer reflects the low-value aspects of second-hand clothes or reflects the attitude of some consumers who have a very low demand for fashion. The definition of reality often interacts with economic capital in the field, such as frugality (Zaman et al., 2019; Yan et al., 2015), big brand hunting (Ryding et al., 2020), etc. this definition also emphasizes the low-price characteristics of second-hand clothes from the perspective of consumers. However, this quite straightforward low-value attribute is in the current second-hand clothes consumption environment and has a game between other types of capitals in the field.

Therefore, this study believes that the study of second-hand clothes consumption can start from the consumer's definition of this type of product, which essentially reflects the essence of the product or product spectacle represented by material objects in the eyes of consumers.

Consumers' definition of a product therefore reflects the definition of authenticity they have in mind. This definition can be realistic or ideal, but they both appear in the same area as the capital that consumers strive to chase. But whether it is retro, or sustainability as found in Chapter 5, in some way it reflects a consumer rebellion against

the reality of the market environment. It is not mass-produced, nor is it a spectacle constructed by the mainstream market. It is authenticity in the eyes of the consumer, an ideal life in their own eyes, a vehicle for history, a uniqueness that is completely different from mass production and rapid social development. When consumers define second-hand clothes in this way, they turn their understanding of lifestyle into meanings in the field, completing the process from structured structure to habit formation.

This language application also influences the structure of capital (meanings) within the field. Xu et al. (2014) and Zaman et al. (2019) both mention that many consumers are motivated to buy second-hand clothes because of their cheapness. They do so either because they are thrifty (Zaman et al., 2019), because they have limited financial means (Xu et al., 2014), or because they consider profit maximisation. However, in the current market environment, 'second-hand' or 'used' is not the type of meanings that some second-hand clothes shops want to maintain or emphasise.

This study argues that primitive and derived economic capital lead to the differentiation of many market elements, market positioning and branding in the secondary housing segment. Primary economical capital and symbolic meanings, represented by low prices and thrift, form a corresponding meaning group, and derived economic and symbolic capital, represented by vintage, form another meaning group. These two capital groups attract agents from the corresponding segments. In this process, the consumption of second-hand clothes has different segments and target groups as the consumption of first-hand clothes. Based on the analysis of primary and derived economic capital, the consumption of second-hand clothes also embodies an antagonistic nature of economic capital. This is reflected in the previous discussion of economic capital, which is the type of capital that prevents some consumers from entering the field. Therefore, this study argues that for second-hand clothes, the two types of economic capital are antagonistic in the same product. The type of capital that gives many consumers the greatest economic benefit, for consumers, instead reinforces some of the stigma of second-hand clothes and discourages companies from

emphasising some symbolic capital, such as vintage. Thus, unlike the concept of added value in traditional marketing, derivative capital is different in the field of second-hand clothes consumption. In a way, it is a weakening or even a stripping away of the original capital. As consumers passively transfer vintage-related cultural capital to companies, judgements about the value of second-hand clothes can appear more subjective.

THE LANGUAGE OF PLACES

The changes in the use of language in second-hand clothes consumption explored above are also evidenced in the discussion about places. Shops exporting vintage and unique values are undermining the use of terms such as 'thrift' within the industry, while emphasising their possessions (cultural capital) at a higher price point. Their location is conveying the message - "we attract you with unique products and expertise".

Although thrift shops still exist in the market, its marketing strategy, especially the branding strategy, has played down 'thrift'. They are replacing 'thrift' with words such as 'vintage' or 'retro'. This is not only shown by the store names on the market, but also by the online search results of google map. This kind of downplaying of 'thrift', the present study, believes that it fits the description and research of 'consumer society' (see Baudrillard, 2016). In other words, when second-hand stores gradually weakened the meaning of 'thrift' in market activities, 'thrift' began to not conform to the current market context. Gerrard and Farrugia (2015)'s argument about homeless people and Australian skyscrapers are incompatible from spectacle perspective has similarities to the argument proposed by the present study, that is, the language use of 'thrift' no longer fits the 'spectacle' that the second-hand clothes industry wants to create. Moreover, chapter 5 and the discussion above on the increase in the price of second-hand clothes also indirectly show the power changes of relevant discourse in the field.

Another contribution of this study to place is the colour characteristics of places. These colour features reflect the meaning and cultural characteristics of the second-hand clothes shops in a new era. This study found that many second-hand clothes shops

embody a strong, recognisable colour identity. Some shops display strong colour saturation and contrast, thus deepening the impression. Other second-hand clothes shops display warm or vibrant bright colours. In the data for this study, cool or dark colours were not seen very often. Such warm colours emphasise the rebellious, unique and vintage significance that they have.

In conjunction with the contributions on places, the contributions in this study are also systematic. The contributions on places show that the places where second-hand clothing is consumed can provide the stage and possibility for the reshaping of practices. In the construction of new meanings, language plays an important role. The linguistic use of material objects reflects the image that the provider wants to recreate, and the consumer incorporates the corresponding knowledge and understanding into his language. In this process, language plays the role of a vehicle and instrument for the construction of meaning, the formerly cheap, second-hand being weakened by new languages such as vintage, even if some products are not really antique. At the same time, language also reflects the reassessment of the emotions and values that consumers assign to clothing, all of which further reflect the construction of new meanings and changes in consumer values. Moreover, the changing language of second-hand clothing consumer practices reflects the tendency of second-hand clothing businesses to try to adapt to new market, cultural and political contexts and to recruit more practitioners.

6.2.1.4. CONTRIBUTIONS TO MEANINGS IN SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

Most of the extant literature identifies economic constraints as the most important factor motivating consumers to choose second-hand clothes (e.g., Roux and Korchia, 2006), and second-hand clothes shops thus become shopping centres for consumers with limited income (Norum and Norton, 2017; Williams and Paddock, 2003). Yan et al. (2015) argues, since second-hand clothes consumers are price sensitive, they are often motivated by seeking low prices. Petrescu and Bhatli (2015) argue that these consumers are more likely to buy large quantities of clothes rather than spend the same

amount of money on new clothes. This low price-oriented analysis reflects, to some extent, consumer stereotypes about second-hand clothes, as Adıgüzel et al. (2020) found that consumers have negative associations with recycled materials, such as low quality and low prices. Thus, Guiot and Roux (2010) bluntly state that thrift shops are places where basic needs are met on a minimal budget.

However, at the same time, consumers' brand awareness can reduce consumers' perceived risk (Rulikova, 2020; Giovannini et al., 2015), so since second-hand clothes act as a stock market for first-hand clothes, whether branding is an important implication of this is another question worth exploring.

Zaman et al. (2019) detailed identified second-hand clothes shoppers through six consumer orientations: style consciousness, fashion consciousness, ecological consciousness, nostalgia proneness, frugality, and dematerialism. Furthermore, in relation to the distinction between vintage and second-hand, Cervellon et al. (2012) clearly draw the line at consumer motivation. But do the symbolic meanings embodied in second-hand clothes reflect such a clear distinction and a clear boundary?

Another contribution of this study is a better understanding of the symbolic meaning presented in the field of second-hand clothes consumption. The types of symbolic meaning found in this study are largely consistent with the so-called purchase motives mentioned in previous literature, including nostalgia (Reis, 2020), rebellious spirit (Cervellon et al., 2012), sustainability (Ek Styvén and Mariani, 2020), fashionability (Ferraro et al., 2016), entertainment (Roux and Guiot, 2008), philanthropic support and uniqueness (Roux and Guiot, 2008). In addition, this study further uncovers the flow of brand loyalty from the first to the second cycle and the relationship between different symbolic meanings.

THE COMPLEXITY OF VINTAGE

Nostalgia but Not Vintage

This study believes that there seems to be a significant difference between nostalgia and vintage hunting. Many consumers mentioned nostalgia. This kind of nostalgia can be nostalgia for the time of the parents, or nostalgia for the parents, or nostalgia for childhood, family, and specific events. But these nostalgias may not lead to the purchase of vintage. Many consumers in this study expressed that when they saw some second-hand clothes that recalled their memories in second-hand stores, they would be full of joy or shock, but they did not emphasize the pursuit of vintage. Moreover, the appreciation and judgment of vintage requires a certain amount of cultural capital, but many consumers do not have the relevant cultural capital. Therefore, the second-hand clothes consumption field does provide consumers with opportunities and places for nostalgia, but these consumers are willing to buy specific products that can awaken specific memories, rather than buy the product category or be affected by branding strategy of vintage.

Rebellious Vintage

This study defines consumers' pursuit of vintage as vintage hunting. This kind of vintage hunting is different from the consumption type mentioned by Gregson et al. (2001) that requires a large amount of cultural capital and economic capital, and it is also different from the vintage consumption caused by nostalgia, which is confused by many studies. The vintage hunting discussed in this research refers to the pursuit and purchase of vintage clothes based on rebellion against the current market environment, social environment, or specific rules. This kind of vintage hunting is more like a sub-fashion environment parallel to mainstream fashion.

Jencks (2002) believes that modernism belongs to the elite class that often complicates matters, and this complexity isolates the elite class and the public. In other words, vintage appreciation, which requires a lot of cultural capital and educational capital, originally belonged to the elite class. However, in this study, it is difficult for consumers to distinguish between vintage and second-hand clothes. Later, these vintages took to the streets and became a product type that can be consumed by most

consumers even if they do not have the corresponding cultural capital. Although this research believes that merchants have used this lack or transfer of cultural capital to market vintage. But this kind of marketization still embodies the characteristics of postmodernism in essence.

This vintage hunting is first and foremost a rebellion, an attempt by consumers to rebel against mainstream fashion or so-called standard aesthetics or some kind of cultural monopoly, and to implement consumption in a unique gesture of rebellion.

Mass-produced Vintage

This study argues that the spirit of retro-hunting or rebellion is also expressed in many cases through the search for uniqueness. And there is another layer of understanding of uniqueness seeking in this study. Many consumers and second-hand clothes shop staff report that there are also many opinion influencers in the second-hand clothes consumption field. Furthermore, as second-hand clothes shops move from the back street to the high street, they go from being fragmented shops to being trendy. In the community, this uniqueness becomes a unique look that can be created through consumption. With the launch of some fast fashion and some luxury brands' vintage collections, this unique look based on vintage imagery seems to be integrated by mainstream fashion as well. This is why Gregson et al. (2001) state that this is a re-appropriation of consumer goods through retro-induced nostalgia. While Gregson et al. (2001) use this view to express that this consumption is not true nostalgia, Veenstra and Kuipers (2013) also point out that traditional vintage has a certain distance from mainstream culture, whereas nowadays, it is not rebellious while keeping its distance. In this case, some vintage products exploit the current logic of consumption to help consumers shape the identity they want through consumption. Vintage products are therefore self-contradictory, and the original critical awareness of mass production is being mass produced.

THE ADDITIONALITY OF SUSTAINABILITY

For second-hand clothes, sustainability presents itself in two different forms. Firstly, sustainability is an added value for consumption. Some consumers perceive second-hand clothes or remanufactured clothes products as simply having sustainable features such as recycling or upcycling, so they buy them; secondly, sustainability is a virtue. This is influenced by social norms, i.e., many consumers believe that buying fast fashion is not something to be revered and that throwing away unnecessary clothes is a bad thing. In addition, consumers' support for specific charities is reflected in their purchases at specific charity shops. The consumption of second-hand clothes, whether purchased or disposed of, is therefore an expression of a better and more laudable lifestyle and a virtue. However, this study argues that whether it is the added value of consumption or the virtue, consumers' consumption in this field is predicated on the acceptance of second-hand clothes, or the ability of second-hand clothes to meet their needs. Whether this is to satisfy consumers' quest for economic meaning or symbolic meaning. Therefore, this study argues that research into sustainability as a motivation for types of consumption does not appear to be valid. Sustainability is more of an icing on the cake. The analysis of consumption itself begins with an analysis of the cake, followed by an analysis of the icing. This view is also supported by the discussion of spillover effects.

In general, contributions regarding meaning revolve around vintage, sustainability and branding. In studies of second-hand clothing consumption, meanings sometimes take the form of motives and are delineated as clear boundaries (Zaman et al., 2019), but this study argues that these meanings, like the blockings of the practice itself, are also co-evolving blocks of elements (Huber, 2017) that are presented as a MEANING GROUP, and one meaning will show different directions, which reflects the dynamic state of co-construction of elements within the practice. The meaning of vintage is twisted together with uniqueness and even political rebellion, and the vintage meaning of second-hand clothing itself and places constructed through language thus takes on an air of rebellion, uniqueness and so on. At the same time, the construction of new meanings also weakens other meanings, as some vintage shops and even charity

shops reinforce new meanings by raising prices and weakening old ones, such as cheapness and informality. Even the new meanings can have an impact on society, such as the middle class that is targeted behind the price increases and retro-ness. However, when these new meanings appear in the mainstream along with goods and places, their distinctiveness seems to be weakened by other practices, reflecting the interplay of meanings between different practices.

Unlike the construction of vintage meaning, the construction of sustainability appears more complex. It is not visible in the overall practice of second-hand clothing consumption and is influenced by social and cultural influences. Practitioners do not see sustainability as an attractive meaning in their practice. However, this study argues that sustainability is still important in the whole practice and that it needs to be further co-constructed by the whole society and the practitioners.

THE ISSUE OF SOCIAL CLASS DISTINCTION

This study also identifies a number of paradoxes between economic and sustainable meaning in its exploration of meaning. Social class is a very important part of Bourdieu's theory, with the upper social classes having economic power, cultural discourse and setting aesthetic thresholds. and reinforced, the location and price changes of vintage shops, including some charity shops, are to some extent indicative of a welcome to the middle class and marginalisation of some traditional consumers. And the process of constructing sustainable meaning has seen higher prices become one of the unavoidable, potentially discouraging elements that can affect consumer consumption. However, as highlighted earlier, in today's second-hand clothing consumption practices, the construction of new meanings can weaken some of the previous, slightly negative meanings, such as cheapness and lower social status, but at the same time, this construction process completes the recruitment of some new practitioners and seems to marginalise others. Moreover, when geographical differences in shops such as charity shops and differences in dispositional behaviour are taken into account (as will be detailed in a later section), consumers with limited incomes are

faced with fewer options.

Therefore, the contribution of this thesis regarding MEANINGS is mainly that the study of motivation or meaning can be approached not only from the perspective of the marketing segment, but also from the perspective of the on- and off-site. Consumers' motivations change both before and after they enter the field. Some meanings, when understood from the perspective of consumer motivation, are created by both consumers and companies. This is put into practice so that policy makers or businesses can hopefully enhance sustainability and co-created outputs with consumers. Moreover, for second-hand clothing consumption practices, the meanings presented often do not have such clear boundaries, they are blocks of elements that change together and are characterised by an ebb and flow between different meanings.

6.2.1.5. CONTRIBUTIONS TO VALUES IN SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

Value is one of the main influences on sustainable consumption, such as collaborative fashion consumption behaviour (Barnes and Mattsson, 2016), but this is an understudied area and is interpreted differently by different consumers. Some emphasise self-interested values (Holt, 2012; Jägel et al, 2012; Achabou and Dekhili, 2013) and others emphasise altruistic values (Lundblad and Davies, 2016).

Another major contribution of this study is a better understanding of the different values presented by consumers in the area of second-hand clothes consumption. More importantly, it is not only the values reflected in a particular practice, but also the values embodied in the practice and its twisted state. Firstly, the values of frugalism, hedonism, consumerism and altruism that emerged from the study are consistent with Roux and Guiot's (2008) research. This study then argues that a large number of values with different orientations coexist in the practice of second-hand clothes consumption. This coexistence or balance of different values comes from the inherent contradictions of second-hand clothes on the one hand, and the sustainability properties of second-hand

clothes on the other. Moreover, this state of coexistence and contradiction of values is reflected in the stages of practice other than purchase.

Values such as high and low price, sustainable and unsustainable, niche and mass maintain a balance and coexistence in the field. In addition, anti-consumerism and altruism are often mentioned in studies on sustainable consumption. This anti-consumerist value is also in line with the rebellious spirit of second-hand clothes consumption. But when the rebellious spirit is mass produced, when this rebellious spirit is used as a symbol of the mutual transformation of symbolic capital and economic capital, the concepts of consumerism and anti-consumerism appear simultaneously in the field of second-hand clothes consumption. The consumerism of products consumed with sustainable characteristics will derive spillover effects in the field of sustainable consumption. Based on a theory of practice, it is difficult to judge whether such opposing values will appear in the same consumer, but it is possible to confirm that such opposing values appear in the same consumption practice.

This study found that some consumers expressed concern and sympathy for the poor labour conditions in developing countries, but at the same time said that the poor people around them should control their desires and refrain from buying fast fashion. Therefore, this study argues that in Schwartz's value theory, benevolence (shouting for those nearby) and universalism (shouting for all) do not fully describe the values in second-hand clothes consumption. This is because throughout the field there is still the paradox of shouting for those far away but not being able to empathise with those around. Altruistic values refer to a concern for the welfare of others (De Groot and Steg, 2007) and are quite complex as can be seen from the analysis of this study. Some consumers explicitly mentioned their sympathy and concern for the poor working conditions in some developing countries, but at the same time they felt that the poor people around them should not buy fast fashion products for the sake of sustainability. However, this 'active choice' in the eyes of some consumers is a 'passive choice' in the eyes of financially stressed consumers who cannot afford expensive, high quality

clothes. But they are also entitled to the pleasure of buying new clothes, so they have to go to fast fashion to buy clothes, even though fast fashion may not be sustainable. Mont and Plepys (2008) emphasise that the concept of sustainable consumption is often used in relation to human needs, equity, quality of life, resource efficiency, waste minimisation, life cycle thinking, consumer health and safety, consumer sovereignty and other issues in general. However, the objectives of these sub issues are often in conflict with each other and therefore they are not easily compatible within a sustainable consumption strategy, which demonstrates the complexity of research on sustainable consumption. This contradiction between consumer sovereignty and distributional issues? Are developing countries entitled to a similar standard of living as developed countries? Where is the horizontal line of sustainable consumption and what are the best strategies? Today, the paper argues that research on sustainable consumption also needs to consider the interests of people at different income levels. The value of sustainability boils down to the need for human survival in terms of how to meet the consumption needs of the majority of people while achieving human well-being, and the so-called, self-interest needs of sustainable consumption are also human needs.

Finally, the two main values of self-interest and altruism are also reflected in consumers' dispositional behaviour. This study found that consumers have their own values and emotional distance from clothing, especially second-hand clothing. This emotional distance is also reflected in consumers' dispositional behaviour, such as giving good quality clothes to family/friends first or selling them and donating the less good clothes to charity. This dispositional behaviour reflects the coexistence of altruistic and selfish values, and there seems to be a hierarchy of altruistic values in this practice. This hierarchy is guided to some extent by consumers' emotional distance between people and clothes. It is therefore argued that the study of dispositional behaviour in relation to clothing cannot simply be motivated by values, but that consumers' emotional distance from people/objects and their subjective assessment of the value of objects also guide such behavioural practices.

6.2.1.6. CONTRIBUTIONS TO SPILLOVER EFFECT IN SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

Many previous studies on spillover behaviour have highlighted the moral logic of human behaviour (Nilsson et al., 2017; Verfuert and Gregory-Smith, 2018). That is, spillover effects imply some kind of moral reflection.

Another contribution of this study is that, unlike other spillover behaviours that occur in practice, for spillover effects in sustainable consumption, researchers need to return to the essence of market research in the first place.

Firstly, second-hand clothes consumption mainly consists of two different contexts, online and offline. This study finds that when both online and offline channels have certain convenience, consumers who originally consume only online or only offline are likely to repeatedly jump between the two channels. This study also found that consumers are prone to cross-contextual spillover behaviour as long as different contexts can present the same symbolic meaning. For example, the unknown and curiosity of the next page led commuters to open social media or online second-hand platforms on their way to work. This satisfaction of curiosity reflects the symbolic meaning shared by social media and online second-hand platforms, a symbolic meaning that allows some consumers to have similar pleasure in browsing online second-hand platforms as they do in social media. In sum, consistency in the availability of the same product in different contexts may cause spillover, and the same or similar symbolism in different contexts may also cause consumers to engage in spillover behaviour.

Secondly, this study uses the discussion about price presented in the consumption of second-hand clothes to explain, to some extent, the knowledge/intention-action gap that is widespread in sustainable consumption research. Price is central to answering this question. This study finds that excessively high prices discourage consumers from implementing sustainable consumption to a certain extent, while low (relative) prices make them more likely to choose sustainable products. Consumers are also influenced

by social norms when they are aware of basic solutions to environmental problems. If consumers have previously engaged in sustainable practices, spillover of sustainable consumption from previous behaviour to later will be more likely to occur due to lower prices. Carrico et al. (2017) and Thøgersen (2012) argue that spillover effects are likely to occur as long as the same goals are in place. This spillover effect due to goal congruence is reflected in veganism. Many consumers of second-hand clothes refer to their vegetarian or vegan behaviour. Because vegans show a rebellion against the mass production of animal products, they also show a concern for labour issues. Not only are they characterised by a rebellion against mass production, but they also seem to be characterised by some sustainability. Although this study does not use quantitative methods to measure the relationship between these elements, they often appear in the same context in this study's sample. This study therefore argues that when different fields present similar meanings, it is an important condition for triggering spillover.

However, this study argues that it is problematic to ignore the limits of economic levels when discussing spillover effects in consumption. Furthermore, many consumers are reluctant to express anything that affects this virtue due to social norms. Therefore, when studying spillover effects in sustainable consumption, a behavioural cost perspective, combined with basic marketing elements such as price and place, may further narrow the knowledge/intention-action gap and also better explain the mechanisms of spillover effects. Thøgersen and Crompton (2009) highlight that consumers have difficulties and costs to consider when practising sustainable behaviour. Therefore, this study argues that consumers' consideration of these business factors influences their judgement of sustainable behaviour or sustainable consumption.

6.2.2. METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION

The call to study second-hand clothes consumption as a whole also reflects the methodological contribution of this study. Overall, the methodological contribution is that this thesis has adopted a pluralistic approach in this qualitative study, including semi-structured interview, non-participant observation and photo elicitation.

This study explores not only the places of consumption, but also the places of production (disposal) of second-hand clothes, as for second-hand clothes the two are intertwined. In order to conduct a comprehensive exploration of the different elements within the same consumption, the current study first observed the places of production and consumption, exploring material objects and competences in the process, and then, through the lenses of lived experience of consumers and practitioners, i.e. photo elicitation to obtain stories about meanings, values and consumers' everyday lives. At the same time, the interviews helped the researcher to gain more comprehensive information to answer the research questions. This study is one of the few studies using photo elicitation to explore second-hand clothes consumption. Since photo can help researcher better understand how people live and social/economical structure of the world (Wagner, 1979), combined with the practice theory adopted in this research, photo elicitation can reveal more information, allowing the research to have a deeper understanding of specific behaviours in the specific environments and the detailed characteristics of places or objects. The use of online information such as Google Maps has not only increased the efficiency of the study, but also revealed the distributional characteristics presented by consumption and the understanding and definition of certain types of consumption by the participants, and more importantly, it has informed this paper's interpretation of the place and the use of language in that consumption.

Overall, the pluralistic approach of this study allowed the researcher to gain a more comprehensive understanding of second-hand clothes consumption by obtaining stories about their consumption from the eyes and mouths of the participants. Moreover, the study's pluralistic qualitative approach contributes to a certain extent to explaining the knowledge/intention action gap. This approach allows the study to understand what the definition, understanding and experience of second-hand clothes consumption is from the eyes and mouths of the consumers, the carriers of the consumption field. This understanding can help the study to better explain second-hand clothes consumption, making the practice appear more open and manageable at the research level.

6.3. IMPLICATION

The aim of this section is to set out the implications of this research for practitioners and policy makers. The UK Environmental Audit Committee (2019) suggests that the development of a second-hand clothes industry is one important way to address the negative impacts of fast fashion. At the same time, the UK Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs has highlighted the role of behaviour change and the need to better understand how people engage in specific behaviours and put them into practice (Defra, 2008). Mont and Plepys (2008) argue that the focus of sustainable consumption is on whether to change consumption patterns or reduce consumption levels. They also emphasise that sustainable consumption requires a balance between national economies and sustainability goals, and Southerton et al. (2004) suggest that no practice can be separated from consumption. Therefore, based on the research questions in this study, this study argues that second-hand clothes consumption in the context of sustainable consumption is a potentially expandable consumption pattern.

Echo with the discussions about contributions, the implications for policy-makers and practitioners will be presented mainly in terms of consumption places, marketing language use, meanings, values and spillover effect.

From a place perspective, many second-hand clothes shops are emerging in city centres, high streets or specialised fashion districts. These places are heavily trafficked and easily accessed, which not only meet the needs of businesses selling, but also make it easier for consumers to know, understand and experience second-hand clothes. For practitioners, selling second-hand clothes with a shop style and décor that reflects the brand's identity and value proposition enhances the experience and attracts the consumer's attention. Both vintage and sustainable qualities can be reinforced by this unique and strong shop image. For policy-makers, in addition to rent and tax breaks for charity shops, other types of second-hand clothes shops could be supported.

From the point of view of language and meanings, many second-hand clothes shops, including second-hand clothes events, use vintage as an important selling point, but only a few shops clearly identify the era to which the clothes belong or clearly understand the style they represent. For practitioners, the use of the term vintage needs to be more rigorous. For these shops, it is possible to emphasise the vintage look rather than the vintage attributes, while at the same time reinforcing other meanings such as sustainability. For these stores, the emphasis can be on the vintage look rather than the vintage attributes, while at the same time reinforcing other meanings such as sustainability, uniqueness or rebelliousness. So policy-makers also need to further standardise the marketing language. In addition, given the mass-produced vintage look mentioned in this study, practitioners can distance themselves from mass-produced vintage through the use of marketing language to reinforce features that mass production does not have.

Although the participants in this study were purchasers of second-hand clothes, they also raised some concerns about second-hand clothes, such as quality and hygiene issues. This is supported by the data observed in this study. Therefore, second-hand clothes shops need to strengthen the quality of their products to weaken or even eliminate this negative consumer perception. In other words, practitioners need to reduce the impact of such negative perceptions, while policy-makers need to strengthen the requirements and regulations in this area. Taking quality as an example, in interviews with consumers, many consumers discuss recycling and extending product lifecycle separately. This finding is to some extent coincident with the study of the Environmental Audit Committee (2019). Therefore, this study believes that recycling and extending product lifecycle have distinctly different value demands. Better quality, on the other hand, often means a longer lifecycle.

Related to the life cycle is the branding of the product. Second-hand clothes is an accompanying market for first-hand clothes and its products originate from the first-hand clothes market. If there is a problem with the quality of the first-hand clothes

market, the existence of the second-hand clothes market appears to be quite passive. If there is a problem with the quality of the first-hand clothes market, the existence of the second-hand clothes market appears to be quite passive. So practitioners need to filter the brands of second-hand clothes, which not only satisfies consumer loyalty to certain brands and eliminates the perceived risk to consumers, but also sets the bottom line for product quality to a certain extent.

From the perspective of values, this study argues that egoistic value is crucial in the consumption of second-hand clothes. For practitioners, the emphasis on other values such as quality, price or entertainment is also very important when reinforcing vintage or sustainability. Many of the consumers in this study stated that they could not accept so-called sustainable products that were of poor quality or functionality, so the formation of consumer value for surplus second-hand clothes needs to be supported by the quality of the product and other market elements as well. In this study, for example, sustainable consumption, in essence, still cannot deviate from the scope of basic consumption research. Even if it is attached of moral elements, its essence is still aimed at a certain type of product consumption. The first is the environmental value brought by sustainability that cannot be experienced at the moment, and the Returning to the product itself emphasizes the economic value of the product. Psychological satisfaction and environmental value are both related to the 'defined lifestyle' mentioned above, Psychological satisfaction and environmental value are both related to the 'defined lifestyle' mentioned above, and economic value is one of the prerequisites to ensure that this lifestyle is transformed into a habit in the true sense. In other words, only symbolic meanings and moral elements in capital groups are far from enough.

Furthermore, this study points out that consumer values are quite complex and coexistent in second-hand clothes consumption. Therefore, while emphasising altruistic values, egoistic values appear to be more important. Here, price, an element that has been criticised by many consumers in this study, needs to be treated more carefully, and Practitioners and policy-makers need to set a more reasonable price for their products.

From the perspective of the spillover effect, a return to the essence of the product is an important condition for promoting spillover among consumers. By making it easier for consumers to access areas of second-hand clothes consumption through adjustments to elements such as quality and price, it is possible for spillover to occur. Moreover, it is not just some traditional British second-hand clothes export destinations in Asia and Africa that have embargoed second-hand clothes from the UK, after Brexit, a large number of second-hand clothes cannot be shipped to EU countries smoothly (Partington, 2021). Meanwhile, the consumption of first-hand clothes in the UK is still growing. so, there is a need for policymakers to focus on the second-hand clothes consumption sector and to reinforce and emphasise the sustainability implicit in second-hand clothes consumption. Furthermore, policymakers and practitioners need to integrate the meanings group to make sustainability a stronger and more stable type of meaning for the field, which may lead to more consumers practicing sustainable consumption, thus making it possible for spillover to occur for consumers who buy other sustainable products.

6.4. THE SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS

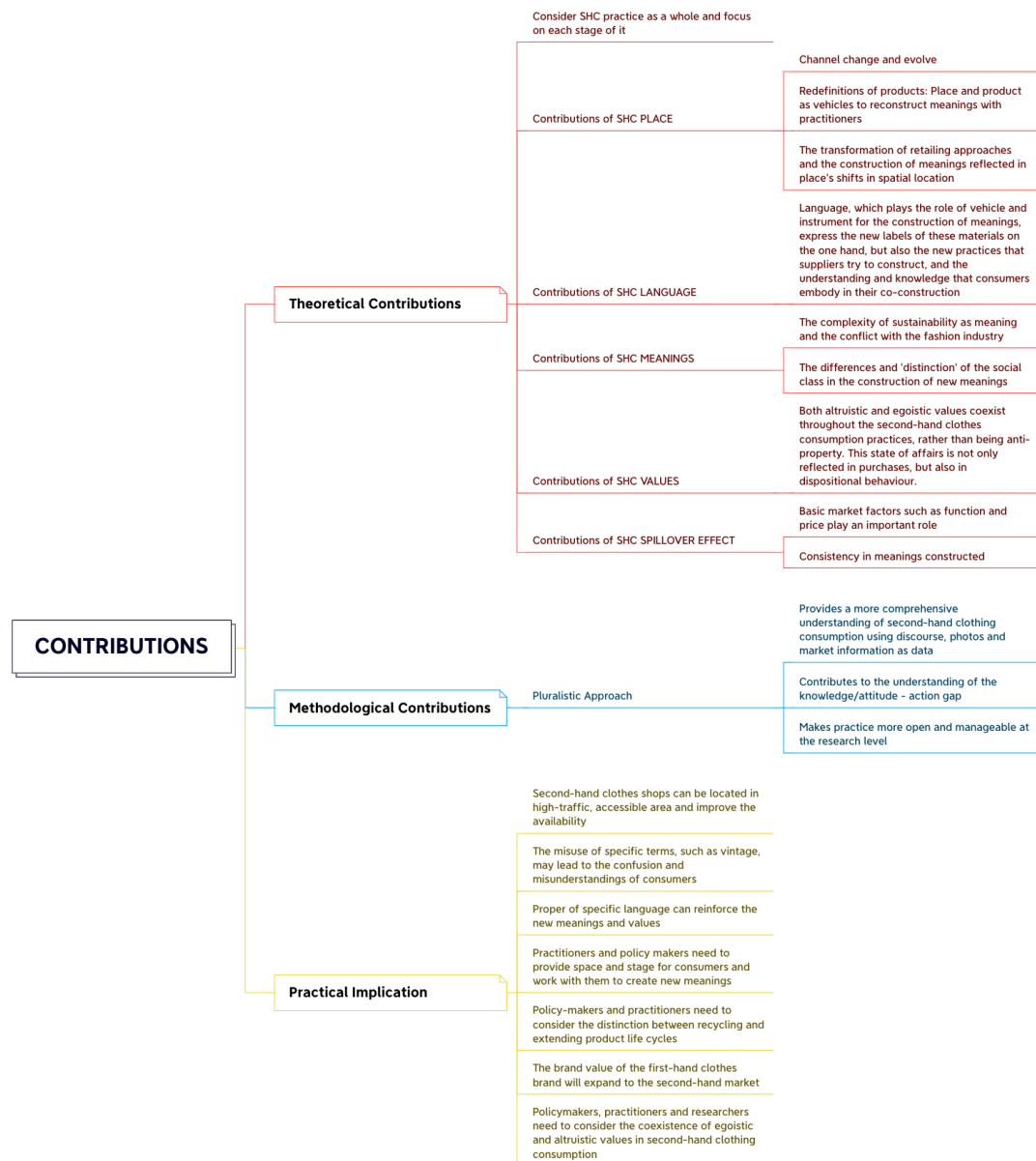


Figure 13. The summary of contributions

As the above figure demonstrates, the contributions of this study are divided into two main sections, where the theoretical contributions are consistent with the research framework of this study. The study first responds to the call for a holistic analysis of consumption, emphasising the importance of a holistic analysis of second-hand clothing consumption, where synergistic analysis at different stages can deepen understanding and reveal new content. Subsequent contributions about place form the

setting of the stage for a study of the whole practice of second-hand clothing consumption and draw out the importance of language as a vehicle for the construction of meaning, and the complexity of the new meanings and values it constructs and responds to in practice. Having completed the analysis of practices as a whole, this study naturally identifies the mutual construction of different practices and the reshaping of practices themselves, leading to the spillover effect and a theoretical contribution to the field.

Once the integration and analysis of the theoretical and methodological contributions is completed, correspondingly this study presents the corresponding practical implications: 1). Some second-hand clothing shops and charity shops with distinctive characteristics could be located in high-traffic, accessible areas to reinforce their brand identity and value proposition; 2). Some second-hand shops confuse the use of specific terms, especially vintage, in a way that creates confusion and misunderstandings among consumers and even weakens the uniqueness and rebellious value of second-hand clothing itself; 3). But the use of this language reinforces the new meanings and values that second-hand clothing consumption has to create and promote in the new market environment, such as sustainability; 4). Practitioners and policy makers need to provide space and stage for consumers and work with them to create new meanings that are adapted to the new environment and trends; 5). Recycling and extending product life cycles imply different consumer behaviour and policy makers and businesses need to consider this distinction; 6). The brand value of the first-hand clothing market expands to the second-hand market, which requires practitioners to filter some of their products and also emphasises the unsustainable nature of some low-quality first-hand clothing; 7). Sustainability and vintage should not become commercial gimmicks, and product function and quality should remain one of the top priorities in the decision-making process; 8). Policymakers, practitioners and researchers need to consider the coexistence of egoistic and altruistic values in second-hand clothing consumption and, in particular, to re-examine the meaning and role of egoism in sustainable consumption practices.

6.5. LIMITATIONS

The purpose of this section is to discuss the limitations of the research methods of this thesis and how these limitations affect answering the research questions. In the process of discussing limitations, this section will first discuss some of the problems encountered in the data collection process, and then will discuss the limitations of specific research methods, and finally, this section will combine the discussion in the first two parts to explore the impact of these limitations on answering research questions.

6.5.1. LIMITATIONS IN THE DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

INSUFFICIENT DIVERSITY AMONG GROUPS OF DIFFERENT INCOMES IN THE SAMPLE

In the process of the research, the price of second-hand clothes has always occupied an important position in the interview process of consumers. Consumers' purchasing power or cost considerations related to prices are related to consumers' consumption habits and household income. Therefore, the discussion of the increase in the price of second-hand clothes needs to take into account the changes in the substantive consumption experiences and feelings of different income groups. In order to better explore the various experiences because of price change, the income difference represented by the sample should be as wide as possible, however, in the sample of this study, income differences exist but the proportions of different groups are not comprehensive. Therefore, there are limits to the consumption exploration for different consumer groups. This limitation also reflects the problems caused by snow-ball and personal-contact sampling, since these sampling method may have a certain degree of homogeneity.

INSUFFICIENT BUSINESS SAMPLE IN THE SAMPLE

Throughout the data collection process, the clerk or owner of the second-hand clothes shops, and the person in charge of the events are often more willing to talk to

the research, and provided as much as information as possible, whether through face-to-face or telephone communications. However, many organizations or business managers who agreed with the interview were not able to participate effectively, and some emails have not yet been replied. For some charity shops, the staff that researchers first contacted are often volunteers. When they contacted the managers, some managers either refused the interview or asked the researcher to contact the marketing department of charity. But these contacts also did not respond. Therefore, only a few charity shops participated in this study.

INSUFFICIENT PHOTO ELICITATION DATA COLLECTION

This study asked participants to provide some photos of their favourite clothes, second-hand clothes, and wardrobes. But only nearly half of the participants were willing to provide, and some of the participants in this half still did not provide photos in the end. Some participants were reluctant to provide photos for privacy reasons, but they apologized in the interview and provided as much information as possible. However, the limitation of the number of photo materials may still affect the final analysis.

DATA COLLECTION ABOUT LIFE HISTORY WAS UNSUCCESSFUL

History, or time span, is recommended to be taken into consideration in practice study (Shove et al., 2012). Due to the time limit of this study and the sudden COVID-19 pandemic, this study did not collect enough information of participants' behavior changes or behavior routines. In addition, perhaps because of the characteristics of consumption, consumers' memories of past consumption experiences are often rough. The connection between many specific nodes and specific consumption patterns is not obvious at least from the interviews in this study.

IMPACT OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC

The data collection phase of this study was almost completed before the COVID-

19 outbreak, but many follow-up supplementary interviews failed to proceed smoothly due to COVID-19, and some photos were not taken because of COVID-19. Moreover, D'Adamo and Lupi (2021), Morais et al. (2021) suggested that people's dressing behaviour changed during the COVID-19 Pandemic period. Therefore, the lack of information due to COVID-19 may make this research lack some contributions.

6.5.2. LIMITATIONS OF SPECIFIC METHODS

QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW AND INTERPRETATION

Qualitative interview is the main research method used in this study. The foundation of interpretivism and the attributes of qualitative approach behind it require the researcher to understand and interpret the 'meaning' expressed by the research object. In this process, the researcher needs to be able to empathize with participants, and the interpretation of research topics is sometimes based on the interaction between the researcher's values and the participants' values (Seale, 2002). Just as some studies have expressed doubts about the application of Western paradigms in other cultural contexts (e.g., Kamla et al., 2012), For the same reason, because the researcher is not British, the interpretation of British culture and British context will have cultural, value and language differences. This difference may affect the analysis and interpretation of the participants' discourse in this study.

NON-PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Das (2021) suggested that ethnographic study requires a lot of time to observe and interact with social groups. Only in this way can we gain insight into behaviors that are taken for granted by the observed group. Malinowski (2013) also has always emphasized that these contents include very detailed details and even emotional reactions. The limited time and the COVID-19 outbreak have affected the observation of researchers in the field, which is an unavoidable limitation of this research. Moreover, Hine (2008) and Kozinets (2010) believe that participation is necessary in order to better construct a framework of meaning. However, due to time and resource constraints,

this study cannot fully participate in a specific practice, which may also be a limitation.

IMPACT ON ANSWERING RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions of this thesis mainly include places/material objects, understanding, social/symbolic meanings, and values. The insufficiency of business samples and the insufficiency of different income groups make this study have certain limitations in the research and interpretation of social/symbolic meanings and values. The insufficiency of photo collected made this research may lead to slightly lacking in the analysis of material objects and places. The insufficiency of observation of participants' daily life and the impact of COVID-19 directly affected the study of the significance of a certain consumption in this study. Finally, the problem of data interpretation that may be caused by the cultural differences and value differences between the researcher and the researched field is undeniable. These limitations have already affected or may affect this study to answer the research questions to a certain extent.

6.6. FUTURE RESEARCH

In the discussion of limitations in the previous section, some suggestions have been made for future research. However, based on the findings presented in this thesis, combined with the limitations, there are still several future research avenues that can be further explore, which will be highlighted below.

CHARITY SHOP TRANSFORMATION AND MARKETING STRATEGY

First of all, future research can try to explore charity shops more in-depth. In this study, some charity shops have changed their marketing strategy and branding strategy. In this process, their target groups have changed to a certain extent. Based on the macro status quo of hindered international trade of second-hand clothes, how charity shops adapt to the new market and economic environment deserves more in-depth research. there have been some studies on charity shop's managerial functions and corresponding marketing

strategies (e.g., Parsons, 2004). Participants in this study also mentioned possible problems with volunteers in product selection. Therefore, topics such as charity shop's marketing strategy and social responsibilities can all be used as future research avenues.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION AND FAMILY ENVIRONMENT AND OTHER FACTORS

Seo and Kim (2019) believe that sustainability awareness is the main driver of second-hand clothes purchase behavior. Yet, the point of this study is consistent with the viewpoint of Kim et al. (2021), that is, the motivation behind this consumption behaviour is much more complicated. Boudieu (2007) emphasized that cultural capital will be reflected in the aesthetic differences caused by the family environment. Under the premise that sustainable consumption is gradually accepted by more people in the UK (Deloitte, 2021), when these people affected by sustainable consumption value become parents, how will their consumption habits affect their children, or how their income level and education level affect their children's consumption patterns. Considering the time span of family research, it seems that it also fits the practice theory's research requirements on consumption. It can not only help research understand the economical and cultural capitals in the field, but also can see the impact of behaviour patterns on structure. This thesis also mentioned in the limitation that due to the time and resource constraints, the present study did not successfully conduct long-term observations and continuous interviews with specific families or individuals. Therefore, future research can conduct in-depth exploration on this aspect.

NEW FORMS OF SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

This study found that second-hand clothes consumption appears in a more fashionable, retro, and professional way in the current market environment. With the use of new marketing strategies, many second-hand clothes shops have become chain stores, which also reflects the involvement of the so-called 'green capital' to a certain extent. If we consider the current macro dilemma (political or economic) of the second-hand product

trade in the UK, or the dilemma related to the purchase or disposal of second-hand clothes (Guo and Xu, 2021), the business model innovation seems to be an effective solution based on the value of sustainability. Taking a China recycling consumption APP 'DuoZhuaYu' as an example. It targets white-collar individuals and young people. DuoZhuaYu has established more convenient logistics services in large cities to help consumers donate or resell second-hand items. And through the use of second-hand books to promote sustainability value to guide consumers to consume other types of second-hand products. Financially, this company has obtained 300 million RMB in financing (Li, 2021). Therefore, how to achieve the balance between sustainability and economy for companies or organizations whose value output is sustainability seems to be a topic that needs further research. Although this research did not discuss the business models or economic factors in depth, Mont and Plepys (2008) suggested that the balance between different stakeholders is crucial in the process of sustainable development.

PRICE ISSUES AND SOCIAL CLASS DISTINCTION OF SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION

The price increase of second-hand clothes has been mentioned multiple times in this thesis, and some participants also mentioned that the increase in the price of second-hand clothes has reduced their purchase intention for second-hand clothes. In addition to second-hand clothes, some consumers also mentioned that the higher prices of sustainable products make them unacceptable (Deloitte, 2021). Limited by the data collected, although this study has conducted a relatively simple analysis and discussion on it, future research can further study the role of income and social class in second-hand clothes consumption, and even in sustainable consumption. Ye et al. (2020) also emphasized that one of the cores of sustainable consumption is to meet the needs of contemporary people without compromising the ability of the next generation to meet their needs. Then combined with the findings of this paper, if second-hand clothes can be defined as a type of sustainable product, the price becomes the threshold for some

contemporary people to meet their needs. Should it have a threshold, or where should it be, and how to meet the interests of different stakeholders? These questions are thoughts at the end of this study and can also be avenues for future research.

THE DEFINITION OF SUSTAINABLE PRODUCT

At the beginning of this study, this research did not rashly define second-hand clothes as a sustainable product, but combined with practice theory, trying to integrate second-hand clothes consumption and sustainable consumption to explore what second-hand clothes consumption is. The reason for this is that many studies such as Karmarkar and Bolinger (2015), Ye et al. (2020) have raised a question of how to define a sustainable product. In this research, the definition of material objects is an important topic. Consumers' different definitions of second-hand clothes reflect differences in their understanding, knowledge, and even lifestyles. And combined with the philosophical basis of interpretivism of this study, the question of what exactly is 'second-hand clothes consumption' appears to be considerably meaningful. Therefore, this study believes that future research can explore in more depth what a specific product is in the eyes of consumers, in order to explore the definition of sustainable product, and thus have a more comprehensive understanding of sustainable consumption.

THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON SECOND-HAND CLOTHES CONSUMPTION

Many shops have closed down due to the COVID-19 pandemic, such as WE ARE COW, a chain of second-hand clothes shops in the city centre of Sheffield. Many scholars (Roggeveen and Sethuraman, 2020, Končar et al., 2021, D'Adamo and Lupi, 2021) have discussed the impact of covid-19 on the retail industry and changes in consumer behavior. Although this research has been affected by COVID-19 to a certain extent, future research can conduct deeper research on this issue, such as the hygiene issues of second-hand clothes and changes in retail strategies discussed in this study. The exploration of these issues in the post COVID-19 era can be regarded as a future research avenue.

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8. APPENDIX

8.1. ETHICS APPROVAL



Downloaded: 24/10/2021
Approved: 29/04/2020

Xiaoye Fu
Registration number: 170142504
Management School
Programme: PhD Management Full Time

Dear Xiaoye

PROJECT TITLE: Old Clothes, New Consumption: Exploring Second-hand Consumption Practice in the UK
APPLICATION: Reference Number 032401

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 29/04/2020 the above-named project was **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following documentation that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form 032401 (form submission date: 24/04/2020); (expected project end date: 30/04/2020).
- Participant information sheet 1078403 version 1 (24/04/2020).
- Participant information sheet 1074139 version 3 (28/02/2020).
- Participant consent form 1076233 version 1 (28/02/2020).
- Participant consent form 1074140 version 2 (28/02/2020).

If during the course of the project you need to [deviate significantly from the above-approved documentation](#) please inform me since written approval will be required.

Your responsibilities in delivering this research project are set out at the end of this letter.

Yours sincerely

Sophie May
Ethics Administrator
Management School

Please note the following responsibilities of the researcher in delivering the research project:

- The project must abide by the University's Research Ethics Policy: <https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/rs/ethicsandintegrity/ethicspolicy/approval-procedure>
- The project must abide by the University's Good Research & Innovation Practices Policy: https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.671066!/file/GRIPPpolicy.pdf
- The researcher must inform their supervisor (in the case of a student) or Ethics Administrator (in the case of a member of staff) of any significant changes to the project or the approved documentation.
- The researcher must comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data.
- The researcher is responsible for effectively managing the data collected both during and after the end of the project in line with best practice, and any relevant legislative, regulatory or contractual requirements.

8.2. RECRUIT FORM

Interview Invitation

Old Clothes, New Consumption: Exploring Second-hand Clothes Consumption Practices in the UK



What my research project is about

Have you ever bought second-hand clothes? wherever from second-hand shops, vintage shops, thrift shops, charity shops or from any online platform, we would like to hear from you!

The negative environmental and social impacts caused by the fashion industry, as well as the phenomenon of overproduction and overconsumption call for a movement toward sustainable development and more research in sustainable production and consumption. Being promoted by UK's government while lacking sufficient research and updated evidence, **second-hand apparel consumption, therefore, serves as the object of my research.**

So, we would like to invite you to **share your own story about second-hand clothes consumption.** Also, before the interview, we would be appreciated if you could prepare three pictures of your favourite clothes, favourite second-hand clothes and your wardrobe. The time limit for each interview of this research project will be approximately 1 hour.

Who we are looking for:

*who has bought second-hand clothes from any second-hand channels.

*As my research target is UK market, so British would be the best

Researcher Profile:

Xiaoye Fu (Neo): PhD student in Management School, The University of Sheffield



Email: xfu8@sheffield.ac.uk

Supervisors:

Dr Panayiota Alevizou:
p.j.alevizou@sheffield.ac.uk

Dr Ranis Cheng:
r.cheng@sheffield.ac.uk



Sheffield University Management School.

8.3. INFORMATION SHEET

Participant Information Sheet

1. Research Project Title:

Old Clothes, New Consumption: Exploring Second-hand Consumption Practice in the UK

2. Invitation paragraph

You are kindly invited to participate the interview for “Old Clothes, New Consumption: Exploring Second-hand Consumption Practice in the UK” by Xiaoye Fu from Management School, The University of Sheffield. This research has been ethically reviewed by the Management School's ethic reviewers following University of Sheffield's ethics guidelines. Please take time to carefully read the information provided about the importance of this project and what it would involve. Do not hesitate to contact me for any clarification you may require and do take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading.

3. What is the project’s purpose?

Aim:

The aim of this research is to explore the sustainable second-hand fashion consumption in the UK.

Objectives:

The first objective of this study is to explore potential ‘spaces’ where consumers seem to engage in second-hand consumption practices. In the semi-structured interview stage, this objective asks participants to provide the information about how they engaged with the consumption places of sustainable second-hand fashion items; in the observation stage, this objective asks researcher to observe the product range, servicescape of shops/events, the visitors flow rate and the basic routine of consumers ‘shopping.

The second objective of this study is to investigate consumers’ subjective background knowledge about second-hand consumption practices. This objective asks participants to provide the information about what do they know about sustainable second-hand fashion consumption.

The third objective of this study is to explore the symbolic and social meanings embodied in sustainable second-hand fashion consumption. This objective asks participants to provide the information about what do sustainable second-hand fashion consumption mean to them.

The fourth objective of this study is to explore the social norms and values embodied of sustainable second-hand fashion consumption. This objective asks participants to provide the information about individual-oriented values and social-environmental oriented values of sustainable second-hand fashion consumption, as well as the social norms around it.

4. Why have I been chosen?

I am inviting 40-45 British adults who are over 20 years old in any education level and gender and have bought second-hand fashion items. The exact age range for participants will be 20-75 years old.

5. Do I have to take part?

The participation in this project is entirely voluntary, if the participants do not wish to take part, there will be no negative consequences. I will describe the study and go through the information sheet, which we will give to you. We will then ask you to sign a consent form to show you agreement. You are free to withdraw at any time.

6. What will happen to me if I take part? What do I have to do?

If you are willing to participate with the interview:

This research project involves taking part in a life history interview to share your second-hand fashion consumption practice experience, to answer questions related to research topic and to provide three images of your wardrobe, favourite clothes and favourite second-hand clothes. Also, the interview will be recorded by the mobile phone of researcher and be kept properly.

The time limit for interview of this research will be approximately 1-2 hours.

If you are willing to participate with the observation:

This research project involves giving the access for research to observe the product range, servicescape of shops/events, the visitors flow rate and the basic routine of consumers 'shopping in the shops/events, as well as to take pictures of and to make field notes about observation field, which means the research needs get the consent from shop owners or managers for observation and photos.

Each observation will take 1-2 hours.

7. What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There is no potential risk of participating. I will keep the anonymity of the participants during the whole process of research. In addition, there is no physical or psychological risk.

8. What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Whilst there are no immediate benefits for those people participating in the project, it is hoped that this work will make contributions to a better environment and fashion industry.

9. Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?

All the information that I will collect from you during this research will be kept strictly confidential and will only be accessible to me and my supervisors. I will anonymize and number the data and coding documents. The computer and research files will be protected by strong password. No identifying information will be retained. The participants will be kept no traceable.

10. What is the legal basis for processing my personal data?

This study does not involve any legal basis.

11. What will happen to the data collected, and the results of the research project?

I will be analysing the data for my study by qualitative research method on personal computer. All the data will be destroyed after 2025, four years after I gain the Ph.D. degree, which is for the case of publication or journal review. In addition, the computer will be protected by strong password protection.

The findings of this research project will be reported in Mr. Fu Xiaoye's final PhD dissertation. And we also might report the findings on conferences and academic journals. If you would like to receive a copy of it, feel free to contact me (xfu8@sheffield.ac.uk). The participants will not be identified in any reports or published document. If participants have further questions, please contact my supervisor (Dr Panayiota Alevizou, Email: p.j.alevizou@sheffield.ac.uk).

12. Who is organising and funding the research?

The University of Sheffield Management School is organising the research.

13. Who is the Data Controller?

The University of Sheffield will act as the Data Controller for this study. This means that the University is responsible for looking after your information and using it properly.

14. Who has ethically reviewed the project?

This project has been ethically approved via the University of Sheffield's Ethics Review Procedure, as administered by Management School.

15. What if something goes wrong and I wish to complain about the research?

If this is the case, the detailed information and reason will be explained to the participants at first time and the interview or other participants-related research activities could be re-arranged flexibly. My supervisors and the University of Sheffield will be the person or organization that participants could contact for complaint. Also, the interviewees hold the right to withdraw freely if something goes wrong or due to personal reasons.

If the participants would like to complain, they could send email to the supervisor of researcher or the Head of the Marketing, International Enterprise and Strategy Division (MIES) of Sheffield Management School.

Supervisor: Dr Panayiota Alevizou, Email: p.j.alevizou@sheffield.ac.uk

Head of MIES: Prof Fraser Mcleay, Email: fraser.mcleay@sheffield.ac.uk

16. Contact for further information

Researcher:

Xiaoye Fu

xfu8@sheffield.ac.uk

contact number +44(0) 7410 077 470

Management School

The University of Sheffield

Supervisors:

Dr Panayiota Alevizou

p.j.alevizou@sheffield.ac.uk

Thanks for your participation!

8.4. CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEW

Old Clothes, New Consumption: Exploring Second-hand Consumption Practice in the UK

Consent Form

<i>Please tick the appropriate boxes</i>	Yes	No
Taking Part in the Project		
I have read and understood the project information sheet dated 25/02/2020 or the project has been fully explained to me. (If you will answer No to this question please do not proceed with this consent form until you are fully aware of what your participation in the project will mean.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to take part in the project. I understand that taking part in the project will include being interviewed.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to take part in the project. I understand that taking part in the project will include being recorded.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that my taking part is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time; I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part and there will be no adverse consequences if I choose to withdraw.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
How my information will be used during and after the project		
I understand my personal details such as name, phone number, address and email address etc. will not be revealed to people outside the project.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand and agree that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. I understand that I will not be named in these outputs unless I specifically request this.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers may use my data 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.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I give permission for the interview transcript that I provide to be deposited in the University of Sheffield, so it can be used for future research and learning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
So that the information you provide can be used legally by the researchers		
I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials generated as part of this project to The University of Sheffield.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Name of participant [printed]

Signature

Date

Name of Researcher [printed]

Signature

Date

Project contact details for further information:

Researcher: Xiaoye Fu, xfu8@sheffield.ac.uk,
contact number +44(0) 7410 077 470

Management School, The University of Sheffield

Supervisor: Dr Panayiota Alevizou, Email:

p.j.alevizou@sheffield.ac.uk

Dr Ranis Cheng, Email:

r.cheng@sheffield.ac.uk

8.5 CONSENT FORM FOR OBSERVATION

Old Clothes, New Consumption: Exploring Second-hand Consumption Practice in the UK

Consent Form

<i>Please tick the appropriate boxes</i>	Yes	No
Taking Part in the Project		
I have read and understood the project information sheet dated 25/02/2020 or the project has been fully explained to me. (If you will answer No to this question please do not proceed with this consent form until you are fully aware of what your participation in the project will mean.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to take part in the project. I understand that taking part in the project will include the shop being observed.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to take part in the project. I understand that taking part in the project will include the shop being photographed.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that my taking part is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time; I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part and there will be no adverse consequences if I choose to withdraw.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
How my information will be used during and after the project		
I understand my personal details such as name, phone number, address and email address etc. will not be revealed to people outside the project.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand and agree that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. I understand that I will not be named in these outputs unless I specifically request this.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers may use my data 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.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I give permission for the interview transcript that I provide to be deposited in the University of Sheffield, so it can be used for future research and learning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
So that the information you provide can be used legally by the researchers		
I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials generated as part of this project to The University of Sheffield.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Name of participant [printed] Signature Date

Name of Researcher [printed] Signature Date

Project contact details for further information:

Researcher: Xiaoye Fu, xfu8@sheffield.ac.uk,
contact number +44(0) 7410 077 470
Management School, The University of Sheffield
Supervisor: Dr Panayiota Alevizou, Email:

p.j.alevizou@sheffield.ac.uk

Dr Ranis Cheng, Email:

r.cheng@sheffield.ac.uk

8.6. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SHEET

Old Clothes, New Consumption: Exploring Second-hand Clothes Consumption Practice in the UK

Demographic Information:

Number of Participant	<i>To be filled out by the researcher</i>
Age	
Gender	
Level of Education	
Occupation	
Household Income	

Table 8. Demographic Information Sheet

8.7. BRIEF INTRODUCTION OF THIS RESEARCH


Old Clothes, New Consumption: Exploring Second-hand Clothes Consumption Practice in the UK

The negative environmental and social issues caused by the fashion industry, as well as the phenomenon of overproduction and overconsumption call for a movement toward sustainable development and more research in sustainable production and consumption. Being promoted by UK's government while lacking sufficient research and evidence, second-hand apparel consumption, therefore, serves as the object of my research. Rationalist approaches based on the principle of "rational choice" have been widely-used for sustainable consumption research but have met significant issues in the current age. The weak relationship between knowledge, attitude, value and actions, the hard-explained altruistic value by the principle of rational choice and the uncertainty of the existence of so-called sustainable consumers are three major challenges that rationalist approach is confronting. This research project, therefore, employed the Theory of Practice to study consumption practices of second-hand apparel. Based on the traditional definitions of practice and suggestions from researchers in fields of theory of practice and consumption, I have explored the second-hand apparel consumption practices based on three significant components of practice: material objects, competence, and meanings. The additional elements include consumption place, spillover effects, social norms and values will be studied as well to expand the framework of the theory of practice. To answer the research questions and achieve the research objectives, I will use the semi-structured life history interview for my project. The time limits for each interview will be approximately 2 hours.

8.8. RISK ASSESSMENT

NAME: Xiaoye Fu

RISK ASSESSMENT of personal safety

Research approach:	Field Work		
Location:	The cafés on campus or in city centre, retailing shops, public sale event.	Assessment date: 27/02/2020	

Specific activities or locations	Nature of hazard or potential harm to you?	Control measures taken by yourself	Risk Rating (with current controls)			Additional control measures Supervisor's recommendations to reduce the risks to a low level? (if needed)	Residual Risk		
			L	S	RR		L	S	RR
Interview/City Transport/travel		Walk, tram, train and Registered Taxi Only	1	1	Low Risk				
City Robbery and Theft		No valuables with researcher during interview or observation	1	1	Low Risk				
Interview/City Personal Abuse		No evening interview, and all interviews will take place in public places.	1	1	Low Risk				
Interview/City Sensitive content Sharing/Negative Feelings		Consumers have full rights to withdraw the interview and complain.	1	1	Low Risk				

L = likelihood, S = severity, RR = risk rating

Dr Panayiota Alevizou (supervisor)

alevizou

8.9. INTERVIEW GUIDE

Questions about prepared pictures of wardrobe, favourite clothes and second-hand clothes

Wardrobe

Could you please use a few words to describe your wardrobe?

Why do you use these words?

(Pick up one randomly) When was the last time you worn it? And why wouldn't wear it anymore?

Which is your favorite item in this wardrobe? And why?

Favourite

Could you please tell me why this one is your favourite?

Why did you buy it at that time?

Second-hand

Which one is your favourite second-hand clothes?

Could you please tell me why this is your favourite second-hand clothes?

Can you recall the scenes and related occasions when you first bought second-hand clothes?

Could you please tell me how often you buy second-hand clothes? and total spend?

What do you think about the current second-hand clothing market? is it getting popular?

What are the main barriers or difficulties for consumers to buy second-hand clothes?

Could you please use a few words or sentences to describe your current habit of buying clothes?

Could you please share your story about buying clothes in different stages of your life?

In terms of lifestyle, could you please describe your current lifestyle briefly?

In addition, what kind of lifestyle/life you are chasing for?

Research question 1: Places of practice

As a purchase habit, where do you usually get second-hand clothes from?

How do you know those shops/platforms?

How do those shops/platforms influence your shopping experience?

Could you please use a few words to describe the most important factors that second-hand clothing channels attract you?

Normally, in what kind of occasions, you would wear second-hand clothes? and why?

How do you deal with your unwanted clothes?

Research question 2: background knowledge

The first time you bought second-hand clothes, what did you know about them?

What about now? what do you know about them?

What's your opinion about the fashion industry's impact on society or environment?

What's your understanding about sustainability?

What do you think about ethical/green/sustainable consumption? Is second-hand clothing consumption included? Why?

Through buying second-hand clothes, do you consider yourself as ethical/green/sustainable consumer? and Why?

Could you please describe that how background knowledge about those social and environmental problems affect your decision-making in terms of second-hand clothes consumption?

Could you please describe that how background knowledge about the solutions to those environmental and social problems affect your decision-making in terms of second-hand clothes consumption?

In your opinion, what are the most urgent needs of UK's society on sustainability?

Research question 3: sustainable consumption

Have you ever bought any products being labelled as ethical-green/sustainable?

Why did you buy it (them)?

In your opinion, what is the most effective way of sustainable consumption? and why?

In your opinion, what is the role of media on sustainable consumption? /fashion consumption?

Just in your opinion, how to improve the consumers' awareness and participation in second-hand clothes consumption?

Just in your opinion, how to improve the consumers' awareness and participation in sustainable consumption?

In your opinion, what are the major motivation for consumers to engage with sustainable consumption?

Research question 4: social/symbolic meanings

In your opinion, what do second-hand clothes mean to you?

What kind of consumers would likely to buy second-hand clothes? and why?

What do you think about the fashion trend currently? And do you think second-hand clothing fit that trend?

Research question 5: social norm and value

Social norms

Could you please briefly describe the habit of fashion purchase or dressing style of people you are familiar with?

Do you think how their habits or styles affect yours?

When you wear second-hand clothes, what were the reactions of people close to you?

Do you think, in terms of fashion consumption, are you easily be influenced by others/trends?

Value

In terms of current social/ecological issues surrounding the fashion industry, who do you think should be responsible for these? And why?

Have you noticed or heard of some news about terrible accidents of fast fashion factories in some developing countries? How do you feel?

What do you think about the associations between overconsumption and those terrible accidents?

Some social activities or radical socialists ask us to consume less, this may lead to lower growth rate of economics, what do you think about the balance between economic growth and lower-level of fashion consumption?

8.10. OBSERVATION PROTOCOL

Observation site:

Date of observation:

Length of observation:

Descriptive Notes (texts and photos)	Reflective Notes

Table 9. Observation Protocol

8.11. THE PART OF SPECIFIC GENERATION OF THE INITIAL CODES

-
- would like to pay premium for sustainable brand
 - Worry less about the economy than about the environment
 - wide range of clothes
 - think totally sustainable is impossible
 - the balance between price and quality
 - tend to buy more in sh shop
 - sustainable product has to meet the needs
 - sustainable issues play small role in clothes purchase
 - strong personal lifestyle can resist peer pressure
 - sh shops boom recently
 - sh shopping is part of pastime
 - sh shop locates on the routine
 - sh shop is a great place to get trendy designer clothes
 - sh mobile app is interesting
 - sh mobile app gathered people in similar generation
 - sh clothes type is restricted by city provision
 - sh boom_city centres decline
 - sell things through online sh platform
 - sell things on sh mobile app
 - sell things in car-boot sales
 - rummage is fun
 - retailing issue_expensive rent
 - retailing enviroment has significant impact
 - purchase place is restricted by phsical environment
 - prefer to keep clothes
 - positive emotion to uniqueness
 - people should to be sustainable from individual level
 - people prefer affordable fashion
 - people like to reuse things
 - online sh platforms are not for clothes
 - not confident in self if wearing unique clothes
 - no fast fashion_ethic issue
 - negative emotion to sometype of luxury brand
 - negative emotion to fast fashion

8.12. CODES FOR OBSERVATION DATA (PARTIAL 1)

Observation site: SHS004

Date of observation: 13-02-2020

Length of observation: 1.5h

Descriptive Notes (texts and photos)	Reflective Notes
When I found the shop, I found it located in the downtown business district, surrounded by office and government buildings, tourist attractions and fine restaurants.	The location of this shop indicates that the target customers are likely to be white-collar workers, students, tourists and residents of the neighbourhood. And the relative income level is not low.
Upon entering the shop, you will find that the exterior of the shop is decorated in a similar style to fast fashion such as Zara.	The black colour seems to be intended to reflect a sense of simplicity and sophistication. A similar décor to Zara seems to reinforce a certain fashion identity.
The first thing you see when you walk into the shop is a huge in-store advertisement in white on a black background about SUSTAINABILITY.	As soon as I entered the shop you will notice the publicity about sustainability, which to a certain extent reinforces the sustainable image that the shop is trying to achieve.
The clothing in the shop is clearly classified according to criteria, such as coats, jackets, shirts and trade. However,	The clear classification of products under bright light allows consumers to find the products they want more

<p>they are not classified according to colour.</p>	<p>quickly and to get a good idea of the quality of the products.</p>
<p>The shop has many in-store advertisements about recycle and reuse. There are also many promotional adverts as well as information on student discounts.</p>	<p>This in-store advertising continues to reinforce the sustainable image of the shop, and the explicitly stated content or digital sources indirectly give the recycle and reuse a social norm character. At the same time, it is profitable for the consumer. It also attracts more students.</p>
<p>Unlike many other second-hand clothing shops, the shop is decorated with lots of greenery.</p>	<p>Unlike many of the previously observed shops, the greenery does not give the researcher a 'vintage' or 'nostalgia' feel, but the greenery reinforces a natural feel.</p>
<p>The shop is bright</p>	<p>The bright light in the shop makes the clothes look clean and consumers are able to identify well the quality of some second-hand clothes.</p>
<p>The shop has very formal fitting rooms. Two rooms.</p>	<p>Compared to many other second-hand clothing shops with simple fitting rooms made of curtains, this shop's fitting rooms are very formal, meeting consumers' needs for trying on clothes and weakening some of the 'informality' of the second-hand clothing consumption channel.</p>

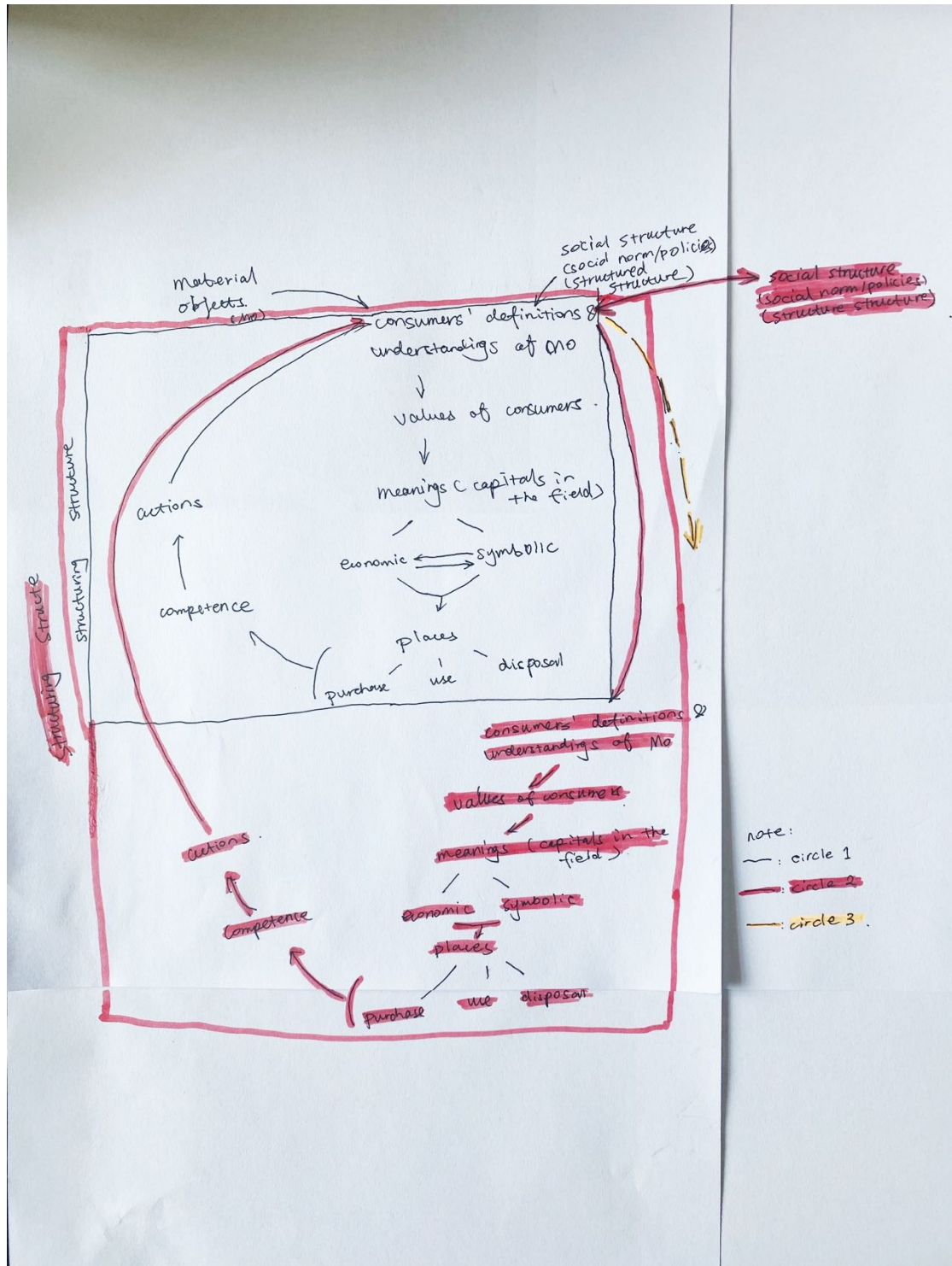
8.13. CODES FOR OBSERVATION DATA (PARTIAL 2)



Descriptive Notes (texts and photos)	Reflective Notes
1. softer light	This light makes it easy to relax, but with some of the darker colours, it is somewhat difficult for consumers to identify period specific differences and quality flaws.
2. Cartoon character ornament	This ornamentation adds interest and shows uniqueness to the style of the shop.
3. Staff wearing diy second-hand denim jackets	This costume for the staff reinforces the shop's unique image and also acts as a 'walking' model to showcase the shop's clothing.

4. Stained wooden floor	The mottled wooden flooring conveys a vintage and welcoming atmosphere.
5. Animal specimens (not sure if they are genuine, they may be artefacts)	This ornamentation adds interest and shows uniqueness to the style of the shop.
6. Posters with nude elements	This poster conveys an element of youth and rebellion.
7. Small black sculpture	This sculpture conveys an element of uniqueness and rebellion.
8. Foreign cultural elements charm	This ornamentation adds interest and shows uniqueness to the style of the shop.
9. Poster for the 90's animated film Tom and Jerry	The content of animated films, which were popular worldwide in the 90s, can bring the shop closer to the consumer and add to the fun of the shop.

8.14. THE SAMPLE OF INITIAL THEME GENERATION DIAGRAM



8.15. QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS TEMPLATES

Theme	Subtheme level 1	Subtheme level 2	Subtheme level 3	
1) Field: place & objects (CH 4.1)	Places (CH 4.1.1)	Purchase places		
		Special places		
		Circle of consumption		
		Special places CH		
		Place of production (disposal) CH (4.1.1.3)	Out-circle	
			In-circle	
			Keep	
2) Capitals(competence & meanings) 4.2	Competence (CH 4.2.1 & 2)	Definitions		
		Popularity		
		Knowledge/understanding (CH 4.2.1)		
		Can do (CH 4.2.2)	Know how (CH 4.2.2.1 & 4.2.2.3)	
			Available time (CH 4.2.2.2)	
			Available place (CH 4.2.2.4)	
		Meanings (CH 4.2.3)	Impeding (CH 4.2.3.1)	Simplicity
				Hygiene
				Distrust
				Low income & other
		Low level of fashion		
	Economic (CH 4.2.3.2)	Save money		
		Fragility		
		Big brand		
		Bargain		
	Symbolic and social (CH 4.2.3.3)	Treasure		
		Nostalgia		
		Vintage		
		Fashion		
		Uniqueness		
		Subculture		
		Rebellion		
		Social and community		
		Sustainability		
3) Values and social norm 4.2	Values (CH 4.2.4)	Egoistic (CH 4.2.4.1 & 2 & 3)	Consumerism (CH 4.2.4.1)	
			Self-interested (CH 4.2.4.2)	
			Altruistic (CH 4.2.4.5)	
			Complicated value mix (CH 4.2.4.4 & 6)	Value mix (CH 4.2.4.4)
		Empathy (CH 4.2.4.6)		
	Social norm (CH 4.1.2)			
4) Social class 4.3	Market segment (product,place, promotion) (CH 4.3.1)			
		Price (CH 4.3.2)		
		Quality (CH 4.3.3)		
5) Spillover effect 4.4	Positive spillover (CH 4.4.1 and 4.4.2)	Promoting (CH 4.4.1)	Place_s (CH 4.4.1.1)	
			Price_s_1 (CH 4.4.1.3)	
			Decision-making_p (CH 4.4.1.2)	
			Sustainable consumer (CH 4.4.1.4)	
			Cross places (CH 4.4.1.5)	
			Shared belief (CH 4.4.1.6)	
			Hindering (CH 4.4.2)	Price_s_h (CH 4.4.2.1)
				Product_s (CH 4.4.2.2)
				Decision-making_h (CH 4.4.2.3)
				Knowledge_s (CH 4.4.2.4)
	Rebound effect (CH 4.4.3)			

Table 10. Theme Template

8.16 EXCERPT OF AN INTERVIEW

Transcript 001

I: Researcher

P001: Participant 001

I: The first question is, um, could you please use a few words to describe your wardrobe?

P001: Um, sporty, hoodies, a lot of black.

I: a lot of black? Um, it's typical man's wardrobe.

P001: Hahaha, yeah.

I: And so that's kind of your dressing style? like hoodies? Sports?

P001: Yeah, I play lots also required lots of sports stuff but yeah, me...England is pretty cold. So that just was what you did on your genes

I: The weather...

P001: they're so pretty... Um... I just... Black goes with anything.

I: Yes. So, have you ever bought so many? I mean, do you have so many clothes?

P001: No, gosh, like a piece of, that's quite low, because either way, I'll put a low.

I: Because, just for some of the people, there wardrobe cannot hold all of their clothes.

P001: Yeah, yeah, indeed.

I: Okay, so you said you have bought second-hand clothes, right? So, um, could you please tell me what kind of second-hand clothes you bought?

P001: Uh, I... I think I bought a... I went to...It's a vintage shop on Corner Street. I' bought an Arsenal top? like a football top.

I: Football top?

P001: Yeah. Football top, from a vintage store. Yes... most of my stuff are mostly... mostly like sports stuff, sports stuff. Yeah. So, like, um, jerseys. Ah... Yeah, sport jerseys.

I: Yeah, you mean you bought sports stuff from, like the in JD and from second-hand channel as well.

P001: Yeah yeah yeah yeah...

I: Okay, yeah. So, for the clothes, I mean second-hand clothes you have bought. Can you recall or remember which one is your favourite?

P001: Uh, my favourite. Probably. Yeah, probably my Arsenal top I'll say, yeah, because it is also my favourite team.

I: Oh yeah, that's awesome. I am a fan of Real Madrid.

P001: Oh hahahahaha. Cool.

I: Ok, so, no matter first-hand or second-hand, the main point is about sport, the football.

P001: Yeah, I think, yeah, well, I mean that's the only stuff I would buy as second and I think like fashion stuff I won't buy it, because it's very... I think I find it is very difficult to find good stuff, second hand...so I just buy fashion stuff like first-hand and oh, especially if they're on sale, mostly like, they are on sale. Um, but with football jerseys or basketball jerseys, it's like, well, why don't? because you know you're gonna sweat it or into a source of smoke? Yeah. Ok, so it was...yeah...

I: So, I mean, fashion stuff like this kind of top or something (point at my top), you still buy it from the first-hand channel, like Topshop...

P001: Yeah, sure.

I: Okay, so um, so how often do you buy second-hand clothes?

P001: Uh...

I: Once a year, month?

P001: Uh, gosh, I don't really keep track. Maybe I'm not sure, just whenever? just whatever...once two months. something like that.

I: Yeah. So, um, you know, I've been here for three years. So three years ago, I noticed that there are so many vintage shops on the west street or division street. So yeah, and so what do you think about the current second hand clothes market? Is it, I mean, is it getting popular or?

P001: Yeah, I think there's a lot. There's a lot more than, well, I remember they are going up, so I think they're more popular. It is good. But only problem I found with into shops is some... some stuff in that shop just. Is expensive? It's expensive. Yeah, some stuff there that can be, you know, you see that there's a t-shirt or jumper or a

jacket from the 90s or anything. Ok, I can get it for £5, but you see the price is like twenty-five or more. Yeah, well, this question, twenty-five pounds for something came out like twenty years ago. Um, but you know, I mean, yeah, I think people like old fashion. So I think that's why it's getting more popular.

I: So it means some kind of retro or nostalgia?

P001: yeah, yeah, yeah, probably nostalgia. or just to make themselves stand out the crowd.

I: Okay. And what do you think the relationship between the second hand market and the you mean like fast fashion market?

P001: between second-hand and what?

I: and fast fashion like, H&M, Topshop...

P001: ok, um..., what do you mean by relationship, as I think...

I: um, you know, just according to my experience, I think, you know, like vintage shops, especially those popular vintage shops, the stuff they sell is more similar, you know, with Topshop or something.

P001: Yeah, yeah, I think sometimes they are the same products.

I: yeah, yeah. similar.

P001: Yeah, it's true.

I: And for instance, some of my friends, um, some people buy second-hand clothes, may for sustainability, for green, for saving money. But they, you know, because of second-hand channel, they bought more clothes, you know, perhaps, for instance, two years ago, she would buy clothes, perhaps ten tops one months or something. But because of second-hand she bought ten tops from Topshop and five from second-hand. But sometimes they(products) are similar.

P001: Yeah, I know, I... I agree. it's like sometimes like it's the same stuff, not things that buyers like. If you're in a vintage shop, like, this stuff looks like something they could find in a normal shop, not vintage shop. So I think, if it is vintage shop, or should I just call it second-hand shop?

I: And actually, there's no clear boundaries in the market. there are no clear boundaries, especially current days.

P001: okay, yeah.

I: Uh, some shops call them like vintage shops and other thrift shops and whatever. But they are the same. Uh, yeah, that's why sometimes. And it's confused because I

was volunteer for Oxfam. Yeah, like you said the price, you know, in charity shop, I remember that when I did pricing job. a top, perhaps for one pound, um, two pounds. Yeah, something from Marks and Spencer, perhaps three pounds at most. But I... you know, I mean second hand shops on West street, Yeah, I bought a jacket, cost me thirty or thirty-six, or forty.

P001: Um, that's too much for things.

I: You know, many like shirts and t shirts of shares or something, averagely, I think twenty to twenty five. It's much more expensive than H&M.

P001: Yeah, yeah. that is ridiculous.

I: Yeah, because, according to the paper I've read, and you know, like the motive for people to buy second-hand clothes, perhaps saving money.

P001: Yeah, yeah. But for this shop, they're not save money on it.

I: Yeah, so that's something strange, uh, so you know, I mean part of my research is about the social class or something, because initially the second-hand channel, it should be for the people like they want to save money, they want to save the planet. But for now, no, it's more like other...um um, that becomes more commercial. There are so many capitals behind... it became more commercial.

P001: Yeah, yeah, I know, I totally agree with you, man, It's different. I don't see why a second-hand shop should be charging that price. I think it should be maximum fifteen pounds. Uh, max, maybe even like even ten, like you said like, when we're not grow-up, you go to a charity shop, everything is like fifty p, a pound, two pounds, that really cheap. But now it's like, it's not, why I have to pay more than ten pounds in a second or charity shop. Yeah, I mean that my dad bought me like a shirt once from uh, like I think of vintage shop or charity shop. But it smells? Like it's more of uh, had a very smoky smell. I don't know how much he bought for, but i'm like, this is obviously clearly second hand, which is fine. But then they need to cut it(price). They need to cut the price off, if it makes sense, but I think it is too much.

I: yeah, so in your opinion, perhaps in the past, people buy them to save money, to be green. but for now, they are just for fashion?

P001: Yeah. Yes.

I: Do you think, also because of the tendency or trend people missing old days?

P001: Um, yes.

I: Do you know a brand called urban outfitter?

P001: Yeah, urban outfitter.

I: Since last year, they sell so many clothes with the old school style like eighties. or seventy's...

P001: Yeah, yeah. that's true. it's the fashion trend.

I: Okay. So, ok, so let's move to next sector. So how do you know about second-hand clothes? I mean, everybody has the first time to buy second-hand, how do you know that?

P001: Probably I think when... when my mom went to a charity shop?

I: So the first time, because of the parents?

P001: Yeah, uh, I was very young, and so maybe it's seven/eight, maybe no, maybe even six, six actually, but are very young. like primary school.

I: Yeah, yeah. Ok. So, um, could you please use a few words to describe your current habit of buying clothes, like the place or style or priority.

P001: Uh, oh, gosh, everything would change. I'm trying to change my fashion sense because I realized I was real lack fashion sense. Um, so slowly trying to change some trenches, by every month buy like one or two new things like I wanna get a black nice shirt, and I buy it like every month, because you just never know when you need, a shirt. I try find something to... buy... like, try at least one thing a month last year.

I: Ok, so here, it's some kind of evolution. So since you, at like the high school, you bought something. You have the specifics habit or something, and the university of college, and then you go to work and to current days, can you just describe that? You know, since the last days, to now, I mean the evolution from high school to now.

P001: Um, I think from high schools, I played a lot. So I mean when you're young you really don't care too much about fashion. So I was pretty much in tracks (????, not sure yet...) all the time. Cause pretty much as my school life was just school, training, home, like I had training five or six times a week. Even at weekend we had matches, so I didn't really need fashion much because I was always like in track suits just in control crowd calling (????, not sure yet...). Um, but recently I think I'm becoming more and more interested like in fashion and buying clothes and so.... So, it's been a slow evolution, but I think maybe cause I'm not playing as much sport I'm a lot more like social now than it was before. So, I know when you're out a lot, you obviously need different clothes. And you see what people are wearing. You know, God, man, I can't just go to a dinner wearing tracks is kind of also like jean or whatever. So yeah, it's been like a slow, but it's good evolution, yeah.

I: So that's because your work, your new life or you have hobbies or something?

P001: Yeah yeah basically yeah, basically. Yeah, I guess change of hobbies,

I: uh, perhaps. So for instance, like me, actually, to be honest, I never care about fashion stuff, but you know my girlfriend cares. So she always, it's like, could you please buy a new shirt?

P001: Hahahahah. yeah, yeah yeah!

I: Ok. Ah. Ok, so this kind of habit, um, in terms of second hand clothes. Has that changed over time?

P001: Uh, what? habit of buying second hand clothes?

I: Yeah, for instance, three years ago, the first time I came to the Great Britain, yeah, I bought like, um, just t-shirt or some stuff there. I just bought this kind of thing from second-hand shops. But for current days, sometimes I would buy like denim jacket or hats and t-shirt as well and some kind of shirts that serve as some type of jacket.

P001: Yeah, yeah, I know that.

I: So has your habit about second-hand consumption change?

P001: Eh, probably no. I think I wouldn't like, I still buy stuff from first-hand this year and just if I need to buy a private thing like boxing that owned by someone else, I think I have bought some boxing jersey. So that I prefer like the offer on the eBay or online, Yeah, just summer, do you know what I mean? Because I think because I don't really shop, I don't really go to shops. You know how people spend like a holiday shopping or social. How do we like that? Because the thing with the first-hand shop is you know what you're going to get. Yeah, as you like, you can look on the website before and then you can have a size guide and or if you're not sure about it. like, I'm different. I'm weird because my size is changing, the different stores I go to because my body built. So, like I'm quite sure I'm quite wide like so then sometimes a small would fit by sometimes small wouldn't fit because of my size. So, something like all basically. So, I know what I want to get about. I'll go into that store. Um, Yeah, I'll go into store and just to try out to see what size fits me. And then buy, while like in a vintage, don't you have to you know you need to have time and actually go through each of them in the shop, because you leave there, you come back next week or next month as completely different stuff. Yes, because I really don't like to spend a lot time shopping. I think that's probably why I don't really like to go to unless I know what I am looking for, like, a sport jersey or something. I just think it's too much hassle, like if I had happened to see one that's nice, you know, I'd like to try, but, yeah, but it's too much effort.

I: Yeah, you have to spend too much time. Yes, I think size may be another problem. I mean, you cannot find appropriate size for you easily in second hand shop.

P001: Yeah, it's just that's, let's see, that sort of another problem. If I find a top that I like in H&M, I know that they are having different sizes, in vintage shop, that might

be the only size that they have. if I really, really like it, but it's not my size, then nothing I can do about yeah, you know?

I: okay, yeah, I see. So, you mentioned eBay?

P001: Yeah?

I: So, um, and then especially for second-hand clothes, um, where do you get second hand clothes from? So you've mentioned vintage shops. So where else?

P001: Probably like, online, eBay, the great place, Gumtree, Depop is good.

I: Depop? And I remember that's a mobile phone app.

P001: Yeah, it's like eBay, but kind of like eBay. it's like eBay, but like a mobile one, but it's more specifically for clothes and stuff. But yes, it's similar to eBay in terms of like, people just put like, stuff on here and there. But it's good.

I: yeah, ah, I think Depop is much more fashionable, I think?

P001: More fashionable? Yeah, I think, I think Depop has a more like, eBay has a full, it's just like anything and everything.

I: It's like Gumtree?

P001: Yeah, Gumtree is the same, there's anything and everything, rather Depop is more specifically for clothes and the stuff that, footwear, just stuff that you actually wear and dress rather than, you know, because you can buy a lot more on the Gumtree or even eBay. Anyway, I think Depop is more focus what you got your clothes, jewellery and stuff. So that's good.

I: Okay, so how do you know this?

P001: Oh, my friend told me about Depop, but eBay, like everyone knows about eBay like, I think the first operational year of eBay was on YouTube, not YouTube, like a tv advert. everyone knows eBay. Gumtree, almost everyone, someone mentioned gumtree, but you know gumtree. These three places that I know really. Yeah, eBay, gumtree, Depop. So if I would buy something second-hand, like last time I bought a second trainers, cause trainer like Nike, yeah do you know much Nike trainers cost, if you want to buy a brand new straight from Nike, like hundred seventy pounds, while like on eBay, you can get for a hundred twenty or a hundred pounds. So like if I want if I see trainers I really like, I will have a look on eBay or local Depop to see how much they're selling for. so I think in terms of second hand I probably spend more money to buy second hand trainers than I do clothes.

I: Okay yeah.

P001: But unless it's like sporty or track suits, but it's very difficult to find something really nice. Second-hand I go to just like constantly like searching, you know?

I: yeah, yes. So look, in terms of these shops or platforms, How do they influence your shopping experience, for instance, for some specific shops, perhaps the decoration or something. You think, oh, it's good. So I will spend more time there, or for some online platform, because I'm not familiar with the online platforms.

P001: oh, you're not familiar with it?

I: Yes, I know eBay, I know gumtree, and I know Depop as well, but to be honest, I never bought things from there. So, is there any some you know like characters or features that attract you to buy things from there?

P001: Just that it's cheaper.

I: just cheaper?

P001: Yes, it's like if I want to buy a trainer, if I want to buy a Nike trainer, but in the store is one hundred seventy pounds, on eBay, some might for a hundred and twenty and a hundred pounds. But the only problem with that is it might be a fake.

I: Um... yeah.

P001: So, you've got to really know or trust person that is selling it, because just try to see if they have got good reviews and stuff. Because there are a lot of fake stuff, you know, all stuff is very similar, but they look good, but they're not the original. So I think that's one thing you have to be very aware of, if I have to say, but I mean like I think what I try to say is, you can get the same thing at a cheaper price. Like if you find something, you know, in a second hand store, you are not gonna find that anywhere else. Well, if you find in the first hand store, um, likely chances are someone else has that and they are selling it a cheaper price.

I: So yeah, I get what your point. and what about the physical shop?

P001: Uh, I think, yeah, I think that um, I think how it looks plays a big part. So you would like to spend more time in a place.

I: So for you, the most important factor to, you know, attract you to buy second thing is the price and the sport things?

P001: Yeah. price. If I can get it. So and even that looks nice and get it for cheaper, I don't care whether it's first hand or second-hand.

I: So have you ever been to some kind of flea market or?

P001: no, no, not really.

I: Because I noticed this kind of thing, that the flea market, a car boot sale in the academic paper. Yeah, but I have no idea what they really are.

P001: Ok, it's like, ah, like I went to a carboot, because they used to have a carboot, which behind my house where I used to live. But it's literally people just, all the stuff that they wanna sell, clothes, books, games, CDs. And then just hope that someone would buy them.

I: Yes. Well, so they have everything.

P001: Pretty much like. But again, it's the same thing with that you don't know what you're gonna get. So you may come one day and it's like there were everything and come back on and there was nothing.

I: So in your opinion, like, you know, shopping in second-hand shop, especially when the shops of the market or something. it's kind of spending time to look for something? it's like entertainment?

P001: Um, yeah, yeah.

I: like, spend your leisure time. Not because I want a coat, I go to the Topshop?

P001: Oh, yeah, yeah, like that.

I: so, um, the first time you bought second-hand clothes, then because of your mom, right?

P001: Oh, me, I didn't buy, and I was waiting for her when she bought. So that was the first time I was in that shop. but I think the first time that I bought it...Oh gosh, I don't, you know? I'm sure there must be.

I: So perhaps it's too common for you to buy things from second-hand channel, for instance. You know, some of my British friends? but they never bought second-hand clothes, but they bought second-hand books.

P001: Yeah, yeah, books, I buy second hand books. I think book. Yeah, I do. So books are something I always buy. Cause why you would pay ten pounds when you can pay like three pounds. but for clothes, I did mostly shop online because I just don't have time to go into bookstores or even just go to shops. And you know, because I am limited by the income, because my housemate works like in a charity. Um, uh, they take donations for sale.

I: Have you ever sell things on gumtree or eBay?

P001: I've never done that you know.

I: Why wouldn't you?

P001: It has been too much effort. It was too much effort, logistics, take pictures, write descriptions, put on the wait for someone to put an order based on whatever, then ship it off. It's long, man, yeah, it's too much effort. I don't think, the stuff that i'm selling, don't have that much value anyway. So, I won't do it for few pounds.

I: So to sum up, for second-hand clothes, you know the price and the convenience, perhaps they are much more important for you. you can save time save money. And yeah, yeah, yeah.

P001: Yeah, it' true.

I: Yeah, that's the point. we have the same life style.

P001: Hahahaha.

I: So when you bought second-hand clothes at the first time, what did you know? I mean, what did you know about them? not just knew they are second hand. Um, any aspect of second hand clothes. I mean, for instance, something about this channel. So charity shops, they do some charity things or and second hand clothes are more ethical. Something like that?

P001: Uh, I don't even know much just I know they're cheaper and basically the same thing. And just second is that just at the second hand, that's always wanted before not a ended up it (???.not sure yet...). I really don't really care about the, of course, the stuff. As long as I can get the clothes, I want them for cheap. I'm good. Yeah, I'm good.

I: Ok, so for now, what about now? You know, I mean, you don't care about like ethical issues?.

P001: Yeah, I don't, I don't force myself to know that.

I: Do you know about the news or something about the ethical things?

P001: Not much, but I know lot of people are crying about you know, ethical stuff or ethics.

I: so for social or ecological issues caused by fast fashion, what you know about them? like the social, environmental issues, negative especially, and pollutions or something. or for instance, do you know the accidents in like India or Bangladesh, the fast fashion accidents, the factory was explored?

P001: Oh, No, no, no.

I: Because I saw this news on BBC news. so many people died because of, you know, high working pressure. The company forced workers to work, perhaps fifteen, sixteen hours a day.

P001: Oh, gosh

I: So you don't know this kind of thing?

P001: You know, they don't come on the news, do they? So you don't usually know.

I: yeah, yeah, so any other knowledge or news about this kind of thing?

P001: Not really, because like I said they don't really like, unless they come on tv or on twitter or newspapers, you don't really hear about any of these things.

I: So what about the environment? Environmental problems?

P001: Yeah, no, not really.

I: You think, so you think fast fashion is good before?

P001: what? first-hand fashion?

I: Yeah, fast fashion like a H&M?

P001: Not, obviously they're very like immoral in a way that they do things. in those countries, all have factories in like in Malaysia, in Indonesia, where they pay them like three penny a day or something. And they sell those clothes like fifty pounds when they get three p to do it. so like I do know the whole thing is very immoral, but I don't think buying second-hand is a solution. causes the second-hand clothes had to go through that same process anyways.

I: So, yeah, more or less, you know about this kind of thing. But you know, you just don't care about it? Um, because, you know, I understand these kinds of things because, like some of my friends, we learn about this kind of thing. We know much about them, by the way, you know, in terms of buying clothes, we don't care.

P001: Yeah, because when I'm buying clothes, I don't think of the factory people. I just think I want this top or I want the trousers. I don't think, oh man, you know, that doesn't cost my money, it's just okay, I'll go and buy.

I: Yeah, but you know, one of my friend, um, he's from Malaysia. But you know, once he just said, you don't care about that, because you don't live there.

P001: Yeah, yeah, true, true.

I: you are far away from there. Yeah, but sometimes I just think about think about this kind of things myself, perhaps because of this. This (Great Britain) is where we live. We saw this kind of thing. So we never care about that.

P001: Yeah. I agree.

I: that's ok. although you don't care about ethical issues, but do you think second-hand clothes, it's kind of sustainable or ethical consumption? Do you think they are part of them?

P001: What? ethical or?

I: Ethical or green consumption? Uh, do you think second-hand is part of that?

P001: maybe. Uh, yeah, it could be, I guess it could be, but it's not the total solution, though.

I: Oh, yeah, why's that?

P001: Because um, because humans are humans, you know? we have desires. Like I said, the problem with second-hand stuff is you don't know what you're going to get, at least compared with first-hand, I thought, you know what you're going to get, you know, this stuff is, this stuff isn't. If I want this or that, like not everyone's got time to, if they design a second-hand store the way that first-hand store is, has different sizes. And so, you know, go to shop. if there was the same way as the first hand stores, then yeah, it would be ok, but the fact is that, you know, you need time to go to second-hand store. I'm actually know find whatever it is that you actually want to find. Because otherwise, you know you're just searching, searching, searching, and go to another shop, and searching, searching. And it might take your whole day to find one thing, well, here I can just go online and in twenty minutes find ten things I want to buy from ASOS, H&M, for second-hand shop, if you want to buy ten things, you have to spend a whole day or two days. Yeah, it is difficult one, it is part of the solution, but no...

I: So do you think you are an ethical or green consumer?

P001: No, no. Well I'm not a green consumer.

I: Why?

P001: Casue, I don't really care cause I was like, I'll go to the super market, I got this banana is fair trade. Yeah. But it cost like two pounds. I'm not, I'm not paying two pound for a banana. So no, yeah, no I get it, but I am not.

I: and organic thing?

P001: Yeah. Yeah, no. Well, sort of stuff, if it was cheaper, then I would, but quite funny. I think the problem with that is you have to be of a certain financial bracket to be able to be ethical or be green. So I was like, I think being ethical, being green, uh, it's a choice that not many people can afford.

I: So do you think this kind of ethical or green consumption is some privilege of wealthy people?

P001: yeah, it is, yeah, because I'm not like, you know, there's a reason why a lot of population are fat, like in the UK, like a lot. and there's a lot of people are in lower class, lower economic class. Yeah, you know, lower you know, economic background, they are obese. Why? Because if they don't have money or don't have much money, so if you've only got two pounds for dinner, would you go to McDonald's buy a big mac and chips for two pounds of food or would you go to Tesco and buy great?

I: Yeah, I understand.

P001: Yeah you now I mean? because they don't really have a choice. Um why like, someone who's rich has a choice they can choose. You know I don't want to eat McDonald's; I would like to spend a bit more to eat good stuff but because they can uh... forty the same thing with all these own organic stuffs is like yeah, it's cool. Great. But not everyone can afford to go organic or go green or go whatever? Because they are about price, if they were the same price or maybe just slightly more. But it's the difference is quite notable. So, it's bit okay, but now, no.

I: yeah. I totally understand you. Sometimes I just want to buy the cheapest thing.

P001: Yeah, yeah, yeah, like as long as you can give me good value for my money.

I: The value is important.

P001: yeah.

I: so, um, Okay, have you ever bought? This question, you have answered, which is have you ever bought any products being labelled as ethical, green, sustainable?

P001: No (laugh)

I: Okay, okay. Is that but sometimes, for instance, the refrigerator?

P001: Fridge? Yeah, I've never bought a fridge my whole life. My parents have, but everywhere I've lived would have already had a fridge. So I'm yet buying a such stuff.

I: So but for your parents, do they care about this kind of thing?

P001: No (laugh), I don't think so. I don't think so.

I: Because my, you know my father, sometimes he would like to buy them for sustainable or green or saving energy, something, but my mother doesn't care about it.

P001: I don't think my parents care that thing, they don't much care. No.

I: Ok, but do you think, not just you, perhaps your friends, do you think, um, they can change their behaviours because of, let me take an example, for instance, if I never

bought sustainable stuff, I never bought that. But one day, um, I go to a shop and found a great ethical thing, and I bought that. And then I bought more this kind of thing. So my behaviours became more greener? do you have similar experiences?

P001: Yeah, Ah, it could happen like, I know people have gone vegan after watching... like documentary, I was a vegan for a while or vegetarian, but they utterly.. (???, not sure yet...). I think it's just a matter of your circumstance. I think your circumstance plays a bigger part whether you can or can't do something like going green is so like I think you sometimes need to be aligned in order to do that. Your circumstances, your convictions, and your beliefs have to be aligned to for it to work. If it is not aligned, it will be very difficult, because as much as I have a desire like I obviously don't want to see anyone working in those conditions that they do in Indonesia, but the same time I'm broke. (laugh), So I need to buy stuff. And so, you know, some people can afford. But it is a thing whether they can or can't?

I: Yeah, I know that. But, okay, so in your opinion, what kind of social all symbolic meanings of second hand clothes? low price or?

P001: yeah, they should be low price, but not all of them are.

I: Ok

P001: some are very expensive.

I: And or I can ask this question in another way. So for social or symbol meanings of second-hand clothes, perhaps, the uniqueness or fashion, um, or as you've said, the low price, or probably low price, sometimes for some people, green or sustainability. So what, for you, what kind of social or symbolic meanings?

P001: I think, let me think of that...second-hand, cheaper. Yes. Low price. Yeah, uh, can also be of low quality, depends. because some, like vintage shop, or charity shop, thrift shop. They only take like good standard stuff. So you go there like everything looks pretty good stand, but the others, they just take anything like charity, they literally just to take anything. So you see some stuff and like so, so they might even have like hole on it or, not big, but just like some sort of something like that. That's something those things probably come to mind.

I: Yeah, okay, yeah. Um, so do you think what kind of consumers would like to buy second-hand clothes? What kind of people are going?

P001: Um, No idea. But like you've said, green people would want to go to healthy or save the world save the planet. You know, I think that they would.

I: But uh, yes, according to your experience, your observation?

P001: Um, I think people who like that vintage fashion, like people who are into the eighties, the nineties look, I think they are more like, need to go into those shops.

I: Yeah, and you know, I'm not sure whether you would agree with my opinion, because one, I've discussed this topic with my friend once, but you know, she said, perhaps people buy some time close because of uniqueness, because they are special. But for current fashion market, the whole mainstream market is being, you know, nostalgia, old school. So, they buy second-hand clothes because they want to fit in the tendency.

P001: Yeah, yeah, I agree. That's true. Yeah, yeah. I think that history, they wanna look old school, look in fashion. So yeah.

I: but they said they would the they seek for uniqueness. But this kind of uniqueness is kind of common thing because everybody seeks the same uniqueness.

P001: Yes, sure, I agree. Yeah. So it's a bit of a difficult in it. bit if difficult.

I: Yeah, because you know, this kind of topic, perhaps like a trick, because you know it's part of my research, because kind of false individualism. And I know western people like, you know, you prefer the individualism. You want to seek uniqueness, you would like to achieve personal dreams, but like us, the east Asian, we not that care about individual, we care about the group. So you know, for this kind of study, when thinking about individualism, uh, especially in terms of, clothes purchase, okay, so because you know everybody said, I buy second-hand clothes for uniqueness, but this kind of uniqueness, it should be fit in the mainstream fashion market. I'm not sure whether it is true.

P001: um, yeah, yes. it's difficult, I know that.

I: Yeah, anyway, okay. Could you please briefly describe the habit of fashion purchase or dressing style of people you are familiar with, like your parents, friends?

P001: Probably just like fashionable? fashionable. Um, um, like there's a lot of stripe. Everyone went to stripes and rip jeans. I don't like jeans. Just I think everyone's dressing the same things, don't they? Everyone just looks the same. where the fashion trend goes, everyone follows.

I: everyone bought things from Topshop, hahaha.

P001: Yes, everyone buy things from the same shop. But those are the only shops there. So you just going to.. like, you know.

I: Yeah, but Topshop is good I think, hahahahah.

P001: Yeah, I prefer RiverIsland.

I: Yes, but sometimes, RiverIsland is too slim.

P001: Too slim? hahahhaa, you can buy next size up. that would be ok. So you can look, I am wearing a RiveIsland, I bought it in a bigger size, it fits my shoulder, but a bit long.

I: So that's why I prefer topman, You know, you can buy things this oversized. it's comfortable.

P001: Yeah, yeah, that's true.

I: Yeah, you know, I just am not look so strong.

P001: You need to just drink like protein shakes, hum, yeah. Protein shakes, uh, uh, and eat meat too.

I: Ok, thanks. Let's back to our questions. Do you think their, you know, dressing style or habit affect yours?

P001: Sometimes they would. cause when you see them wearing anything, Oh, that looks good. Let me go and buy some, something that's similar. So yeah, they would affect me.

I: Okay, so when you first bought a second-hand clothes and dress that, what's the reaction of people close to you and so like, for instance, and if in china, and if one people buy second-hand clothes. The people around him or her may think, oh, it's not nice or. So in the UK, what's the reaction?

P001: Yeah... they may also think, Oh, it's not nice, but I think a lot we are more open to second hand shops than in China. lots of people would say, that's quite nice. Uh, but yeah, cause, here, generally. I don't think anybody cares if it's... (second-hand) as long as it looks nice. Nobody cares... I mean lots of people buy things from there.

I: Much more open about?

P001: yeah, much more open about the vintage shops or something.

I: Okay, so have you ever noticed that so many activities or programmes, you know, promoted by the UK's government to be green, ethical, or sustainable.

P001: I'm no... (hahahahaah), but I've already, I don't watch tv, I know what you think is so I don't care about. So I just, it just doesn't come across my way. You know, we just don't cross pass. So yeah, so sometimes you notice that you know that, but you ok, it's not my business.

I: Yeah, but uh, yeah, I don't really know to have ever to like I don't really see it. So yeah, because you know, um, I noticed there are some advertising, or slogan, like we are green, or we are ethical. Um, so I'm sometimes wondering, you know, living in

this kind of environment. Have you ever been feeling that being pushed to be green or ethical?

P001: me, personally, I don't care. Okay, I don't care about that sort of thing. So I don't care what, you know, I'm not caring, if (???,no sure yet), that's fine. That's cool. But ever different to me. I'm a very like, if I think in this way, then it is ok. That's ok. So if I don't care, I don't care. you can't make me do something that I don't want to do, especially by social pressure. You know, It maybe, yeah, it's different. maybe if it's like, your friendship group because it's close up, um, in terms of like the society. Yeah, I don't care.

I: You don't care. So, ok, yeah. So for those social pressures, you just want to live in your own way? You don't care about that?

P001: Yeah.

I: Okay, so like I said, there are so many, you know, negative social or environmental problems caused by fashion industry. So do you think who should take responsibility for that?

P001: Yeah, well, obviously the company, the companies that are hiring the workers, so they should take responsible that day. someone needs to hold a more accountable for their actions.

I: But you know, sometimes, the government and some, you know, like organizations, they always think that is customers responsibility. They ask us to consume less. so what do you think about it?

P001: Uh, well, yes, or no? some are really the company's fault, because if consumers really cared about it, then they will stop buying, buying it. But it's a fact that they keep buying. So, if the only way to make this company cares is to hit them where they hurt, that's their pocket. But if you keep give them the money, then they're not gonna care it. It is their responsibility. But at the same time, they don't have a legal right to do anything about it. So I think the only way is if people stopped paying their money, then that's when they will be forced to take action. But as long as you know, why would they increase their costs? You know, if it's not affecting their profits, I didn't know. So, yeah...

I: But you said the human are human. We have desires. we have demands to buy things. So, um, do you think this kind of overconsumption is the result of the manipulation of big company?

P001: yeah, yeah, yeah.

I: they do advertise...

P001: yeah, yeah, yeah, you know, and they have sales every month. So you have to spend more money. So they make you spend. But that's just yeah, it's like, there's a very, there's a big overconsumption thing in the UK like a massive big overconsumption.

I: And another question about, you know, although consume less, perhaps it's good for environment or the whole society, perhaps, because we would generate less damage to environment or something. But some people may say if we control our desire to buy things, the economy would be worse.

P001: Yeah, I know that is true.

I: So what do you think about the balance between the economic growth and environmental protection.

P001: Um, it's a tough one, you know, could you cannot just ruin the environment enough, for the next generation could have nothing left. Uh, yeah, it's difficult. it's one that worth a bigger discussion, like a proper discussion going forward.

I: Yeah, You know, but also I think it's like a paradox, because like you've said, if people are rich, they may pay more attention to ethical or sustainable things, that people are poor, they don't care about that?

P001: Yeah, it's true. One of the things, you can't, it has been like a proper discussion. You know, it is a difficult, it's no one that shows that they could. There is no right answer to it or there's no easy answer to it.

I: Yeah. Um. Ok, last question. Um. So, what do you think about some people who are willing to sacrifice their own benefits to support a group, a country, or even the whole society sustainable development? So for instance, and some people may willing to strictly control their desire, even they do not have that much money or they have so much money, but they will control their desire. They're living in a low carbon emission lifestyle. And also, you know, some people sacrifice their own time to pick up trash on public three. So what do you think about this kind of behaviours?

P001: Great, yeah, they're good people, we need more of them in society. but Not like me! But them. i'm good with it. Yeah, it's a great job. what they did, but I won't join them, but I will applaud them from far, hahahah.

I: you know, and sometimes I think I'm not one of them as well either. But do you think why we are? I mean, we are not part of them.

P001: Well, they've taken it like their own burden to save the world. I stopped and looking, which is fine. it's cool. I I don't share the same value with them, so....

I: Yeah, oh, yeah, one last question, how do you deal with your unwanted clothes?

P001: gosh, I think I should put him in a bag, send it to a charity shop. some of them.

I: OK, thanks.