

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

# **Changing Patterns of Consumerism: The Rise and Rise of the Second Hand**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree of

Master of Arts

In

Visual and Material Culture

at Massey University, Wellington

New Zealand

**Deborah Jan Noon**

**2011**

## **Abstract**

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the popularity of the second hand. In the wake of the conspicuous consumption which dominates the western world, where everything is new and available en masse, it seems to constitute a paradox. With the vast array of choice the consumer has today, the question of why the material culture of the second-hand market is so popular is intriguing. In this New Zealand study a two part approach was undertaken to answer this question. Firstly, interviews with both buyers and vendors of the second hand were conducted. Thirteen people in total were interviewed, six of whom were avid purchasers of the second hand and seven who were vendors of the second hand. Secondly, the voluminous popular literature was reviewed. This thesis takes a broader more holistic approach, rather than focusing on one particular aspect of second-hand consumption, as has been the predominant case thus far in international studies.

Because of this broader approach, four key categories were developed to make sense of and, frame the analysis of the research findings: the 'aesthetic', 'values', 'practices' and 'identity'. Each was conceptually broad but each also allowed for a particular line of enquiry within the broader field of inquiry.

Within the aesthetic category, the influence of lifestyle, style and fashion on second-hand consumption was a focal point. This study identified the second-hand market as an important vehicle of inclusion, especially in light of the current fashion for vintage clothing and retro goods. Within the values category, the concept of ethical consumption and the second hand was explored. My respondents did not give ethical consumption as a primary consideration for the choice to purchase second-hand goods. In contrast to

the growing literature on ethical consumption, this study found greater consideration was given to a moral obligation to give back and the enactment of a conscience of care in second-hand consumption.

The concept of thrift and other hedonistic motivations were the focus of the practices category. Thrift has been given little consideration in the literature yet was found to be very influential in respondent's choices especially in today's economic uncertainty. Of the more hedonistic motivations the findings echoed much of the conclusions identified in earlier literature on the second hand. The final category of research was identity. Reinforcing the existing academic literature, the importance of defining oneself and place in the world was found to be paramount. Differentiation and uniqueness were most valued and the second-hand market was privileged as the best source of goods with which to express one's identity. The overall findings of this study endorse and also qualify the current academic literature on the second hand. Given the small sample size in this research, it is hoped that this study will act as a stimulus to further research.

## **Acknowledgements**

This work would not have been possible without the support and love of my husband Michael whose patience, tolerance and encouraging words have kept me going to completion. Many thanks also to Dr Bronwyn Labrum who has been the most excellent mentor and whose guidance and feedback has been invaluable. I would also like to acknowledge and thank the participants in this study whose gave their time so generously to this research.

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named above is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, e-mail [humanethics@massey.ac.nz](mailto:humanethics@massey.ac.nz).

## Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Introduction	1
Defining the Terms	2
The Rise in Popularity of the Second Hand	4
The Literature on the Second Hand	5
The Historical Trade in Second-Hand Goods	7
The Sites of the Second-Hand Trade	14
Motivations for Buying Second-Hand Goods	17
Ethical Consumption	19
The Growth and Appeal of All Things Vintage and Retro	22
Research Methodology	30
Popular Literature	30
Interviews	31
Interview Analysis	31
Narrative Analysis	33
Chapter One: The (Life)Style Aesthetic and its Impact on the Second-Hand Market	35
The Rise of the Consumer Lifestyle	38
Style and Fashion	39
Lifestyle and the Aesthetic	41
Second Hand becomes On Trend	43
Celebrity Sells	46
The Lifestyle Aesthetic and the Second-Hand Market	49
Chapter Two: Exploring the Popularity of the Second-Hand Market as Ethical Consumption	52
Environmental Concerns and Overconsumption: The Reaction of Consumers	54
Ethical Consumption and Media Messages	57
Second-hand Market Supporting the Messages of Ethical Consumption	60
Is Quality an Accidental Driver of Ethical Consumption in the Second-Hand Market?	61

Ethical Consumption: Is it Only a Trend?	65
Buying the Second Hand: Is it Ethical Behaviour rather than Ethical Consumption?	67
Ethical Consumption and the Rise in the Popularity of the Second Hand	69
Chapter Three: Thrift and Fun as Motivations in the World of Second-Hand Shopping	72
Thrift by Definition and a Historical Precedent	73
The Second-Hand Market as a Source of Value	76
The Second-Hand Market in Today's Economic Climate	78
Being Thrifty is also Fun	80
Thrift and Fun are Equally Important in the Rise in Popularity of the Second Hand	85
Chapter Four: The Second-Hand Market and a Sense of Self and Place	87
The Object as an Expression of Self	89
The Appeal of Difference	90
The Second-Hand Market, the Collector and Counterculture	94
Authenticity, Originality and the Charm of History	97
Identity in a Post-Modern Society	102
The Impact of Communication Technologies	104
Identity and the Second-Hand Market	107
Conclusion: The Rise and Rise of the Second Hand	109
Bibliography	118
Appendix One: Popular Literature Review	128
Appendix Two: Respondent Demographic Profiles	132
Appendix Three: Respondent Questions	133

## Introduction

Consumerism has become the norm in the West. It is a world in which we live to shop, fuelled by an ever-increasing number of shopping malls and mega centres, and now the internet. It is further facilitated by endless media advertising campaigns tempting us with all manner of goods, catering to our every need (Arnold, 2009). It is also a world of the disposable, from paper cups to plastic bags and bottles, to computers and cars, all created on the premise of speed, convenience and obsolescence. If an object no longer works or has ceased to be attractive, it can easily be replaced with a newer version. In a world of the new then, with such a vast array of consumer choice, why is consumption of all things second-hand so popular today? What is it about the material culture of the second hand that makes it so enduring? What are the reasons for this? Exploring these issues is the focus of this thesis.

My interest in undertaking this thesis comes from being in the business of the second hand. I run a web-based business that sells antique, vintage and contemporary pieces for the home. Just as it has long fascinated me, I have often wondered what makes others so passionate about the buying of second-hand goods. From my perspective there is no one 'type' of person who buys second-hand items. My customers have ranged from young to old, from students to plastic surgeons. The popularity of the second hand is enduring and shows no sign of abatement. Within the genre of the second hand, there is a hierarchy of sites from which goods are sold, just as there is in first-hand retailing, from the op shop to the antique and design stores, all of which are considered in this study. Because of the multiple sites and discourses which surround them, it is important to first discuss the array of terms used and their meanings.



## Defining the Terms

'Second hand', 'antique', 'vintage' and 'retro' are words which are used to describe a raft of second-hand goods and design styles which proliferate in the mass media, in magazines, the internet and on the book shelf; and they are reflected in a new wave of design stores. What constitutes the second hand? The Oxford Dictionary defines second hand as 'having had a previous owner', 'not new' (2011, p.1). 'Second hand' is a broad definition to describe objects which are not new. The words antique, vintage and retro are also used to describe material objects that are second hand, but each has a slightly different meaning.

The word 'antique' describes 'a collectable object such as a piece of furniture or work of art that has a high value because of its age or quality' (Oxford Dictionary, 2011, p.1). An antique is commonly defined as an object of 100 years in age or older. It is a delineation used by New Zealand Customs and custom officials in many other parts of the world to determine whether an item is subject to import taxes or not. In New Zealand, this is detailed in the Customs Service 'Working Tariff Document' where antiques are stated to be 'of an age exceeding one hundred years' (New Zealand Customs Service, 2011, sec. XXI).

The word 'vintage' denotes 'something from the past of high quality, especially something representing the best of its kind' (Oxford Dictionary, 2011, p.1). Catherine Bardey (2002) refers to the word vintage as a "vogueish alias for 'second hand', 'used', sometimes 'retro'" (p.10). In the context of her book *Wearing Vintage* and within the genre of the 'second hand' where the term is most used, it refers to clothing and accessories (bags, shoes, scarves etc) from the past. The definitive beginning and end points of the time line for vintage are unclear, but are popularly accepted to range from the 1920s

through to the 1980s. Clothing and accessories before the 1920s are generally described as 'costume' or 'antique' (Bardey 2002, Bromley and Wojciechowska, 2008). Clothing and accessories after the 1980s are referred to as 'retro' (Bromley and Wojciechowska, 2008). Marilyn De Long, Barbara Heinemann and Kathryn Reiley (2005) make a further distinction. They state that when used to refer to clothing:

Vintage is differentiated from historical, antique, second hand, consignment, reused or resale clothing. In clothing, vintage usually involves the recognition of a special type or model, and knowing and appreciating such specifics as year or period when produced or worn (p.23).

The Oxford Dictionary definition of the word 'retro' is in three parts: 'imitative of a style or fashion from the recent past', 'short for retro rocket' and 'denoting action which is backward or reciprocal' (2011, p.1). Elizabeth Guffey notes that the word retro first entered the public arena during the 1960s space age, with the term 'retro rockets' (2006). The phrase described an opposite thrust of energy required to send space probes into orbit. The word retro was adopted to suggest a powerful counter to forward propulsion. Guffey (2006) also suggests that the term retro, as a form of revivalism, is not a recapitulation of the past per se, but rather one which focuses on the recent past.

To many people today, retro means our current love affair with all things 1950s/60s or as it is often termed, 'mid century modern'. Historically, there is evidence of a popular style or fashion of the recent past re-manifesting itself. The resurgence of all things Art Nouveau in the 1960s and the geometric style of Art Deco in the 1970s are examples (Samuel, 1994, Trocme, 2000, Guffey, 2006). Today the lines between what is antique, vintage or retro remain somewhat blurred. Individual perceptions are, according to Louise Crewe, Nicky Gregson, and Kate Brooks "intrinsically bound up with the retailers

(variable) knowledge and in turn their different relations to current trends with fashion, first cycle retailing and the second-hand market” (2003, p.62).

### **The Rise in Popularity of the Second Hand**

Globally the consumption of second-hand goods has grown considerably over the last fifty years, especially in the areas of clothing and household goods. According to Adrian Franklin (2011) in the United States alone, the second-hand market is a multi-billion dollar industry worth US\$4.1 billion in 2003, with second-hand clothing sales totalling US\$1 billion and garage sales US\$1 billion. In the United Kingdom, the car boot sale, the equivalent of the garage sale, has also witnessed exponential growth. An unpublished survey by the British Chamber of Commerce in 1993 revealed there were literally thousands of car boot sales taking place every week. Approximately a quarter of a million vehicles set up stalls, and four to five times that number of vehicles visited the event (Stone, Horne and Hibbert, 1996). The 1990s also saw the rapid expansion of charity shops in the United Kingdom, growing from 3200 in 1990 to 6500 by 1999 with an annual income of 350 million British pounds (Gregson and Crewe, 2003). However Franklin (2011) contends that it was the establishment of internet auction sites, beginning with eBay in 1995, which saw a dramatic rise in the availability of second-hand goods for sale. It was this change of venue that heralded the rapid global expansion of the second-hand market.

Ken Hillis, Michael Petit and Scott Epley in their book *Everyday eBay* state that in 2004, the website facilitated international sales of more than US\$34 billion. During the second quarter of 2005 alone, eBay had over 440 million listings and 157.3 million registered users worldwide (2006, p.1). In New Zealand, Trade Me is the dominant internet auction site. Since its inception in 2000, Trade Me has grown from 7350 listings and 8496 registered users to

6,012,348 listings and 2.4 million registered users as at March 2010 (O'Donnell, 2010, p. 212). Daily statistics available on the Trade Me site show that numbers continue to grow. Of the goods sold on Trade Me approximately fifty percent are second hand. The sale of antiques and collectables increased ten percent from that in 2010 and a further five percent to June 2011. The market demand for second-hand furniture has also increased by thirty percent year on year (Stevenson, 2011, p.1). The rise in popularity reflected in the number of car boot sales, garage sales, charity shops and internet sites selling second-hand goods, as well as antique fairs, second-hand book shops, retro goods and vintage clothing shops, demonstrates that it is an ever developing and expanding market. It is also one in which there is increasing specialisation, as well as market consolidation.

### **The Literature on the Second Hand**

Although there is clear evidence of the popularity of the second hand, the international academic literature concerning this is not extensive. This literature, most of which is British, is constrained in relation to the breadth of areas which have been researched. Scholars have written about the historical trade in second-hand goods, particularly clothing (Ginsburg, 1980, Lambert, 2004, Allerston, 1999, Sanderson, 1997, Lemire, 1991, Palmer and Hazel Clark, 2005). There is also research on the sites where the second hand is sold (Horne and Maddrell, 2002, Horne, 1998, Gregson and Crewe, 2003); exploration of the motivations for buying the second hand (Roux and Guiot, 2008, 2010, Bardhi and Arnould, 2005, Belk, Sherry and Wallendorf, 1988, Stone, Horne and Hibbert, 1996), and more recently there is work on the second hand as ethical consumption (Franklin, 2011, Soper, Ryle and Thomas, 2009, Littler, 2009, Humphery, 2010, Benett and O'Reilly, 2010). With the rise in interest in all things vintage and retro and the proliferation of second-hand design stores, there is a developing literature which explores its appeal

(Palmer and Clarke, 2005, Gregson, Brooks and Crewe, 2001, Bromley and Wojciechowska, 2008, Franklin, 2011).

Much of the international literature on the second hand is now quite old except for the recent work done by Dominique Roux and Denis Guiot (2008, 2010). The arguments for second-hand consumption as ethical consumption are tentative at best, while the literature on vintage and retro goods takes little account of these items as second hand by nature. Much of this later literature does not focus on the second hand per se, but rather encompasses it within broader studies relating to consumption, environmental concerns, fashion and trends. Although relevant, it also denotes a gap in the literature, one which allows for a greater concentration on the second hand itself.

In comparison to the international literature there is negligible New Zealand focussed literature. An article by Kerryn Pollock and Bronwyn Labrum (2010) on the second-hand trade in *Te Ara: The Online Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, provides an overview of both the formal and informal sites of the second-hand trade in New Zealand. On the government sustainability website (Ministry for the Environment, 2011, p.2) there is also an article on the benefits of buying second-hand goods in an effort to decrease the amount of waste being dumped in landfills. There are a number of pieces which refer to the second hand in the context of New Zealand histories relating to clothing and craft. A chapter on hand-me-downs by Labrum (2007) appears in the book *Looking Flash: Clothing in Aotearoa New Zealand*, and another by Fiona McKergow (2000) on dress in the 1940s and 50s in *Fragments: New Zealand Social & Cultural History*. A part of McKergow's chapter focuses on how clothing was reconstructed and refashioned in an era of 'make do and mend'. As well, there are references to second-hand goods in Rosemary McLeod's book *Thrift to Fantasy* (2005) describing her family history and related vintage linen collection. There is also the DVD of the movie *Second Hand*

*Wedding* (2008) a contemporary comedy drama, which highlights the New Zealand love of garage sales and finding the elusive bargain. Given the lack of New Zealand based studies, this thesis will begin to close a very wide gap in the New Zealand literature. Although there is not an extensive body of international and New Zealand literature specifically on the second hand, there have been studies conducted which have focussed on various aspects of the second-hand trade. These are discussed in the next four sections.

### **The Historical Trade in Second-Hand Goods**

Throughout history there has always been second-hand clothing and goods available. During the pre-industrial and early industrial period, one of the most common commercial transactions was trading in second-hand clothes. It channelled garments of both utility and fashion, meeting the needs of a significant segment of the population, ranging from the middle class to the very poor. As Madeleine Ginsberg states “In clothing the poor – and the not quite rich enough; [the second hand trade] dealt in need and aspiration” (1980, p.121). Beverley Lemire (1991) contends that clothes fulfilled many functions, the most important of which was social identification. One could be seen as ‘fashionable’ by wearing a dress of quality. This enabled the wearer to appear as they desired to be. Value was determined by fabric composition, its condition, plus any features which gave the garment status as a fashion item. Often a marker of status and wealth, wearing a fashionable garment denoted an individual as belonging (or aspiring to belong) to a particular social group and/or class within society.

Dealing in second-hand clothing was regarded as a respectable and profitable way of earning a living. There was a hierarchy of vendors within the trade. At the top were the ‘clothes brokers’ or ‘salesmen’, most often tailors who either, altered, reconstructed or refashioned second-hand clothing according

to the need or desire of their customers. At the next level were the pawnbrokers who bought, sold and sometimes even hired out second-hand clothes. Those who brought clothes to the pawnbrokers received either cash in lieu of the garment or credit with the item of cloth held as collateral (a pledge). Clothes were also sold at the 'roup' or auction (Sanderson, 1997). The valuing and rousing of a deceased person's estate, their clothes and effects, was often carried out in order to settle an estate and pay any creditors.

As the trade was both large and lucrative, clothing was often the subject of theft and commonly ill-gotten gains were sold to the pawnbroker (either knowingly or unknowingly). Stolen clothing added immeasurably to the total volume of clothing available for resale or exchange (Lemire, 1991). Many in related trades also sold second-hand clothes: the milliners, the shoemakers, and the haberdashers. Such was their popularity, often those in completely unrelated trades also added second-hand clothing to their list of wares.

Second-hand clothing became a form of currency. Lemire (1991) notes that earthen-ware hawkers in particular accepted worn clothing in exchange for new sets of pottery or china. A gentleman's suit could be exchanged for a tea service, an old coat for a sugar basin and jug, a top hat for an aspidistra. Ginsberg (1980) suggests it was a trade which persisted until World War Two when clothing shortages prompted a return to ready money transactions. This barter process implicitly accepted the resale value of clothing, extending the capacity to purchase to a broader section of the population. Non-cash payment widened the opportunity and choices for many, facilitating active participation in the marketplace with resulting increases in overall productivity.

In sum, the second-hand clothing trade performed key social and economic functions. Not only did it help to distribute an expensive and scarce commodity, that of cloth, but it also supplied a market which otherwise could not afford such luxuries. It greatly facilitated the settlement of people's estates after death or insolvency, as well as offering a source of employment to a broad section of the populace (Allerston, 1999).

Although there is less written about other kinds of second-hand trade, an article by Clive Edwards and Margaret Ponsonby (2008) on the sale and consumption of second-hand furniture in the period 1750-1900, reiterates key elements of the findings of those writing about the second-hand trade in clothing. The trade in second-hand furniture also flourished as first, a way to meet the needs of the poor and second, as a form of social identification. Edwards and Ponsonby (2008) contend that in the early modern period, people were less likely to make a distinction between the first and second hand. It was simply a means to get what was required for the household. Furniture was often repaired, reconstructed and/or refashioned. Whether first or second hand, furniture was seen as a long term investment requiring care if its longevity was to be maintained. Quality was an important criterion for purchase and homemakers were advised to buy the best they could afford. The better quality furniture was sourced via auction and often came from the estate or country house sales of wealthier families. As with second-hand clothing, furniture was also sold by those in the trade, the cabinet makers and upholsterers and to a lesser extent through the pawnbroker or market stall.

In an article by Susan Porter Benson (2007) on second-hand goods during the interwar years (1918-1939), second-hand furniture was seen by working-class families to be a worthy investment. It was one which could be turned to cash when times became hard or when the capital invested could be put to



better use. The sale of furniture became a backstop when times were harder and often provided for the family during periods of unemployment. At this time, the second-hand furniture market flourished because it offered the opportunity for families to be both buyers and sellers as need dictated.

Although second-hand furniture was often purchased for very practical reasons, the acquisition of furniture also took on a new meaning for homemakers. This manifested itself as the need to construct an identity for oneself, particularly within the new and rising middle class. In the nineteenth century it became crucial to one's identity within the classes, to distinguish the sources of purchase and to ensure one did so only from firms located in the better areas of the town. The home became an important space in which to showcase who you were and to find your place in society. Furniture of good quality, especially aged furniture, had provenance, history, and was seen as emblematic of genteel status. Furniture in the genteel classes was often bequeathed: handed down through the family line. For many with newly-acquired middle-class status, often there was no quality furniture to be handed down, so quality second-hand and aged furniture was voraciously searched for. During this same time the 'antique' came into being.

According to Deborah Cohen (2006), it was eighteenth century furniture that became the choice for most people as it was hailed as the golden age of British craftsmanship. It was close enough in time for people to imagine, yet distant enough from the 'modern world'. Antiques stood for absolute hierarchies of value, created within rigid systems of worth. Cohen contends that:

To cherish antiques was to proclaim a taste that required cultivation beyond the means of the vast majority. For those who embraced them, antiques offered a form of distinction, cultural capital all the more precious for the fact that it retained exclusivity in an ever increasingly homogeneous world (2006, p.155).

In England, the first sign of the taste in collecting all things antique began in the 1860s with the 'china mania'. This craze was sparked by Lady Charlotte Schrieber who was said to have scoured European villas and shops in search of fine porcelain and china. The 'china mania' caught the imagination not only of serious collectors but also the general public. The obsession soon extended to include silver, pewter, bric-a-brac and furniture (Cohen, 2006). Antiques were bought and sold in the markets, the auction rooms and every department store and furniture emporium had an antiques department. Collecting antiques became a 'modern passion' in an era defined by the need for self expression (Cohen, 2006, p. 150).

By the end of the nineteenth century, ready-made clothing and the greater availability of mass-produced furniture, along with increased incomes, made buying new a point of pride. It was an attitude which continued during the Depression years of the 1930s, even when necessity often dictated that the second hand was the only option. A great deal of effort was put into refashioning clothing in particular, so not to bring shame on the family. Making over clothes was a skill of great value, one where successful tailoring could avoid the shame of shabby or unfashionable clothing.

However, during the Great Depression of the 1930s and the Second World War, a change in attitude was becoming evident. These events caught individuals worldwide, both rich and poor, in their nets. Once flourishing businesses disappeared and the certainty of employment with it, sometimes overnight. With the advent of war, vast quantities of goods and services were redirected towards the war effort. The philosophy of 'make-do and mend' took on greater meaning for all as articulated by Labrum:

Repeated mending and 'making do', forgoing the expected hats and stockings, wearing old clothes to work, even donning cut-down flour

bags – these are the staple repertoire of memories, images and documents from the 1930s and 1940s (2007, p.112).

Handcrafts such as sewing and knitting, never out of place in the domestic home, took on a new precedence and became an acknowledged virtue (McLeod, 2005). From 1941 in Britain and in many other allied countries, rationing was introduced, affecting the availability of the majority of household goods. Simply constructed furniture or 'utility furniture' was the only type available. Furniture was prioritised for those whose houses had been destroyed, or for newlyweds setting up a home. Everyone else had to continue to make do with second-hand items (Haslam, 2000). Fabric became scarce and could only be purchased with coupons.

Iain Bromley and Dorota Wojciechowska (2008) note that newspapers and women's magazines of the time supported the war effort by featuring articles which promoted the make-do and mend ethos. In particular, the recycling of clothing was encouraged and tips often provided to ensure all available fabric was used in refashioning. This included old knitwear which was unravelled and re-knitted into items for every member of the family. Even unusual items were recycled. As an example, it was not uncommon for the silk used in parachutes to be refashioned into wedding dresses.

Although rationing continued into the early 1950s, a new optimism prevailed and a new entrepreneurial spirit pervaded the decade following the end of the war in 1945. In Britain this was celebrated in the 1951 'Festival of Britain' held in London which was the climax of a series of morale-boosting consumer exhibitions mounted after the war. The Festival's Director, General Sir Gerald Barry, referred to it as 'a tonic to the nation' (Haslam, 2000, p.10) after years of rationing and 'making do'. Originally planned as a trade exhibition, it soon developed into a full scale consumer fair, promoting the best of new designs

available to an enthusiastic public, keen to add to their homes. Here, the houses of the future were showcased, with new architectural lines and contemporary colour styling. Through new technologies and manufacturing processes, new forms of design and style in clothing and household goods were made possible, promoted and produced for the consumer market. Consumer aspirations became centred on buying these future-orientated and innovative products. Along with the lifting of war-time rationing, disposable income had increased and buying new became the norm again.

According to Raphael Samuel:

The appetite for modernization; with its opposition between the old and dirty and the new and clean, and its enthusiasm for the labour-saving or space saving devices; was to be found, during the 1950s, in every department of national life, and was indeed a mainspring of popular consumerism (1994, p.56).

Although buying new became the mantra of the 1950s, second-hand clothing and goods were still available and found in 'junk shops' or 'thrift shops'. Generally charity-based, they provided for those who still could not provide for themselves. By the 1960s however, there was a change in the way that these shops were perceived, shifting the motive for buying second hand from one of 'desperate need' to 'charitable generosity' in a new world of abundance (Franklin, 2011). This change in perception was coupled with a growing popularity in yard and garage sales and the rediscovery of second-hand flea markets as a leisure activity, something that originated in the nineteenth century with the Victorian's quest for the 'antique' (Cohen, 2006). The car boot sale phenomenon followed in the 1980s. The popularity of these activities as well as the later establishment of the online auction sites encouraged the removal of much of the stigma attached to the purchase of second-hand goods.

Historically the second hand has variously been heralded as a source of income, valued as currency, viewed as a vehicle to social aspiration, engendered feelings of shame and latterly, enjoyed as a leisure activity. Buying the second hand has been viewed both positively and negatively over time. Today it is clearly seen in a positive light and its popularity shows no sign of abatement. A historical view of the second hand informs this current study. It allows the author to understand the influences which have underpinned the growth and development of the second-hand market over time and to question what influences may still be in play.

### **The Sites of Second-Hand Trade**

The literature on the history of second-hand clothing and furniture has described various forms of 'market' for their sale. These include the auction rooms, the second-hand shops of the tailors and cabinet makers, the pawnbrokers and the street market. The most recent literature has tended to focus on two sites in particular, the car boot sale and the charity shop. Much research on the car boot sale occurred in the late 1980s to mid 1990s and was principally centred on understanding the rapid growth, development and popularity of it as an alternative retail site. Understanding the motivations of those who bought and sold was also of interest (Belk et al, 1988, Stone, Horne and Hibbert, 1996).

Others have explored the car boot sale site in order to understand gender relationships relating to participation and exchange (Herrmann, 1996, Gregson and Crewe, 1998). Gregson and Crewe (1997) examined the car boot sale in the context of geographical space. They contend that the act of buying and selling is a performance, combining theatricality and knowledge. In this sense, buying and selling at the car boot sale occurs in an atmosphere of the carnivalesque. Goods are sold at lower than average prices, bargaining is the rule and buyer's fortunes might be made if they are discerning or

knowledgeable enough. The car boot site is one in which different roles are played out and made fun.

The second site popular in recent literature is the charity shop. Historically the charity shop evolved from the church jumble sale. In the late nineteenth century there was a change in philanthropic thinking and those involved realised that those receiving charity often felt degraded. As such, churches changed their mode of operation from giving items away, to instead organising sponsored sales offering low cost items (Ginsburg, 1980). The popularity of the jumble sale led to the development of the charity shop. Where the jumble sale used to be a weekly opportunity to buy clothes and items, the charity shop opened its doors every day. The goods available were organised onto racks and shelves and priced. The charity shop model pioneered by the Salvation Army was thought to be less degrading than a weekly scramble for goods (Ginsberg, 1980).

Academic literature on the charity shop is again predominantly British in origin and has focussed on charting its historical development, purpose and evolving professionalism. The most rapid expansion of the charity shop has been since 1985. Many shops at this time still suffered from the image of the second hand as being down-market and dirty. There was also a perceived lack of uniformity in the management of shops and an absence of professionalism (Horne, 1998). However the realisation came from within the charity organisation that there was very good money to be made from the charity shop, if they were run in a more commercial and professional manner (Horne, 1998). This latter focus has centred on ensuring the charity shop remains competitive as an alternative retail environment (Horne, 1998, Horne and Maddrell, 2002). The only New Zealand literature on the charity shop is a historical account of the development of the Methodist Social Service 'Goodwill Store' which opened in Palmerston North in 1969. A *Stitch*

*in Time* “is a story of people caring about each other; about using time well; about valuing garments for their usefulness, warmth and comfort more than for appearance and prestige” (Gibson, 1999, p.2). The academic literature commonly describes the charity shop’s purpose as fourfold. First and foremost it is to offer a social service. Secondly, it is to enable the recycling and redistribution of goods. Thirdly, it is to raise awareness of the given charity and lastly, it provides a means of fundraising for the organisation involved.

A different approach has to been to look at the charity shop, not unlike the car boot sale, as a space in which the act of shopping takes place. Gregson et al (2002) researched the charity shop to understand what people routinely do when shopping, how they make sense of and talk about the space they are in. They found that individual shopping practices differed depending on whether individuals were shopping from necessity or choice. Those who shopped from necessity routinely went to the charity shop, looked for necessary items only, mainly clothing. They were thorough and methodical in their approach and bought largely for their family (children) and themselves. In contrast, individuals who bought on the basis of choice, tended to frequent charity shops sporadically, glanced through the racks and on the shelves, buying largely for themselves. Those who bought from necessity did so based on practical knowledge related to value, wear and respectability. Those who bought on choice did so based on expert knowledge related to differentiation. The authors concluded that shopping spaces are defined on a relational basis and encompass different sets of shopping practices, dependent on the requirements of the buyer and the retail space they frequent.

The car boot sale is still a very popular second-hand site in the United Kingdom today. It is less so in New Zealand, where the local farmers market

tends to be a more popular site offering second-hand goods as well as fresh fruit, vegetables and other produce. The charity shop in contrast is a very popular destination for the New Zealand second-hand shopper. This study probing into why this is so, will aid in developing an understanding of the reasons for purchase and the continuing popularity of the second hand.

### **Motivations for Buying Second-Hand Goods**

Much of the research related to the motivations for buying second-hand goods is found within the consumer research, retailing and marketing literature. The growth of car boot sales, garage sales, arts and craft fairs, swap meets and flea markets as popular alternative retail sites has resulted in increased attention from these sectors. These forms of 'market' are seen to offer a more direct exchange between buyers and sellers and a challenge to the larger scale bureaucratic retail environments (Stone et al, 1996). They are more akin to the medieval markets and fairs of old and to contemporary markets in more traditional societies (Belk et al, 1988). They provide the buyer with an opportunity to find a bargain and to purchase an item at a lower cost than would be offered in a first-hand retail site.

While the opportunity to buy something at a low cost is an important motivational factor, there have been other factors which have been identified, including the fun and thrill of the hunt and of finding the unexpected (Belk et al, 1988, Stone et al, 1996, Bardhi and Arnould, 2005). There is also the social element of 'going shopping' with friends and/or family as well as the banter and bargaining involved in the social interchange between buyer and seller (Belk et al, 1988, Stone et al, 1996, Gregson et al, 2002). It is argued that the socialisation that occurs within these environments creates a sense of community between buyers and sellers (Belk et al, 1988, Stone et al, 1996, Herrmann, 1996).



In more recent research Guiot and Roux (2010) developed a scale of motivations for second-hand shopping. The motivational factors are based on both qualitative and quantitative studies as well as interviews with 708 respondents in France. The resulting scale is divided into three categories: 'economic', 'recreational' and 'consumption critical' motivations. Economic motivations include the gratifying role of price (I can have more for less), and the search for a fair price. Recreational motivations encompass treasure hunting, originality, social contact and nostalgic pleasure. The final category, consumption critical motivations, includes distance from the system (buying second-hand goods distances one from the distaste of consumer society) and ethics and ecology (the concept of recycling, fighting against waste).

The Guiot and Roux scale offers the opportunity for comparison with the New Zealand sample in this research. Do the same motivations feature in the purchase of second-hand goods in a New Zealand sample? Are there universal motivations that underpin the choice to purchase the second hand? Understanding the motivations for buying second-hand goods is an important part of understanding the popularity of the second hand today.

Closely linked to the thrill of the hunt and of finding the unexpected, is the hope of finding something meaningful, for example, an item to add to one's collection or a piece which is unique or different in a particular way (Bardey, 2002, DeLong et al, 2005, Belk, 2001). Often these items are markers of identity and the second-hand market is a key source of supply.

Objects provide meaning, and they help to define individuals and the world in which they live. Questions of meaning and identity are key concerns of material culture studies. In particular, research in this area focuses on the relationships between people and objects, how people use objects and how

objects affect people. Affordance, a term developed by James Gibson (1979, cited in Rom Harre, 2002) is a particular role given to an object, specified by a particular individual. The same object can play many different roles which vary in their use and meaning. Objects can have multiple affordances and therefore perform multiple roles in a given context (Harre, 2002). As Ian Woodward contends, "Objects have the ability to do 'social work'" (2007, p.135). They may signify affinity to a particular cultural group, occupation, leisure activity (such as shopping for second-hand goods) or social status. They may also signify personal meaning or memory.

Harre notes that some objects are passive in relation to people, while others are active. Whether something is passive or active is largely due to the stories told about them. "An object is transformed from a piece of stuff, definable independently of any story line, into a social object by its embedment in a narrative" (2002, p. 25). Objects bought at a second-hand site have a history and context which encourage a story to be told: how the object was found, how it was just the right size or colour or indeed what a bargain it was. Telling a story gives the object meaning and helps individuals to define their sense of self. The object becomes a springboard for a detailed telling of life: family, friends, relationships, feelings, aspirations and thoughts about all manner of things (Webber and Mitchell, 2004).

### **Ethical Consumption**

In the more recent literature, the focus on consumption has turned away from investigation of the motivations for buying goods to explorations which raise concerns about over-consumption and the impact this has on individuals and their environment. Mike Featherstone (2007) argues that, historically, a vision of abundance was central to consumer culture in modernity and the right to consume was the reward for industrial expansion.

Modern living became associated with an endless supply of new goods for the self and home. It was also a means to personal transformation, and both physical and social mobility. Steven Miles, Kevin Meetham and Alison Anderson (2002) suggest that the certainties of the 'meta-narratives' of modernity (technological innovation, industrialisation and universal progress) have now been dismantled to the extent that the world is characterised by difference and fragmentation. The functional aspects of goods have been replaced by aesthetic concerns where taste, style and image have taken precedence. There is now a culture of 'hypercommodification' where individuals are encouraged to meet their needs through the purchase of things (Woodward, 2007).

In contrast to the ideals of modernity and abundance, however, it has become clear that today consumer society has limits. In response to this, terms like 'ethical' and 'conscience consumption', 'sustainability' and 'responsible' shopping are now being heard. There are calls to buy 'fair trade', to minimise consumption of energy and water for the sake of the planet, to recycle, reuse and/or refashion goods in order to reduce overall consumption. The concept of ethical consumption is becoming a new cultural narrative.

Although there is a growing literature on the concept of ethical consumption especially in relation to over-consumption and its impact on society today (Benett and O'Reilly, 2010, Soper et al, 2009, Littler, 2009, Humphery, 2010), there are fewer studies linking it directly to the second-hand market. Franklin (2011) suggests the exponential growth of second-hand trading has been attributed to the ethical consumption movement. As an example, indicators chosen by the *Ethical Consumerism Report* published by the Co-Op Bank in Manchester now include 'buying for reuse' and 'buying reused clothing' (2008, cited in Franklin, 2011, p.158). Mark Uncles (2010) notes that

more and more consumers today are expressing concerns about what is seen as excessive, wasteful and/or environmentally unsound. This is manifest in choosing to buy or consume less, or to dispose of possessions in non-wasteful ways such as reuse and recycling, sharing and second-hand trading or donation. He suggests that this behaviour also underpins alternative forms of retailing as witnessed in the rising popularity of charity shops, car boot sales and online trading.

Roberta Sassatelli (2007) contends it is the politically aware, most often the middle-class consumer, which is associated with the growth of second-hand markets and is linked to other forms of ethical consumption such as farmers markets, organic/cruelty free foods and fair trade. To Chris Gibson and Elyse Stanes (2011) the new discourses of 'green' and 'ethical' consumption (in relation to fashion) have emerged as a response to everything from organic fabric, to second-hand shopping, clothes swaps and the growth of vintage fairs and festivals. Buying second-hand clothing and goods is also deemed to be a form of low energy consumption. According to Laursen et al (2007, cited in Gibson & Stanes, 2011), the energy used to collect, sort and resell second-hand clothing is between ten and twenty times less than what it takes to create a new piece of clothing. The popularity of online sales of second-hand clothing and goods has recently seen the eBay group establish a site for the sale of ethical goods (Gibson and Stanes, 2011).

In a study of the sale of nearly new children's clothing Alison Clarke (2000) found that the recycling of goods was considered to be a broader move towards ethical forms of consumption as well as an opportunity to move away from the homogeneity of clothing found in the conventional retail sector. In a study of Generation Y (the generation of people born during the 1980s and early 1990s) consumption practices, Stanes (2008, cited in Gibson and Stanes, 2011, p. 179) found that forty per cent of Generation Y respondents stated that they regularly bought second-hand clothing.

Although ethical consumption was not a primary incentive in this group, respondents were more likely to embrace new ethical recommendations around fashion, from sustainable fabrics to participating in clothes swap parties. Charities too are aware of the influence of the ethical consumption discourse and readily market the contribution of their second-hand goods to sustainability (Gibson and Stanes, 2011).

### **The Growth and Appeal of All Things Vintage and Retro**

With the rise in interest of all things vintage and retro and the proliferation of second-hand design stores, there is a developing literature which explores their growth and appeal (Palmer and Clarke, 2005, Gregson et al, 2001, Bromley and Wojciechowska, 2008, Franklin, 2011). Vintage and retro fashion and styles by definition have a historical basis. Their popularity today is in part due to nostalgia: a fascination with the past (Pam Cook, 2005, Katalin Lovasz, 2006, Bardey, 2002). It is a past which has been shaped by major cultural influences and events, which in turn has manifested itself in the varying styles and fashions of the time. It is also one in which the second-hand market has played an integral part.

In the 1960s and 70s the rise of youth cultures had an impact on style and fashion. Music too was creating its own genres. Bands like the Beatles, The Rolling Stones and Jimi Hendrix reshaped fashion with their unisex, androgynous looks and they were followed by legions of screaming fans (Bromley and Wojciechowska, 2008). Other youth cultures also appeared, such as the mods, rockers, and punk movement all of which had their own associated 'style' and fashion 'uniform', as well a particular genre of music which engendered in its followers a sense of belonging and affiliation. Within many of the youth cultures a 'do-it-yourself' ethic prevailed in the pursuit of 'style', and the place to start was often the second-hand market and charity shops (McRobbie, 1989).

It was also a time of great social change with the civil rights movement in the US, the Vietnam War, the Cold War and the women's liberation movement. There was a questioning of the modern state and its fixation on capitalism, technology and universal progress, a turn which "found expression in consuming, reviving, reusing and reappraising older objects" (Franklin, 2011, p. 161). This 'turn' manifested itself principally in one particular youth culture: the hippy movement, which attempted to introduce an alternative lifestyle and politics to the mainstream of contemporary society. It denounced capitalism and material wealth, embracing a greater diversity of non-western cultures and politics.

Returning to pre-modern/industrial ways of living, the hippy culture embraced the crafts of medieval Europe, such as pottery, weaving, basket-making and textile dyeing. In doing so, members of this subculture took over the cities' older, hard to let, former industrial buildings and warehouses using these to produce their crafts. Many of their products were sold in the flea markets. The hippy look became synonymous with colourful vintage and ethnic-inspired clothing, and a mix and match of items from different eras and cultures (Bromley and Wojciechowska 2008).

As the movement gained momentum, many within the subculture set up small shops specialising in second-hand clothing and antiques which were refashioned and restored for resale, providing those with an affinity to the subculture with cheaper goods and an expanded wardrobe (McRobbie, 1989). The hippy movement was instrumental in developing an alternative consumerism, which was centred on second-hand goods and clothing.

In response to the hippy movement there was also a 'back to nature' pastoral turn in the late 1960s and 1970s (Samuel, 1994). It focused on healthy foods,

natural medicines and products, ecologically-sound furniture and a new appreciation of historic houses. In Britain, the English country house look established itself as an important part of the urban landscape and with it, a new conservationist mantra to protect heritage houses, under threat from the encroaching 'modern' housing estates begun in the 1950s. A new aesthetic appreciation of historic homes once described as old and decrepit, (especially Victorian and Georgian terraced houses) and a wish to preserve them for future generations prevailed. Whereas in the 1950s these houses were enthusiastically 'modernised', they were now being renovated and returned to their former glory. Original architectural items were avidly sought. Renovation and reclamation yards grew in response to this need and a new enthusiasm for searching out period objects and artifacts in the second-hand markets, to recreate the authenticity of the historic home, was evident. Whereas the 1950s had embraced everything new and modern, the questioning of the modern state in the 1960s and the development of the hippy culture, in particular, led to an appropriation of and nostalgia for the styles of past eras.

Samuel (1994) suggests that the penchant for looking back to past eras, a term he calls 'retro chic', began as anti-fashion and anti-establishment. The Pop Art movement of the 1960s was marked by its irreverence for the pretensions of high art, and artists utilised the techniques of mass visual culture and focussed on everyday pop culture. Roy Lichtenstein, Andy Warhol and James Rosenquist all used subject matter "drawn from the banality of ordinary urban America" (Trocme, 2000 p.69). Pop Art juxtaposed past and present using parodies of Old Masters as well as more contemporary images, demonstrating high art's affinity to kitsch. It appropriated and made the everyday into art. There was also a revival of interest in turn-of-the-century decorative arts in the 1960s, in particular the Art Nouveau period, which re-emerged as a new phenomenon, psychedelia. Experimental hallucinogenic drugs such as LSD, popular in the 1960s, served to enhance the mind's

perception of space, form, colour and movement. These were influential in the use of psychedelic colour and form in 1960s art and design (Trocme, 2000). The Portobello market in London at this time made its fortune selling the colourful, garish and bizarre, refashioning second-hand clothes and objects mimicking these new found styles. By the end of the 1960s there were over 2000 mini-shops and stalls on Portobello Road. As Samuel (1994) notes:

Many of them were in the hands of part-time or Saturday dealers, connoisseurs of the 'offbeat' and 'found in the attic' Victoriana, and making a specialty of such previously unregarded by-gones such as Second World War gas masks, old trade signs, Edison gramophones and...chromium plated ashtrays (p.96).

Style and fashion has continued to morph over the decades often in response to the outcome of politics (recession, war and global crises) and socio-cultural change. The 1980s ushered in the era of new romance, referencing styles and looks from the eighteenth century, clothing as art and deconstruction, and in the 1990s, grunge and hip hop appeared. In home design, the black and chrome of the 1920s had a resurgence. In the 1990s, a new minimalism became *de rigueur* replacing the excessive display of the 1980s. New designers emerged such as Philippe Starck and Ann Putman who were to become very influential on style and continue to be so today. Today, vintage and retro are omnipresent, in both clothing and home design. Mid century modern in particular is having its moment.

The media too has played a part in perpetuating interest in past eras and styles. The film industry has played a major role. It has not only created nostalgia for the way life was lived in the past, but also defined style and experience, imagination and fantasy. In 1967, Hollywood released the hugely popular film *Bonnie and Clyde* (the story of a notorious outlaw couple who with their gang, robbed banks across America during the Great Depression)



whose success has been credited with popularising the notion of thrift-shop fashion. Bromley and Wojciechowska (2008) contend it was the release of this film that gave momentum to the idea of putting together an original look for today from that of a bygone era. The film which was set in the early 1930s created an interest in the Art Deco style and the style became extremely popular once again. The Art Deco style took its name from the 1925 Paris exhibition the *Exposition des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes* where its distinctive geometric form was first showcased. Its popularity continued late into the 1930s.

The idealisation of the Art Deco era continued with the release of the films such as *Cabaret* in 1972 (set in Berlin in 1931 at the time of the ominous growth of the National Socialist Party) and *The Great Gatsby* in 1974 (set in New York, 1922). *The Great Gatsby* in particular created an attractive, romanticised version of the era. Since then many movies and TV series have done the same, recreating interest in past fashion and the objects of a particular era. Bromley and Wojciechowska (2008) suggest that it is often the glamorised depiction of the lives of their characters, and indeed the celebrities themselves who played those characters, which have been and continue to be, hugely influential in terms of style and fashion. Today's exponential growth in vintage and retro design clothing can, in part, be linked to the celebrity (Neal, 2007, Derakshani, 2008). Tracy Tolkien (2000) notes that actress "Kim Basinger buys her vintage dresses at Sotheby's, [actress] Winona Ryder wore vintage to the Oscars and [model] Kate Moss did the Cannes Film Festival in a vintage white column dress by legendary couturier Madame Gres" (p.7). Vintage and retro have been elevated to design styles in their own right. By default this too has elevated the status of the second hand.

The academic literature reviewed for this thesis about the popularity of the second hand is not extensive and tends to focus in certain areas. To date, it has concentrated on the historic trade in second-hand goods, particularly clothing; the sites where second-hand goods are sold; the motivations for choosing to purchase the second hand; second-hand goods as ethical consumption and latterly, the appeal of all things vintage and retro.

Although limited by just how much can be covered on such a broad topic within the scope of a Master's thesis, this study provides an initial interpretation and stimulus for further research. It does this by synthesising the rather disparate academic literature as well as reviewing the popular literature available in the library, on the bookshop shelf and on the internet. Interviews have been conducted with those involved in the world of the second hand. This includes both those who are active purchasers of second-hand goods and those in the business of selling them. The research focuses on second-hand clothing in particular, as it is the mainstay of the second-hand trade (based on both assessment of the academic literature and my own observation of second-hand sites), and on items purchased for the purpose of collection or decoration in the home.

This study departs from previous research in that it takes a holistic view which enables, firstly, capture of those discourses which are still influential, as well as understanding what new cultural narratives might be in play. Examining the popular literature, that is, how the second hand is framed, talked about and utilised allows further elaboration on these discourses, as they reflect how the second hand is viewed within the general populace. This has not been done before. A third and new angle of this study is that it conducts interviews with both those who purchase the second hand and those who sell the second hand. Most research where interviews have been conducted has been with those who buy second-hand goods. There has been

negligible research which has focussed on the vendors of the second hand. In this study those vendors who have been interviewed range across the 'hierarchy' of outlets from the op shop to the vintage and retro design stores. Finally this study is located in New Zealand. No study of this kind has been conducted here and it allows testing of questions and conclusions raised in other national contexts. Thus by including a popular literature review as well as conducting interviews with the vendors of the second hand, and locating it in New Zealand, this study provides the opportunity to introduce new perspectives as well as to fill gaps in the existing literature.

The research in this thesis was conducted in four categories based on the literature review above. Each category focuses on a broad conceptual area which then allows for concentration on a particular line of enquiry. The first category takes a socio-cultural approach to the second hand and focuses on the aesthetic dimensions of it, with emphasis on what I call the (Life)Style aesthetic. Here I address the issue of lifestyle, of style and fashion, and its impact on second-hand consumption.

The research questions to be answered are:

- What is the relationship between lifestyle and the second-hand market?
- Has this contributed to the popularising of the second-hand market?

The second research area focuses on values. In particular, participation in the second-hand market as ethical consumption is explored. The research questions to be answered here are:

- Is ethical consumption a primary consideration in the choice to buy the second hand?
- Has this contributed to the popularising of the second-hand market?

The third research area focuses on practices. A general approach is taken to understand the practices and motivations of individuals when choosing to purchase the second hand. The questions to be answered are:

- What are the practices and motivations, the drivers, which guide an individual's choice to shop for second-hand goods?
- Do they differ from first-hand shopping?
- Has this contributed to the popularising of the second-hand market?

The fourth and final area of research relates to identity. The questions here to be answered are:

- Is there a link between identity and the second-hand market?
- If so, what is it about the second-hand market that informs identity?
- Has this contributed to the popularising of the second-hand market?

## **Research Methodology**

Two methods of data collection were undertaken. The first included a review of the broader discourses surrounding the second hand literature, including 'popular literature' available in the public library, the book store and on the internet. The second method consisted of interviews with a group of individuals actively involved in the world of second-hand goods, both by their own definition active purchasers of the second hand, and those who were vendors of the second hand.

### **Popular Literature**

In order to conduct the review of the popular literature I utilised two local libraries and two major book stores. In the libraries I conducted a search with several key words: 'second hand', 'vintage', 'retro', and 'antique'. These are all words which define what is commonly meant by the concept of the second hand. The majority of books found in response to this search were located in the category Non-Fiction: Drawing & Decorative Arts. In the book stores most books were located within the categories of 'Home & Cooking', 'Crafts' and 'Fashion'. Many of the magazines reviewed for this study belonged to me. In particular, I looked for articles which placed a positive value on the second hand. A search of the internet using the keywords above also elicited many websites and blogs. These ranged enormously in how they related to the topic of the second hand from responsible living to vintage fashion to saving money and the handmade. A sample of the popular literature is detailed in Appendix One.

## **Interviews**

In total, thirteen people were interviewed for this study. Six individuals described themselves as active purchasers of second-hand goods. They were asked to participate in the study on the basis of their passion for the second hand and were either known to the researcher or their name had been passed on to me. Seven individuals were vendors of second-hand goods. Each vendor was initially contacted by phone and asked to participate in the study. The sample included nine women and four men. The age range of the purchasers was 18-57 years. The number of years the vendors had been in the second-hand business ranged from 1-31 years. Full demographic details are in Appendix 2.

Each respondent was asked to participate in an interview of approximately thirty minutes duration. They were asked a set of prompter questions which varied dependent on whether they were active buyers or vendors of second-hand goods. These are detailed in Appendix 3. The interview took place at each respondent's preferred location. Sometimes this was at home, sometimes at work and on several occasions, a café - wherever the respondent felt most comfortable to participate in the interview. With permission, each interview was recorded.

## **Interview Analysis**

The conceptual framework of narrative theory was employed to analyse the interviews. Contemporary social science definitions of narrative are extremely varied. In general narrative is taken to be a sequence of events over time. This may include narrative as writing, imagery and actions (the living out of story structures in everyday life) told to demystify and establish patterns of consistency across past, present and future experiences. (Ochs and Kapps, 2001, Andrews, Sclater, Squire and Treacher, 2006). Commonly

narrative is defined as spoken, often constituted as personal stories and it is generally recognised that meaningful action is locked into ways of telling (Patterson, 2002). Norman Denzin states that:

Narrative is a telling, a performance event, and the process of making or telling a story. A story is an account involving the narration of a series of events in a plotted sequence which unfolds in time... A story has a beginning, middle and an ending. Stories have certain basic structural features, including narrators, plots, settings, characters, crises and resolutions. Experience if it is to be remembered and represented, must be contained in a story which is narrated. We have no direct access to experience as such. We can only study experience through its representations, through the way stories are told (2006, p.xi).

People are both authors of and actors in their own narratives. Just as experiences are described through narrative, narratives also shape that experience and act as a cornerstone of identity. "We become who we are through telling stories about our lives and living the stories we tell...Through our stories, we indicate who we have been, who we are and who we wish to become" (Andrews et al, 2006 p. 78). In telling a story, a person is also creating a self, how they wish others to see them and to be known by them (Riessman 1993).

Dan McAdams (2002) contends that stories live in culture and mirror the culture where the story is constructed and told. "They are born, they grow, they proliferate, and they eventually die according to the norms, rules and traditions that prevail in a given society, according to the society's implicit understandings of what counts as a tell-able story, a tell-able life" (p. 200). In the world today, as it has always been, modern life provides many models and examples of how to give life meaning, and which fit within accepted cultural parameters. As such, people pick, choose and borrow (or resist) selectively from the stories they find within a culture to create a sense of the self: to form a narrative identity (McAdams,2002).

Often a found object elicits a narrative. It becomes an access point and/or stimulates a story. As Ian Woodward notes, narratives are often embodied in objects, which a person 'brings to life' through dialogue (2009, p. 60). The objects in this research were second-hand items: those bought to wear, to decorate with, as part of a collection, or to be recrafted or refashioned, as determined by their purchaser.

### **Narrative Analysis**

Catherine Riessman (1993) states that, "narrative analysis takes as its object of investigation the story itself" (p.1). Such a methodological approach examines the individual's story and analyses how it is constructed and what it reveals. It seeks to understand the things which are talked about and through this process what the relative importance, meaning and application is to individual lives. Stories told in conversation share common parameters. According to William Labov (1972, cited in Riessman, 1993) narratives have six common elements: an abstract (a summary of the narrative); orientation (time, place, situation, participants); complicating action (sequence of events); evaluation (significance and meaning of the action, narrators attitude); resolution (what happened) and a coda (coming back to now).

The interview process and narrative analysis are both qualitative methods of research. As such there are limits to the reliability of findings. As social constructs, interviews and the narratives elicited will always be open to interpretation. Interpretation is inevitable because both methodologies are illustrative rather than actual representations. Human agency and imagination underscore what is included and excluded, how events unfold and what they are supposed to mean.



Narrators also influence how their stories are interpreted by the style of telling they choose. Whether something is said loudly or in a whisper, with pauses, elongated vowels, emphasis, pitch and repetition, all highlight to the listener what is important to the teller. Emotions and motivations are also conveyed in this way (Riessman 1993). As Rachel Hurdley (2006) observes, there is a social character to stories told. Interview-based narratives are not “transparent reflections of lived experience or the self, but are interactive performances” (p. 720). However what is revealed through narrative is the truth of one’s experience as interpreted by the individual. As Riessman (1993) states:

When talking about their lives, people lie sometimes, forget a lot, exaggerate, become confused and get things wrong. Yet they *are* revealing truths. These truths don’t reveal the past ‘as it actually was’, aspiring to a standard of objectivity. They give us instead the truths of our experiences (p.22).

The value of the interview process and subsequent narrative analyses lies in the wide-ranging opinions elicited. They also reveal a depth of opinion. In this study each of the interviewees had a passion for the second hand. They were either avid purchasers of the second hand or had built a business founded on the trade in second-hand goods. Two of the vendors were employees rather than owners of business but both had had long careers, perhaps a reflection of their passion. In this sense, they have provided much insight into the prevailing attitudes and opinions on the popularity of the second hand.

The findings of this study have been divided into four chapters. The first focuses on the aesthetic, the second on values, the third on practices and the fourth examines identity. In each chapter, a particular line of enquiry has been followed which explores aspects of the second hand which were found to underpin its continuing rise in popularity, utilising interview quotations and excerpts from the popular literature reviewed.

## Chapter One: The (Life) Style Aesthetic and its Impact on the Second-Hand Market

*It's an 'in' thing to do. It's very popular, it's very hip. It's very trendy to buy second hand. It's a design trend. You see all the movie stars and the pop stars and they buy vintage dresses for \$10,000. It's clothing, objects, and art as well (Carmen, August 8, 2011).*

In this first chapter, I take a broader socio-cultural approach to the second hand. In particular I will address the issue of lifestyle, and the impact of style and fashion on second-hand consumption. Buying any material item is an act of consumption and what we buy is influenced by our chosen lifestyle, whether real or desired. In turn, a chosen lifestyle defines the individual.

This chapter begins with definitions of consumption and lifestyle. It then provides a brief historical account of the rise of lifestyle consumption, before moving to provide a contemporary account of the influence of style, fashion and the aesthetic. Secondly, it looks at the influence this has had on the second-hand market. Has the second-hand market become an arbiter of style and fashion? What is it about the second-hand goods available that attracts the consumer to buy and why? I will argue that lifestyle is influenced by style and fashion in particular and therefore so too is the individual. It is this influence which has heightened awareness of the second-hand market as an arbiter of style and fashion, underpinning its continued rise in popularity.

In order to understand the popularity of second-hand consumption, it is necessary first to look at consumption in general. Consumption culture and practices sit within the broader category of material culture studies: the relationship between people and objects. Suzanne Horne and Avril Maddrell

(2002) contend that while the literal meaning of consumption is the 'using up of a thing', the word is more accurately denoted as 'using'. This, they say, is significant in relation to the study of the second hand. It allows a move away from looking at consumption as a single linear process, and accommodates the more complex and extended alternative systems of second-hand consumption. Acknowledging the multiple cycles of the second hand gives credence to the work of Arjun Appadurai (1986) and Igor Kopytoff (1986) in relation to their delineation of the 'social lives' of objects and the ways in which (depending on the status given to the object) they impact on individual identity. Goods are consumed not only for the purpose of meeting functional needs but as meaningful markers of the self, personal qualities, interests, influence, as well as of membership of specific social groups. Membership of specific social groups is perhaps most visibly represented through clothing, but also by the goods purchased for the home, both of which are indicative of specific or aspiring lifestyle choices (Horne and Maddrell, 2002).

As Marieke de Mooij (2011) points out, in one sense a lifestyle is based on economic considerations and representative of the allocation of income, but secondly and more importantly, lifestyle is embedded in culture. Lifestyle is an entire set of values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviour which are influenced by and reflect the cultural context in which one lives. To Robert Dunn (2008), defining one's lifestyle is an ongoing process, a result of experimentation, of creative self-expression, of invention and reinvention. It is facilitated by an endless stream of images perpetuated by the media, particularly television and advertising. Lifestyle becomes:

A context for inventing new roles and modes of living and acting, through forms of entertainment and other means....whether based on bodily appearance or social behaviour....identity formation rests on an appropriation of image and style aimed at creating a *persona* (Dunn, 2008 p.162).

What shapes a lifestyle per se is the particular way in which consumer goods are used in everyday life. In this sense, it is not so much what is purchased, but how these goods are used. Mike Featherstone (2007) contends that lifestyle becomes a life project which manifests itself in the expression of self and style consciousness. The individual within consumer culture “speaks not only with his clothes, but with his home, furnishings, interior decoration, car and other activities which are to be read in the presence and absence of taste” (p.84). Pierre Bourdieu (1984, cited in Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, 2009) in his definitive work *Distinction*, determined that taste was used by individuals to enhance their social standing and is done so on the basis of cultural capital. Taste is learned through exposure to social and cultural institutions that promote certain class-based assumptions about correct taste.

In Bourdieu’s theory preferences are related to class position, education and social standing - a term he called ‘habitus’. It is the petit bourgeoisie (the business owners/shop keepers/merchants) in Bourdieu’s work, those that provide the goods and services, who are the arbiters of taste. Featherstone (2007) argues that it is the petite bourgeoisie that seeks to promote a particular interest in the dispositions of taste and lifestyle and thus the continuation of an ever burgeoning consumer culture. The petite bourgeoisie do this by acting as cultural entrepreneurs, stimulating interest in new areas of fashion, music, popular culture and design. They are not promoting a particular style “but rather catering for and promoting a general interest in style itself, the nostalgia for past styles, the interest in the latest style... and are subjected to constant interpretation and reinterpretation” (Featherstone, 2007, p.89).

## **The Rise of the Consumer Lifestyle**

It was the nineteenth century in particular which saw the emergence of new consumer lifestyles. The manufacture of commodities occurred on an unprecedented scale and a new consumer culture was emerging (Ashmore, 2008). The acquisition of consumer goods provided new opportunities for defining oneself and the world. In Britain, as industrialisation gathered pace and expansion into other parts of the globe took place, the celebration of these new forms of production and consumption culminated in the Great Exhibition of 1851. Other exhibitions followed in Europe, America, and Britain's colonies including Australia and New Zealand.

The shopping arcade and the department store grew in response to the need to market and distribute the proliferation of industrial goods. Like the world's fairs and expositions, they focussed on the spectacle of dazzling display. Within the department stores and arcades, the availability and range of goods for consumption was extensive. Prices were fixed, rather than being bargained for and credit was introduced. At a time when wages were rising and there was more available money, the arcades and department store had a democratising effect. They brought goods within the range of more people, where once only the rich could partake in this arena. Department stores and arcades became a source of both pleasure and fantasy which underpinned the development of consumer culture (Belk 2001). They became the new sites of consumption and identity construction. Aspiring lifestyles were encouraged predicated on the purchase of material goods.

Dunn (2008) suggests that the rise of aspirational lifestyles is indicative of the growing importance of style in the consumption process, as well as in contemporary culture generally. To him, 'lifestyle' suggests that life has become stylised in particular ways defined by identifiable consumer patterns

and boundaries. This is true especially for the affluent whose consumer ideology implies that life can become a work of art, in the sense that it can be used to express aesthetic taste. Lifestyle becomes a performance rather than merely a set of possessions.

Where once lifestyle (and conspicuous forms of consumption), were linked to class and social standing, they are now the outcomes of a raft of social and cultural influences. These include new forms of financing, spending and marketing, as well as a focus on demographics such as age, gender, and ethnicity. Lifestyles are now available in the form of highly specialised products, services and experiences reflecting a new kind of marketplace which has little to do with the class distinction of old. Segmentation and targeted marketing within this marketplace offers the consumer a greater sense of choice and strengthens the motivation to buy. The greater choice of consumer lifestyles is also congruent with a growing individuality, a desire to define one's sense of self and relationship to others (Dunn, 2008).

### **Style and Fashion**

The consumer marketplace today has become key to lifestyle definition and lifestyle to individual and collective identity formation. The key principles which govern the marketplace are style and fashion. According to Dunn (2008):

It is the 'style' in 'lifestyle' that is the basis of differentiation in consumption patterns and therefore variations in lifestyle-based identity...Style [also] supplies the cultural energy driving the economy, providing the material form for new kinds of lifestyle identifications" (p.137).

The vehicle of style is fashion, in the form of the style of the moment, whether real or imagined. Fashion has always determined what people

choose or not choose to buy, get rid of and to buy again. Often a marker of status and wealth, fashion has a special appeal to those who are looking to construct a social and cultural identity. Dunn (2008) notes that fashion is what ties individual consumers to a particular social group and status order, providing both differentiation and a sense of belonging.

Fashion is distinguished however, by a continual planned obsolescence in order to ensure the flow of new products and styles. Along with built-in obsolescence, acquired status also undergoes continual dissolution. Janet, a business owner in this study, comments somewhat cynically on the fashion industry and its ever shifting nature.

Fashion sort of heads the whole conglomerate of designer goods, in terms of the whole ephemeral nature of fashion. You know...what is fashion? I always go back to one of my favourite lines... that the materials of clothing will last a lot longer than the trends of fashion. It's a very, very powerful thing that has built up over time (August 5, 2011).

And Anthony, an auctioneer, best demonstrated this point when he commented on the current trend for mid century modern furniture.

These big 6.5 or 7 ft teak sideboards which make \$1-2000 now, we refused to take them [for auction] or we took an axe to them...put them in skips. Suddenly four or five years later everyone wants six foot teak sideboards. We used to have hundreds at 1 pound [British Pound] a go but no-one would take them so we biffed them. It's all the rage at the moment, but it is all trends and fashions (August 1, 2011).

Fashion often erodes the boundaries of status by creating cheap imitations of higher status designer goods. This is a process called 'marketing down' and is largely a phenomena of mass production. It leads to a homogenisation of fashion. There is also the concept of 'marketing up' copying the styles of lower-income groups, perhaps most clearly exemplified by the designer jean, manufactured in various states of distress. The attachment of designer logos

to goods underpins the concept of branding which serves to reinstate status and lifestyle markers. The consumer marketplace serves to both democratise and differentiate on the basis of style and fashion. The standardisation inherent in mass production promotes a sense of equality and inclusion on the one hand and, on the other, through design and designer labels, it reaffirms differentiation (Dunn, 2008).

Style and fashion also inspire, because the acquisition of material objects is a means with which to express a claim or desire to be or live the life of somebody else. Arthur Berger (2010) contends that it is the connotation of designer brands that provide psychological payoffs to the wearer or user of their products. Such objects serve as 'lifestyle props' that create desired impressions in those we come in contact with. They are much like theatrical props that generate certain impressions in their audiences. The important thing to the user is that the brands are recognised by others. Not only is it the recognition of the brand, but also that the aesthetic associated with the brand is established. Joanne Entwistle (2000) notes that, in relation to clothing, that the fashion system not only produces garments to wear but also endows them with beauty and desirability, sometimes making a direct connection with art. In this sense it weaves the aesthetic together with the daily practice of dressing.

### **Lifestyle and the Aesthetic**

In an article on the English store Liberty and Co., Sonia Ashmore (2008) observes that Liberty was one of the first to promote a particular lifestyle and style aesthetic. Liberty chose to emphasise the aesthetic qualities of material goods over functional aspects, decorative textiles and porcelain rather than beds and pots. It was a place "where you could remake the image and style of both your home and your person in a particular 'artistic way'" (p.78). Their



commerce was influenced by the 19<sup>th</sup> century Aesthetic Movement. It created an intellectual justification, promoted artists and engendered an audience with a taste for 'artistic' goods. Authors of the day (such as William Morris and Oscar Wilde) produced advice manuals on how to achieve the aesthetic home. Liberty and Co. promoted this idea suggesting that customers were buying more than just objects at their department store: they were buying cultural status, just as if they were patrons of fine art.

Arthur Liberty also capitalised on his relationship with London's wealthy bohemian and artistic social fringe, in which aesthetics were very much a part of their dress and lifestyle. Dante Rossetti, Frederick Leighton, James Whistler and other artists of the movement were the superstars of their day and an irresistible magnet to both the press and the public. Liberty and Co. pitched the department store as the home of aestheticism with an almost inexhaustible supply of both goods and clothing associated with the movement (Ashmore, 2008). Shopping there became both an artistic and distinctive lifestyle experience which both shaped and was shaped by their customers, and those who aspired to be shoppers there.

Adrian Franklin (2011) notes that there is now a heightened awareness of the aesthetic quality of goods rather than a focus on fashion alone. The aesthetic has become a part of everyday life. He suggests that design and design schools have had a profound influence on this in that they look to extend the place of art and design into all levels of society. Although recognising that it had its antecedent in the Aesthetic Movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Franklin (2011) suggests, that it was from the 1970s onwards that it became commonplace for both the designer and style of design to feature in the description of goods.

Style in clothing was emphasised from the 1980s, according to Iain Bromley and Dorota Wojciechowska (2008). Runway shows started selling lifestyle dreams rather than dresses to consumers. Through the media, TV, fashion magazines and guides, the prevailing styles of the day were disseminated. Once the aesthetic became part of the new discourse of design, designers themselves began to look back to previous eras for inspiration. This opened the market to both reinterpretations of historical eras as well as the re-issue of classic designs and heightened the desirability of original designs. The proliferation of new design styles and the fusion of others meant that there was no longer one fashion look. As a result, consumers became more interested in and willing to buy period and period originals (Franklin, 2011).

### **Second Hand becomes On Trend**

This aesthetic shift had an influence on the second-hand market. It helped rid thrift stores, flea markets and other sites of the second hand of their stigma, elevating them as an acceptable source of clothing and goods. It also heightened the appeal of all things vintage and retro. Cherry, who works for a design company, alludes to the aesthetic factor when talking about those who frequent vintage design stores.

There are people like myself who love texture, who love design, who love clothing, fashion and textiles. It's about key aspects of nostalgia, of good design. I'm involved in design and I love to see you know the thought, the processes that have gone into something... which our modern age just doesn't do unless it's a high design product. It's a holistic experience for me and I have to get that fix on a regular basis (August 8, 2011).

Nicky Gregson, Kate Brooks and Louise Crewe (2001) examined the re-appropriation of 1970s fashion in the late 1990s and concluded that one outcome of the revival and interest was that wearers began to appreciate the vintage clothing as "aesthetic objects, to be valued, understood, and worn in

terms of and appreciation of their design, construction and authenticity” (p.8).

Appreciating the aesthetic aspects of vintage clothing also enabled its wearers to combine both old and new into a new personal style, in effect to become their own designer. In so doing, they were able to validate their own unique identity and aesthetic style.

To create one’s own design aesthetic by mixing old and new is not only confined to clothing. In a review of the popular literature undertaken for this thesis, I found many books, magazines, blogs and internet sites which purport to show one how to create one’s own design aesthetic in the home. For example, the inside-cover of the book *Modern Vintage* (2011) states that:

Decorating should be fun and inspiring, so there are no style dictates: no ‘this-must- go-with-that’. Instead it’s all about trusting your instincts and your taste, using some imagination, adopting a magpie tendency when it comes to furnishing your home and seeking out things that you love to live with, whatever their past.

Franklin (2011) contends that the popularity of retro goods is also related to the aesthetic and is part of their appeal in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In the 1950s and 60s, many firms like Whitefriars Glass and Midwinter Pottery (both in the United Kingdom), employed top artists and designers “to produce an object of art that is at the same time an item of use value” (Franklin, 2011, p.101). It is the connection to being a designed object which is now of great appeal to collectors. In contrast, sometimes an object becomes a desired object for the very fact that it is not designed. In an article on kitsch, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett suggests there is a real appeal in the appropriation of what others have rejected. She calls this ‘stylish arrhythmia’ a stylishness or coolness that is exciting because it is ‘out of fashion’ (1998, p.275). However in today’s

world there is even a place for such items. The forward to the book *Junk Style* (1998) states that:

This book is proof that one person's junk is another's treasure. It's all about doing new, unexpected and stylish things with objects that might otherwise be thrown away or forgotten.

In this way the second hand has acquired its own style aesthetic. This can perhaps best be demonstrated in response to the rising popularity of all things vintage and retro. It is now the new trend, as noted by the respondents in this study. Felicity, a student, remarks:

With the whole like fashion involvement, it's suddenly cool again. It's [vintage] a higher class than just like the op shop....It's way more expensive than other op shops. It's cool again and therefore you pay more for it if it's an individual kind of item (August 10, 2011).

Carmen, a mum and crafter, notes that:

It's an 'in' thing to do. It's very popular, it's very hip. It's very trendy to buy second hand (August 8, 2011).

And Cherry comments on the changing status of second-hand clothing:

It's become a status thing. It used to be the complete reverse. Now it's like you know, what do you mean you don't know where *Soup* or *Ziggurat* is? [Both are vintage design stores] I hear them talking in the stores and it's just fascinating (August 8, 2011).

In response to the popularity of vintage and retro, many second-hand stores have changed the way that they display their goods. For example, the appeal of vintage clothing has prompted the Salvation Army and other goodwill stores to separate and market vintage and designer label clothes differently. Others have launched designer boutiques at the front of their stores (Palmer, 2005). Another trend has been for new vintage boutiques to locate themselves alongside or within existing traditional second-hand markets like Orchard Street in New York and Portobello Road in London. Doing so serves

to reinforce vintage stock as authentic, and recreates the atmosphere of informality and bargain hunting (Palmer, 2005). Large antique and vintage fairs have also proliferated, their size virtually guaranteeing that a suitable purchase will be found. In addition, such fairs attract contemporary designers sourcing and acquiring vintage for design houses and/or seeking inspiration (Palmer, 2005). Increasingly too department stores are now selling vintage pieces alongside contemporary designers, as is apparent in Bloomingdales in New York, Top Shop in London and Version Originale in Paris. There are also vintage stores selling in upmarket areas of the cities (Tungate, 2008). Inclusion in first-hand retail stores and sites has placed the second hand firmly within the realm of contemporary fashion.

### **Celebrity Sells**

Vintage has been made all the more appealing because it has become the garment of choice for contemporary celebrities. This influence and its impact on the consumer is articulated by Cherry below.

It's trendy...it's suddenly become trendy....you've got celebs wearing vintage, you've got that talked about all the time...It's become the new middle-class thing to do. It's filtering into people who've got money, who can actually afford to buy new but are choosing not to (August 8, 2011).

Carmen also recognises this.

It's a design trend. You see all the movie stars and the pop stars and they buy vintage dresses for \$10,000. It's clothing, objects, and art as well (August 8, 2011).

As Alexandra Parker and Hazel Clark (2005) note, the best next thing to a new dress is now having an old one, because celebrities such as Kate Moss, Gwyneth Paltrow and Cameron Diaz have a passion for and are now wearing vintage. Tracy Tolkien (2000) suggests that the days of 'second-hand Rose'

are long gone now. (Second-hand Rose is the name of a song, the singer of which portrays the daughter of a second-hand dealer, bemoaning the fact that everything she has is second hand). Women who could easily afford to buy new designer clothes are instead choosing to buy vintage and it is endorsement by the celebrity which is an influential factor in its popularity.

The popularity of the mass entertainment industry has seen the emergence of the celebrity as a prominent social figure (Neal, 2007). Celebrity status is usually conferred on individuals based on successful performance (as movie stars, singers, sports stars etc) and/or the perceived qualities attributed to that person. Celebrities often become identification models for individuals and, through the media, enable a glimpse of another world. The consumption habits of today's celebrities have become associated with high status and an aspirational lifestyle and serve as examples of what wealth and status might bring. They also serve to divert attention from the stresses, tensions and mundane aspects of everyday life (Neal, 2007).

The media provides a constant stream of celebrity gossip and updates via the internet, TV channels and magazines, as well as a celebrity's own updates via social media, such as Twitter and Facebook. Photos of celebrity's lives promote a consumption-based lifestyle, emphasising their expensive houses, clothes, cars and holidays (Sternheimer, 2011). Their endorsement of products, either deliberately or not, cultivates a desire to buy, in order to attain a similar lifestyle to what the celebrity has. Ellis Cashmore (2006, cited in Tirdad Derakhshani, 2008) argues that celebrity culture has "actually changed the relationship we have with each other, to the point we actually live vicariously through mediated figures; Princess Diana being the most resplendent example" (p.30). By buying or wearing the same items as the celebrity, there is a sense that one can attain what the celebrity has. Celebrities are also commodities themselves. As Tirdad Derakhshani (2008)

concludes “Celebs sell, they consume, they are what they sell; and they teach us to follow suit” (p.31).

This is not a new phenomenon. During the Depression years, fan magazines documented the lives of movie stars and what they wore. The Butterick company made sewing patterns based on what the stars wore so that homemakers could copy and recreate their outfits at home. Department stores reproduced ready-made garments for an adoring public. Amy Henderson notes, as an example, the dress designed for Joan Crawford in the 1932 movie *Letty Linton*, saw countless Butterick patterns fly off the fabric store shelves and over 500,000 copies of her dress were sold at the US store *Macy's* alone (2008, p.10).

Information about today's celebrities continues to provide a shopper's guide as to what constitutes the height of style. The media in all its forms continues to provide details of how the individual consumer can follow in their footsteps. This influence is noted by Pieter, a business owner, when he spoke about the popularity of the mid century modern design style.

Internationally everyone talks about the mid century modern kind of thing. It's almost now been accepted as good taste. Now all the magazines are now saying....it's accepted, it's now cool, it's fashionable...the 50s, 60s, 70s thing is now in all the big magazines... it is very, very hot you know (July 31,2011).

Felicity notes how style blogs influence her choice to buy second-hand clothing and in particular, the opportunity to get ahead in the fashion game.

Fashion blogging and stuff is so popular these days and just about everyone has vintage stuff so that becomes cool and so everyone wants to come and get along with that... Style blogs...a lot like the *Sartorialist* – that fashion isn't probably going to be in New Zealand for a while but if you see stuff like it in the op shops, you may as well

go get it now cos you know it will be cool in a year or whatever (August 15, 2011).

Today's magazines and other media (such as social media and blogs) promote the possibility of an imagined style of life. Lorna Stevens and Pauline MacLaren (2005) explored how women's magazines functioned as 'dream worlds' of shopping. They found that women's magazines inspired the imagination, offering choices and possibilities and engendering desire, even if they could not (in the reader's minds) be ultimately realised. They did, however, enable the women to indulge in the pleasure of looking and to fantasise. Above all, the authors found that magazines offered a source book of consumer goods, goods which may proffer "a key to a better, fuller and more pleasant life"(p.291).

Many of the popular literature magazines, books, blogs and websites reviewed in this study focussed on vintage and retro as design styles, both in relation to clothing and objects. They included the mixing of old and new, decorating, and revisiting the past in relation to art, crafts and cooking. There were also articles on the strengthening market for all things vintage and retro and where to buy (see Appendix 1). There is little doubt that the second hand, and its associated design styles and experiences, are very popular today and show no sign of abating.

### **The Lifestyle Aesthetic and the Second-Hand Market**

Defining one's lifestyle is an ongoing process, but it is one very much shaped by cultural context. What we buy or would like to buy is reflective of the lifestyle we choose for ourselves or desire. That in turn is often influenced by style and fashion perpetuated and promoted by an endless stream of media and others like the celebrity to whose lifestyle many aspire. The popularity of the second hand reflects current style and fashion trends. It is 'de rigueur' at



the moment because all things vintage and retro are viewed as fashionable. This has resulted in individuals taking a second look at the past, 'seeing' it in a new light.

Authenticity and originality are important components of vintage and retro goods. They allow individuals to create a unique sense of self, as will be discussed in chapter four. These goods have a history, a charm and they are on trend. The second-hand market where these items are found also broadens the opportunities for all to indulge in this trend because they can do so at a reasonable cost. This is something that many first-hand retailers cannot offer the consumer. It is important to remember, however, that within the second-hand market, there are hierarchies. As a result there are some items which would preclude many still from purchase: in particular the purchase of haute couture and designer labels from a previous era.

Yet the second-hand market still offers a great deal of choice and value for money, especially in comparison to first-hand retailers selling 'vintage' and 'retro' items, which are for the most part reproductions, rather than the original item. For this reason the second-hand market remains buoyant and is likely to continue to be so. Lifestyle preferences, style and fashion will continue to change, but in today's world of pastiche, it is unlikely that the second-hand market will fall into decline. It too will change and continue to meet the consumer's need.

The New Zealand sample in this study is very aware of current style and fashion trends, several articulating their belief that the rise in popularity of the second hand is directly related to this. In particular the current popularity of all things vintage and retro underpins this desire to search the sites of the second-hand market. After all vintage and retro goods are by nature the

'second hand'. Like the rest of the world, this sample is subject to the relentless promotion and hype of the media and its idolised depiction of the celebrity.

What the future will bring is an open question, but no doubt what is happening at both a local and global level and by whom, brought to our screens via mass and niche communication networks will influence and reflect itself in the way we choose to dress, style our homes and live a life - real or imagined. There is a particular lifestyle, however, which for many is becoming a lifestyle of choice. It is not one born out of a desire to follow the latest style or fashion but one born out of concern for the world and all those who inhabit it. It is one which is based not only on consumption, but ethical consumption. It is the second-hand market which is best placed to meet the requirements of its followers whose mantra is to reuse, recycle and refashion. Is the rising popularity of the second-hand market related to the call for ethical consumption? This is the subject of chapter two.

## Chapter Two: Exploring the Popularity of the Second Hand as Ethical Consumption

*It is an in thing to do, very much so and I just think it's because people are more aware of what is happening in the world and how we need to look after our planet and to conserve and be sustainable and be kind to our earth because you know it's a bit of a rubbish dump (Carmen, August 8, 2011).*

In the first chapter of this thesis I took a broad socio-cultural view looking at the impact of the lifestyle aesthetic on the second-hand market. In this second chapter ethical consumption is explored. For some this underpins a particular lifestyle choice. But does ethical consumption relate to the rising popularity of the second-hand? If so, how? Is there a connection between the two?

Carmen's comment above is in response to the question 'Do you think the second hand is popular today and why?' Her answer is clearly aligned with the concept of ethical consumption. Ethical consumption is a new cultural narrative in play today. Terms like 'ethical' and 'conscience consumption', 'sustainability' and 'responsible' shopping are terms entering our everyday language. There are calls to buy 'fair trade', to minimise consumption of energy and water for the sake of the planet, to recycle, reuse and/or refashion goods in order to reduce overall consumption. According to Tania Lewis and Emily Potter (2011) there is a new conscience of care appearing. Within the academic literature, the dramatic growth of the second-hand market has been linked to the movement for ethical consumption (Franklin, 2011). It is a feasible position to take given the consumer's propensity to purchase goods and/or the need to get rid of them. There is a 'feel good' factor attached to this consideration, in that goods no longer wanted can be recycled, reused or refashioned for the benefit of others.

To many, it has become clear that consumer society has limits. The current global economic downturn has somewhat ironically confirmed this in the view of Kim Humphery (2011). He states that:

A mentality of commodity acquisition at all costs stoked by nearly two decades of unregulated economic growth and a market hooked on easy credit – has definitely lost its sheen for governments now picking up the pieces....the temper of the moment has, it seems shifted to a grudging recognition of limits (2011, p.41).

As consumer culture has globalised, so too have the risks increased, through the depletion of resources, pollution and exploitation of people. These risks have put consumer culture onto the international political agenda. How one mitigates the risk is difficult as the demand for goods provides a major source of industrial production and employment. It is also a key sign of economic success and standing for countries, especially developing nations (Featherstone, 2007). In this study, it is Cherry who recognises that the impact of consumption is a complicated matter.

We talk about this whole dilemma of third world nations employing people to produce crap to give them an income that we then buy. You know it's got such repercussions right around the globe. It's not just about stopping purchasing and stuff. It impacts all the way down the line to these people's lives. It's such a complicated issue (August 8, 2011).

To Mike Featherstone (2007), "consumption can no longer be seen as an innocent act, but as part of the chains of interdependencies and networks which bind people together across the world in terms of production, consumption and also the accumulation of risks" (p.xviii). Roberta Sassatelli (2007) contends that globalisation has created a space in which the naturalised boundaries of the 'market' are called into question. Just as it becomes clear that there is nowhere else outside of this global market, the market appears to be less open and efficient and not able to guarantee benefits to all whom participate in it. This has led to the growth of forms of

consumer action, the boycotting of global brands and questioning of corporate practice; the rising demand for local and organic produce; and fair trade initiatives. People are being invited to consider over-consumption as the cause of global disasters such as climate change and to consume differently (Sassatelli, 2007).

But how much of this call to action reflects on the popularity of the second hand? Is ethical consumption a primary consideration in one's choice to buy second-hand goods? In this chapter I will show that although the messages have been heard and are understood, the primary incentive for buying second-hand goods is not ethical consumption. In exploring this issue, I will look firstly at the consumer and the ways in which they have impacted the consumer market through activism and lifestyle choice. Secondly, I will look at the extent of the media messages regarding ethical consumption and how this translates to the second-hand market. Finally, I will suggest that there is a stronger but related driver to ethical consumption that underpins the popularity of the second-hand market today.

### **Environmental Concerns and Over-consumption: The Reaction of Consumers**

Political activism and consumption has had a long history. In pre-industrial times sustainability was a necessity rather than a choice as the array of available goods was limited. This occurred particularly in relation to the cloth industry, when laws were put in place to safeguard over-consumption, denying all but the very rich the ability to purchase and wear particular types of cloth (Welters, 2008). Clothes were therefore repaired, refashioned and recycled and there was a thriving market in second-hand clothing. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the industrial revolution and the resulting wholesale changes to people's way of life, saw workers rights and conditions become political issues (Welters, 2008). In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the rise of the 1960s and 70s

counter cultures again saw political activism come to the fore. Of particular note was the hippy movement. It introduced both an alternative lifestyle and politics to contemporary society. Although the hippy movement was closely associated with the anti-war movement, it also focussed on the environment. Their philosophy was to tread lightly and in harmony with the earth. This invoked a new style of living, in part as a protest against the beauty and fashion industries and their impact on the environment (Welters, 2008). This led to a return to the use of natural fibres as well as the development of alternative 'green' products, ultimately spawning megabrands like *The Body Shop*. At this time, concerns were also being raised about the levels of pesticides on farmland especially in relation to the production of cotton; the development of genetically modified crops and growth of intensive farming (Littler, 2009).

Much of today's ethical turn however has been perpetuated through an increased focus by the media, especially in relation to the environment. The global success and impact of Al Gore's *An Inconvenient Truth*, as well as entertainment spectacles like *Live Earth*, and a myriad of TV programs promoting change and alternative lifestyles has seen increasing coverage (Franklin, 2011). Closely linked to environmental critiques are those relating to 'hyper-consumerism', an endless obsession by the western world with the purchase of material goods (Arnold, 2009). To Humphery, many of the contemporary critiques of hyper-consumerism centre on how a state of over-consumption has been created which:

Undermines our sense of wellbeing and happiness; contributes to a culture of overwork, haste and instantaneous gratification, underscores a bland homogenization of life; and fragments communities and social relationships (2010, p.5).

In reaction to over-consumption, many have chosen to take an anti-consumption stand. Rajesh Iyer and James Muncy (2009) state that there are four distinct types of anti-consumption profiles that have emerged from

research in recent years. The first is the *global impact consumer* interested in reducing the general level of consumption, environmental concern and material inequity. The second profile is the *simplifier* who wishes to drop out of the fast-paced high consumption society of today to a simpler, less consumer oriented lifestyle. Those who share this profile feel that over-consumption creates feelings of fatigue, unhappiness and disillusionment. The third profile is the *market activist* who tries to use the power of the consumer dollar to impact societal issues through the boycott of products and brands. Boycotts often relate to concerns over corporate practices: those that exploit people, animals or the environment. The last profile is the *anti-loyal consumer* who exhibits the opposite to brand loyalty, reflecting a commitment to avoid purchasing a product because of perceived inferiority or a negative experience associated with it.

Soon-Hwa Choi (2011) found similar categories of anti-consumption based on 'motives' versus 'targets'. Motive based anti-consumption is categorised by the expression of personal preferences and social values. Target based anti-consumption is categorized by the rejection of specific brands and products.

Where the Iyer and Muncy (2009) and Choi (2011) papers have highlighted the actions of individual consumers, actions which have also a historical basis, Lewis and Potter (2011) contend that ethical consumption has become mainstream today as a result of its integration into lifestyle and consumer culture. Its articulation principally associated with the post-modernist concepts of risk, identity and the decentering of the state as the site of civic responsibility. This has incited individuals, families and communities to take greater responsibility for their actions and led to a greater focus on the more abstract goals of ecological balance and global justice as well as individual fulfilment and the cultivation of an attitude of care towards both others and nature (Humphery, 2010). There are now a growing number of people who

are making conscious choices about how they live their lives, choose their homes and contents, clothe themselves and participate in their communities. The rise in ethical consumption thus connects to a broader critique focussed on issues around environmentalism, anti-consumption and unsustainable lifestyles (Lewis and Potter, 2011).

For some this has led to changes in lifestyle. One of these promotes the concept of voluntary simplicity. Other common terms are 'downshifting' and 'creative simplicity' (Stebbins, 2009). Those who follow this philosophy create a lifestyle by reducing all unnecessary acts of consumption. Enacting a lifestyle focussed on voluntary simplicity may range from growing one's own vegetables, making one's own clothes and driving a smaller vehicle, to complete self sufficiency. Robert Stebbins (2009) contends that the simple living movement is a sign that for many people life has become too complicated. Another linked movement is sustainable consumption where people adopt a lifestyle which focuses on reducing individual and communal use of the earth's natural resources by altering wasteful and environmentally harmful practices. By doing so, the planet will be preserved for future generations. The focus here is on consuming differently and more efficiently.

### **Ethical Consumption and Media Messages**

The emergence of new forms of lifestyle has spurred the growth of ethically branded products and differing sites of consumption such as farmer's markets. Their popularity has become a primary indication of concern and choice exercised by individuals. The importance of this new consumer demographic is reflected in the growth of publications, internet sites, and blogs which provide advice and guidance on how to participate in this new regime.



A review of the popular literature in this thesis reveals a myriad of publications offering information on all things relating to ethical consumption. Totally dedicated to this theme is the New Zealand *Good* magazine which covers everything from articles on the home, travel, beauty, parenting and food, to decluttering one's life. Tag lines to each month's edition include 'Making your World Better' and 'Simple Choices for a Better Life'. Other magazines like *Home New Zealand* and *Homestyle New Zealand* have sections called 'Green Home' and 'Green Living'. The *NZ House & Garden* magazine regularly features articles that reflect many of the ethical consumption messages around recycling and refashioning; the use of vintage and retro items to style your home; the rediscovery of the quality items of the past such as linen and lace; and the resurgence of interest in craft; from cooking to making furniture. There are also related magazines like *New Zealand Handyman, DIY* and *New Zealand Gardener* which also provide advice and guidance on how to develop one's self-sufficiency and competence in all things domestic.

Many of the overseas publications follow a similar pattern and will often use editorials to reinforce messages. On the cover of the May 2011 British *Ideal Home* magazine is the tag for an internal article on ethical consumption called 'Join the Quiet Revolution' with sub tags: 'Enjoy Simple Pleasures'; 'Shop Local'; 'Make Do & Mend'; 'Choose Well' and; 'Buy with the Heart'. Inside the cover, Editorial Director Isobel McKenzie-Price, makes this statement:

The whole world has had a financial wakeup call over the past three years...because of that we've reassessed what really matters and 'home' is at the top of the list... We're investing in making it a better place to be. We're thinking carefully about managing our resources, more of us are recycling, buying second hand, finding ways to save energy and water. We're saying 'no' to a throwaway culture, and investing in quality buys that will last (2011, p.4).

There are also a myriad of books which cover sustainable design and styling, and decorating: using the recycled and upcycled; vintage and retro pieces; crafting from cupcakes to jam-making, knitting and sewing; to becoming self-sufficient. An example of this is the book *A Home Companion: My Year of Living like a Grandmother* by Wendyl Nissen, a New Zealand author. Carmen, an advocate of simplicity, indicates the strength and influence of media messages in her comment below. Here she is responding to a question about the resurgence of crafts.

I think that it's is kind of connected a little bit with how we are recycling...that whole second hand. I just think there's that feeling about... I do think it's linked to that whole eco thing. You look on that Wendyl Nissen site and how she lived like a nana for a year and I just think that kind of message comes through that there's no need. We can live very simply, it is possible to do it like our grandmothers did and that it's not impossible. It's harder but it's possible (August 8, 2011).

Lyn Thomas (2009) researched how ethical consumption messages and alternative practices are conveyed through the mainstream cultural field of the lifestyle magazine. Reviewing several British magazines, *Homes & Gardens*, *Country Living* and *Living etc*, she found all had a focus on environmental and social concerns. However, where some took a more serious view, others focussed on what she called a more 'fashionable' gesture related to style and display (p.64). In the *Country Living* magazine a greater care ethic was portrayed, but by its nature and target audience, Thomas claims those who live in the country are more susceptible to environmental change in particular and thus concerns engendered a greater focus. In these magazines there was also an enhanced focus on alternative forms of living. In particular, was the ability to live a simpler life escaping from the fast paced world of the city. Although much of the content of these magazines was coupled with pages of advertorial content, she argues that the inclusion of such articles is indicative of a cultural shift and that substantial numbers of readers "now like their consumerism to be green tinged" (p.71).

## **The Second-Hand Market Supporting the Messages of Ethical Consumption**

By its very nature the second-hand market provides the opportunity for many to participate in ethical consumption. The recycling and refashioning of material goods is an emerging trend. In this study, one respondent, Janet has founded a business based on refashioning. She states:

My label is ReDunn fashions. The ethos at its core is about enterprise founded on waste. That in a purest sense – recycling is just being a little bit less bad and so the idea being, that if a garment or any good goes on a cycle from cradle to grave then what I do is intercept it on its journey and add an extra loop into its life by upcycling it, which means that I add value to it (August 5, 2011).

Just as Janet adds value to her garments through refashioning, so does the second-hand market (often the source of her materials), by supporting the messages of ethical consumption. These messages are to reuse, recycle and refashion goods, in an effort to reduce the impact of consumption.

Mark Uncles (2010) contends there is a growing market that encourages people to refashion. Second-hand clothes are being deconstructed and reworked into new unique garments. Old blankets are fashioned into cushions; china into jewellery; tarpaulins into bags and other items incorporated into all manner of craft. Chris Gibson and Elyse Stanes (2011) suggest that the refashioning of clothing is making a return, particularly in the fashion sustainability literature, as a means of extending the life of clothing. Chloe Colchester (2007) notes there are a growing number of eco design forums that promote sustainable design by creating functional objects or the refashioning of high value products from second-hand goods. Such sites she states are helping to transfer concerns of the once ecological fringe to mainstream thinking today.

Helene Cherrier (2010), in a study of those who demonstrated custodian behaviour (the continuous collection and hoarding of used material goods), researched whether this behaviour was an expression of anti-consumption. Although the study did not find behaviour was an expression of anti-consumption, it was concluded that custodian practices did illustrate more diverse ways of countering a throwaway culture. Many of the respondents defended their behaviour as recycling and reusing, in order to minimise waste. In a departure from ethical consumption per se, Nicky Gregson and Louise Crewe (1997) in a study of items bought at the car boot sale, suggest that the refashioning of clothing and objects provided an opportunity to demonstrate individuality, discernment, object attachment and cultural capital.

### **Is Quality an Accidental Driver of Ethical Consumption in the Second-Hand Market?**

The sourcing of quality goods is arguably a demonstration of discernment and cultural capital. In this study, it was often spoken about. Respondents saw the second-hand market as a source of quality, well-made goods. Not only quality, but affordable quality, as Pieter articulates:

You can find outrageous things in op shops. You can go and buy a beautiful, beautiful like lamb's wool jacket, fantastically fine, fantastic fit - \$7. I would pay \$800 in a shop for that and it's outstanding (July 31, 2011).

When Steph was asked what influenced her to buy second-hand goods, she replied in terms of quality.

Quality – definitely quality...when I go second-hand shopping, the first thing for clothing... the first thing I look for is fabric. I sort of go along the racks and when I spot a fabric which is really nice or appealing, I can guarantee when I've seen something it will be a very good fabric.

It will be silk or it will be wool. They sort of jump out at me. Yeah...quality, definitely (August 15, 2011).

When talking about buying vintage clothing, Felicity commented on the durability and quality of clothing in comparison to that available today.

And cos the clothes you kind of know they are more durable. Cos you know in the past, they made things better back then...rather than like today things just fall apart very easily. I don't know... just better quality (August 10, 2011).

Gregson and Crewe (2003) also cite the quality of second-hand goods as an often heard narrative. Product quality is much sought after and valued. Here value is that which is authentic, real and meaningful to the purchaser. The quality of the fabric used in vintage clothing is one of the key reasons for its rise in popularity, a reaction against the cheaply made, mass produced fashion alternatives of today (Bromley and Wojciechowska, 2008; Bardey, 2002; Palmer and Clark, 2005). The quality of a product is often akin to its aesthetic appeal. When talking about the quality craftsmanship of retro pieces Pieter comments:

For me it's about the object – it's a beautiful thing (July 31, 2011).

The influence of the aesthetic is also implied in Terry's statement when commenting on what influences people to buy antiques.

I think they like to feel they're spending their money wisely and therefore instead of going to Big Save... they like to think it's something to hand on, or they're not going to lose too much money. I think that influences them and they're buying something with a little bit of character, it's not soul-less and something they have either been brought up with, or have enjoyed, or would like to enjoy (August 12, 2011).

A further study by Louise Crewe, Nicky Gregson and Kate Brooks (2003) looked at how second-hand retailers, (principally retro clothing and goods retailers) positioned themselves within the market. They found that these retailers tended to position themselves within the cultural/creative sphere with a focus on the aesthetic highlighting difference, authenticity and quality.

The search for quality underpins ethical consumption as most of the sites of the second hand are in the business of recycling and refashioning. In an article in the New Zealand *Good* magazine, Ross Millar expresses this idea when writing about the enduring quality of antiques.

We kiwis often think that sustainable living is all about insulation and solar panels. These things are involved sure, but sustainability is about what endures. True sustainability starts when a building or object does its job for a 100 years or more – like my [antique] table (2010, p.88).

The interest in fair trade, organic products and craft, has also spurred interest in supporting local producers and artisans. In an article by Sarah Catherall (2011), Katie Lockhart, an Auckland interior designer and stylist states people today want really well crafted items for their home. They are looking for long term investments and items that won't date. Coupled with that is a desire for hand-crafted expression. As Juliet Schor (2008, cited in Mike Featherstone, 2011) contends, the investment in locally made, better quality, longer lasting goods is an important step to the development of small-scale, artisanal and sustainable forms of consumption supporting a more ethical way of life.

Although the perceived quality of many second-hand goods was an influential factor for the purchasers in this study, several vendors reported that this view was not held by all. When Pieter was asked whether he thought more

people chose to buy second-hand goods because they represented better quality and craftsmanship he stated:

I think people don't. Because many times people come in [to the shop] and say [re a beautiful reupholstered 50s chair \$480]...'oh that's expensive' and then they would go to Noel Leeming and pay \$800 for a crappy chair. I think a lot of people think because it's old it must be cheap. I say to people this thing is worth much more because it is fantastically made (July 31, 2011).

Similarly, Nicky notes the fact that people still seem to prefer cheap imported goods over quality second-hand goods:

That's the downside of cheaper imports – the quality is not there. But people don't think so much as to how long something is going to last anymore. They just see something that looks good and not necessarily thinking about how long it's going to last (July 16, 2011).

It is something that Anthony too bemoans, especially in relation to younger adults and their lack of interest in antiques:

It's fashion and trends. I don't know how you re-educate them [the 20-30 year olds] to make them try and see that the 150 year old chest in the bedroom is still as the day it was made, but the chest of draws they've bought two and a half years ago from China is now wobbly – the joints are going to give and they are going to have to buy another one (August 1, 2011).

Finally, Carmen comments on how hard it is to make money from craft because people do not appreciate the quality of materials used or the time spent in creating the piece.

It's so hard to make money. People don't appreciate how much work goes into making second hand or upcycled or refashioned. Do you know...have you been to Craft 2.0? [Author, Yes] so they will go round and you're behind your thing and often Shelly [fellow crafter] and I would hear 'I could make that' or 'you want money for that?' (August 8, 2011).

It would appear that those who actively pursue the purchase of the second hand understand the potential to perhaps find true quality while others overlook it and by doing so, the opportunity to indulge in a more ethical means of consumption.

### **Ethical Consumption: Is it only a Trend?**

If the quality of goods in the second-hand market is not something which underpins ethical consumption for all individuals as indicated in this study, what other influences could be in play? In the previous section, Anthony comments 'it's fashions and trends'. The media messages regarding ethical consumption are ever present. How much however, does this translate to an informed choice to buy second-hand goods or is it only a trend?

When respondents were asked the question, 'do you think people choose to buy second-hand goods as a means of ethical consumption?' the general consensus was that this was not the case. Anthony's comment was a common answer.

I have to be honest I don't see it coming through the auction system. I don't have anyone coming to me to say that's why we're buying these items. That may be but I don't see it (August 1, 2011).

In contrast though both Polly and Pieter said they often heard people say they actively chose to purchase second-hand goods because of their 'green' principles. However, both vendors questioned whether this was because it was a trendy thing to do, more the following of a fashion than a true commitment to ethical consumption. Polly states:

All the time...yes they do. I think it's a bit of lip service to the whole what/how we are supposed to be living more ethically. I don't know, I don't ask them to what degree they carry that through at home but if



they want to say that and express that and feel that in my shop, then I will allow and encourage and embrace that (July 18, 2011).

Pieter is somewhat more forthright in his opinion:

It's the whole environmental thing. It's a kind of fad in a way again. Cos I think in the 70s there was a lot of environmental things going on and let's be green, and then people got lost spending a lot of money on things, and now there's a big thing going back to that.

I think the whole retro thing is part of that... 'I want to be green so I am telling you I bought an old chair'. I don't really believe that because I think we are still full on consumers, but for a lot of people it's very much that.

[They say] 'I'm a greenie... recycling, reuse, grow your own, less food miles, stop depleting, stop wasting', so there's a whole kind of green scene which is also in a way a kind of fashion thing you know.

I think it's a bit ironic actually. I'm really cynical about the whole green thing. I think a lot of people do it because it's the fashion thing. [Talks about use of insecticides, dirty rivers etc not walking the talk].... I think it's like a fad. We're jumping in wanting to be green but actually we really don't care. There are a few people who care but I don't buy things just because I want to be a recycler. I think it's a bit of a trend thing and I think it's going to blow over. It's going to get to a point where we say 'no we don't do that anymore, it's over' (July 31, 2011).

Pieter's cynicism is tempered by his concern that too much focus is given to buying 'green' rather than buying less. When asked whether he thought ethical consumption was a fad perpetuated by the media, he stated:

Oh absolutely. You know it's...someone told me you should be saying don't buy green, buy less. The point is buy less. What we are saying now is we are buying lots of things but it's all green. What we should be doing is buying less stuff because we don't need the stuff (July 31, 2011).

Pieter's comments are echoed in a web article by Jehan Casinader (2008) entitled 'Is Fair Trade a Fad?' He suggests that people are becoming socially mindful not out of concern, but because "drinking organic coffee, eating free-range eggs and wearing ethically produced garb have quickly become a trend du jour". He quotes Simon Morton, host of television's 'Why We Buy' as saying "the marketing of fair trade goods is about giving people choices by building guilt around consumption. Things like this, which are trendy today, become fairly mainstream in a few years" (p.2).

Carmen also makes the comment that ethical consumption has become a trendy thing to do. However, where Pieter takes a more cynical view, she is more positive, linking it to the concept of voluntary simplicity, something she advocates. She states:

I also think it's quite trendy. It's become trendy to be in the garden, grow your own food, knit your own jersey's make your own clothes, cook your own food, instead of going out to the supermarket and buying a readymade meal, baking... It's kind of a mass movement of doing things simply and from the beginning. It's that whole wholesome being aware... Lifestyle just feels like it has become so toxic...something is not right. I think people have realised that we need to treat our selves and lives, our planet with more respect (August 8, 2011).

### **Buying the Second Hand: Is it Ethical Behaviour rather than Ethical Consumption?**

Carmen is the one person in this study where ethical consumption underpinned her commitment to buying the second hand. For most of the others, the decision to buy second-hand goods was not directly linked to the concept of ethical consumption as understood in the literature (the focus on the environment and over-consumption). For most it was not until prompted that these issues were spoken about. It was clear the messages had been heard, perpetuated by a vociferous media, but it was a not primary

consideration. For many respondents, while considerate of these concerns, and spoken about in subsequent conversation, there emerged a stronger driver. This was an underlying sense of moral obligation to give back, and a conscience of care. This is highlighted in these two statements made by Shivarn when asked about buying second-hand goods as ethical consumption:

I think it's really...I mean I always kind of liked the idea of second hand because the point is someone's trash is another person's treasure. They don't want it anymore which is the main reason that I tend to be dropping off Sally Army gifts so it's the idea of instead of someone having to produce another one – this one's in perfect condition you know why not just use because its less consumption on the world in general. I do donate quite a lot of my clothing back to the Salvation Army. It's a quite nice circle – you can't just keep emptying out their store you have to fill it yourself. For the most part the clothes I'm dropping off they are perfect quality. They are in fine nick. You don't put in anything junky. I can't wear it anymore so I put it out for someone else to wear (August 3, 2011).

And again when asked how much the idea of ethical consumption influences her second-hand shopping:

It does have an influence but it isn't big. The big thing for me is it's cool stuff and its cheap which is really what we buy everything for. But it is kind of a nicer feeling in that I don't come home with six items and each one comes in its own individual packaging and bags like if I go to the mall. It's a whole bunch shoved in one plastic bag. You feel a bit more ethical in that you are doing a correct thing with the way you are shopping as opposed to the mass consumerist feeling you get if you're shopping at the mall. There's a definite benefit feeling you are helping out the planet if you are buying at the Salvation Army. The money that they're using is supporting other people so it's a good way of getting your recycling environmental friendly thing on (August 3, 2011).

Similarly, this comment by Felicity on what influences where she buys second-hand goods:

Like with the Sally Army, it's going to charity and so you like to spend a bit more money there. Like Ziggurat [a vintage design store] and stuff like that, they're taking half and someone else is getting half which isn't as cool as giving to charity (August 10, 2011).

Marcel Mauss (2009) in his influential essay *Gifts and the Obligation to Return Gifts* states that when one gives a gift, one gives part of their self "a part of one's nature and substance" (p. 23). Rachel Hurdley (2006) contends the gift is loaded with moral imperatives. The investment of time, money, energy and emotion are the moral actions of the giver while appreciation of the gift by the receiver is required on their part. In this sense, the donation of either goods and/or re-investing in the purchase of second-hand goods underpins a sense of personal values manifesting itself as ethical behaviour rather than pursuit of ethical consumption per se.

For some respondents however, the choice to buy second-hand goods reflected both the merging of personal values with the ideals of ethical consumption as reflected in the comments by both Carmen and Cherry.

I try to live my life sustainably, I'm very conscious of that. We recycle, we like to grow some of our food in our garden and I am very aware with having kids I don't want a lot of plastic hanging around you know. I just think if we all did a little bit...I want to teach my children that as well so if I set that example (Carmen, August 8, 2011).

For me it's about sustainability, that's important to me. My job is with... we're a sustainable design company so I chose to work for them for that reason (Cherry, August 8, 2011).

### **Ethical Consumption and the Rise in Popularity of the Second Hand**

By its very nature, the second-hand market has provided the opportunity for individuals to participate in ethical consumption practice through the

recycling, reuse and refashioning of the material goods found there. The results of this study however have questioned this premise. Two of the respondents in this study, active purchasers of the second hand, did so because of their belief in the ideals of ethical consumption. For others, their approach to the second-hand market was underpinned more by an inherent obligation to give back and to participate with a conscience of care, especially in charity shops like the Salvation Army. They conveyed a sense of values in their approach, of ethics rather than articulating the mantra of ethical consumption. It is a subtle difference but I believe a stronger influence.

This finding gains support when the opinion of the retailers in this study is taken into account. These retailers of the second hand are doubtful that ethical consumption is a primary driver. Rather, they convey a level of cynicism stating that the buying of second-hand goods as ethical consumption is more a reflection of the 'trend du jour' rather than a true commitment to its principles. Certainly for the majority of respondents in this study, the decision to purchase second-hand goods as ethical consumption appears to be a secondary consideration.

This New Zealand sample would seem to contradict what has been found in the international literature. A more careful reading, however, reflects perhaps more wishful thinking. Much of the international literature suggests rather than provides hard evidence. There is no doubt that there are those who deliberately frequent the second-hand market because of their belief in the principals of ethical consumption to reuse, recycle and refashion. For the majority in this study however I believe it is not the primary reason. Steph's comment perhaps summarises the premise of this chapter the best.

I think it is a by product of what I do. It certainly isn't the main reason why I do it. I wouldn't own up and say that I buy second hand because I want to recycle. That would be down the bottom of the list if I'm honest. I think it's nice to think of the environment but it's not my

main incentive. I do like the fact that that is a by product of it you know. It does feel quite good that you're not buying brand new stuff and adding to it, but it's certainly not my main motivation that's for sure. My main motivation is shopping...I love to shop (August 15, 2011).

It is clear from Steph's comment that although ethical consumption is something she thinks about, it is not a primary driver for her. She states her main motivation is shopping, 'I love to shop'. What is it about shopping for the second hand that puts it above all else in Steph's mind? What drives her implied excitement of the shopping process? This is the subject of chapter three.

## **Chapter Three: Thrift and Fun as Motivations in the World of Second-Hand Shopping**

*First of all it is affordability, without a shadow of a doubt. It's the price they get things for. Secondly, it's the thrill of the chase. People come along...they never know what they are going to find...people come along and think they are going to find that treasure... They look for a bargain, a treasure no one else has seen. (Anthony, auctioneer, August 1, 2011)*

In chapter two the concept of ethical consumption in second-hand purchasing was explored. It would seem for the majority that it is not a primary consideration for individuals. What then are the practices and motivations that do guide second-hand shopping? In this chapter I will argue that there are two influential drivers which underpin the rise in popularity of the second hand. The first is the practice of thrift: a behavioural trait which manifests itself in the careful use of money and resources. The second driver is fun, a broad term which describes a range of positive motivations experienced by individuals in the act or process of shopping. Most people want to feel they are paying a reasonable price for goods and that the price paid represents value for money. But this is not the only motivator. For many, shopping is also a fun activity, a leisure activity that provides a welcome respite from the more mundane or pressurised aspects of work and living.

In the scholarly literature about consumption, the practice of thrift is not often considered as a factor in an individual's choice to buy goods, although it has been noted as a key, but neglected, issue in consumer research (Lastovicka, Bettencourt, Shaw Hughner and Kuntze, 1999). Similarly, much of the recent literature on shopping has focussed on either shopper classification typologies found particularly in the retail and marketing literature, or that relating to modern and post-modern consumption

(Gregson et al, 2002). There has been much less emphasis on what motivates an individual to go shopping, and second-hand shopping in particular.

Neither the retailers nor the buyers of second-hand goods interviewed for this thesis believed there was a typical second-hand shopper. According to Dennis, manager of a local Salvation Army store:

No they come from all walks of life. We see from Morris Minors to the Rolls Royces outside here and everything in between...no we don't have what I would class as a typical customer ( August 5, 2011).

Cherry, an avid second-hand shopper, agrees:

There's a real resurgence of second-hand shopping. I notice it on the weekends. As an example 'Gloria's' and that shop on a weekend is packed...as I am out that way on the weekend...with new couples, 20/30 somethings and then you will have people our age and it just...it covers all...everybody...and you wouldn't have seen that a few years ago (August 8, 2011).

If there is no typical second-hand shopper, what motivates the seemingly wide range of customers the second-hand market attracts? This chapter will focus first on the practice of thrift, its definition, history and its link to the sites of second-hand goods. Second, the motivations that underpin an individual's sense of fun when shopping will be explored and why the second-hand market enables these motivations to come to the fore.

### **Thrift by Definition and a Historical Precedent**

According to the online Oxford Dictionary, the word 'thrift' means 'the quality of using money and other resources carefully and not wastefully' (2011, p.1). Carmen provides an example of the thought and discipline put into her decision to buy. Her account also reflects resourcefulness, even though on this occasion she did not go through with the purchase.



If I need something I will buy second hand. I definitely think when I'm buying...like the other day and I actually regret not buying it...there was a huge pile of flannelette sheet material...probably would have covered our king size bed and a single bed or all the kids beds with fitted sheets and it was only \$25 and I didn't get it and I do regret it. I do think about it, I do weigh it up in my mind. It's got to be economical...it's got to be (August 8, 2011).

In a review of the scholarly literature on frugality (often a synonym for thrift, meaning sparing or economical regarding money or food), John Lastovicka, Lance Bettencourt, Renee Shaw Hughner and Ronald Kuntze (1999) found two common perspectives. The first perspective had a religious basis. Eastern and western religions have long discouraged the excess acquisition of goods and encouraged restraint, in lieu of gaining a greater satisfaction through spiritual growth. The hope of salvation lies in diligent conduct and the production of only necessary goods. A second perspective involves delayed economic gratification. In this instance, a better, more generous, future is the reward for current abstinence, and it is to be held in trust for future generations. Being frugal was not a deprivation in this context but, rather, a foregoing of short-term desires in lieu of a more worthy long-term goal. As an outcome of this study, Lastovicka et al redefined frugality as the careful use of resources and avoidance of wastefulness: "frugality is conceptualised as a lifestyle trait reflecting disciplined acquisition and resourcefulness in product and service use" (1999, p.96).

Historically, the concept of thrift has been a mark of pride, respect and proficiency, especially in relation to managing the home. Housekeeping was a highly skilled role in all households, rich and poor. The household, like most businesses of the time, required planning, management of servants, keeping track of goods, accounts and bills and knowing which vendors were trustworthy (Shaw, 2010). Books like the *Beeton's Book of Household Management* first published in 1861, set out to educate women in the

practical art of housekeeping. Mrs Beeton's mission was to elevate domestic duties to be something that women could be proud of doing well (Hughes 2005, cited in Shaw, 2010). This pride included a sense of competence that came from doing it all within a budget, as the core of good housekeeping.

According to Jenny Shaw (2010) prudence remains part of the skill of shopping:

Though it is expressed less today through knowing how to detect adulterated goods, shaved coins, false weights, short change and rotten vegetables, than knowing where to shop and find a bargain. The skill once needed to judge if cloth was straight or skewed ... and know by touch and smell when vegetables or fruit were ready to eat ... is not much called upon today, but knowing when and where new stock arrives or where there is a good outlet store is just as important (p.30).

There is a pride in purchasing thriftily and even as old skills are no longer required, there are new ones to replace the old, such as knowing how to utilise the Trade Me auto-bid function to maximise the chance of winning an auction.

The contemporary concept of thrift is still a mark of discipline, competency and resourcefulness and this is reflected in popular literature. In her book, *Thrift: How to have a Stylish Home without Breaking the Bank*, Bridget Bodoano (2005) argues that thrift is more than spending less; rather, it is about spending wisely. To her, thrift is not about penny pinching and deprivation, but getting the most from the money you have, using wit and wisdom and having fun at the same time. This is reiterated by David Blankenhorn, president of the Institute of American Values, who states that the idea of thrift is changing from scroogish penny pinching to a much more positive concept. "The goal of thrift is not to cut back, or scrimp and save, but

rather to enjoy the good things in life” (cited in Benett and O’Reilly, 2010, p.81).

Many of today’s magazines and books provide advice and guidance on thrifty practice. They also tap into today’s evident passion for all things vintage and retro. For example, in the March 2011 edition of *BBC Homes & Antiques*, there is an article titled ‘Thrifty Chic’. Its tag line is “Give your home a new lease of life this spring with just a simple lick of paint, a stencil or two and plenty of cheap and chic vintage finds” (p. 40). Another example is the book *Fabulous Flea Market Decorating: Dime Store Decorating without Spending a lot of Money or Time* by Jill Williams Grover (2001). The dust jacket of the book *Bazaar Style* by Selina Lake reads, “This book will appeal to magpies who have an eye for a hidden gem on a market stall or in a second-hand shop. Discover the world of creative decorating...” (2008). A visit to the local library, shop bookshelf or online store, will reveal many more articles and books of a similar nature as appendix one of this thesis demonstrates.

### **The Second-Hand Market as a Source of Value**

The second-hand market is by nature a site where thrifty behaviour can be put into effect. Material goods found in the second-hand market are often seen as a source of value for buyers, as articulated by Felicity, speaking about the purchases she has made at the Salvation Army store.

From the Sally Army, I’ve bought like books and photo frames. I’ve just bought heaps of photo frames that I have painted white with my own photos which I have all over my wall and they’re so cheap for all of that stuff, dress up parties go there for that, furniture...got quite a bit of stuff for the flat – they are so good for that definitely (August 10, 2011).

In a study of what motivates an individual to go shopping, Mark Arnold and Kirsty Reynolds (2003) identified six broad categories, one of which was

‘value shopping’, which refers to shopping for sales, discounted wares and bargains. It is also a key component of thrifty practice.

Seeking value for money goods often equates to affordability in the minds of buyers and becomes the driver to act. Affordability is an important motivator in this study as Christine notes when buying second-hand clothes via Trade Me.

Because it’s affordable, you can get designer labels that are affordable and I think...you know...it’s more reasonable (July 18, 2011).

And similarly, Steph comments on the popularity of the second hand in the following way:

It’s a great way for people to buy stuff you can’t normally afford (August 15, 2011).

Affordability is also an important consideration for the Salvation Army when pricing goods as Dennis explains:

We have been working really hard over the last 12 months...to make sure our prices were not tops. We’re going for turnover as opposed to top prices. You can furnish actually, your whole house for \$500-600 if you wanted to and buy a whole outfit for \$10 if you wanted to and you can’t do that in other places (August 5, 2011).

Other categories of shopping identified in the Arnold and Reynolds (2003) study included ‘*adventure shopping*’ which refers to shopping for stimulation, adventure, and the feeling of being in another world. A third category relates to ‘*social shopping*’: the enjoyment of shopping with friends and family. A fourth category is ‘*role shopping*’ or shopping for others and the enjoyment of finding the perfect gift, and the last category relates to ‘*gratification shopping*’ which involves shopping for stress relief, shopping to alleviate a

negative mood or as a special treat. Several of these categories address the fun aspect of shopping which will be discussed later in this chapter.

### **The Second-Hand Market in Today's Economic Climate**

With the way the economy is, people are going to have to look more to buying second hand. (Steph, August 15, 2011)

Steph's comment reflects an observation shared by several of the respondents in this study that the current state of the economy is having an impact on people's spending. In the past four years there have been major changes in many of the world's economies which have also influenced the New Zealand economy. In late 2007, the world was struck by a global financial crisis that saw banks and finance companies fail. The property boom that was occurring not only in New Zealand, but in other countries across the world, came to a shuddering halt (Johns and Black, 2011). New Zealand went into recession for the first time since March 1998. Access to credit became more difficult and household spending dropped for two quarters in a row, something which had not occurred since 1992 (Business Day, 2008, p.1). The uncertainty in global markets continues. In August 2011, there was a further shock to the world's financial systems which influenced global markets, a result of the cut in the United States' credit rating from AAA to AA+ on the back of a negative economic outlook, as well as concerns over Italian and Spanish debt (Business Day, 2011, p.1).

Because of global financial pressures, individual consumers are now more cautious about spending the money they have. For example, Shamubeel Equb, principal economist with the NZ Institute of Economic Research, noted recently that "retail spending has not increased a lot over the last couple of years and my interpretation is that we are making do with less" (Johns and Black, 2011, p.21). According to Jill Caldwell, director of the social research company Windshift, economising has become a new way of

behaving (Johns and Black, 2011). This is not a phenomenon confined to New Zealand. Consumers in the United States in 2010 are saving more of their incomes than at any time since 1993. This indicates a major shift towards thriftiness according to Andrew Bennett and Ann O'Reilly (2010) and it is a change in behaviour which is expected to be one of the lasting effects of the current recession.

The respondents in this study attribute the rise in popularity of the second-hand to the change in the economic climate and the impact of that on people's spending. Janet notes how the second-hand market offers individuals an economical and wide-ranging source of goods.

I think it is largely to do with economy...largely to do with that people have less disposable income...[In the second-hand market] there is a lot more to choose from (August 5, 2011).

Dennis also referred to this change and the value for money the Salvation Army store offered.

I think it's got a lot to do with where money is in our community. I think that the lack of money currently has made us more popular, but also we are not trying to get top dollar for things. So for us, getting top dollar isn't the name of the game (August 5, 2011).

This change in consumer behaviour is becoming evident in the contrast between first and second-hand retailing businesses. Many second-hand businesses (especially clothing stores) are expanding. Geraldine Johns and Joanne Black (2011) cite an Auckland store called 'Tatty's', which is now so popular that a second store has been opened in the CBD employing 31 full-time staff. Its aim is to have no less than 3000 items in stock at any one time. The same trend is occurring in other cities across New Zealand. In 2009, Emma Geraghty of the *Wellingtonian* interviewed the manager of 'Recycled Boutique', Janet Collings, who stated that the demand for second-hand

clothing had grown so much that staff are often working overtime. This has led the business to open additional stores in other areas of New Zealand. In an article on the fine art of shopping for the second hand, Rebecca Stevenson notes that buying second-hand goods enables one to satisfy both needs and wants at a fraction of the price of buying new. Quoting Jackie Gower of the *Simple Savings* advice website, she contends that “Before the recession, people had this misconception that if you wanted to save money, you had to be poor. But it’s about the principle of thrift” (2011, p.1).

Conspicuous consumption appears to be out of fashion and thrift is in. Daniel Miller (1998) found that when he asked shoppers about their shopping skills, his respondents almost always answered in terms of thrift. Their answers included not only the ability to find things at a cheaper price, but also they restricted purchases to those they really needed or could afford. For Miller, thrift is defined as an end in itself. People go shopping to have the experience of saving, whether that is encompassed in the thrill of finding a bargain or by simply sticking to a budget.

### **Being Thrifty is also Fun**

Seeking an opinion on whether the practice of thrift was smart shopping, Cherry answered my question by answering:

It is... and there’s something that goes a bit further than that. It’s a buzz because you’ve spotted it. It’s just a lovely feeling when you know you got bargains. It is a bargain because it is beautifully made, it’s of some value to you because it’s from an era that appeals to you...it ticks all the boxes. ( August 8, 2011)

It is clear from Cherry’s comment that there is more to shopping for second-hand goods than just because it is economical to do so. There is an associated joy with finding a bargain - a buzz. That euphoria is shared by Steph who says:

I enjoy getting a bargain – the buzz of the bargain. Money obviously has a big impact. I used to earn really big money but I don't anymore but my tastes haven't changed. I think it's more buzz than anything...the buzz of just getting that bargain and feeling like that you've...you did well (August 15, 2011).

Dennis also notes the importance of finding bargains and how the Salvation Army has used this as a marketing tool.

Our current ad on TV says we are a good place to buy at an economical price and it says if you are lucky, you might even find a bargain! You find some real bargains and we are quite happy with that (August 5, 2011).

In a study by Fleura Bardhi and Eric Arnould (2005), the ways in which shoppers practiced thrift in the shopping process was explored and they identified any positive or 'treat' benefits respondents gained from doing so. Through participant observation and ethnographic interviews with those who shopped at second-hand stores, they identified two key factors that motivated shoppers: a sense of satisfaction gained from being thrifty and the idea of having fun.

The researchers began by identifying a number of thrift-based practices engaged in by shoppers. The most common related to pre-planning, bargain hunting and recycling. For those where pre-planning was a practice, the researchers found that their study participants did not necessarily go with a particular thing in mind to buy, but rather with broader ideas regarding what they were going to shop for and for whom. They had a good idea of the preferences and needs of household members and friends along with a mental calendar of upcoming events and occasions they needed to buy for. These shoppers emerged as careful consumers who planned, searched and organised purchases for themselves, family and friends throughout the year (Bardhi and Arnould, 2005).



Bargain hunting was also a pervasive practice. Focussed on saving money, participants perceived second-hand shopping to be a money-saving alternative to first-hand shopping and typically searched out the sales, special deals and clearance items. A third practice was recycling. All the respondents in their study stated that they engaged in some form of recycling behaviour amongst friends and family (clothes swapping or hand-me-downs) or donating back to the thrift store itself.

Many of the respondents in the Bardhi and Arnould (2005) study also commented on the fun of second-hand shopping and described it as exciting. Finding bargains was like a treasure hunt; there was always the possibility of finding the unexpected. Hidden treasures were waiting to be found and for many it became a game, with the object of finding 'gems' for the lowest possible price. Finding such treasures also allowed respondents to fulfil their desire for luxury and collectable items. 'Gems' included finding items made of special materials like silk or leather, well known designer labels such as Chanel, Hilfiger or collectables such as crystal, silver or antiques.

Many of the respondents in this thesis noted that the thrill of the hunt and finding the unexpected were important aspects of the fun of second-hand shopping. As Cherry articulates:

We're fossickers; we're treasure hunters (August 8, 2011).

Pieter, co-owner of a retro design store, makes this interesting comment, reflecting an individual's love of fossicking.

We really style the shop quite a lot, and I see many times that when the shop is a total mess, that's when people have the most fun there. The moment we make it all pretty and everything is lined up and the colours work together, then people will kind of just look around...or sometimes I come back from a buying trip and there's a big table full of stuff and not priced and still dirty – everyone zooms for that table because they want to make the discovery (July 31, 2011).

In their study of the car boot sale, Jonathan Stone, Suzanne Horne and Sally Hibbert, found that there is often an associated search for action and adventure, the thrill of the hunt, finding the bargain, the 'treasure'. They contend this is analogous to the motive of the gambler:

Is the motivation of the Las Vegas gambler different from that of the boot sale shopper in anything but the unpredictable benefit of their activities? Neither knows when the reward will come - be it the jackpot or an unrecognised antique or bargain (1996, p.7).

In finding a bargain, there is also an element of competition. It is important to be the first person to 'spot' a potential find and by so doing, beat any opponent who might stand in the way (be it family, friend or online bidder). Shivarn notes the ongoing competitiveness between herself and her sister Devon.

Particularly with me and Devon it's always been a competition to see who can get the best bargain. I got a \$60 couch and she got a \$10 one so I am at some point going to have to find a \$5 couch from there to beat her! (August 3, 2011).

Christine did not want to lose an item when bidding in online auctions.

Yes very much on Trade Me. I think it's a bit of competitiveness coming in and you think I'm not going to let them get that...I want that...and it can be quite disappointing if you miss the time frame and you miss out...you've tracked it down so you have put your ownership on it (July 18, 2011).

Not wanting to compete with her sister was the reason put forward by Steph for her preference to shop alone at times.

You don't have to share the good stuff. When I go with my sister and she always tends to find the good stuff...There's nothing worse than someone saying what do you think of this? Oh it's really nice...dammit! (August 15, 2011).

While Steph states she enjoys shopping alone at times, other respondents in this study talked of the joy of shopping with friends and family, as Shivarn testifies:

My best friend is also a really keen second-hand shopper. Me and her will just hit the shops and we will spend the entire day throwing clothes between our two changing rooms respectively. It's definitely a lot more fun when she comes (August 3, 2011).

Part of the fun of second-hand shopping articulated by respondents in this study was also tied to 'time out'. For some it was being with friends and family (as noted above) or alone, out for a break or fresh air. In this second sense, Cherry notes that second-hand shopping is sometimes a treat, if she is feeling a little down.

Sometimes the attraction is emotive and it can be...for me...when I am feeling depressed or down. I have to say I will trot along to somewhere like Galleria and wander around without the intention of buying but I'll see something that perhaps I don't need as much and I will buy. To walk around some of these places is a comfort (August 8, 2011).

From Anthony's perspective, the auction room also provides a welcome break for many.

In the CBD, it's half an hour or hour out for all the offices around here and other retailers... it's a wee break on a Tuesday for them. If you walk in you will see the breakdown of who comes along. It's the well suited and booted. Half the sale room is the shirt and tie brigade, boys from down parliament, boys from the ministry, that sort of thing (August 1, 2011).

Russell Belk, John Sherry and Melanie Wallendorf (1988) in a study of the swap meet (akin to the car boot sale), found that the outdoor environment was often a motivating factor for both buyers and sellers because it provided

a freedom from the institutional restraints of jobs, offices, traditional retailing and rules of behaviour.

### **Thrift and Fun are Equally Important in the Rise in Popularity of the Second Hand**

While affordability and price are often cited as the first reason for buying second-hand goods, there are other motivations, as demonstrated in this chapter, which go beyond purely economic reasons. These motivations are much more hedonistic in nature. There is a fun element to shopping: the search for bargains, the thrill of the chase, getting there first, finding that treasure and sharing it with family or friends. To eighteen year-old Shivarn, being successful at second-hand shopping is a mark of status.

To a certain thing it's a status thing...so cos it's like yes, yes, I am a second-hand shopper... but it's an awesome thing to be. Like with the ball dress, it's a different sort of personality and a different approach to second-hand shopping...getting a cheap dress would be 'oh dear you couldn't afford anything better' but with my ball dress, I went around saying I bought this dress for 20 bucks! I was so proud of it...and everyone else said that was awesome (August 3, 2011).

From a psychological perspective, shopping smartly and purchasing well is grounded in motivational theory (Arnold & Reynolds, 2003). An individual is motivated by the need to succeed and to be seen as a competent achiever. Success results in a personal sense of satisfaction. The more hedonistic pleasures that respondents in this thesis have outlined are also grounded in psychological theory. They encompass a need for stimulation and expression through play and creativity, affiliation, and tension reduction, all essential to maintaining a sense of balance in everyday life (Arnold & Reynolds, 2003). Perhaps in a world of increasing uncertainty, the second-hand market allows one to maintain a sense of competency, as well as to take time out, by indulging in its hedonistic pleasures, be it a an online auction, a car boot sale, op shop or market.

Buying second hand also broadens the options for people. It allows shoppers to save money and to get value for money by paying a reasonable price. It brings many items within the realms of affordability, something which is being given greater consideration in today's economic climate. In a world where consumption is still a favoured activity, the second-hand market provides a cheaper alternative source of goods. It is a market where individuals can put thrift into practice, to shop smarter yet also exercise restraint.

The findings from the New Zealand respondents in this thesis support the conclusions of the academic literature. The most common answer regarding the rise in popularity of the second-hand market today was price or 'the cheapness factor' as Felicity, in this study, noted (August 10, 2011). However, it is quickly qualified by the addition of other motivational factors. Price alone is not enough. The importance of both price and pleasure is most aptly summed up by Steph:

If I think it's a good price then I'll have it. Sometimes I'll have it even if I don't need it because I like it...It's the sheer joy of second-hand shopping, finding a bargain. I buy for my husband, I buy for my son... (August 15, 2011).

The rise in the popularity of the second hand is related to thrifty practice and to fun, encompassed in a range of behaviours and pleasures derived from finding the bargain, the treasure, and the 'diamond in the rough'. Not only is the thrill of finding a bargain a pleasurable act but the often chaotic world of the second-hand market provides the opportunity to find something different, that possibly no-one else has. Finding that unique piece to wear or to put in your home is defining. It aids in the creation of a sense of the self and one's place in the world. Why this is important is the subject of discussion in the next and final chapter.

## Chapter Four: The Second-Hand Market and a Sense of Self and Place

*I like the look...I've always... my whole life have liked that old, old look. It's just who I am. It's what I like. I like that kind of old shabby chic rough second-hand look (Carmen, August 8, 2011).*

In the last chapter, I argued that there are two important influences which underpin an individual's decision to purchase second-hand goods. The first is the practice of thrift; a behavioural trait which manifests itself as the careful use of money and resources. The second influence is the idea of having fun; a broad term which describes a range of positive emotions experienced by individuals in the act or process of shopping. Success is quantified in finding a bargain, an item which expresses value for money or an unexpected 'treasure'. These are great motivators but what is it about the bargain item itself or the 'treasure' unearthed that excites the individual to make the purchase? In this chapter I will argue that it is the second-hand object itself and its link with identity which is a key driver.

As individuals we are defined not only by what we say and do but by what material things we own, be these clothes, cars or furniture. All of these things help to construct and aid in the performance of who we are: our identity. Our identity is that which distinguishes us from one another. It includes personality traits, values and beliefs, the social roles we occupy and perform at different times and places and the objects we possess. All of these serve to communicate something about ourselves (Seidler, 2010, Woodward, 2007).

In their book *Shopping, Place & Identity*, Daniel Miller, Peter Jackson, Nigel Thrift, Beverley Holbrook and Michael Rowlands contend that "identities [are] discursively constituted through narratives of the self, constructed in

relation to socially significant others [friends/family] and articulated through relations with particular people, places and material goods” (1998, p. 24).

People confer on objects a ‘social life’ through their creative accounts or narrative. The idea that objects can have ‘social lives’ was originally noted by Arjun Appadurai (1986). He proposed a new perspective on the circulation of commodities. By focusing on commodities as things that are exchanged, rather than on the forms or functions of that exchange, he argued that commodities like persons have social lives. Igor Kopytoff (1986) extended this idea by arguing that the production of commodities was both a cultural and cognitive process. In a given cultural context objects can be defined by people as commodities or not. Objects can therefore move in and out of that status and become de-commoditised by people according to personal meaning, relationships or ritual. One way they do this is by the stories told about an object. As Dick Pels, Kevin Hetherington and Frederic Vandenberghe state: “objects need symbolic framings, storylines and human spokespersons in order to acquire social lives; social relationships and practices in turn need to be materially grounded in order to gain temporal and spatial endurance” (2002, p.11).

Second-hand goods are a prime example of an object having a ‘social life’. Felicity tells the tale of how her friend made a new dress out of an old nightie.

My flatmate saw someone wearing this dress and it was like velvet with a heart on the back. She got a velvet nightie from the op shop and cut a heart in the back. She completely altered it to look like a really expensive dress (August 10, 2011).

This nightie once bought new, maybe on the high street, was worn for a period of time, then cleared from the wardrobe and sent to the op shop. It

was then 'found' by Felicity's friend, refashioned into a dress, with a cut out heart. Now it is likely the most favoured item in her wardrobe. Not only has the item been de-commoditised and then re-commoditised, it has been reconstructed, given new meaning and an identity which reflects that of its new owner.

It is the meaning given to an object and the emotions it generates which help the individual to define their sense of self and their place in the world. In this chapter I will show that the rise in popularity of the second hand is linked to meeting this need. In a world of homogeneity, underscored by mass-produced goods and the sameness of items, the second-hand market is uniquely placed to enable an individual to express who they are. The chapter will begin with the appeal of items purchased in the second-hand market, and how they enable the expression of identity. Then it will focus on why identity creation is an important aspect of living in a post-modern society today.

### **The Object as an Expression of the Self**

In an essay on consumer behaviour, Russell Belk (1988) notes the importance of understanding the meanings people attach to their possessions, and that people regard their possessions as part of themselves. The concept is not new and was first iterated by William James in 1890. " A man's self is the sum total of all that he can call his, not only his body and his psychic powers, but his clothes and his house, his wife and children, his ancestors and friends, his reputation and works, his lands, and yacht and bank-account" (James 1890, cited in Belk 1988, p.139). In other words, a person's sense of self extends to and includes the objects, things and people in his or her environment. Objects are an extension of the self. What is purchased or collected becomes



a self-expressive and creative act, which conveys to others something of that person.

A focus on the object as an expression of the self was evident in much of the popular literature reviewed for this thesis. In particular, there was an emphasis on how an object can be transformed or refashioned in a way that makes it uniquely one's own. In the book *Rediscovered Treasures – A New Life for Old Objects*, Ellen Dyrop and Hanna Kristinsdottir state in their forward:

Where people see old junk, we see potential treasure, and are inspired to give our rediscovered articles a new purpose and a new decorative role in our lives. We are always on the lookout for so called 'junk' that can be used in so many ways to reflect our imagination, our personalities and unusual style (2011, p.7).

Similarly, *Second-Hand Style: Finding and Renewing Antique Treasures* by Cris Dupouy (2002) conveys the relationship between the object and identity, and also the meaning we give to objects. In the preface Dupouy writes:

This book invites you to consider the world differently. It invites you to wander through the world...We fill objects with our desires and wishes. By transforming or interpreting them, we assert our individuality, our desire to create a magical oasis in our everyday lives.

### **The Appeal of Difference**

Just as objects are an extension of the self, the objects often sought in an effort to define oneself are those that no-one else has. They are the items which are different or can be refashioned or reconstructed into a unique form. In an age of mass production where the high street and the malls dominate, finding the unique piece can be a challenging task. To many, this is the appeal of the second hand, whether found in the thrift or charity shops, auction, market or vintage and retro design shops. In this study, getting

something different from the 'same old, same old' found in many of the stores on the high street, is one of the appeals of buying second-hand goods as Shivarn articulates:

The thing I really like about it [buying second hand] is that I can get really different things particularly with so many mass marketed shops. Like I have basically Supre, Glassons & Jay Jays to choose from, particularly in my price range... my only options and it all does look similar (August 3, 2011).

Christine offers a similar comment:

Because they're a bit different and you know it's stuff that's not in the shops, so it gives you...you don't want the same as everyone else...that's why you get it...that's why I get it anyway...you know you're not going to get it anywhere else (August 18, 2011).

Catherine Bardey notes that:

Men and women shoppers today are bored by the cookie cutter designs hanging on department store racks and are looking for something unique, something that will set them apart from the crowd. They are tired of mass market 'branding' and don't want to be another walking advertisement for a designer's label (2002, p.18).

Thrift and charity shops have come to occupy a particular position in the wider mainstream fashion industry. They are not merely repositories for old clothes but now act as alternative sources to mine for previous styles and looks (Gibson and Stanes, 2011). Specialist shops have also grown as a new form of retail, those that focus on designer labels, design classics and the well made. Vintage is regularly featured within the pages of fashion and lifestyle magazines and is promoted as a sign of individuality and connoisseurship. It offers the magic of having something that no-one else has (Palmer, 2005). In a web article on vintage clothing, answering the question 'Why buy old clothes when you can get new ones?' Fashionz.co.nz writes:

When you're wearing vintage you know you can waltz your way into any party confidently knowing that no other girl will be wearing the same dress. In fact chances are that no other girl in the world will be wearing the same frock (2008, para. 4).

Respondent Polly, who owns a second-hand clothing boutique, agrees that uniqueness is a key reason why her clients return to her shop.

The woman who will come back to me again and again will be the woman who wants to be as unique as possible and she knows that she will find it in my shops and not in the main street shops. She wants to redefine herself (August 18, 2011).

Finding that 'something different' is also a means to 'stand out' as Shivarn comments:

I tend to buy basics from actual stores like this striped top but the overdress I put with it is usually second hand because you tend to get the nice plain skirt or T shirt from mainstream stores and that's fine - but to get the one item that makes you 'stand out' will often be second hand, because that's where I get more original things.

Maintaining a sense of uniqueness also seems to be an ongoing process, as conveyed by Felicity:

I just think everyone wants to be a lot more unique, like no-one wants to have the same clothes as this person, like so you go like op shopping so you know that you're the only one who is going to have it...where you are anyway. I don't know just cos fashion is evolving so much, you just want to keep getting more like extraordinary I guess...you have to keep going back through that cycle.

The importance of uniqueness was recognised by store owners in this study and often used as a marketing tool. Dennis spoke of the great variety of goods the Salvation Army has and the opportunity that it provides for individuals to find something unique and different.

Variety... and even in the clothing you know, like, I went up to Suzanne Grae the other day with my mother to do some shopping, and they have got about 30-40 different sorts of articles that have come in for their season, different colours but basically the same sort of articles, but we would have probably for the same sort of time, 4-500 different varieties that come through in different colours and that makes it so more interesting (August 5, 2011).

In contrast Pieter states simply:

Surround yourself with things you like. Make yourself unique. I sell a lot of that to people (July 31, 2011).

Making oneself unique also allows one to be the arbiter of one's own style. Shivarn recognised that buying second-hand clothing freed her from the whims of fashion and enabled a focus on the uniqueness of pieces.

It's really just the uniqueness of it, like... because it doesn't have an age or season or trend or limit to what would be in stores - so it is stunningly unique and beautiful things that will come up in second-hand shops that I won't be able to get anywhere else (August 3, 2011).

Janet, who designs and refashions second-hand clothing into new pieces, noted that many of her clientele already have a strong sense of their personal style. They are less focussed on trends and consequently more open to wearing items not found in mainstream stores.

I tend to have reached more mature women because of my own age. A lot of mature women I have found, that if they like clothes, they have sort of got a strong sense of their own personal style already. They are going to be less afraid. They are less focussed on trends and less concerned that people might think they're a bit weird. That's a strong market for me (August 5, 2011).

Marilyn De Long, Barbara Heinemann and Kathryn Reiley (2005) explored the motivations behind those buying and wearing vintage clothing and how vintage had been revalued by those who wear it. They found that the appeal

of vintage was related to uniqueness, having and wearing something that nobody else can, and to looking great. None of the women in their study were striving to echo contemporary fashion, but rather to assemble their own distinctive, individual look. They were creating their own personal aesthetic by bringing together their own all-vintage outfits or mixing vintage with new pieces. To Alexandra Palmer and Hazel Clarke (2005) the ability to find and wear vintage clothing enables an individual to operate outside of the dictums of fashion by becoming one's own designer. This is reiterated by Bardey who states:

Shopping and wearing vintage is kind of like being your own designer, because you get to pick and choose and combine items from a variety of eras, creating a new identity through clothes and accessories (2002, p.22).

Creativity and imagination are enabled and brought to the fore through this kind of second-hand shopping.

### **The Second-Hand Market, the Collector and Counterculture**

Finding the unique item is also the domain of another purchaser of the second hand, the collector. Werner Muensterberger (1994) defines collecting as "the selecting, gathering, and keeping of objects of subjective value" (p.4). As each collector attaches different meaning and value to an object, their value is subjective. Rebecca Ellis and Anna Haywood argue that:

Collections are assemblages of goods that project the taste, discernment and the knowledge of their owners, and intrinsic to the acting of collecting and the performance of this 'knowledge' is that objects should be geographically scattered and retrieved from spaces of 'unknowingness'(2006, p.45).

Such sources include the sites of the second hand. Acquiring an object especially at a good price is part of the ritual of collecting.

People have always been collectors - from the collection of interesting pebbles found in an 80,000 year old cave in France to the treasures brought back by explorers displayed in the Renaissance *Wunderkammern* or 'cabinet of curiosities', to the fascination of the Victorians with objects of science and the natural world. While tastes and fashions have changed over time and continue to change, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that which is deemed to be 'collectable' has greatly expanded (Belk, 2001). Unlike previous generations of collectors, it is not so much the exotic or concepts of the 'other' which attract attention but rather the material culture of everyday life (Pearce and Martin, 2002). The idea that one person's trash is another's treasure now finds merit. In this sense the second-hand market has become re-codified as a group of the "purveyors of collectables" (Pearce and Martin, 2002 p.xvii).

Russell Belk (2001) contends that one of the greatest benefits of collecting is that it brings a sense of magic into the lives of those who collect – 'a self-transcending sacredness' (p.94). The locus of this sacredness once tied to religion then to science in modernity, is now consumption in today's world.

Collecting epitomises the sacralisation of consumption in the contemporary world [and] although the locus may have changed, the need for something that is transcendent, luminous and magic in our lives remains (Belk, 2001, p.94).

Collecting is both an act of production and consumption. Collectors create, combine and classify objects into meaningful collections as well as participate in a market-based economy in order to obtain them. Collectors are passionate about what they collect. Shopping for their collection is described by Belk as "a treasure hunt, an adventure, a quest and a delight" (2001, p.72). Rarity, authenticity and uniqueness are highly prized, as are objects which are imbued with the memory or narrative of previous lives. The objects of the collector are intrinsically related to their identity.

Subcultures perform a very different act of production and consumption than that of collectors, but it is one where authenticity and uniqueness in dress is also a crucial component of identity formation. Identity is created through the subcultural experience. Here dress and objects are either created or appropriated; they form a bricolage of style. As much of a subculture's 'style' cannot be found on the high street, the second-hand market becomes a natural alternative from which to craft their look. For example, the Edwardian style jackets of the 1950s 'Teddy Boys' from which they took their name; and the flowing ethnic inspired clothing of the 1960s hippy movement are just two (Guffy, 2006, Wilson, 2005). Similarly, members of the 1970s punk movement fashioned garments from trashy fabrics (PVC, plastic and lurex) which were designed to mock notions of society and taste (Wilson, 2005).

The 'Teddy Boy', the hippy and the punk subcultures are only a few examples of many subcultures that have existed and continue to exist today. Why subcultures appear to be recurrent features of life in the industrial world is addressed by Elizabeth Wilson:

In a fluid society that is nevertheless still grossly unequal, individuals and groups find different ways to distinguish themselves; moreover individualism is encouraged, and dissent up to a point, tolerated. In this 'democracy of wealth' in which everyone is free to make herself or himself unequal and in which society oscillates between the poles of public show and private self, a space opens up between the iron order of the body politic and the wayward lawlessness of the ego (2005, p.203).

Here too, there is a clear correlation with identity; a requirement to create a unique sense of the self.

## **Authenticity, Originality and the Charm of History**

It is not only the uniqueness of an item which appeals to purchasers of the second hand. What makes an item unique is that it has no other; it is often a stand-alone piece, an original, authentic to the period when it was first made. Such objects have a charm because they are legitimised by history and seen as enduring, honest and credible. Their authenticity and originality accord them a status. Felicity tells the story of her girlfriend, whose skirt was purchased second hand and given elevated status because of its originality.

A friend got a skirt last year from Recycled Boutique and it wasn't cool...it was cool but not at the time it wasn't 'cool' and then Glassons like half a year later, got them all in and then suddenly everyone was wearing them...but like hers was very much the same, but she got hers from the op shop, so hers was slightly cooler because it wasn't from Glassons, hers was an original, more authentic (August 10, 2011).

Carmen articulates the importance of authenticity as an expression of the self.

I like the look...I've always my whole life have liked that old – old look. It's just who I am. It's what I like. I like that kind of old shabby chic rough second-hand look (August 8, 2011).

Part of the attraction is that the originality of an object also inspires the imagination; it is simultaneously a story to be told. Christine makes the following comment:

Knowing that stuff has a bit of history...but not just the personal history of who owned it before but where it comes from, who made it. It all adds interest. It's got a story to tell (July 18, 2011).

And Pieter reiterates the delight people take in telling the story of an authentic find.



I think there's also the authentic thing. I think people like the story of a thing. 'I bought this in a little store in 'dadada' and I fixed it up' (July 31, 2011).

Virginia Postrel (2003) notes there are three common and influential meanings of authenticity. They relate first to the 'purity' of original form, second to the surface meaning of an object as fixed by tradition (that is, used only for the purpose it was intended) and third the object has an 'aura'; a sense of history reflected in the changes and imperfections left by use and the passage of time. She contends however that such definitions are impersonal. They have little to do with the desires or the purposes to which an individual might want to use a given object. Rather, she suggests three alternative views. First, that the attraction of the original results in sensory pleasure. This may be the formal harmony and/or balance of the object or the delight it engenders. Second, that the authenticity of an object connects it to a specific time and place. Third, that the object serves as an expression of the self ('I like that' or 'I'm like that').

A study by Heike JenB (2004) researched the dress practices involved in the construction of authentic sixties style, among members of the sixties scene in Germany. Those involved in the sixties scene perform their period style on an everyday basis, living a lifestyle which is completely dedicated to the 1960s. Authenticity is an important aspect and used as a tool in the construction of sixties identities. Members shop for original items of the period and objects found are appreciated for their rarity and uniqueness. Clothing and other objects purchased represent the past in the present, offering a means to imagine history today, and the opportunity to literally 'get in touch' with an idealised decade.

When authentic items cannot be found, reproductions of items are purchased but are often refashioned, altered or combined with authentic pieces as a means to construct the uniqueness required. To members of this group, historical accuracy and the credible performance of the style as close as possible to the original is critical to their individual and collective identity and commitment to the period. Joanne Entwistle notes (2000, cited in JenB, 2004) that authenticity in appearance is linked with the self and the body, the site of identity and authenticity. This commitment to the 1960s often transcends other aspects of everyday life in the choice of cars and furnishings for the home. In this context, along with dress, 'living the life', constitutes the performance and situation of the self, aligning identity formation with consumption and material culture (JenB, 2004).

Although not many would have such a commitment to a period or practice, for many, the appeal of buying second-hand goods is the bringing of past and present together. It provides an opportunity for imagination and fantasy. In an article on vintage clothing, it is noted that "collecting vintage is like collecting fragments of history" (Fashionz.co.nz, 2008, para. 5). Lovasz (2006) comments on how past and present are brought together via an eBay purchase of vintage clothing and magazines.

After I open these packages, I proceed to do the same things that women in the past did: I try on new dresses, flip through the pages of my new-old magazines, just as I do with contemporary dresses and magazines. I thereby overlap the past habits of these women with my present ones, collapsing the distinction between the past and present... My (real) present overlaps with the (imagined) past of someone else, and in this way I live, briefly, a part of the past (p. 283).

Just as objects from the past inspire the imagination, they are also imbued with memory. Carmen recognises the importance of memory attached to objects, both recent memory and historical.

I am a person that loves kind of delving into the past. I like that whole history behind things. I like...it is very important to me...memories that are attached to objects that have been passed on through generations, I love that. I really love that. I think that...it's important to me to kind of hang onto things like that (August 8, 2011).

As well as purchasing, the display of cherished objects is an important factor as a study which focussed on how people created a sense of home found. When Sophie Chevalier (1999) asked about these pieces, her respondents told stories which evoked memories of holidays, family gatherings and key events such as weddings and birthdays. Similarly, Annemarie Money (2007) found that objects which people had in their living rooms were often used to maintain a connection between people or to places. As Stephen Riggins (1994) states, "it is through objects that we keep alive the memory of families and individuals that may otherwise be forgotten" (p.2). Often the items of clothing and other objects found at the sites of second-hand goods evoked similar responses: 'my mother had a dress like that' or 'I was given a vase just like that for my 21<sup>st</sup>'.

Another emotion often linked with memories is nostalgia. Carmen conveys her thoughts on the popularity of all things retro in such terms:

You go to Pak 'n' Save and they have the old cylinder thing in that retro style and it's really expensive and people will buy it...because gingham and polka dots, picnic baskets you know ...it's just, it is a real, it is a very popular thing and it's because it does have that link to nostalgia and that whole memory thing (August 8, 2011).

Nostalgia is a word often associated with the notion of the past. Pam Cook (2005) defines nostalgia as "a state of longing for something that is known to be irretrievable, but is sought anyway" (p.3). Nostalgia is also generally associated with fantasy. For example, today's popular costume dramas rely on empathy and identification with the characters to create memories. While

not based on first-hand experiences, they elicit a powerful emotional effect. There is also often a sense of loss associated with nostalgic encounters because it is predicated on knowledge that what is past is gone forever. As Cook (2005) states “nostalgia plays on the gap between representations of the past and actual past event, and the desire to overcome that gap and recover what has been lost” (p.4).

Nostalgia also relies on history and memory either constructed or lived through. Raphael Samuel (1994) contends that both are inherently revisionist and that memory is an active, shaping and dynamic force. It is also historically conditioned, changing shape from generation to generation. History is subject to a series of amalgamations and erasures of memory. To Samuel, “it brings the half forgotten back to life, very much in the manner of dream thoughts and it creates a consecutive narrative out of fragments, imposing order on chaos, and producing images far clearer than any reality could be” (2004, preface p.x).

Among my respondents, Pieter connects the resurgence of interest in the past with the fast pace of life in post-modern society.

There’s a lot of stuff about people wanting to get in touch with the past...For some people it’s very much especially the whole kind of thing around the tea parties – you know going back to old traditions, old family values. I think people as they get more and more out of touch... with themselves I suppose...as life gets too fast, they need these things almost as a kind of reference point (July 31, 2011).

Such a premise is also reflected in the popular literature. For example, in her book *Retro Modern*, Lisa Skolnik (2000) writes:

Evoking powerful feelings of nostalgia, modern architectural and interior design styles from decades past are finding themselves

equally home in the present. With their sleek lines and biomorphic curves, mid century furnishings offer a refreshing minimalist look that provides welcome respite from the sensory overload of today's hectic world.

In both these comments there is an implied yearning for the simplicity of the past. However, Michele Fioroni and Garry Titterton (2009) suggest that individuals imagine a past that is more beautiful and gentle than in reality it ever was. A new concept of authenticity results "which considers the true, the authentic, to be the result of an idealised construction of the past" (p.24). Such introspection is fuelled by today's marketing focus on nostalgia branding, the media, film and television as well as a burgeoning heritage industry (Samuel, 1994, Brown, 2001, Fioroni and Titterton, 2009).

Nostalgia, as well as the search for authenticity, has been identified by academics as characteristic of post-modern society. This is especially so for the time preceding the millennium (Palmer and Clark, 2005). Peter Ellyard (2009) contends we are being influenced by the Janus effect. Janus is the Roman god of beginnings and endings, and of doors and gates. Janus has two faces: one for looking forward and one for looking back. The Janus effect causes one to dwell on the threshold, looking backwards and forwards over one's lifetime, contemplating one's journey so far, and what could or should happen next.

### **Identity in a Post-Modern Society**

The link between identity and the purchase of things is one which has dominated much of the academic literature from the 1980s onwards. Ian Woodward (2007) suggests that the purchase of goods or commodities exists within a culture of 'hypercommodification' (p.135). Newness, beauty and status are important to forming one's identity. This commoditisation of all

aspects of human life has encouraged people to meet human needs through the purchase of things. He contends that this mode of identity formation has occurred as a result of the large-scale social change brought about by living in a post-modern society.

Glenn Ward (1997) notes there was no single point at which post-modern society came into being and in itself modern society tends to resist simple explanation. Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright (2009) suggest that we do not live in a post-modern world but rather one in which aspects of post-modernity conflict and contrast with aspects of the modern and pre-modern world.

A world which is both pre-industrial and post-industrial, in which many of the qualities that characterised modernity (the speeding up of time and compression of space that resulted in part from urbanisation, industrialisation and automation) have become conditions of post-modernity alongside and in relation to virtual technologies and the flows of capital, information and media in the era of globalisation (p.309).

Many aspects of modernity, in particular, science, technology and progress remain fundamental to post-modern society. It is globalisation however, which has seen a fundamental change in how the world operates, economically, politically and culturally. The conditions under which globalisation has become manifest result from increased rates of migration; the rise of multinational businesses; international trade liberalisation; the development of global communications; post-industrialisation; the decline of the nation state and a seeming 'shrinking' of the world as a result of changes in the way commerce is performed and the impact of communication technologies (Sturken and Cartwright, 2009).

Life at all levels is now strongly influenced by developments at a global level. Krishan Kumar (2005) contends that it is the information and communication

technology revolution that links people and places worldwide through the internet and other media that gives globalisation its decisive power. Never before has there been the level of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, as that brought about by globalisation and advances in communication technologies. It is the 'space of flows' of the global network that complement, extend and according to Kumar "replace the predominant sources of our experiences and identities" (2005, p.7).

The globalisation of communication technologies has enabled an increased circulation of the concepts, ideas, influences and politics of more powerful nations and multinational corporations which has led to a homogenisation of global culture. Principally it is that of the western culture. One of the paradoxes, however, is that globalisation has also fostered diversification and a renewed focus on the local and national. As Kumar (2005) states, "the creation of an abstract, homogeneous space sets up a contrary impulse towards localisation, differentiation and diversity" (p.205).

### **The Impact of Communication Technologies**

Arthur Neal (2007) suggests it is through the many forms of communication technologies that society becomes informed about itself. Of particular note is the news media. Seeking information via the news media allows people to understand societal norms and deviancy, public attitude and behaviour. It also delineates social trends and within that, multiple discourses on history, fashion and the home. In this way, what is seen, heard or read, serves to validate an individual's everyday assumptions or clarify the need to modify their understanding. The messages that flow via the mass media are interpreted and passed on through formal social relationships, within family groups and communities of individuals, who perpetuate the messages and ensure the communicative flow.

An alternative form of media is the mass entertainment industry, which is oriented to the joys and conflicts implicit in living in the world (Neal 2007). Mass entertainment creates pseudo events as real life situations which dramatise personal troubles, social conflicts and historical events. Through the symbolising of events, entertainment becomes a type of collective mirror reflecting an individual's self image and those of society. The entertainment industries often take responsibility for the telling of history. However, conveying the past can become a selective form of memory and the events portrayed are often used as a reflection of the problems and challenges of contemporary living. In this context "history becomes a form of remembering in which the mix of fact and fiction is of less concern than the entertainment value of the production" (Neal 2007, p.100).

Jean Baudrillard (1987, cited in Sturken and Cartwright 2009) notes that the media constructs rather than conveys the truth of information. He introduced the concept of simulation to describe a collapse between what is real and what is constructed, something that exists in a world strongly influenced by communication technologies. The world according to Baudrillard becomes one where it is no longer possible to distinguish the imaginary for the real; it is a hyper reality. The world becomes a world of simulacra, of images. Unlike normal images, simulacra are copies that have no originals or where the originals are lost. These images become representations of reality rather than reality itself.

The blurring of reality as portrayed in today's global media creates uncertainty about the world and one's place in it. Where once modern culture was defined by the concept of universal progress and identity, fixed by the norms of society and the roles one played, bound by race, class and gender, post-modern culture is increasingly shaped by global media. Within post-modern culture, identities have become much more fluid. There are



ever increasing numbers of ways through which people communicate as well as diverse approaches to establishing identity and ways of belonging.

Victor Seidler (2010) contends that within post-modern society there is a greater emphasis on people's ability to create their own identities. Identity becomes a matter of choice based on values and beliefs. One can take on different identities at different times in different circumstances. Just as post-modern society is fragmented, so too are the identities forged. The creation and maintenance of identities of self and society require a great deal of mental effort because of constant change, change within ourselves and in the world around us. As most people now live in urban centres, individuals have become more self conscious about their way of life, their social role and more anxious about their place in the world. However human agency enables the individual to make decisions and shape their identities and lives through the actions they take (Ward, 1997).

Neal (2007) suggests that when the social environment is uncertain, individuals often refrain from making life plans but rather choose a more hedonistic view of living for today and letting tomorrow take care of itself. In this context Ward (2007) suggests that identity is something that can be shopped for. It has become increasingly related to what we buy or want to buy and those goods are used as signals of both individuality and a sense of belonging. David Harris suggests that as concepts of identity within modernity decline, identity becomes increasingly tied to consuming behaviour.

As the consumer market is more flexible and more dynamic than the older ways of regulating identities, much more fluidity is apparent: people can change their identities more frequently, experiment with them, select more options from the cultural supermarket with much less commitment than before. The usual social effects of modernity are therefore displayed acutely in consumer behaviour; in particular

the collapse of internal differentiations, as 'consuming' becomes emblematic of freedom and choice (1996 p.207).

### **Identity and the Second-Hand Market**

In post-modern society, with a relaxation of the more defined roles people played in modernity, there is now much greater flexibility for individuals to choose how to live their lives. What is purchased, and the meaning given to or conveyed by objects, act as markers of identity. They define who we are. However, the goods available to purchase in today's vast array of malls and in the high street shops is problematic. In many of these sites of consumption, homogeneity is the rule. From one city to the next, you will find the same shops on the high street and in the malls. They all carry the same lines of goods, mass produced to ensure access for all customers, in line with the fashion of the moment.

It is clear that this is not what all individuals want. In this study, many respondents stated they did not want 'what everyone else had' or 'to look the same as everybody else'. Differentiation was important for this group in creating their sense of identity. Even though many of this New Zealand sample still purchased from mainstream shops, they chose the second-hand market for the item that would make them 'stand out'. This then is the appeal of the second-hand market. Here you can find the unique item, the piece which is different from that currently found on the high street. It is the piece which is 'great as it is' or has the potential to become even better through refashioning or revamping.

In a world of the hyper-real, the second-hand market also offers the chance for individuals to find the authentic and the original. The history of the object may invoke the imagination, of times past or memories of significant events or people. It may be the object of significance to a collector or provide an

individual with the opportunity to indulge their fantasy or to live another life. For those finding the hectic pace of life in post-modern society overwhelming, the second-hand market offers escape to 'simpler times' via the nostalgia invoked by objects on display.

The object itself is an important consideration and driver to purchase the second hand for the respondents in this thesis because it allows them to create a sense of the self and place in the world. This finding is in line with other research on consumption and identity in this area, which is primarily centred on understanding the popularity of vintage and retro clothing and goods. My study takes a broader view, however, in that it focuses on the second-hand market and all that it offers to a wide range of people from the perspective of both buyer and seller.

Globalisation has meant a coming together of the world and its people. Today's communication technologies constantly bring news of the latest trends and fashions and products for consumption. The negative consequence of this is that there is a homogeneity which pervades both the international and domestic market. There is less opportunity in this market to say 'this is who I am'. The second-hand market, in contrast, operates under its own set of rules, in that anything and everything usually goes. It is for this reason that the popularity of the second-hand market continues to grow.

## **Conclusion: The Rise and Rise of the Second Hand**

The second-hand market has had a long history. Over time it has been both venerated and vilified. In pre-modern times, dealing in the second hand was a respectable profession. The goods themselves had currency and value. They had both a functional value and a social value; they represented a mark of standing within the community. This was especially true of the antique, avidly sought by those in the rising middle classes of the nineteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century however, with the greater availability of mass-produced clothing and goods, buying new became a point of pride. It also epitomised the age of modernity, a time of dramatic technological change, forward thinking and universal progress. The second hand became once again for the poor and less privileged. It was a way of thinking which prevailed even through the Depression and war years, despite an ethos of 'make do and mend'.

The post-war years of the 1950s and 60s heralded a new world of abundance which saw a change in thinking about the second hand. Yard and garage sales became a popular form of leisure activity. Dedicated second-hand markets grew in response to a new class of individuals, the youth, whose means of expression often favoured the second-hand market as a source of supply. The growth of the car boot sale and development of charity shops in the 1980s and 90s and establishment of online auction sites saw the last vestiges of stigma attached to the second hand removed.

In the twenty-first century the second hand seems to be more popular than ever. In a world where there is an abundance of newly-made goods - some would say an overabundance of goods available to the consumer - the second-hand market presents a paradox. With the vast array of choice the consumer has today, why is the consumption of all things second hand so

popular? This is the question I have attempted to answer in this thesis. I have reviewed the broader literature (including the popular literature) and conducted interviews with a sample of individuals who are both avid purchasers and vendors of the second hand. In doing so, I have attempted to add to the scholarly discussion with some new findings and I hope this study will act as a stimulus for further research.

Based on the existing literature and my primary research, I divided the research into four categories. The first of these is what I call the (life)style aesthetic. I argue that lifestyle and second-hand consumption are linked just as they are in first-hand consumption. The academic literature about lifestyle contends that what we buy is influenced by our chosen lifestyle, real or imagined. Defining one's lifestyle is embedded in culture, in particular ways in western culture. It is an ongoing process which is continually influenced by a powerful and seemingly infinite mass communication network. Its many and varied mediums stimulate an endless interest in new aspects of fashion, music, art, design and ways of living. The consumer marketplace therefore has become key to lifestyle definition and to individual and collective identity; its vehicle is style and fashion.

Style and fashion are seen as markers of status and wealth, where aesthetic quality has become a symbol of distinction, overtaking function. Perpetuated by the design industry, lifestyle dreams rather than mere material goods are sold to consumers. Endorsed by celebrities whose lives inspire imagination and fantasy, the material goods chosen by them become symbols of aspiration and success. The rise in popularity of vintage clothing and retro goods has been made all the more appealing by becoming the garments and goods of choice for current celebrities. Their inclusion too in first-hand retail sites has now placed the second-hand firmly within the realms of contemporary fashion. Coupled with a heightened desire for quality and

originality, a new aesthetic mantra has elevated the second-hand market to be an acceptable and desirable source of goods. Certainly for the respondents in this study, the links between fashion, the desire for vintage clothing and retro goods in particular, and celebrity endorsement, is very much part of the continuing rise and popularity of the second hand. Buying the second hand has become 'the trendy thing to do'.

While the link has been made between consumption and lifestyle, and the influence of style and fashion, there is very little literature that makes a direct link between these factors and the popularity of the second-hand market. Style and fashion are powerful dictators of inclusion. Where the first-hand market often excludes many, primarily on price, the second-hand market offers possibility. Often respondents in this study shared their joy with me of finding contemporary New Zealand design - a 'Trelise Cooper' blouse or 'Zambesi' dress - at a fraction of the price it would be on the high street.

Some connection has been made in the literature between lifestyle choice and the second-hand market, in the arena of ethical consumption, the topic of chapter two of this thesis. The second-hand market by its very nature is one which supports the mantra of ethical consumption: to consume differently, to recycle, reuse and refashion. Those who support the philosophies which underpin ethical consumption will often choose a lifestyle which reflects these ideals. Two lifestyles choices in particular are 'voluntary simplicity', an approach where simplification in all aspects of life is the goal, and 'sustainable consumption' where the focus is on consuming differently and more efficiently. Indeed, within this New Zealand sample, there were two respondents who had chosen to live their lives based on these philosophies.

The consideration of ethical consumption has been fuelled to a large extent by a vociferous media. The popular literature abounds with articles which exalt the need to live and consume differently, as well as providing a plethora of advice and guidance on how to participate in this new regime. Although there is a growing literature on ethical consumption, there are few articles linking it to the popularity of the second-hand market. There have been associations made between concerns about what is seen as excessive and wasteful consumption and that which is environmentally unsound, and with buying the second hand. However, ethical consumption has equally been linked to the growth in other forms of market, for example, farmers markets as well as organic/cruelty-free produce, clothes swaps, vintage fairs and festivals. The refashioning of clothing and other goods has also been cited as evidence of ethical consumption. The main source of supply for many of these 'recrafted' items is usually the second-hand market.

While there is merit in this argument and for many, ethical consumption will be an important consideration, it was not one supported by the respondents in this study. When asked whether they believed individuals chose to buy second-hand goods as a means of ethical consumption, the consensus was that this was not the case. The majority of the vendors stated that their customers did not convey this idea. Where vendors stated this had been voiced as the reason for purchase, it was accompanied by a level of cynicism. The vendors questioned whether the buying of second-hand goods for some was about following a trend rather than a true commitment to ethical consumption.

It was not until the respondents were prompted that these issues were spoken about. Although it was clear that the media messages had been heard and understood, it was not a primary consideration. Rather, a stronger, related driver emerged. In many of the conversations held with respondents,

an underlying sense of moral obligation to give back, and a conscience of care was conveyed. This was an ethical consideration (especially in relation to purchases at charity shops) rather than ethical consumption per se. Both however, reflect a set of personal values, the frame of reference for chapter two of this thesis.

The academic literature to date suggests, rather than providing any direct evidence, that ethical consumption has underpinned the growth in popularity of the second-hand market. While it is likely to have had and will continue to have an influence, especially in the light of the strong media messages about ethical consumption, there are other drivers. It was the practices and motivations behind the decision to purchase second-hand goods which were the subject of chapter three. Here the practice of thrift was explored.

The practice of thrift has not been often considered in the academic literature regarding an individual's purchasing choices. However, it is an influential factor, and one which is given major thought in the choice to purchase from the second-hand market. Today's concept of thrift is not about spending less but rather about spending wisely. It is also about getting the most for your money. In today's economic climate and its accompanying uncertainty, the practice of thrift takes on a greater importance. Much of the popular literature provides advice and guidance in this area. The popularising of all things vintage and retro has not only highlighted the second-hand market as a source of lower-cost goods, but has also made it fashionable to wear and decorate your home without spending large amounts of money.

The second-hand market provides a source of value. Value for money is an important aspect of thrift but it is also a motivator. Value equates to affordability and affordability becomes the driver to act. Yet there is more that motivates second-hand shopping than getting value for money. There is



an inherent sense of achievement in finding a bargain, a treasure that no-one else has found. It is a motivating factor that has been highlighted in earlier academic research and shows no sign of abating. Certainly in this study, it is a great motivator. The love of finding a bargain is also a marketing tool well understood and utilised by the vendors in this study. Accompanying motivations include the thrill of the hunt and finding the unexpected. These emotions create an excitement and instil a sense of fun in the act of shopping. Often this includes an element of competition, especially if shopping with friends and family, which adds another dimension to 'the game'. In this, the New Zealand sample reflects the findings in the international academic literature. Price is always a factor, thrift is the practice which enables one to get value for money, but price alone is not enough. It has to be a pleasurable activity for individuals as well. Success in shopping then becomes a mark of status.

Most of these practices and motivations are grounded in psychological theory and are essential to defining oneself as a competent and successful human being. While these motivations also drive first-hand retailing, shopping at both first-hand and second-hand sites broadens the opportunities for individuals to be successful. Finding a bargain will always be a key motivator, however. In an age of mass production and homogeneity, the thrill of the hunt and finding the unexpected on the high street has become a much rarer and more diluted experience.

There is something inherent to the 'find' in the second-hand market that does not easily occur in first-hand retail. As detailed in chapter four of this thesis objects have a social life, a history, a life lived before. Objects are an expression of the self. They are imbued with memory and emotion. They are an integral part of one's identity. In defining one's identity an individual seeks a point of difference. It is the unique that is sought and the second-hand

market is well placed to meet this need. Historically, this has been reflected in youth cultures, whose 'look' and income has been derived from the second-hand market. The second-hand market has also privileged the collector with different and sometimes rare finds. The desire too for authenticity and originality in a world of pastiche and reproduction has underpinned the popularity of all things vintage and retro. Today, the second-hand market allows the individual to dress and decorate their homes in a unique way. It also allows one to imagine and to fantasise about times past, perhaps simpler times, when the world appeared to be not so chaotic. For the respondents in this study, the importance of defining oneself and a place in the world was paramount. Differentiation was important for this group, as it is for all individuals in creating their sense of identity. The second-hand market with its 'anything goes' mantra privileges it as a source of objects to express one's identity.

Consumption is a favoured activity. History has shown that it always has been and will continue to be. What we buy defines who we are, and style and fashion act as powerful agents that define the parameters within which we create our own identity. Although the options today are broad, the media does its best to tailor our thinking, with mass-market advertising and promotion. Human agency however enables the individual to choose whether they work within or outside of these subtle dictates as evidenced by the subcultures of the past and present. There will always be a place for the second hand as it provides an ever broadening set of options for people as to how they dress themselves and decorate their homes.

An independent think tank, Trendwatching.com scans the globe for the most promising consumer trends, insights and related hands-on business ideas. One of twelve crucial consumer trends they have identified for 2012 is 'Recommerce' (2012, sec. 10). Here 'trading in' is the new buying where

everything is available for resale, from electronics to clothes to experiences.

They state that there are three motivations behind this trend. These are:

- Nextism: consumers will forever crave new and exciting experiences promised by the 'next'.
- Statusphere: the growing status boost that comes from being savvy and shopping (environmentally) responsibly and;
- Excusumption: cash-strapped, recession-stricken consumers embracing creative solutions to spend less and still enjoy as many experiences and purchases as possible

Each embraces topics covered in this thesis: thrift, fun and ethical consumption in particular. Nextism also emphasises by implication, that there will always be an ever changing array of new lifestyle trends, styles and fashions to choose from. However we might embrace them, they will act as markers of identity. It is likely too, that the second-hand market will be well placed to meet these needs with its ever increasing array of available goods; just as it has always done.

This study has provided a uniquely New Zealand perspective on the second hand, in which both buyers and vendors of second-hand goods have been interviewed, something which has not been done before. The vendors who have been interviewed have ranged across the 'hierarchy' of outlets from the op shop to the vintage and retro design stores. The popular literature has also been explored, how the second hand is framed, talked about and utilised, to understand what discourses are promoted and messages reinforced within the general populace. By extending beyond the buyers of the second hand to include the vendors, as well as including a popular literature review, new perspectives have been offered. These perspectives have both confirmed and contrasted with the scholarly literature offering new opportunities for further research. In particular, the connection between

ethical consumption and the popularity of the second hand is still unclear. The findings in this study did not find ethical consumption to be a primary consideration when purchasing second-hand goods, in contrast to much of the international scholarly literature. In the review of popular literature undertaken for this thesis, much of it concentrated on books and magazines found in the library and in the book store. Less time was spent looking at the vast resources available to people via the internet. This includes websites, blogs and social media as well as the trading sites: eBay and Trade Me (here in New Zealand) which by default support the buying and selling of second-hand goods. It would be an interesting study to explore, in future research, their specific influence on the popularity of the second hand especially as they are relatively new phenomena. One thing is certain: the rise and rise of the second hand is set to continue for a long time yet.

## Bibliography:

- Allerston, P. (1999). Reconstructing the second-hand clothes trade in sixteenth and seventeenth century Venice. *Costume*, 33, 46-56.
- Andrews, M., Sclater, S., Squire, C & Treacher, A. (2006). *The uses of narrative: Explorations in sociology, psychology and cultural studies*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Appadurai, A.(1986). *The Social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*. Cambridge, Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Arnold, C. (2009). *Ethical marketing and the new consumer*. West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Arnold, M. & Reynolds, K. (2003). Hedonic shopping motivations. *Journal of Retailing*. 79, 77-95.
- Ashmore, S. ( 2008). Liberty & lifestyle: Shopping for art and luxury in nineteenth-century London. In Hussey, D. & Ponsonby, M. (Eds.), *Buying for the home: Shopping for the domestic from the seventeenth century to the present*. (pp. 73-90). Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Bardey, C. (2002). *Wearing Vintage*. New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers Inc.
- Bardhi, F. & Arnould, E. (2005). Thrift shopping: Combining utilitarian thrift and hedonic treat benefits. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, 4(4), 223-233.
- Belk, R. (2001). *Collecting in a consumer society*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Belk, R. (1988). Possessions and the extended self. *The Journal of Consumer Research* 15(2), 139-168.
- Belk, R., Sherry, J. & Wallendorf, M. (1988). A naturalistic inquiry into buyer and seller behaviour at a swap meet. *The Journal of Consumer Research*, 14(4), 449-470.
- Benett, A. & O'Reilly, A. (2010). *Consumed: Rethinking business in the era of mindful spending*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Berger, A. (2010). *The objects of affection: Semiotics and consumer culture*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

- Bodoano, B. (2005). *Thrift: how to have a stylish home without breaking the bank*. London: Quadrille Publishing Ltd.
- Bromley, I. & Wojciechowska, D. (2008). *Very vintage: the guide to vintage patterns and clothing*. London: Black Dog Publishing.
- Brown, S. (2001). *Marketing: The retro revolution*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Business Day (2008). *Recession confirmed as economy shrinks*. Retrieved August 29, 2011 from <http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/646381/Recession-confirmed-as-economy-shrinks>
- Business Day (2011). *NZ market tumbles in wake of US credit downgrade*. Retrieved August 29, 2011 from <http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/market-data/5404910/NZ-market-tumbles-in-wake-of-US-credit-downgrade>
- Casinader, J. (2008). *Is fair trade a fad?* Retrieved January 11, 2012 from <http://idealog.co.nz/magazine/15/is-fair-trade-a-fad>
- Catherall, S. (2011, February, 19). Break out the brights. *Dominion Post*. p. 28-29.
- Chalmers, E. (2011). *Modern vintage style*. London: Ryland, Peters & Small.
- Cherrier, H. (2010). Custodian behaviour: A material expression of anti-consumerism. *Consumption Markets & Culture*. 13(3), 259-272.
- Chevalier, S. (1999). The French two home project: Materialization of family identity. In Cieraad, I. (Ed). *At home: An anthropology of domestic space* (pp. 83-94). New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Choi, S. (2011). Anti consumption becomes a trend. *SERI Quarterly*, 4(3), 117-120.
- Clarke, A. (2000). Mother swapping: The trafficking of nearly new children's wear. In Jackson, P., Lowe, M., Miller, D. & Mort, F. (Eds.) *Commercial cultures: Economies, practices, spaces* (pp. 85-100). Oxford & New York: Berg.
- Cohen, D. (2006). *Household gods: The British and their possessions*. London & New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Colchester, C. (2007). *Textiles today: A global survey of trends and traditions*. New York: Thames & Hudson.
- Cook, P. (2005). *Screening the past: Memory and nostalgia in cinema*. London & New York: Routledge.

Crewe, L., Gregson, N. & Brooks, K. (2003) The discursivities of difference: Retro retailers and the ambiguities of 'the alternative'. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 3(1). 61-82.

DeLong, M., Heinemann, B. & Reiley, K. (2005). Hooked on vintage! *Fashion Theory*, 9(1). 23-42.

De Mooij, M. (2011). *Consumer behaviour and culture: Consequences for global marketing and advertising. (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition)*. California: Sage Publications Inc.

Denzin, N. (2006). Narrative's moment. In Andrews, M., Sclater, S., Squire, C & Treacher, A. (Eds.), *The uses of narrative: Explorations in sociology, psychology and cultural studies*. (pp. xi –xiii). New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Derakhshani, T. (2008). Our celebrity madness: A reflection of consumerism. In Fitzgerald, T (Ed.), *Celebrity culture in the United States*. New York & Dublin: The H.W. Wilson Company.

Dunn, R. (2008). *Identifying consumption: Subjects and objects in consumer society*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Dupouy, C. (2002). *Second-hand style: Finding and renewing antique treasures*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc.

Dyrop, E. & Kristindottir, H. (2011). *Rediscovered Treasures: A new life for old objects*. London: New Holland Publishers (UK) Ltd.

Edwards, C. & Ponsonby, M. ( 2008). Desirable commodity or practical necessity? The sale and consumption of second-hand furniture, 1750-1900. In Hussey, D. & Ponsonby, M. (Eds.), *Buying for the home: Shopping for the domestic from the seventeenth century to the present*. (pp. 117-137). Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Ellis, R. & Haywood, A. (2006). Virtual\_radiophile (163): eBay and the changing collecting practices of the U.K vintage radio community. In, Hillis, K., Petit, M. & Epley, N. (Eds.), *Everyday eBay: Culture, collecting & desire*. Oxon & New York: Routledge.

Ellyard, P. (2009). *Ideas for the new millennium*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Entwistle, J. (2000). *The fashioned body: Fashion, dress & modern social theory*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Fashionz (2008). *Guide to vintage clothing*. Retrieved August 15, 2011 from <http://www.fashionz.co.nz/advice/guide-to-vintage-clothing.html>

Featherstone, M. (2007). *Consumer culture and postmodernism*. London, Sage Publications.

Featherstone, M. (2011). Foreward. In Lewis, T & Potter, E. (Eds.), *Ethical consumption: A critical introduction* (pp. xviii - xxviii). Oxon & New York : Routledge.

Fioroni, M. & Titterton, Gary. (2009). *Brand storming: Managing brands in an era of complexity*. Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Franklin, A. (2002). Consuming design: Consuming retro. In Miles, S., Anderson, A. & Meetham, K. (Eds.), *The changing consumer: Markets and meanings* (pp. 90-103). London & New York: Routledge.

Franklin, A. (2011). The ethics of second hand consumption. In Lewis, T & Potter, E. (Eds.), *Ethical consumption: A critical introduction* (pp. 156-168). Oxon & New York : Routledge.

Geraghty, E. (2009). *New demand for second-hand clothing*. Retrieved July 25, 2011 from <http://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/local-papers/the-wellingtonian/2847080/New-demand-for-second-hand-clothing>

Gibson, C. & Stanes, E. (2011). Is green the new black?: Exploring ethical fashion consumption. In Lewis, T & Potter, E. (Eds.), *Ethical consumption: A critical introduction* (pp. 169-185). Oxon & New York : Routledge.

Gibson, L. (1999). *A Stitch in Time*. Palmerston North: Methodist Social Service Centre.

Ginsburg, M. (1980). Rags to riches: The second-hand clothes trade 1700-1978. *Costume*. 14, 121-135.

Gregson, N. & Crewe, L. (1997). The bargain, the knowledge, and the spectacle: Making sense of consumption in the space of the car boot sale. *Environment & Planning D: Society & space* 15(1), 87-112.

Gregson, N. & Crewe, L. (1998). Dusting down second hand Rose: Gendered identities and the world of second-hand goods in the space of the car boot sale. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 5(1), 77-100.

Gregson, N., Brooks, K & Crewe, L. (2001). Bjorn again? Rethinking 70s revivalism through the re-appropriation of 70s clothing. *Fashion Theory*, 5(1), 3-28.

Gregson, N., Crewe, L. & Brooks, K. (2002). Shopping, space and practice. *Environment and Planning D: Society & Space*, 20, 597-617.



- Gregson, N. & Crewe, L. (2003). *Second-hand cultures*. Oxford & New York: Berg.
- Guffy, E. (2006). *Retro: The culture of revival*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd.
- Guiot, D. & Roux, D. (2010). A second-hand shoppers' motivation scale: Antecedents, consequences and implications for retailers. *Journal of Retailing*, 86(4), 355-371.
- Harre, R. (2002). Material objects in social worlds. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 19(5), 23-33.
- Harris, D. (1996). *A society of signs?* London & New York: Routledge.
- Haslam, M. (2000). *Retro style: the 50s look for today's home*. London: Cassell & Co.
- Henderson, A. (2008). From Barnum to 'bling': The changing face of celebrity culture. In Fitzgerald, T (Ed.), *Celebrity culture in the United States*. New York & Dublin: The H.W. Wilson Company.
- Herrmann, G. (1996). Women's exchange in the US garage sale: Giving gifts and creating community. *Gender & Society*, 10(6), 703-728.
- Hillis, K., Petit, M. & Epley, N. (2006). *Everyday eBay: Culture, collecting & desire*. Oxon & New York: Routledge.
- Horne, S. (1998). Charity shops in the UK. *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management*, 26(4), 155-161.
- Horne, S. & Maddrell, A. (2002). *Charity shops: Retailing, consumption & society*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Humphery, K. (2010). *Excess: Anti-consumerism in the West*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Humphery, K. (2011). The simple and the good: Ethical consumption as anti-consumerism. In Lewis, T & Potter, E. (Eds.), *Ethical consumption: A critical introduction* (pp. 41-53). Oxon & New York : Routledge.
- Hurdley, R. (2006). Dismantling mantelpieces: Narrating identities and materializing culture in the home. *Sociology*, 40(4), 717-733.
- Iyer, R. & Muncy, J. (2009). Purpose and object of anti-consumption. *Journal of Business Research*, 62(2), 160-168.
- JenB, H. ( 2004). Dressed in history: Retro styles and the construction of authenticity in youth culture. *Fashion Theory*, 8(4), 387-404.

- Johns, G & Black, J. (2011, June 25). The hard sell. *New Zealand Listener*, 21-26.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998). *Destination culture: Tourism, museums & heritage*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Kopytoff, I. (1986). The cultural biography of things: Commoditization as process. In A. Appadurai (Ed.), *The Social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*. (pp. 64–93) Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kumar, K. (2005). *From post-industrial to post-modern society*. Malden, USA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Labrum, B. (2007). Hand-me-downs and respectability: Clothing and the needy. In Labrum, B., McKergow, F. & Gibson, S. (Eds.), *Looking flash: Clothing in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 112-131). Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Lake, S. (2008). *Bazaar style: Decorating with market and vintage finds*. London: Ryland, Peters & Small.
- Lambert, M. (2004). 'Cast-off wearing apparel': The consumption and distribution of second-hand clothing in northern England during the long eighteenth century. *Textile History*, 35(1), 1-26.
- Lastovicka, J., Bettencourt, L., Shaw Hughner, R. & Kuntze, R. (1999). Lifestyle of the tight and frugal: Theory and measurement. *The Journal of Consumer Research*, 26(1), 85-98.
- Lemire, B. (1997). Peddling fashion: Salesmen, pawnbrokers, tailors, thieves and the second-hand clothes trade in England, c. 1700-1800. *Textile History*, 22(1), 67-82.
- Lewis, T & Potter, E. (2011). *Ethical consumption: A critical introduction*. Oxon & New York : Routledge.
- Littler, J. (2009). *Radical consumption: Shopping for change in contemporary culture*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Lovasz, K. (2006). Playing dress-up: eBay's vintage clothing land. In Hillis, K., Petit, M. & Epley, N. (Eds.), *Everyday eBay: Culture, collecting & desire*. (pp. 283-293). Oxon & New York: Routledge.
- Malhomme de la Roche, A. (2011, March). Thrifty chic. *BBC Homes & Antiques* pp. 40-47.
- Mauss, M. (2009). Gifts and the obligation to return gifts. In Candlin, F. &

- Guins, R. (Eds.), *The object reader* (pp. 21-31). New York: Routledge.
- McAdams, D. (2002). Identity and the life story. In Fivush, R. & Haden, C. (Eds.), *Autobiographical memory and the construction of a narrative self: Developmental and cultural perspectives* (pp. 187-208). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- McKenzie-Price, I. (2011, May). Editorial. *Ideal Home Magazine*, 5, p.4.
- McKergow, F. (2000). Opening the wardrobe of history: Dress, artefacts and material life of the 1940s and 1950s. In Dalley, B. & Labrum, B. (Eds.), *Fragments: New Zealand social & cultural history*. (pp. 163-187). Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- McLeod, R. (2005). *Thrift to fantasy: Home textile crafts of the 1930s-1950s*. Auckland: Harpers Collins Publishers (New Zealand) Ltd.
- McRobbie, A. (1989). *Zoot suits and second-hand dresses: An anthology of fashion and music*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd.
- Miles, S., Anderson, A. & Meethan, K. (2002). *The changing consumer: markets and meanings*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Millar, R. (2010, October/November). Around the table. *Good Magazine*, 15, p.88.
- Miller, D. (1998). *A theory of shopping*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Miller, D. Jackson, P., Thrift, Nigel., Holbrook, B. & Rowlands, M. (1998). *Shopping, Place & Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Ministry for the Environment. (2011). *Second hand goods – pleasures and pitfalls*. Retrieved 14 June, 2011 from <http://www.sustainability.govt.nz/shopping/second-hand-goods>
- Molesworth, M. (1998). *Junk style*. London: Ryland, Peters & Small.
- Money, A. (2007). Material culture and the living room: The appropriation and use of good in everyday life. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 7(3), 355-377.
- Muensterberger, W. (1994). *Collecting: An unruly passion: Psychological perspectives*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Murphy, P. & Stanford, N. (Producers) & Ward, N. & Niccol, L. (Writers). (2008) *Second-hand wedding* [Motion Picture]. New Zealand: Metropolis Films.
- Neal, A. (2007). *Sociological perspectives on modernity: Multiple models and competing realities*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

New Zealand Customs Service. (2011). *Working Tariff Document*. Retrieved 19 September, 2011 from <http://www.customs.govt.nz/news/resources/tariff/theworkingtarriffdocument/Pages/default.aspx>

Nissen, W. (2009). *Domestic goddess on a budget: how to save time and money and still be gorgeous*. Auckland: Penguin.

Ochs, E. & Capps, E. (2001). *Living narrative: Creating lives in everyday storytelling*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

O'Donnell, M. (2010). *Trade Me: The inside story*. Wellington: Phantom House Books Ltd.

Oxford Dictionaries retrieved 25 July, 2011 from <http://oxforddictionaries.com/>

Palmer, A. (2005). Vintage whores and vintage virgins: Second hand fashion in the twenty-first century. In Palmer, A. & Clark, H. (Eds.), *Old clothes, new looks: Second hand fashion*. Oxford & New York: Berg.

Palmer, A. & Clark, H. (2005), *Old clothes, new looks: Second hand fashion*. Oxford & New York: Berg.

Patterson, W. (2002). *Strategic narrative: new perspectives on the power of personal and cultural stories*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Pearce, S. & Martin, P. (2002). *The collectors voice vol 4: Contemporary voices*. Aldershot, UK & Burlington, USA: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Pels, D., Hetherington, K., & Vandenberghe, F. (2002). The status of the object: Performances, mediations, and techniques. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 19(5), 1-21.

Pollock, K. & Labrum, B. (2010) *Second-hand trade*. Retrieved 14 June, 2011 from <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/second-hand-trade/>

Porter Benson, S. (2007). What goes round comes round: Second hand clothing, furniture and tools in working-class lives in the interwar United States. *Journal of Women's History*, 19(1), 17-31.

Postrel, V. (2003). *The substance of style*. New York: HarperCollins.

Riessman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Riggins, S. H. (1994). *The socialness of things: Essays on the socio-semiotics of objects*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Roux, D. & Guiot, D. (2008). Measuring second-hand shopping motives, antecedents and consequences. *Recherche et Applications en Marketing*, 23, 63-94.

Samuel, R. (1994). *Theatres of memory*. London & New York: Verso.

Sanderson, E. (1997). Nearly new: The second-hand clothing trade in eighteenth-century Edinburgh. *Costume*, 31, 38-48.

Sassatelli, R. (2007). *Consumer culture: History, theory and politics*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Seidler, V. (2010). *Embodying identities: culture, differences and social theory*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Shaw, J. (2010). *Shopping: Social and cultural perspectives*. Cambridge, UK & Malden, USA: Polity Press.

Skolnik, L. (2000). *Retro modern*. New York: Friedman/Fairfax.

Soper, K., Ryle, M., & Thomas, Lyn. (2009). *The politics and pleasures of consuming differently*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Stebbins, R. (2009). *Leisure and consumption: Common ground/separate worlds*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.

Sternheimer, K. (2011). *Celebrity culture and the American dream: Stardom & social mobility*. New York & London: Routledge.

Stevens, L. & MacLaran, P. (2005). Exploring the 'shopping imaginary': The dream world of women's magazines. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, 4(4), 282-292.

Stevenson, R. (2011). *The fine art of shopping second hand*. Retrieved 14 June, 2011 from <http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/money/5091521/The-fine-art-of-shopping-second-hand>

Stone, J., Horne, S. & Hibbert, S. (1996). Car boot sales: A study of shopping motives in an alternative retail format. *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management*, 24(11) 4-15.

Sturken, M. & Cartwright, L. (2009). *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Taylor, S. (2010). *Narratives of identity and place*. Hove UK, New York: Routledge.

Thomas, L. (2009). Ecochic: Green echoes and rural retreats in contemporary Lifestyle magazines. In Soper, K., Ryle, M. & Thomas, L. (Eds.), *The politics and pleasures of consuming differently* (pp. 59-73). Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.

Tolkien, T. (2000). *Vintage: The art of dressing up*. London: Pavilion Books Ltd.

Trendwatching.com (2012). *12 crucial consumer trends for 2012*. Retrieved December 30, 2011, from <http://trendwatching.com/trends/12trends2012/?recommerce>

Trocme, S. (2000). *Retro Home*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications Inc. London & Philadelphia: Kogan Page.

Tungate, M. (2008). *Fashion brands: Branding style from Armani to Zara*, (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition).

Uncles, M. (2010). Understanding retail customers. In Krafft, M. & Mantrala, M. (Eds.), *Retailing in the 21<sup>st</sup> century* (pp. 205-220). Heidelberg: Springer.

Ward, G. (1997). *Postmodernism*. London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd.

Webber, S. & Mitchell, Claudia. (2004). *Not just any dress*. New York: Peter Lang.

Welters, L. (2008). The fashion of sustainability. In Hethorn, J. & Ulasewicz, C. (Eds.), *Sustainable Fashion: Why now?* (pp. 7-29). New York: Fairchild Books.

Williams Grover, J. (2001). *Fabulous flea market decorating: Using flea market finds with style*. New York: Sterling Publishing.

Wilson, E. (2005). *Adorned in dreams: Fashion & modernity*. London & New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd.

Woodward, I. (2007). *Understanding material culture*. London: SAGE.

Woodward, I. (2009) Material culture and narrative: fusing myth, materiality, and meaning. In P. Vannini (Ed.), *Material culture and technology in everyday life: ethnographic approaches*. (pp. 59-72) New York: Peter Lang.

## Appendix One: Popular Literature Review

### Books:

Artise, Bridgett. (2008). *Born again vintage: 25 ways to deconstruct, reinvent & recycle your wardrobe*. New York: Potter Craft.

Bailey, M & Bailey, S. (2007). *Recycled home*. London: Ryland Peters & Small

Bailey, M. (2009). *Simple home: calm spaces for comfortable living*. London, New York: Ryland Peters & Small.

Baxter-Wright, E., Kennedy, S., & Mulvey, K. (2006). *Vintage fashion: collecting and wearing designer classics*. London: Carlton Books.

Bradley, B. (2010). *The green home*. Menlo Park, CA: Sunset Pub. Corp.

Chalmers, E. (2005). *Flea market style*. London: Ryland Peters & Small.

Cotter, S. (2003). *Eco kiwi: Green solutions for everyday life*. Auckland: Random House New Zealand.

Delaney, K. (2009). *Clean home, green home: The complete illustrated guide to eco-friendly home keeping*. Guildford, CT: Globe Pequot Press.

Doust, K. (2009). *The craft minx: Creative recycling and handmade treasures*. Millers Point, NSW: Murdoch Books.

Doust, K. (2011). *Minxy vintage: How to customise and wear vintage clothing*. Millers Point, NSW: Murdoch Books.

Dupouy, C. (2002). *Second-hand style: Finding and renewing antique treasures*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc.

Kidston, C. (1999). *Vintage style: A new approach to home decorating*. London: Ebury Press.

Lake, S. (2008). *Bazaar style: decorating with market & vintage finds*. London: Ryland Peters & Small.

Lincolne, P. (2010). *Sew la tea do: 25 favorite things to sew*. Melbourne: Hardie Grant.

MacKay, K. & Jennings, D. (2010). *Alchemy arts: Recycling is chic*. London: Marion Boyars Publishers.

- Manheim, J. (2009). *Sustainable Jewellery*. London: A & C Black.
- Molesworth, M. (1998). *Junk style*. London: Ryland, Peters & Small.
- Nissen, W. (2009). *Domestic goddess on a budget: how to save time and money and still be gorgeous*. Auckland: Penguin.
- Nissen, W. (2010). *A home companion: my year of living like my grandmother*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Packer, A. (2004). *Crafty girls' road trip*. Auckland: Random House.
- Patterson, R., & Williams, T. (2009). *Tips from your nana: Waste not want not!* Dunedin: Longacre Press.
- Porter, Lindsay. (1998). *Natural style: Decorating approaches for a pure simple home*. London : Lorenz Books, 1998.
- Skolnik, L. (2000). *Retro modern*. New York: Friedman/Fairfax.
- Soil Association (2009). *Home grown: A practical guide to self sufficiency and living the good life*. London: Gaia.
- Stevens-Heebner, M. & Calla, C. (2007). *Beading vintage-style jewellery: Easy projects with elegant heirloom appeal*. New York: Lark Books.
- Strutt, C. (2003). *Vintage chic: Using romantic fabrics and flea market finds*. London: Cico.
- Trocme, S. (2000). *Retro Home*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications Inc. London & Philadelphia: Kogan Page.
- Weaving, A. (2008). *Living retro*. London: Ryland Peters & Small.
- Williams Grover, J. (2001). *Fabulous flea market decorating: Using flea market finds with style*. New York: Sterling Publishing.

### **Magazines:**

BBC Homes & Antiques (2010, May). Something old, something new: Why vintage weddings are back in vogue. *BBC Homes & Antiques* pp. 54-61.

BBC Homes & Antiques (2011, January). Auction price guide: Fashionistas and collectors alike have been flocking to the sales rooms to snap up vintage couture and textiles. *BBC Homes & Antiques* pp. 120-125.



BBC Homes & Antiques (2011, February). Vintage good looks: Old & new in perfect harmony. *BBC Homes & Antiques*. pp. 37-44.

Blume, L. (2011, February). Let's bring back: Celebrate the delightful trappings of days gone by. *BBC Homes & Antiques*. pp. 80-84.

Bridgeman, S. (2010, August). Eco chic: We show you how to feel the love for Mother Earth. *New Zealand House & Garden*. pp. 147-156.

Dekker, D. (2011, February). Potential plus: Genevieve Packer strives for sustainability, creating new treasures from old. *New Zealand House & Garden*. pp. 50-52.

Elle Decoration. (2011, May). Modern vintage: How to mix old and new. *Elle Decoration* pp. 59-63

French, K. (2010, October). Fifties flair: Vintage style prints and sleek accessories bring a touch of effortless elegance to any room in the house. *British Homes & Gardens* pp. 105-112.

Heeringa, S. (2010, October/November). Living the decluttered life. *Good*. pp. 29-35.

Heeringa, S. (2010, March/April). Handmade: When retro meets modern. *Good*. pp. 100-101.

Homestyle New Zealand (2010, October/November) Simple steps for an eco chic interior. *Homestyle New Zealand* pp. 136-139.

Huckerby, C. (2010, May). Tea & treats: Celebrate mother's day with an old fashioned tea party. *New Zealand House & Garden* pp. 124-130

Ideal Home (2011, May). Use your imagination: This house is full of skip-dived and junk-shop finds given a new look and purpose. *Ideal Home*. pp. 36-43.

Marsh, M. (2011, January). It's party time: Fabulous fifties frocks for the festive season. *BBC Homes & Antiques*. pp. 63-67.

Sorrell, K. (2011, April). The upcyclers: Meet the people who are earning a living by transforming unwanted 'tat' into unique items to treasure. *BBC Homes & Antiques* pp. 50-56.

Strange-Watts, T. (2011, April). Future Proof: Vintage lace has found its place in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. *New Zealand House & Garden*. pp. 42

**Websites:**

Payne, K. (n.d) - Living thoughtfully in a modern world. Retrieved January 31, 2012 from <http://hipgirlshome.com>

Lippey, F. (n.d) - Learn to save money on just about everything. Retrieved January 31, 2012 from <http://www.simplesavings.com.au/>

No author. (n.d) Your place to buy and sell all things handmade, vintage and supplies. Retrieved January 31, 2012 from <http://www.etsy.com/>

Schuman, S. (n.d) The world of fashion and its relationship to daily life. Retrieved January 31, 2012 from <http://www.thesartorialist.com/>

## Appendix Two: Respondent Demographic Profiles

### Buyers of the Second Hand:

**Christine:** Home executive, aged 57 years, interviewed July 18, 2011

**Shivarn:** Student, aged 18 years, interviewed August 3, 2011.

**Cherry:** Works in sustainable design company, aged 58 years,  
Interviewed August 8, 2011

**Carmen:** Home executive, aged 41 years, interviewed August 8, 2011.

**Felicity:** Student, aged 19 years, interviewed August 10, 2011

**Steph:** Works for Not for Profit Organisation, aged 52 years,  
interviewed August 15, 2011

### Sellers of the Second Hand:

**Nicky:** Owner: second-hand shop (furniture/bric-a-brac), in business  
15 years, interviewed July 16, 2011.

**Polly:** Owner: second-hand clothing shop (designer labels/vintage),  
in business 30 years, interviewed July 18, 2011.

**Pieter:** Co-owner: retro design shop, in business 1 year, interviewed  
July 31, 2011.

**Anthony:** Auctioneer: Dunbar Sloane auction rooms, in business 31  
years, interviewed August 1, 2011.

**Janet:** Owner/Designer: ReDunn Fashions (refashioned clothing), in  
business 10 years, interviewed August 5, 2011.

**Dennis:** Store Manager, Salvation Army store, in business 17 years,  
interviewed August 5, 2011.

**Terry:** Owner antique store, in business 10 years, interviewed August  
12, 2011.

## Appendix Three: Respondent Questions

### Generic Starter Questions Buyers:

- What is your understanding of the words, 'second hand', and 'vintage', 'antique' and 'retro'?
- Do you think that buying second hand is a popular choice today? If yes, why do think so? If no, why not?
- Would you say you are a regular purchaser of second hand? If yes, why is that? If no, why not?
- Can you give me examples of recent purchases?
- What attracted you to buy?
- Where/how do you buy most of your items? (charity shop, market, fair, internet etc)
- Does where or how you buy second hand influence your decision to purchase? If so, why?
- In general, are there any other things which influence your choice to buy second hand?
- Currently there is a lot of media out there which supports/promote the buying of second hand, vintage, retro, antique – TV programs, the internet, books and magazines. Are you aware of these? Can you give me some examples? What do you think are the key messages these media are conveying?

### Generic Starter Questions Sellers:

- Let's start with some definitions. What is your understanding of the words, 'second hand', and 'vintage', 'antique' and 'retro'?
- Do you think that buying second hand is a popular choice today? If yes, why do think so? If no, why not?
- Have you seen an increase in people looking to buy second hand?
- If yes, what reason do you credit for that increase?
- Do you find people are specifically asking for vintage, retro or antique items? If so, what in particular? Why do you think that is?
- Do you actively market yourself as purveyors of second hand? vintage? retro? or antique? Why is that? How do you market yourself?
- Describe your typical customer? If no typical customer, describe the various people you get buying second hand.

- In your opinion what do you think influences people's choice to buy second hand?
- Currently there is a lot of media out there which supports/promote the buying of second hand, vintage, retro, antique – TV programs, the internet, books and magazines. Are you aware of these? Can you give me some examples? What do you think are the key messages these media are conveying?