



**STRATHCLYDE BUSINESS SCHOOL
DEPARTMENT OF MARKETING**

Framing Practices, Spaces and Socialities of Consumption in Vintage

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Publications and Conference Papers

Some parts of this thesis have been published and presented at academic conferences during the development of this research:

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Abstract

This thesis explores how practices, spaces and socialities intersect in the consumption of vintage. The study is based within Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) with a particular focus on studies that consider alternative spaces and practices of consumption. Vintage has become a widespread movement in the UK that encompasses production, marketing and consumption, but it has largely been omitted from the consumer research discussions to date. As a site of enquiry this ethnographic study focuses within the vintage ‘pop-up markets’ of Glasgow, UK and considers the vintage scene as an embodied set of social practices and values.

This thesis addresses four research objectives detailing the ‘doings’ of vintage from a practice perspective and extends the CCT understanding of the ‘circuit of practice’ to be spatially bound. The markets exist as marginal sites of consumption and were found to be active spaces that were an amalgamation of market objects, actors and values that encoded particular practices.

The findings of this study contribute to CCT in demonstrating how objects, practices and knowledge intersected in the marketspace in the performance of the alternative.

This research contributes to an understanding of the consumer as an active practitioner in the marketspace and the aesthetic labour this necessitates. Further it finds the vintage tribe as a collective consumption site of learning and apprenticeship. The findings advance consumer research understandings of space with the pop-up markets as a practiced space of ‘the familiar’. The final contribution frames the *fluidity of value* in vintage as liminal and transient in practice. The study concludes by emphasising the importance of a turn to a practice perspective

methodologically within the CCT landscape and the development of future research opportunities that probe market labour, formation and creativity in practice.

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Chapter One: Introduction to the Research

1.0 Introduction

This thesis is primarily concerned with gaining an understanding into the complex practices that consumers undertake in the marketplace to frame vintage and materialise it in practice. This research contributes to consumer research and to existing theories of alternative consumption spaces within Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) by exploring the practices, socialities and spaces of vintage consumption. The vintage collective will be explored through the use of practice theory that allows for the practice of vintage consumption to be placed at the centre of the research and for the development of a more active understanding of consumption. This chapter provides an introduction to the thesis and an overview of the progression of the discussion to follow. It firstly outlines the core theoretical tradition to which it contributes, Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) as outlined by Arnould and Thompson (2005, 2007) before moving on to establish the context for the research study. This section briefly defines the research aims, objectives and methodology employed in the study. Finally a brief summary of each of the chapters of the thesis is detailed.

1.1 Theoretical Tradition of the Research

Arnould and Thompson's (2005) seminal article in the *Journal of Consumer Research (JCR)*, proposes a theoretical domain, Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) which highlights the ways through which collectives and individuals employ images and objects in their everyday consumption practices to construct identity and to make sense of the contemporary consumption landscape. This thesis is underpinned by consumer research which has focused on "*the imbricated layers of cultural meaning*

that structure consumer actions in a given social context” (Thompson and Troester, 2002: 550) and through this CCT focus, this study will consider the theoretical tradition of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) and specifically “*the dynamic relationships between consumer actions, the marketplace and cultural meanings*” (Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 868). Coming from the CCT approach in which markets are seen as social and cultural constructs, the marketplace is unpacked in this thesis with a focus on the collective effort needed in performing this market (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Geiger et al., 2012). Ideas of community pervade CCT literature: from experience communities (Arnould and Price, 1993), subcultures of consumption (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995), brand communities (Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001), to virtual communities (Kozinets, 1999), these conceptions of community within the consumption context show consumers joining together to assert their unique preferences (Carroll and Ahuvia, 2006). Further within the CCT domain, value is considered a social and market activity and values are considered as multiple, contested and dynamic (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2010). This research seeks to explore the vintage scene as an embodied set of social practices and values.

1.2 Research Context

The research context of this thesis is the vintage marketplace and the purpose of this section is to define this as an appropriate domain with which to meet the research aim. It begins by considering the contemporary cultural interest in vintage before moving on to consider the practice of vintage as an under-researched consumption domain particularly within the realms of Consumer Culture Theory. It considers that vintage is an appropriate context to explore consumer marketplace practices as it crosses the material culture, fashion theory and consumer culture boundaries.

1.2.1 Vintage in Contemporary Culture

More than a fashion culture, the vintage collective is seen to function as a micro-community that has flourished all over the UK in the past five years. Awareness and interest for vintage clothing has increased dramatically since the early 1990's. This has been attributed to media attention (Sex and the City, Mad Men, Kirstie's Homemade Home, The Great Gatsby) and celebrity endorsement from a proliferation of female celebrities (Kate Moss, Sienna Miller, Alexa Chung). Modern vintage is held in the media as being in stark contrast to the perceived homogenised culture of mainstream fashion. Vintage in this respect has become a movement that encompasses production, marketing and consumption practices. The term has become overtly used and widely exposed as a practice in the marketplace. Jo-ann Fortune (2012) writing for The Guardian questions: "*Is vintage clothing passé? Bargains are rare, traders are struggling and clothes from the 90s are considered period pieces.*" 'Vintage' semantically is no longer seen as the domain of the wine/guitar/car collector or jumble sale aficionado. The term vintage no longer pertains simply to these specialist industries, it has become popularised to the extent that it is now used to define any "old" goods, from jewellery to cars to homeware. The terminology has been adopted by the fashion world where it is used to define "*a rare and authentic piece that represents the style of a particular couturier or era*" (Gerval, 2008). An alternative definition, which seems to have gained acceptance in the marketplace, identifies clothing as vintage "*when it is produced in the period between the 1920s and the 1980s*" (Gerval, 2008). Clothing originating from before the 1920s is classified as antique, whilst clothing produced after the 1980s is not

considered to be vintage as yet, with the most recent produced clothing being labelled 'modern' or 'contemporary fashion' (Cornett, 2010). On eBay this potential ambiguity is rectified by categorisation of 'clothing pre-1980s' in the category of '*Vintage Clothing and Accessories*' to separate out vintage pieces. The shift in semantics in describing this phenomenon of second-hand, retro, vintage, pre-loved, the Americanism of thrift¹, can be seen as representative of the momentum of this popular trend in the marketplace and representative of the constant search for new forms of value which had originally triggered the researcher's curiosity.

1.2.2 Historical Perspective

The origins of the vintage clothing trend stretch back to the mid-1960s when young people both in the UK and the USA began accessorising their outfits with antique clothes and military uniforms bought in antique markets and army surplus stores. The only notable historic influence on clothing prior to the 1960s was the Teddy Boys of the 1950s with their Edwardian style jackets. The boutique trends of the 1960s brought a change in attitude to dressing especially for the younger generations. This lack of understanding of the youth market in the high street led Mary Quant to design, make and sell her own clothes from her boutique Bazaar that she opened in 1955 on London's King's Road. Quant was seen as the pioneer of youth fashions in

¹ Merriam-Webster defines thrift as "a careful use of money so that it is not wasted" and thrift stores as "selling second-hand articles and especially clothes and is often run for charitable purposes." Thrifting is an American saying that is used in the media and contemporary culture and describes "when one visits several different thrift shops, second-hand shops, and vintage clothing stores in the hopes of buying several items of cheap and unusual clothing and other items. One usually does this with friends." (Urban Dictionary)

the 60s but it was boutiques such as BIBA and Granny Takes a Trip², both run by their designer owners/proprietors, who had first sold 'second-hand' clothing alongside their new collections. The vintage trend eased by the early 70s with the exception of some small subcultures such as Rockers and Teddy Boys, but rose to popularity again in the late 70s with the Mod revival. As the Mod revival became more purist in direction, its followers adopted the authentic 1960s Mod look and began to wear vintage 60s youth clothing to create an entire look in the same way as the Rockers and Teddy Boys had been doing before them.

Modern day vintage has become a global industry, from Decades in Los Angeles, Rellik in London to the Saint-Ouen markets of Paris. Walking down any high street in the UK, vintage as a branding and advertising strategy has been adopted by mainstream clothing retailers such as Topshop, Urban Outfitters, New Look to homewares in Cath Kidston, Laura Ashley and John Lewis with high-end fashion stores also embracing the heritage aspect of the trend such as Ralph Lauren, Burberry and Mulberry (Fashion houses, such as Louis Vuitton for its 2010-2011 winter collection started reproducing and reinterpreting vintage clothing or, such as Yves Saint Laurent in 2009, re-using vintage fabrics. These styles are generally referred to as "*vintage style*" or "*vintage inspired*"). One of the main outlets of vintage has been the Internet, which has made 'vintaging' possible regardless of location and opened

² The Granny Takes A Trip boutique opened in 1966 on the King's Road, London and was run by Victorian clothing collector Sheila Cohen, her boyfriend, Nigel Waymouth and his friend, John Pearse. The store originally was a place to sell antique clothing but it continued to evolve with their own new, unique designs and collaborations. Their clothes became a feature of Pink Floyd shows throughout the late 60s and early 1970s. The store became world renowned as part of "London the swinging city" (TIME Magazine) and had many famous patrons (Vintage Fashion Guild).

up prospective markets for sellers around the world. The internet has moved beyond eBay as the main vintage facilitator, with major retailers such as ASOS capitalising on the trend with their online market platform: tag line: *‘The place where anyone, anywhere in the world, can sell fashion, to anyone, anywhere in the world. Boutiques are small businesses selling their own label, other brands or vintage collections, directly to you. And there are thousands of individuals just like you, selling their wardrobes to fund their next fashion fix’* (ASOS Marketplace). Upmarket, high-end fashions are also not excluded from vintage with specialist sites such as Vestiaire Collective stocking quality, used designer goods. With vintage wedding wear, millinery, jewellery and craft, vintage seems to be everywhere.

Within the retail setting, hierarchies of vintage consumption are created as a result of the expanded popularity of second-hand clothing. For example the Topshop Oxford Circus flagship store (London, UK) has created a vintage space in the basement floor of their premises – with pre-selected goods, the familiarity of Topshop merchandising, well lit fitting rooms and the ability to mix contemporary and vintage goods in a mediated, familiar setting, vintage is integrated into the heart of high street fashion and as a practice, made accessible.

Figure 1 - Topshop Oxford St: the Vintage Floor, taken by researcher on June 24th 2012



Within this normal high street setting, the boundaries of old and new are easily permeated by consumers, the margins for errors of taste greatly reduced and vintage by association is depicted as the ‘epitome of cool’ (Cochrane, 2010) – in this mixture of contemporary style with the ability to mix in suitable vintage pieces. This familiar setting also serves to mitigate any potential feelings of anxiety by consumers towards the often unreliable and unpredictable vintage searching process. This example serves to illustrate the proliferation of vintage in the UK, yet as a concept it exists without strict definition.

1.2.3 Vintage in the UK

The discussion below illustrates that vintage, once a niche interest has become a more mainstream consumption choice in the UK. In line with the popularity of vintage that has swept the UK, niche vintage festivals and markets arrived on the scene. With a familiar format to popular UK music festivals, in 2010, the Hemmingway design team put on the largest vintage festival of its kind in the UK -

the events gained attention on a national scale and have since developed into annual events in slightly different formats each year (Vintage at Goodwood, Vintage at Southbank Centre, Vintage by Hemmingway, Vintage at London Fashion Weekend, Vintage 2013 and 2014 at the Merchant City Festival Glasgow). Similarly, The Twinwood Festival originally started in 2002, with a vintage lifestyle focus becoming more prominent in 2007. The festivals bring vintage to life and focus on the experience of vintage over the festival period. Within the vintage context, this thesis focuses on the ‘pop-up’ market format that replicates the festival atmosphere and transient model, but in the city centre. The ‘pop-up’ format has been used for events, markets, restaurants, galleries, clubs and ranges in size. As a model it has historical roots with artists subverting abandoned spaces (Cochrane, 2010). In contemporary use, the term refers to a space that allows a unique environment to be constructed for a limited time period. This format can be traced back to the retail model of Comme des Garçons who in 2004³ set up a temporary retail outlet in a disused building in Berlin. Even with its counter-cultural roots, the format has now found mainstream success and continues to be utilised by big retail brands such as Innocent, eBay, Harrods and destinations such as Boxpark in London (Cochrane, 2010).

³ Comme des Garçons opened a guerrilla pop-up retail space in 2004 for one year in Berlin. It was a space that was not heavily designed or merchandised but a ‘raw space:’ “*The whole concept gives consumers something that can be perceived as exclusive, discovery-driven and get it while it lasts*” (Trend Watching.com, 2004). The trend of temporary retail spaces has continued to develop since this report in 2004 and has grown into what the retail industry named “*instant commerce*” (Trend Watching.com, 2009).

1.3 Research Aim and Contribution

Within the research context and theoretical origins presented above, this thesis aims to gain an understanding of how the practices, spaces and socialites intersect in the consumption of vintage. As detailed above, using the context of the 'pop-up' vintage market this study explores the practices, socialities and spaces of consumption. The findings of this thesis will contribute towards the body of work upon practice theory and alternative spaces of consumption within the Consumer Culture Theory tradition.

1.4 Research Objectives and Methodology

To achieve this aim stated above, four research objectives emerged and are developed throughout the study to guide and orientate the research direction.

The research objectives that structure the study are:

1. What practices are used in the marketspace to materialise vintage?
2. How do practices, objects and knowledge intersect in the marketspace?
3. Does vintage create a shared consumption space?
4. How is value ascribed and framed in vintage?

Using an in-depth ethnographic research design focuses upon consumer practices and allows for a rich data set to be captured over the two years of the research study, the findings from which are discussed in detail in the findings section in Chapter Five. Further detailed discussion of the justification for the primary research approach is presented in more depth in Chapter Four.

1.5 Outline of Thesis

This thesis is presented in six chapters. Having introduced the theoretical context, tradition and aims in this introductory chapter, Chapter Two begins the review of the consumer research tradition before more deeply focusing in on the CCT domain and previous studies around constructs of community, alternative marketplaces and the fashion theory understandings of vintage.

Chapter Three reviews the concept of practice theory, its origins and relationship to consumption studies. It focuses on the recent shift within CCT to a more practice orientated approach. The practices of value are also considered and the extant literature discussed.

Chapter Four discusses the methodological approach of this study and discusses in detail the ethnographic approach that underpins this research. It further presents the decisions made in the research design, considering the data collection, sampling and analysis.

Chapter Five presents the findings of the data collected in this study. Chapter Five focuses on the construct of the practitioner and the necessary skill needed in the marketplace as both consumer and seller. It also considers the materiality needed to practice and this discussion centres on the object of practice. It further discusses the collective of the marketplace and considers the spatial elements of practice. It discusses the theoretical implications and contributions of this thesis.

Chapter Six considers again the research aim and synthesises the contributions of this study. It discusses the implications of the findings and acknowledges the limitations

of the study before making recommendations for possible future research and concluding with reflections of the researcher.

Chapter Two: The Consumption Landscape

2.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the theoretical context of the research. This chapter begins with an overview of the emergence of consumer culture as a research area within the broader discipline of consumer behaviour. The debates surrounding the consumer culture paradigm are highlighted. This is followed by a discussion of the consolidation of the Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) literature and the key themes that emerge. Building on the argument that the individual and their relationship with other consumers lie at the centre of consumer research (Holt, 2005; Holt and Thompson, 2004), this thesis explores the collective in their consumption practices in the vintage marketplace. Finally summaries of the key literature gaps that are addressed by this study are outlined and conclusions follow.

2.1 Defining Consumption

2.1.1 The History of Consumption

Consumption has a long and complex history. The term has been used throughout history to suggest both utilisation and a destruction of items. This pluralistic term has both negative and positive connotations. Aldrige (2003) suggests that it was originally a pejorative term that was synonymous with decaying diseases. This negative image has persisted throughout pre-industrial consumer history. Veblen's (1899) theory of '*conspicuous consumption*' proposes that consumerism; with the production of unnecessary goods and services was a result of material values generated by the capitalistic marketplace. Since the beginning of the 20th century

consumption as we have come to understand it, developed in Western economies. Veblen (1899) identifies that the industrialisation of the late nineteenth century brought freedoms to the upper and middle classes. The following Fordism of the 1920s transforms this selective freedom to a mass phenomenon (Gabriel and Lang, 1995). Customers are altered into consumers in this era with the advent of branded goods, advertising and the more informal buyer-seller relationship (Strasser, 1989). The shift to 'post-Fordist' marks the start of a global marketplace. Gabriel and Lang (1995) propose that this heralds the emergence of post-modernity through which advertising and consumer discourses come to the foreground. Further they suggest this shifts focus from the collective material gain, to the individual. Tadajewski (2006) reinforces this and suggests that the way in which the consumer was researched also shifts and a greater focus on the experience of the consumer emerges and the notion of a consumer culture develops.

Consumption was traditionally held in stark contrast to production. In this view consumption was often considered only as a motivating force for continued production (Firat, 1999: 287). This modernist approach to consumption (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995) places consumption in opposition to production. In this respect, individuals were held as opportunity creators for production through their consumption. Firat and Dholakia (1998) consider that 'worth' was formulated from production and opportunities for sustained production. This functional view of consumption views production as "*the engine of society*" and that everything else is "*subservient or a consequence*" (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995: 242). Consumption, in this way was perceived as a 'using up' of resources and a 'waste' producer. The individual object was considered 'material' and 'real' as it satisfied consumer needs

and subsequently created value. This viewed the object's value as simply an ability to meet and satisfy consumer's real and material needs. In considering the role of consumers, Firat (1999: 290) asserts that this view rids them of their "*ability to produce life modes and experiences that break out of the vicious cycle that generates and regenerates the conditions that enchant lives.*" This modernist approach to consumption views consumption as a negative force that is the result of Western capitalist expansion.

2.1.2 The Consumer Research Turn

Consumption was seen as an important part of contemporary culture and an important means for sense making. It was a relatively neglected field in the 1980s as contemporary consumption theory was pluralistic, multiple and challenged the accepted traditions. Two of the most prolific academics within consumer research expressed in the late eighties a need for a focusing of the discipline: Holbrook (1987) describes a "*crisis of identity*" in consumer research in the late eighties and posed the ontological question "*What is consumer research?*" Belk concurs, "*My own vision is one of consumer behaviour as a discipline unto itself*" (1986: 423). Holbrook further argues that consumer research studies consumption (in all its various facets, including its potential breakdown) and should stand alone as a separate discipline. Holbrook (1987) argues that consumer research should embrace almost all-human activity from the view of consummation. He proposes that almost everything that humans do involved consumption:

"People get up in the morning, start consuming the moment their toes touch the carpet, allocate their time to various consumption activities throughout the day, and

continue consuming until they finally drift off to sleep at night, after which they confine their consumption mostly to dreams, pyjamas, and bed linens...” (Holbrook, 1985:146).

This highlights the importance of the act of consumption as it is seen to extend far beyond the mere act of market exchange. Holt (1995) further called for research that describes the variety of ways through which people consume to gain an understanding of how these differences alter across groups and how these groups are structured differently (1995:1). Holt’s (1995) work built on Simmel’s (1950) early work and began to frame consumption practices. Simmel’s (1950) work has defined consumption as a type of social action whereby people use consumption objects in a variety of ways. This basic consumer action was termed ‘*consumption practices*’. Holt (1995) built on this language to develop a typology of consumption objects. He proposes that consumption should be categorised into: *consumption as experience, as integration, classification and as a play*. Holt’s typology suggests that consumption has multiple forms and was not restricted to the object - as different consumers may consume it differently. The motivations and consumer interactions during these practices became a key focus of consumption theory.

2.2 The Development of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT)

2.2.1 CCT background

In Arnould and Thompson’s (2005) seminal article in the *Journal of Consumer Research (JCR)*, they built upon Holt’s typology and propose through their mapping of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT), a theoretical domain was created to bring together the main focus of these consumer researchers. Consumer Culture Theory

(CCT) answers these calls for research that focuses more on “*the messy contextual details of consumer life*” (Holt, 1997:344). Their consumer culture highlights the ways through which collectives and individuals employed images and objects in their everyday consumption practices to construct identity and make sense of the contemporary consumption landscape.

Arnould and Thompson’s (2005) seminal article in the *JCR* provided an amalgamation of twenty years of consumer research and explores how the CCT approach was firmly anchored in this tradition. Grounded in the work of early Baudrillard and his semiotic field (1968), Bourdieu (1984, 1985), De Certeau (1984a), Jameson (1984, 1985) Douglas and Isherwood (1980) and McCracken’s (1986, 1988a) movement of meaning, Arnould and Thompson (2005) outline four main categories within consumer research that CCT focuses on: the socio-cultural, experiential, symbolic and ideological aspects of consumption rather than the production, consumption and exchange traditional approach. They illustrate the interrelatedness and theoretical linkages between these categories. Influenced by the work of Geertz (1973), Arnould and Thompson highlight the fluidity, fragmentation and complexity of consumer action. CCT they propose was based on the shared theoretical outlook that placed an importance on cultural complexity and “*the dynamic relationships between consumer action, the marketplace and cultural meanings*” (Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 868). Although not a unified theory with clear theoretical boundaries, the research stream encompasses similar theoretical interests and questions. CCT researchers share a common outlook towards cultural multiplicity and complexity, with a focus on: “*the relationship between lived culture and social resources. CCT conceptualizes culture as the very fabric of experience,*

meaning, and action” (Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 869). According to Arnould and Thompson (2005) the CCT research stream should cover studies of multiple domains: firstly consumption as a practice of ideological reproduction and resistance, secondly consumer identity projects, thirdly the socio-historic patterning of consumption and finally the study of marketplace cultures:

“CCT is an interdisciplinary research tradition that has advanced knowledge about consumer culture (in all its heterogeneous manifestations) and generated empirically grounded findings and theoretical innovations that are relevant to a broad constituency in the base social science disciplines, public policy arena and managerial sectors” (Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 869).

This thesis focuses on a contribution to two of the domains as outlined by Arnould and Thompson (2005): *marketplace cultures and the socio-historic patterning of consumption*. Firstly, marketplace cultures which focuses on consumers as culture producers. Secondly, the domain of the socio-historic patterning of consumption reflects Bourdieu’s (1984, 1985) ideas of social capital through which individual choices are governed by cultural capital. With this focus of the enactment of vintage in the marketplace, Arnould and Thompson’s socio-historic domain are pertinent in the discussion of how social positions and roles were enacted by consumers in the marketplace (Goulding and Saren, 2009). Arnould and Thompson (2005) propose that contributions to these domains would aid the placement and understanding of the researcher in the field. The boundaries between the domains are permeable and not fixed, this in turn suggests that the research could overlap domains and does not need to be rigidly fixed in simply one. This plurality is held as an important condition for the continued development of knowledge. Arnould and Thompson (2005)

acknowledge this fluidity of approach within CCT research that there is no single consumer culture theory as CCT acknowledges numerous theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches. Arnould and Thompson further acknowledge this plurality in 2007 in *Research in Consumer Behaviour* in which they explain that with hindsight a more suitable name would have been ‘Consumer Culture Theoretics’:

“...This label would have better represented the theoretical, ontological and epistemological heterogeneity that has contributed to this research stream; an eclecticism that is itself a unique by-product of the contested and rather circuitous way that ‘alternative’ research perspectives gain a foothold in the psychologically dominated field of consumer research” (Arnould and Thompson, 2007: 7).

They highlight that their 2005 synthesis of CCT was intended to demonstrate the major trajectories underpinning the new paradigm, rather than to create rigidity around thematic approaches. Sherry and Fischer (2008) further conclude that CCT is now categorised as a distinct form of consumer research. More recent descriptions of CCT have called it an ‘*epistemic community*,’ and posit that CCT is more than a label; it is “*an act of power*” (Moisander et al., cited in Sherry and Fischer, 2008:9). Moisander et al. (2008) (cited in Sherry and Fischer, 2008:9) propose that the CCT framing pulls from diverse strands of intellectual traditions and positions researchers as situated within ‘*existing methodological customs*’ and ‘*theoretical ways of thinking*.’

2.2.2 Narrowing of the CCT Focus

From the mid-1980s through the 1990s, within consumer research attention was given to the role of consumption in identity formation (Arnould and Wilk, 1984;

Belk 1988, 1992; McCracken 1986, 1988a). Research depicts the implicit relationship between identity and consumption, with consumption directly translating into identity and consumption being capable of illuminating identity. Belk (1988) proposes that essentially consumers are what they consume in his '*Extended Self*' discussion. In the much cited work, '*Possessions and The Extended Self*,' Belk (1988) shows that possessions assist in self-perception and in turn become part of the consumer body, both symbolically and figuratively. This close link between the self and material possessions was an important consideration in how consumers utilise objects to express their personal characteristics. The constructs of 'the self' and 'not self' however were not new concerns, Sartre (1956) discusses these relationships amongst '*having, doing and being*' and the synthesis of '*having and being*'. However within Consumer Culture Theory, Belk's (1988) formulation of the extended-self became the dominant means of conceptualising how consumption objects are interwoven into concepts of the self. Arnould and Price's (1993) work adds to this discussion in their demonstration of how certain consumption processes function as an important aspect of identity construction and communication of self to others – both individual and communal. Indeed, drawing from their extensive review Arnould and Thompson (2005) argue that the self that is forged with market-generated materials is still coherent even though often diversified and fragmented.

2.3 The Construct of the Consumer

Consumption is underpinned by the idea that consumer behaviour is social, complex, often irrational and unpredictable (Venkatesh, 1992). Within the area of Consumer Culture Theory consumer researchers conceptualise consumers as "*interpretive agents rather than passive dupes*" (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). They explore the

ways through which consumers: “*exert agency and pursue identity goals through a dialogue (both practical and narrative) with the cultural frames imposed by dominant ideologies*” (Arnould and Thompson, 2007: 10). In this regard these ideologies are associated with either the market-generated ideology, such as advertising messages, or the ideologies that relates to institutional forces such as political, social or cultural. In this domain consumers are treated as “*active agents*” that make sense of these ideologies and construct critical responses (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995). Firat and Venkatesh (1995) expose how deeply anchored the field is in ‘modernist ideals’ and through the application of postmodernist insights generated new contributions to the field (Moisander et al., in Sherry and Fischer, 2008:13). The description of the postmodern consumer by Firat and Venkatesh (1995) as fragmented and de-centred received growing acceptance within the field of consumer research (Goulding, 2003). De-centering of the subject also refers to the postmodernist view that the human subject is not a self-knowing, independent agent but historically and socially constructed (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995). Firat and Venkatesh (1995) highlight that the postmodern condition of reversal of production and consumption is related to the postmodern consumer: as each act of consumption is also an act of production, consumers not only consume but at the same time also produce symbols and meanings into the world (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995). Whilst Firat and Venkatesh (1995) demonstrate how contemporary consumers are freed from having or seeking a centre, this did not mean that the self could not be coherent. The construct of the consumer has continued to develop in CCT research with the focus on the active role of consumers and consumer interaction brought to the foreground in consumer research. Following on from the trend in consumer research

that focuses on the blurring of consumption and production in the market systems (Penaloza, 2000; Goulding and Saren, 2007; Thompson and Tian, 2008) the active role of consumers becomes critical. Through '*prosumption*' (Ritzer and Jurgenson, 2010), '*working consumers*' (Cova and Dalli, 2009) or Campbell's (2005) '*craft consumption*' consumers are no longer said to be simply consuming when they buy a product, but through their participation in the construction of consumption objects, they have extended the set of spaces in which consumption can be said to occur. Campbell's (2005) '*craft consumer*' could be used to highlight this: the consumer who transforms objects into new entities. He emphasises that the same objects are used in a variety of differing social, cultural and practical settings. Campbell (2005) further notes that concepts such as '*possession*,' '*personalisation*,' '*customisation*' and '*appropriation*' overlook the transformative processes and practices of consumption. In considering how consumers affect marketplace dynamics, Gielser's (2008) perspective of marketplace dynamics outlines the concept of 'marketplace drama' to explain the events that unfold when consumers engage in free music downloading in an attempt to gain access to artistic work. This context illuminates the market changes and dynamics whereby a compromise between past practices by marketers and changes originating from consumers are achieved. This focus on the spaces of consumption and consumer action has been developed further around the domain of the Internet and the creation of shared desires, experiences and identities for consumers. Through the lens of consumption and brands, these platforms act as a mode for interaction and integration and bringing people together (Hewer and Hamilton, 2010b). These platforms also allow for more creativity to take place between consumers and as such consumers adopt the role of active culture creators.

This understanding of the active consumer is developed further in Chapter Three with the advent of the practitioner. In this thesis, a focus on how the consumer actively participates in a practical manner and alters the marketplace is key (Shove and Pantzar, 2005) and the vintage context provides an opportunity to move the discussion of production and consumption forward through the practice theory lens.

2.4 Consumption Communities

CCT research has focused on the consumer as the individual actor but also on the complex construct of the consumption community. This section considers the long, rich history surrounding the construct of '*community*' within interpretive consumer research. Within CCT, the proposition that human beings are culture bearers and as such are active culture producers has been widely explored on the basis that the formation of social relations is significant for understanding both consumers and culture. According to Firat and Venkatesh (1995) the dominance of the market has caused consumers to fragment, become more isolated and to form more groupings (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995). One concept employed in the literature is that of '*communitas*' (Arnould and Price, 1993; Turner, 1995; Goulding et al., 2004a) and within the consumer research literature this social formation has developed around subcultures (Brownlie et al., 2007), tribes (Maffesoli, 2007; Cova and Cova, 2002; Cova et al., 2007) and brand communities (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001) or as Schouten et al., (2007) term '*mosaics of microcultures*'. The situated nature of consumption practices has been sought to be understood within the domain of consumer research in studies of Mountain Men (Belk and Costa, 1998), farmer's markets (McGrath et al., 1993), rave cultures (Goulding, Shankar and Elliott, 2001, 2002), 'Goths' (Goulding, Saren and Follett, 2004a),

trekkies (Kozinets, 2001) and bikers (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995). Collectives whether online or offline are increasingly being formed around particular brands, activities or products of consumption which unite members. In understanding consumption as a way of doing and performing community, a focus on the constitution of the collective and the social bonds is necessary (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001). With regards to communal consumption, Arnould and Price (1993) highlight that community is developed through emotions of linkage, belonging and group devotion. Penaloza and Venkatesh (2006) refer to this as '*the agentic practices*', which are crucial for co-creation, value and use. Further Muniz and O'Guinn (2001) note how the consumption activity can be placed centrally in the creation of collective belonging. The work on subcultures, brand communities and tribes is considered in the following sections and the practices around which the social bond is created and maintained.

2.4.1 Subcultures of Consumption

The early work of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) (Hebdige, 1979; Hall and Jefferson, 1993; Gelder and Thornton, 1997) strongly influenced the studies of communities of consumption. In employing the term 'subcultures' the CCCS explores the collective forms of subversive behaviour amongst cohorts of the British working-class youth. These subcultural groups were seen to consume distinctive styles that separated them out from the mainstream traditional class based identities. As a form of consumer resistance, the CCCS studies depict these individual practices becoming group orientated away from the mainstream and establishing a certain style based on these opposition consumption practices. Further research was anchored in the exploration of the symbolism

attached to consumer products such as clothing, cosmetics, automobiles and other outward symbols of membership of subcultures (Kellner, 1995; Hebdige, 1979, 1997; Frith, 1996; Willis, 1978, 1990).

Within the CCT mapping, the consumption collective concept is outlined as Arnould and Thompson (2005: 874) assert that subcultures of consumption are the communities in which individuals: “*define their symbolic boundaries through an ongoing opposition to dominant lifestyle norms and mainstream consumer sensibilities.*” This juxtaposition to the mainstream can be seen in early theories of subcultures which highlight communities that develop strong interpersonal bonds, ritualised modes of expression, and beliefs that preclude other social affiliations in order to augment dominant institutions such as family, schooling, and class issues (Goulding et al., 2002). This built on the work of Schouten and McAlexander (1995) who introduce the term ‘*subcultures of consumption*’ as a way to characterise the individual and collective organising structure. Within this they describe a clearly defined hierarchical structure with clearly organised systems of formal and informal membership along with a set of beliefs, practices and rituals. These are similar to the shared rituals described by Cova and Cova (2002) in his neo-tribes but differences are evident. Within Schouten and McAlexander’s (1995) subcultures of consumption, the hierarchical social structures define the subcultural groupings and status of the individual. They describe that the collective is characterised by the co-centric social structures that are governed by the commitment to the group: ‘hard core’ members display a “*commitment and ideology that is full time and enduring*” (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995: 48). These members act as opinion leaders to the ‘soft core’ members who are less committed to the group and are less involved than

the 'hard core' members. Lastly they describe the 'pretenders' who demonstrate a great interest in the group but only ever 'delved superficially' into the unique ethos of the group. They function as an audience and support system to the more soft-core and hard-core members. Members could be seen to adopt active roles of co-creation (Holt, 2004; Gummesson, 2008; Lusch et al., 2010) within the subculture, which is of particular relevance to marketers. Brownlie et al. (2007:113) highlights that subcultures are differentiated by "*clear hierarchical social structures that may identify the status of individual members.*" In this type of sociality, membership is defined by the adherence to the group norms and values and maintenance of the group ideology "*membership is seen to be static, one mask being permanently worn, in that distinct dress codes and a specific stable way of life permeates everyday activities*" (Brownlie et al., 2007:113). Adding to this Schouten et al., (2007: 74) develop the argument and suggest that a subculture of consumption functions on shared consumption values and decisions with concerns over authenticity.

Within consumer research, consumers have been shown to enjoy membership of multiple fragmented groups in which identity is constructed and discarded as necessary (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995). Unlike sociological studies of subcultures, the consumer research perspective had shown that consumption communities are self-selecting and are held together by shared experiences and consumption preferences (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Kozinets, 2001). Goulding and Saren's (2007) work on the gothic subculture illustrates: "*subcultures have often been conceptualised as the catalyst for counter-hegemonic strategies of resistance (Kellner, 1995); however they are also cultures of consumption.*" This articulates that although these groups are keen to demonstrate their difference from the

mainstream, they must participate and rely on marketplace materials to fulfil this resistance.

Subcultures of consumption have continued to be a focus of scholarly attention within the CCT domain Askegaard's (2010: 362) work depicts that contemporary consumer groups are situated in socio-historical contexts that display a "*complex interplay between commercial interests (commercial) media, creative agents and consumer subcultures.*" However, some authors have questioned subcultural theory as few subcultural communities appear to present with the subcultural characteristics of cohesion, dedication and resistance and scholars have sought different theoretical description through the development of the brand communities focus and tribal theory (Elliot and Davies, 2006; Beverland and Farrelly, 2010; Canniford, 2011b). In attempting to theorise new forms of community, the turn to structured social relationships around a brand is detailed further in the following section.

2.4.2 Brand Communities

Through drawing distinctions between a ranges of different social groups centred on consumption, the concept of brand communities has received considerable attention in consumer research (McAlexander and Schouten 1998; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001; Schau et al., 2009). A brand community is: "*a specialised, non-geographically bound community, based on a structured set of social relationships among admirers of a brand*" (Muniz and O'Guinn 2001:4). Research has shown that brand communities are complex entities with their own rituals, traditions, values and behaviour codes. In particular, brand communities generate shared rituals and ways of thinking and traditions, as well as a sense of moral responsibility towards other

members, and religious zeal towards the focal brand (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001; Muniz and Schau, 2005). Schouten and McAlexander (1995) in their seminal paper on brand communities detail a set of consumers and their relationship to Harley-Davidson. They highlight that consumers form brand relationships through interaction with other consumers, along with the brand. Consumers develop a relationship with the brand, which in turn impacts on their consumer-to-consumer relationship. Muniz and O'Guinn's (2001) study examines three brand communities (*Ford Bronco trucks, Macintosh computers and Saab cars*) they demonstrate that members of these communities gain an important part of their brand consumption experience through their membership to these communities. Furthermore, they found that members achieved an aspect of personal identity from this participation in the community.

The underpinnings of CCT have guided the inquiries of holistic understanding of social phenomena in highly contextualised settings. The notion of the brand community has claimed centrality in research on consumer collectives in real-life consumption contexts (Celsi et al., 1993; Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; McAlexander et al., 2002; Algesheimer et al., 2005) as well as in online research (e.g. Nelson and Otnes, 2005; Kozinets, 1997, 2002, 2006). Overall, brand communities have been characterised as consumer collectives that share norms of behaviour related to the brand discourse and the institutionalised practices that arise from them. Commonly, the brand discourse has been seen as the overarching driver of consumer interaction (e.g. Cova and Cova, 2002; Kozinets, 2002), and value has been conceptualised as arising from all practices that pertain and emerge from the social interactions within the community (Schau et al., 2009). This interest has also

shifted onto online communities and their social consumption practices (Kozinets, 2002; Muniz and Schau, 2005; Cova and Pace, 2006). This focus on online communities became brand orientated as technology progressed the capacity for participating in online communities. Some netnographic studies have also shown interest in the negotiation (and constant conflict) between producers and consumers (Giesler, 2008) and raised their dynamic and complex nature into the forefront (McAlexander et al., 2002). There has been a shift away from a singular brand discourse to a view of them functioning as organic meeting places that are focused around practices rather than a brand (Goulding et al., 2013).

The brand community similarly to a subculture is representative of a cohesive and dedicated community but rather than the resistance of the subculture that leads to a sense of communal belonging, the brand is central to the social structure (Canniford, 2011b). Recent research has found that many consumption communities do not orientate their socialisation around a single brand, rather it is more loosely associated with a collection of brands, products, activities and services: Fournier and Lee (2009) cite examples of the lifestyle rather than the specific brand affiliation. In this manner the brand community approach begins to be less useful and a tribal approach to consumption becomes more relevant.

2.4.3 Tribes

Going back to Arnould and Thompson's (2005) outline of the CCT domains, *marketplace cultures*, focuses on the exploration of the postmodern construct of 'neo-tribes' (Maffesoli, 1996; Cova et al., 2007) and 'the move away from individualism'. This phenomenon is developed in the literature with a focus on the

creation of these new types of social bonds. Maffesoli's (1988) *The Time of the Tribes* outlines his construction of tribes as including producers and not only consumers, describing them in a variety of ways: *'small community group[s]'*, *'networks of solidarity'* and *'youth groups, affinity associations, small-scale industrial enterprises'* (Maffesoli, 1988 cited in Cova et al., 2007: 72-75). Maffesoli (2007) discusses the shift in traditional structures in society has resulted in individuals seeking their own means of belonging and that they are increasingly doing this through shared consumption practices, discussed above by Schouten and McAlexander (1995) as *'brand communities.'* Maffesoli (1996) posits that 'neo-tribes' are distinct because of their ephemeral nature; they do not have any permanent membership other than through the duration of the rituals. It is also possible to belong to more than one neo-tribe at the same time: membership is in this way temporary and constantly in motion. Maffesoli (1996: 76) suggests *"it is less a question of belonging to a gang, a family or a community, than of switching from one group to another,"* this sentiment is reiterated by Cova and Cova (2001:71) who claims they could be so ephemeral to be *"just a feeling, a fancy, a fantasy."* Much of the work within consumer research has focused upon the increased individualism of modern society (Bauman, 1988). However within post-modern literature Cova and Cova (2002) discuss the formation of new communities, *Tribes*. Post-modernity they suggest is less about the individual's identity and more focused on a search for social links based on shared passions and interests (Cova and Cova, 2002). These links are asserted to be through consumption practices and the formation of social structures. For Cova and Cova (2002: 67):

“These neo-tribes are inherently unstable, small scale, affectual and not fixed by any of the established parameters of modern society; instead they can be held together through shared emotions, styles of life, new moral beliefs and consumption practices.”

Consumption is argued to be crucial to tribes and is central to gaining an understanding into the collective nature of the tribe (Mitchell and Imrie, 2011). Cova and Cova's (2002) tribes are socially and demographically diverse but joined together through shared consumption passions. Cova and Cova (2002) propose that not all tribe members interact with the collective in the same manner. Similarly to the subculture engagement of Schouten and McAlexander (1995:48) they suggest four categories of engagement: a *'member'*, a *'participant'*, a *'practitioner'* and a *'sympathiser'* (Cova and Cova, 2002). These consumer-to-consumer relationships are self-formed groups that held meaning and relevance for the consumers within them. Bauman (1992) considers neo-tribes as existing around a group allegiance that is displayed through symbolism. This symbolic consumption acts as a platform to create a social link that expresses self-identity (Cova and Cova, 2002). With regards to marketing to consumer tribes, it could be argued that the social influences are the most important factor on the individual's consumption activity (Bagozzi, 2000). Tribalism suggests that social engagement is based on consumption activity and that groups, whether in virtual or real worlds, are increasingly formed around brands, products or activities of consumption which unites members through *'linking value'* (Cova and Cova, 2001: 69). With tribes there is an important focus on re-appropriation in the acts of being, gathering and experiencing together as a group.

This is in line with the ongoing work on tribes by Goulding, et al. (2013) in which tribes could be seen to express values of unity, quality and disseminating knowledge:

“Tribes need to feel unique as averse to mainstream; they need a story, myth or narrative around which they can unite” (Goulding et al., 2013: 830).

In this respect, CCT has often emphasised that consumers are not passive recipients of marketer created meaning, but are active participants in the construction of what the particular brand or product would mean in their own lifestyle group (Carroll and Ahuvia, 2006). Tribal theory observes consumers as utilising a variety of brands that are threaded together in an ongoing practice of ‘bricolage’ and innovation (Cova et al., 2007). It is orientated around temporal and emergent elements, such as with Goulding et al.’s (2009) rave collectives: community is temporarily constructed through the inter-dependent co-presence of multiple consumption resources (Cova and Cova, 2002). Tribal communities are constructed on a more ad-hoc basis and more open-access resources than brand communities (Cova et al., 2007; Goulding et al., 2009; Kozinets, 2002; Visconti et al., 2010). Consumer tribes differ from subcultures in that their connections are much more narrowly focused with similar beliefs and values that set them apart from the dominant culture (Schiffman et al., 2008). Further a brand community is established specifically around a particular product or brand (de Burgh-Woodman and Brace-Govan, 2007; Brownlie et al., 2007). Kozinets and Handelman (2004) demonstrate that consumer tribes in contrast may diminish brand equity by their consumer activism and placing themselves in opposition to the mainstream consumer. The use of tribal theory locates the consumer as part of a collection of diffusely empowered consumers (Shankar et al., 2006) who interact, perform and practice through select market offerings. Tribal

theory presents a vital theoretical alternative to illuminating the ways in which consumers combine resources and practices in hybrid networks to allow them to socially interact for transient periods (Canniford, 2011b: 69).

Shared consumption collectives have been argued to be a search by the post-modern consumer to create social links with other individuals (Simmons, 2008; Cova and Salle, 2008). Brownlie and Hewer argue: “*Consumption practices are the stuff of sociality. They are the stuff of belonging*” (Brownlie and Hewer, 2011: 249). Over the past twenty years, consumer researchers have explored a variety of consumption-orientated collectives ranging from extreme sports groups (Celsi et al., 1993), surfers (Canniford and Shankar 2007, 2013), anti-brand festivals (Kozinets, 2002), skating tribes (Cova and Cova, 2002), brand cults (Belk and Tumbat, 2005), brand communities (Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001), and consumption subcultures (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995). Within this field of new social formations there are a number of related theoretical groupings that have been explored: tribes, brand communities and subcultures. From the literature it has been shown that the concept of consumer tribes offers an understanding to describe communities that do not fit within the subcultural or brand community dialogues. Tribes have been shown to be networking platforms that allow for knowledge to be created and shared, with a focus on play, communication and innovation as central to participation (Canniford, 2011b). The ad-hoc nature of this tribal understanding is an important consideration for this thesis in exploring the construct of the vintage collective as a grouping that is formed on shared consumption interests and practices, as such the tribal theory lens will inform this study.

2.5 Alternative Marketplaces within Consumer Research

Consumer researchers have not been slow to highlight the value of a turn to alternative marketplaces (Arsel and Thompson, 2011), ‘utopian marketplaces’ (Maclaran and Brown, 2005), second-hand markets (Bardhi, 2003; Bardhi and Arnould, 2003; McRobbie, 1988; Roux and Korchia, 2006), or of collecting (Belk, 1991a). This notion that more ad-hoc, alternative marketplaces are worthy of discussion was expressed early on by Davis (1966) who suggests that the antiquity of the institution should not preclude an assessment of its contemporary manifestations (Davis, 1966). There is also a strong basis for this focus on the alternative rooted in the seminal work of the ‘*Consumer Behaviour Odyssey*’ (Belk et al., 1991c), which is founded originally on the notion of seeking out alternative spaces of consumption to explore a sense of the past (Belk, 1991c). One of the first pieces of work on the importance of alternative marketplaces was Maisel’s (1974) study. He deemed the flea market an ‘*action scene*’. With a focus on pricing, vendor and consumer search, dynamics of the bargaining process and “*market myths*,” Maisel’s ethnographic study highlights the playful nature of the flea market. Sherry’s (1990a, 1990b) research built on Maisel’s work exploring the socio-cultural significance of the flea market. He describes it as an alternative marketing system that could be thought of as complimenting more commonplace marketplaces. He asserts that this marketplace has never been treated with the merit of a marketplace worthy of examination: “*The flea market is regarded more as a curiosity or throwback than as an object of serious inquiry*” (Sherry, 1990a: 13). In previous consumer research the focus tends to be on the economic dimension and is reductionist in nature, Sherry’s work moves this focus forward. Sherry’s (1990a) seminal exploration of the Midwestern American

flea market demonstrates the social embedding of consumption and the immediacy of the purchase experience. From a material perspective, the observation that anything may become a collectible (Belk et al., 1988) is displayed in the studies of flea markets. Further Belk, Sherry and Wallendorf's (1988) study focuses on a single venue but utilises a wide range of naturalistic methods to enable them to provide a more holistic view of the flea market around the themes of: *freedom versus rules, boundaries versus transitions, and competition versus cooperation, sacred versus profane and bargaining versus buying*. This focus on alternative marketplaces has continued in the more recent literature. Bardhi's (2003a) study on thrift shopping presents this practice as a money saving activity through which shoppers derive recreational benefits - she describes that consumers gain pleasure not from finding the gem, but from finding the gem "at just 99 cents" (Bardhi, 2003a: 375). Further Guiot and Roux's (2010) ongoing work on second-hand describes that the growth in the second-hand market is attributed to the decline in the purchasing power of the middle classes from the 1980s (Williams and Paddock, 2003). They suggest that in both Europe and the US a trend occurs through which the reselling, recovery and recycling of clothes has become acceptable in the marketplace (Guiot and Roux, 2010). Roux and Guiot (2008) define the practice of second-hand consumption as: "the acquisition of used objects through often specific modes and places of exchange" (2008: 66). They highlight hedonic and economic motives as the main drivers for this consumption mode (Roux and Guiot, 2008). In considering the hedonic motives they argue that recreational aspects were at the heart of the second-hand consumption experience, such as the social contact with friendly and passionate sales people, the entertainment aspects of the shopping process and the "serendipity

ensuing from the unexpected encounter with certain objects” (Roux and Guiot, 2008: 67). These dimensions they suggest would be motivational drivers to the purchase intentions of second-hand and vintage purchases alike.

Yet, vintage consumption could also be suggested to be related to collecting, a practice defined by Belk (1995a) as: *“the process of actively, selectively and passionately acquiring and possessing things removed from ordinary use and perceived as part of a set of non-identical objects or experiences”* (1995a: 479). The notion of collecting and the ties to identity and the practice of these judgements around the concept of ‘collectable’ are an important consideration in the second-hand marketplace. In considering the material world, collections are defined as groupings of objects that share one or more similar characteristic or affiliation. In considering objects as active agents of identity that have the potential to form social bonds, the interpretation of collecting as a form of an active process around possessions, has stimulated much discussion (Belk, 1988; Thompson, 1976). Belk explains: *“collecting things and displaying things should flourish among individuals in a consumer culture in which consumer goods have become the central focus of our dreams and desires”* (Belk, 1995a: 139). From a traditional economic perspective, possessions are used solely for utilitarian purposes or as status symbols, in contrast from a material point of view, possessions convey and construct identity and to socially identify with others and add to the biographical narrative of individual’s lives. According to Belk’s (1995a: 65) work *“possessions may be perceived as symbolically obsolete”* however in contrast it is through this obsolescence that objects may appeal even more as collectable. Belk (1995a) defines collecting as the process of actively, selectively and passionately acquiring and possessing things

removed from ordinary use as part of a set of non-identical objects or experiences. This definition suggests that the 'collector' must have his or her own selection criteria. With regards to the vintage marketplace the notion of collecting and the centrality of this concern to the individual's life merit attention. In exploring the notion of collecting it is important to stress that both consumers and sellers 'collect' in very similar ways and are active practitioners in this process.

2.6 The Alternative in Vintage

Vintage as a concept has been discussed in the fashion theory literature but is lacking exploration within the consumer research domain as such this research study will employ a wide range of literature to explore the practice in the marketplace. As highlighted in the introductory chapter, the term vintage is multifaceted and problematic due to a lack of consensus regarding the time periods necessary to constitute 'second-hand', 'retro', 'vintage' and 'antique'. Semantically, 'second-hand' or vintage implies that it is a used good, and that there is some sort of journey taking place between one consumer to another. DeLong et al. (2005:23) argues that vintage clothing *"usually involves the recognition of a special type or model, and knowing and appreciating such specifics as the year or period when produced or worn."* A more broad definition from Palmer and Clark (2005:175) suggests, *"It is used to cover a huge spectrum of clothes that are not newly designed."* Tungate (2008) provides a more focused view highlighting the complex nature of the term, *"any one particular item may change through time and usage by the fashion media so that second-hand becomes known as retro then in turn as vintage."* The growth in the popularity of vintage clothing has been attributed to multiple sources: the revival of fashion trends from the 1940s -1970s (Dyer et al., 2006), an influence of celebrity

(Palmer and Clark, 2005; Odulate, 2008), a growing distrust of global brands (Tungate, 2008) and concern over ethical practices of large fashion chains (Jackson and Shaw, 2008; Brace-Govan and Binay, 2010). This move from niche subculture to more mainstream fashion choice has been capitalised on by the high street, luxury retailers, and online platforms and can be evidenced in the number of fashion blogs, websites and books on selecting and wearing vintage clothing (Palmer and Clark, 2005; Tungate, 2008). In Gregson and Crewe's (2002) study, they discuss the revival of 1970s clothing styles results in vintage consumers viewing second-hand clothing as "*aesthetic objects to be valued, understood, and worn in terms of, and as an appreciation of, their design, construction and authenticity.*" In modern consumption landscapes, vintage is heralded as a highly commoditised fashion alternative to wearing new designs (Palmer and Clark, 2005: 197). As Tungate's (2008) work explores the notion of 'vintage' is an attitude rather than a style of dress:

"It's a rejection of 'exclusive' yet global brands, an affirmation that cheap and unusual is better than expensive and everywhere- and a message to marketers that the fashion consumer of the future will be harder to snare" (Tungate, 2008: 245).

Vintage is regularly featured in the pages of leading fashion magazines and is held up as a sign of individuality and authority. Silverman's (1986) work identifies a flourishing market for vintage goods in the middle class and youth population. This is further developed by Crewe and Gregson (1998) who describe that second-hand is purchased by this group of consumers for fun and sociality and also for display purposes. Dubin and Berman (2000) further this and comment on the notion of innovation in regards to vintage fashion, suggesting the exclusivity of wearing vintage "*is about having and wearing what nobody else can; it's about looking*

wonderful while not looking like everyone else” (2000:13). This suggests that there are hierarchies within vintage at work. Further the adoption of vintage by the mass market could be seen to dilute the appeal of vintage for some consumers who are concerned with aesthetics and individuality (McColl et al., 2013). Vintage in this way can be seen as highlighting the complex knowledge required in these judgements and the associated value.

The consumption mode of vintage is often confused with second-hand consumption which is due to the overlap which exists in practice: vintage pieces might be second-hand and second-hand pieces might be vintage, but not all vintage pieces are used and not all second-hand pieces are old. The relationship of individuals to fashion is explored in the following chapters as socially mediated and this is an important consideration when considering vintage fashion. Clarke and Miller (2002) assert that there has been a democratising of individual relationships to fashion and a much greater ability to create niches consisting of consumers, rather than created by the industry. In looking at how traditional fashion authority is subverted, DeLong et al.’s (2005:24) study focuses on the development of vintage as a subculture and the complex process these aesthetics demand. Their work on vintage proposes that being *‘hooked on vintage’* is not a haphazard process but rather that it is a complex process that involves the consumer possessing the relevant *“aesthetics, taste, clever dressing, historical curiosity, and an ability to discriminate the authentic product, and revalue it in a new setting”* (DeLong et al., 2005:24). This coupled with the pleasure gained from *“others in the know”* recognising that the items are authentically vintage, which raises notions of cultural capital around vintage (Bourdieu 1984, 1985). A strong appeal of wearing vintage clothing, DeLong et al.

(2005) find is the perception that wearing vintage allows the wearer to create something original by reconfiguring something old. The knowledge that is used in the process of creating something unique acts as a way to assert an individuality through “*revaluing and reuse*” which in turn “*redefines fashion in the process*” (DeLong et al., 2005:40). They express that wearing vintage is primarily about being involved in a change of status and a revaluing of clothing beyond the original time period or setting.

Vintage and second-hand has been shown to involve an experience that is more emotional than functional for the consumer. For instance, Roux and Guiot (2008) conclude that there is a direct influence of nostalgia proneness on recreational motives, which encompasses treasure hunting and social contacts. Consequently, it could be proposed that vintage consumption may be more driven by hunting for a treasure or the unique piece rather than hunting for a bargain. As well as alternate exchange channels the literature of alternative marketplaces depicts characteristics of this marketplace providing consumers with unpredictable goods, a platform to search for bargains, visual stimulation, social interactions and feelings of affiliation (Belk, Sherry and Wallendorf, 1988; McRobbie, 1988; Gregson and Crewe, 1997; Sherry, 1990a). The move away from consumption as a utilitarian exchange to a social experience highlights the complexity of consumption spaces and practices (Crewe and Gregson, 1998). The work of Crewe and Gregson (1998) on car-boot sales comes from a geography perspective but is relevant in unpacking the turn to alternative consumption spaces as they explore unexpected spaces that display the sociality of consumption and are held in contrast to conventional retail environments. They depict car boot sales as “*dirty, cluttered and unpredictable but*

as such are also exciting, challenging and fun” (Crewe and Gregson, 1998: 42).

They propose that crucially this pleasure is not just experienced on an individual level; it is intrinsically embedded in the social character of the space for both vendors and buyers. They assert that these exchanges provide the consumer with a greater degree of agency than more traditional contexts of exchange. They further propose that second-hand exchange is the production of a spatialised practice of exchange:

“this is a space for quasi-fun, quasi-leisure, quasi-work activities; an arena in which conventional boundaries are blurred and/or transgressed” (Crewe and Gregson,

1998; 50). Moreover they focus on the attempts to impress meaning in second-hand exchange in which practices are situational specific. Space and the practices that it

affords is an important consideration. For example the car boot sale is deemed the site of *“locally embedded exchange,”* in that it is a site in which the possibility and

potential for object reuse is tied to the individual’s knowledge of the specific

neighbourhood and their situated knowledge (Gregson and Crewe, 2002:138). In

considering the marketplace, the spatialities and the trading in certain spaces and

retail locations can be seen to add to the construct of the alternative. In their later

work, Crewe et al. (2003) find that respondents position themselves through their

discourse on retail spaces, with a constant distinction drawn between their choice of

location as individualistic and on the cusp, compared to the blandness and confining

nature of what they consider the centre. This notion of having the correct space to

embody the creative scene is also tied to the idea of being part of and knowingness to

enliven these alternative spaces (Watson, 2009; Gregson and Crewe, 2002).

In exploring the construct of vintage in the marketplace as alternative it is important

to consider to what it is alternative. Vintage is constantly constructed as the ‘other’ -

as an alternative to the mainstream, of being different and doing things differently. The vintage marketplace is conceptualised as being in stark contrast to the imagined homogenised culture of mainstream fashion and retail (McRobbie, 1988). As described by Nobbs' et al. (2011) work on vintage and visual merchandising, the popularity of vintage has grown within the last decade and it is no longer considered the domain of the niche market, it could be argued to have crossed into the mainstream. This notion of a move away from the mainstream and differentiating vintage was explored in detail by Crewe et al. (2003) as they argue 'retro retailing' is:

“Slippery, elusive and mutable, retro is a facet of the second-hand market which, whilst it has certain relatively transparent, defined boundaries and core constituents, is simultaneously about opacity, and necessarily so” (Crewe et al., 2003:62).

This excerpt highlights that the ambiguity over the term is linked to a constantly shifting search for value in the marketplace; the elusiveness of the terms defies definitive boundaries. Semantics have potentially moved on since the Crewe et al.'s (2003) study and what they describe as 'retro' could be superseded with what is discussed here as vintage. Importantly with the concepts of 'retro' and in turn 'vintage' boundaries can be drawn but they are not of a fixed entity, there is permeability to the constructs as they are continually in flux because of market perceptions. The use of 'retro' as a term is most prevalent in the literature from the late nineties and early noughties, especially around the nostalgia literature (Lowenthal, 1985; Brown et al., 2003; Brown and Sherry, 2003; Borgerson and Schroeder, 2003; Blanchette, 2014) however there appears to have been a semantic shift to the use of vintage over retro. Jameson's (1984) early eighties work highlights

retro and sees it as '*the cannibalistic plundering of the past,*' he posits that it is random and without meaning or content (Jameson, 1984: 65). However this idea of the randomness of retro can be argued to stand in stark contrast to the process and preciseness with which some subcultures have adopted retro styles. In comparison to Jameson's work, Jenss' (2005) research on sixties clothing, highlights the complexity of the concept of retro but he asserts that in English no definite definition of retro exists. He proposes that it is an individualistic term: some used it to describe the mix of old and new in one outfit, others to describe original second-hand dress only and many used it to apply to copies of old designs. Jenss (2005) classifies it as a visual or materialised recourse to objects and materials of the past which stimulates memories and associations with other times or decades. This ambiguity over the terms and their theoretical underpinnings again highlights the lack in cohesive understanding of the concepts.

This ambiguity in the vintage marketplace, of its '*between-ness,*' is further explored by Crewe et al. (2003). Their study demonstrates that vintage commodities are often situated within the mainstream, such as mass-produced fashions during their first cycle of consumption and at the time are not considered rare or unique. Crewe et al. (2003) tie in the concept of retro industries to the creative industries. By their very nature they argue they share certain similarities in that the retail landscape and marketplaces as they are frequently positioned in market stalls and small retail outlets, in which second-hand goods are sold alongside their own designs. However, the creative industries are predicated on the creation of new and innovating designs, retro in contrast can be seen as the reconfiguration and re-entering of previous designs into the marketplace. In Crewe et al.'s (2003) study, the boundaries of the

creative (vintage) practitioners are held up as constituting ‘the alternative as imagined’. Their respondents speak of being embedded within networks of like-minded individuals, with an oppositional discourse established between the unknowing mass of consumer society and the knowing, elite collective. In describing this membership to an alternative scene it can only be articulated in this stark comparison. In describing vintage as an alternative subculture to the mainstream held in stark contrast, there is a notion of stability and fixity of constructs. In positioning the constructs as oppositional the notions of purity and authenticity become questionable. It is important to acknowledge the instability of this boundary as vintage has been popularised as a concept and therefore it could be argued that there has been a blurring and even hybridity of the two.

2.7 Fashion Context

The examination of fashion consumption has to be situated within its historical, social and cultural contexts. Historically second-hand clothing has attracted a stigma as a mark of poverty (Veblen, 1899; Horne and Broadridge, 1995; Tarrant, 1983). The exploration of second-hand clothing in the marketplace is not a new construct but it was one that has garnered little specific academic attention. Clothing and its interpretation could be seen as culturally, socially and historically constructed and bound. Progressing from the basic need of clothing to cover the body, in relation to the material world there is an acknowledgement of the polysemous nature of clothing: with clothing as a possession, social marker and commodity. Dress can be seen as a basic fact of social life and all cultures dress the body in some manner from clothing, tattoos, cosmetics and body painting (Entwistle, 2000a). Within contemporary consumer society, clothing has become more a marker of identities,

and inner worlds as well as defines a social status (Campbell, 1996; Evans, 1999; Clarke and Miller, 2002; Crane and Bovone, 2006; Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013; Blanchette, 2014). Fashion can be viewed as “*the practice of the people*” (Clarke and Miller, 2002). In this respect it can be regarded as a collection of social practices that emerge in spite of rather than because of the fashion industry. In Simmel’s (1957) seminal work on the theory of fashion, he proposes that fashion occurs largely from a tension between creativity and conformity. However, many fashions appear to be regressive and nostalgic towards past cultural traditions. In accordance with Levi-Strauss’ (1966) theory it could be argued that material culture objects allow consumers to connect with history and for the object to have a place in everyday life. Objects can therefore be seen to function as communicators and link to the past, through these material objects, history could be maintained in the present. In consumer research, consumers have been shown to form close connections with objects of material culture, through which both the consumer and the object sustain each other (Zwick and Dholakia, 2006; Fernandez and Lastovicka, 2011). They could be seen to form webs of significance (Geertz, 1973) that embrace a wide variety of material artifacts and social histories. This position compliments McCracken’s (1986: 71) position that “*cultural meaning is constantly in transit*” and objects of material culture could be seen to be the embodied essence of past events. This study is particularly interested in the material world as it relates to the concept of ‘vintage’ as a means of understanding and enactment.

Within the domain of consumer research, Thompson and Haytko (1997) contest that novelty, rapid changes, a proliferation of styles and the mass consumption of goods

represents Western fashion. In their exploration of fashion discourses they cite Faurschou (1987:82):

“Fashion is the logic of planned obsolescence – not just the necessity for market survival, but the cycle of desire itself, the endless process through which the body decoded and recoded, in order to define and inhabit the newest territorial spaces of capital’s expansion” (Faurschou 1987: 82, cited by Thompson and Haytko, 1997).

In considering Thompson and Haytko’s (1997) account of the discourses surrounding fashion consumerism, each could be seen to champion value in a specific appearance style whilst de-valuing other styles. They conclude that consumers have considerable potential to appropriate fashion discourses, generate personalised fashion identities and resist the dominant fashion narratives. Similarly in readdressing similar questions, Murray (2002) found that consumers are able to construct desired identities through fashion successfully and to employ fashion discourses to mediate identity tensions that arose. More recent research from Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) highlights the dual (potentially incompatible) logics at work in the fashion industry as the logics of culture and the logics of commerce. These dual logics they argue both constrain and enable the industry in their co-existence. In their exploration of the *‘Frustrated Fatshionistas’* they portray an agentic view of consumers as *“strategic, purposive actors in organisational fields”* (Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013: 1254). This perspective of consumer agency is useful in considering how alternative markets materialise.

2.7.1 The Fashion Object

Before exploring the literature further it is important to define and position the concept of the fashion object that is subsequently developed throughout the thesis. Fashion as shown above is conceptualised in relation to clothing, but fashion could be seen to reach far beyond this into lifestyle choices, interests, hobbies, views and values. Davis (1992) argues that fashion is not static or a definite article: it is something that transforms, mutates, converges and even regresses over time (Davis 1992:28). In the consideration of fashion operating within the social landscape, it becomes evident that it could be used as a mechanism for distinction and division between social collectives. Rafferty's (2009) work on the class-based emotions in fashion consumption suggests that this distinction through fashion could happen in highly nuanced ways. Rafferty (2009) found that fashions are constantly redefined and renegotiated and embraced or dismissed by collective groups of consumers because they become associated with particular groups and they are then subsequently either rejected or approved by individuals. In regards of contemporary society's vast array of self-fashioning choices Rafferty (2011) argues that the practices of consumerist choices continue to be embodied by their cultural background. Building on Bourdieu's work, Rafferty's (2011) work suggests that fashion functions as a psychosocial existence through which competitive social relations are fuelled. Fashion consumption can therefore be conceptualised as a culturally specific practice. Rafferty's (2011) paper highlights the role of emotional experiences in social life that structure consumption patterns. She explores the relationship between social class and consumption, suggesting that consumption practices are interconnected with emotional tendencies. In conceptualising fashion as

a force that functions within the psychic and emotional context of social relations, she argues that a space of social relations through which class discrimination actively unfolds is created. Rafferty (2009) stresses that fashion should not be considered as a purely commercial force that controls consumers; she posits that it is a complex social phenomenon. Rafferty (2011) asserts that the most commonly agreed academic definition of fashion is as “*a specific aesthetic for dressing the body*” (Rafferty, 2011: 242). This definition offers a definite form rather than considering the psychosocial aspects of fashion. Bourdieu’s (1984, 1985) work has similarly conceptualised fashion as ‘*an embodiment of objectified capitals*’, stressing that fashion is a set of class-based principles of existence, conditioned by taste and competitive relations. Referring back to Bourdieu’s (1984) definition of fashion as the result of competitive relations, fashion could be conceptualised as a determining influence on the consumption choice the individual consumer makes. Entwistle (2000a: 2) adds to this argument positing that fashion is a practice born out of competitive social relations and as such it could be said to be ‘*a competitive psych-social mechanism*’ that calls for styles to be revised and reworked frequently. In framing fashion in this manner and acknowledging the mobility of aesthetic ideas, fashion could be considered as a variety of dress styles at any one point in time that are culturally deemed to constitute being ‘*fashionable*’.

Bourdieu’s (1984) work and in particular his work on practice, is a useful framework to unpack the variety of fashion consumption approaches in contemporary society. His work suggests that taste; style and aesthetic sensibilities are ‘*not an individual concern but are the result of ‘cultural capital’ from socialisation.*’ Taste therefore becomes the expression of cultural capital and is embodied in practice, such as in

consumption choices. Bourdieu's (1984) work focuses on *'fields'* and is concerned with how position within social hierarchy allows individuals to gain specific habitual dispositions and capitals. In turn these are then important in the attainment of social status and the subsequent rewards that this affords in consumer society. Sandicki and Ger (2010:32) draw on Bourdieu's concept of habitus and posit "*consumption practices and fashion in particular can have an important role in the construction of a new parallel taste structure. Fashion can be both a key medium and a marker of a new habitus.*" This perspective allows consideration of the assertion that the individual actor's taste is constructed in relation to their larger social standing and resulting issues such as class. Entwistle (2000a) suggests that dress is an embodied practice and one that is embedded within the social world. This emphasis on the social nature of dress highlights that individuals are active agents in their engagement. This reinforces the earlier work of Mary Douglas (1973, 1984) who proposes that the social highly restricts the medium of expression of the body and that the body thus becomes a symbol of its cultural location. This positioning of the body within the social was suggestive of Bourdieu's (1984, 1989, 1993) accounts of embodiment that links between the social and the individual. For Bourdieu (1984) bodies are structured by social position and these structures are only reproduced through the embodied actions of individuals. According to his *'habitus'* individuals are predisposed to a particular way of dressing and for social collectives this is a way through which individuals could orientate themselves towards the social world. The body could therefore be seen as a social entity with fashion as the outcome of both social factors and individual actions. Clarke and Miller (2002) go further than Bourdieu's suggestion and posit that the social setting of an individual choice has to

be acknowledged in the juncture of daily aesthetic decisions by consumers. Bourdieu (1990) defines cultural capital as the specific set of cultural tastes, skills and knowledge that is cultivated and used in the social field. This becomes intrinsic in so much as individuals make consumption choices that do not appear culturally and/or class bound. Bourdieu proposes that through the exercise of cultural capital, respect of others through consumption of objects become linked to the ability to do so. Bourdieu (1984) proposes that these class structures dominate individual's tastes and lifestyles. Warde (2007:1) built on this and argues that the concept of 'good taste' could be used as a 'weapon' in competitive social relations. In this respect individuals could position themselves through consumption into an advantageous position as cultural battles occur.

In considering a consumer research approach and building on Bourdieu's argument, Holt (1998:4) has further argued that all actions and interactions are inevitably classifying practices, deeming them "*micro-political acts of status claiming.*" Based on Holt's argument, individuals must therefore negotiate through the social struggle in order to achieve a position. Bourdieu (1984; 1990) also highlights the varying sources of capital required to obtain cultural capability: social capital through networks and outlets, economic capital having the financial proficiency and symbolic capital in that through the possession and display of items to which value has socially been ascribed. Bourdieu's depiction of consumer culture has been criticised for lack of an emotional capital that could be deemed necessary for social advancement (Illouz, 2007, 2009). Illouz's (2007) work argues that individuals use consumption as a way to connect to others, therefore the social relationships that consumption activities enable act as '*moral goods in which the content of self-hood and well-being*

are at stake' (Illouz, 2007: 67-8). Her argument suggests that by revisiting the Bourdieusian model a focus on the emotional habitus could be developed to find new insights into the relationships between identity, class, social relations and gender. Building on the central tenet of Bourdieu's (1984, 1985) work of fashion as social practice, an emphasis on the larger social context for fashion choice has been explored thoroughly in the literature with issues such as identity, gender and sexuality being at the foreground (McRobbie, 1998; Entwistle, 2000a; Rafferty, 2011) as for the purposes of this thesis an exploration of the communal, social element of the practices is crucial.

2.7.2 Fashion Subcultures

The historical development of fashion could be argued to be the result of an exclusive, elite activity that became popularised and pluralised over time, however in modern society fashion could be stimulated by sub-cultural or lifestyle propensities. As discussed earlier in this chapter, there is now a long history of youth sub-cultural groups that have garnered academic attention (Hebdige, 1979; Hall and Jefferson, 1993; Gelder and Thornton, 1997; McRobbie, 1988). Lury argues that punk was often viewed as '*the last authentic youth culture*' (Lury, 1996:198). She suggests that the increase in commercialisation of popular culture has resulted in the demise of authentic youth subcultures. Lury (1996) believes that it is impossible to maintain authenticity in the subculture because of commercialisation; she suggests that the growth of the media has subsumed youth culture. The literature of subcultures is an important consideration in the discussion of vintage, as the subcultures are shown as traditionally based on an aesthetic way of seeing the world around them and how this in turn influences their resulting consumption choices. Abercrombie and Warde's

(1988) study distinguishes these subcultures by three general characteristics: firstly that they are cultures based on leisure rather than of work, secondly that they are focused on the collective rather than an individual and lastly they are concerned with style and in particular a youth specific style. The collective is seen to have unity in dress, rituals, attitudes and language (similar to tribes Cova and Cova 2002; Cova et al., 2007). Again in Jefferson's (1976:86) early exploration of the Teddy boy's, the subculture and style highlighted that the Teddy Boys dress "*represented a symbolic way of expressing and negotiating with their symbolic reality; of giving cultural meaning to their social plight.*" These accounts identify the role of the market and consumer culture in the formation and maintenance of the subculture.

The idea of '*bricolage*' is important when considering concepts of style and subcultures. Taken from the work of Levi-Strauss, it was used to describe the process through which objects acquired new meaning through recontextualisation and redefinition. McCracken's (1998) work compliments this as he asserts: "*combination and recombination take place until a concept and an aesthetic emerge that help give substance to a group's wish to differentiate itself from the mainstream*" (1998:136). In this way vintage clothing could be seen as cultural commoditisation as an item's status is culturally shaped through a process of being withdrawn and introduced in a new setting (DeLong et al., 2005), through this redefinition of the object, '*the imaginary potential of the object could be unlocked*' (DeLong et al., 2005).

In examining fashion subcultures, one contemporary manifestation relevant to a discussion of vintage, is that of the hipster. In contemporary culture, discussions of 'hipster style' have become frequent (The Guardian, 2010: NY Times, 2013: Times, 2013) and synonymous with style, nostalgic ideals and a search for the alternative.

Frank (1997) describes ‘hipster’ as a term that is employed to reference an avant-garde, 20-something who has worked hard to cultivate an alternative style that in some respects is considered the revival of bohemian culture. This rhetoric has continued in contemporary manifestations in a privileging of localised consumerism, a focus on independent consumption practices and rejection of mainstream aesthetics. Schiermer’s (2013: 168) study asserts: “*in contrast to a traditional subculture, hipster culture is characterized by a lack of generational distinction and by a genuine veneration of certain cultural expressions and objects of the previous generations.*” He argues that the two salient traits of the hipster are “*irony and redemptive conservatism*” (Schiermer, 2013: 168). Bringing the hipster domain to consumer research’s attention, Arsel and Thompson (2011) adds to the discussion in their *Journal of Consumer Research* paper proposing that as a ‘*fashionable counterculture*’, the hipster myth is developed through marketing intelligence of cultural producers and widespread co-optation of media imagery. This myth positions hipsters as consumers who are part of a participatory lifestyle group which is “*largely denuded of any connotations of social protest or deviance*” (Arsel and Thompson, 2011: 795). They argue that the hipster myth devalues their tastes and interests that such individual’s will have worked hard to develop the status in their collective through their consumption practices and necessary knowledge. The marketplace myth they argue ultimately devalues their tastes and aesthetic practices and as such they have to protect their tastes through a process of “*demythologisation*”. This focus on a collective and their consumption practices that are rooted in a desire for the alternative, style focused and a search to separate from

the mainstream is especially pertinent in a consideration of the vintage collective and how value is framed.

2.8 Consumption and Materiality

In considering Arnould and Thompson's (2005) discussion, the social environment through which consumer actions take place and the objects that they utilise in the material world, is critical. This thesis is interested in an exploration of marketplace practices and as such an understanding of linking the material goods to the consumer as means of sense making is developed and was examined in the extant literature.

Miller (1988b) proposes that consumer culture is the study of material culture in which consumption is regarded as the primary mechanism for interaction in society. Further material objects can be argued to shape the structure of daily consumption (Shove and Araujo, 2010: 13). In consumption studies, objects are often described as mere aids in the exchange practices of consumption, in applying a material culture perspective, it is argued that the narrative of the object cannot be separated from the object itself. Whilst this thesis is not a sociological material studies research undertaking, it does reflect on the importance of the material in the vintage world in performing in the marketplace, therefore material culture theory is unpacked further to explore the experience of consumers in this lived experience. The following section considers the broader material culture field and how objects are situated and understood in this domain.

One of the most important ways that people relate and interact with each other socially could be said to be through material goods (Lury, 1996). In recent decades the study of material cultures has grown in prominence grounded in the premise that

social and cultural relations are characterised by material objects and so material culture studies focus on objects in use (Dant, 2004, 2005). Consumer culture could be viewed as a particular form of material culture, as it frames consumption away from the common definition of consumption⁴ as ‘using up.’ This move to a more comprehensive understanding follows Dant’s (2005) sociological perspective in which he argues for a more in-depth focus on the ‘*material stuff of life*’. This approach suggests a consideration of the social and cultural meanings of the object, rather than just considering the meaning as inextricably linked to the object (Dant, 2005; Miller, 1998b). The conceptualisation of objects is an important consideration for material studies. Latour (1991) argues that objects should go further than highlighting social structures or being treated as symbolic entities, he suggests that the material world should be considered in line with social practices and that objects should be understood within their materiality: “*we are never faced with objects or social relations, we are faced with chains which are associations of human and non-human*” (Latour, 1991; 110). Douglas and Isherwood’s (1979) much cited study discusses objects as vessels for thinking and for rational beings to make sense of the modern world. They suggest that through making visible the cultural categories that objects function as cultural markers they are the “*visible bit of the iceberg which is the whole social process*” (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979:74). In addition Reckwitz (2002) proposes that contemporary cultural theorists have to consider both the material and the symbolic in order to aid the sense making of the familiar and modern and should explore the meaning in the everyday lived experience. For

⁴ The Oxford Dictionary defines ‘consume’ as “to eat, drink ingest, or to completely destroy, or to use up a resource.”
<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/consume?q=consume> [Accessed on May 28th 2012]

Reckwitz (2002) objects are conceptualised as ‘hybrids’: they are used for and have effect in their materiality. Therefore objects are also symbolic in that they are defined, interpreted and handled culturally; this suggests that objects have cultural and material specificity and are not easily replaceable. Lury (1996:1) compliments this in her work on consumer culture describing the appropriation of an object as a moment of both consumption and production, of doing and undoing and of destruction and construction. Through these dualities the cyclical nature of consumption is conveyed. Lury (1996) asserts that through a material culture lens, consumption could be seen as ‘conversion’. She believes that in shaping Western consumer culture the notions of the circulation of commodities through which they are produced and exchanged in the market for capitalist gains is a crucial concern, as are the changes in the relationship between production, consumption and value. Possessions, for Lury, in turn function as key definers of interests, lifestyle and attachments. With regards to these attachments, Dittmar’s (1992: 205) work suggests *“material possessions also serve as expressions of group membership and as means of locating others in the social-material environment.”* Considering how objects affect groups in relation to the social and material environment is especially relevant in considering the vintage marketplace.

Miller’s (1998a) work has focused on shopping and objectification as he explains that shopping, as a practice is a manifestation of key social relations, of family, class, ethnicity and gender. He asserts that objects are *“social relations made durable”* (Miller, 1998a: 19) this suggests that shopping is practiced as a medium for facilitating relations of love and care. He argues that consumption is one tool for giving objects meaning and transforming them from *“anonymous and alienated*

conditions of their production.” For Miller (1998a) the site of this shopping is one in which a devotional practice is actioned and commodities are imbued with significance. Miller’s work depicts a shopping space through which objects are considered the material culture of love. This creates notions of how space is constructed, how shoppers construct space and how they make sense of such spaces.

2.8.1 The Potential of Objects

There is a common assumption in marketing literature that material objects follow a linear trajectory of consumption (production, valuation, consumption and decline)

When looking specifically at the vintage market, it is constructed of goods that have been discarded from the traditional market. This expulsion could potentially lead to a re-examination and re-evaluation of objects. Douglas and Isherwood’s (1979) anthropological study proposes that consumption happens in all societies and that it is *‘beyond commerce,’* in that it is always both a cultural and economic occurrence. They argue that it has as much to do with value, meanings and communication, as economic exchange. In considering this perspective objects are not only used to do things, but have intrinsic meaning of their own and function as a marker of social relations. Douglas and Isherwood (1979: 66) assert that objects are the *‘visible parts of culture’* and that it is through acquiring, using and exchanging these objects that individuals are afforded social lives. It is suggested that objects are a way to make visible the categories and groupings that classify people in society.

The classical anthropological themes of culture and economy are explored further by Appadurai (1986) with a slightly differing focus than Douglas and Isherwood as he focuses on the *‘objects in motion.’* Appadurai (1986) asserts *‘objects have lives,’* in

that objects are treated as living beings with social lives through which their meaning changes, they acquire and lose value and their identity shifts. Appadurai (1986) proposes that objects move in and out of the commodity trajectory throughout the course of their lives. With this focus on the motion and the potential of objects, he argues that the trajectory of objects is constrained by *'scale and temporality'*.

Appadurai's approach is important to consider, as it does not focus exclusively on a particular moment in the object's life, but appreciates for example its production, marketing journey and reputation. His attention also on the social dimensions of objects and their 'life history' facilitates the exploration of the changes in meaning and status of objects as they move along the trajectory. From a cultural value paradigm further insights can be gained from Appadurai's (1986) work as he suggests fluidity to value from following objects in motion. He expresses the importance of the classification and valuation structures linked to wider cultural organisation:

"...define the world of things, lumping some things together, discriminating between others, attaching meanings and values to these groupings and providing a basis for rules and practices governing the circulation of these objects." (Appadurai, 1986:14)

This deepens and extends our understanding of how value is produced and reproduced within social structures. Extending the Marxist idea of commodity value being created as use value is produced and shifted through exchange by combining it with Simmel's concept of the *'exchange of sacrifice being the source of economic value,'* for Appadurai views exchange as the main source of value creation of *"different regimes of value in space and time"* (1986:4). From a material culture studies perspective, the understanding that objects have *'social lives'* (Appadurai,

1986) or '*biographies*' (Kopytoff, 1986) suggests that at some stage in this trajectory, that objects are defined by their relationship to monetary value and then at other stages they become '*de-commodified*' (Miller, 1998b), with spatial and temporal considerations (Appadurai, 1986; Kopytoff, 1986) affecting the commodity states as they move through contexts and owners. In considering when goods are withdrawn from this commodity stage and reconfigured, it can be argued that they preserve their tacit exchange values (Kopytoff, 1986). When considering material culture, Appadurai's work forces the researcher to consider each of these moments rather than favouring one over the other or to join them all together. His approach allows the sequence of these relationships and pathways to be explored and gives weight to the positioning of objects within individual's lives - they have the power to influence and change actions. Building on Appadurai's (1986) proposition, this '*commodity potential*' becomes especially pertinent in the discussion of the vintage market. With regards to vintage objects there is a focus on journeys and a passage of time and space for the object. For objects that have been 'disposed of' from the marketplace, to re-enter, their potential has to be perceived by a consumer and/or seller (Parsons, 2008, 2009). Taking up Appadurai's (1986) argument, the object must wait to be re-discovered and moved on in their journey, the object is reliant on an opportune moment of another consumer finding it and being brought back into the consumption sphere by having new knowledge applied to it. This framing of the marketplace and staging of the object, shifts the literature focus towards a more performative perspective. As Araujo et al. (2008, 8) describe markets could be conceptualised as "*ever-changing performances, rather than as stabilised entities, shaped by multiple and distributed calculative agencies.*" They suggest that market

practices are the necessary performances and practices needed to contribute in the market and that markets are in a constant evolution regarding the practices employed to sustain them and their resulting forms. This thesis focuses on the objects within the practices, through adopting Appadurai's (1986) approach of following things in motions. For Appadurai (1986: 31) consumption is "*eminently social, relational and active rather than private, atomic or passive.*" Appadurai (1986) follows the objects rather than the people to reconsider the dynamics of the exchange process. He argues that objects are important because "*their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories*" (1986:5). In discussing the movement of objects, Appadurai posits that objects have no absolute value, that rather their value is created through the social process of exchange. This echoes Kopytoff's (1986) suggestion that objects move in and out of '*commodity stages*' in their trajectory. Both authors question what constitutes an object and how permanence and value are enacted in the marketplace?

2.9 Conclusions

2.9.1 Positioning this research and Key Literature Gaps

This chapter has shown the development of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) as a theoretical domain within the consumption landscape that focuses on the socio-cultural, experiential, symbolic and ideological aspects of consumption rather than the production, consumption and exchange of the traditional marketing approach (Arnould and Thompson, 2005, 2007). Positioning this study within this CCT tradition, this thesis approaches an understanding of consumption by unfolding

collective practices of the agentic consumer to gain an appreciation of the collective framing of value.

The construct of the ‘consumer’ has been depicted in this chapter as active and dynamic and this agentic nature of the consumer will be key in exploring the vintage context as this thesis is coming from the CCT approach in which markets are seen as social and cultural constructs (Arnould and Thompson, 2005, 2007). With a socio-material focus, this chapter has illuminated the move away from consumption as a utilitarian exchange, to a social experience that in turn highlights the complexity of consumption spaces and practices (Crewe and Gregson, 1998). Building on Holt’s (1995) typology ‘*consuming as play*’ this chapter explores how consumption and objects are utilised by consumers to interact with other consumers in the marketplace (Arnould and Price, 1993). The literature suggests that fashion functions as a psychosocial existence through which competitive social relations are fuelled (Rafferty, 2009, 2011; Bourdieu, 1984, 1985; Illouz, 2007). Further this chapter has also explored the scholarly attention that has been devoted to consumption communities as a construct in their various formations: subcultures, brand communities and tribes. The marketplace will be explored further in this study with a focus on the collective effort needed in constructing the market space and exploring the social links of ‘vintage’.

This chapter has shown that vintage as a concept crosses many theoretical understandings; vintage was understood as an emergent scene in an alternative consumption landscape. The lack of cohesion of vintage as a concept was evident from the literature as discussions of the creative and retro highlighted the complexity of vintage (Gregson and Crewe, 2002; Jenss, 2004, 2005; Crewe et al., 2003). In

foregrounding objects and their inherent materialities (Dant, 2004; 2005: Miller, 1998b, 2005; Appadurai, 1986) and following objects in use, this thesis is particularly interested in the material world as it relates to the concept of ‘vintage’ as a means of understanding and enactment. Further through situating consumption within the materiality of everyday life (Slater and Miller, 2007:22) and understanding consumption as part of social practice, has necessitated a turn to practice which will be explored in the next chapter (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 2002; Warde, 2005).

Chapter Three: Practices and Value

3.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the theory of practice approach to the study of consumption and value. It considers the concept of practice (Schatzki 1996; Schatzki et al., 2001; Reckwitz 2002) and how it has been used in consumption studies (Shove and Pantzar 2005; Warde, 2005). Further this section explores the theoretical basis for the use of the practice lens, how it is employed in the literature and explores the merit of conceptualising vintage consumption as a form of practice. The use of the practice theory lens allows the researcher to explore how practices and consumption activities are a continuous, dynamic and interrelated process (Magaudda, 2011; Shove 2003a, 2003b; Shove and Pantzar, 2005).

This chapter aims to provide a holistic understanding of practice to underpin the thesis. As such it explores practice discussions in depth, firstly from an overall understanding before turning to look at how practice has been used by consumption studies and the possible implications for CCT. It then explores different perspectives of practice focusing on the material and then the spatial elements. Next it turns to other domains, Market Studies and Organisation Studies, to aid this practice understanding. It looks then at the understanding of collective practices before the final sections focuses on understandings of value and practices of value creation. In employing a practice theory perspective this section seeks to unpack the connections between practices, the consumption of objects and the value surrounding both.

3.1. Defining Practice Theory

Within the context of the debate in social theory on structure and agency, in recent years there has been a shift to social theories of practice to further explore this problematic. Practice theory has its background in the work of philosophers such as Wittgenstein (1984 [1953]), social theorists such as early Bourdieu (1972, 1984, 1985) and early Giddens (1979, 1984), cultural theorists such as late Foucault (1969, 1984) and Butler (1990), and theorists of science and technology, such as Latour (1991, 1992) and Pickering (1992, 1995), their insights have been integrated into a philosophical ontology of practices developed and mapped together by Schatzki (1996, 2002) and then by Reckwitz (2002). As noted above, practice theories are a set of philosophical and culturally grounded accounts that explore the conditions surrounding the practical carrying out of social life (Halkier et al., 2011). Both Schatzki et al. (1996, 2001) and Reckwitz (2002) have aided the development of a contemporary systemised theory of practice.

In his ontology of practices Schatzki (1996) highlights two different notions of practice: practice as coordinated entity and practice as performance. Schatzki (1996:90) explains that practice as performance refers to the carrying out or undertaking things, the performing of the doings and sayings that “*actualizes and sustains practices in the sense of nexuses.*” For him practices consist of “*embodied, materially mediated arrays, and shared meanings*” (Schatzki, 2001: 3). Schatzki’s (1996:12) theories of practice “*present pluralistic and flexible pictures of the constitution of social life that generally oppose hypostatized unities, root order in local contexts and/or successfully accommodate complexities, differences and particularities.*” Schatzki proposes that both social order and individuality result

from practices (1996:13). Reckwitz (2002) also synthesises elements from Bourdieu and Giddens with a slightly different emphasis than Schatzki in his understanding of practices, he emphasises the importance of routines within practices. Reckwitz's (2002) much quoted definition draws on Bourdieu and Latour as he explains:

“A practice...is a routinised type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, things and their use, background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge.” (Reckwitz, 2002: 249-250)

Drawing out from Reckwitz's definition, there is a focus on the idea of interconnectness and a centrality of *'things and their use'*. In arguing that a practice *“necessarily depends on the existence and specific interconnectedness of these elements, and which cannot be reduced to any one of these single elements”* (Reckwitz, 2002: 250), the notion of shared practical understanding is also highlighted by Reckwitz. Reckwitz (2002) proposes that practice theory focuses on the practical construction of life in a world where both humans and nonhumans have an ontological status of their own: in so much as they exist as separate, individual elements. The practice is therefore composed of both the consumer and their context, which is in turn embedded with meanings in practical terms (Holt, 1995). Reckwitz's (2002: 259) concludes: *“practice theory should develop more philosophical perseverance and at the same time not give up its embeddedness in 'empirical social and cultural analysis'.* Then in future the loose network of praxeological thinking might *'yield some interesting surprises,*” he thus highlights the possibilities for the future development of the field around practice theory.

For both Reckwitz (2002) and Schatzki (1996) the existence of a practice is dependent upon the specific interconnectedness of several elements – mental activities, bodily activities, background knowledge in the form of understanding, things and their use, competence, emotional states and motivation. A practice can be said to form the “*block*” whose existence depends on the existence and interconnectedness of these elements, and which cannot be reduced to any of these elements. The practice therefore becomes the entity from which consciousness emerges, as a form of integration of different resource elements. Therefore, a practice-based approach is not focused on who is doing what, what these subjects think about, or what they are like. Rather, the focus is on the process – what is done, how doing is constituted, how resources are used and how the doing has developed over time. Shove and Pantzar (2005) propose that a practice is skills, objects and images “*in use*”. As proposed by Shove and Pantzar (2005), three elements constitute the practices: *firstly an object* (what tools or resources are required in the practice); *secondly an image* (what images are involved); and *thirdly a competence* (what competences does the practice require). Practices can be argued not to exist in a static state, but are reproduced and reconfigured in the acts of everyday life. In practice theory, the social is not found in the mental acts or discourse or interaction, but in the reproduction and enactment of practice (Reckwitz, 2002). Practice consists of both doings and sayings therefore importantly for research, the analysis must be concerned with both practical activity and its representations (Warde, 2005:134). Bourdieu (1984, 1985) emphasises the role of practice and embodiment within the social world. Embodied preferences refer to the implicit knowledge or skills in a practice and have been described by Holt (1998: 3) as “*a set of decontextualised*

understandings...that are readily recontextualised across new settings.” These embodied practices can be seen to be imbued into individual’s thinking, feeling and subsequent action in their daily life and consumption choices. In cultural studies the idea of embodiment of practices has been prevalent from the 1990s onwards. In Thrift’s (1996, 1997, 1999) work he is concerned with practices through which the ‘subjects’ become decentred, but embodied and expressive and involved with others and objects in a world continually in process. He focuses on *‘the body-subject, not the body, engaged in joint body-practices of becoming’* (Thrift, 1997: 142). The emphasis is on practices that cannot adequately be spoken of and on forms of experience and movement that are not only or never cognitive. Thrift is concerned with the ways in which subjects know the world without knowing it, the *“inarticulate understanding’ or ‘practical intelligibility’ of an ‘unformulated practical grasp of the world”* (Taylor, cited in Thrift, 1996: 10).

While there is a common focus throughout the practice literature, with a centrality on how social action is carried out, practice theory is not a coherent theory (Halkier and Jensen, 2011), it is fragmentary in nature with a lack of homogeneity in approach, as different theoretical readings exist which will be detailed further in the following sections. Across the literature all use the term *‘practices’* in disparate ways, but similarly emphasise routines, shared habits, techniques and competence in their work (Shove and Pantzar, 2005: 44).

3.2 Developing Practice Theory

From the mid-2000s through the work of Warde (2005) and Shove (2003a, 2003b, 2005, 2009, 2010) there is a perceptible shift in the view that what is involved in

consuming and using things in practice is important in the discussion of consumption. They propose that the relationship between materials and practices was deserving of more theoretical attention. Warde's (2005) article in *Journal of Consumer Culture* is regarded as the first problematising piece presenting an examination of the potential of practice theoretical perspectives in the analysis of consumption. The 1990s had seen a focus of the symbolic meanings of consumption with identity formation and the configuration of exchange relationships in consumer research. This shift in the view of consumption beyond the marketplace from Warde considered the social organisation of consumption and broadened out the view of consumption sociology. Warde (2005) argues that most practices require and entail consumption of some sort; he asserts that the term 'consumption' fuses together two contrasting ideas, of purchase and of using up. He proposes that consumption cannot be restricted to or defined by market exchange. Warde (2005: 137) explains consumption as:

"A process whereby agents engage in appropriation and appreciation, whether for utilitarian, expressive or contemplative purposes of goods, services, performances, information or ambience, whether purchased or not, over which the agent has some degree of discretion."

In this view, consumption is not in itself a practice, but could rather be conceptualised as a moment in almost every practice (Warde, 2005) and this lens has been used to situate consumption within the materiality of daily life (Slater and Miller, 2007:22). The conventions and the standards of the practice can be said to steer the behaviour (Warde, 2005:137). Warde (2005) further explains that wants are fulfilled only in practice, their satisfaction attributed to effective practical

performances. Warde's (2005) seminal paper on practice theory constructs an overview and discussion for the use of practice theory in consumption research. He proposes using the theoretical approach of Reckwitz (2002) and Schatzki (1996) into an empirical investigation of consumption. Moving on from Schatzki's (1996) concept of practice, Warde bases his theory on the idea of practice as a nexus coordinated by understandings, procedures and engagements (Warde, 2005:134). Consumption can be therefore argued to occur as goods are appropriated; this involves the consumer undertaking certain practices including knowledge to carry out these practices and the tools to engage as a practitioner (Warde, 2005). Warde suggests: "*practices, which are logically and ontologically prior to action, steer consumption*" (Warde, 2005: 135). In understanding consumption as something that occurs whilst in the course of doing something else, a focus: '*less to individual choices and more to the collective development of modes of appropriate conduct in everyday life*' is necessary (Slater and Miller, 2007:22). Warde (2005) acknowledges that objects are only one type of thing that can be consumed and that these are all part of practices. In decentring consumption, it allows Warde to examine its processes through a different set of frames. Within this view of consumption, people are viewed as the starting point for making sense of the social world. Warde conceptualises consumption as pervasive yet intermittent, for him it is a momentary accomplishment within many practices (Warde, 2005: 150). In order to exist, practices must be continually enacted and reproduced as distinct packages of organised activities. This has important methodological considerations, which will be explored further in the Methodology Chapter.

There is a multiplicity of practices available to people and the external and internal rewards for involvement in these practices differs greatly. Warde (2005) asserts, *“Judgements of performance are made internally with respect to the goals and aspirations of the practice itself, and proficiency and commitment deliver satisfaction and self-esteem”* (Warde 2005: 148). With regards to external rewards of the practice and of understanding they focus on the gaining of access to social networks and respect within the collective (Warde 2005). Warde’s (2005) article can be regarded as the first ‘programmatic’ piece offering an exploration of the potential of practice theoretical approaches for the analysis of consumption. This was as a response to recognition of the shortcomings of existing foci and theoretical approaches to consumption in the social and cultural analysis (Halkier et al., 2011). Warde (2005) argued throughout the 1990s for the questioning of consumption to move beyond the marketplace and to consider the social organisation and move beyond examining the purchase stage of consumption. The broadening out of the consumption discussion includes a focus on the mundane and routine consumption habits, as Gronow and Warde (2001) elaborate in their text *Ordinary Consumption*, in which the mundane and everyday were crucial. This shift was again highlighted by Randles and Warde (2006: 226):

“Ordinary consumption is best understood in terms of concepts like habit, routine, constraint, and so on and can be summed up as a recognition of the conventional nature of consumption.”

Within the practice theory lens, the material environment – objects, tools, devices and apparatus - and the implicit and explicit practical knowledge stored in them are central in the process of creating interaction, continuity and reality (Halkier et al.,

2011). Further adding to the role of practice theory with regards to consumption, Shove (2004, 2005) develops a focus on practices and their routine reproduction through her research. Her version of practice theory highlights the performative nature of social life and examines it analytically (Shove and Pantzar, 2005: 44). She questions change and continuity in practices and their associated objects and resources. Shove and Pantzar (2005) base their approach with consideration of Reckwitz and Schatzki's definitions of practice. Therefore they define practices as involving the active integration of materials, meanings and forms of competence (Shove and Pantzar, 2005: 45). They focus on the failure in the consumption literature to convey fully what is involved in the way things are acquired, appropriated and subsequently utilised. Their work is also greatly influenced by the arguments of Actor Network Theory (ANT) and science and technology studies (STS) - both place an importance on the centrality of the relationship between humans and objects. Shove and Pantzar (2005) move the literature forward by conceptualising consumers' not as simple users but as creative practitioners and view appropriation of things as just one dimension of practice. Shove and Pantzar (2005) with their study on Nordic walking add to the discussion of symbolically focused theories of consumption, to re-evaluating consumers and the material dimension in which they operate. Shove and Pantzar (2005) are interested in how new practices emerge within and through consumer - producer interaction arguing: "*many products are quite directly implicated in the conduct and reproduction of daily life*" (Shove and Pantzar, 2005: 44). They demonstrate the importance of the relationship between material objects, competence and associated images and place an emphasis on the 'non-human actors' who share the focus along with consumers. For Shove, the

practice exists in the unit of analysis and ‘the consumer becomes de-centered in the analysis of reality’ which constitutes different elements of reality: material, competence, and images (Shove, 2004; Shove and Pantzar, 2005). This has implications for how both the object and the consumer will be viewed in this study.

3.3 Consumer Research Moves to Practice

From a practice perspective, consumption is argued not to be restricted or defined by market exchange, but can be thought of as an integral part of everyday life (Warde, 2005). Consuming can be considered as a mode of action that is undertaken by people and in which they make use of consumption objects in a multitude of ways (Holt, 1995). In considering practice theory and its use in consumer research, it is worth highlighting the basic purpose of consumer research, as Holt (1995) explains is:

“...to comprehensively describe the variety of ways in which people consume, to understand how these differences vary across groups and situations, and to explain the unacknowledged conditions that structure how different groups consume” (Holt, 1995:1).

Rather than looking at the processes and cultural significance of objects, practice theory allows a focus on the skill, processes, practicalities of their use and how these objects are subsequently consumed. With a focus on the mundane, practice theory explores the interconnected dynamics and how performativity is organised through multiple shared practices (Halkier and Jensen, 2011). Practices are therefore the contexts where actions are carried out (Schatzki, 2001). The concept of practices refers to ways of doing things, which are embedded in the context of both

inward/subjective and outward/objective interlinked elements. The outward elements are embodied in the sense that the subject is constituted within the practice (Schatzki, 2001). This means that practice is not synonymous with action or behaviour, but as a total it explains the systematic whole that generates action (Dourish, 2001).

In looking at the application of practice theory in recent studies, Magaudda's (2011) paper is an example of the application of practice theory to the field of cultural consumption. He highlights the role of materiality in relation to practices and questions whether the music consumption practices have indeed been '*dematerialized*'. Magaudda (2011) proposes the '*circuit of practice*' as a heuristic device to map routines of transformation linking objects, meanings and doings to emphasise the ways in which practices are created, stabilised and transformed.

Within the field of digital music consumption the dramatic changes in this practice are explored in how it affects meanings and ways of doing. His '*circuit of practice*' illuminates how individuals change practices when transforming or adopting new patterns of activity. In his study he highlights that specific subcultures shape the way that new listening practices emerge and also new technologies. Similarly in Truninger's (2011) study on cooking practices she highlights the importance of specifying the scope and scale of practices as she argues that there are different types of agency of practitioners and trajectories of practices. With this example she highlights the dialogue between economic, social and cultural market forces with domestic conventions. By combining the practice theory turn with conventions theory (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006 [1991]; Thévenot, 2006) she emphasises issues such as the sequencing of tasks, the tensions that emerge between instituted and personal practices and also the links between images, objects and competences. Both

of these examples manifest the subtle relationship between practices as individual performances and how practices are embedded in cultural structure. Both demonstrate how culture and social structure may form a site of resistance or challenge as practices are 'reproduced through imitation' but subsequently may have to be interpreted and adjusted accordingly.

3.3.1 Implications for Consumption Studies

Within marketing and consumer behaviour, practice theory has been explored in relation to the theorisation of markets and market practices (Araujo et al., 2008), value creation (Schau et al., 2009) and resource theory (Arnould, 2008), these examples illustrate the linking of consumer research with practice theoretical input. With regards to consumption, practice theory focuses on the sociology of consumption, on the collective ordering of consumption, the social construction of 'need,' how practices become 'normal' and how they change (Bourdieu, 1984; Shove and Warde, 2002; Shove, 2003a, 2003b; Hand et al., 2005). This approach to the study of consumption could possibly be viewed as an attempt to fill what Latour (1992) deems the '*missing masses*' of social theory.

Consumption theory has moved on, previous consumption studies have focused on the symbolic and identity creation powers of items (McCracken, 1988a; Featherstone, 1990), as many theorists stress the symbolic as a signal of status and identity, in contrast with practice theory it is implied that material is used directly in the reproduction of everyday life (Shove and Pantzar, 2005). Practice theory focuses on the relationship between products, competence and practice. It also stresses the importance of routine, and the collective and conventional nature of consumption

(Warde, 2005). Consumption when viewed from a practice theory perspective is not only what the customer thinks, feels, and decides to do, but also is the act of consumption that the consumer takes part in. The act of consumption is not decided by the customer or by context, but more specifically as part of the whole system of the subject and context in interaction, which consists of both human (other people involved) and non-human (the tools required) elements. The concept that objects are acquired and used in the undertaking of social practices has important implications for the study of consumption. The challenge for the researcher is to explain 'how practices shift' and with what subsequent consequences for forms of consumption.

Everyday consumption practices are often characterised by habits and routines as by intentional reflection and choice (Halkier cited in Gronow and Warde, 2001:26).

Therefore the concept of consumption can be integrated into the framework of everyday analysis. Warde (1997:19) understands consumption as "*who obtains what goods or services, under what conditions are they delivered and to what use are they put.*" Consumption experiences can thus be thought of as bodily practices whereby goods and services are obtained, used and disposed of, such practices are experienced in interaction with relevant others and across different spaces in the contingent of everyday sociality (Halkier, cited in Gronow and Warde, 2001:31). A practice can be said to relate to the unconscious dimension of consumer decision-making. Consumer practices suggest a focus on the "*...more or less routinized actions, which are orchestrated by tools, know-how, images, physical space, and a subject who is carrying out the practice*" (Korkman, 2006: 27). Consumption could be argued to rarely occur purely for its own sake. In this way practices could also be argued to create wants (Warde, 2005), Warde (2005) uses the 'hot rod aficionado' as

an illustration of this - modified vehicles, specific magazines, memorabilia, are the result of practice in a particular activity rather than a result of the individual's taste. It is therefore, Warde (2005) argues, the involvement in the practice rather than a personal decision about conduct that accounts for the nature and process of consumption. This also highlights that items are delicately entangled and are often crucial elements for the practice to take place and act as a channel for its performance. This idea of integration and the intertwined nature of practice are again highlighted by Shove (2004) and Shove and Pantzar (2005), who emphasise the elements of material, image and competence. Innovation they propose is based on the active integration of all the elements of the practice. The authors explore the practice of Nordic walking, digital photography and the game of floor ball to explore and understand the relationship between practice elements and the development of specific practices. As highlighted by their findings, the instruments used, such as the sticks in Nordic walking, are lacking in individual value, but when integrated by the consumer into practice they become invaluable.

Consumer research literature often focuses on the objects at the moment of acquisition by the consumer, rather than how the consumer uses the objects. CCT in particular has focused on the meanings and symbolic properties of commodities and their use for example in identity construction; this can be argued to only present an incomplete view of consumption. By employing practice theory, how the action is carried out in the process becomes of crucial importance (Hand and Shove, 2007:81), as Holt (1995) comments that practice is the embodied skills that people bring to bear in their everyday activities. This focus on how things are used has been examined within consumption practices such as showering (Hand et al., 2005), eating

(Cheng et al., 2007; Halkier and Jensen, 2011), DIY (Watson and Shove, 2008) and wooden boating (Jalas, 2009). In their *Journal of Marketing Management* paper, Murphy and Patterson (2011) employ a practice theory perspective in their exploration of motorcycling edgework. They use the practice lens to tease out connections between the practice, the consumption of objects and the meanings surrounding both. They again highlight that CCT has focused only on a partial view of consumption, without considering the actual ‘doing’ of consumption. This focus on objects, doings and meanings by Murphy and Patterson (2011) takes inspiration from Magaudda (2011) and “*opens up the horizons of investigation,*” to illuminate that motorcycling cannot take place without the object – the motorcycle or the know-how required to use it correctly. This again illustrates that using practice theory to explore consumption allows more abstract questions about the relationship between practices, technologies and infrastructures to be posed. Further it allows probing into what the consequences are for these relationships and the ‘fixity’ and ‘fluidity’ of patterns of consumption and everyday consumer routines (Hand et al., 2005).

3.3.2 The Consumer as the Agent of Practice

Previous discussions place the consumer as a ‘dupe’, with no real choice in the symbolic selection that they make (as shown in Table 1 below). However in practice theory, the consumer is an active agent carrying out social action. Warde (2005) significantly argues that the idea of ‘the consumer’ disappears and the focus is situated on the organisation of the practice and the moments of consumptions enjoined (Warde, 2005). Differing understandings, levels of competence and sphere of involvement generate behavioural differences in relation to practice. According to Reckwitz (2002: 249-250) the consumer becomes not only a carrier of patterns of

bodily behaviour, but also of certain routine ways of desiring, understanding and participating. Reckwitz (2002) notes, “*The social world is first and foremost populated by diverse social practices which are carried by agents.*”

Following on from the discussion in Chapter Two of the active consumer, from a practice perspective it can be suggested that material objects obtain value through and as a result of their enabling of a practice. Shove and Pantzar’s (2005) work on Nordic walking further highlights that as a form of consumer-producer interaction, practice and value are created through the competence of practitioners. Using practice theory to study consumption allows the researcher to conceptualise the emergent and co-constitutive relationship between object and the reproduction of shared discourses and the skills of consumption and differentiation.

Table 1 – Role of Consumer

Consumer Profile	Consumer Competence	References
Dupe	Obedience and acceptance of the status quo.	Slater 1997
Hero	Constant consciousness, clear thought process and ability to maximise utility.	Slater 1997
Postmodern Identity Seeker	Ability to introspect.	Featherstone 1991; Firat and Dholakia 1998
Craft consumer	Rediscovery and appropriation of manual skills and capacities.	Campbell 2005
Prosumer	An active consumer who through immaterial labour adds affective and cultural value to market offerings.	Tofler 1980; Kotler 1986; Cova and Dalli 2009
Reflexive Consumers	Capacity to dialogue through internalisation and sharing of values.	Beckett and Nayak 2008
Practitioners	Possession of the requisite skills and knowledge to conduct practices.	Warde 2005; Watson and Shove 2008; Roepke 2009.

3.4 Practice Perspectives

Whilst this thesis aims to address practice from a CCT orientation, it has been necessary to turn to other perspectives to fully explore the concept. This will be discussed further in this section around practice understandings of the material, practice as space, practice as markets and practice as organisation.

3.4.1 Practice and the Material

Practice theory allows researchers to understand ways of consuming as continuous relational accomplishments at intersections of multiple practices in daily life (Halkier and Jensen, 2011). Practices are not held in place by meaning alone, Hand et al. (2005) posit the need to focus on the relation between the material, conventional and the temporal, as configured through practice. With regards to a focus on the material, the practice of dressing is an everyday norm, in that it is a practice undertaken by the majority of human beings on a daily basis, it is a taken for granted feature of life. Trentmann (2009: 297) highlights that using theories of practice offers a different take on the role of objects in consumption:

“The life of objects, in other words, is not prior to or independent of social practices but co-dependent. This also means that value is not based in a product or its meanings but in how it is put to use.”

This idea of ‘putting to use’ is crucial in this study which considers the notion of vintage value and how it is framed in practice. This is again highlighted in the work of Rouse (2006) who explains that practices range from ephemeral doings to long-standing patterns of activity. Rouse (2006) proposes: *“attention to practices often requires extensive examination of relevant equipment and material culture, but can also assign constitutive roles to vocabulary and other linguistic forms or performances”* (Rouse, 2006:490). In understanding practice as ‘performance’ the active nature is crucial in value creation. Practices can also be framed as ‘active’ in that a practice of doing has a recursive and co-constitutive relationship or alternatively practice as ‘entity’ in which the practice is durable, embodied, materially mediated and has shared meaning. Through this focus on practices

researchers are able to explore ways of consuming and how these are related to changes and the webs of social reproductions (Halkier and Jensen, 2011). The activities of social life are continuously carried out and this performativity is organised through multiple, collective shared practices. This is echoed by Røpke (2009) who argues, "*Primarily, people are practitioners who indirectly, through the performance of various practices, draw on resources.*" Warde's work further adds to this argument with "*a performance presupposes a practice*" (2005:134). This focus on the performative nature of practice is crucial and at the forefront of a discussion of the active nature of practices, it is developed further by Truninger (2011) who argues that the concept centres on the idea of an '*on-going practice*'. She illustrates this concept in relation to the practice of cooking, "*cooking cannot be understood as the end result, but instead as the on-going reproduction of 'doing cooking', where competences are developed through performance*" (2011:38). Practice according to Truninger (2011) consists of three elements: *stuff* (nature and objects), *image* (symbols and meaning) and *skill* (competence, know-how and technique). This again demonstrates the importance of the idea of skill and knowledge when discussing practice theory. Theories of practice go one-step further than Goffman's (1959) notions of performance that emphasise the embodiment and processual nature of social interactions. Through the work of Shove and Pantzar (2005) consumption activities are portrayed as the result of individual performances that overlap and intertwine with the socio-material context through which the practices take place, this is able to occur as a result of the arrangement of meanings, activities and objects. Their research brings the concept of social practices as performance to the foreground of discussion. They simplify the complexity of the area of social practices

and depict three interrelated streams: firstly of meanings and representations, secondly consisting of objects, technologies and material culture and thirdly depicted by embodied competences, activities and doings (Shove and Pantzar, 2005; Magaudda, 2011:20). Their argument therefore proposes that practices are characterised by the outcome of the performative linkages between these three interrelated streams. In these links materiality performs an integral function in the creation, change and stabilisation across the range of practices (Magaudda, 2011:20).

3.4.2 Practice and Space

Theories of practice articulate the importance of space, as Schatzki (1996: 89) comments practices are '*spatially dispersed.*' This compliments the work of Giddens (1979:3) who articulates that '*time-space relations are inherent in the constitution of all social interaction*' and also of De Certeau (1984b) who understands 'space' as "*the intersection of moving bodies.*" De Certeau's concern is the ways in which, in everyday, unconscious practice, people alter and adapt, and appropriate cultural products and make them their own. De Certeau (1984b) draws attention to the ways in which people create their own meaning for spaces, individually and collectively, through the specific ways in which they move through those spaces and put them to use. This concern is built upon by Schau et al. (2009: 31) who maintain that practices comprise a "*temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of behaviours*". This focus on the spatial occurrence of practices is central in this thesis, but it appears underrepresented in the literature. Referring back to Magaudda's (2011) '*circuit of practice*' in his much-used model, the relationship of context or space to the meanings, doings and objects is omitted. This concept of space is an important

consideration when attempting to understand how consumption occurs through practices within specific spaces and not one that is addressed in the literature.

Building on the work of Warde (2005) and Appadurai (1986), the link between spaces, objects and practices is of central importance in this thesis. Unlike with the '*Diderot effect*' (McCracken, 1988a) in which a change in one object leads to multiple transformations with the whole set, Hui (2012) argues in her study of mobile practice networks that previously discarded things are reclaimed easily when mobility's change. Using the context of patchwork quilting she explores how spaces are made up of networked mobility's, asserting that consumption is a moment in the course of a practice but also a moment in the course of the object's movement, in which their social life consists of use and disuse (2012: 203). Hui's (2012) position echoes Lury's (1996: 77) suggestion to '*think in terms of object-people practices*'. Hui (2012) builds on this and proposes mobile practice networks are formed from objects and people together, as they both shape their shared movement. She argues that moments of consumption are multi-sited and that through careers of practice and looking at object's lives, moments of travel can be said to facilitate moments of consumption. Hui (2012) asserts that mobile practice networks are enacted as temporary accomplishments or as moments within the circulation of objects. Consumption therefore can be suggested to occur during performances in relation to objects of practice that are used thus forming '*symbiotic chains*'. When consumption is understood as part of social practices the movement of the objects and how this movement shapes the moments of consumption, the perception of space becomes critical.

3.4.3 Practice as Markets

Within marketing literature, the value in the practice turn is being explored out with the CCT paradigm; the field of Market Studies is also utilising practice theory to explore the disconnection between everyday practices and the shaping of markets. Drawing on the perspectives of Finch and Geiger (2010: 238) the relationships between producers and consumers are performed in market spaces and these can be argued to be indirect as a market's objects, the intricacies and interactions of this relationship, bind them. With regards to consumption studies, Shove and Araujo (2010: 14) state that in marketing literature the term 'consumption' is often utilised in relation to the attainment of goods as a result of market exchange. Using methodological approaches linked to Actor Network Theory and Technology Studies and coming from a more economic sociological perspective, in Market Studies practices are used to highlight the routine character of the marketplace. It suggests that the constitutive role of objects and infrastructures in shaping and transforming these practiced routines is omitted from the previous market studies. Shove and Araujo (2010:18) conceptualise that a practice approach includes "*the social field of interwoven practices anchored in habit, routine, shared understandings and embodied skills*". They use the practice approach to enable them to reframe consumption along with the relationship between users and material objects.

There has been much discussion in marketing literature of how practitioners mobilise knowledge, but far less focus on how this knowledge is apportioned into their practices such as value creation. Callon (1998a) has been an advocate in furthering conceptualising markets as practices - considering what practices and expertise are necessary for a market to exist, and how the market is performed by the cognitions,

technologies and actions by market actors. Callon (1998a) proposes that markets are composed of a range of practices that are the result of different forms of expertise and material objects. These objects can be seen as materialised insights as they are linked directly to consumer's involvement with practices. In considering value creation practices the space of the marketplace must also be acknowledged. In the marketplace, Shove and Araujo (2010:20) suggests that value is only created through practitioner skill and that objects only receive value when "*in the hands of someone with a requisite level of competence.*" Building on the central tenet that "*markets are practical outcomes*" Araujo et al. (2010: 5) propose that a creative practitioner must have adequate understanding of the practice, the boundaries of the marketplace and how value is constituted in the constantly shifting market. As Araujo et al. (2008: 8) describes markets can be conceptualised as "*ever-changing performances, rather than as stabilised entities, shaped by multiple and distributed calculative agencies.*" This is an important consideration when considering a marketplace such as the vintage market that is constructed on the basis of items being re-seen and re-evaluated.

From a Market Studies lens (Araujo et al., 2008; Geiger et al., 2012; Finch and Geiger, 2010) practices of value creation are both a social and market activity. Slater (2002a) proposes that for an economy to exist at all, objects must become stabilised through '*processes of materialisation*'. Therefore the object must become calculable and be given meaning by marketplace actors at a given moment in time. He argues that all commodities are calculated and materialised in practice within the market and economic action (Slater, 2002a, 2014). Further Trentmann notes: "*practices have a dynamic force of their own, creating sensations, competencies and plans of doing*

more or doing things differently. They are entangled in a creative interplay with materiality” (2009: 297). In this way the life of an object is not independent of social practice, but is argued to be co-dependent and therefore value is not found in the object but in how it is utilised. Kjellberg and Helgesson (2006) add to this and identify three specific and interconnected market practices that configure the exchange market: exchange practices (activities that are involved in consummating individual economic exchanges of goods); normalising practices (activities that result in norms and rules guiding the actions of market actors involved in exchange); and representational practices (that portray markets, the way they work, and produce shared images of the market). This compliments Callon (1998a) who proposes that markets are composed of a range of practices that are the result of different forms of expertise and material objects. Turning to the Market Studies domain answers calls for reform in marketing to connect both classic marketing thought and developments within the social sciences field (Araujo et al., 2008: 5). A focus on markets rather than marketing helps to define ‘*market practices*’ as bundles of practices, inclusive of material arrangements that allows for the performance of markets (Araujo et al., 2008: 8). Moving forward with this performative idiom (Pickering, 1995) Market Studies adds to a holistic understanding of practice as the discussion moves beyond the theory-practice dichotomy and suggests that markets should be studied as sites of multiple and often conflicting arrays of practices (Araujo et al., 2008: 6).

3.4.4 Practice from an Organisational Lens

Another domain that has been practice orientated is Organisation Studies, which has explored a theoretical view of practice as a transactional social process involving experience and action as mutually informing aspects of human conduct (Simpson,

2009). This is a useful perspective as it highlights the ideas of '*temporality*' and '*transactionality*,' which shifts the view of practice towards a dynamic, emergent and socially agentic (Simpson, 2009) understanding. Practice has been explored in the Organisational Studies literature and has shown that the dynamics of human practices are just as important as the outcomes produced (Simpson, 2009; Nicolini et al., 2003; Whittington, 2004, 2006; Johnson et al., 2003). This also has important methodological considerations for gaining understanding into how practice is constituted through experience and action and through looking at '*practices in use*'. Practice is conceptualised as a dynamic, temporal process that can be seen to converge and diverge (Simpson, 2009), however it goes further than this and practice involves human conduct and the exercise of agency. In this way identity can be seen to be a co-constituting process along with practice. Further in aiming to understand collective practices, turning to the Organisation canon illuminates the formation of communities of practice is significant, as through this formation consumers are able to transform the market through creating new market ideologies and forms of exchange. These consumer communities can be seen to perform both a literal and social form of 'bricolage' in their organisational practices. As in order to gain acceptance into the community the individual has to perform ritual and symbolic activities, which will then give them access to shared resources (Cova and Cova, 2002:17). The concept of communities of practice is similar in some respects to Cova and Cova's (2002) consumer tribe perspective which notes that people gather together in tribes and that this community is more influential on their behaviour than the market or other institutions. However with communities of practice, Wenger and Snyder (2000:139) comment that communities of practice are "*groups of people*

informally bound together by shared expertise and passion for joint enterprise.”

Although Wenger and Snyder are applying their definition in an organisational context, it is useful to consider the language when applied to consumer collectives, ‘*bound together*,’ ‘*shared expertise*’ and ‘*passion*’ are all applicable. This thesis turns to the Organisational Studies domain to enable a holistic comprehension of practice with the aim of enriching the CCT understanding of practice.

3.5 Practices of the Collective

As explored in Chapter Two, this thesis is grounded in practices and value creation of the collective and as such an exploration of consumer groupings in the literature has been necessary. The literature showed that the study of communities has become a staple topic within the realm of CCT studies (Cova et al., 2007; Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001; McAlexander et al., 2002; Schau et al., 2000; Kozinets, 2002; Muniz and Schau, 2005; Cova and Pace, 2006) and as shown above in the Organisation Studies domain with the communities of practice (Wenger and Snyder, 2000) framing. In exploring the practices of the collective, from the literature there has been a shift away from a singular brand discourse to collective groupings functioning as organic meeting places that are focused around practices rather than a brand. Overall, as seen in the previous chapter brand communities have been characterised as consumer collectives that share norms of behaviour related to the brand discourse and the institutionalised practices that arise from them. Commonly, the brand discourse has been seen as the overarching driver of consumer interaction (Cova and Pace, 2002; Kozinets, 2002), and value has commonly been conceptualised as arising from all practices that pertain and emerge from the social interactions within the community (Schau et al., 2009). In exploring these consumer groupings from a

practice theory and value perspective, Schau, Muniz and Arnould (2009) explore the process of collective value creation within brand communities using social practice theory. They illustrate a common set of value creating practices that operate within nine brand communities. They suggest that practices have an “*anatomy*” that is comprised firstly of general procedural understandings and rules or what they term “*explicit, discursive knowledge*”, secondly of skills, abilities or “*tacit, embedded knowledge*” and lastly of emotional commitments expressed through actions and representations. Schau et al. (2009) identify twelve practices common across their nine brand communities in which consumers are able to co-create value beyond what the firm has offered. Their collectives exhibit community like qualities that include status of members, identity construction and meaning making. Within these collectives they found that practices could be said to empower participants with cultural capital. Interestingly within the communities they “*work together and drive one another*” (Schau et al., 2009:35). Competition within the community Schau et al. (2009) found to enable consumers to distinguish themselves and to create a social hierarchy. These practices can be seen to refer back to Holt’s (1998: 22) ‘*micropolitics of consumption.*’ However their findings challenge Muniz and O’Guinn’s (2001) work on brand communities as of ‘*limited liability*’. They suggest that social networking practices within the collectives evolve and exceed brand boundaries. It is interesting in this respect as to how knowledge is transferred within the collective, from ‘*insiders to initiates*’ and that value is found in the collective enactment of practices. The Schau et al. (2009) paper is interested in practices in the building and nurturing of brand communities because of their collaborative value creating potential. Based on Vargo and Lusch (2004), Schau et al. (2009: 31) contend

that value resides in actions, interactions and projects. This compliments work on open source innovation (Etgar, 2008; Von Hippel, 2005; Koerner, 2006) and Lusch and Vargo's (2006) co-creation work, which attests that organisations will eventually collaborate with consumers to create their entire marketing offering. Schau et al. (2009) visually represent their interaction of practices with a gear metaphor and refer to practices as being '*bundled*' (2009: 32) and they do not attempt to formally theorize the nature of this relationship. Arsel and Bean (2013: 913) build upon this in their *Journal of Consumer Research* (JCR) paper and argue "*the teleoaffactive structure of brand specific values, norms, and mythologies that orchestrate the integrative practice of brand community.*" They highlight that a practice-based approach allows for the connections that exist between marketplace cultures that are formed around broad interests are held together as complex entities. Arsel and Bean (2013) depict how '*taste regimes*' regulate practice through continuous engagement in their *JCR* paper. They argue that taste is performed as a practice that affects the material. They demonstrate how aesthetics are linked to practical knowledge and become materialised through consumption choices. Using Magaudda's (2011) '*Circuit of Practice*' Arsel and Bean (2013) argue that a taste regime is maintained through the interaction between objects, doings and meanings and further that practical knowledge is a mediated phenomenon that is acquired and habitualised through engagement with mass mediated regimes (Arsel and Bean, 2013: 913). They move the discussion of practice theory to consumer research forward by suggesting that aesthetics are grounded in practical knowledge and become materialised through everyday consumption practices. This section has shown that collectives are grounded in practical knowledge for both participation and value creation, this

section has highlighted that CCT is starting to turn to a discussion of practice to understand the '*doings*' of the collective. The next section turns to the value associated with this practice perspective.

3.6 Value in Practice

All of the discussions from the literature above highlighted that practice and value creation are intrinsically linked. The concept of value has received scholarly attention from sociology to philosophy, economics, anthropology and marketing. This thesis focuses on how value is framed in practice in consumer research and as such considers domains such as cultural anthropology (Appadurai, 1986; Arvidsson, 2011; Baudrillard, 2000; Belk, 1996; Cherrier, 2009; Graeber 2001; Holbrook, 1999a; Kopytoff, 1986; Simmel, 1978; Thompson, 1979) and CCT (Holbrook, 1999a; Cova and Cova, 2002; Holt, 2004; Gummesson, 2008; Lusch et al., 2010; Vargo and Lusch, 2004; Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014). Considering value from a practice lens, Hartmann et al. (2011) asserts that a '*conceptual blind spots*' exists when understanding value creation practices in consumer behaviour. A theoretical gap has emerged as to practice consumption and their role in value creation (Schau et al., 2009). Hartmann et al. (2011) adds to the practice consumption and value creation discussion by moving beyond equating practices with performance, they develop two families of practice: firstly as '*socially intransitive practices*' through which performance of a practice involves a non-human object and secondly '*socially transitive*' practices through which the performance of a practice involves another human subject. This social transitivity of practices elevates understandings of practice consumption. Practice theory gives an empirical base for understanding the use of resources in the situations of value creation or in establishing 'use value': Holt

(1995) illuminates how spectators use various artefacts in their practices of supporting their teams, Shove and Pantzar (2005) study discusses the use of sticks and other objects in Nordic walking, Korkman (2006) describes twenty different dominant practices on board cruise ferries that due to the distribution of space configure the enactment and reproduction of everyday practices such as eating, playing and sleeping. In all these depictions the focus has not been in exchange value, but in the understanding of what is 'valuable' as a part of everyday life.

This attention on practice theory and value has been advanced by Arnould (2014:1) as he suggests practice theory offers a solution to the perennial structure-agency problems in social theory, as it takes structures and agents both to be contingent outcomes of practice. He argues that a practice approach allows for the suggestion that human creative agency is at the foundation of value creation. In reconsidering "*individuals as carriers of practice*" (Reckwitz, 2002:252) and the idea of practices as "*carriers of value*" (Schau et al., 2009), use value can be seen in the performance of practices. In accordance with Warde (2005) practice performances have productive and consumptive moments: in productive moments a resource is offered (experience, object) and in a consumptive moment (information, material, experiential) that are received, it is through both of these moments that value is found. These moments are ongoing in social fields and "*all the carriers of practice in a field are potential performers whose knowledge of 'what is going on here' is updated through active and passive participation in practice performance*" (Arnould, 2014:2). This highlights that value is realised through active performance, participation and practice. In exploring this further the next section details how value has been conceptualised in the marketing domain to date.

3.6.1 Marketing and Value

Value is seen as one of the most '*controversial issues*' in the marketing literature (Sánchez-Fernández and Iniesta-Bonillo, 2007) as value is seen as complex and multi-dimensional and can be perceived to have different meanings depending on time, situation or person (Holbrook, 2006). Differing notions are used frequently in the consumer research literature without definitive grounding of 'value': aesthetic value, use value, social value, economic value, emotional value, brand value and community value. Distinctions between price and value are commonplace in everyday life - price is viewed as an economic construct, whilst value is often seen as a social process: practices of value are a personal process but it is grounded in social practice.

From Adam Smith's (1776 [1937]) assertion that value is conceptualised in terms of effort, money, trade and usefulness and Marx's (1974 [1865]) understanding of value with his labour theory of value in his critique on capitalism, to Baudrillard's (2006, 1972) development of value in terms of the material consumer objects, value has been a key topic of scholarly focus. Understandings of economic value stem from classical and political economic theory, with the Marxian approach conceptualising value as the necessary labour that is required to produce an item, this labour theory of value stresses that it is the labour time involved in the production that leads to the value creation. Value is therefore seen as the difference between the exchange value and the sum of value necessary for production. In this view, use value is only achieved through consumption or in use of the item. From the traditional Kotler (1967) marketing viewpoint customer value is considered the basis for marketing activities. Further the foundation of all marketing and consumption activities can be

seen with Levy's (1959) sign value along with Bagozzi's (1975) exchange value and Holbrook's (1999a) use value. In the marketing domain with branding discussions 'sign value' takes on prominence as a way to conceptualise markets as social and cultural constructions with a system of meanings created. In marketing the dominant approach has been to define marketing behaviour as a system of value exchanges amongst a variety of parties (Bagozzi, 1975). For the firm, pricing is viewed therefore as an example of market behaviour that defines the economic value of the product. Within the context of market exchange, price is achieved at a certain point in time and could be considered in line with relation to production costs and/or competitor's pricing strategies. However the understanding of consumption from a CCT perspective in which it is rooted in the social, individual and psychological makes this economic understanding more complex.

3.6.2 CCT and Value

Turning to CCT research, 'meaning' is used interchangeably with 'value' as a term, further at individual and collective levels, for the substantive cultural elements and categories consumers draw from and reproduce in formulating identities and relating to other people and the natural environment (Penaloza and Mish, 2011: 10). Value is also understood as a symbolic meaning (Shankar et al., 2009), as a value added concept (Woodruff and Flint, 2006), as a linking value (Cova and Cova, 2002), and as value-in-use (Vargo and Lusch, 2004). These different notions of value are grounded in the different fundamental assumptions of distinctive theoretical approaches in the social sciences – economics, sociology, anthropology and psychology. In considering value creation practices, much consumer research has focused on the consumer-object meaning making process (Belk, 1988; Gabriel and

Lang, 1995; Lury, 1996) however there has been little research on the impact of other actors or practices. In marketing theory, domains of value are not separate and abstracted but are interrelated. CCT research has long grappled with these complex notions of value and since its emergence the notion that semiotic value is created between marketer and consumer has been evident (Levy, 1959; McCracken, 1986). When considering value from an emic level, it can be associated with socio-cultural contexts and market co-creation. However, this socio-cultural approach to value has been critiqued for being reductionist in nature (Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014), with cultural categories and principles (McCracken, 1986) the construct of value as simply ‘meanings’ (Thompson and Troester, 2002; Venkatesh and Meamber, 2006) and the economic lens of value as exchange and ‘use value’ (Bouchet, 2007; Yip, 2012). Research has problematised the assumption that value creation practice only occurs in the context of exchange (McCracken, 1986; Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982; Penaloza, 2001; Vargo and Lusch, 2004).

In an early attempt to bridge semiotic value and exchange value, Holbrook and Hirschman’s (1982) seminal article articulates the importance of experiential dimensions of consumption – fun, fantasy and emotions. These hedonic aspects of consumption are also shown by Babin et al. (1994) to enhance identity value. This highlights that experiential value in the market context contains both semiotic value and economic value. Holbrook (1999a) further conceptualises consumer value as the interactive, experiential and subjective relation of goods and he identifies the dimensions of aesthetics, efficiency and spirituality as important. Aesthetic value is considered to emerge as consumers experience beauty and pleasure through style and design (Holbrook, 1999a). Linking or relational value is derived from an object or

practice when it allows consumers to form a connection with other individuals to form a community (Cova, 1997; Arvidsson, 2011). Garage sales are one site that have been illuminated as enhancing linking value, as they create a strong sense of “we” between buyer and seller (Herrmann, 1996; Lastovicka and Fernandez, 2005). Consumer value literature highlights the context specific nature of value (Holbrook, 1999a). In this contextual focus and development around universal social values and materialism, cross-cultural CCT research depicts that social values alter in different contexts (Ger and Belk, 1996; Venkatesh, 1995; Wallendorf and Arnould, 1988). In the study of micro-cultures, the value systems formed are shown to be intertwined with consumer’s experiences and cultural meanings (Thompson and Troester, 2002).

In a particular focus of CCT orientated research, value has been viewed from a semiotic perspective in which it is seen as sign value or meaning (Baudrillard, 1993; Graeber, 2001; McCracken, 1986; Levy, 1959). In this respect, meaning is created through consumption and is continually reconfigured by multiple actors. One influential research stream focuses on how companies and consumers interact to co-create value in terms of co-production (Bendapudi and Leone, 2003; Etgar, 2008; Grönroos, 2006; Wikström, 1996; Woodruff and Flint, 2006) and consumer involvement (Andersson et al., 2008; Kalaignanam and Varadarajan, 2006). In many circumstances, consumers are also viewed as value co-creators, using their skills and knowledge to produce or to create the objects of their own consumption as *prosumers* (Bagozzi and Warshaw, 1990; Toffler, 1980; Xie et al., 2008), or working consumers (Arvidsson, 2006; Cova and Dalli, 2009; Gabriel and Lang, 2006; Zwick et al., 2008). Consumers may also co-create value not only by participating in the market or company, but also by out performing companies or

marketers through defiant or oppositional consumption practices, such as consumer empowerment (Denegri-Knott et al., 2006; Kozinets and Handelman, 2004) and consumer resistance (Dalli and Corciolani, 2008; Holt, 2002; Kozinets, 2002; Pongsakornrunsilp et al., 2008), or ‘cultural hijacking’ (Kozinets and Handelman, 2004; Izberk-Bilgin, 2010). Due to the dynamism and multi-dimensionality of value (Lawrence and Phillips, 2002; Sánchez-Fernández and Iniesta-Bonillo, 2007; Vargo et al., 2008), value co-creation processes often depend on how consumers interpret market offerings, marketing communication, quality, performance and value. When considering the consumer perspective, the potential ‘*use value*’ for the consumer has to be acknowledged (Yip, 2012). In applying a CCT approach, through which consumption is viewed as social, psychological and economic, the understanding of value from the consumer perspective is seen as more complex in nature. Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2009) in their discussion of eBay with objects as stock and latent value sources, assert that the relationships of consumers with possessions as stock, may produce ‘*promiscuous*’ consumer behaviours – they define this as “*casual, opportunistic and short-lived relationships with goods for the sake of variety or as means to sample goods before committing to long-term ownership*” (2009:308). A consumer may perceive a personal possession as valuable but it is only through exchange that the economic value is fully realised (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2009). Their study suggests that value, in particular economic value, is axiomatic to practices of disposal. They found that the spatial architecture of eBay intensifies the professionalisation of practices. This focus on disposition in their study highlights that objects are disposed through re-commodification through e-Bay, in which the objects become stock that provide monetary value to the seller. They

show that the object's life is extended and the seller's capital is enhanced through perception of being seen as a bargain hunter or skilful seller.

This focus on co-creation practices of value has been a widely discussed area within CCT (Holt, 2004; Gummesson, 2008; Lusch et al., 2010), value is thought of as meaning and how producers and consumers co-create this meaning in the marketplace explored. From a CCT perspective, Arnould, Price and Mashe (2006) stress that consumers may derive value from value propositions in a more creative fashion than the firm had originally intended. This highlights that the way in which value creation was proposed by firms does not always translate into the one materialised in consumer practice. In the literature much attention has been paid to how consumers engage in the co-creation of value through individual co-creation experiences and interaction with brands, companies and other consumers (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004). Muniz and Schau (2005) examine the case of the Apple Newton brand community, in which the stigma of an 'abandoned' brand led consumers to co-create the brand meaning, thus extending the brand's life. For Apple Newton, consumer faith in the brand emerges through the co-creation of myths and religiosity in a largely online community, and this faith kept the brand alive for a select group of consumers. Further in 2009, Schau et al. identify the creation of brand value within brand communities through a network of actors. In considering fields of consumption and practices, Arsel and Thompson's (2011) study establishes how market-facing actors' values shift within their field dependent identity in the hipster scene. They show how semiotics of the hipster style shifts into exchange values and mass marketisation. Developing this focus on multiple actors, Karababa and Kjeldgaard (2014:5) argue that the concept of value can be seen to necessarily

develop further from a linear value chain perspective, to a view of value as co-creation through the interactions of multiple actors.

3.6.3 Disposal Practices and Value

Exploring product value discussions back to the consumer research landscape the focus has been extended to illuminate practices of disposal and re-configuration. Cappellini's (2009) study of consuming the leftovers of family meals highlights a reversal of many taken for granted assumptions regarding value. Her study explores how practices of disposal, revaluation and reuse allow for identity in individual, family and community contexts to be materialised. Further Penaloza and Mish (2011) discuss that a product's value is closely linked to its perceived disposability and Parasuraman and Grewal (2000) suggest "*redemption value*" as the enduring benefit at the end of the object's life. Türe (2014:3) develops this in her assertion that value regimes allow objects to move across cultural boundaries, among parties with non-similar interests or standards of valuation. As with Appadurai's (1986) theory as explored in Chapter Two, each exchange is open to the individual's value perceptions, consumers can therefore remove and re-enter objects away from their prescribed paths, through consumer creativity (Thompson, 1979). Türe (2014:3) contends that in light of this perspective, the value of objects is temporally and culturally constructed through paths and diversions and the relating social relations, power contests and value regimes. Her study highlights the complex relationship between acquisition, usage and disposition and reflects that an object's value is:

"dynamic, shaped by consumers' commitments to different and usually conflicting value regimes (altruism vs. frugality) and constructed beyond the dyadic relation

between objects and consumers through the inclusion of imagined or actual value partners and their value estimates ” (Türe, 2014:16).

This view places emphasis on value construction as transferable and based on consumer competence, consumption practices and the surrounding social network. In exploring the relation between value and disposition, her study stresses the importance of movement for the creation of value. This reiterates the findings of Gregson et al. (2007) as they found consumers are influenced not only by their own competences but also by their social positioning.

In Gregson and Crewe’s (2002, 2007) work, when goods were seen to be disinvested through sale, valuation becomes situational and contextualised through information on what the goods could be potentially worth. Gregson and Crewe (2002, 2007) found that if an object was perceived as too common, too used or too fashionable, the subsequent economic value would be affected. They propose that labour was involved in moving the object forward and this would suggest that complex practices are necessary to move it forward and release the value (Parsons, 2008; Denegri-Knott and Parsons, 2014; Epp and Price, 2010; Cappellini, 2009; Cappellini and Parsons, 2012). Gregson and Crewe (2002) illustrate value rather than being intrinsic to the object, is shaped by consumer use, practice and interaction. They therefore argue that the symbolic meaning is affected by value sources such as object styling and location of sale. Adding to this discussion, Parsons’ (2008) work on antiques and value construction posits that the movement, flow and circulation of objects are overlooked in the discussion of alternative markets: objects are ‘*moved on*’ by the action of the marketplace and the circularity of the production and consumption process highlighted (Parsons, 2009). This has important implications for potential value

consideration of the object, if the marketplace is viewed, as constantly in transition, with objects moving along the consumption trajectory, then value cannot be deemed to be fixed. Using *Thompsons' Rubbish Theory*, Parsons' (2008) argues that value is emergent through consumers' ways of seeing and placing objects. However, Parsons proposes that Thompsons' theory does not fully consider the practices of value creation. In the literature, value is emergent and consumers utilise and "*absorb objects into their lives*" (Parsons, 2008:393) as they require. She suggests that rather than being intrinsic to an object, value is an emergent process as a result of how the object is seen and placed. This again highlights the importance of materiality in a discussion of practices. Further in Denegri-Knott and Parsons' (2014:93) study on 'Disordering things' they explain: "*turning to the marketplace, we think that second-hand sites and spaces of exchange might also be instructive in thinking through the reversal and transgression of dominant norms or orders found in commercial market spaces.*" They suggest that these spaces represent locations whereby ambiguity and disorder reside and the linear nature of capitalist logic is challenged (Denegri-Knott and Parsons, 2014:94; Slater, 2014). This thesis would problematise this assertion of organising and ordering further in relation to practices of value.

A focus on practices such as transformation or reuse during disposition can (re) associate objects with associated regimes (Türe, 2014; Gregson and Crewe, 2002; Parsons, 2008; Cappellini and Parsons, 2012) by reasserting their aesthetic value. For as Entwistle (2009) reminds, aesthetic value must be seen as something that is not necessarily a quality intrinsic to the object per se, rather it becomes processual and an attribution of value that is gained over its journey. As a result, the process of qualification has to be continuous and commodities need to be examined

continuously and should remain open to interpretation and transformation as they move from one actor to another in the marketplace (Entwistle, 2009: 68). Here aesthetic value is “*created, accrued and attributed*” along the network in which the object moves (Entwistle, 2009: 58). In order to perceive value, frameworks of meaning and understanding must be present to situate the object and pass a valuation judgment. A mobilisation of knowledge around the objects can be seen to extend beyond their current state and use. This understanding of the object’s inherent aesthetic value displays a layer of work but further labour is required to manifest the economic value in the marketplace.

3.6.4 Contemporary Considerations of Value within CCT

Considerations of value within the CCT dialogue have continued to elicit scholarly discussions and Arnould (2014:3) suggests moving away from a typology of value (Holbrook, 1999a; Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014; Türe, 2014) to think in terms of ‘regimes of value creation’ and the relationship between them. He questions that in a ‘*praxeology of value*’ existing models of value creation may be built upon to ask what kinds of value are produced within the regimes and what classes of value are produced in each and how do they vary (Arnould, 2014:3). Penaloza and Mish (2011) further propose that within the marketing system, different stakeholders produce value via discourse and practice employing interactions, meanings and artefacts. Karababa and Kjeldgaard (2014) move this forward by announcing a ‘*cultural paradigm*’. Based on Graeber’s (2001) tripartite systems of value (economic, sociological and semiotic); they highlight the “*interrelatedness of value,*” arguing:

“...marketing is involved in the evaluation of the socio-cultural differences and the articulation of the economic worth of these differences...marketing can be understood as a practice of configuration of commodified value system potentials rather than a meaning transfer institution.” (Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014: 6)

This statement echoes Graeber (2005:45) who depicts in advanced consumer cultures the key value is the self. Arnould (2014:3) concurs and suggests: *“the implicit project of consumption is restoring the subject divided by capitalism to unity.”* From a cultural anthropological view, macro theories of value that focus on exchange and the circulation of objects aid our understanding, as they go further than the moment of exchange to describe the circular nature of value (Graeber, 2001). In applying a socio-cultural approach the interrelatedness of the social, economic and semiotic (Graeber, 2001) strands of value construction are highlighted. Based on Graeber (2001) and Simmel (2004) value creation can be seen to be neither objective nor subjective but rather is grounded in the contingent effect of interaction. Arnould (2014:2) proposes value resides in the actions and interactions, which resources make possible or support. The Karababa/Kjeldgaard framework is further added to by Venkatesh and Penaloza (2014) who suggests that it could be further developed to include social and environmental issues, they add *‘socio-cultural value’* and *‘environmental value’* to the market value system. This addition is especially relevant in the global and cross-cultural context. These recent discussions depict that value is still very much a CCT research concern and as Arnould (2014) suggests, a practice focus may illuminate further aspects to the complex concept of value.

3.7 Limitations of Practice Theory

Before concluding this chapter it is important to consider the use of practice theory in this CCT thesis. As discussed in this chapter within practice theory a variety of conceptualisations of practice theory exist and with this limitations and ambiguities are present. As this chapter has shown, practice theory does attempt to allow for a coherent critique of action however within the academic world, it is still a battle to provide a persuasive alternative conceptualisation that does not focus on individual choice and decisions, but privileges habit and routine. The theoretical mapping by Reckwitz (2002), detailed at the start of the chapter, drew out the theoretical narratives of practice theory against the broader domains of ‘cultural theories’. Conversely in his ontology of practices, Schatzki (1996) ‘*side tracked*’ objects as an outcome of practices and this is problematic for those interested in the social and cultural manifestations of consumption, in which objects are crucial. Reckwitz (2002:250) argues that a practice “*necessarily depends on the existence and specific interconnectedness of these elements, and which cannot be reduced to any one of these single elements,*” he makes it clear that objects and their subsequent use are central to the reproduction of practices in everyday life. Using the context of food consumption amongst Pakistani Danes, Halkier and Jensen (2011) propose that two important implications of the use of practice theory is firstly to see all types of qualitative data as enactments of social action and secondly to enable the ‘*construction of analytical generalisations that are not based on methodological individualism.*’ They contend that there are operational difficulties in the analytical translation between applied practice theoretical concepts and operative methodological procedures are therefore necessary. Halkier and Jensen (2011)

explore the methodological implications for using practice theory in consumption studies; they argue that using practice theory enables a conceptualisation of consumption as processes of practical and social accomplishment and an empirical focus on '*ways of consuming rather than a focus on individual choice*'. Practice theory has also been critiqued for limited application to the macro level.

3.8 Conclusion

3.8.1 Positioning This Research and Key Literature Gaps

Against the background of the continuing debate in social theory and philosophy regarding the structure-agency problematic, scholars have turned to theories of social practices. As this chapter has shown a practice approach presents a way to move beyond the dualisms of other traditions of social/material, actor/structure, body/mind, and theory/action. Practice theories are an assembly of philosophical and cultural accounts that focus on the practical conditions of carrying out social life (Halkier et al., 2011:3). A practice lens from Ortner (1984), Schatzki (2001, 2002) and Reckwitz (2002) produces a radical shift in understanding of the social. In viewing the social world as actively constructed rather than passively absorbed the practices of the individual become of paramount importance.

From the practice theory perspective, consumption occurs within and because of practices (Warde, 2005). Objects are argued to be consumed by skilled practitioners to engage in certain practices, this in turn requires the appropriate consumption of relevant goods and services and that value is emergent from consumer interactions and practices and rather than being intrinsic to objects it is shaped by consumer use and perception (Parsons, 2008; Gregson and Crewe, 2002; Thompson, 1979; Türe,

2014; Denegri-Knott and Parsons, 2014:94; Slater, 2014). Hand and Shove (2007) propose that the practice itself, the doing and the knowing how to do, holds the dimensions of materiality, conventionality and temporality together. The literature illustrates the importance of exploring both the range of practices, dominant practices of the consumer and the value created. It is further crucial to question how people are positioned within those practices and how they engage and how value is manifested. The issue of what level of commitment to differing practices is also important, as is how consumers develop an understanding of the practice, what is required and their role within the practice. Within consumer research the common assumption has been to consider that objects follow a linear trajectory of valuation, consumption and decline, however as the literature (Türe, 2014; Parsons, 2008; Gregson and Crewe, 2002; Thompson, 1979; Cappellini, 2009; Cappellini and Parsons, 2012; Denegri-Knott and Parsons, 2014:94; Slater, 2014) has shown objects move through spaces, different contexts and biographies and this disrupts this linear conceptualisation as not accommodating the circularity in the movement of objects and consumer practices. However an exploration of the practices that an object must encounter to become valued have been under explored in the literature (Parsons, 2008:390). In adopting a cultural perspective and building on Karababa and Kjeldgaard's assertion (2014: 6) that the value of an object is dynamic, subjective and context-dependent, that it has to be "*constantly co-created within a network of actors,*" value will be further explored in this thesis from a socio-cultural perspective in which value will be considered "*a bundle of multiple values created by practices*" of a collective of networked actors (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

3.8.2 Applying Practice Theory

Within this thesis the application of practice theory will contribute to CCT studies as it focuses research on the performative processes of social life, which involve consumption activities, whilst at the same time not lessening the emphasis on cultural conditioning. From the literature contained in this chapter, practices are formed as the resources of consumers interlink with different contextual elements (Reckwitz, 2002) and practices are conceptualised as ‘doings’ rather than cognitions or emotions. As this chapter has detailed, within the theoretical turn to practice theory multiple perspectives of practice have emerged. Schatzki’s (1996) ontology of practices highlights two different notions of practice: practice as coordinated entity and practice as performance. In conceptualising practice as entity, scholars build on the notion of ‘*a temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings*’ (Schatzki, 1996:11) whilst practice as performance is seen as processes of doing through which practice is sustained and reproduced (Shove and Pantzar, 2005). Within contemporary debates over the practice turn in consumer research (Schau et al., 2009; Murphy and Patterson, 2011; Arsel and Bean, 2013; Magaudda, 2011) the literature has presented a plethora of ways in which the two notions around practice have started to be employed in discussions of consumption. This turn to practice marks an ontological departure in consumer research and underlines that consumption choices are more directly connected to engagement in particular practices than they are to individual taste (Warde, 2005; Murphy and Patterson, 2011). The particular contribution of practice theories to consumer research allows for a focus on the performative processes of social life, which by necessity involve consumption activities, while not diminishing the importance of either the cultural

conditioning of consumption, or the consumption of practitioners (Halkier et al., 2011). As such, this thesis builds on Schau et al.'s (2009) understanding of practices as:

“Practices need to be known in order to be repeated and must be repeated to become part of the value creation repertoire. By providing opportunities to demonstrate competencies, practices allow members to accrue cultural capital through adroit performance which creates value for the consumer” (Schau et al., 2009: 27).

In this thesis using the practice lens and understanding culture as a field of practices, the analytical focus will shift the focus from individual experience, to culture and the vintage collective as a site of embodied social action (Bourdieu, 1984; Shove and Pantzar, 2005; Entwistle, 2000a). This perspective is thus orientated on the practices through which culture gains meaning and value in the marketplace (Arnould, 2014). The practice view proposes that value creation happens when actors undertake practical things in their life. New variations of practices can occur as consumers start to do things in new subjective ways. Practices have been seen to tie value creation to a specific socio-cultural and spatio-temporal context. A turn to practices in this thesis allows for a focus beyond the consumption meanings and to the use value of material objects and the everyday doings of people. Murphy and Patterson (2011) argue that a practice theory approach provides the opportunity to examine consumption phenomena in a more holistic and concrete way. In using practice theory within the CCT context, it allows the researcher to focus on the *‘doing’* of social practices rather than the moments of individual decision-making within the vintage collective. Consumers will be conceptualised as competent practitioners who negotiate and perform varied practices in their daily life (Shove and Pantzar, 2005) and practitioner

competence will be regarded in line with Watson and Shove (2008: 71) as the skills implied in the use, integration and desiring of items required for the effective accomplishment and performance of everyday life.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology utilised in this study. It considers the philosophy, reasoning and approach to this thesis. It acknowledges how the data has been collected and highlights the rationale for the decisions made. It outlines the research aims and objectives that emerge from the literature review of Chapter Two and Three. The research philosophy from which this study emanates is discussed and justified and the qualitative approach within the interpretive framework is explored. As outlined in the previous chapter, a turn to the Practice Theory perspective has influenced the research philosophy and strategy, as such this research utilises Interpretivism, in which the notion of the social self as being dynamic and fluid is central. The chapter then establishes the research as sitting within the ethnographic tradition of methods (Geertz 1973; Levi-Strauss, 1967; Agar, 1996; Spradley, 1979) which has an established tradition within the social sciences (Madden, 2010) and within Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) (Arnould and Price, 1993; Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Kozinets, 2002; Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994). The research design is detailed and discussed with consideration given to the role of the researcher and ethical issues encountered. The data collection process is described in detail as this research specifically uses semi-structured depth interviews, observation with field notes and visual analysis to collect detailed ethnographic data surrounding around the practices of the marketplace. Methods for analysing and evaluating the data are outlined and explored with consideration as to how they are applied in the context of this study. The chapter finally concludes with a consideration of the

limitations. Within each of these sections a review of the relevant literature is provided and justification for the approach taken within the thesis presented.

4.1 Research Aim

This thesis aims to gain an understanding of how the practices, spaces and socialities intersect in the consumption of vintage. Using the context of the ‘pop-up’ vintage market this exploration requires a non-positivistic approach that aims for an understanding and interpretation of these practices in the marketplace.

4.2 Research Strategy

The literature review provides the basis of the research strategy with a focus on practices, consumption theory and specifically the domain of CCT. The qualitative research tradition is explored in detail and as Maxwell (2005) underlines, sequential models for qualitative studies are not appropriate, as the research process is seen as iterative in nature and the research design is argued to be a “*reflexive process operating through every stage of the project*” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995: 25). Maxwell (2005) adds to this and argues that there are three main activities in the research study: collecting and analysing data, developing and modifying theory, elaborating and refocusing research objectives. This exploratory research study adopts a multi method focus, as Denzin and Lincoln (1999: 5) assert, qualitative research is inherently multi-method in focus, as this allows for an in-depth understanding of the subject of the study. This plurality of methods is an important aspect of qualitative research and Flick (2002: 229) adds to this arguing that multiple methods allow for “*rigour, breadth, complexity, richness and depth*” to the inquiry. This study uses a multi-method ethnographic approach to capture how the practices

of vintage consumption are undertaken in a marketplace and the materials, values and competences of the actors. The researcher assumes an interpretivist position, being interested in the meanings, practices and active interpretations of vintage.

4.3 Research Philosophy

Positivism and interpretivism have differing underlying philosophical assumptions, as the table below highlights. Positivists believe that a single, unchanging objective reality exists and that it is possible to make specific observations of the world. In contrast, interpretivists believe that multiple realities exist and that reality is a mental construct that is constructed by individual and social perceptions. Interpretivists therefore propose that society is a changing entity that is constructed by people themselves (Brewer, 2000). With regards to human behaviour interpretivists argue that people actively create their own environment, whilst positivists believe that behaviour is caused by influences outside the individual. In line with the research aims, this research study employs the philosophical traditions of interpretivism.

Adapted from Hudson and Ozanne's (1988: 509) work, the table below highlights the differences in approach between Interpretivists and Positivists:

Table 2 – ‘Summary of Research Approaches’, source: Hudson and Ozanne (1988: 509)

Assumptions	Interpretive	Positivist
Ontology		
Nature of Reality	Socially constructed, contextual, multiple	Objective, single, tangible
Nature of Social Beings	Proactive, voluntaristic	Reactive, deterministic
Axiology		
Overriding Goal	An understanding based on ‘ <i>Verstehen</i> ’	Prediction- explanation through subsumption, generalizability
Epistemology		
Knowledge Generated	Idiographic, context dependent	Nomothetic, context independent
View of Causality	Multiple, simultaneous shaping	A real cause exists
Research Relationship	Interactive, cooperative, no privileging of observation point	Dualism, separation, privileges point of observation

In considering the axiological assumptions, positivists believe in explanation through a generalisable set of universal laws that allows them to be able to predict behaviour. For interpretivists the fundamental belief is of gaining an understanding of behaviour or of ‘*Verstehen*’. Originating from Weber (1947) the concept of ‘*Verstehen*’ refers to the understandings of subjective meanings that are attached to behaviour. There is an emphasis placed on empathic identification from the researcher to the subject (Patton, 2002). This main tenet of ‘*Verstehen*’ fits well with the aim of this research study of gaining an understanding of the practices of the vintage collective.

4.3.1 Ontological Position

A researcher’s ontological position provides the starting point from which to construct a conceptual framework, which in turn allows them to see and make sense of the social world around them, but it also defines the basic assumptions that they

make about the nature of both reality and knowledge (Guba and Lincoln, 1998). This emphasis on the importance of the researcher's perception of reality is accentuated in Spiggle's (1994: 491) seminal article on methodology as she argues that: "*debate centres on the question of how we can know and represent what we know about reality.*" Within the social sciences, ontology could be separated into two positions: positivism is rooted within the realist ontology and holds the belief that a reality exists that can be objectively discussed, in contrast interpretivism stems from a postmodern sensibility through which there is a belief in multiple realities and that reality is a social construct that is dependent upon the perceptions of individual actors (Guba, 1990; Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). The philosophical assumptions of interpretivism indicate that the interpretive paradigm is the appropriate mode for the current research aims and research objectives. The following section explores this with a discussion of the ontological position and CCT landscape.

4.3.2 Interpretivism within Consumer Research

As highlighted, this study sits within the interpretivist tradition that is closely associated with qualitative inquiry. Although qualitative methods are used in positivist studies, they are considered within that tradition to have less rigour (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). Originating from the idea that the world and reality are not objective and exterior, rather that they are socially constructed and attributed meaning by individuals (Husserl, 1946), builds into Geertz's (1994) notion that the researcher should appreciate the individual constructions and meanings that people ascribe to their experiences, rather than focusing on patterns, occurrences and fact gathering. Within the wider tradition of qualitative inquiry, it can be seen to encompass a broad range of methods and activities (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998) and

cuts across disciplines and research contexts. Creswell (2007) argues that there are five different commonly used approaches to qualitative enquiry: ethnography, phenomenology, narrative study, case study and grounded theory.

Table 3 - Types of qualitative inquiry, source: adapted from Creswell (2007)

Qualitative Inquiry	Characteristics
Ethnography	Used for investigating cultures by collecting and describing data that was intended to help in the development of a theory.
Phenomenology	Understanding the essence of experience, studies several individuals with shared experiences to explain the phenomenon.
Narrative Study	Tells the story of individual experiences – exploring their lives or events within to explore their individual stories.
Case Study	Focuses on developing and providing a depth description and analysis of a case or multiple cases. Typically studying an event, activity or program that comprises of more than one individual’s perspective.
Grounded Theory	An inductive form of research, which is based or ‘grounded’ in the observations or data from which it was developed. It uses a variety of data sources- interviews, observations, surveys, reviews of records. Quantitative data can also be used.

Interpretivists argue that there is no rigid relationship between paradigm and methodology and that there should not be a privileged position over data collection or analysis techniques. As Denzin and Lincoln suggest:

“Qualitative research, as a set of interpretive activities, privileges no single methodological practice over another” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2004:6).

In practice, those with an interpretivist mind frame typically engage in qualitative inquiry. For interpretivists the aim of research is to understand not predict behaviour. This idea of understanding is crucial and is viewed as a process rather than an end product (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). Qualitative methods have been considered a holistic form of inquiry. The interpretivist’s research approach is one of constantly

evolving research design (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). Qualitative methods highlight a depth approach to understanding, through which a rich or “*thick*” description of the area is involved (Geertz, 1994). This aim of thick description has according to Denzin (1989:33) four key elements: firstly it gives context of an action, secondly it states the intentions and meanings that organises the action, thirdly it traces the development of the act and lastly it presents the action as a text that could then be interpreted. The role of the interpretivist researcher then in accordance with Denzin’s (1989:3) outline is to bring this world of lived experience and make it accessible to the reader. Fine and Deegan (1996: 6) note: “*qualitative researchers are explorers making ‘first contact’ with alien civilisations, courting experience through observing diverse times and places, later reanalysing and rewriting, hoping for heightened awareness to ignite insight.*” This alludes to the multifarious nature of consumer behaviour as social, complex, often irrational and unpredictable (Venkatesh, 1992) and as such qualitative methods have become popular for studying consumption from a macro perspective (Pettigrew, 2000). Consumers cannot be considered in the same manner as inanimate objects as Szmigin and Foxall (2000: 188) comment they need to be viewed as “*in a process of continuous emergence.*” In reaction this creates an active role for the researcher, according to Denzin and Lincoln (2004) the interpretive researcher as ‘*bricoleur*’ understands that research is an interactive process but that the product is a complex, quilt-like bricolage or a set of fluid interconnected images. The interpretive ways of seeking knowledge have become more accepted in the study of consumers (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988; Belk, Sherry and Wallendorf, 1988; Holbrook, 1986). Within consumer research, interpretive consumer research emerges in the 1980s, with Belk et al.’s, 1989 ‘*Odyssey*’ paper

marking a shift in the accepted perspective of the marketing discipline. Following the interpretive paradigm consumer researchers have employed a wide variety of methodological approaches from participant observation (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Belk et al., 1998), phenomenology (Thompson et al., 1990; Thompson and Haytko, 1997), in-depth interviewing (Hirschmann, 1994; McAlexander et al., 1992; Belk et al., 2003), ethnography (Penaloza, 2001; Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994), grounded theory (Goulding, 1999, 2000) hermeneutics (Arnould and Fischer, 1994), semiotics (Mick 1986, 1988), symbolic interactionism (Soloman, 1983), projective techniques (Rook, 1988) and psychoanalytic techniques (Holbrook, 1987). Hogg and Maclaran (2008: 132) assert that interpretive consumer researchers are faced with the issue of convincing readers that their knowledge is worth paying attention to when it develops from a field-dependent situation, when it is offered as an interpretation rather than ‘absolute knowledge’ and when it is presents reality portrayed through description and conceptually-mediated analysis of social experiences. They suggest that based on Golden-Biddle and Locke (1993) that interpretivist consumer researchers need to ground their accounts with ‘*authenticity, plausibility and criticality*’ (Hogg and Maclaran, 2008: 133). This has important implications for the research that will be further discussed in relation to the analysis of the data.

Table 4 - Overview of analytic framework for interpretive consumer research. Source: adapted from Hogg and Maclaran (2008: 133)

Authenticity	Convincing the readers that: The interpretation is drawn from the data. The researcher has ‘been present in the field and grasped how members understood their world.’
Plausibility	Accounting for as much of the information as possible, so that there is some degree of well argued ‘fit’ between the information (or data), and the explanation offered to account or the interpretation offered of the data.
Criticality	Incorporates reflexivity: ‘Carving out room to reflect, provoking the recognition and examination of differences, and enabling readers to imagine new possibilities.’

Hogg and Maclaran (2008) suggest that within the wider qualitative research domain it is still difficult to persuade an audience that the resulting knowledge is deserving of merit. When considering qualitative data, the researcher has therefore to ensure that they are convincing of the study’s worth. Golden-Biddle and Locke (1993) suggest that this is achieved through the writing and focusing on authenticity, plausibility and credibility. Denzin and Lincoln (2004) add to this and assert that trustworthiness is considered the indicator of merit in a qualitative study; this is based on the study’s credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability. These issues are recognised and further considered in the analysis of the data in this study.

4.3.3 Consumer Culture Theory and Ontological Positioning

Consumer research along with many other disciplines has a long tradition of positivist research and a quantitative preference that is associated with this approach. However there is an increasing focus upon post-positivist, interpretive scholarship

particularly coming from Europe (Belk, 2006; Askegaard, 1991). Within the consumer research tradition, Hudson and Ozanne (1988) argue that there are multiple ways through which to seek knowledge about consumers and they note that each has its own merit. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods have roles to play in allowing for theoretical contributions to be made to consumer research (Ger, 2005). Consumer research is still dominated by positivistic research however interpretivism has become a “*well-trodden path*” (Hogg and Maclaran, 2008:1). As discussed in the literature chapters, this could be attributed to the philosophical conceptualisation of consumers that has shifted over the past century – with consumers moving from “passive” to “active” (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995:240). This move towards conceptualising consumers as individuals that participate “*in multiple interacting cultures*” (Belk, 1995b: 62) lends itself to gaining an understanding of them, rather than a prediction of behaviour. From a historical perspective, Belk (1991, 1995b) identifies that the methodology underpinning consumer research has evolved in four distinct stages. He outlines that the first stage was the 1920/1930s and that consumer research was focused predominantly on understanding and predicting consumers’ needs within a supply and demand context, in which the consumer was viewed as a rational being and cognitive agent. Secondly he asserts that in the 1950s consumer research was centred on the emotional relationship between consumer and goods. In the third stage in the 1960s, he suggests that consumer research was grounded in positivistic scientific methodologies through which they generate models to gain an understanding of consumer purchasing behaviour. In the fourth stage in the 1980s, major changes took place, which he refers to as the “*new consumer behaviour research*” (Belk, 1995b; Sherry, 1991).

This new movement employs non-positivist research methods and Belk (1995b: 64) suggests that this “*opened up a Pandora’s box of ‘new’ substantive questions to be investigated.*” This naturalistic inquiry was spearheaded by the Consumer Behaviour Odyssey (Belk et al., 1991) and from this work they provide new understandings of the holistic consumer experience. The belief that consumers are “*socially connected human beings participating in multiple interacting cultures*” (Belk, 1995b: 62) emanates from this study. Although positivism remains the dominant approach in consumer research for gaining knowledge, the Odyssey led a turn to a diversification of research approaches and opened up a new era for consumer research. Moving forward within consumer research, in their seminal article Firat and Venkatesh (1995:243) argue that consumption is a complex human behaviour and could not be separated from “*culture, language, aesthetics, narratives, symbolic modes and literary expressions and meanings.*” Therefore this postmodern perspective calls for an approach that is “*eclectic in thought and practice*” (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995:243). CCT responds to this call, as it is not considered to be grounded in one specific research tradition or to privilege only qualitative methods. In arguing for methodological breadth, CCT research aims to reveal the “*dynamic relationships between consumer actions, the marketplace, and cultural meanings*” (Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 868). Algesheimer and Gurau (2008) suggest that within CCT research methodology is focused and motivated by the level at which culture is being conceptualised and explored. In considering ontology, CCT argues against methodological hegemony. Fischer and Sherry (2009:1) suggest that as a discipline it has emerged to allow for “*interpretive perspectives on consumer phenomena.*” The growing link between CCT and qualitative inquiry is explained by Sherry (1991) as it

focuses on the experiential and socio-cultural dimensions of consumption that are not easily accessible through experiments, surveys or data modelling. This focus on understanding participant's point of view - the emic perspective - allows for researchers to highlight broader cultural meanings - the etic perspective. These methodological preferences could be argued to be driven by the *"aims that drive CCT rather than from a passion for qualitative data or vivid description"* (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). Hogg and Maclaran (2008) situate CCT as a new disciplinary brand for those working within the interpretivist tradition and one that is concerned with the 'lived' experience that cannot be removed from its socio-cultural context.

Within CCT the methodological privileging of naturalistic research from the first wave of consumer research, has come to be questioned from the late 2000s.

Moisander et al. (2009a) outline the epistemic community of CCT as having implicit norms, received ideals and practices. They take a self-reflective, genealogical perspective (Foucault, 1970) and explore the evolution of what they term CCC – consumer culture community. They challenge the predominance of 'the individual as the unit of analysis' in CCT work:

"...it is important to be attentive to the specific representational systems – the socio-culturally normalised and institutionalised ways of thinking, talking and representing knowledge about the consumption agent, object or activity that are available and offered by the researcher to those being studied as resources for making sense of the topic in the specific context of the study" (Moisander et al., 2009a: 20).

In a subsequent article Moisander et al. (2009b) further challenges the limitations of the individually and experientially based perspective on consumer culture, as a result

of the phenomenological interview being the predominant mode of data collection within CCT. They argue that this perspective has a tendency to downplay the critical aspects of consumer's lived experiences but this does not appear in the phenomenological interview. Similarly critiquing CCT methodological positioning, Askegaard and Linnet (2011) argue for an epistemological positioning of CCT beyond this *'lived experience of consumers'* in their *Marketing Theory* article. They argue that the contextualisation of the consumer experience needs to be expanded to include the systemic and structuring influences of both the market and of systems not always discursively expressed by respondents. They argue for a consideration of *'the context of context.'* Methodologically they suggest a bridging of the 'analytical terrain,' they pull on Douglas's (1986) theory of institutional agency, to give their argument broader epistemological grounding. Building on Douglas's (1986) argument of 'the prevailing thought style,' Askegaard and Linnet (2011) propose that the consumer culture researcher must include an account of the institutional thought style in the particular field that extends beyond the life-world of the consumer. Responding to the critiques of Moisander et al. (2009a and 2009b) and Askegaard and Linnet (2011), Thompson et al. (2013) discuss how consumer researchers who have employed the humanistic/experientialist discourse have reconfigured its original epistemological premises. They suggest that humanistic/experientialist CCT represents a *"coherent paradigmatic alternative to information processing theories"* (Thompson et al., 2013: 7). CCT has studied consumption for its own intrinsic value and its role in everyday life. They suggest that the foundational axiological premise of CCT is not of managerial relevance but aligns with the philosophical and intellectual stance of sociology and anthropology. With the first waves of CCT

research, humanistic and experientialist CCT researchers embraced naturalistic enquiry (Belk et al., 1988) and existential-phenomenology (Thompson et al., 1989) that are orientated towards documenting the emic perspective of consumers. Both of these recognise the researcher's role as a sense-making instrument. An epistemic shift they propose has resulted from internal tensions and the norms of naturalistic research displaced by more open ended, hermeneutic and post-structuralist epistemic principles. Thompson et al., (2013:9) asserts that CCT researchers support their interpretive claims through rhetorical means by:

“...systematically explicating layers of cultural meaning, elucidating socio-historically grounded connections between emic articulations and cultural and ideological frames, and demonstrating novel theoretical insights through comparisons to more orthodox or established theoretical frameworks.” (Thompson et al., 2013:9)

They stress that CCT researchers and the contemporary CCT heteroglossia is axiomatic and that personal understandings take inspiration from complex cultural systems and are discussed within specific socio-cultural fields and unfolded through specific social structures, power relations and marketplace structures (Thompson et al., 2013:11). Thompson et al.'s (2013:13-14) discussion illustrates the development of the CCT tradition: that the first wave of CCT research primarily draws upon humanistic/experientialist discourses and has since developed to afford a broad range of *“dialectical and dialogical theorisations that focus upon recursive relations between structure and agency.”* Moving forward Thompson et al. (2013:18) call for CCT to begin to *“disentangle the material and discursive webs that both sustain and*

potentially destabilize these global networks of political, cultural and socio-economic distinctions and hierarchies.”

4.4 Epistemology

The previous sections highlight that the ontology of the research study is coming from the interpretivist tradition. In the following section the related epistemology is discussed in further detail. Epistemology considers how knowledge and meaning are understood. Hudson and Ozanne (1988) separate this into three elements: how knowledge is generated, the research tradition approach to causality and finally the relationship between the participants and the researcher. These are considered throughout the discussion of the paradigm that the research emanates from.

4.4.1 Ethnography

Originating in anthropology, ethnography is originally used to study small indigenous groups however it became an accepted method in the exploration of consumer behaviour. Embedded in cultural theory, ethnography could be thought of as a form of naturalistic inquiry with a specific interest in culture (Pettigrew, 2000). Ethnography seeks to establish the context and significance of experience for particular groups but also attempts to convey the comparative and interpreted cultural significance of this experience (Pettigrew, 2000). Stemming from the view that the world and reality are not objective and exterior, but are rather socially constructed and given meaning by people (Husserl, 1946), the researcher focuses on appreciating the different constructions and meanings that people place on their experiences (Geertz, 1994). Ethnography is based on aiming to understand people's actions and experiences of the world and how they reflect back on these (Brewer, 2000).

Ethnography is suitable for gaining ‘*intimate familiarity*’ with the social world and ‘*capturing the voices of people who inhabit it*’ (Brewer, 2000).

Table 5 - Characteristics of Ethnographic Studies. Source: adapted from Hammersley and Atkinson (1983)

The culture that drives the behaviour of people in a small group was studied in its everyday settings and contexts.
The researcher participates in the group for a long period of time, so that he or she has to live two simultaneous lives - one as an insider in the group and the other as an outside observer of the group.
Observations and relatively informal interviews were the major sources of information, although other sources could be used.
The data was gathered in a relatively unstructured way so that data collection was ‘played by ear’ and flexibly covers as much of the everyday life of people as possible.
The masses of data that were rich descriptions of the group were analysed to extract the meanings and functions of the group’s behaviour and the report takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations.

As demonstrated in the above table, as a form of inquiry, ethnography involves observing and analysing behaviour in naturally occurring conditions. For a researcher ‘*ethnography*’ means ‘*the writing of culture*’ (Atkinson, 1992). Ethnographers aim to look beyond what people say to understand the shared system of meanings called ‘*culture*’ (Goulding, 2005:298). The ethnographic research approach is seen as labour intensive and is characterised by fieldwork. As Geertz’s (1973) influential work notes:

“From one point of view, that of the textbook, doing ethnography is establishing rapport, selecting information, transcribing texts, taking genealogies, mapping fields, keeping a diary and so on. But it is not these things, techniques, and received procedures that define the enterprise. What defines it is the kind of intellectual effort it is” (Geertz, 1973:6 cited in Hudson and Ozanne, 1988).

As Geertz (1973) highlights the labour involved in ethnography is seen as immense – both physically and mentally. The necessary immersion in the field according to Emmerson et al. (1995) provides the fieldworker with access to the fluidity of lives and also improves their sensitivity to interactions and processes. Goulding (2005) asserts that fieldwork is the hallmark of ethnography. Within the ethnographic process, the researcher attempts to capture the interactions with the phenomena verbatim - the emic perspective - however the researcher does not retain this perspective when writing up the results - the etic perspective (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). This is again illuminated by Madden (2010) as a key characteristic of ethnography, to explore the relationship between an ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ understanding of human behaviour (Madden, 2010: 19). An ‘emic’ perspective considers the insiders’ view point or participants’ stance and an ‘etic’ perspective reflects the outsider or researcher’s viewpoint. The importance of ethnographic reflexivity requires that the researcher does not lose sight of their own etic perspective in the field as reflexivity is crucial in the explaining the particular human phenomena against a wider cultural backdrop (Madden, 2010: 19-20). This importance of the wider cultural framing is depicted by Arnould and Wallendorf (1994: 485) who assert that ethnography was: *“not just a form of data collection; it aims to clarify the ways culture (or micro-culture) simultaneously constructs and is formulated by people’s behaviours and experiences.”* Arnould and Wallendorf (1994: 485) highlight further what they consider the four distinctions that mark ethnographer’s research practice: firstly the data collection and recording of individual action within natural settings is systematic, secondly that it involves extended experiential participation by the researcher in the cultural context with an evolving sampling plan,

thirdly that it produces interpretations of behaviours of the persons studied that the intended audience find credible and lastly that it incorporates multiple sources of data to generate varying perspectives on the context of interest. Similarly Willis and Trondman (2000) reject the idea that societies can be understood without reference to mediating ideas and culture, but they also consider it limiting for a researcher to analyse culture as if it were free-floating, they argue for “*the ethnographic recording of lived experience within the social*” (Willis and Trondman, 2000: 10), suggesting that through such experience a researcher can obtain knowledge which has a wider reference. Within the narrower consumer research domain, ethnography is deeply rooted in gaining a cultural understanding of the context of study.

Table 6 - The role of ethnographic research within consumer research. Source: adapted from Arnould (1998)

Ethnography should aim to explain the ways that culture constructs and was constructed by the behaviours and experiences of its members.
Ethnography involves prolonged participation within a specific culture or sub-culture.
Ethnography in consumer research tends to be particularistic rather than generalizable, espousing pluralistic accounts of consumption.
The potential for ethnography lies in applying multiple data collection methods to a single phenomenon. These may range from surveys to observational data, videotapes, photographs and recordings of speech in action.
Ethnography requires tactics for representing research findings. These representations should aim to unravel the layered meanings that marketing activities hold for the customer (or in this research study the marketplace practitioners).

Building on Arnould’s (1998) summary, for the ethnographer place is also an important construct as it represents a dual context: one that is inhabited by the researcher and one that is studied by the researcher (Pink, 2008). This understanding of place is central to the exploration of practices in this thesis. The ethnographer is faced with the task of understanding place that is something that could be said to be

in constant flux of being made and remade. Pink (2008) describes that the researcher is '*emplaced*' but that they are seeking to explore the emplacement of others and the practices through which the places that they construct are continually reconstituted. Pink (2008) asserts that this is a complex process through which the researcher is firstly dealing with how research participants make place, secondly reflecting on how place is a collaboration with respondents in the research through practice, thirdly how in representing research place is reconstituted and lastly how the audience of the research create place and add to its existing narratives.

In the field of consumer research, there is also an extensive body of ethnographic literature that the researcher could use as a firm base for inspiration: from Hill's (1991) study of homeless women and the meaning of possessions, Arnould and Price's (1993) 'River Magic' study, McGrath et al. (1993) farmer's market, Otnes et al.'s (1995) shopping with consumers and Schouten and McAlexander's (1995) biker culture exploration. These pioneering studies create an ethnographic tradition within the CCT field and have been added to by technological advancements including netnographic studies (Kozinets, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010; Hamilton and Hewer, 2009) and videographic accounts by Belk and Kozinets (2005, 2007), de Valck et al. (2009) and Rokka (2010). Within the context of this research study, the researcher is looking for rounded, holistic explanations achieved by working with people in their natural settings (Goulding, 2005: 299). Therefore as the focal point of the research is refined, the approach taken changes accordingly. Belk et al., (1988) describes that the researcher moves along a continuum from passive to participant observation generating insights from each vantage point. This focus on the importance of fieldwork is again highlighted by Arnould and Wallendorf (1994) who propose:

“long term immersion in the context increases the likelihood of spontaneously encountering important moments in the ordinary events of consumers’ daily lives” (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994: 486). Within the turn to practice, this fieldwork approach allows for an active understanding of the practices that practitioners engage in and how space is constituted and negotiated through practice. For this study an ethnographic approach is a way to gain an understanding of the practices of the collective, to view practitioners in their marketplace context and view them holistically. Viewing the vintage collective members in the marketplace is vital in order to observe and explore the active role that each member has and also to gain an understanding of the interactions and practices between practitioners. Long-term immersion in the field of study has been sought to enable the researcher to move along Belk’s (1988) proposed continuum.

4.4.2 Criticisms of Ethnography

Some general criticisms of the ethnographic approach are that ethnography provides only one interpretation of the phenomenon of interest because of the partial and local nature of the analysis (Pettigrew, 2000). The notion of objectivity suggests that a researcher is able to obtain knowledge of an external world as it exists independently of the research process (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Silverman, 1985). If this is accepted, then the aim of research is to maximize accurate observation and reduce distortion and bias to a minimum. A somewhat different but related argument is that objectivity is not attainable because people’s perceptions and interpretations are inevitably selective and are shaped by the understandings they bring to any situation; it is not possible to perceive the world as a separate step prior to attaching meaning to it. As Denzin expresses: *“Humans are always already tangled up in a second-*

hand world of meanings” (1997: 246). Issues of power and objectivity in the ethnographic relationship are prevalent and the role of the researcher as observer and interpreter of a community carefully considered:

“...*And even where the researcher and researched are social equals, power is still involved because it is the researcher who makes the decisions about what is to be studied, how, for what purposes etc.*” (Hammersley, 1990: 13)

This consideration of the power balance in the field is further developed by Emmerson et al. (1995) as he conveys that even though immersion in the field is sought for close proximity to the subject, the researcher should remain at some distance from the world that they study. This tension of “*going native*” (Geertz, 1973) or ethnographic marginality is ever present in ethnographic studies. Also the ethnographer’s authority has been questioned with regards to issues of validity, generalisability and reliability (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). The researcher acknowledges these issues for the thesis however as the researcher is striving for an understanding of the collective not a definitive understanding, ethnography as a method is appropriate as it could access what consumers really do, rather than what they say they do (Elliott and Jankel-Elliott, 2003:222)

As detailed above in relation to CCT, there has been a shift in the discourse of naturalistic, humanistic discourses to a more multi-layered approach in CCT. As Thompson et al. (2013) express how the original epistemological positioning of CCT has limitations and CCT has developed to encompass a matrix of rhetorical, theoretical and methodological practices. They warn of an ‘*anachronistic influence*’ of humanistic/experientialist dualities as a result of CCT’s embeddedness in the

marketing discipline, they argue for a CCT that focuses on “*recursive relations between structure and agency playing out in varied consumption or marketplace contexts*” (Thompson et al., 2013:14). Thompson et al. (2013:2) further question what they term the “*conflicting polydiscursive current and future state of CCT.*”

They argue that the readings of the CCT heteroglossia stem from the epistemological and ontological ambiguities that have resulted from CCT’s complex institutional history. Recently Askegaard and Linnet (2011) argue that it is imperative that consumption is regarded as a practice, which has important implications for CCT research. They appeal for consumer researchers to pay attention to the contexts that condition these practices of consumption. Their suggestion of a contextual awareness, argues that the subject has to be placed within the wider social and cultural context within the research study. In considering the epistemological considerations of considering consumption as practice, Askegaard and Linnet (2011) note that consumers act to maximise the material, symbolic and social capital within various types of fields and that they may not feel constrained by rules or obligations, this they argue is the point of habitus; that the social actor holds an embodied, pre-reflective competence which are not necessarily the object of conscious reflection. Methodologically this raises issues with research that repeats the claims of consumers of individual uniqueness or self-realisation without adequate consideration of the social and cultural constraints in which the consumer is operating. Askegaard and Linnet (2011) propose that the strength of the concepts of practice and habitus lies in the underlining epistemology. They argue for giving due attention to the contexts that shape practices of consumption.

4.5 The Practice Theory Lens

Referring back to the literature presented in Chapter Three, this thesis adopts a practice lens to explore the practices, socialities and spaces of consumption. In considering practice as the conduct of transactional life, when viewed through the lens of practice theory, necessitates the temporally unfolding, symbolically mediated interweaving of experience and action, methodologically this has implications as to how to best capture these experiences and actions. Simpson (2009:1338) highlights that through this definition of practice, it is an emergent process that sustains routines while allowing for the possibility of creative action. This depicts practice as an anticipatory act, in that practices are the enactment of the future that materialise as actors anticipate the possible outcomes of their social actions. As detailed in Chapter Three, Schatzki (2001) in his critical review of the practice turn in social theory classified the field into three categories. Firstly he positions the theories that originate from philosophical and sociological concerns with the establishment and maintenance of stable social structures. This privileging of the social draws upon influences from Nietzsche and Heidegger and views the capacity for human agentic action as sceptical. Schatzki's (2001) second categorisation is of the convergent dynamic. He adopts a micro perspective focusing on the embodiment of meaning and the tacit understandings and knowledge that both shape and are shaped by practices. In his third categorisation, he stresses the dynamics of emergence and transformation to incorporate creative action. Simpson (2009:1329) builds on this and positions the practice turn with a theoretical view of practice as a "*transactional social process involving experience and action as mutually informing aspects of human conduct.*" For Simpson (2009:1332) practice is a dynamic, temporal process but that also

involves human conduct and the exercise of agency – an embodied social agency that transcends traditional boundaries between the individual and the social. Simpson (2009) highlights the issue of dualisms that become evident in practice theory, in the separation of theory vs. practice, individual vs. social, rational action vs. normatively orientated action. The problem of dualisms has been illuminated in the work of Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' and Giddens's 'theory of structuration', both of which critique the dualistic separation of the individual and the social. Simpson (2009) argues that whilst both of these use practice to draw together these binary opposites, neither she suggests engages fully with the social actor. This has important methodological implications as Simpson (2009:1339) positions practice as neither privileging agency nor structure but as a dynamic process of social meaning-making: *"that is not limited to either the real-time present or the historical past and neither is it constrained to a unitary sequence of events in spatialized time."* Simpson (2009:1342) demonstrates that the fundamental unit of ontology in this approach is the 'transaction' – whether this be intra, inter or extra-personal. This transactional view attests that the focus of enquiry is upon the agentic and temporal dynamics of meaning making rather than on particular meanings or meaning-makers. Simpson (2009) develops a perspective of practice as a transactional social process that involves action and experience, the practice lens is seen as dynamic, emergent and socially agentic. Also writing within the Organisation Studies domain Elkjaer and Simpson (2011:71) explain that through the lens of practice the transactional nature of social agency and the reflexivity in social practices is highlighted. They suggest that experience is both active and passive and that habits are tied towards specific actions. This links well with the ethnographic methods of this study and grounding in

actual experiences and consumer practices. This focus on the practices of everyday life is ontologically, epistemologically, and methodologically central to the thesis. This shift to practice and the subsequent methodological considerations has become more pertinent in consumer research as highlighted in the preceding literature chapters.

As presented in the literature review, consumer research literature often focuses on the objects at the moment of acquisition by the consumer, rather than how the consumer uses the objects. CCT in particular has focused on the meanings and symbolic properties of commodities and their use for example in identity construction. By employing practice theory, a focus on how the action is carried out in the process, becomes of crucial importance (Hand and Shove, 2007:81). This practice lens has included recent discussions that focus on the more mundane aspects of consumption, proposing that there is more merit in the discussion of the normally inconspicuous routines and systems (Gronow and Warde, 2001). There is a broad range of studies in CCT that address institutional, historical, ideological and socio-cultural shaping of consumption and the broader market and social systems that situate consumers' practices and identities (Arnould, 1989; Arsel and Bean, 2013; Arsel and Thompson, 2011; Askegaard et al., 2005; Bardhi et al., 2012; Crockett and Wallendorf, 2004; Firat and Venkatesh, 1995; Giesler, 2006, 2008, 2012; Holt, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2002; Humphreys, 2010b; Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006; Kozinets, 2008; Murray, 2002; Penaloza, 1994, 2001; Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013; Thompson, 2004; Thompson and Arsel, 2004). Continuing with the practice orientation, Moisander et al. (2009a: 331) suggests that CCT researchers '*understand culture as a field of practices*'. The research focus they then argue is on the '*practices of*

objectification' through which culture and other "things" gain specific meanings. They argue that attention has to be paid to the cultural complexity of social action and the marketplace activity. This has methodological implications, as there is a focus on the minutiae of consumption practices.

In considering practices as "*the active amalgamation of meanings, skills and objects*", the relationships involved can be seen to be in a constant evolution (Shove and Araujo, 2010: 23). In viewing the social world as actively constructed rather than passively absorbed, the practices of the individual become of paramount importance and methodologically this calls for attempting to capture this active movement. Lury (1996: 77) conceptualises following this movement in her suggestion to '*think in terms of object-people practices*'. Further Nicolini (2012) has written extensively on practices and suggests that in studying practice it is necessary to encapsulate movement in the methodology or "*a zooming in on the accomplishments of practice, and of zooming out of their relationships in time and space.*" Nicolini (2012) creates a '*palette for zooming in*' it is concerned with gaining a richer and more nuanced understanding of the world (Nicolini, 2012). From a methodological standpoint, the study of practice could be said to always start in the middle of action - what are practitioners using to assemble collaboratively and accomplish these scenes of action? Attention therefore needs to be given to what people are doing and saying (Nicolini, 2012). Nicolini (2012) asserts when studying practice, two practices are always looked at in unison: the researcher's epistemic practice and the focus of their interest.

This has important methodological considerations for gaining understanding into how practice is constituted through experience and action and through looking at

'practices in use'. This thesis proposes that the '*deep hanging out*' (Wolcott, 1999) of an ethnographic approach is a way to capture practices in action. Participation in the community through an ethnographic methodology involves a reflexive engagement with '*knowing in practice*' at all stages of the ethnographic process (Wenger, 1998:141). By utilising ethnography the researcher is seeking to develop a 'thick understanding' of practices in use and using a practice lens allows the researcher to gain an understanding into the multiplicity of practices that are knotted together in the marketplace. In attempting to capture the social and cultural experiences of respondents in the vintage scene, using practice theory coupled with ethnography allows for a more focused appreciation of the practices of consumers. Elliot and Jankel-Elliott (2003) propose: "*ethnography reaches the parts other research cannot reach.*" Based on the research aim of exploring marketplace practices and gaining an understanding into habitual behaviour, group dynamics and practitioner-object interactions, the coupling of ethnographic observation and depth interviews is seen "*as a way to grasp and render*" practices that are perceived in the marketplace (Geertz, 1973: 10). In her domestic kitchen practices study, Martens (2012) highlights the complexity of capturing practices and the shift between topics and practices. Responding to these concerns she asserts that her use of interviews and language in the study: "*Arguably, our discussions were not about dish washing as a practical activity, but about a set of interpersonal concerns that are implicated in dish washing (thus pointing to what makes practices interpersonally social)*" (Martens, 2012: 24). She uses the interview format to tease out how language conveys activity and the practical performance.

4.6 Research Objectives

The objectives of the research seek to meet the research aim and to provide clarity and structure to the data collection and analysis of the study. As outlined this study adopts an interpretivist, qualitative approach seeking to explore practices within the vintage marketplace. This thesis aims to gain an understanding of how the practices, spaces and socialites intersect in vintage. Coming from the CCT domain and employing the practice theory lens has had implications for the research methodology and research design as explored in detail above. Following the underpinnings of the interpretivist tradition the research objectives that emerged are:

1. What practices are used in the marketspace to materialise vintage?
2. How do practices, objects and knowledge intersect in the marketspace?
3. Does vintage create a shared consumption space?
4. How is value ascribed and framed in vintage?

The research objectives have guided the sampling, the data collection, the research relationship with the participants, the data analysis and the writing up of the data.

4.7 Data Collection

There are several data collection options that could be employed in this research project. These stem from the researcher's position around ontology, epistemology and paradigm position. Belk, Wallendorf and Sherry's (1989) interpretive study is an early exemplar of a multi-method ethnographic study: they use a combination of observation, field notes, interviews, photographs and video. This ethnographic research study employs multiple data collection methods to gain a holistic understanding into the vintage collective's practices. Ethnographic research by its

very nature is multi-method and involves different data collection approaches for triangulation. A multi-method ethnographic study is undertaken as a way of gaining an understanding into practices undertaken in the marketplace. It is felt that what the participants say and do needs to be interpreted alongside the material and spatial surroundings, as they play an active role in the shaping of practices. Over the two years of the research study the researcher is embedded in the collective to gain an understanding, as such there is a daily interaction (being active in the wider vintage collective) but table 7 below gives an overview of the specific data collection methods of the fieldwork and the volume of data that is generated:

Table 7 – Overview of the ethnography and data collection.

Method	Data collected
Observation days at the 3 different markets	70 visits
Depth interviews	25 interviews - 650 Pages of transcripts
In situ interviews	30 interviews - 120 Pages of transcripts
Field notes	380 pages of field notes
Researcher Diary	3 hand written notebooks - 250 pages of reflections
Photographs	260 photographs (iPhone and DSLR)
Visuals and artefacts collected (leaflets, posters, business cards, branding, press cut outs)	Approximately 45 visual materials

Hurdley and Dicks (2011: 278) propose that insufficient attention has been paid to the extent to which meanings are made in situ and utilise a full spectrum of sensory phenomena in which the actors engage, as such in situ occurrences (ad hoc interviews, visual collection, photographs, articles) in the vintage collective are continually recorded by the researcher over the two years to add to the understanding of the field. The data collection process for this thesis is described in further detail in

the following sections as this research specifically uses semi-structured depth interviews, observation, a researcher diary and visual analysis to collect detailed data in context around the issues of value and the vintage marketplace.

4.7.1 The Research Context

4.7.2 The Wider Context - Glasgow

Glasgow is the largest city in Scotland and the third largest in the UK. It is known for its retail presence and was considered the UK's second largest and most economically important after central London (Harrison, 2012). Away from the more mainstream retail outlets, Glasgow has a long history of markets and trading in the city. The Barras market was once the largest open-air market in Europe,⁵ originating in the 1920s and 30s, the marketplace in the East End is seen as Glasgow institution - although it has now fallen into somewhat a state of disrepair. Another significant market in the city was Paddy's Market⁶, which operated for more than 200 years and was originally where the immigrant Irish went to buy and trade second-hand clothes. It has developed into a market selling a wide variety of second-hand goods but was closed in 2009 following allegations of crime and counterfeit goods.

4.7.3 Glasgow's Vintage Scene

As depicted above Glasgow has long roots of market culture within the city however the research area of this study focuses particularly on vintage rather than second hand

⁵ The Barras Market has a long tradition in the East End of the city of Glasgow, with hawkers selling from handcarts (Barras) in the early part of the 20th Century. This became more formalised in the 1920's and 30's with the building of the McIver's sheds, and the Barrowlands Ballroom (The Barras Market).

⁶ The street market, Paddy's market, originated after the influx of poor Irish immigrants to Glasgow in the 19th Century (Stewart, 2009). As part of a city redevelopment scheme it was closed in 2009.

and in this way it is important to note the differences between the contexts. The second hand markets illustrated above as a Glasgow staple were based on economic necessity and as such carried with them stigmas and class connotations. The context of this research study focuses on what could be considered the gentrification of these market formats that started to arrive in more affluent areas of the city in their 'pop-up' format from 2009 onwards.

Within the research study, the context of the study focused on the vintage scene in Glasgow and in particular on the vintage pop-up markets across the city – with a particular focus on the student filled west end of the city. Observation was carried out over a two-year period at the markets. The researcher attended vintage styled events across the city, regularly visiting vintage stores and interacting with the collective on social media sites.

4.7.4 Sites of Enquiry

The first market entitled '*Granny Would be Proud*' runs twice monthly in the upstairs of a converted old cinema, which now functions as a restaurant in the west-end of Glasgow. The wider venue of the west-end of the city acts as a cultural hub and has a high student population. The market has been running for four years, selling vintage clothes, homeware, accessories, upcycled vintage and independent craft. The sellers differ at every market, with the exception of a couple of longstanding stallholders. Established in 2010, it is one of the first of this format of 'pop-up' markets in the city. The market is free for consumers to enter and stalls cost £25 for sellers to hire for the afternoon. Doors open to the public at 12pm and the market runs until 5-5.30pm. The market is run by a young couple that promote the

market predominantly through the use of social media. They also promote the market by flyering local bars, coffee shops and stores around the Byres Road area of the city.

The second market is called '*The Little Birds Market*' which operates from Sloans Glasgow, which is a restaurant and bar with a historic past that is situated in the city centre. The market runs every two weeks and takes over the spaces of the first and second floor grand ballrooms on a Sunday afternoon from 12-5pm. The market is free for consumers to enter and focuses on vintage, craft and independent design. Established in 2011 this market is run by a woman in her early thirties who left her job as a PR director to establish the markets. She uses social media, paper leafleting around shops and bars and e-newsletters to their own database (consumer details were collected at the markets).

The third market was the '*Judy's Affordable Vintage Fair*'. Set up in 2006, this market tours the UK visiting over 30 cities, mostly university towns and also large festivals (including Vintage at Goodwood, Vintage at Southbank). Ran by Judy and her small team, they bring together sellers from across the UK to bring the events together. They also run a monthly market in Spitalfields – which states it is the largest in Europe. In Glasgow, the market visits two to three times a year and is situated in the Glasgow University Student Union. The event is actively promoted through their presence on Facebook and Twitter. They also establish an individual event for each city using Facebook. The markets run from 12-5pm and they normally target times of the year that will be busy with students (September/October and March). The events are heavily branded and the organisers also have a website presence and mailing list that they also used to market the events.

4.8 Theoretical Sampling

In sampling as with all other elements of the research design, this judgement is based on the preceding decisions of ontology and epistemology. Maxwell (1998: 234) suggests that there are four major considerations in deciding upon the methods for qualitative research: sampling, the research relationships that develop with participants, data collection and data analysis. Each of these is considered in turn.

Sampling in ethnographic research is often a combination of convenience sampling and snowball sampling (Bryman and Bell, 2007: 458.) Ethnography makes use of small samples: seeking out people who have knowledge in an area, judgemental samples or “*opportunistic samples*” (Elliott and Jankel-Elliott, 2003). Watters and Biernacki (1989) highlight that all qualitative sampling contains some degree of convenience, as without willingness and availability of participants to speak or be observed, and then the research would soon stall. Based on the research aim and objectives, the three pop-up markets sample sites were selected as they were the longest running and most prominent in the city. Further in this study the sampling unit are individuals who regularly participate in the vintage scene within Glasgow. The researcher gained access to the markets through attending regularly and building relationships with key characters in the marketplace. The participants were identified through a snowballing technique (Morgan, 2008) after spending time observing the marketplace and developing relationships. In line with the field of enquiry the sample criteria was based on the individual being an active practitioner in the Glasgow vintage scene – as market seller or consumer. Time and context were both considered with respondents sought from different times of the day at the market and also contextually from local stores and businesses that supported the marketplace. Further

respondents recommended other participants who were present at the market that day who may be useful in the study. Some twenty-five respondents were included for in-depth interviews (further details displayed below in table 8).

Table 8 – Overview of in-depth interview respondents

Respondent	Age	Role in Marketplace
Adam	28	Vintage fair organiser, he studied Business at University.
Alice	42	Vintage/second-hand storeowner in the west end of the city, married to Bob.
Andrea	28	Lawyer with an interest in crafts and vintage homeware.
Annie	62	She sells vintage jewellery part time at the markets; she also has an Etsy store and attends markets regularly.
Ben	28	Works in graphic design. Enjoys shopping for vintage to mix with his high street and designer pieces.
Carrie	29	Works in marketing for a legal firm. She likes to attend the markets regularly.
Charlie	25	Vintage business owner, she sells at fairs and online through Asos Marketplace.
Cherry	26	Vintage dressmaker with her own store, she also sells at markets and is active in the vintage club scene.
Claire	32	She studied textile design at college; she used to sell at markets.
Derek	28	Works in retail, he studied illustration at college. He visits vintage stores in city center often and goes to the markets at the weekend with his wife.
Elena	35	Vintage fair organiser.
Gillian	27	She owns her own fashion shop with a vintage section, she also runs an online Asos Marketplace store and wholesale vintage store, she has recently started to attend markets to sell and buy stock.
Jackie	42	Vintage storeowner in the west end of the city.
Jessica	31	Works in digital marketing for a city centre agency. She enjoys visiting vintage stores on a Saturday and regularly attends markets as part of Sunday routine with her husband.
Judy	35	Started the vintage fair in Leeds in 2005, after attending art school. Run the markets.
Louise	35	She left her job in PR to set up vintage fair and vintage china/homeware business.
Lindsay	29	Sells vintage jewellery at the markets and she also works as a social worker.
Luke	30	Works in website development, visits vintage markets at the weekends to browse.

Melanie	27	Works as a teacher. She is a regular eBay buyer; she visits west end shops and markets most weeks.
Michael	43	Vintage seller at the markets. He is an optician who has set up vintage spectacles business.
Michelle	28	Studied fashion at university. She visits the markets and car-boot sales frequently.
Molly	30	She works as a PA in an advertising agency and visits the markets with friends on a Sunday.
Sarah	26	Vintage fair organiser, she studied business at University.
Sheila	60	Vintage storeowner runs EBay and Asos Marketplace store.
Tina	30	Vintage wedding business owner sells at fairs.

Further, purposeful sampling (Morgan, 2008) was employed for this study as it involves samples being selected purposefully to allow for understanding of a subject in-depth (Patton, 2002). This led to the selection of participants that were used to provide in-depth information that was relevant to the study in accordance with the research aim and objectives. Within qualitative research it could be argued that all sampling is purposeful as the sample is selected in accordance with the needs of the study (Coyne, 1997). Opportunistic sampling was also used in the field of study, to compliment the research aim and identify informal research participants for in situ interviews within the context of the vintage marketplace. This allows for new leads to be followed up and allows for flexibility within the field. All research participants are treated in line with Ruth and Otnes' (2006: 562) "*etiquette of qualitative research.*" Ruth and Otnes (2006) stress how integral etiquette practices are in the research process and interacting with informants. As the research is dependent upon successful social interactions, they reframe qualitative research as "*opportunities for interpersonal communication and relationship building with informants*" (Ruth and Otnes, 2006:561). They separate out etiquette interactions into: firstly "*the 'before' phase: making and managing contacts with informants,*" secondly "*the 'during'*

phase: respect and deference during focal interaction,” and lastly *“the ‘after’ phase: enhancing the chances for prolonged relationships”* (Ruth and Otnes, 2006:562-63).

With both practical and theoretical implications, etiquette considerations and respecting informants and their experiences is at the forefront of this research. The importance of this relationship is stressed again by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) who discuss that particularly with ethnographic enquiry, it unavoidably requires the researcher and the research participants to influence each other, and as a result it is crucial for the researcher to be explicit about their relationship within the research study. O’Reilly (2009:175) again highlights this and spoke of *‘a gradual building up of trust’*. This is important as within the ethnographic process there is an importance placed on building rapport with participants in the ethnographic process as these human relationships are seen as crucial in ethnographic practice.

4.8.2 Observation and Field Notes

In consumption studies observation has focused on naturally occurring behaviours in a variety of settings (Baudrillard, 1968; McCracken, 1989; Boyd and Levy, 1963; Soloman and Assael, 1987; Wallendorf and Arnould, 1991; Belk et al., 1991c) and provides researchers with a perspective in action. Madden (2010) suggests that ethnographers are a form of recording device and as such must always be ‘on’. With regards to the consumer research context, Penaloza and Cayla (2006: 280) argue that the consumer behaviour domain has been dominated by studies that focused on *‘what consumers said, over what they did.’* They argue for field-notes and photographs as a mode of social representation. In developing a practice perspective and ethnographic methodology for this research study, a development of the researcher as participant

observer becomes key as the researcher gains both visceral as well as contemplative appreciation for the social action being focused upon.

Observation is at the forefront of the methods employed in this research study. Agar (1996:163) describes that this is the essence of ethnographic methods, “*you are directly involved in community life, observing and talking with people as you learn from their view of reality*” (Agar, cited in Elliot et al., 2003:216). Due to its focus on the socio-cultural patterning of behaviour, ethnography according to Arnould and Wallendorf (1994: 486) gives primacy to observing behaviour and speech events that are naturally occurring. Goffman (1959) suggested that observers become insiders over time and that they are granted access to the ‘backstage’ areas. Ethnographers therefore can be seen to observe everyday events, settings, uses of objects and interactions over time (Jorgensen, 1989). Ethnographers provide a written account (field notes) of what they have seen, heard and experienced in the field.

Table 9 – Recording with field notes. Source: adapted from Spradley (1980: 78)

Space	the physical place or places.
Actor	the people involved.
Activity	a set of related acts people did.
Object	the physical things present.
Act	single actions that people did.
Event	a set of related activities that people carried out.
Time	the sequencing that takes place over time.
Goal	the things people were trying to accomplish.
Feeling	the emotions felt and expressed.

As shown in table 9 above, writing field notes should not be a passive act as it involves the active process of interpretation and sense making of events and behaviours. Field notes Emmerson et al. (1995) argues are “*inscriptions of social life*

and social discourse.” He further suggests that through ethnography the researcher is able to experience first-hand how meanings emerge through discussion and “*collective action*” and how these understandings shift over time (Emmerson et al., 1995). Penaloza and Cayla (2006: 279) suggest that writing field-notes is a standard activity in ethnographic research - the researcher enters a social setting, participates in the routines of that setting and writes down what he/she learns and sees. Penaloza and Cayla (2006: 287) concur on the importance of field notes as a data set and posit that field notes allow the researcher to work through and document their initial thinking and how this evolves over time and could be related to the extant theory, which in turn is useful for illuminating points of difference and building theory. Within this research study, observation informed all of the researcher’s actions in the research context. The researcher approached the observation and fieldnotes as a way to gauge an understanding of the practices emerging in the vintage market before any interviews took place. Following Spradley’s (1980) advice, the researcher used the observation and accompanying field notes as a way to capture the marketplace practices and behaviours in the specific space of the pop-up markets. The researcher noted how each of the spaces was used and negotiated by both sellers and consumers, what people did in the space (how they moved, interacted, existed) and what objects were involved in this action, further the timings and sequences of the actions and behaviours were noted in the field notes and the feelings (facial expressions, gestures, body language) that were observed were recorded. These observations allowed some initial sense making to occur and Spradley’s (1980) elements of observation guided the practical recording of the field notes throughout the study.

The researcher gained access to the first market, Granny Would be Proud through personal interactions with the market organisers. They allowed the researcher access to the marketplace to observe behaviours and practices. From a practical perspective the researcher positioned themselves behind one of the main participant's stalls – this stall acted as a hub for the market as this was also where the organisers would gather throughout the day to discuss how the market was progressing and they set this up as a make shift office at each market (to store leaflets and their personal belongings). This positioning also allowed the researcher access to the 'backstage' area of the stall – how it was set up and staged but also how consumers approached and interacted with the stall and participants. Throughout the afternoon of the market, the researcher would alter their position around the market to gain different perspectives of the day, but they would always return to the main area as a touchstone. As the time spent in the market progressed, participants would come and speak to the researcher or suggest people that would be interested in participating.

At the second market, Little Birds the researcher gained access through an introduction at the Granny Would be Proud market to the organiser, Louise. Having interviewed Louise, the researcher had asked whether it would be possible to carry out observation at her city centre market. The Little Birds market operated over two floors and in different rooms in 'Sloans' – with this in mind the researcher moved position more frequently to try and gain an understanding of the market practices. Having spent time at the market and the wider vintage scene, the researcher began to see the same people at the markets, one stallholder invited the researcher to sit at their stall and this again acted as a focal point for the researcher to operate from.

The final market Judy's Vintage Market was less frequent and the researcher gained access through email contact with the organisers and then after interviewing two members of the Judy's staff. The researcher observed the market from different vantage points – they positioned themselves at the door to watch the arrival, initial negotiations of the space and then departures from the venue. They also observed the wider market place scene from within the venue and the interactions, actions and practices carried out.

At all the markets the researcher took handwritten field notes that were as detailed as possible in situ – these were then after the market ended typed up and the researcher diary was also used at this point to reflect on the day's observations and interactions. This was done on the evening of the market day so as not to lose insights and observations that had occurred throughout the day.

4.8.3 Interviewing

Within qualitative research interviewing is one of the most prevalent sources of data. Interviewing provides the researcher with the opportunity to enter the other person's perspective (Patton, 2002). Johnson (2002: 106) proposes that in-depth interviewing allows for deep information and understanding. In addition Burgess (1982) comments that depth interviewing is flexible, but controlled. Building on Spradley's (1979) *The Ethnographic Interview*, which highlights the conversational structure of the 'speech event', Madden (2010: 67) suggests the ethnographic interview remains one of the most important ways of '*knowing others*'. Spradley's (1979) ethnographic interview explains that it should give the researcher insight into how the participant sees the world in analytical, typological, and relational ways, and should give a

glimpse into their world-view or '*Weltanschauung*.' A key focus of the ethnographic interview is on the use of non-directive questions. Using a semi-structured approach allows the researcher to adapt the questions to fit the respondent and allows them to probe issues that emerge further. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 113) suggest that these act as "*triggers that stimulate the interviewee into talking about a particularly broad area.*" In creating a more flexible interview approach it allows for the appreciation, as Denzin (1970: 125) explains that different people have a "*unique way of defining the world.*" By allowing freedom for a more conversational approach to the interviews it provides respondents with the freedom to discuss points that they feel are important, this could have added value for the data. The interview data supplements the observational data and provides practitioner perspectives on the actions and practices of 'doing vintage' in the marketplace. The individual actors are assumed to have different cultural interpretations (Miles and Huberman, 1994) within a '*shared social milieu*' (Perren and Ram, 2004: 90).

With the research study the main aim is to explore the internal reality of the vintage collective practitioner (Carson et al., 2001). The style of interview adopted for this study was of the depth interview (please refer to Appendix i for the sample depth interview with one of the key respondents Michael). As detailed above within the research study twenty five ethnographic interviews (McCracken, 1988b) were used to gain an emic perspective of vintage behaviours and practices through respondent's stories and descriptions of their own and others behaviour. The interview was planned so that it was, as natural and conversation like as possible although it is open to flexibility. The researcher ensured that time is taken at the start of the interview to ensure that respondents feel comfortable in the interview situation. Within the body

of the interview the questions were grouped around the research aim. Consideration was given to Krueger's (1998: 31) assertion that questions should be presented in an open manner, so that "*the answer is not implied, and the type and manner of response not suggested.*" The interview finishes with the researcher reflecting with the respondent on whether they are happy that they had felt their views are expressed adequately in the interview. The interviews were arranged at times that suited the respondent and take place in locations that are convenient for them – their homes or behind their market stalls. Due to the personal nature of the research all interviews were conducted in comfortable contexts, either in situ at the market or in practitioners' homes and stalls. This ensures that interviews were carried out in a familiar and comfortable environment. This also creates an observational opportunity of the material conditions of the respondent's homes. Discussions cover topics such as sourcing goods, the nature of vintage consumption, how value is ascribed and the collective practices around the vintage markets. Interviews lasted approximately one and a half hours and with the respondent's permission all were audio-recorded and later transcribed. All interviews were transcribed and annotated with initial impressions and observations noted to crystallise the main themes that emerge (Bryman and Bell, 2007). Interpretation and analysis involved multiple iterations of coding, with the researcher repeatedly returning to the multiple forms of data to refine thematic codes. In aiming for an understanding from the subjective point of view of the respondents, audio recording allowed for the natural language of the participants to be captured. Confidentiality was maintained throughout the research study. The audio-recordings were stored securely with password locked files. Respondent's names, addresses and other details are not disclosed and in accordance

with best practice pseudonyms are used in the thesis. The importance of transcription was considered as it allows the researcher to be extremely familiar with the data. In line with the tradition within consumer research brief extracts from the transcripts are utilised in the study to highlight themes and concepts.

The researcher also carried out thirty in situ, informal interviews in the marketplace. These are an attempt to get as “*experience near as possible*” (Geertz, 1973). These interviews took place in the marketplace and were performed without a list of questions but rather talking points that were informed from the observations carried out. Elliot and Jankel-Elliott (2003) argue that much of the richest data that could be captured with ethnography occurs from this informal talk between researcher and respondent. These interviews act as a way to capture natural insights and ‘*thick description*’ (Geertz, 1973) from practitioners whilst in the act of ‘doing vintage’. Conversation was natural and free flowing with the respondents talking points focused around what items they purchased and why, their experience of the markets and unpacking their practices around valuing vintage. These interviews also function as a method to gain insight into practices and thought processes that could be explored further in the in-depth interview setting. These interviews were recorded and transcribed in a similar fashion as to the in-depth interviews or when recording was not possible, the researcher took notes immediately after the interview of points raised.

4.8.4 Photographic Data

The visual elements of ethnography (video, photography and other forms of visual media) are being used increasingly in ethnography (Pink, 2007: 1). The importance

of visual ethnography is growing rapidly however it should be considered in line with the larger ethnographic process. Madden (2010: 106) explains that photographs could be used as a reference point or to add validity to descriptions but also to move the reader through the scene in a way that the textual representation sometimes fails to do. This view draws attention to the need to contextualise photographic data as part of the '*ethnographic toolkit*' (Madden, 2010: 109). Within the CCT tradition photographic data has been used to develop interpretations of behaviour including the temporal flow of events, culturally significant occurrences and human-object interactions (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994). Penaloza and Cayla (2006: 279) comment that ethnographic studies of visual images and material objects aid the researcher to "*draw meanings from the experiential and kinaesthetic aspects of consumption: people moving their bodies through consumption spaces.*" Belk (2013: 94) comments on the importance of the visual for the researcher: "*we are most apt to immediately apprehend our environment visually*". Penaloza and Cayla (2006: 284) add to this statement by arguing that as researchers, they study consumption venues and what consumers do in them. Using visual data allows the researcher to position consumers and their consumption behaviour within their social practices and spaces and allows the ethnographer to consider how they mediate these spaces. Arnould and Wallendorf (1994) establish that visual data could be useful in developing the interpretations of consumer behaviour including: the temporal flow of events, significant cultural occurrences and human-object relationships.

In this research study the photographic data is used in tandem with the observational field-notes as they both capture different aspects of the consumption phenomena (Penaloza and Cayla, 2006: 281). Photographs were taken in the marketplace using

both the researcher's DSLR camera and also their iPhone – permission from participants was sought in line with ethical approval from the University. In the markets, the iPhone camera allows less intrusion when taking images and is a way to capture in situ occurrences in the marketplace. Photographs are used to capture notions of space, staging, performance and to detail interactions. They are used to accompany the field notes and interview data. All images were saved digitally in a password-protected file and were coded along with the field notes. Using both field notes and visuals allows for the researcher to follow consumer representations at different moments in the '*circuit of culture*' (du Gay et al., 1997). With the researcher performing as 'bricoleur' and taking inspiration from Schroeder's (2002) '*image economy*', the photographs allow a focus on the modes of visual enactment of vintage.

4.8.5 Researcher Diary and Reflexivity

The concept of reflexivity of the researcher has emerged from sociology and ethnography. In considering the role of the researcher, positivists adopt the role of observer and do not influence the research subject; in contrast interpretivists interact with people and aim to gain an intimate familiarity with the subject (Brewer, 2000). Within this study, as an interpretive researcher, the researcher actively constructs interpretations of their experiences in the field. The context within which the practices or behaviours have taken place, are explained by the researcher to provide the reader with the associated meanings (Geertz, 1973). Baranov (2012: 164) proposes researchers adopt a position of "*reflective advocacy*". In keeping with the idea that research is an interpretive activity, it is important for the researcher to reflect on how the research is being carried out and also to allow an insight into how

the process of doing research could shape its outcomes (Hardy et al., 2001). Madden (2010: 136) asserts that all good ethnographic projects start with an embodied experience in the field and it is the subsequent recording of these experiences through field notes and other forms of data that are the beginning of all good ethnographic data sets. As noted by Lincoln and Guba (1985: 236) “*the instrument of choice in naturalistic inquiry is the human*”. Ozanne and Murray (1991) further suggest that the researcher should become an active agent in the process of constructing modes of living and being. As such, in a qualitative research study researchers bring in their inherent biases, which must be acknowledged and identified (Miles and Huberman, 1994). This is a recurrent theme throughout the CCT literature as Penaloza (2001:376) suggests that as an interpretive researcher, researchers should be aware of their role as “*a primary data collector and analyser.*” Coffey (1999) further asserts on the researcher role “*fieldwork is necessarily an embodied activity*” (1999: 59). He describes that the researcher must attempt to gain another’s habitus and train their bodies to fit into the field (Coffey, 1999:65). In this respect, it is important for the researcher to keep in mind the embodied history (Bourdieu, 1990) that they bring to the field and be reflexive of this in the research process. Madden (2010) builds on this suggestion as he articulates that good ethnographers use their whole body as an organic recording device. In this way a consideration by the researcher of their positioning of their self is necessary for the reader to understand how their personal position influences all stages of the research process. Gould (2006, 186) asserts “*we are all introspectors*”, in considering the introspective consciousness he further comments: “*we reflexively examine our own inner spaces to varying degrees and with varying sensitivities; that is, we engage in*

the practice of watching ourselves” (Gould, 2006: 186). Denzin and Lincoln (1999: 6) state that the interpretive bricoleur appreciates that research is an interactive process that is shaped by their own personal history, gender, biography, social class, race, as well as those in the subject setting. Throughout the research study the researcher kept a hand written researcher diary - this allowed the researcher to explore their feelings and impressions whilst carrying out the study. It was a place of sensemaking and recording of feelings and ideas throughout the research process (from initial concerns and nerves at being a ‘researcher’ presence in the field, to negotiating boundaries with respondents) it was used throughout marketplace research activity such as with the observations and interviews but also as a space to explore feelings and reflections about the research process more generally over the two years (on average it was annotated once a week on a Sunday evening, every week over the two years of the study – with differing lengths of entries but on average, at least a page long). The diary was especially used in the observations, as a space away from the field notes to explore personal reflections, ideas, and tensions in carrying out the field research. It explored issues such as the balance between being a researcher and a part of the collective and the personal experiences of the fieldwork journey such as making friends, the serendipity moments and the physicality of the process (such as nerves, tiredness and feelings of anxiety over the project). It was also a useful tool, to allow the researcher to express their personal feelings (stressed, distant, excited, nervous) and acted as a way on reflection to bring the field notes more alive in the analysis stage (the field notes were referenced against the diary to gain a more holistic perspective). Overall a researcher diary was used to consider the reflexive aspects of the lived experience of meaning in motion in the

marketplace. Emmerson et al. (1995) highlights that reactivity is important in the research process and that the ethnographer must be aware and perceptive of how they are treated and seen by others. A researcher diary allows the researcher to be aware and explicit about:

“...their own epistemological position, thoughts and feelings about how the research is progressing, exploring how we experienced the research situation as a social encounter and what influence that had on the interpretations produced” (Nadin and Cassell, 2006: 215).

Discussion of the ‘ethnographic self’ (Coffey, 1999) highlights the importance of discussing the researcher in the ethnographic process. Landen (2011) stresses the importance of ‘*the researcher self*’ in relation to ethnographic research as a point of identification. She argues that the researcher is often viewed as the main instrument in ethnographic research and that as a result an analysis of what the researcher brings to the research is necessary. Geertz (1988:144) has long questioned the “*very possibility of unconditioned description*” and Landen (2011) builds upon this and places the researcher within the field of study and calls for the constant querying of the status of the researcher ‘self’. Wallendorf and Brucks (1993) refer to this as “*reflexivity within research*” and they highlighted the importance of acknowledging the researcher in the writing and analysing process of consumer research.

Elliot and Jankel-Elliott (2003: 219) suggest that the researcher’s diary should be linked to the field notes taken to explore this ‘researcher self’ but that it could serve as a useful record of the cognitive and emotional experience of fieldwork. It is with this in mind that the researcher used a diary. In this study the diary is utilised as a

tool for the researcher to capture their own feelings and experiences in the field (becoming immersed in the collective brought with it personal experiences of becoming close with respondents, of having trouble accessing desired sites or managing respondents – overall the human elements of observing and interacting with research respondents). In this way it is intentionally designed for an audience but as a safe tool to explore their experience as an ethnographer and researcher in practice.

4.9 Overview of Data Analysis

With regards to data analysis, the process is referred to by Klag and Langley (2013:150) as, “*the conceptual leap in qualitative research*” and that this analytical process involves both ‘seeing’ and ‘articulating’. Both of these are intertwined in reality as ‘seeing’ refers to making sense of the social world in a new way and ‘articulating’ suggests how this new understanding is represented. With the wider process of analysis, Madden (2010) describes moving from interpretation to story in the writing ‘up’ of ethnography. Clifford (1986) asserts: “*the making of ethnography is artisanal, tied to the worldly work of writing.*” This highlights that in translating the reality of others, researchers need to be aware that in their writing they are writing within and against specific traditions, disciplines and audiences and will employ expressive conventions.

In practical terms the ethnographic data analysis process can be divided into two stages (Jones and Watt, 2010: 159): stage one involves ordering, collating and managing data in a way that makes analysis possible and stage two involves the actual data analysis. For many ethnographers any form of system for data analysis

goes against the interpretivist values of ethnography (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). However such an argument ignores the reality of the research process in which the ethnographer is continually editing and managing both consciously and unconsciously what they are recording in the field. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 203) provide a strong critique on the limitations of using software in data analysis:

“...we must recognise that they only provide adjuncts to the sociological or anthropological imagination. They certainly do not provide ‘automatic’ solutions to problems of representation and analysis. Understanding and interpretation are the outcome of interactions between ethnographer and the data, which are themselves constructs. There are no mechanic substitutes for those complex processes of reading and interpretation.”

This statement highlights that the key skills required for the analysis of ethnographic data are reading, interpretation and reflection (Geertz, 1984) and for these tasks the computer package may aid the storing and organisation of the data but not the process itself. For this reason the data analysis was approached manually with highlighters, post it notes and file cards. In practical terms, once the data is organised, analysed and interpreted, the researcher begins to shift from an analytical role to an interpretive role. Organising the ethnographic field notes is the starting point for the first step in the analysis process of the ethnographic data. The field notes are indexed and coded to identify themes in the notes that relate back to the outlined research aim and objectives. These identified themes are saved electronically in password-protected files. Madden (2010: 141) describes coding field notes is about indexing what happened in the field and what this might mean for the questions that the researcher may want to ask. Miles and Huberman (1994: 12)

highlight the active nature of the analysis process: “*qualitative data analysis is a continuous, iterative enterprise.*” Ethnographic analysis they argue is descriptive and should be tasked with “*uncovering*” and “*explicating*” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 12). From the transcripts from the interviews first order codes were used that were relevant to the research study aims and objectives. These codes were assigned a particular colour and these were used to gauge an initial understanding of patterns and relationships between themes. These were then coded again with second and third order themes, in this way it was a holistic process that evolved over the time of the analytic and interpretive phase of the project. The visual materials collected were indexed alongside the field notes into themes. Images that were relevant to more than one theme were saved in more than one thematic folder. The visual data was treated similarly to the field notes in that they were broken down into thematic pieces that were used to display the frequency that certain themes appeared in the data and the relationships between themes. Madden (2010: 140) highlights the data has already been ‘partially cooked’ by the choices that the ethnographer makes during the primary inscription process and this framing becomes more evident in the themes that emerge from the field notes. The importance of critical reflexivity is again highlighted during this process of analysis.

4.10 Methodological Limitations

The limitations of the research approach taken will now be considered along with the researcher’s response to the identified challenges. A practical limitation that is identified and is reflective of the nature of the qualitative tradition is the time commitment required in both data collection and the interpretation stage. Due to this time commitment, only three sample pop-up markets are used and as small samples

of participants are employed, issues of reliability and generalizability could be common. Transferability is highlighted by Guba and Lincoln (1998), as to how insights from the data could be applicable in other contexts or populations.

Ethical considerations are crucial throughout the study and the close relationship between participants and researcher are recognised. Wallendorf and Belk (1989) suggest that problems of integrity could arise due to problems between the researcher and the informant. To limit this, the researcher places an emphasis on creating a good rapport and building trust with respondents. The subjectivity of the researcher is also important and continually acknowledged in the data collection and the subsequent analysis and 'write up'.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the researcher's methodological approach to the research study. This chapter has situated the research within the interpretive ontology that compliments the CCT focus of the experiential and socio-cultural dimensions of consumption. This chapter has defined the research aims as focusing on the exploration of practices, spaces and socialites of vintage consumption. This study adopts an interpretive approach and searches for understanding. It is based on gaining an understanding into the practices of the vintage collective rather than generating universal laws of prediction. The qualitative tradition has been explored in line with the aims of the study and considered that this was in keeping with the theoretical tradition. The chapter has also outlined the research design of the study. The research framework has been discussed in conjunction with the research aim and

the analysis of the ethnographic data highlighted. Finally the assumptions, limitations and practices that this study has adopted have been explored.

Chapter 5: Findings – The Practice, The Space and The Socialities

5.1 Introduction

“The market is this strange place. It emerges and fades. It started me questioning what people gained from this kind of space rather than a normal shop experience? What is it about the pop-up markets that are different and exciting? Which in turn makes me question what it is about the market I enjoy, which I suppose is returning to the initial curiosity I had in the field. It is different, it is cool and quirky. Firstly I like that people talk to you. It feels more personal. People know where to buy interesting things, unusual vintage finds and generally they share stuff with you. You get to have interesting chats about design and art and fashion. It seems more alive somehow. I like that when you walk down the street and you see someone from the market they say hello or at least smile. It feels like you get to know the city you live in, in a different way.” (Researcher diary, May 18th 2013)

This personal reflection begins the findings chapter as it starts to tease out the researchers own bond with the marketplace and the collective. As a reflective starting point the researcher diary was approached as a sense making tool to parallel the field notes, but this narrative highlights the undercurrent of the market being emergent and a different way to consume and questions the turn to this marketplace. Further the notion of accessing a different form of community in the city than had been accessed before, one that was grounded in the ‘unusual,’ in art and fashion, became apparent. And finally the social element, that it is personal and bonds are built with sellers. As an ethnographic study over two years, the time spent in the markets involved

questioning and problematising the practices that the researcher and the collective took for granted in their market interactions of vintage as both consumers and sellers. The findings chapter starts the journey in discussing the practices of vintage and of the market, before moving onto the spaces of consumption and practice, before ending the chapter with an exploration of the socialities of vintage.

5.2 The Practice

5.2.1 The Practice: The Role of the Practitioner

The researcher first met Elena at her vintage market when it had just started in the city. Elena and her husband Adam were a young couple living in Glasgow and they have organised one of the cities longest running vintage markets, *Granny Would be Proud*. Elena originally ran the markets - she was working in hospitality and noticed that the hotel she worked in was usually empty on a Sunday afternoon. She explains that she has always been interested in vintage or second-hand. Originally from France, Elena has moved around the UK and explains that she likes Glasgow because it is 'creative' and there is always something new happening. She describes that she has never been into mainstream fashion but that she has always preferred searching something more unusual. She talks of going to club nights and making an effort with her clothes and styling - victory rolls and sixties eye makeup - but she says now that she has had a baby, she is more laidback about it. She spends a lot of time on Facebook building up the community and starting discussions. She does not have a personal Facebook profile and therefore does not distinguish between her personal life and market persona as '*Granny Elena*.' Adam and Elena have been together for three years - they are recently married and have a young daughter. Adam has an

interest in marketing and had worked in market research as a student. He started to work more in the organisation of the markets over the two years of the research study. He took over the design aspect of the flyers and e-promotions. He also works in different part time jobs to bring in another income. Born in the North of England, Adam spoke of 'thrifty behaviour' being a family trait and had always been taught to go to jumble sales and charity shops, rather than shopping on the high street. They highlight their interest in vintage:

Elena: "For us, it is a style and lifestyle more specifically. With our home and our clothes, I always prefer to buy vintage or second-hand, I go to car boot sales most weeks and it is an outing for everyone. There is always something happening and it feels more like an achievement than a store purchase. Vintage for me - I love it. I used to be head-to-toe and I think people expect that at the market, but now for me it is about the finding and bringing alive a special piece."

For Elena, it is the practice of finding that she enjoys whereas for Adam vintage is a way for him to construct a way of dressing that highlights his knowledge and individuality and resistance to the broader culture at work.

Adam: "...it frustrates me when you see everyone trying to do vintage. We try to be quite picky with our sellers, but the emphasis is on it being different. I have always shopped that way and wanted to get more unusual pieces that are like a little bit of history and are much more me than Topman or something. My style isn't wacky or anything but I like the quality and look that I can put together..."

For Adam the market becomes a limitless place of possibilities of performance. For both, the vintage markets become a space to practice understandings and

appreciating potential value. This raises the initial question as to how value is attached to objects that are constantly moving 'in' and 'out' of the marketplace? As Parsons (2008:392) argues "*the transition from thing of little or no value (rubbish), to thing (durable) can result from a relatively minor shift in the way we see something.*" As described by Elena, this aesthetic appreciation moves objects forward in the marketplace, imbuing them with new value. This builds on Gregson and Crewe (2002: 146) who stress:

"The commodification of goods bought for consumption need not be terminal – the cultural and economic longevity of a commodity's life can be infinite, value can lie dormant, meaning can be hidden from view, awaiting rediscovery."

In the markets vintage, by its very character is seen to be active and in practice a fluid construct that is open to interpretation by practitioners (Osterlund and Carlile, 2005; Cova and Dalli, 2009; Kotler, 1986; Zwick et al. 2008; Humphreys and Grayson, 2008; Ritzer, 2010; Shove and Pantzar, 2005). This leads to a questioning of how those inside the marketplace know what will be valuable? As an entity, vintage is seen to require the skills of practitioners to materialise it into action in the marketplace:

"...for some people it is just junk, something that they would throw away or would walk past or dismiss, for me it is like these special little moments when I find something vintage that I maybe haven't seen before, or I've been looking for or that I love the pattern on, it is like the dress might be displayed nicely and it catches my eye or it might be that I just see the pattern of the sleeve sticking out of a box, just something about it peaks my interest and it is so much more exciting

than just going into a store and handing over money. It feels a bit like giving a dress another chance at a life and I love that about vintage.” (Elena)

As Elena highlights the nature of vintage is fluid and without the necessary understanding as a marketplace practitioner, the potential value of the object is not seen and may easily be missed if it is not stabilised. It becomes an act of taste (Hennion, 2004; Arsel and Bean, 2013) and embodied capital (Bourdieu, 1984). In this way practitioners are seen to make temporal sense of objects and adopt carefully played roles in the market in “*re-enchanting objects*” with new lives (Parsons, 2006: 189). To address the research objective fully of how new forms of value are created through practice, firstly the role of the practitioner must be addressed. In the discussion of the marketplace both consumers and sellers are seen as practitioners in action. In this study they will be referred to as ‘practitioners’ as both roles were seen to be adopted and enacted at certain points in time. Vintage is viewed as a form of practitioner interaction and through this practice value is created from the “*rediscovery*” and competence of practitioners such as Elena and Adam. This compliments Sherry’s (1990a) original work on flea markets whereby searching and examining were key activities.

The marketplace becomes a place for these active discovery practices and also for roles to be interchanged as necessary. The cyclical nature of the marketplace and the fluidity of boundaries are clearly highlighted in the data: consumers’ spoke of selling and sellers spoke of consuming. Sellers also depict consuming for pleasure without the intention of selling items on. This constant intersecting and interchanging of the role of the consumer in the marketplace is best represented when Sarah spoke of this fluidity so that she can move the object forward:

“I will find something vintage like a seventies leather jacket and I might love it for a while, like I will wear it to death for a couple of months. Then I get sick of the sight of it, so I will sell it again, I will probably take a stall at one of the markets...some people say it is like recycling or something, I like that I can just keep stuff moving, it keeps it all fresh.” (Sarah)

This adoption of the role of seller when convenient for the consumer illustrates the ephemeral boundaries of the marketplace and the unsentimental way in which objects are considered. The roles and the object's value are not fixed or constrained and interest in the vintage scene and knowledge of the marketplace is seen as legitimacy as a practitioner. As Sarah outlines, sellers translate objects from one context to the next and success in the marketplace is reliant on the development and display of knowledge of the market, consumer desire and discernment for the potential of objects. The activity of vintage is reliant on this enacted knowledge to access what Campbell (1987) calls the *“unknown object of desire.”* In the vintage scene, practitioners function as actors in the meaning-making process and in the creation of value. By playing this active dynamic role, practitioners take on the role of *‘working consumers’* (Cova and Dalli, 2009). In this working consumer framework, individuals become key in the practice of value creation, as Gillian highlights:

“I will find something at a car boot or a charity shop and I will know that if I style right and dress it up on the stall, it will become vintage and wanted. Or I will find something and see a bit of magic in it, I might keep it for a while, even a few years until I think the market is ready for it, it is a judgement call... Sometimes you have to use the eye that you develop to help others see the potential.”(Gillian)

Gillian's comments highlight the 'magic' around vintage, that it is created, staged and manifested by her practice, judgement and skill. She expresses "*it will become vintage*" and thus shows the active socially agentic nature of the practice of vintage. She speaks of a transformation and enactment for an 'imagined' consumer, which through the knowledge that she possesses as a practitioner in the marketplace, changes an object from second-hand to the elevated status of vintage. She was able "*to read economic value*" into the object to facilitate this transformation (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2009: 308). In this active role she employs her cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) to add value to the vintage object. This notion was further expressed by Gillian, that any object has potential value and meaning with age, creates the role of investor for the practitioner in that they are able to buy with a view to what will be collectable in the future. Storing clothes and objects 'to age' calls to mind practices of wine collecting and valorises contemporary objects as potential sources of value and exclusivity, once they have aged. This dynamic role also illustrates the underlying mobility of the objects and the transience of the marketplace. Jessica spoke of the practice of mobilising objects when she wants to access the capital in them:

"If I need extra cash or something then the things I no longer wear become something to earn money out of. It is not something I do often, maybe once or twice a year...there are some things I would never sell, but overall I like to think that they will find a better home."(Jessica)

Jessica is in her early thirties and recently married. She works in creative design for a website company. She has been shopping vintage and second-hand since she moved to the city to attend University. She goes along to all of the Glasgow markets

regularly to pick up homeware pieces (furniture and glasses particularly) and to look for fashion treasures. She normally attends the markets by herself and explains that she prefers to shop alone and have a chance to have a conversation with the stallholders. She spoke of her 'Sunday routine' – she goes for coffee with her book in the morning and then visits the markets not long after they have opened at 12 o'clock, she arranges to meet friends for coffee at two o'clock and depending on what she has seen she sometimes pops back into the market on her way home. She spoke of attending the markets in familiar terms as if it habit and routine for her. She explains that she has sold at the markets when she has cleared out a few times but prefers to be a consumer rather than a seller. She spoke of her mum being passionate about antiques when she was growing up and she said that this has influenced her style. She is open to all styles but has particularly focused on the 1940s look in the past, as she believes that this suits her shape. Jessica's assertion above highlights that there are some pieces that she treasures but that she is able to see other objects in a different frame, as potential stock (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2009). This change in how objects are viewed (worn, adored item - changing to a piece to be sold and money to be reinvested) speaks of a shift in the viewing of objects (Slater, 2014). Treated without reverence or sentimentality, wardrobes are seen as stockpiles that are waiting to be capitalised on. In this way, objects are materialised into a key piece for a fleeting moment in time before the practitioner moves on (with their tastes, attachments, enjoyment of the object) and sets in motion the object again for its next life cycle. This transient life of objects is best highlighted by, vintage jewellery seller, Annie:

“The main thing as a seller that I consider is ‘where to store my vintage items’, it is much less about the capital tied up in them, that isn’t so much of an issue for me, it is more the question of where do I practically store things? If I had unlimited space I would be able to buy more and also to hang on to things much longer, quite often I will sell something because I think ‘oh that is just taking up space.’ The lack of storage almost forces me to part with things that I would maybe have hung on to longer. But I know most sellers have the same issue unless they have retail store and storage rooms. (Annie)

Annie articulates that the space ‘forces’ her to mobilise objects at a moment in time as she is constrained by what she can store, without this constraint she would mobilise fewer objects potentially. In the marketplace, this judgment of the seller as to which objects to mobilise and when, is adopted when deemed necessary: whether it be economic to mobilise capital tied up in the objects, a lack space issue for storage as mentioned by Annie or to aid the purchasing of another object. In this way the marketplace can be seen to shift to meet the needs of the practitioner and the marketplace becomes a space to nurture proactive practitioners. Conceptualising both sellers and consumers as practitioners further builds on the earlier discussion in Chapter Two of the changing role of consumers and the evolution of the consumer-producer relationship: of Campbell’s ‘*craft consumer*’, the shift to ‘*prosumers*’ (Kotler, 1986; Zwick et al. 2008; Humphreys and Grayson, 2008; Ritzer, 2010) and Cova and Dalli’s (2009) “*working consumers*”. In turning to a practice perspective (Arsel and Bean, 2013; Warde, 2005; Shove and Pantzar, 2005) practitioners are shown to fully participate in new forms of value creation as new forms of value are created through their competence.

5.2.2 The Practice: Conceptualising Vintage

By its very nature vintage is a finite resource and this has implications for the object's perceived value from the outset. Although possibly once mass-produced, the objects have outlasted their counterparts and re-entered the market. Described by practitioners in the marketplace as 'vintage', 'second-hand', 'pre-loved', 'pre-owned', there is a plethora of ways in which stallholders describe the selling of objects that have been removed from the consumption sphere and reintroduced in the vintage marketplace. This conscious use of certain terms over others suggests associations about how best to position their objects in the marketplace to create value.

One tension that became prominent in the data early on in the study is the notion of what constitutes 'vintage', as it exists without clear definition and intangible by nature, from the observations a practical acknowledgement of the characteristics of vintage is prevalent in the market. Unlike with antiques, no accepted definition is at work in the marketplace. The shared collective acknowledgement of the perimeters and accepted understandings of vintage elevates goods from simply second-hand to cherished vintage objects. The wisdom of the collective in denoting vintage was found to be an important theme that ran through the research. This tension is further problematised in a conversation as Elena and Adam discuss what they consider the differences between vintage and second-hand to be in the marketplace:

Researcher: Can you tell me about your understanding of 'vintage' and 'second-hand'?

Elena: "I think second-hand nowadays – what we call second-hand is the new clothes that you can buy from the shops – like Marks and Spencer – you know the High Street shops – and then you know they are handed into charity shops. Vintage, I think is something that was made in the 1920s, 40s, 50s, and you know is original from that era. Whereas what is second-hand is basically just made in our day and then just passed on – do you know what I mean? I think that's second-hand."

Adam: "What I think is it depends who you are speaking to – last year, we were sat down and talking about it – and a lot of the things that we consider vintage are becoming – or perhaps where we are now with it – they're gradually becoming antique - so the things that we are looking at now from our grandparents' time – some of them we might call vintage - a lot of them are now becoming antique. They are coming out of that 30 or 40 years contemporary-ness and coming up to 100 or 150 years old - so they are becoming more antique so the price – the value of them is going up – but as we are coming out of this – I notice this with other kids from the 90s - the dress is very 80s but if you think what was around in the 80s it was very disposable. Especially in the markets it's becoming, the price is going up of things because the stuff that people really want from the 40s, 50s and 60s and 70s is becoming more rare – so as it goes up it's becoming antique as it becomes available – and you've got a lot of stuff from the 80s that's a lot less - you know there's a lot less of it... "

In this conversation, Elena and Adam begin to highlight the slipperiness of vintage as term. Here they identify their tacit knowledge (Entwistle, 2009) as practitioners of the marketplace and unable to fully agree on definitions of vintage and second-hand, they highlight the fluidity and episodic nature of the marketplace. Without precise

definition, the concept continually lacks an anchor to stabilise objects in the market in the same manner as with antiques. In this way the label ‘vintage’ is found to be multifaceted and problematic, carrying with it a feeling of ambiguity; expressed oftentimes as a form of uncertainty and hesitancy (Goffman, 1986a: 302). These forms of ambiguity are often made explicit through the lack of consensus in the collective regarding the time periods necessary to constitute ‘second-hand’, ‘retro’, ‘vintage’ and ‘antique’ (Slater, 2014). The collective acknowledgment of ‘vintage’ is continually questioned and made explicit:

“I’m not sure how I feel about tie-dye, I mean I know it is a 70s thing but I am not sure that it counts as vintage. I mean I think most people in the market think that it is cute but I don’t think they see the point in it really or that it is truly vintage.” (Adam)

These tensions and dilemmas in the marketplace of what is suitably ‘vintage’ emerge, as Adam articulates an anxiety regarding the collective judgement and their appropriateness of being deemed vintage. This highlights that the practice is questioned and produces an anxiety over the use of the definition of vintage. In this sense, vintage in the market is fluid and open to interpretation by the collective:

“Vintage means like something from yesteryear. Like something that’s got a bit of history. It doesn’t mean defined by time as such because in terms of like fashion nothing is new – everything is evolving – so I would say that something that is older than today’s look would be described as vintage.” (Melanie)

Unlike Adam who prizes the age of an object as a qualifier of vintage, Melanie highlights the fluidity of vintage. Again separated from antique with its expensive price tags, vintage appears to be defined by its affordability and openness. With links

to fashion and the trends that follow this, vintage is treated as less precious, more accessible and is seen as more ephemeral in its existence. Without the aged crowd as seen in antiques markets or the bargain hunters of the jumble sale, vintage exists in a liminal moment – both created and critiqued for its link to fashion. When asked what makes something ‘vintage’, all participants found it hard to qualify or even quantify. For Cherry: *“it is about desirability, if the piece is current or unusual then it becomes more than just second-hand.”* However, becoming more than second-hand was not easy for an object; systems of value had to be at work for an object to be deemed ‘vintage’; or as Carrie explains: *“it must have something special about it, it is more than just old, it is the quality, cut, the design”*. Whilst for Ben quality became a byword for style: *“it has to be about the quality but also whether it is wearable and can be mixed up to look modern again.”* This collective negotiation of vintage depicts practices of value creation and Othering within the consumption group, as the collective share practices and values including the discourses employed to make sense of the vintage world.

As explored in the literature of Chapter Three, practice theory contributes to CCT studies as it focuses research on the performative processes of social life, which involve consumption activities, whilst at the same time not lessening the emphasis on cultural conditioning. Practices are formed as the resources of consumers interlink with different contextual elements (Reckwitz, 2002) and practices are conceptualised as ‘doings’ rather than cognitions or emotions. One of the most experienced practitioners of the ‘doing’ of vintage is Alice. She owns a vintage shop in Glasgow’s west end, just off the busy main street of Byres Road - down a small cobbled lane, Ruthven Lane, where there are several other independent shops. She

has been trading in second-hand goods for over thirty years. Her shop in Ruthven Lane has been there for thirteen years. She knows the owners of the other stores that are also 'down the lane'. Her shop focuses on more modern pieces that are two or three seasons old but they are all second-hand, either sourced by Alice herself from charity shops, jumble sales, car boot sales or she sells clothes on behalf of people and takes a fifty percent cut. Both she and her husband, Bob, work in the shop. She works in the shop two days a week and at other times she is sourcing stock. All other staff in the shop are friends or family members, including her mother. Alice is in her early forties and she is married with two teenage children. She explains that she has always been interested in 'stuff' and spent her youth collecting and selling at markets and jumble sales around Glasgow (including many years selling at Paddy's Market). She started selling at a weekly market in Glasgow and then moved into a more permanent market fixture before moving to a retail presence. She explains that she used to focus exclusively on vintage pieces from the 1940s, 50s and 60s but has found it harder and harder to source stock and eventually she noticed a gap in the market for selling more recent fashion pieces second-hand. She explains that she constantly struggles with questioning over whether what she does is suitably 'vintage'. She visits all of the markets frequently as she is keen to keep up with trends and the researcher meets her often at Granny Would be Proud where she was frequently buying.

Figure 2 - Alice's store: photograph by researcher May 12th 2012



“People come into my shop and go ‘this isn’t vintage’ and I’m like ‘I’m not saying I’m vintage, I’m not vintage.’ I changed years and years ago, I stopped upselling properly old things like 1950s prom dresses because it got harder and harder to find. I would now say that I do second-hand and a bit of vintage but people get confused about the labels and what I do. I suppose as well people want to be able to say that an item is ‘vintage’ because that is what is cool.” (Alice)

The vintage context illuminates that object lives consist of moments of use and disuse and are transformed by practitioners’ understandings of vintage such as Alice. Understanding this mediation of knowledge around the definition of vintage is captured with reference to Bourdieu’s (1984, 1985) notion of cultural capital. This tension surrounding the interpretation of ‘vintage’ is present for all and is further articulated by another seller Michael:

“My definition of vintage is something that is actually of the era that it is from, aged in a certain way. Retro is a copy of a vintage look, when I am selling I am very careful to define the two and make sure people understand the difference and what they are buying. I can’t tell you the number of times in the market that I have had people in saying, ‘I bought this pair of vintage glasses on eBay, what do you think of

them, can you put lenses in them,' and I look at them and they are some £2.99 frame from China or a copy which Topshop would sell for £12 or something and you don't know how to tell them that it is not a vintage frame, people are protective of their purchases, so you can't really contradict people but at the end of the day, I find that annoying when you sell the real thing, it is stopping trade and devaluing what I do."(Michael)

Practitioners mention the discussion over the semantics frequently as they are deliberate in how they describe their business and whether it is 'vintage' or 'second-hand.' Michael highlights seller frustrations around misunderstandings of 'vintage' in the market. When discussing the construct of value further in the vintage marketplace, Michael suggests that vintage is fundamentally elusive:

"I've stopped so much valuing them (glasses) on the age of them, it is not like antique value, it is not that, it is intrinsic, the quality, rarity and the look of them...it is the how unique or individual they are...how irreplaceable they are."(Michael)

Michael's excerpt demonstrates that vintage far from being a fixed construct is open to active negotiation based on skill and knowledge practices. In this way value can be seen as an embodiment of capital (Bourdieu, 1984). In considering the vintage context this notion suggests that stallholders act as 'gate keepers' regarding which objects will merit another consumption cycle. This practice of finding and bringing to market is significant in that value must be seen in the object that others have discarded and further practitioners act as 'taste-shapers:' bringing a range of objects back to market. The seller functions as mediator and must also know that this value that they see in the object will translate to the market and the object will be

‘saleable’. In this way through practice, ‘gate keepers’ are created in the marketplace: a judgement is made on the potential value of the object and a decision made on whether it would be desired in the marketplace.

As Sheila further explains:

“It is strange that people say that I have a vintage shop, I know I do, but I never called it vintage then, vintage was a word that wasn’t used maybe apart from you would say ‘a vintage car’ or a ‘vintage Chanel dress’, do you understand? But vintage wasn’t, just wasn’t in my vocabulary, the people that I knew, vintage the word wasn’t used.” (Sheila)

Sheila’s discussion of vintage conveys the tension in the construct of ‘vintage’. She believes that vintage is a new construct that had previously only been used to articulate the rarity of an object; in this way the semantics can be seen to have shifted in the marketplace from second-hand to vintage.

Alice, Michael and Sheila are all seasoned practitioners (both as sellers and as consumers) and their comments articulate that vintage has a fluidity attached to it as a construct and that it is ambiguous by nature, in this way the label of vintage acts like an added value or functions as a brand name in the marketplace. Practitioners adopt the role of active culture creators through their use of brand ‘vintage’. This aesthetic merit and knowledge of the marketplace elevates goods from merely second-hand to the added value of ‘vintage’ and through this discourse, objects are labelled or badged with value. For sellers, vintage acts as a label that allows marketplace categorisation and realisation of value to occur in the marketplace for economic gain or could be argued to create a commercially mediated marketplace

myth (Arsel and Thompson, 2011). It also orientates the objects and roots them within a marketplace discourse that is accessible to consumers. Eckhardt and Bengtsson (2010) describe brands as important agents in marketplace interactions, which further develop Holt's (2002) argument of brands providing heuristic shortcuts for consumers in contemporary culture. Jessica explains the essence of vintage:

"...To me it becomes like a label in itself, someone decided that item was more than second-hand, it was deemed 'vintage'. That then gives it with more value and you pay more for it." (Jessica)

This active practice of labelling an object as 'vintage' is a dual process in which the consumer expectation of what was classified, as 'vintage' has to marry with the seller expectation of 'vintage' and in this way the market is in a constant process of negotiation. This use of brand vintage highlights that as a construct it is fluid and created in the marketplace to enable second-hand objects to be re-invigorated for market re-entry. This use of marketing branding practice is almost contradictory to the marketplace myth (Thompson, 2004; Arsel and Thompson, 2011) propelled by participants of wanting to consume differently from the mainstream. As Jessica comments:

"Vintage has kind of created like a reverse label, where not having a label is more attractive than having labels." (Jessica)

Jessica's insights suggest that vintage acts like an overarching brand name - the objects have been removed from the marketplace first cycle and their original markers and labels are no longer signifiers in this next consumption cycle: these are subsumed by the 'badging' of vintage (Duffy and Hewer, 2013). This creates a

marketplace in which practitioners are attempting to distance and distinguish themselves through their consumption practices, but operate in a marketplace in practice that replicates branding discourses of the mainstream culture. It is through this ambiguity between the commercial mainstream and the discourse of alternative consumption that vintage is culturally produced and replicated. This active role required of the vintage practice will be unpacked in the next section before exploring the competence needed as a practitioner to participate.

5.2.3 The Practice: The Knowledgeable Practitioner

“...It is almost like the process of walking into a shop and buying a vintage inspired design in Topshop or Urban Outfitters defeats the point. The people at the markets want to have that story of a ‘find’ and of being different in how they came across the object.” (Researcher diary, Little Birds Market, March 4th 2012)

The act of vintage and ‘being different’ is tied to the physical activities such as finding, examining, evaluating, haggling, socialising and interacting observed in the marketplaces. This talent for spotting potential treasures is heralded as a venerated skill in the collective. Vintage dressing is seen to encapsulate mixing vintage items with new, accessorising from a variety of styles and periods, using *knowledge in practice* to enact these style preferences. The markets provide a space for the exchange of advice and encouragement, but also of aesthetic and tacit knowledge, along with the trading of hints and tips and the prediction and enforcement the vintage aesthetic. In the vintage marketplace there is a cache and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984, 1985; Rafferty, 2009, 2011) at work in being able to uncover hidden ‘treasures’ that differ from the mass production approach of the high street.

Practitioners pride themselves on knowing the markets, but this leads to a questioning of what sort of knowledge they have and how it is materialised in practice?

From the observations of the sellers in the marketplace, the undertaking of their business involves ‘hanging out’ in the market and a deep absorption within the scene. Much of the knowledge distributed (Entwistle and Slater, 2014; Araujo et al., 2010; Slater, 2002a) in the collective is therefore dependent upon ‘being there’, within the face-to-face interactions of the marketplace. As Crewe and Gregson assert regarding car boot sales, “*Vendors are also buyers, and buyers in turn are also browsers, sightseers, momentary tourists*” (Crewe and Gregson, 1998: 50). Such knowledge needed to navigate the site is in turn integrated as second nature into their practices and performances; as Jackie comments:

“It is an ability. I don’t know whether it is because you look at textures, at the stitching, it just sticks out like a beacon. You are always looking for quality. Secondly I will always look at the label and then I will always look at the decade, for me something has to scream decade: it will have to make a statement for instance to say, this is the 80s, the 70s or else it will have to be quirky or else it will have to be totally current.”(Jackie)

Here Jackie, a vintage storeowner in her forties demonstrates her affiliation with vintage clothing and establishes the practiced skills essential to the art of selling within this marketplace. She runs a vintage store in the west end of the city on the busy Byres Road. She is petite and professional to meet in person. She runs numerous businesses across the city. She has been involved in the textile industry for

more than twenty years and prior to opening the store she had been selling vintage as wholesale. She explains that her mother had been into fashion in the sixties and that she has always had an eye for details and quality. For Jackie the appeal of vintage resides in the quality and cut of the fabric. She explains that as she is so petite in frame, vintage silhouettes work well on her. She spoke of her particular draw to 1960s two-piece suits and Grace Kelly inspired fitted dresses. She attends the markets to pick up pieces for herself and also to 'see what people are doing out there.' Jackie's store is updated daily with new items and they operate on selling pieces at affordable prices and selling in quantity.

For Jackie calculation (Slater, 2002a) may be at work in vintage; but equally passion and knowledge are two essential factors for this process to succeed. As she articulates, knowledge and skill have to be developed in the marketplace, although happenstance and serendipity sometimes play important roles: in this way vintage remains a labour to be practiced and accrued over a lifetime. Building on Callon's (1998a) proposal that markets are composed of a range of practices that are the result of different forms of expertise and material objects, although on the surface these practices appear like 'gut instinct.' As Schau et al. (2009:27) suggest: "*practices have a common anatomy and varied physiology evincing discursive knowledge, explicit procedures for doing; know-how and tacit elements, taken for granted knowledge of worthy projects; and affective commitments to brand-centred practices.*" Throughout the research practitioners spoke of learning and spending time developing these understandings of the value, knowledge and use of objects. One noted way through which they explain this learning about goods, is from their

upbringing, of family practices of searching for items and of older objects being prized:

“My Mum likes going into antique stores, second-hand stores – and I think that’s been instilled in me since childhood. In that way it is more like a value that I have been passed on about seeing the merit in older things - that not everything has to be new and shiny. She would see a beauty in something even if it was torn or too big and knew that she would be able to make it work. Now I suppose that is just my style.” (Michelle)

“My mum has quite a lot of sort of old fashioned, not necessarily old-fashioned style but an old fashioned approach. I would say that was especially true with furniture as she is all about the quality of older pieces. I spent a lot of time when I was younger with her going to look at pieces in old dusty antiques places and she would inspect them and feel the grain of the wood and smell it – it was all really tactile. Which when I was a kid was really dull and awkward at times [laughs] but I now do the same, especially with old leather chairs.” (Jen)

“I can tell you how I got into it, if that helps you, so when I was a wee girl what I liked was stuff. From a very young child, from a very early age, I am talking about the ages of 3, 4 and 5, going to my Gran and Granddad’s, and my Gran liked stuff. My favourite thing was to empty her kitchen drawers, they would just be packed with stuff, and I would organise them and categorise them and just play with the stuff.” (Alice)

From these excerpts respondents demonstrate an embodied feeling for vintage, that increasingly it was a part of their make-up and an aesthetic that they had practiced

from childhood. This shows that practices develop over time and the marketplace offers an opportunity to foster and cultivate practice (Schau et al., 2009). The embodied nature of this knowledge can more fully be captured through a turn to Bourdieu's (1990) *habitus*. Habitus refers to: "*principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations...objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them*" (Bourdieu, 1990:53). Within the vintage context, the habitus structures ways of doing, being and knowing, this is useful to consider when exploring how taste and aesthetic practices come to be acquired. In this way vintage is seen as a practice cultivated over many years and one that is not only of the doing of dressing and behaving, but of valuing objects and seeing the quality and craftsmanship in them: it was an appreciation of the practices that form these goods and make them last the test of time in the consumption sphere. Lave and Wenger's (1991) work conceptualises practices as '*apprenticeships*' as over time consumer engagement with the practice develops and integrates further. Marketplace sense making has to combine both rational calculation and codified knowledge with a temporal and learned understanding of the practice of vintage. This is seen also in Osterlund and Carlile's (2005: 97) study, as they note members "*do not merely learn about practices, they become practitioners.*" Dedicated vintage practitioners such as Jackie favour getting their hands dirty in the finding process even though the time spent sifting and 'vintaging' (term used to denote the entire labour of the vintage practice in action) does not necessarily result in immediate gratification. For vintage practitioners the buying process differs from more mainstream retail practices in that items are purchased without specific occasions or events in mind and buying

becomes about a provision for the future. Seasoned practitioners spoke of *'buying things when you see it and figuring out what to do with it later'* (Annie) and *'buying something and knowing that I will use it at some point, when it is right'* (Carrie) or this ability to unlock this potential value without an immediate need or want was a common theme in the data. When an object is uncovered by a potential buyer in the marketplace it is seen to be in a more natural state than if it had come directly from a store, this in turn serves to reinforce the feeling of achievement upon uncovering an object. Jackie spoke of being able to focus in on the best goods because of her experience and that the rest was left to practitioners without such a trained eye for quality. This reinforces Parsons (2010: 294) view that dealers translate objects from one context to the next as *"market intermediaries,"* as they have developed a *"finely tuned aesthetic sensibility to discern the good from the bad, the beautiful from the ugly and the authentic from the inauthentic."* Practitioners are situated within the marketplace network, which allows for learning and knowledge exchange for both consumers and sellers. The market context illuminates that knowledge and the social practices of market exchange are entrenched within vintage. Market actors learn through trial and error but this specialised knowledge and object discernment serves as competitive advantage within the marketplace. Practitioners must mobilise their knowledge and skill to thrive in the dynamic marketplace.

This specialised knowledge is especially pertinent in the pop-up format of the marketplace as it lends a transient and sometimes hectic atmosphere, which serves to add to the heightened sense that the objects are 'one of a kind' and only being sold on this particular day. In this way, the objects have liminal moments and present

opportunities for their potential to be discovered in the marketplace before they will be boxed up again and moved on by the seller:

“It feels like you always are under pressure in case you don’t see the item again. Most of the sellers are only there for that one market and then you might not get another chance. I suppose that is always my underlying feeling at the market, if I don’t buy it, I know I will spend ages looking for that exact same thing again and never find it.” (Ben)

Here Ben demonstrates the essence of the vintage market: the goods are hard to find and are only for sale in a small window of opportunity. Ben spoke of feeling pressured around the consumption decision and reflects on the opportunity presented at the market. The ambiguity around the terminology also means that prices could rise and fall, leaving opportunities for a bargain to be struck. The transient nature of the marketplace in this way serves to add value to the objects, as they are often seen as ‘finds’ and would thus be hard to track down again after the market had closed for the day. Further the vintage market can be framed as different from the traditional marketplace, or as Mary Douglas explains: *“...a ritual provides a frame. The marked off time or place alerts a special kind of expectancy, just as the oft-repeated “Once upon a time” creates a mood receptive to fantastic tales”* (quoted by Goffman, 1986a: 252). In considering the marketplace, the actors but also the stage and performance itself are critical in this construction of vintage value. As active practitioners, their skill and competence sustains and enacts the marketplace with an air of expectancy and a feeling of ‘something’ may happen. Stallholders are thus crucial intermediaries in the vintage exchange; they are crucial in moving the object from one lifecycle to another and in the process re-creating meaning and value.

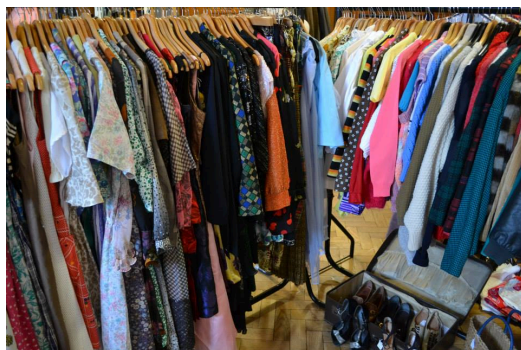
This focus on how an object becomes valued in the marketplace necessitates a consideration of the movement in value and the subtle transformation in how an object is consumed. For Shove and Araujo (2010), value is created through practitioner skill, such that objects only received value when “*in the hands of someone with a requisite level of competence*” (2010: 20). This is an important consideration when considering a marketplace context, such as vintage, that is constructed on the basis of items being re-seen and re-evaluated. Appadurai (1986) posits that objects have no absolute value, that rather their value is created through the social process of exchange. This echoes Kopytoff’s (1986) suggestion that objects move in and out of ‘commodity stages’ in their trajectory. Following this argument, in the vintage marketplace the object must wait to be re-discovered and moved on in their journey, therefore the object is reliant on another consumer finding it and it being brought back into the consumption sphere by having new knowledge applied to it:

“I will see something and know that I can breathe new life into it and cherish it, others might not see that or appreciate the beauty of these items.” (Elena)

For Elena vintage therefore becomes a practice of understanding and appreciating potential value. This illuminates that for vintage value to be accrued objects must be transformed in an active process of interpretation and understanding by marketplace actors. Her suggestion that the notion of vintage is fluid and “one person’s junk, is another’s treasure” is further evidenced in expressing the magic of the moment of finding and that on occasion the object has been brought to life for her through presentation and that through her own practice of finding and uncovering, but the marketplace facilitates this uncovering process for her:

“It seems like the presentation of clothes makes them come alive almost. They will be styled and presented on the hangers or just displayed so you can see them. It feels a bit like some of the work is done for you but it definitely makes it easier to visualise how you can use the clothes and integrate them into your everyday in a less scary way” (Researcher diary, Judy’s Vintage Fair, Sept. 2011)

Figure 3 - Judy’s Vintage Fair ‘Oh Happy Days’ stall, Sept. 2011



Elena’s insight, the visuals and the researcher’s notes start to illuminate the notion that the objects have to be made evident to the viewer for them to enact the potential value they possess. Practitioners adopt the role, as ‘re-enchanter’ and ‘storyteller’ bringing these long forgotten objects that exist in the periphery of consumer lives, to the foreground and repurposing them for the contemporary world. Vintage objects have a ‘history’ to them, which can potentially be seen to add or detract from their value. The practitioner to increase the value, for example through styling, elaborates these ‘stories’ or histories of previous consumption cycles or conversely sellers spoke of attempting to distance the object from its history through practices of mending and re-appropriating of the object:

“I will get something and it will have a rip in it or something and I will know if I spend some time with it and fix it up, it will be able to be sold on and desired.”(Lindsay)

This is representative of a complex intimate relationship with the object, as Parsons (2006: 189) posits in regards to antiques *“dealers are involved in creating new lives for objects, as they die in one context, they are revived in another, thus becoming re-enchanted.”* This ‘re-enchantment’ for the marketplace audience is crucial in the vintage scene. As Melanie spoke passionately of ‘the story’ from the object:

“I like the idea of someone loving this dress before me, or loving this bracelet before me – and something happening or I like the interaction, the story that happened before the object became mine.” (Melanie)

For Melanie, part of the consumption experience of vintage is ‘the imagining’ of previous others. Melanie is in her late twenties; she studied fashion business at University but now works in an office. She describes browsing charity shops and jumble sales with her mother when she was younger and how as an adult she embraces this way of consuming. She describes that at University ‘anything went’ and vintage was a way to stand out and show that you had interesting style. She explains that for her she liked the ‘back-story’ that goes with the item and that it might have a history that you could imagine beforehand. She is not loyal to any one particular period and mixes vintage with high street frequently. She visits the markets regularly and often would travel to attend the market. She knows most of the long-time sellers by name and greets Elena warmly. For Melanie vintage is a method to illuminate her fashion skills and knowledge:

“For me vintage is about putting a look together, vintage is unique and you pull on past eras to add to your modern day style... I love it, that excitement when I find an unusual piece and can tell a story about it.” (Melanie)

Continuing:

“...It is about how people make it work for me, new stuff, mixed in with much older pieces – for me someone like Alexa Chung or Fearne Cotton get it right...a vintage floral dress, with a Mulberry bag and Topshop boots, simple.” (Melanie)

Here Melanie describes the imaginative process of bricolage, she highlights the epitome of vintage for her is that it should be used along with current design and trends to showcase fashion knowledge. This describes a careful mixing and that within the tribe it acts as this playful arena (Kozinets, 2002) to pull on this creativity and knowledge. In this way, vintage objects can be viewed as *‘trophies with complex cultural and economic histories’* (Palmer and Clark, 2005) and as Melanie alludes to can be seen to be *‘signifiers today of unique fashion’* (Palmer and Clark, 2005:174). The objects do not exist on their own; they are carefully negotiated and re-appropriated through these tribal aesthetic codes and practitioner learning (will be discussed in more detail in Socialities sections).

This section has shown that vintage becomes an everyday object that is (re)imbued with knowledge and through the marketplace it is made visible. Vintage is therefore not an inherent characteristic of the object, but is a result of emotional and social relationship, in which consumption is an outcome of this engagement and knowledge in practice. In this way, value is embedded within the objects and in the practices of appreciation and competence. Vintage goods have characteristics that have merited

their inclusion in a second or third cycle of exchange. The meaning attributed and value constructed around the object are created and manipulated by marketplace practitioners. In this way vintage is culturally and socially shaped through practices as the object's status is created through a process of being withdrawn and introduced in a new setting (DeLong et al., 2005). In turning to the vintage context, the tacit knowledge of practitioners is illuminated and suggests that practitioners are '*embodied locations of knowledge*' (Bourdieu, 1984, 1985, 1990; Entwistle, 2009). In seeing value as created and nurtured as a result of this knowledge, ties in with the work of Slater (2002a) who proposes that for an economy to exist at all, objects must become stabilised through '*processes of materialisation*'. With vintage, the object must become calculable and be given meaning by marketplace actors at a given moment in time. Slater (2002a) argues that all commodities are calculated and materialised within the market and economic action: "*The very notion of a market depends on an anthropology of goods – the boundaries of markets follows the categorisation of things*" (Slater, 2002a: 97). This also illuminates the cultural coding of objects and how this is stabilised by the market (Slater, 2002a) and then evaluated as vintage by the marketplace. In this way, the marketplace provides the stage for this materialisation to occur. There is a complexity to where vintage sits in the consumption, production trajectory. This in turn has important implications for value consideration, if the marketplace is viewed, as constantly in transition, with objects moving along the consumption trajectory, then value cannot be deemed to be fixed either, rather value is constantly in flux and being renegotiated according to changing circumstance.

5.2.4 The Practice: The Materiality

This section provides an overview of materiality and links back the literature around the construct of materiality as an interdisciplinary approach to exploring the links between the material world, social organisation and culture. In considering the research objective as to how such material conditions come to be associated with the subjective construct of vintage, Miller's (2010) material culture perspective is considered. As outlined in the literature chapters, for Miller (2010) wherein to understand people, he argues it is necessary to understand things and the dialectics of our relationships with them. This approach stresses the dialectics of objectification (Miller, 1988b) as value and meaning constantly shift between people and objects in their everyday use. In applying this material culture perspective, it is argued in this section that the narrative of the object cannot be separated from the object itself. In conceptualising practice as an interaction between ideas, ways of doing and the material (Shove and Pantzar, 2005), this focus on the material is necessary to fully understand the practices of the vintage collective. In the context of the vintage marketplace, objects although possibly once mass-produced, have outlasted their counterparts and re-entered the marketplace: given a second or third opportunity to shine and garner value. As shown in the previous section, vintage is in practice worn, not simply collected, venerated and admired. Some items are treasured and preserved but it is without the reverence in often cases that would be bestowed on antiques – the objects are seen as wearable and active:

“I have a 1940s cashmere baby pink twinset and I wear it all the time. Mostly I will throw it on with jeans or a cute skirt; I’m not fussy about how I wear it. I know I should probably keep it special or whatever but I think it was made to be worn and it

will be lost sitting in a wardrobe, forgotten about...it feels like I give it another go at life when I wear it.” (Melanie)

As Melanie’s comment illustrates there is no sanctity shown towards tradition or original purpose of the object, with the practitioner selection guided by fit, originality, wear-ability and desirability. The transformation of old clothes into ‘vintage’ and the acquisition of value and elevated status and creates hierarchies of finds. It is seen that objects fully participate in the marketplace along with the actors and consumers and how they are presented generates credibility and above all value. There is a constant reconfiguration of the meanings and affection towards the object; however some objects stand out for practitioners as a ‘special find’ or holding significant personal attachment:

“I’ve got all my old vintage stuff that I would never sell and I don’t see any new stuff anymore but if I did see a lovely fifties dress that was £50 I wouldn’t buy it now, rationally it is pointless cause I would just be buying it to covet it, to have it. I mean I really covet them, it is special, I really love old rose print things, and there is quite an inquisitive nature to it. I want to see things and have things and I can’t let things go. With vintage pieces, special pieces, I do have an emotional attachment - possibly even there isn’t any emotion there but I think I do. I’m scared that if I sold something and let it go that I wouldn’t get it again, does that make sense? Because I know how difficult that find is, because I am in the business I know how difficult it is to actually get things now.” (Alice)

Alice reveals a tension, that in her selling role she knows that she should not pay too much for a purchase but then as a consumer she attempts to explain the relationship

and attachment that she has to the objects and the complex nature of her feelings. In applying this tension to the marketplace, the practitioner has to elaborate a material strategy to allow them to integrate the object into their practice. A change in the attachment and affection for the object is necessary and the material object is embedded in this complex shift of actions, behaviours and forms of doings in the marketplace. All respondents spoke openly of an object that was a memorable find for them and the feelings around this uncovering are detailed in personal stories of loving, adoring and caring. In contrast to Melanie's carefree discussion of wearing her twinset, Michael highlights the responsibility he feels to certain items and the relationship he has with these objects:

"I have a couple of things tucked away, pristine 1940s shirts, I haven't even brought them out recently cause it is almost like I know they are so good, that I don't even want to wear them, every time I think about wearing them I just look at them. I just love them. I just love the actual items." (Michael)

He goes further and expands on his feelings of finding something he considers special:

"There are just one or two pieces that I just don't know - it is almost like a sexual feeling towards them. It is a strange thing; it is larger than life considering it is just an item." (Michael)

In this account there is recognition of the strong feelings about the objects and Michael considers the objects to be almost intimate: with the love and sexual feelings that he bestows upon them. Although he is self-aware of this practice occurring, for him the objects become more than practical objects to own, he imbues these finds

with desire and intimacy. The idea that he has to save them, to preserve them from the everyday depicts the fragility of the objects but also the reverence with which he treats them, they become almost sacred in his affection (Belk, 1989). Vintage in this way was part of the everyday for Michael but he felt a duty of care and responsibility to the objects he has kept for so long. This can be seen in the meaning and subsequent value attached to individual possessions (Belk et al., 1988), the provision of this value and therefore the concept of vintage is argued to be a socio-material practice (Miller, 1988b, 2010; Campbell, 1996).

In the markets a fundamental marker of vintage is seen as the wear that the object presented with. An object possessing a certain amount of wear to indicate its vintage nature is seen as a positive thing but there is a carefully considered line of objects being ‘too worn,’ as Adam explains regarding a leather bag:

“It was battered and bruised and so well lived in, I think leather always looks better when it has been handled for a good ten years plus. I would always take vintage well-used leather over a pristine new leather piece any day. It looks too like you just left a store with it.” (Adam)

The previous life of the bag is evident for Adam from the creases and markings on the leather but he only sees this as a positive indicator of ‘vintage’, as the bag has lost its just purchased, immaculate condition. For Adam, being able to see the wear and history of the material is what holds the value of vintage over new goods. He prizes the material conditions and the suitable wear of the object and he labels this wear as ‘vintage.’ In the market, discussions around the object centre on mending and care of objects to overcome this wear that they had sustained if it was considered

‘too much.’ Achieving this balance between finding an object and the condition of it is a constant presence in the markets. At Judy’s Vintage Fair, sequined 1920s dresses are heralded as unworn and worth more money because the beading and stitching is intact, in the Granny Would be Proud market, as described by Adam, leather jackets are seen as scuffed and showing signs of wear and rather than diminishing value this increases their desirability. Finding objects with suitable wear is attached to cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984, 1985) of the practitioner in the marketplace:

“Conversations frequently started about items of clothing: where it was from, where they had purchased it from, who it was designed by, how much had been paid for it. Audible gasps of excitement; chattering and admiration were heard over exchanges as stories of finds were told. These added to the atmosphere of frenzy in the marketplace.” (Researcher notes, January 22nd 2012)

Part of the practice of vintaging is in being able to retell these narratives of uncovering an object, recounting its wear and giving it relevance again. For all respondents the condition of the object is a significant consideration, Jessica mentions that her favourite bag is ‘*in near perfect condition*’, Michael spoke of repairing and cleaning his glasses, all seem to accept that the care and time taken over objects is part of the vintage practice and adds to their value. The process of removing labels and brand identifiers from the material objects was also seen to be at work in the marketplace, ridding them of previous lifecycle attributes and positioning objects to invite intrigue and imagination. Attributes and aspects of objects are hidden through the disorder of the retail marketplace environment, which adds to the ambiguity of the objects (Bardhi, 2003; Slater, 2014). The vintage marketplace provides a temporal distance from the past owners of the goods as a negotiation by

experienced practitioners of this past and the imagined Other is sanitized in the staging of objects. Jessica explains how as a consumer she negotiates the imagined past of the object:

“...I mean I know at the end of the day it is second-hand but vintage is that bit more special. It is something that has lasted and someone has discovered and spent time and energy revivifying. Sometimes I like to think about who might have owned it before and where they wore it to and how they styled it, but I mean I do like the things I buy to be clean and quite pristine. But I mean finding something in near perfect condition is always the vintage dream.” (Jessica)

Jessica spoke of vintage as a way of consuming, for her the imagined past is a way to connect to the object. Within the consumer research landscape the role of imagination in the consumption experience is prominent, especially when related to play and fun (Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982). In Illouz’s (2009: 399) work imagination is based on *“sensations, feelings and emotions to make present that which is absent.”* This imagining of an absent Other by Jessica is part of the consumption experience of vintage. But like many consumers she still expresses a desire for the vintage to be as ‘new’ as possible. Vintage in this way stylises the old and attempts to make it new again by creating consumer desire and intrigue. Michael suggests that in reality vintage was a stylisation of second-hand, which could then be reflected in the prices charged:

“Everyone except the lower classes has hijacked the vintage or technically the second-hand trend a bit. Charity shops are now all posh and merchandised, second-hand places are now fairs instead of jumble sales and bring and buy sales,

the prices have elevated. If you can make people want something, then you can charge more for it.” (Michael)

Michael reflects that vintage objects have long existed but that have been re-orientated for a new audience. He spoke of the skill of vintage as “*trying to read trends and judging what will sell.*” As with Denegri-Knott and Molesworth’s (2009:313) exploration of eBay practices, a key focus is revealed in the ‘work’ that is involved in trying to ‘*maximise the economic value of goods.*’ Campbell (2005) notes that concepts such as ‘*possession,*’ ‘*personalisation,*’ ‘*customisation*’ and ‘*appropriation*’ overlooks the transformative processes and practices of consumption. Vintage here could be seen as being rooted within the objects as notions of ‘value’ appear highly bound to this intricate relationship with the object. Value as a result appears transient and enacted by the object through context and by practitioner competence. Entwistle (2009) notes that similarly with aesthetic value, it must be seen as something that is not necessarily a quality intrinsic to the object per se, rather it becomes processual and an attribution of value that is gained over its journey - aesthetic value is “*created, accrued and attributed*” along the network in which the object moves (Entwistle, 2009: 58). As a result, the process of qualification has to be continuous and commodities need to be examined continuously and should remain open to interpretation and transformation as they move from one actor to another in the marketplace (Entwistle, 2009: 68). In referring back to Miller (2010) in which this findings section starts out, he illustrates how objects, far from being either permanently alienating overpowering ideological objects or simply existing as the ephemeral background to life, actively make people as much as people make objects. This section has shown that objects are inextricably

linked with the both the practices of vintaging and the practitioners who actively shape the narratives of vintage.

5.2.5 Conclusion of ‘Practice’

This first findings section has shown that the marketplace of vintage was constructed through networks of objects, practitioners and social practices. Sellers translate objects from one context to the next and success in the marketplace was reliant on the development and display of knowledge of the market, consumer desire and discernment for the potential of objects. This section has shown that ways of marketplace knowing and doing varied out with purely cognitive or economic domains, instead what counts as knowledge is questioned and knowledge as learning and performance emerges emphasising the practice of knowing. In line with Wenger’s (1998) understanding of practice, within the practice of vintage, it is based on the assemblage of different kinds of objects, understandings and processes. Various knowledges (knowing as practice and performance) are intricately woven together across objects, spaces and tools to make sense of the market. In order to calculate and attribute value within the marketplace, practitioners must have an understanding of the market. Knowledge in vintage is based on sense making and engaging non-cognitive abilities, it is formed through encounters with the objects and marketplace experiences, in this way it is embodied (Bourdieu, 1984; Entwistle, 2009). Knowledge of vintage could only be acquired within the markets and as such the body emerges as an important location for knowing (Entwistle, 2009). Practitioners become internal to this transient world as such they are best placed to negotiate and predict trends and marketplace shifts. As with Denegri-Knott and Molesworth’s (2009:313) study, a key focus was revealed in the ‘work’ that was

involved in trying to *'maximise the economic value of goods.'* The fluctuations and instabilities of the pop-up market demanded particular practices to be adopted by participants for coping with this aesthetic labour involved. The findings reveal that the practitioners themselves transform the marketplace and the material environment. Practitioners act as 'gatekeepers' in the market, actively calculating (Entwistle and Slater, 2014; Slater, 2002a) taste in the process. The marketplace setting and aesthetic labour (Entwistle, 2009) recreates the experience of searching for finds and the physicality of the vintage process allows a heightened sense of accomplishment for the practitioner in the searching process. These marketplace behaviours were encoded and embedded in the norms of the collective and relied on individuals being educated or socialized into the vintage tribe (Bourdieu, 1984, 1985; Rafferty, 2009, 2011).

In considering Lury's (1997) consideration of *'object-people-practices,'* within the frame of this research study, the marketplace illuminates how value was enacted around the vintage label or brand (Eckhardt and Bengtsson, 2010). In order to endure, practices must be repeatedly enacted and reproduced as specific bundles of organised activities. Moments of practice were shown to be multi-sited and the objects themselves integral to the networks of which they are a part (Hui, 2012). In looking at consumption within practices, as Appadurai (1986: 31) suggests is *"social, relational and active"* and this approach allows for a more thorough understanding of the meta practice of consumption.

5.3 The Space

5.3.1 Introduction

Referring back to the literature in Chapter Two, Arnould and Thompson (2005:869) highlight the value of “*study[ing] in consumption contexts*” and the first findings section highlights that vintage happens in a physical space in the markets through which the material environment is actively transformed by practitioners. Returning to the literature, the consumer research discussions of shopping malls and retail stores as ‘*nonplaces*’ (Auge, 1995) highlights that they are lacking in social interaction (Sherry, 1998), this led to the development of commercial settings as ‘experience driven’ and a ‘places for co-creation’ (Maclaran and Brown, 2005; Sandicki and Holt, 1998; Kozinets et al., 2002; Sherry, 1998). Maclaran and Brown’s (2005) study of the ‘utopian marketplace’ illuminates the commercialised spaces of the festival mall in Dublin and an understanding centred on the creation of ‘playspace’ and ‘artscape’ (Maclaran and Brown, 2005). Moving this discussion forward this findings section explores the socio-cultural environment of the markets and the role that the space itself plays in the materialisation and consumption of vintage. This led to an initial questioning of how the transient and ephemeral nature of the vintage market marked them as different spaces to practice and consume?

5.3.2 The Space: The Market Setting

The notion of the staging of the marketplace has developed in the consumption literature around the language of Sherry’s “brandscape” (1998), Ger and Belk’s (1996b) “consumptionscape” and Arsel and Thompson’s (2004) “hegemonic brandscape”. Described as social environments grounded in entertainment and

fantasy, these accounts explore the relationship between consumers and the environment but omit the active role of objects in these marketplaces. In using the practice lens, the active role of objects in the marketplace is key and in further applying a material culture focus to the vintage marketplace, this section highlights the spaces of materiality (Arsel and Bean, 2013; Borgerson, 2005; Miller, 2005; Denegri-Knott and Parsons, 2014). This focus allows the researcher to explore the particular aesthetics of the vintage scene: but also the modes of presentation, illumination and action made material. The concept of time and its appreciation is tied to vintage from the outset. By the very definition of vintage, the second-hand object is conceptualised as ‘vintage’ only through a certain amount of time passing. This led the researcher to question how was this re-appropriation of the past through objects related to marketplace practices?

As a created market the notion of bringing vintage to life and offering an alternative space from the high street or online retail punctuates discussions of it being “*a different environment to shop in*” (Tina). The shared social space of the marketplace creates the backdrop to the exchange and as has been shown in the previous sections, it frames consumer encounters with others. The location of the vintage markets within the urban domain of the city also serves to reinforce the vintage stock as authentic. In the west end of the city, Granny Would be Proud is positioned just off Byres Road, the hub of student life in the city and Sloans in the city centre is located in one of the oldest pubs in the city, accessed through cobbled lanes, whilst Judy’s market uses the Glasgow University Union that was founded in 1885. As a transient market the feeling for vintage has to be created and staged every two weeks in both the Granny Would be Proud and Little Birds Market and every quarter for Judy’s.

The architecture of the buildings offers an opportunity for observing the unfolding of the markets, through time and space and the practices that materialise the market.

Figure 4 – The Balcony setting of Granny Would be Proud market



In considering conceptualisations of the marketplace as an arena of exchange and of place as having a defined meaning, Tuan's (1977) understanding of the difference between place and space becomes relevant in a sensemaking of the vintage markets. Tuan (1977) highlights that place refers to security and a space that has meaning attached, whilst space denotes freedom or where no value has as yet been added. In applying this to the vintage pop-ups, the understanding of a market space conveys the ambiguity and transient nature of the space – it is a space that is constantly reworked and reconfigured in practice. Taking over disused spaces, the upstairs of a restaurant (Granny Would be Proud), hall of a Student Union (Judy's) and spare rooms in a bar (Little Birds), the construction of a retail space and creation of a suitable atmosphere from wooden tables and mismatched chairs is imperative to the feel for the markets. This is illustrated strongly in the arrival and set up of the stalls:

“Vendors painstakingly bring their stalls to life: prized objects are unpacked from tissue stuffed boxes and containers carried carefully from cars outside. It is amazing to watch, they all have a basic space but dress it with hat boxes, china cups, table cloths, even standard lamps and then their wares... before you know it they have

created a little vintage haven that reflects their personality and the goods for sale”
(Field notes, Little Birds Market, February 26th 2012.)

In these alternative locations, the space is transformed through practitioner action and styling. This cycle of creation and destruction, this active process is seen from the observations as being critical in creating acceptance in the market. To start with there is an air of urgency as vendors arrive. The most pressing demands at this time are the practices of setting up the table, unloading stock and securing the transport of this stock to the venue. Having moved such objects, vendors busy themselves in dealing with the urgencies of time and their calculations over spatial display:

“Vendors arrive to be shown to a rectangular wooden table, a lamp and a chair. From these objects they have to create their own area that showcases their wares and establishes themselves as different from their close neighbours. The unpacking and setting up process seems to be crucial in the cultivation of a vintage look. The more seasoned vendors arrive early and with a careful system unpack daintily embroidered table cloths, dressing the wooden table as they go, cake stands, hat boxes, weathered suitcases, all revealed to store treasures and present them to the awaiting crowd.” (Researcher fieldnote, Granny Would be Proud, February 12th 2012).

The construction and practicing of the ‘look’, both for oneself and for one’s stall, thus adds a degree of credibility (*as aesthetically belonging with the collective*) to the seller in the marketplace. Once the market commences an air of expectation and anticipation can be felt and the market day is marked by moments of action:

“The day ebbs and flows as consumers enter and move through the space.

Throughout the day this rhythm changes as the audience alters: inner members of the collective arrive early and eagerly anticipate rummaging for “treasures”, with the Sunday strollers of mid-afternoon creating a more relaxed and less exclusive scene, with newspapers tucked under arms and hushed tones of ‘don’t touch’ to children. The crescendo of the day falls mid-afternoon as the sound of consumers’ chat hums in the air, the beats of the 1960s pop music sets the tempo, with long conversations between stall holders and consumers ensuing the past is continually invoked as a reference point for understanding and interaction, to hurried exchanges in which objects are inspected and paid for. As the end of the day approaches the pace slows, stallholders chat to one another about their ‘take’ for the afternoon and attentions turn to carefully packing and organising, and the act of deconstructing the stall”
(Researcher fieldnote, Granny Would be Proud 15th April 2012).

In the market space there is an abundance of niches and corners with stalls and this creates the feel of something spontaneous and without strict retail control measures. Stalls often have a disjumbled appearance with suitcases and boxes brimming with items around the floor of their stall area. This market space setting recreates the experience of searching for finds and adds physicality to the vintage process and allows a heightened sense of accomplishment for the practitioner in the finding process. In this way the market space appears as a version of the traditional jumble sale, however the merchandising and staging allows for the process of discovery to take place in a simulated environment. This compliments Bardhi’s (2003: 375) work on thrift shopping whereby she asserts that *“disorder is created by placement of products of different categories next to each other.”* Or as Denegri-Knott and

Parsons (2014:94) propose: *“The second-hand objects sold at car boot sales are somewhat distant and disembedded from these systems of meaning, their very mode of display often involves disarray, and cues can only really be sought from the individual store holders as to their potential uses and past lives.”* This scene setting of the vintage marketplace structures the finding practices and consumer experiences. This manipulation of the marketplace context displays that the placement of objects and the staging of stock serves to allow the practitioner to discover what has previously gone unnoticed.

Figure 5 - Judy’s Vintage Fair: ‘Practice of browsing’, 16th September 2012



Figure 6 - Judy's Vintage Fair - 'Practice of Organising' in the marketspace, 18th May 2013



Figure 7 - Granny Would be Proud: 'Practice of display', October 7th 2012



The marketspace is created from this careful management of spatial confines (organising and displaying) to facilitate practices of browsing and finding. The lighting is often quite dispersed - to illuminate goods and displays and to create a warm atmosphere the stallholders use lamps - but this highlighting does not extend far beyond the table where consumers gather. The use of materials such as lace doilies or floral print tablecloths supports an atmosphere of a homely and welcoming space (McCracken, 1989; Linnet, 2011). This setting up one's table to best display

stock became an art of practicing: an exercise in staging and performance through objects. Gregson and Crewe (1997: 87) reveal that alternative market spaces can be one of play and performance: *“the conventions of retailing are suspended, and where participants come to engage in and produce theatre, performance and spectacle and laughter.”* The vintage markets come to represent sites for sociality and performance, as practitioners suspend formalised retail behaviours and instead engage in and produce theatre and create a whimsical space. Vendors place objects to best display their items, sometimes constructing a front and back stage through the layering of the table to best attract the attention of mobile customers, and thereby encourage them to linger:

“You start to learn what makes your stall attractive, sometimes it is through trial and error or being inspired by seeing how someone has put their stall together. We try really hard to make it easy to see the stock but also to get across some of our personality, so it is never going to be too ‘done’ it will always be a bit like a dressing up box...” (Charlie)

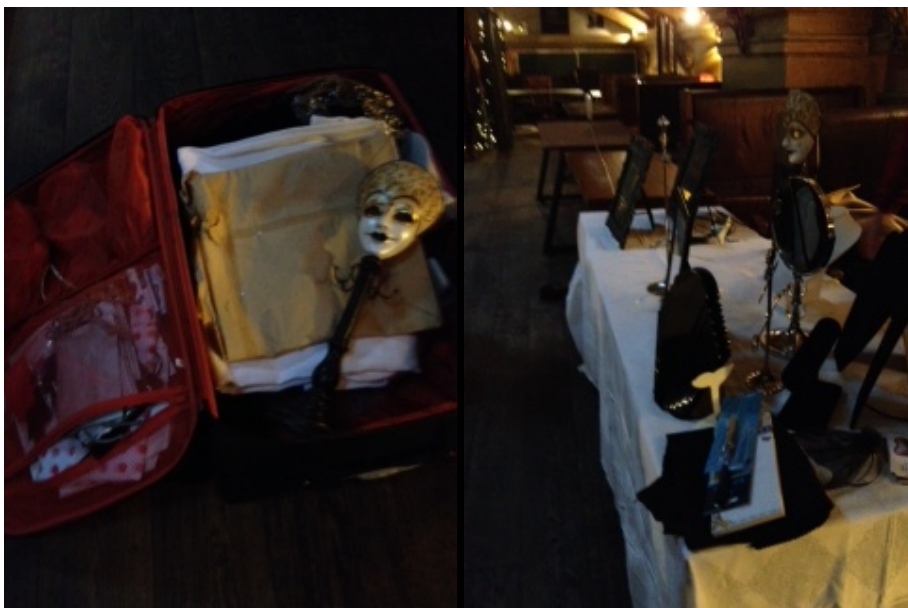
Charlie’s account places an importance of conveying a personality to the consumer and of this portrayal being a learned experience. This shows that practices develop, evolve and deepen over time. Importantly she emphasises that it should not be interpreted as being ‘too done’, this was a common thought throughout the interviews, the practice of the creation of the vintage aesthetic should appear naturalistic and almost effortless in its construction regardless of the observed labour involved. The production of ‘the look’ of the vintage market space is seen to be integral to practitioners and suggests concepts of authenticity, acceptance and stylisation. The ‘right look’ is seen to add to their reputation and either attract or

detract consumers from engaging with them. This creative process creates a feeling for the market and for the sellers. The well-managed atmosphere of Granny Would be Proud, Little Birds and Judy's is a mechanism for stallholders to show their own personality within the vintage context but also to act as a framing of their aesthetic vision. This striving for 'the look' also ties in with the consideration of the socialites of consumption, as the achievement of this is also crucial for the staging of the stall, but also significantly for both the stallholder and consumer. The practice of 'the look' is seen as key in gaining approval in the marketplace:

"The sellers arrive and are greeted with a brown table and a lamp, on returning an hour later, they bring the space to life with ornate, embroidered table cloths, rose adorned cake stand holders overflowing with costume jewellery, tweed suits and silk scarves hanging over the walls, suitcases brimming with goods at the foot of the table..." (Researcher fieldnote, Granny Would be Proud, March 4th 2012)

The communicative staging of 'the look' influences the practices and processes of all market actors. It shapes the objects chosen for sale, the aesthetic presentation of the stall and consumer desire (Belk et al., 2003; Campbell, 2005) achieved:

Figure 8 - Stall table being dressed in Granny Would be Proud: 'Annie's bijoux box', 10th March 2013





The above images show Annie's photo diary of setting up her stall in the Granny Would be Proud market, it was a practiced act and one that she spoke of streamlining and adjusting with experience. In this manner the performance of vintage is not just a singular act, but also a repetition of assumed norms within the space. The importance of 'the look' is mentioned frequently by respondents, as are the material conditions, objects and sensory factors that differentiate the marketplace. A look of what will be termed in this study '*eclectic homeliness*' is evident, as if cupboards and wardrobes have been opened and stock makes its way effortlessly to the market (McCracken, 1989; Linnet, 2011). This feeling that the stall could have been formed from overflowing cupboards creates a feel of playful abandonment for practitioners or disorder to navigate (Denegri-Knott and Parsons, 2014) – as if left to riffle through someone's forgotten treasures. The marketplace is manifested in a practice of blurring the boundaries between the commercial space and the familiarity of the domestic domain. This recreation of the familiar through the performance of staging and negotiating 'the look' adds to a sense of belonging for practitioners in the marketplace. This extends Debenedetti et al.'s (2014: 918) recent work that

illustrates that ‘homeyness’ can reside outside domestic settings and can be experienced in commercial settings. As Debenedetti et al. (2014:911) asserts:

“Spatial knowledge is often also connected to a desire to mentally, and sometimes physically, appropriate the place because for customers, my place also means the place where I belong.”

The vintage market space creates a porous boundary between practitioners (or sellers and consumers); as such the consumption experience is not just focused on the object or service given but on this ‘*practice of belonging*’ (Brownlie and Hewer, 2011). Or as Crewe and Gregson highlight with their car boot sale sites: *“This is a space for quasi-fun, quasi-leisure, quasi-work activities; an arena in which conventional boundaries are blurred and/or transgressed”* (Crewe and Gregson, 1998: 50). This thesis extends this argument further as through the creation of ‘*eclectic homeliness*,’ the market space exists in an ambiguous space, between the conventional retail market and the familiar domestic sphere for temporal escape from the everyday.

In practice, the seemingly haphazard ordering and categorisation of objects is carefully produced and practiced in action within the confines of the market space. In Judy’s market, the strategic merchandising of the clothing is both ordered and at once seemingly jumbled. With rows of rails with neatly organised denim shorts, to the box of t-shirts, scarves, jumpers and ties that overflow at the bottom of stalls:

Figure 9 - Little Birds Market 'Practices of disjumbling'



Figure 10 - Granny Would be Proud 'Practices of disjumbling'



Figure 11 - Judy's Vintage Market: 'Practices of disjumbling' at work in stall displays



For the collective, within the allocated space the stall table acts as a main focal point for the vintage practice: the interaction, accepted behaviours and vendor reactions operate around this space, as Jessica explains:

“I expect someone to acknowledge that I have entered their space, it almost feels like quite a private space, whether that’s with a nod or a smile or starting to make chat, but it almost feels like you need their permission to touch things and through saying hello it feels like you get the go-ahead.” (Jessica)

This excerpt portrays that the created space around the table is a private area, almost as a homely sphere that has established practices that must be acknowledged before progression can be made. A dialogue of understanding is enacted around the stall space. It emerges from the observations that a relationship and common ground is established that assesses levels of commonality and aesthetic understanding between practitioners - both stallholder and consumer. This dialogue provides a means for stallholders to describe their objects, offer a discussion of the object’s history and previous lifecycle and ultimately navigate a use value and potential value in the mind of the consumer. For the stallholder it is a way to show their care for the object, the

rarity and exclusivity of the object. These market routines, practices and conventions produce a creative environment in which values of independence and Othering from conventional market logic is put forward:

“We are quite laid back about it, people want to tailor the space to their own needs and to highlight their own stuff that they are selling, it isn’t really something we dictate. I would say we are pretty flexible and are really here to oversee and help if anything comes up.” (Elena)

The material conditions and aesthetics along with the presentation of the objects, establishes an atmosphere of something organic and without strict boundaries that is contrasted with market norms. Elena’s quote encapsulates the idea that the physical environment of the market is unsystematic and is a product of its temporal nature and the market site location reinforces the knowledge in practice needed by the practitioner to negotiate the disordered and informal retail setting. This section has explored an understanding of the pop-up market format as a space of *‘eclectic homeliness,’* that exists in a liminal moment between commercial market logic and the familiar domestic sphere. Practices of organising and display create this temporal distance from the banal and every day and transports practitioners to a liminal space of play and performance.

5.3.3 The Space: The Marketspace Performance

Building on this notion of performance, the theatricality of the marketspace is central to the social connections observed. The construct of performance is unpacked in this section in regards to the consumption exchange in the marketspace. Through the active construction of the market and the notion of *“knowing audiences”* (Gregson

and Crewe, 2002) suggests that the marketspace is enacted and highlights the idea of a performativity for a marketspace audience. One of the most prominent characters of the Granny Would be Proud market is Michael. He is an optician who trades at the markets under the name *'Eyedresser'*. He has several traditional optician practices throughout central Scotland. Now in his mid-forties he has always collected vintage frames and started actively selling them three years ago at the Granny Would be Proud market. He explains that he heard about the market by chance through a part time member of staff who works in his practice and he went along to see what it was all about (he frequently questions the 'serendipity' aspect of this encounter). He now sells his frames at vintage pop-up markets around Glasgow. Since setting up the vintage side of his business he has shut one of his practices so that he has more time to focus on this aspect of the business. He has been selling at the market since it started and is now involved with the market organisers in discussions of the market's future direction. He is one of the only sellers who is offered a table to sell as frequently as he wants (all other sellers are told that they will not be able to take a table at two consecutive fairs to ensure that the stock is different on every occasion). In talking to other stallholders and consumers his name is mentioned frequently as 'The Eyedresser' and it becomes evident that he has established himself as a prominent figure in the market:

Figure 12 - Michael 'The Eyedresser' at Granny Would be Proud, 26th February 2012



In playing the role of educator, Michael creates an air of authority around the objects as he guides practitioners with their purchases and their own stock:

"...with vintage it is almost like a black art, you know they do like to ask my advice and leave it up to me a lot of the time... it is quite complex and I need to get to know them a bit. I mean what they associate with, what history they like." (Michael)

In this role Michael guides the novice consumer through the sharing of taste and experience (Fournier and Lee, 2009). Michael draws on the understanding of value as fluid in the market, this transient enactment by practitioner competence is revealed when he spoke of the action of *"going back and selecting the best of what was available at the time."* (Michael). This highlights the idea again of the *'the thrill of the find'* (Bardhi, 2003) but also of the expertise needed in re-introducing an object to the market. Practitioners can be seen to mobilise their *'field dependent cultural capital'* (Arsel and Thompson, 2011) in the market space depending on the situation to realise value. In considering such practices, knowledge and the ability to spot

potential in an object appears pivotal within the collective. Michael's role of educator is reminiscent of Goffman's (1959:19) suggestion that everyone is consciously playing a role and the marketspace provides not only a 'showcase' but creates an opportunity to present the consumer (and seller) with a space for play and experimentation (Holt, 1995).

This role of play in the marketspace was prominent in the conversations, similarly Jackie comments:

"...It is like an Aladdin's cave, you get to try new things with vintage or new sides of your personality, you can take it to extremes or stay in your comfort zone, but it is exciting and I just get a buzz from it all." (Jackie)

Jackie explains that her mother had been into fashion in the sixties and that she has always had an eye for details and quality. As Jackie expresses with an almost child-like reverence of 'the dressing up box,' the objects of the stall are used strategically to produce forms of invitation to explore and stage a personality beyond the confines of what may be understood as mainstream selling. In the vintage market play and the unveiling of difference is bound by the financial rewards to be gained by the seller for creating an immersive space. In the vintage market, this communicative staging and performance of the 'look' of the table and one's self is rehearsed and refined by the seller in the course of their career in the marketspace through the practice of organising their stall and 'prepping' for the event. Without a suitable audience, its very existence can be questioned. Magaudda (2011: 19) argues that consumption activities are:

“...The result of individual performances that are imbricated and intertwined in a complex socio-material context where meanings, objects and embodied activities are arranged in specific configurations of ‘practices.’”

In the marketspace of vintage, for this performance to occur, this study finds that the interconnection of bodily activity, mental competency, understanding, and motivation has to interlink within the marketspace context, with the objects and their use, for the practice to occur.

5.3.4 The Space: Performing Politics

In the context of the pop-up market, vintage is positioned as part of a creative scene and this is evidenced in the variety of ways that participants talk about the practice of dressing and obtaining the ‘correct look’ for both themselves and for their stall. Market performance is key for success; the market therefore becomes a stage for a performance of value through ‘*practices of belonging*’ (Brownlie and Hewer, 2011); or as Molly echoes:

“...The market is an opportunity to dress up and show off some of the pieces I have found and how I put them together, I always feel so good if someone compliments me on a find and asks about where I got it. It feels like I belong and that someone appreciates my skills.”(Molly)

For Molly, the market becomes an opportunity for positioning oneself as a skilled and competent practitioner. By achieving ‘the look’ and through calculations over objects to bring and discuss, the event becomes a showcase for oneself. This transformation is achieved through the management and organisation of objects for producing a feeling of acceptance and belonging. Here Molly ascribes to the notion

that without collective acknowledgement that her pieces are suitably ‘vintage’ as an aesthetic appreciation, they would be valued less. This builds on the work of Thompson and Haytko (1997: 26) who propose that fashion meanings can be used to gain a sense of standing out or they can be used to negotiate a sense of affiliation with others and to offer a sense of belonging. Acceptance by the collective means that these sharing practices benefit individuals and also create consumption opportunities: stallholders keep stock to the side for consumers that they know or mention other items that they have that may interest returning customers. Members of the collective share tales of new finds with stallholders, and sellers describe new items that they have in stock to sell at upcoming markets. There is a constant discussion at the stalls around topics such as how involved they were in the vintage tribe, where did they normally shop, who attends other markets, what they thought of the other markets and what would be sold at the next market. This building of a relationship between stallholders and consumers and the acceptance into the vintage collective is marked also by the time spent over the interactions around the exchange. As a market space there is an embodied approach to vintage unlike with a brand community (Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001) it is a personalised experience of bringing forth individual values to the collective more fitting with consumer tribes (Cova et al., 2007). This will be explored further in the next findings section on sociality.

The approach to vintage as a knowledge form, allows participants to wear their capital (Bourdieu, 1984, 1985; Entwistle, 2009) in the market space. In this way the market emerges as a space for connective interplay and ‘*practices of belonging*’ (Brownlie and Hewer, 2011): acts of performance and participation are constitutive of the collective. The previous sections highlighted that the learning of ‘doing

vintage' is a social endeavour and is bound by the time commitment given to this learning. In this way vintage could be considered a form of *'learned nostalgia'* (Goulding, 2003). This section reveals that vintage must also be understood as a form of embodied nostalgia, a preference for a time that has long since passed but that is brought back to the modern consumption sphere through the revival of an object:

"It isn't really about enacting the past; it is more ironic than that. Like you have the choice to buy new, but it is more interesting and the aesthetic is more layered than that...most of the people that I know that buy vintage, are coming from an educated background, have jobs and could afford to buy new products but they see vintage as a way to show their intellect and that they aren't mainstream. You are taking a bit of a stand against fast fashion and showing a preference for quality and long forgotten about skills. It is kind of like showing off that knowledge and style that you have accumulated." (Jessica)

As Jessica articulates, rather than a reliving of the past, vintage objects and the vintage aesthetic are employed to gain social status and differentiate oneself from the mainstream. It can be seen as a form of consumer politics in action (Chatzidakis et al., 2004) against the fast fashion habits of contemporary society but moreover vintage is a way for individuals to display their knowledge and possible social standing through their consumption practices. In this way it is a conscious practice to align themselves with a particular group or set of beliefs as a consumer. The turn to the pop-up marketspaces allows for a transient space to be created by practitioners that embodies their ideals and social norms. Vintage in this way is utilised as a social power in the marketpace, further it is a self-conscious aesthetic and brings to mind Arsel and Thompson's (2011) *'Taste Regimes and Market Mediated Practice'* in

which they discuss that a hipster is ideologically and culturally shaped and has appropriated the indie consumption field. The hipster discourse is inextricably linked with the vintage aesthetic, as Schiermer (2013:12) asserts “...hipsters exert a form of cultural hygiene, either ironically burning the objects of the recent past which deserve it or redeeming authentic cultural expressions from oblivion.” The word ‘hipster’ entered the narrative of the vintage marketspace later in fieldwork and prior to this has not been a term that was used in discussions frequently. The respondents in the vintage space did not use the term hipster often and this was not how they identified themselves, rather this was seen as a media caricature or extreme. Instead respondents spoke of finding value in the collective and the creativity of the pop-up space, vintage for them is a practice that is rooted in seeking the alternative, of doing something interesting, by practitioners who could spot opportunity and potential. Within this context, value is found in the knowledge needed to participate and in the cultivation of a vintage style accrued over time.

As Jessica continues:

“I suppose when you think about it seems silly, but all my creative friends are a bit hip and we joke about it but it is still the main style even though they are self-aware. It is more like you can’t buy that style in Topshop or just off the hanger - it is that effortless ability to throw pieces together and mix old and new and still look cool, of knowing what vintages pieces will work for you and what will look too ‘try hard’. I do think about looking like a little old granny, which in my ‘rain mate’⁷ I might, but it shows my personality and I always have a little thought somewhere about where

⁷ A ‘rainmate’ is a plastic bonnet or hood that is traditionally worn by females on the head to protect their hair – it is normally worn by older ladies to protect their perms.

the piece would have come from before me, how many tea parties or bridge games it saw.”

Vintage in this way allows for an unlocking of an imagined past in every wear of an item. Jenss (2004: 396) discusses that by wearing vintage *“the originality and the uniqueness of the garment literally rubs off on the wearer.”* As Michael similarly asserts:

“The very essence of it, of vintage is wearing something that your granny would have, might have been proud of you to wear...”

The marketspaces of Granny Would be Proud, Little Birds and Judy’s facilitates a community based on these shared ideals and aesthetics and creates a consumption space in which the community’s preference for the past have been cultivated through practice and associated forms of understanding. As Gregson and Crewe (2002) conclude on their work on second-hand, consumption is accompanied by an unsentimental nostalgia in which second-hand re-appropriates and reinvents consumer objects, rather than imbuing them with a longing for the past. This mirrors notions in McCracken’s (1988) early work of the possibility of objects, of the *“combination and recombination take place until a concept and an aesthetic emerge that help give substance to a group’s wish to differentiate itself from the mainstream”* (1988: 136). As a knowledge form vintage is embodied: vintage is worn and performed on the body (Entwistle, 2009). In this way vintage allows the consumer to play with the stylistic norms and even gender boundaries through fashion. The marketplace provides the backdrop to these performances of what will be termed *‘cultivated assemblage’* (Dant, 2004: 2005). Similar to Dant’s (2004: 74)

‘driver-car’, vintage is not a thing or a person, it is a spatially assembled social being that adopts properties of both and conversely cannot exist without both. The actions of the practitioner are key to the very existence of vintage. The marketplace functions as a safe space to trial new aesthetics, pull on strands of current interests and enact past eras of interest in practice. Vintage in this way can be viewed as less costume wearing and more material assembling of objects of interest. In this manner, vintage can be seen as the ultimate form of bricolage or a reinterpretation of fashion that reconfigures used clothes, mixed with new. Vintage is practiced as a sensibility: a valuing of the old and discarded, such applications of knowledge and cultural investment act to differentiate the collective. As Deighton (1992: 370) argues the idea of performance is central to creation as “*many consumer transactions involve not possessions but performances,*” and as Kozinets et al. (2004:671) further suggests “*the performance turns the consumer into a producer.*” Vintage here should not be understood as the end result but as a continual and ongoing process of improvisation in which competences are developed through play and performance in the market setting.

5.3.5 The Space: Inherent Instability of Vintage

The pop-up markets are transitory by their very nature and their lifespan is grounded by the movement of time, this temporality is one of the central markers of the market format (there is a literal popping-up, before they are dismantled and disappear again). This led to a consideration of the notions of tempo and rhythm which brought forward this sense of being-in-the world of vintage, where practices must be understood as unfolding within particular parcels of temporal invigoration (Duffy and Hewer, 2013). Such an assertion on the time-like qualities of everyday practices

brought the researcher closer to the notion of the vintage scene as an ensemble of practices orchestrated and oriented around notions of time:

“The market almost acts like this stand-alone little enclave of your normal shopping routines and rituals I suppose, but they are heightened by the market surroundings. It is hard to explain the dullness and boredom of some periods of the day, building to the frenzy that happens when people all crowd round your stall.” (Annie)

As Annie conceptualises, to theorise time as significant to the constitution of practices forces a consideration of the value of particular consumption spaces. Using the practice lens and by *‘following the actors’* (Latour, 1987) looking at how vintage is organised within the marketspace, vintage can be seen to be defined in terms of being an unstable and constantly changing form:

“I will look at something and I have to decide if it looks vintage, or is it just old or is it not old enough? That is something that I run over in my head every time that I pick something up. I mean I will inspect the item for wear and cracks, smell it, feel the fabrics, but at the same time I will be running over in my head if I think it is on trend or does it have something about it that makes it a stand out piece.” (Jackie)

For Jackie, she explains this practice of categorising (Slater, 2002a, 2014) an item as vintage: it is both a physical practice of examining the object and categorisation of things and the tactile process of feeling out the object but also applying contemporary marketspace knowledge to it and whether it will be a desired object – whether *‘it is just old or not old enough’*. In this way market logic is applied to contextualise the object. Jackie continues:

“...It also depends on the time of day, I rarely take chances on an item but if it is near the end of the day and I can get a good price, I will quite often take it. I trust my judgement and there will be something about it that stood out to me.”

The time of day in the marketplace is frequently mentioned in the research as being a factor in the strategies employed:

“...You can tell the people who know how to play the game, they maybe come along and see what you have at the start of the day and they will ask you about prices and inspect the items, then they might reappear later and hope that as the day has gone on your prices have gone down. I mean sometimes I am just happy to shift items and would rather sell them and cover the cost of my table, than having to pack them all up again.” (Lindsay)

As Lindsay and Jackie’s comment depicts the passing of time on market day and that price is fluid and tied to the rhythm of the day. Expressing practical concerns such as covering her overheads is considered along with physical considerations such as having to repack unsold stock and transport it home again. In this way knowledge of the marketplace and the flow of the day, is seen to add to the strategy when looking for objects. Vintage is seen as temporal and ephemeral, it exists in pockets of time, to both be seized and capitalised on by the practitioner, or for the potential opportunity of discovery to be missed. The marketplace acts as an arena for the practice of vintaging to occur.

The field of the marketplaces allows for the opportunity to observe the spatially dispersed practitioners circulating ideas, trends and images. In gaining a further understanding into the space and materialisation of vintage, turning to the literature

of Warde (2005) and Appadurai (1986), the link between spaces, objects and practices becomes critical in exploring the movement of objects. As shown in the first findings section, to be a competent practitioner requires a thoroughly reflexive engagement with the objects: their current use and potential usage even if they have fallen out of use. Ben comments:

“...Some stalls do such a good job of pulling it all together, it makes the objects come alive from this overlooked thing and you start to imagine how it would work on your mantelpiece or in your wardrobe.”

Appadurai's (1986) '*commodity journey*' contains context as crucial in highlighting the value of goods, however this focus on the social framing of commoditisation is lacking in empirical studies (Gregson et al., 2007; Gregson and Crewe, 2002; Parsons, 2007; Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2009). This lack of focus on context and commoditisation/disinvestment is especially pertinent in the discussion of vintage goods through which different ways of framing and negotiating value are present. The findings have shown that the process of qualification of the material object is continual and in some cases circular, as objects are constantly examined in the market, by both seller and consumer, constantly open to interpretation and transformation as they move from one space to the next: *peripheral existence, to stock, to marketplace, to new owner and possibly re-entering of the marketplace*. Practices are thus contextually embedded, value or meaning is not "*created*" by the consumer but formed in practical arrangements, spaces in which actions are carried out and resource elements are integrated skills and images related to practices (Schatzki, 2001).

In further considering the practical arrangement of the marketspace, De Certeau (1995) considers space as “*an intersection of moving bodies*” and of it being a practiced place. Carrie alludes to this ‘intersection’ and the power of the moving bodies:

“I like all the hustle and bustle I suppose, you navigate it, by the middle of the afternoon it is busy and you are aware of the music and people talking loudly. You are trying to look at the stalls and have a ‘game plan’ of where to go... I always bump into people I know and you are trying to chat but people squeeze past you and things catch your eye and it’s like you get shifted along, you can’t really stop for long.” (Carrie)

Carrie highlights the physical and mental navigation of the marketspace, there is almost a flow of the market that takes over and practitioners are unable to stop, as the collective moves them forward in the space. Hereby within the vintage context, an understanding of everyday practices is enriched through understanding consumers as moving entities in time and space, through which questions notions of fixed structures are questioned, and a more nuanced appreciation of agency begins to emerge, perhaps best thought of in terms of the ability to “*negotiate movements within those structures*” (McDonald, 2004: 200). As this understanding illuminates it necessitates a turn to movement to make explicit the routines and conventions, which are revealed by taking on board this aspect of practices. Through this constructed space in the market, an understanding of vintage practices as a “*structured movement system*” (Kaeppler, 1985:116) begins to emerge; what Williams would prefer to visualise as a ‘*structure of feeling*’. This dynamic ‘feel’ in the marketspace, the relation between vendor and consumer, the subtle dance around the table that was

performed, was seen as key in the acceptance into the collective, the building of relationships and ultimately an exchange. Referring back to Michael's earlier discussion of guiding the consumer through the exchange, it could be considered in these fluid and dynamic terms, of learning the steps to engage with the collective practices of vintage. This focus on movement and fluidity further calls attention to Nash's (2000: 654) assertion: "*dance is taught, scripted, performed and watched*". Building on the observations of people approaching, navigating and vacating the stall space, the consumer acts as willing participant to be led through the process by a knowledgeable tutor, seeking acceptance to continue onto the next step of being able to interact with both the objects and the possible stage of exchange. Rules of etiquette in the market are brought to the foreground in the stall space and are reminiscent of the distinctions drawn by Hanna et al. (1979) between competence (internalised rules for dancing) and performance (what someone does on the basis of knowing such rules) and creator (choreographer) and imitator (Hanna et al., 1979: 315). As such when consumption is understood as part of social practices the movement of the objects and how this movement shapes the moments of consumption, the perception of space becomes critical. In viewing this vintage marketspace as actively constructed rather than passively absorbed the practices and performances of the individual become of paramount importance.

5.3.6 Conclusion of 'Space'

In this findings section practices have been sought to be revealed as an invaluable perspective for capturing the sense that actions unfold in space and time; and through such a practice turn, a sensitivity to the vintage marketspace, as Lash and Lury suggests, as a "*space of intensities*" (2007: 15) could be captured. Referring back to

Warde's (2005) assertion that consumption is a moment within social practices, these findings show that consumption occurs during performances that are related to objects and are spatially bound. Practices are always carried out in context, as Gregson et al. (2007: 198) comment "*practices are always spatialized and spatializing.*" The afternoon of the market was revealed as a continual shift between time, space and actors, with a changing rhythm and tempo that marks the passage of the day. This time-space dynamic nods to Giddens (1979: 3) in that the dichotomy is inscribed in all social interactions. In the suggestion that vintage practices bring forth movement, reference can also be drawn on what Bourdieu in *Outline to a Theory of Practice* (2010, orig. 1977: 7) refers to as the '*dialectics of strategies:*' whereby the urgencies of time must be included as a central constituent of everyday practices. As this discussion has explored, vintage knowledge is not only temporally organised it is spatially located. Such a sense of time takes a number of forms but makes explicit the ways that practices are structured temporally.

Returning to the suggestion that markets should be studied as sites of multiple and often conflicting arrays of practices (Araujo et al., 2008: 6) or '*in the making,*' this study comes to understand the markets not primarily as sites of commerce but as sites of social connection and interaction that occur in these alternative spaces. This builds on Watson (2009) who highlights that markets play an important social function of social inclusion and care of others. She depicts that as a shared social space, markets provide informal care of others and act as sites of social association and inclusion. This thesis adds to this understanding as the findings reveal that the vintage collective makes use of under-utilised spaces (empty rooms and closed off areas in commercial spaces), away from the high street, to enact their own market

values and aesthetic preferences. The marketspace site is therefore under constant motion, reorganisation and rearrangement (Tuan, 1977). The collective create value in these urban spaces that were otherwise empty and unused (Watson, 2009; Goss 1993).

In understanding consumers as moving entities in time and space, consuming speaks of the importance of considerations of space (Hewer and Hamilton, 2010) and how these spaces were unsettled and transformed in practice. The importance of the site of consumption was underpinned by the notion that they are living spaces and as such consumers actively construct lived experiences through their use of consumer goods and services. As discussed in the methodology chapter, the researcher observed participants in the markets but also observed the context in which these practices occurred (Spradley, 1980). Using visual data allowed the researcher to position consumers and their consumption behaviour within their social setting which was especially important in the market context. The wider sites of consumption was still a relatively under researched topic of study in the literature – exceptions include Goths (Goulding et al., 2005), Burning Man Festival (Kozinets, 2002) and white water rafting (Arnould and Price, 1993). In addressing this second research objective and employing the practice perspective, this focus on space and context of consumption from this study adds to an understanding of how value was performed in practice through an exploration of the vintage marketspace. With a focus on the ephemeral space of the vintage pop-up market, that invoked the concept of ‘the alternative,’ these marginal sites of consumption are seen as active places that are an amalgamation of market objects, actors and influences that encode particular practices (Slater, 2002a; Geiger et al., 2012). The market became a space to enact

differentiation and knowledge and *'practices of belonging'* (Brownlie and Hewer, 2011). This thesis further highlights that Othering of the market takes place for it to embrace its positioning and value as *'alternative.'* In *'invoking the alternative,'* vintage sites became spaces of differentiated exchange and were juxtaposed as Other throughout the research to *'spaces of the new.'* It was a space of aesthetic enjoyment of objects of the past, not simply a nostalgia or temporal longing, but a collective appreciation of the possibilities and sensibilities of forgotten aesthetics (Arsel and Thompson, 2011; Schiermer, 2013).

In further articulating the importance of this turn to space, Schatzki (1996: 89) highlights that practices are *'spatially dispersed'* and Giddens (1979:3) illuminates the *'time-space relations inherent in the constitution of all social interaction.'* The construction of the market 'look' within the space is shown to add credibility to both seller and consumer in the collective hierarchy (unpacked further in the following section on Socialities) and has implications for the construction of value as in this way value is created anew within the market space. Further the development of an interaction and bond functions as a key differentiator in separating the vintage market space from more traditional conceptions of the marketplace. This discussion has shown that the space itself plays a key role in the exchange: it is a space of familiarity, support and learning (Goulding et al., 2013; Linnet, 2011; McCracken, 1989; Watson, 2009). With different levels of commitment and feelings towards vintage, the market creates a space for experimentation, performance of *'cultivated assemblage'* and critique. The pop-up format allows for a space in which the practitioners are made visible to each other and the performance sustains and enhances these collective ties, as will be further explored in the next section on

sociality. As shown with Goulding and Saren's (2007:27) study on Goths, communities of consumption are "*sites of contestation where orthodoxy is challenged and identities are constructed and performed.*" This also links to the work of Schau et al. (2009) who depicts that rather than focusing explicitly on individual participants, a focus on the collective and the participatory actions is needed in studies of the collective. Following the construct of practices as implicit and interrelated ways of understanding, saying and doing things, practices are argued to be spatially and temporally bound behaviours and performances in action. In focusing on this performative enactment of vintage, this findings section has shown that it is a social entity grounded in the temporalities and spatialities of commodity journeys, with vintage and value creation as the outcome of this embodiment and consumer action (Gregson and Crewe, 2002; Parsons, 2006, 2010). The spectacle of the markets is central to the notions of collectivity and displays of style whether through practices of bricolage or '*eclectic homeliness*'. In this way the practitioners are not mere consumers of the vintage market, but actively construct it through their market-space practices. By focusing on the collective understanding and practices, the market-space discourse between practitioners highlights that value is made anew in these collective interactions. This collective understanding will be explored in detail in the following section.

5.4 The Socialities

5.4.1 Introduction

The previous findings sections have shown that the market-space of vintage is actively constructed through networks of objects, practitioners and social practices.

In addressing the research objective of how value is ascribed and framed in the marketplace by the collective, it is necessary to revisit the literature on various consumer collectives and how they are considered to be sites of value creation (Cova, 1997; Giesler, 2006; Kozinets, 1999; Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001; Pongsakornrungrungsilp and Schroeder, 2011). In considering the marketplace context of the research and the collective nature of the exchange, Schau et al.'s (2009) discussion is important and illuminates that through their discussion of brand communities, practices have clear typology of value creating effects. As discussed in the first findings section on practices, the development of practices in the marketplace, similarly to Schau et al.'s (2009) study leads to the exchange of collectively valued goods. Moving this discussion forward and seeking to explore the interaction of the practitioner and the community, the strategies employed to negotiate collective membership are further explored in this section in order to address the first research objective as to whether vintage creates a shared consumption space.

5.4.2 Socialities: The Tribal Nature of the Collective

Coming from an ethnographic perspective and in considering vintage as knowledge in practice in the collective, the objects, actors, tools and locations are considered in exploring the '*discourses of community*' and '*collective creativity*' along with the online social space of the collective. As explored in the previous sections, practice in this way is seen to be multifaceted involving the assemblage of different objects, processes, understanding and assumptions. As Wenger (1998: 47) articulates:

“A concept of practice includes both the explicit and the tacit. It includes what is said and what is left unsaid; what is represented and what is assumed. It includes the language, the tools, the documents, the images, the symbols, well-defined roles, specified criteria, codified procedures, regulations, and contacts that various practices make explicit...it also includes all the implicit relations, tacit conventions, subtle cues, untold rules of thumb, recognisable intuitions, specific perceptions, well-tuned sensitivities, embodied understandings, underlying assumptions, shared worldviews. Most of these may never be articulated, yet they are unmistakable signs of membership of communities of practice.”

As shown in the literature in Chapter Two, the theoretical construct of community has a rich history within the field of marketing and consumer research. Community is defined as ‘*communitas*’ (Arnould and Price, 1993; Goulding et al., 2004), ‘*gemeinschaft*’ (Belk and Costa, 1998), brand communities (Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001; Muniz and Schau, 2005), subcultures (Goulding et al., 2004b; Schouten and McAlexander, 1995) brand and marketplace communities (McAlexander et al., 2002) tribal formations (Cova et al., 2007) and micro-cultures (Thompson and Troester, 2002). The community feeling is reiterated throughout the research as an important aspect of the current success of the vintage market model in the city. It becomes necessary to question how the collective is formed and maintained in the marketplace.

Within the tribal framing the collective does not need to be located around the vintage labelling (unlike with a brand community) necessarily but around the interactions and engagement. In discussing the market culture of vintage (Arnould and Thompson, 2005) within the collective each practice encourages deeper

commitment to the shared understanding of vintage as shown in the first findings section. The development of relationships and shared understandings suggests that the act of vintage is social by its very nature. Elena asserts:

“It is like a family almost, we see the same people every few weeks and we all chat on Facebook in between the markets. It is like finding an extended group of friends that all value the same things as you.” (Elena)

As Elena remarks there is an almost familial relationship that takes place in the collective around the core members: they have shared interests, values and speak frequently – both in person and online (developed further later in the following section). From the observations, the building of these relationships and these sharing practices form a large portion of the interaction between consumer and stallholder and could grant status to both through this dialogue. Knowledge of the social actors creates a hierarchy of social interaction and adds to the familiarity that Elena describes.

Vintage consumption from the observations is both an individualistic and collective act that enlivens the marketplace. The tribal perspective of consumption as outlined in Chapter Two, proposes that people gather together in tribes and that these social groupings are more effective and influential on behaviour than marketing institutions or cultural authorities (Cova and Cova, 2002). Tribes are considered unstable, small-scale, affective and not fixed by any of the established parameters of modern society (Cova and Cova, 2002). The previous section on ‘The Space’ has shown that the tribe exists as ephemeral performances rendered through the commercial stage of the pop-up marketplaces. Cova and Cova (2002) suggest these are spaces that ‘anchor’

the tribe as it allows them to celebrate their own existence through these tribal performances of the collective. Within the vintage scene the act of being together in a communal space and having shared aesthetics is seen as key in adding value to the vintage practice. In considering a tribe as a group who have a common interest and create a social sphere with their own: rituals, language, hierarchy and values, through which they enact their passion for an object or brand (Kozinets, 2007), in the vintage context this collective action could be seen to form a hybrid (Latour, 1991; Entwistle and Slater, 2014) between market and community:

“Yes the market is important, it provides this space where you can go along and know that you will meet others that value the same things as you. It that weird thing of whether the market exists because of the people or the people exist because of the market? I sometimes think about if I would have connected with so many people without that opportunity...it is like our secret club.” (Adam)

Adam’s comments illustrates that the market provides a location for the enactment of this market performance around vintage and the shared values of the collective or ‘secret club’. It starts to tease out the question of whether the practitioners make the market or whether the market makes the practitioners? Engagement in the collective is seen to be distinguished through practice. Within tribes the social links established between consumers - or consumer-to-consumer linking value – are more important than the object being consumed (Cova et al., 2007). There is an important focus on re-appropriation in the acts of being, gathering and experiencing together as a group. The vintage collective is not a homogenous group of community participants but is diverse and could not be defined on basis of gender or age, what binds them together are their consumption practices. Cova (2003: 78) suggests “*belonging to a tribe is*

not the result of individual characteristics, but the result of a common experience of reality.” This focus on ‘*sharing*’ highlights that ways of doing things, actions and language shape the collective. The vintage tribe expresses pride in differentiating themselves from what was considered the ‘*mundane mainstream*’ (Ben). Through their consumption practices they mark themselves as different in their consumption tastes. In this respect they consider themselves outside the mainstream and Othering could be seen to be at work. This is in line with the work on tribes whereby:

“Tribes need to feel unique as averse to mainstream; they need a story, myth or narrative around which they can unite” (Goulding et al., 2013: 822).

In considering tribal practices, the search for legitimacy and authority by practitioners is prevalent within the community. Jessica speaks of the exclusivity of the vintage scene and the etiquette that should be employed: that it should be “*work*”, “*a little bit scary*” and “*not overly accessible to outsiders.*” This language of exclusivity and drawing boundaries between insiders and outsiders in the collective conveys a hierarchy at work.

5.4.3 Socialities: Collective Hierarchy

When considering the collective practices, a competitive spirit underlines many of the market interactions. Members of the collective could be seen to compete on knowledge and experience in the marketplace in the searching, finding and uncovering process. This air of competition is present in all three of the markets and enables participants to distinguish themselves strategically through their ‘*finds*’ to gain advantage and in turn create a social hierarchy. In the Granny Would be Proud market, Claire spoke of Lindsay having “*amazing pieces, I don’t know where she*

gets them but it is always really unusual, unique finds that she sells.” One way in which the social hierarchy of the collective is created is through the stock that sellers have to sell and the reputation that they have built up as to the quality of their stock. Although all the practitioners on the whole are friendly and welcoming to each other, this hierarchy is marked out by the knowledge that sellers have regarding the best places to find stock and starts to differentiate members:

“I get asked everyday [about stock] and I never tell, it is what sets me apart and then people would all flock, you’d have to kill me before I’d tell you.” (Jackie)

This social hierarchy is further displayed in the way that participants spoke of the length of time that they have visited and consumed at markets. As core members also set themselves apart within the collectives. Both Alice and Michael assert their place in the collective’s hierarchy by establishing a history of their market trading, Alice spoke of the long closed Paddy’s market in Glasgow where she had first had a stall in the 1980s and Michael spoke of travelling to Edinburgh during his student years to look for vintage men’s clothing. Michael’s status within the collective is a source of pride for him:

“Put it this way, I am now someone who has kicked around in the west-end most of his life, the first time was when I was a student at Glasgow University when I was in my early twenties or late teens, and then again now. In the middle period, I went away from Glasgow and didn’t have much to do with it. Back then in my ‘uni’ days, I was just anonymous, just invisible, no one gave a damn what I was doing, who I was or whatever, now all these years later, I come back and I’ve only been back for two years and the only two times I have went up and down Byres Road shopping over the

summer there, I've literally been stopped two or three times by people that know me in the space of ten minutes. It is quite nice you know, it is all positive stuff you know it is all good stuff, I get really good vibes behind the whole thing so that's nice."(Michael)

Michael's discussion highlights how capital is embedded in the interactions with the collective and the satisfaction that he garners from being a known part of the vintage scene, it also has given him fulfilment with his practices as a seller. Although his expression that it is a '*community thing*' is central in what he considers the essence of the vintage moment, Michael expresses his surprise at being a known presence within the scene and how this impacts his daily life. In considering his tribal capital, Michael asserts his history as a long time vintage connoisseur and that his practices have shifted alongside the market formation.

Within this fluid hierarchy of the tribe, in the social field acceptance and solidarity is a theme throughout the marketspaces. At Little Birds the wider selling community treats the original sellers (that had been there from the start of the market two years ago) with respect and reverence. If questions are raised about the market, they defer to their expertise. Louise the market organiser comments:

"There is a core group of people that have been selling and coming to the markets from the start and obviously I encourage lots of new people to come along but we have like a little gang that have seen the market change and grow and we can't help but be a little bit of an inner circle...it is not like we have rules as such but more ways of doing things." (Louise)

Louise's extract begins to unpack the social embeddedness of the marketplace and the accepted 'doing' of vintage. In her early thirties, Louise left her full time job as a PR Director to set up her own vintage market in the city centre. She has been selling vintage homeware at a variety of markets in the central belt of Scotland and decided to set up her own market. She explains that she felt the markets lacked a good marketing and PR strategy and that is something that she felt that she could offer that was different. She takes great pride in the professionalism of the markets and that all sellers are vetted before they could sell and that a good mixture of different goods offered. She chose to open the market in the city centre in the historic bar and restaurant 'Sloans' – the market takes over their Grand Ballrooms and Victorian Style tearooms twice a month. Louise explains that she thinks the location is important as it offers an alternative to the busy high street that is just minutes away on the main Glasgow shopping street, Buchanan Street. Louise uses Facebook, Twitter and e-newsletters to promote the market and she also uses her PR contacts to gain exposure for the markets. Louise describes buying and selling in the markets in personal terms rather than grounding it in economic exchange. She expresses her love of the objects she sells, but she privileges discussions of the people she meets at the markets in our conversations:

“I usually come to the markets with my mum or niece and in thinking about it, the market is a proper family affair and not just your actual family but the people you meet who sell and you see every few weeks and you learn from, to the customers that tell you all about their lives and big stories about stuff. I suppose I have always been a people person.” (Louise)

For her the market is underpinned by this personal and emotional discourse with knowledge of the market grounded in practice and experience. Within the collective this notion as Louise asserts of differing types of membership is evident throughout discussions. There are understood differences between the practitioners and a hierarchy emerges that is reliant on their level of sociality in the collective. The levels of membership are dependent on time spent in the market space, connections within the collective and perceived expertise of vintage. This connects to Parsons' (2006) work that suggests that the degree of social embeddedness of dealers within the antique context and their motivation for trading linked to the morality of the market. Acceptance by the vintage collective means that sharing practices benefits the individual and also creates consumption opportunities, further ways of understanding and doings of vintage are shared and appropriated as knowledge within the market space. In accordance with Thompson and Haytko's (1997) work, vintage allows practitioners to use fashion to self-define, to construct a personal discourse of their history and to negotiate the social. As explored in the sections on practices, practices could be seen to bestow participants with the cultural capital necessary to engage in the market space and individual participation is seen as being differentiated through performance (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1995).

This division between practitioners of firstly long-term enthusiasts and secondly market space visitors was also constantly marked out by the interviewees. The vintage practitioners were typically constituted as having '*instinct*' or an appreciation and long-term interest in the aesthetic style as unpacked earlier in the chapter around the discussions of practice. In contrast visitors and spectators in the market were constructed as simply being interested in the trend, or of not caring enough and of an

indifference towards the purity of the marketspace. Practitioners spoke of *'the hobbyists'* who had started selling at the markets and they were referred to as ignorant in their knowledge and in their lack of engagement with the objects and wider collective scene. Relationships and social history separate out spheres of influence in the collective - from accepted member to peripheral practitioner or *'hobbyist'* or as Judy mentions people who are *'playing at it'*:

"We get lots of applications to sell at our markets, but we tend to focus on the people that know what they are doing. We find that it changes the tone of the market if we have sellers that are really just playing at it or aren't very experienced. We pride ourselves and the customers expect it, that our markets look professional and are well set up...there are only so many 'cupcake' type stalls we need to see." (Judy)

In line with the work on tribes (Cova and Cova, 2002; Cova et al., 2007; Goulding et al., 2013) the core members of the vintage tribe challenge the practices and norms of those that do not confirm to their own standards. These standards are negotiated by market interaction, socialisation and learning. With this marketspace hierarchy at work, passionate statements about the ideals of vintage being corrupted abounded in the layers of the hierarchy. The markets are constructed, as complex and learned spaces that centred on discourses of taste, style and aesthetics and that could not be easily navigated by *'the hobbyists'*. Annie explains that she is relatively new to the tribe as she describes learning the rites and codes of practice in the market:

"I came to vintage quite late, I have always been style conscious but once I retired I was looking for something more creative to do. I travel to France a good few times a year and had always picked up jewellery and 'bits and bobs', I started to see from

coming along to the markets, that maybe I could do something and resell some of my pieces and buy more on my trips. It has been a steep learning curve, of what will sell and what makes your stall stand out, even how best to pack and set up. People have been welcoming, though I am a slightly different age bracket than some and it can be hard to stay up to date with the online stuff, Etsy and Facebook, but I am not doing it to make my living or am reliant on it, but because I enjoy it.” (Annie)

Annie depicts that her initial stages of membership with the tribe have involved a socialisation process that is grounded in extensive learning about market practices. As a practitioner learning to fully align (Goulding et al., 2013) with the tribe is crucial and the newcomers do not always possess the subcultural capital (Thornton, 1995) to enable them to adhere to the tribal codes. The more experienced members administer the rites and codes of the market and oversee the learning of new community members. Annie demonstrates that full participation in the tribe is reliant on the acquisition of skills and the norms of the group. This relates to Warde (2005:148) who posits *“people come to an understanding of what is required by the practice and their role within it.”* Vintage in this way can be seen as a complex social practice that is learned in context, which further establishes that practitioner competence is not fixed; it evolves and shifts in the market. As shown in the previous section around the spatial considerations, the marketspace creates an environment for practitioners to interact with others of a similar taste and mind-set and to accrue this *‘learning to be tribal’* (Goulding et al., 2013). Practices evolve and extend over time and members’ legitimacy increases.

The market is a communal setting, which is enlivened by the social bonds of the collective and allows tribal practitioners to develop and demonstrate their

commitment to the collective. When asked about the role of the markets Tina explains:

Researcher: "Can you tell me about what you think about the markets?"

Tina: "What I think about is selling that object, discussing with the customer about the item, building a relationship with them and thinking about what new lease of life they will give it... I love those interactions...I have made so many friends in this line of work and I always thought that I was alone in how I valued vintage stuff over new things..."

Tina reveals in her language the 'doing' of vintage in the collective – *selling, discussing, building and thinking* – through this she conveys the sociality of the encounters and the overall feeling of not being alone. This social role of the market and the physical proximity of the market space enforce the relational nature of the exchange and in turn enliven a stronger feeling of community. Similarly for Crewe and Gregson (1998: 42) car boot sale consumption is a communal activity in which "*sociality, tactile interaction and tribal solidarity*" are all part of the distinction of the space from a more traditional shopping context. They argue that the informality of these ephemeral spaces provides a space for sociable consumption in which the '*character and texture*' of the meeting are crucial. Their study suggests that exchanges within marginal sites of consumption are embedded within a socio-cultural milieu. They assert that these exchanges provide the consumer with a greater degree of agency than more traditional contexts of exchange. This section has depicted within the tribe belonging has to be practiced into being and negotiated over time. The hierarchy is developed around these dynamic social practices, which the

marketspace provides a space for the performance of these socialities and collective gathering.

5.4.4 Socialities: Collective Creativity

Within the collective framing, the marketspace acts a hub for creative thinking and development of ideas around the collective understanding of 'vintage' further it serves as a location for this creative sense making practice. As perceptions of the vintage practice change and develop, so did the collective's resulting marketspace practices. In the marketspace practitioners were seen to act as innovators and were entrepreneurial in their action: over the study the researcher observed the development of services and products to meet changing market demand. The collective was anchored in the marketspace understanding of vintage and as opportunities arose, practitioners developed to meet the changing parameters of the market. Cherry explains that she had been asked along to the markets because a potential opportunity had opened up which provided a marketspace opportunity:

"I was talking to the market organisers about how it was progressing and ideas for the future and we started chatting about how people buy vintage dresses even if they don't fit and that they always mean to get them altered but never do, as a seamstress they suggested that I should market my services at the market as a way to make that dress fit...it is strange because I wouldn't necessarily have thought about it, but like everything it has just kind of developed and my own business has flourished because of it." (Cherry)

From a discussion with the organisers, potential was seen in the marketspace and as a result Cherry developed a sewing service as part of her own market practice and due

to the success of this venture, had opened her own vintage custom dress shop in the cobbled streets near the Granny Would be Proud market. This creative discourse of the market was constant which highlighted the dynamic nature of the marketspace. Further marketspace practices create and offer sites of new opportunities for consumption. The collective acts as a space for nurturing of ideas and potential, with the caveat that the practitioner had to be accepted within the collective. Similarly to Goulding and Saren's (2007) '*Tribal entrepreneur*' through whom cultures of consumption develop to meet the needs of the created markets, the vintage marketspace could be seen to nurture proactive entrepreneurs as well as passive consumers. Building on being a place of '*play*' (Holt, 1995) the markets offer tribal members the opportunity to customize market offerings (Goulding and Saren, 2007) rather than a dependence on available consumption resources. Further as trends develop within the collective the market responds and alters:

"People think they know what vintage is and what the vintage markets are, we are continually trying to expand these ideas and be innovative with our thinking. We have focused on different areas, such as homeware as that has become more fashionable and I am continually working with my team to develop new areas for us to expand into. It feels like for the markets to stay alive you have to stay ahead of the trends." (Judy)

Judy explains the vision of her markets for them to stay relevant with the collective, she employs traditional market logics of strategic planning, forecasting and differentiation to enable the markets to grow and develop. Although in many ways a grassroots approach and more traditional, she depicts that as the market organiser she is clearly orientated towards ensuring that the market will continue to develop and

remain current for the tribe. As with other trend orientated, creative industries, over the two years of the study the researcher witnessed original innovators being pushed out of the collective and moving onto new sites to explore interests. As such Sarah had organised a market in the city centre for two years however she had become disillusioned by the mass marketisation of vintage:

“Our markets were a success and maybe that is part of the problem, when I started seeing vintage in Topshop and in every magazine, it started to lose its appeal, it was no longer this special thing that my friends and I were interested in, it became everywhere. The markets became less about this select group of people with shared interests and more people trying to find the latest thing from Topshop at a cut price. Now I am more focused on independent designers and under the radar events. Once it gets too mass, you know it is time to move on.” (Sarah)

Sarah’s phrasing of a ‘*select group*’ of people illuminates the collective hierarchy at work and that by its own success and increased visibility, vintage became too ordinary for Sarah and the appeal started to diminish. Her interest has continued to develop around a further seeking out of ‘*the alternative*’ and ‘*under the radar*’ and she continues to position her consumption practices as different from ‘*the mass.*’ For Sarah the appeal of the alternative is in the ability to differentiate and develop her interest in line with a group of similarly minded consumers. Sarah’s comments further illustrate that as a consumption field, vintage does not exist in isolation. It is embedded within the wider socio-cultural structures and does not exist as an autonomous field. In this manner, participants often questioned such change and enacted a feeling of protection around vintage as a form of stylization; as Sarah continues to explain:

“Vintage to us used to mean something exclusive and special - an aged one off that no one would have the same. But I think that in the last few years the term 'vintage' has been used and abused. When you have shops like New Look using the word, it kind of ruins it all a bit. It has become a sort of cliché. I find that really off putting all round for something that started out so special.” (Sarah)

She highlights the paradox of the market, that it needs a collective effort to be sustained in practice, but that once this interest reaches such a large group, the original premise of the interest can be lost or damaged and sections of the collective move on. Sarah’s comments reveal her attempt to disengage from the tribe as for her the appeal of vintage is in its uniqueness and the capital that she garnered from being involved in something outside mainstream. This depicts that unlike with a brand community and Muniz and O’Guinn’s (2001) *“moral responsibility,”* Sarah’s attitude to the collective is based on her own needs and she is not concerned about exiting and moving on once her needs are no longer met. In this way the collective is shown to be a social hub but is fluid in construct and is tribal in nature, members disperse and reform as something else once the wave of shared emotions end (Cova et al., 2007). When viewing vintage through this tribal (Cova et al., 2007) understanding, it is seen as active and continuous and participation is experiential, tied to individual goals and furnishes participants with the knowledge and doings needed to practice.

Sarah decided to move on from the vintage collective in her search for the alternative however she was not alone in conveying dismay and frustration at how vintage has been co-opted by high street retailers. Further many respondents voiced a mistrust of

the apparent appropriation of the term and a sense of anger felt that the essence (and purity) of what vintage constituted was being lost and endangered:

“...If you have a space that you’ve nurtured and created and then if all these people don’t really grasp what this space was created for and try and adopt it – you get kind of protective. With the high street finding vintage, it just makes me more puritanical about it...it defeats the whole point of being vintage – you now have this vintage dress code instead of just wearing it cause you like it.” (Cherry)

Cherry illuminates a ‘*finding process*’ of the high street in discovering the market value of vintage. She further highlights the resulting ‘codes’ at work in the market and a less organic feel to the scene. As highlighted by Cherry’s discussion, this resulting tension and feeling of protection around the concept and created space was powerful. Cherry felt a sense of duty that the concept of vintage was being undermined and that a lack of appreciation for the aesthetic labour (Entwistle, 2009) involved in the practice was evident. This also illustrates that the marketplace myth (Arsel and Thompson, 2011) of vintage, in that it is propagated around vintage standing in contrast to the mainstream and as a counter culture consumption field (Bourdieu, 1984) associated with creativity and being different for the collective.

5.4.5 Socialities: Sociality of Exchange

The market space is seen as a dynamic and active field, it serves as a meeting place, a shopping venue and a temporary home for the vintage collective. In the research context vintage is shown to be a social practice that constructs a communal market space setting, which is enlivened by the social bonds of the collective. Over the past twenty years, consumer researchers have explored a variety of consumption-

orientated collectives ranging from extreme sports groups (Celsi et al., 1993), surfers (Canniford and Shankar, 2013), temporary anti-brand festivals (Kozinets, 2002), in-line skating tribes (Cova and Cova, 2002), brand cults (Belk and Tumbat, 2005), brand communities (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001) and consumption subcultures (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995). From this critical understanding a further question emerges as to how the tribe shapes practices of vintage? This collective social space of the market creates the backdrop to the exchange and frames practitioner encounters allowing them to interact with others of a similar taste and mind-set. The market context and the variety of materialities present further support this sense of *'belonging'*. Vintage consumption from the observations is both an individualistic and collective act that enlivens the market space:

“These otherwise empty and unused spaces are brought to life by a group of people on a Sunday morning. Without traditional advertising and marketing techniques the markets operate on an ‘in the know’ basis almost. Knowledge of vintage and the local creative scene seem to be passed on face to face or followed up online.”
(Researcher field note, March 11th 2012)

In the Granny Would be Proud Market, the collective creates a core group of frequent practitioners and the market space functions as a social encounter every second Sunday. The development of practices in the market space, similarly to Schau et al.'s (2009) brand communities, leads to the exchange of collectively valued goods and knowledge. As well as providing friendship opportunities, the collective is based on economic exchange and loyalties are displayed to sellers and their objects. The researcher observes Adam, one of the Granny Would be Proud fair organiser in the weeks before Christmas. He explains that he is hoping to buy all of his Christmas

gifts at the markets as it would be a good thing for all his friends who are stallholders, as he would always rather give them the business and also that his partner would know that he had bought all of her gifts from the market. In his discussion of this practice, the vintage objects became secondary to the links to the people he has purchased them from. The sellers all take great pride in showing him items that they thought Elena would like and allow him to pay up over a few weeks some of the larger items. In this example, the thought that he was purchasing within the collective and that the Christmas gifts would have more significance because of their association to the market is a strong presence. This loyalty and favouring of buying from friends in the market, is traditional and reminiscent of a retail model whereby the personal, social element to the buying process is as important as the object itself. Knowledge of the social actors, knowing their names, interests and backgrounds creates a familiarity in the market and blurs boundaries between the commercial marketplace and the family orientated private space. This could be seen as a '*nostalgic discourse of community*' with characteristics of traditional marketplaces evident. In this way, it is argued that the marketplace provides a space that differs from the high street model, wherein the exchange is impersonal and purely about the end product, in the vintage market space the social exchange and collective interaction is prized.

Further the building of friendships is important to both stallholders and consumers. In all of the markets there is a tangible feeling from consumers that stallholders are the 'gatekeepers' to market knowledge and potential finds. Consumers spoke of a feeling that there is always more stock to be seen than is present on the stall and that

the only way to access this potentially more interesting and more valuable stock is through the stallholder as a gatekeeper:

“You always think that if you can chat to them maybe they will be able to tell you about where to get what you are looking for or how rare an item it is. Mostly I get so much information during those quick chats; I usually try and pay it forward to my friends or people when I hear that they are looking for something in particular.”
(Lindsay)

By building relationships in the collective one of the most important exchanges is of knowledge of stock as Lindsay highlights. In this way the collective can be seen as strategic in manner, all practitioners are highly motivated to ensure success in the marketplace (what would be considered success varied from finding out about new supplier or clearance sale that is coming up, to being directed to a source of a hard to find object). The collective is further tied to being part of an economic strategy of practitioners:

“We tend to find out lots of things from other people like what markets to sell at, what to avoid, where there might be good stock coming from, it is like a little network here. You only start to find out about how big the scene is and everything that is going on once you are in it really.”(Tina)

“...You see what other people manage to sell, how much they manage to get for it, it is we are like learning as we go along and people are normally pretty good at sharing things that don't work for them or markets to avoid, maybe they don't always share the things that do work for them– I suppose we are all trying to sell at the end of the day. But it has to be a close knit kind of thing, you have to leave your stall

sometimes and you ask people beside you to watch it for you, you don't always have the right change and need to borrow some from a neighbour, it is this community thing that happens because we all have to trust each other a little bit in the market.”
(Louise)

Louise describes that the market functions on these community practices, that even practical aspects of selling in the market setting are reliant on sellers being able to trust their neighbours to look out for their best interests in the market or as Tina depicts with ‘networks’ at play. Louise highlights that through discussing with other sellers; she is able to find out about best practice in the market and is able to learn from their past experiences. Further these narratives and interactions facilitate and extend consumption behaviours. The value in this continual exchange of information on a face-to-face basis is characteristic of the marketspace. Exchange in the marketspace is based on these discourses of knowledge, style and collective acceptance. The vintage objects become tangible resources that are used to construct style, identity and signal group membership. In the exchange process, time is spent on establishing shared values and interests: stallholders asked the consumer questions about their style and influences and where they normally find vintage objects. From the observations it emerges that a relationship and common ground is established in the exchange encounter that assesses levels of commonality and aesthetic understanding between both stallholder and consumer. This dialogue provides a means for stallholders to describe their objects, offer a discussion of the object’s history and previous lifecycle and ultimately navigate a use value and potential value in the mind of the consumer. For the stallholder it is a way to show their care for the object, the rarity and exclusivity of it. This development of an

interaction and bond is a key differentiator in separating the vintage marketplace from more traditional conceptions of the marketplace. This is also in line with Wenger's (1987) work on communities of practice, which suggests that an emergent sense of group membership and identity develops from practices that facilitate the interchange of collectively valorised resources. A number of respondents link these elements of marketplace interactions and values back to a broader sense of social belonging, for example Ben discusses:

"It is nice to think that you pop along on a Sunday afternoon, you do some shopping and pick up some new interesting pieces but you feel like you are in a place where people get you and you belong...you feel they understand how you like to shop and what you think is important [pause] maybe that is quite 'hipsterish' but it seems like one of the main reasons why I shop here." (Ben)

Ben prizes the feeling of belonging to the collective and that influences his rationale in choosing to shop at the markets. He places less emphasis on the particular objects and more on the interactions and feeling of people understanding him. He is conscious that this may play into connotations of 'hipster' behaviour but it is an element of the consumption practices that is important for him. He actively seeks out others that he considers as sharing similar aesthetic values and considerations. In exploring this relationship further with Tina, who owns a bespoke vintage dress service, she speaks of building up almost familial relationships with the consumers she works with:

"It is my business but I love working with people for months on creating something that will mean so much to them but it always shapes me as well...it is important that

you have the same vision and share a vintage aesthetic...long afterwards I still like to have a drink with them as we have been so much part of each other's lives." (Tina)

Tina conveys esteem around these relationships with consumers she highlights the time and involvement with each other, the idea that they both invest in each other around the exchange – in both a personal and a monetary fashion. She also illuminates the idea of the importance of the shared ‘vintage aesthetic’, that this similarity in how they view the world, their style preferences and appreciation of the vintage scene is key in the development of this relationship. The importance placed on these practices of a shared aesthetic and the social demonstration of these practices around the exchange, portrays a social investment in the object from both stallholder and consumer in which the value is constructed. Stallholders describe their consumers as friends and these friendships are longstanding, with some spanning years. They are relationships that although built around an exchange are spoken about in personal and affectionate terms. There appears to be friendships based on a shared understanding of aesthetics and style similarities but also of gaining advantage and knowledge in the marketplace. Practitioners spoke of the “*camaraderie*” and “*community*” of vintage and this conveys forms of sociality that are emergent also to the practices of consumption. The vintage marketplace can be understood as a ‘*performance of community value*’, which is a collective and social undertaking, and in which negotiations over objects, use and ultimately price, are intimately woven into the social. By this account, while appearing individualistic vintage consumption is also understood as a communal form of consumption whereby the reclamation of social relations and the enlivenment of social spaces are

made possible through the marketplace. This community feel was summarised by Michael:

“There is no doubt about it, there is a community thing going on, I think this is what will keep the thing going, no matter what happens to the vintage, that undercurrent of a vintage trend at the moment.” (Michael)

And further added to by Louise:

“Vintage is a lifestyle and not just how you choose to shop: it is about a way of seeing the world but also I suppose how you see your friendships. Yes, I sell at markets as my job, but it is something that I love, when I am up at 4 am to go to a house clearance or car boot sale on a rainy Glasgow November morning, what I think about is selling that object, discussing with the customer about the item, building a relationship with them and thinking about what new lease of life they will give it... I love those interactions...I have made so many friends in this line of work and I always thought that I was alone in how I valued vintage stuff over new things...”(Louise)

The marketplace provides a context for this collective gathering and for the exchange of shared ideals. Louise describes how when selling her vintage homeware pieces she likes to “*get a feel for the customer,*” and to “*try and understand their vintage style and preferences*” so as to make recommendations and know what they would be comfortable with. She feels that this exchange is crucial in the marketplace and that people value this interaction. This building of a relationship between stallholders and consumers and the acceptance into the vintage community is marked also by the time spent over the interactions around the exchange. This relationship

and interaction of the stallholder and consumer are intrinsic as to how the objects are viewed in their new lifecycle, as illustrated through researcher field notes:

“At the stalls it seems like there is a window of opportunity to talk around the object and really bring it to life. The exchange seems quite personable in that way and the stallholder’s personality has to come through with their chat and establish a shared vision of vintage. Whether that is through a tale of how they came to possess the object or how they had cleaned it up, or even how the object could be used, it seems like this dialogue that takes place over the object either establishes a purpose for the object or not.” (Researcher field notes, March 25th 2012)

As this excerpt depicts, consumption is viewed as a way to connect to others, in conceptualising consumption in this way it allows for an understanding of the complex emotional and social relations that unfold in the marketplace. The above extract demonstrates that the object is only one part of the exchange, the practice of building of relationships and the view that vintage is a lens for viewing consumption and through this a community has developed. In previous consumer research, friendship has largely been conceptualised as a form of member reference group. These groupings have been argued to have the power to exert a normative influence over their consumption choices (Tarnanidis et al., 2010). In the literature Turner and Rojek (2001) suggest that friendship is a direct consequence of sharing ritual activities. This parallels the discussion of Muniz and O’Guinn (2001) who assert that consumption activities can be placed centrally in the creation of friendship and ideas of belonging. The vintage context illuminates that friendship in the vintage marketplace is key to marketplace performance of the tribe and as a practice of belonging.

5.4.6 Socialities: Virtual Community Spaces

As a forum for social practices and knowledge exchange, this emergent collective relies on social media to connect, market and maintain their offline social practices. As a transient market, social media is used to give a concrete presence to the markets. Instead of websites and personal sites, social media is used to connect practitioners and promote the marketplaces. This move online was evident in the exchanges in the marketplace around the object and stall table, which were often followed up with encouragement to *'befriend'* each other on Facebook. Social media also serves as a way to market the events of the marketplace to an interested audience. As transient marketspaces these social media practices facilitate the marketplace, this allows knowledge of the marketspace to reach the collective. Molly comments on her use of social media:

"Of a weekend I normally just look on Facebook to see what markets are on that day or I will have seen friends or the organisers posting about an event during the week and I will then remember to stop by."(Molly)

In this way, social media reaffirms the physical connection for Molly and also allows for the community to move online. It takes these notions of social exchanges and the desire to be part of 'the club' to a more visible, tangible state. In considering community engagement practices, the practices of social networking are seen to be focus on the creation of enhancing and building alliances and networks. This move onto a further online connection represents a lasting, tangible social connection that results from this initial exchange. In this way the stallholders again act like gatekeepers to the vintage tribe and community extending invites to members of the

collective that they assert merit this connection. Michael highlights the idea that this online platform allows for an interaction and acceptance:

“I think social networking has a lot to do with it... say you had a particular thing for vintage clothes, you would maybe meet other people who liked vintage clothes at the vintage clothes shop but the chances of hitting it off with them or going for a pint with them were pretty slim... because now people can express their interests up front on Facebook and places like that, there is more interaction with people, with groups that are like-minded...” (Michael)

For Michael social media becomes a vehicle to maintain and build emotional links within the collective. His extract also conveys that social media acts as a coordinator of the marketspace; it connects tribes (Cova et al., 2007; Canniford, 2011b; Goulding et al., 2013) that may have been unable to connect without this medium. This builds on the assertion, that the social web allows for the gathering of people with similar interests to converse and interact, therefore social networking sites can be regarded as a platform for social interactions and depict the collective’s tribal affiliations (Maffesoli, 1996; Cova, 1997; Hamilton and Hower, 2010).

The Facebook sites of all three of the markets act as tribal spaces (Maffesoli, 1996) which functions as a cultural resource that allows for an establishment of group unity which discussions of ‘us’ and ‘them’ can be used to differentiate the marketspaces from the masses. Discursive knowledge (Schau et al., 2009) is shared online and becomes a practice that is expected of the tribal members. The markets use social media to facilitate marketing practice and importantly to build relevance within the collective. As a tribal context, social media platforms allow for a tangible presence of

the member's emotional investment in the collective. In general Twitter is used as marketing platform to advertise and raise awareness of events, market dates and upcoming sellers, whereas Facebook acts as the main platform for emotionally engaging within the collective. Participation levels vary and the amount of personal information varies extensively across the collective. All three of the sample markets use Facebook to set up events pages for the market dates and showcase the sellers that will be present. They use this as the main vehicle to advertise the markets, with leafleting and e-newsletters used to supplement this. In the case of Granny Would be Proud, they use Facebook on a personal level to engage with the collective. On their market page they upload pictures of the markets, alongside pictures of their toddler daughter and do not distinguish between work (vintage markets) and private lives. This gave the feel of being more than work orientated but personal in nature and inextricably links the private and work sphere.

Figure 13 - Facebook screenshot of 'Granny Would be Proud' market page



Facebook provides an emotional cultural context to overcome geographical barriers to bring together like-minded practitioners and provides a space to share their passions. These active consumer practices are further grounded in Holt's (1995)

'consumption as play' and build on the suggestion by Kozinets (2008:351) that virtual communities *"bring back some of the intimate feelings we enjoyed in childhood when we were deeply immersed in play: intimacy with ourselves and our capabilities alongside closeness with friends to share our passion."*

As highlighted by Cova and White (2010) the most important resource in on and offline consumer gatherings, is the crowd. The online outlets also transform the fluidity of the social hierarchy of the vintage collective. The participatory nature of social media enables a collective authority to be tangible and positions of knowledge created within their tribal roles. This online organising and gathering of the tribe builds on connections of the marketspace and sparks new conversations and bonds to be built. This interactivity between practitioners is evidenced in a space that is used for advice and information, from discussions on 'the best vintage friendly dry cleaners' to 'restoration of blanket boxes' and 'sellers of the next marketplace,' as Jessica highlights:

"I don't always comment on stuff on the Granny [Facebook] page, a lot of it isn't for me, but I like to have look at the sellers that are coming up or I will look for a name of someone that I met at the market." (Jessica)

The dialogue observed in the social media landscape demonstrates within the vintage collective roles of directing, legitimising and accepting within this online tribal space, as Hamilton and Hewer (2010: 271) depict as space for *"interaction, connectivity and creativity."* This consumer community construct of *'virtual tribalism'* (deValck, 2007: 271) shows a togetherness that follows on from the marketspace interactions, it is personal in nature and the markets use social media to

create a relevance and everyday location in the collective's lives. The community spirit of personal engagement and interaction underpins the feel of the social media encounters. Although each of the markets uses the landscape of social media slightly differently, all use it as a way to navigate a more permanent feature in the vintage collective. Social media allows a platform away from the markets for socially agentic consumers to utilise a space for community building, self-promotion and value creation. This study of online interactions highlights how these spaces of virtual community gathering shape vintage consumption (Hamilton and Hewer, 2010; Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2010).

5.4.7 Conclusion of 'Socialities'

This final findings section has sought to explore the value of the tribal lens to the understanding of the sociality of vintage. The findings and preceding discussion focused upon *'the hierarchy at work'*, *'discourses of community'*, *'collective creativity'* and *'the virtual collective space'*. Within the tribal lens, vintage is framed as different from the mainstream, of doing, valuing and consuming differently. The pop-up markets become a site where tribal understandings and collective allegiances are negotiated and sustained through practices such as *'discourses of community'* and *'collective creativity'*. The collective and the sociality are negotiated through distinct forms of materiality and their interaction with these prized objects. In this way the exchanges are seen as testing emotional practices, such as commitment to vintage as a lifestyle. The material culture of vintage is produced through these interactions and creative practices and as a result vintage can be framed as a social object. The pop-up vintage markets play a social purpose for the collective and they offer visible forms of social connection in less formalised sites of consumption. The market space can be

understood as a *'performance of community value'*, which is a collective and social undertaking, and in which negotiations over objects, use and ultimately price, are intimately woven into the social.

The literature from Chapter Two highlights studies of marketplace communities and how communal consumption activities form collective identifications grounded in shared beliefs, complex value systems, rituals and systems of meaning whereby consumers develop emotional links with one another (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001; Cova et al., 2007). Through this ethnographic thesis, this research builds on this and further identifies that communities of consumption often demonstrate their joint emotional attachment through a united opposition to the dominant cultural norms and mainstream consumer practices (Muniz and Schau, 2005; Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Dalli and Corciolani, 2008; Goulding and Saren, 2009). Further the vintage marketspace was highlighted as embedded in a socio-cultural system of collectively shared cultural knowledge, aesthetic tastes, social networks, and systems of social distinction and hierarchies (Fonarow, 2006). As Wenger (1998) asserts with his communities of practice discussion, even casual communities lean towards some form of internal leadership. In the vintage tribe, the hierarchy was based on experience and time as a practitioner, indeed all of the discussions with participants pulled on discourses surrounding a family tradition of prizing antiques and being educated in their youth of alternative retail outlets and aesthetic understandings. Community hierarchies (Kates, 2002; Thornton, 1995) were therefore constituted and maintained through this learned knowledge of the tribe's history and understanding of collective aesthetics. *'Newcomers'* or *'hobbyists'* in the marketspace were depicted as struggling to

negotiate boundaries or as those who had not yet learned to fully align with tribal codes, and therefore had not acquired the subcultural capital (Thornton, 1995; Bourdieu, 1984) to be fully accepted members of the collective or the '*secret club*' that Adam explains. Through processes of interaction in the collective new knowledge was found when members interact, discuss and exchange knowledge with community members. Insider language and terminology around the doing of vintage was combined with an understanding of the discursive, tacit and performed knowledge needed to succeed in vintage. Value was formed through the lens of tribal learning (Goulding et al., 2013) and marketspace engagement. These findings add to an understanding of tribal learning, as Goulding et al. (2013) contend that learning to engage in the tribe is practiced and accrued over time, as competencies are learned from more experienced members. Within the vintage tribe respondents cultivated an embodied feeling for vintage that had been practiced from childhood. Vintage was seen as a practice realised over years of the doing of dressing and behaving, but also of valuing objects and appreciating the practices of this consumption landscape. This study's findings contribute to an understanding that the value in vintage was embedded within wider socio-cultural structures (Türe, 2014; Arnould, 2014).

The tribal nature of the vintage collective shows also that individuals participate and find value in the collective for firstly personal goals – information gathering, social interaction and the experience of the marketspace, secondly on a collective level – to develop a sense of community and identity and to support this grouping in their practices. This also links to the work of Pongsakornrungrungsilp and Schroeder (2011) who find that each member in their co-consuming group has two goals in their participation - on both an individual and group level. This further compliments Schau

et al.'s (2009) study in suggesting that the beneficiary role is a basic function of social practices in co-consuming groups. By assuming the role of beneficiary, consumers were able to engage with the community and facilitate value creation. Schau et al. (2009:25) study argues that through providing opportunities for members to demonstrate competencies, practices facilitate members to build cultural capital through '*adroit performances*', which creates value for the consumer. This thesis develops this and proposes that practices actualise opportunities for new consumption experiences for tribal members.

The notion of '*communitas*' was more ephemeral in the vintage context due to the transient nature of the marketplace, value was placed on the potential to inspire passion and form social links through deconstructing and assembling marketplace resources (Cova et al., 2007; Dant, 2004). The connected collective shared practices and values including the discourses employed to make sense of the vintage world. The application of the tribal lens shows how consumer practice can be understood as a situated social practice and '*cultivated assemblage*' in action (Dant, 2004). As shown in this findings section, the move online to social media served to further add to their creation of a tangible social sphere to share their narratives, experiences and values around vintage. Further this reiterates the findings of Gregson et al. (2007) as they found consumers were influenced not only by their own competences but also by their social practice. This thesis contributes to an understanding of value as the vintage context illuminates that value was seen as an enactment of relations, practices and socialities constructed in a specific context that was spatially and temporally bound. From a consumer perspective, value was seen to emerge from what people do, through the distinctions between actors in social pursuit and

exchange (Arnould, 2014:2). The findings illustrate that value was mobilised by practitioner agency and skill and led to a collective valorisation of ‘vintage’ (Wenger, 1987).

This section concludes the findings chapter. This chapter has shown that vintage whilst constructed as an alternative to the mainstream, of being different through its specialness was seen as becoming all too ordinary. Within the research this sense of tension was made explicit with practitioners often categorising the vintage marketplace for its ‘*between-ness*’ (Crewe et al., 2003). In this manner, participants often questioned such change and enacted a feeling of protection around vintage. Further this thesis argues that the vintage collective has been shown to have the cooperative ability to threaten the mainstream norms and establish their own through their consumption choices, spaces (on and offline) and practices. Tribes therefore could be considered not simply as groupings of consumers but as a collective of ‘*prosumers*’ (Zwick et al. 2008; Humphreys and Grayson, 2008; Ritzer, 2010) or as in this study, socially agentic *practitioners* in the marketplace. In considering consumer agency in this way, members act as collective actors in the marketplace and the market develops and shifts as a result of their practice. This also shows that as part of the wider creative scene, as a consumer driven market, vintage is in a constant process of flux and regeneration. The following chapter synthesises these findings in relation to the research objectives and emergent themes and concludes the thesis.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.0 Introduction

The overall aim of this study was to explore how the practices, spaces and socialities intersect in the consumption of vintage, with a specific focus on the pop-up market format. Therefore this final chapter offers a summation of the findings, offering the core theoretical contributions this thesis makes to consumer research and to the CCT (Arnould and Thompson, 2005, 2007) domain. Further the overall contributions are explored noting the limitations of the study before detailing future directions for the research. The chapter concludes with the researcher's reflection on the study.

Each of the contributions will be addressed around the research themes of practice, space, sociality and value, these emergent themes are explored in line with the research objectives that guided the study:

1. What practices are used in the marketspace to materialise vintage?
2. How do practices, objects and knowledge intersect in the marketspace?
3. Does vintage create a shared consumption space?
4. How is value ascribed and framed in vintage?

6.1 Theoretical Contribution

The following section will detail further understanding into the core contributions of the thesis around with the emergent research themes of practice, space and socialities before providing insight into the other dominant contribution from the research theme of value.

6.1.1 Contribution: Practitioners as embodied locations of knowledge

The first contribution to practice refers to the conceptualisation of the socially agentic nature of the consumer in the market. In approaching an understanding of the practice of vintage, the construct of the consumer was explored early on in the literature review. As a result this study moves the understanding of consumers forward, by conceptualising them as socially agentic practitioners in the market space. The construct of the consumer as shown in Chapter Two was extended by the findings of this study, the consumer research focus of *'prosumers'* (Bagozzi and Warshaw, 1990; Toffler, 1980; Xie et al., 2008) and *'working consumers'* (Cova and Dalli, 2009) was combined with understandings of aesthetic labour (Entwistle, 2009; Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2009) needed to practice in the market space. The resulting contribution was that the framework of the *'practitioner'* was extended to encapsulate the agentic nature of the consumer combined with the aesthetic labour needed to fully participate in the market. The construct of the practitioner was developed further as the findings reconsidered the intersections of the socio-market relations and the inter-relationships between consumer and seller, both as practitioners in action. Consumers were conceptualised as practitioners who negotiate and perform varied practices in their daily life (Shove and Pantzar, 2005). Practitioner agency in this thesis was regarded in line with Watson and Shove (2008: 71) as the skills implied in the use, integration and desiring of objects required for the effective accomplishment and performance of everyday life. This study demonstrates that the vintage practitioner was seen as both location and locus of market knowledge (Bourdieu, 1984, 1985, 1990; Entwistle, 2009; Entwistle and

Slater, 2014). This contribution adds to consumer research as the findings established that embodied knowledge was understood as performative and enacted. The findings showed that various knowledges (knowing as practice and performance) were inextricably woven together across objects, spaces and materials to make sense of the vintage market. Knowledge in vintage was based on sense making and engaging non-cognitive abilities, it was formed through encounters with the objects and marketspace experiences and in this way it was embodied (Bourdieu, 1984; Entwistle, 2009). From the findings, practitioners attempted to verbalise their doing of vintage in conversations using embodied metaphors such as '*gut feelings*' or '*the eye.*' In the vintage tribe, the findings demonstrated that hierarchy was based on experience and time as a practitioner, indeed all of the discussions with practitioners pulled on discourses surrounding a family tradition and being educated in their youth of alternative retail outlets and aesthetic understandings (Bourdieu, 1984). As the knowledge of vintage could only be acquired within the markets, as such the body emerges as an important location for knowing (Entwistle, 2009) and learning (Goulding et al., 2013). 'Newcomers' or 'hobbyists' in the marketspace were depicted as struggling to negotiate boundaries or as those who had not yet learned to fully align with tribal codes, and therefore had not acquired the subcultural capital (Thornton, 1995; Bourdieu, 1984) to be fully accepted members of the collective or the '*secret club*' that Adam explains in the findings. This thesis reveals that what makes vintage was the practical activity of vintaging: through which the objects were actively organised and collectively framed through tribal learning (Goulding et al., 2013) and understanding. Through this the identity of the collective was created and maintained around the distinctive way of seeing the world or as Arsel and Thompson

(2011) highlight '*a marketplace myth*'. The findings demonstrated the consumer collective was an active site of value creation, with value as a social construct that was tribal in nature. To conclude this contribution the evocativeness of vintage as practice, object and collective was perhaps best expressed as this study has sought to reveal as the marketspace performance of vintage as marked out by an ensemble of practices, which speaks of a form of longing for alternative worlds (Duffy and Hewer, 2013).

6.1.2 Contribution: Marketspace as practiced into being

This study builds on the conceptualisation of consumption as a consequence of practice (Warde, 2005) as portrayed in Chapter Three and explored in the findings, with the organised activities of consumers becoming the starting point for understanding the social world. This thesis employed practice theory within the CCT tradition, which allowed the researcher to focus on the '*doing*' of social practices of vintage rather than the moments of individual decision-making within the collective. In returning to the literature review as a starting point for the contribution, Nicolini makes explicit: "*Practices only exist to the extent that they are enacted and re-enacted. Focusing on practices is thus taking the social and material doing (of something: [where] doing is never objectless*" (Nicolini, 2012: 221). Extending Nicolini's (2012) argument, this study contributes to an understanding of practice in consumer research, as from the findings vintage was seen to be both emergent from and sustained by an extended apparatus of interconnected practices, performances and arrangements. Drawing on the theoretical underpinnings of practice theory to highlight the necessary knowledge of practitioners and the role the markets play in facilitating consumer and seller learning, the findings demonstrate that to be a

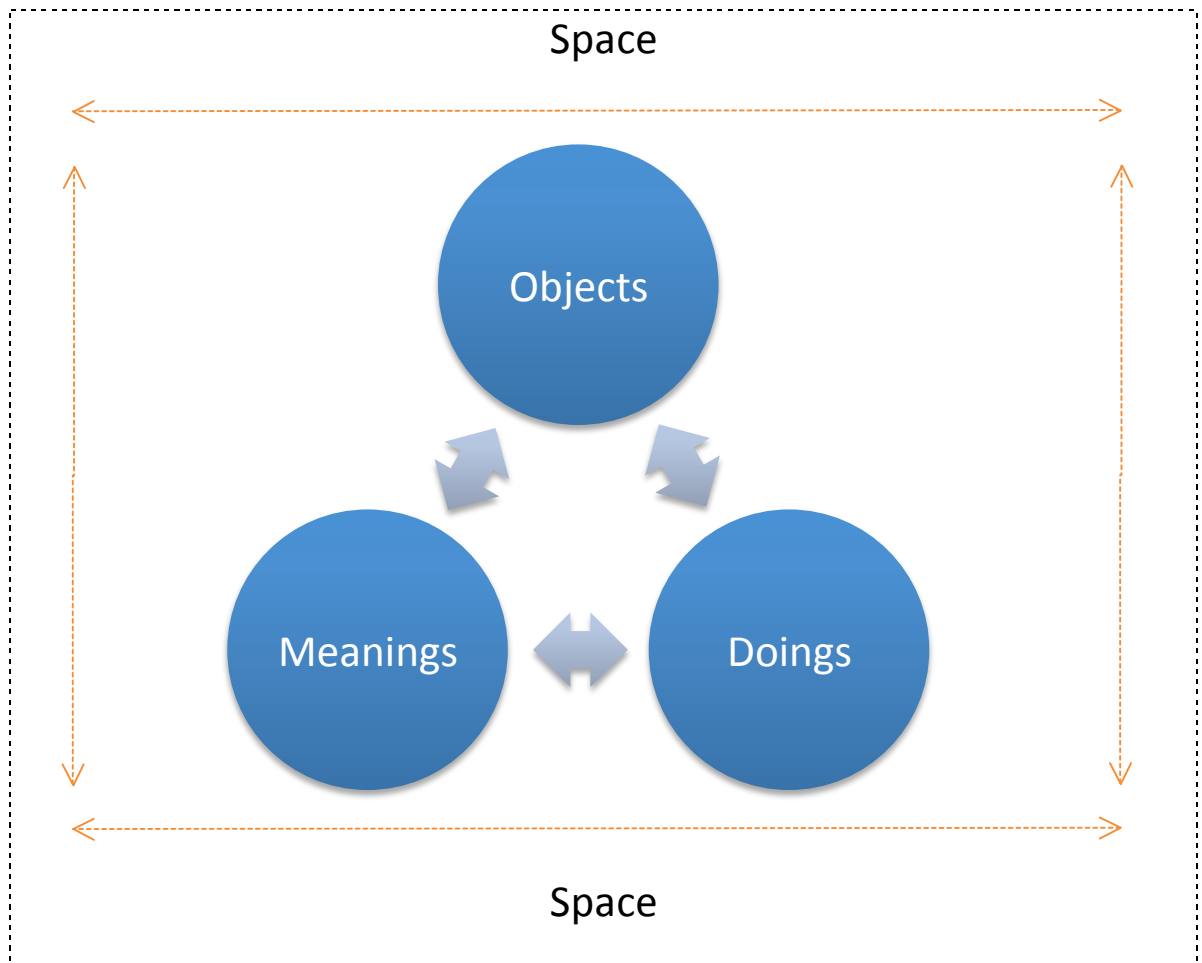
competent practitioner requires a thoroughly reflexive engagement with the vintage objects: their current use and potential usage (even if they have fallen out of use). The thesis contributes the emergent construct of '*cultivated assemblage*' (Dant, 2004, 2005) referring to different kinds of objects; understandings and processes at work in the market space. This was the result of the findings that revealed that vintage was not an item or an individual; it was a spatially assembled social being that adopts properties of both and conversely cannot exist without both (Dant, 2004: 74). The contribution that the '*market space is practiced into being*' was a result of this assemblage, therefore this thesis understands that practices were contextually embedded and value was not "*created*" by the consumer but formed in practical arrangements and contexts in which actions were carried out and resource elements were integrated with skills and images related to practices (Schatzki, 2001).

6.1.3 Contribution: Practice is spatially bound

The literature review revealed that a consideration of the spatial dimensions of practice were lacking from previous CCT studies (Arsel and Bean, 2013; Magaudda, 2011) which focused on the 'circuit of practice' or a visualisation of 'objects, doing and meanings' (Shove and Pantzar, 2005). This study moves this forward by proposing that the practice cannot be considered out with the context. The findings of this thesis demonstrate that 'space' needs to be more fully addressed in the discussions of practice within the CCT dialogue. The focus on the spatial occurrence of practices was central in this research study, but it was underrepresented in the CCT literature. De Certeau (1984) originally drew attention to the ways in which individuals utilise and move through spaces, Schau et al. (2009: 31) moved this discussion forward in the CCT landscape and argued that behaviours are 'spatially

dispersed', Denegri-Knott and Parsons (2014) accentuated the importance of the framing of the space of second-hand exchange, however work such as Arsel and Bean (2013) omitted the importance of space in a discussion of practices. This thesis contributes that a holistic CCT understanding of practice cannot be fully achieved without this acknowledgement of space.

Figure 14 - Practice bound by space. Adapted from Magaudda's (2011) 'circuit of practice'



This study demonstrated that these marginal sites of consumption, the pop-up markets, were active places that were an amalgamation of market objects, actors and influences that encode particular practices within the space (Slater, 2002a; Geiger et al., 2012). This discussion of space was key from the findings in conceptualising the

markets as bounded locations and also to understanding the circulation of '*knowledge in practice*' within. This thesis contributes to consumer research in understanding market practice as spatially bound.

6.1.4 Contribution: Practicing the familiar - 'eclectic homeliness'

Extending works on space, this thesis argues that in marketplace contexts by '*invoking the alternative,*' vintage sites became spaces of differentiated exchange and were juxtaposed as Other throughout the research to '*spaces of the new.*' As Denegri-Knott and Parsons (2014: 94) assert regarding car boot sale sites: "*the location of these spaces outside the commercial marketplace both metaphorically and literally (as they are usually located on the margins of towns and cities) offers interesting flexibilities in practices of meaning making and ordering.*" In this thesis the market-space was manifested in a practice of blurring the boundaries between the commercial space and the familiarity of the domestic domain. This recreation of the familiar through the performance of staging and negotiating 'the look' demonstrated a sense of belonging for practitioners in the market-space and a space for '*consumption as play*' (Holt, 1995). This study embraced the Glasgow scene as a particular instance of vintage in practice, for as Michael '*The Eyedresser*' asserts in the findings, "*vintage has become a safe space for people.*" This thesis extends this argument further as through the emergent theme of '*eclectic homeliness,*' the market-space exists in an ambiguous space, between the conventional retail market and the familiar domestic sphere, as a created temporal escape from the everyday. This notion of 'homeliness at work' extends DeBenedetti et al.'s (2014: 918) recent work that illustrates that '*homeyness*' can reside outside domestic settings and can be experienced in commercial settings. The vintage market-space literally 'pops-up' and

creates a permeable boundary between practitioners (sellers and consumers) as such the consumption experience was not just focused on the object or service given, but on this *'practice of belonging'* (Brownlie and Hewer, 2011) or as this thesis found, the latent familiarity of the space. More than just a marketspace aesthetic, the findings showed that *'eclectic homeliness'* became a roadmap for practitioners, a way to negotiate the finding process of vintage and navigate the accepted codes of tribal behaviour (Cova et al., 2007). The marketspace setting recreates the experience of searching for finds and the physicality of the vintage process allows a heightened sense of accomplishment for the practitioner in the searching process. The findings demonstrated that the physical environment of the marketspace becomes a product of its temporal nature and the market site location reinforces the knowledge in practice needed by the practitioner to negotiate the disordered and informal retail setting. This turn to the familiar in commercial spaces or third spaces was highlighted initially in Linnet's (2011) work on *'hygge'*, as he spoke of *'coziness'* encountered and sought by Danish consumers, this thesis builds on this and argues that through the space of the 'pop-up' marketspaces, a platform of familiarity is practiced into being. Practices of organising and display create this temporal distance from the banal every day and transports practitioners to a liminal space of play (Holt, 1995) and performance (Ustuner and Thompson, 2012). For practitioners, this space exists in an ambiguous moment between commercial market logic and the familiar domestic sphere.

As explored in this thesis, alternative markets such as the 'pop-up' have become commonplace throughout the UK. This thesis suggests that consumer culture has a role to play in allowing access to contexts whereby this practice of *'eclectic homeliness'* can take place and as such this study has implications for both policy

and practice. As shown from the findings, as a concept, vintage has continued to grow in popularity and this has implications for all levels of the fashion chain – from charity industries with vintage sections and strategic merchandising (that previously played a fairly insignificant role in the fashion system), to high-end designer vintage stores and mass-market fashion stores such as Topshop (as the study highlighted in the introductory chapter). At a market level this study has shown through the finding of ‘*nostalgic discourses of community*’ that there has been a shift in perspectives of consuming from a more local marketspace that allows consumers to build relationships with sellers and with each other in a space of ‘*eclectic homeliness*’. In returning to the research findings it was evident that the marketspace also becomes an arena for inclusive sociality and materialising social connections. As the findings show, the collective utilises otherwise unused spaces (empty rooms and closed off areas in commercial spaces) to make material their tribal affiliations and create a transient but shared space. This occupation and reinvigoration of social spaces has important community implications and policy considerations as the pop-up markets were demonstrated as a way to regenerate disused spaces. As Watson (2009) highlights, the markets act as a shared social space and function as sites of social association and inclusion. The importance of this social function was highlighted in all three of the markets of this research study as they play a social role in offering visible forms of social connection occurring in less formalised sites of consumption. Within the sample site of Glasgow, these markets provide an alternative retail destination away from the high street but also as the findings have revealed a space of communal gathering and togetherness. Allowing a space for this communal creativity and regeneration of unused spaces within the city has policy implications

for the connections between market organising, local facilities and community building to enhance the viability of markets in towns and cities. These groups were congregating in ‘safe spaces’ and should be embraced for their sociality and innovation of collective spirit. This provides opportunity for local areas to be developed, regenerated and rebranded in line with this collective valuing of space. §

6.2 Contribution: Framing Value Fluidity

Value appeared as an emergent research theme that emanated from the discussions and findings of practice, space and sociality. Within the consumer research domain the common assumption has been to consider that objects follow a linear trajectory of valuation, consumption and decline, however as the literature review (Türe, 2014; Parsons, 2008; Gregson and Crewe, 2002; Thompson, 1979; Denegri-Knott and Parsons, 2014) and findings of this thesis has shown, objects move through spaces, different contexts and biographies and this disrupts this linear conceptualisation as not accommodating the circularity in the movement of objects and consumer practices (Duffy, 2012c). Throughout the findings chapter value consequences of practice engagement were continually highlighted as this thesis reveals that value in vintage was dynamic and emergent in practice. This study adds to the focus on the tripartite systems of practice (Magaudda, 2011; Arsel and Bean, 2013) explored through the research objectives, which allows for an exploration of value and what consumers actually do with the objects in the pop-up space. Practices have been seen to tie value creation to a specific socio-cultural and spatio-temporal context (as shown in the contribution ‘*Practice is spatially bound*’). This thesis reveals that a turn to practices within CCT allows for a focus beyond the consumption meanings

and to the value of material objects and the everyday doings of people. In this sense, vintage objects become materials that were brought together temporarily, were partially stabilized and then moved on again in the market and this led to a questioning throughout the study as to how value was framed, and the importance of considering *'the social lives of objects'* (Appadurai, 1986:3). This study broadens this perspective and introduces an understanding of value that was formed through a 'spatialized' circuit of practice (Magaudda, 2011: 18). This thesis found that the practice has to be spatialized in order for value to be negotiated and materialised in the marketplace.

This thesis further contributes to the recent attention to value within the CCT dialogue (Arnould, 2014; Venkatesh and Penaloza, 2014; Karababa and Kjeldgaard, 2014) as this study contributes that value was framed in practice in the 'doing' of the consumer marketplace. When seen through this lens, value was understood as fluid and necessitates an understanding of liquidity of value (Bauman, 2000; Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012). Vintage value does not appear from nowhere, it was generated internally to the market itself by the routine actions of the practitioners (seller and consumer) and by the practices of the market actors (Bourdieu, 1984; Entwistle, 2009). This thesis contributes to an understanding of the fluidity and liquidity (Bauman, 2000) of value by exploring how marketplace consumers and sellers generate value within practice. As Bauman (2000:62) states with regards to 'liquid modernity': *"for the possibilities to remain infinite, none may be allowed to petrify into everlasting reality. They had better stay liquid and fluid and have a 'use-by' date attached, lest they render the remaining opportunities off limits."* This thesis argues that value was ever changing in the vintage marketplace as vintage exists in a

liminal moment whereby value was mobilised by practitioner agency, creativity and skill and this leads to a temporal collective valorisation of ‘vintage’ (Wenger, 1987). This contribution further develops Bardhi and Eckhardt’s (2012) notion of temporality, as they discuss that relationships to possessions are temporary and situational and highlight the liquidity of this consumer practice. This thesis demonstrates that *value fluidity* was seen as temporal and ephemeral, it exists in pockets of time, to both be seized and capitalised on by the practitioner, or for the potential opportunity of discovery to be missed. This contribution represents a shift in how value was viewed within consumer research. From a consumer perspective, value was seen to emerge from what people do, through the distinctions between actors in social pursuit and exchange (Bourdieu 1984, 1985; Arnould, 2014). This thesis contributes to an understanding of value as the vintage context illuminates that value was seen as an enactment of relations, practices and socialities constructed in a specific context that was spatially and temporally bound. This proposal adds to Türe’s (2014) understanding of value in which value was “*constructed beyond the dyadic relation between objects and consumers*” (Türe, 2014:16). The findings illustrate how value was formed in practice, rather than focusing on what kind of value was created. Value in vintage was routinely formed in practice in the ‘doing’ of vintage through which the social life of the object can begin to be captured (Appadurai, 1986). To conclude this contribution, the findings demonstrated that value in vintage was embedded within wider socio-cultural structures and this adds to the notion that the ‘*value system*’ of CCT lacks a clear social domain that impacts market organisation (Venkatesh and Penaloza, 2014:3).

6.3 Methodological Considerations

Coming from the CCT tradition, the literature review established that differences with regards to methodology are encouraged and it does not prioritise any one approach. As explored in the literature review, practice perspectives have gained increased attention within the CCT community (Arsel and Bean, 2013; Magaudda, 2011) as over recent years researchers have strived to situate and contextualise consumer life worlds. This compliments the shift in CCT that calls for a move away from naturalistic research to a research methodology that encompasses the '*cultural complexity of social action and marketplace activity*' (Moisander et al., 2009: 330) and the contextualisation of the consumer experience (Askeggard and Linnet, 2011). However, as yet no agreed methodological approach to the study of practices has emerged. Building on Halkier and Jensen's (2011:103) proposal that the implications of the use of practice theory is to see all types of qualitative data as enactments of social action and to enable the '*construction of analytical generalisations that are not based on methodological individualism.*' This study acknowledges the challenges presented in using a practice approach and the operational difficulties in the analytical translation between applied practice theoretical concepts and operative methodological procedures (Halkier and Jensen, 2011). Martens (2012) advanced the discussion on the methodological implications of using practice theory by exploring how interviewing was both illuminating and obstructing as a method to capture practice and the '*what we do*' questions. Martens (2012) questioned the use of language and interviewing when trying to capture practices, her study asserted that they brought out the '*human-to-human interactional concerns of practices*' but that methodological creativity is needed moving forward to capture the different

dimensions of practical accomplishments. One aspect of this creativity (Martens, 2012) suggested is through the use of multiple methods of data capturing – such as visual, and/or video. This thesis contributes to this and argues that methodologically this turn to practice has implications in how to capture consumer’s lived practices as by their very nature practices are difficult to access, as they are embodied, tacit, material and contextually bound. In this research study using the practice lens and understanding culture as a field of practices, the analytical focus shifted the focus from individual experience, to culture and the collective as a site of social action (Bourdieu, 1984; Shove and Pantzar, 2005). The perspective was thus orientated on the practices through which culture gains meaning and value in the marketspace. In proposing that a practice based approach to markets and marketing elicits that they should be studied ‘*in the making*’ (Araujo et al., 2008: 6), an ethnographic approach to capture this performance of practice was central to this study. Using observations, interviews, field notes and visuals in this ethnographic study allowed for the researcher to follow consumer representations at different moments in the ‘*circuit of culture*’ (du Gay et al., 1997). Building on the critiques within the CCT domain, this research study used multi-ethnographic methods to capture practices in action. Some methods such as participant diaries or photo elicitation techniques may be further suited to gaining access to practices which respondents found difficult to articulate as they were ‘*taken for granted practices*’ and a potential limitation of this study. As an ethnographic researcher, this process has involved self-exploration and reflection throughout. Gaining an insight into the collective was an experience of continual learning and the research methods employed encouraged reflexivity in critically capturing the practices of the marketspace. From a developmental perspective, the

research study increased understanding of others and afforded the opportunity to learn and grow as a researcher.

With regards to the practice theory focus, an increase in scholarly attention has resulted in the discussion of practice within the CCT literature continuing to emerge and receive increased academic attention. This study is situated within the CCT ethnographic tradition as has been used in practice-orientated studies, however as this study has contributed turning to other domains such as Organisational Studies has been necessary to gain an understanding of methodological implications of the practice approach. This study challenges the CCT understanding of capturing practices. As explored in Chapter Three, Simpson (2009) develops a perspective of practice as a transactional social process that involves action and experience, whereby the practice lens was seen as dynamic, emergent and socially agentic. In understanding developing and existing practices within the domain of marketing and consumption, new ways of knowing and methodologically capturing practice are called for by this study (Bajde, 2013). From a meso-level and in line with the theoretical contributions detailed above of considering the space of practice, this thesis argues for a contextual awareness from a methodological perspective and in answering, Thompson et al. (2013:18) who call for CCT to “*disentangle the material and discursive webs,*” argues that the subject has to be placed within the wider social and cultural context within the research study. These points are considered in line with areas of future research and as the researcher has continued to maintain a relationship within the collective it is possible to embrace and explore these areas further.

6.4 Areas for Future Research

The following section will outline the areas of future research emanating from this thesis. Suggestions for future research are based on the research contributions presented above and identified limitations of the study.

6.4.1 Space

From a theoretical standpoint as shown from the findings and contributions above, the discussion of practice to date within the CCT field has omitted the active spatial dimension to practice (Arsel and Bean, 2013). This thesis has shown that this contextualising is necessary to fully address the individual and collective nature of practices in the marketspace. Extending works on space, this thesis argues that market contexts such as the vintage marketspace represent a turn to the alternative, a space that was created and manifests the collectives' values. The pop-up format has continued to gain prominence in the UK market and as such a potential limitation of this study is its focus on one context of vintage and the pop-up market format. Future research should address more alternative marketplaces as a means of gaining further understanding into the spatial dimensions of the marketplace. Does the pop-up model offer a future for the consumer as opposed to high street retail or will it continue in the alternative?

6.4.2 Practice and Creativity

The act of vintaging this thesis revealed as practiced into being, with the pop-up markets shown to be a space of '*tribal learning*' (Goulding et al., 2013) and apprenticeship. As with Appadurai's (1986) theory of artifactual biography, each exchange was open to the individual's value perceptions, therefore consumers could

remove objects away from and re-insert them into their prescribed paths, through practices of consumer creativity. Türe (2014:3) contends that in light of this perspective, the value of objects is temporally and culturally constructed through trajectories and diversions, and this study further problematizes the interrelations between social relations, creativity and value regimes. As Arnould (2014) depicts, *'human creativity is therefore a cornerstone of value creation'*. As an instance of bricolage, the thesis revealed that vintage was the result of practitioner understanding and knowing, but asks where does the creativity reside in these practices? The turn to the vintage context would suggest a reframing of consumer creativity as an active undertaking by *'unruly bricoleurs'* (Holt, 2002) for whom resistance is constitutive of vintaging but necessitates further questioning as to how this creativity is practiced into being and where the value is located?

6.4.3 Market Formation

This thesis contributes to an understanding of the workings of alternative markets, which other than Sherry's (1990a) seminal discussion of the flea market, has largely been ignored by consumer researchers to date. This thesis contributed to the understanding of the transience and *'value fluidity'* (Bauman, 2000; Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012) of the market space formation for both consumers and sellers, however the area of market formation may potentially illuminate an interesting voice from the practitioners who have long practiced vintage commercially and leads to a questioning of how has their practice of vintage altered as a result of its more widespread appropriation. As Shove (2012) quotes Reckwitz for whom *"individuals feature as the carriers or hosts of a practice. This is a radical departure from more conventional approaches in which understandings, know-how, meanings and*

purposes are taken to be personal attributes. Reckwitz argues that it makes better sense to treat these not as the qualities of an individual but as 'elements and qualities of a practice in which the single individual participates' (2002: 8). This understanding adds to a problematising of whether their market formation practices shift as a result of vintage success?

6.4.4 Aesthetic Labour

The findings further revealed the skill and work (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2009, 2010; Entwistle, 2009) that goes into both vintage and the transient markets. The nebulous and hard to define aspect of marketplace work should be developed further in line with the understanding of 'aesthetic labour' (Entwistle, 2009) that emanates from this study from both a vendor and consumer perspective. This thesis revealed the construct of the practitioner was grounded in an understanding of this work of the marketplace but could be further developed in line with ideas of categorisation (Slater, 2002a, 2007, 2014) and ordering (Denegri-Knott and Parsons, 2014) of the market.

6.5 Conclusion

To conclude, this thesis has explored how the practices, spaces and socialites intersect in the consumption of vintage. The thesis has addressed four research objectives with regards to theoretical and methodological underpinnings. Firstly it detailed the 'doings' of vintage from a practice perspective and extended the CCT understanding of practice to be spatially and temporally bound. It explored how objects, practices and knowledge interest in the marketplace and performance of 'the alternative,' as practitioner agency combined with aesthetic labour (Entwistle, 2009)

moved through networks of objects and social practices. It explored the vintage tribe as a collective consumption space of '*tribal learning*' (Goulding et al., 2013) and the development of a space of the familiar, of '*eclectic homeliness*.' Lastly the thesis contributed to an understanding of the framing of the fluidity of vintage value and how it develops and materialises in practice. The study further highlighted the importance of a turn to a practice perspective methodologically within the CCT landscape and the affordance of future research opportunities. This interpretive research study contributes to discussions on the use of practice theory in CCT research, to explorations of alternative marketplaces with consumer research and the fluidity of value. As well as outlining contributions to both CCT and consumer research, this thesis has presented a plethora of future research areas particularly within the domain of spatial discussions within the practice orientation, the occurrence of market formation and 'liquidity' (Bauman, 2000; Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012) of value.

It is hoped from this thesis that the reader has gained insight into the collective undertaking of vintage, the impact of the pop-up markets and the value in a turn to this alternative market space. Throughout this thesis the question of how vintage was materialised in practice shaped the problematising of the field. This thesis was the result of an initial curiosity into how vintage was materialised and consumed in practice and how this practice influenced not just the object and its subsequent value but the market space and the collective. In the opening of the findings section, the researcher field note presented questioned what it was about the markets that marked it as different and what consumers received from this space. Upon re-reading the excerpt and concluding the thesis, the researcher has come to understand the vintage

marketspace as an active space, a space that was brought alive in temporal moments through practice and presents opportunities and potential for not just objects, but for individuals and the wider collective. Rather than a space mired in nostalgia for past times, it was an exciting space to trial new aesthetics and consume in a different way.

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Appendix i - Sample Depth interview

Michael 'The Eyedresser' -November 2011

Researcher (R) – Thank you very much for giving up your time today.

Michael (M) – Happy to – you have probably got a whole list of questions.

R- It is more a discussion, don't worry. The main thing I have had to do is to try to rein people in.

- Researcher briefs respondent on purpose of interview and that they can ask to stop at any time.

R- We met in the Granny Would be Proud market and then I visited your optician practice. Can I ask to start with how did you get started in selling vintage frames?

M- It wasn't on purpose, I was quietly amassing the vintage collection for my own enjoyment, and it wasn't ever with a thought to selling them. I just liked them for myself. You know I started out in the city centre in the Argyle Arcade? So I had the place called Eyedresser at that point, it wasn't vintage at that stage but I was quietly amassing the vintage collection of my own for my own enjoyment, it wasn't ever with the thought of selling them, just liked them for myself, it was like putting something down for the future, you know, but so emm I think that business suffered from being in the city centre, it is very much better now that I am predominantly working out of the west end, and the Gin in Teacups (city centre vintage market) thing what can I say it highlighted that point. It was an experiment; it wasn't as good as the west end. So there is something inherent about the west end and you cake

make your own mind up about that, it is probably student based, but not really, most of my clients are people like yourself you are young, but they are older in spirit, young professionals, newly qualified, whatever got their own businesses or entrepreneurial whatever, they don't tend to be the undergraduate student types in the main. They are probably just too short of money to indulge in luxuries like that maybe often so whatever it is that appeals to people to stay in the west end seems to tie in with this vintage trend.

R- It is interesting that you say that it is quite location based.

M- Well it is has taken me so long to park in the city today. I mean it took me the best part of thirty minutes to park and I don't really come into shop in the city centre often but I always choose not to because of the hassles involved. Which I do think that it must be part and parcel of why there is not more vintage shops or fairs in the city centre, apart from the expense of rent and rates and so forth, emm I mean I couldn't go into the centre, I've looked at premises in the city centre, I couldn't go in - I have looked at premises even in upstairs of offices style places inside old tenement buildings, wee places were you would just have a cupboard in the city centre and the cost of either renting or purchasing would hardly make it worth my while doing it in the first place - that's why I choose to do it on the road now, emm so pop shops that kind of thing, it all works for me. There is something essentially anti entrepreneurial in a small business terms about the city centre which I think is a fault no question about it, the thing is that Glasgow got itself renowned for things like Ingram St, Cruise and all the rest of it. I saw it as a student twenty five years ago and it has just stuck to that image, the American and Japanese tourists like that but I think that the local, indigenous population would rather have row after row of

boutique shops and it would make it an absolute world beater if they did that. I will go on record as saying that (laughs) Glasgow City Council, listen up because the city centre will die with the way it is heading. Let's face it there is nothing that you can buy in the city centre that you couldn't buy on the internet when you think about it now in theory, so people they come in for coffee shops, for social interactions, museums and all the rest of it, that's fine, but would it be wrong to have the whole thing with at least a sprinkling of vintage shops interspersed in amongst all the big guys, you know, all the big guys would benefit as well. I don't think it has to be, you know all the Topman and stuff like that, they would benefit from more people coming into the city centre and I mean don't even start me on out of town shopping centres, I don't know how they started up, I mean that's a complete, there would be a complete impossibility to opening up a small store in a big shopping centre like Braehead or whatever, so I don't know, my thought for the future is that when you know the petrol price goes through you know five pounds a gallon that these places will just become ghost towns, ironically people will flood back into the city centre again. The Internet will have destroyed the big corporations and it will be boutique shops that Glasgow City Council will be trying to persuade to come back here again. It will go back full circle to what it might have been like in the fifties and sixties you know. I hope so. I don't think I will live long enough to see it though (laughs). Sorry it is something I feel passionately about.

R – I kind of wanted to get an idea of where you started and where you got the idea from, moving from personal collecting into marketplace?

M - It was a fluke, you mean vintage in particular? It was a total fluke. One of the girls that works for me, in a Saturday job, you have probably met her, and she

worked as well in the evenings as a waitress in a restaurant in Argyle St, and she just came to one Saturday and said I have heard through the grapevine that they are having a vintage fair in the restaurant that I work in on a Sunday, the restaurant wasn't open so they were using the space, and emm I told them that you had vintage glasses, she must have known this somehow, I don't know I must of told her, but she told them I had a vintage glasses collection and would I want a stall and there is a stall waiting for him if he wants it, tell him he can have it and I went along and gave it a try. And that was that. I was speaking to the Granny Would be Proud people the other day, Elena and Adam, and ehh I hadn't actually appreciated this but I was actually at the first one, I was there from the beginning, that one was the first one I was invited to, I didn't realise that at the time I thought it had been going for a while, months. So that's it I've been there since the beginning.

R – That is quite special, there can't be many sellers that are still there that have been there since the start?

M – No there is only the three of us that have been there since the start and funnily enough those people are kind of mainstays if you know what I mean, they are emm people who make a living out of selling vintage or whatever, jewellery whatever, so they are not - they weren't just people who had a stall as a hobby or had a stall because they fancied it on a particular weekend - they were people who actually make a living out of doing this so to be honest with you that's... I think about this all the time, if she hadn't come to me that day, if she hadn't been at work that day, would I have found out about that? I personally don't think because I wasn't linked with Facebook at the time or anything like that, I wasn't involved in any social networking, to this day two years on, I probably would never have heard of it. Which

is an interesting thing to think about, if someone like me, who is so interested in vintage would probably still not know about it. That always quizzes me, so are we missing a huge sector of the audience of people like me who want to know about it but don't have the means of finding out? Cause there is no presence, no shop presence, no obvious outward presence, apart from social networking sites and all the rest of it. So now ironically that has drawn me into social networking and that has now significantly improved the fortunes of my business but that's, somewhere in that question why would I not have known about it, might be the answer to the question why it is not a bigger phenomenon that it is even just now. Do you know what I mean? I might be the reason why shops work so well, because of their constant presence and constant reminder that they are there.

R – I think that is an interesting point. The Granny Would be Proud market always seems quite fleeting on a Sunday afternoon, by a Monday there is no sign that it was there or will be there again.

M – I think that's, so is it thinking deeply about that, is it that that makes it work? Is it that slight exclusivity that makes the people that do go to it more excited about it and less mass market? I mean if it was more mass market I wouldn't be, ironically so into it. You know. It appals me when people like Specsavers get involved in the selling of vintage looking glasses or marketing using vintage images, you know retro glasses, because they have got no right, absolutely no right to be involved in that market at all, they have no interest in spectacles or the aesthetic, they have no interest, it's all money for shareholders and owners. There is no passion behind it, they just jump in, kill it dead in six months and move onto the next thing. I mean no sooner were they into remanufacturing retro 1950s and 60s glasses, then all of a

sudden they announced that the 80s trend was the next big thing. And you are thinking you know you are jumping around here, it is not based on anything. That's an interesting thing from my point of view, no one ever talks about fashion or fads or trends or anything like that, people come to and they genuinely want a pair of glasses, not they want a pair because my friend's got a pair or I want a pair because I want to look like such and such on the tele or whatever, they seem to nine times out of ten because they genuinely want to get away from the mainstream, they want to get away from all of this what everybody else is wearing. With vintage it is not that they are moving to something, they are moving away from something and trying to be themselves and trying to be more, it's not disingenuous, they are kind of, in my opinion doing it for the right reasons to create a look for themselves that is honest to them not just copy fashion for the sake of it. Which I think is very healthy you know.

R – Can you tell me about your customers?

M – They are usually enthusiastic and style driven, they care. Often again, they are just looking for the pair of glasses that suits them. They are not sure - what you have to understand is that spectacles are a very, very specialised industry and I notice this when I tour around, when I go to other cities, and I go into the vintage shops and ask 'do you have any vintage glasses for sale' and they say 'oh no we don't deal with that Sir.' Almost in hush tones as if to say oh no that's not an area of the market we don't have any expertise in so we don't dabble in it, as if there is some mystique about it, so they deal with everything else, they deal with all sorts of other clothing and accessories and so forth, jewellery and watches but as far as glasses are concerned that's like 'no that's something outside our sphere.' I mean it's good for me, and I think the public are the same with vintage it is almost like a black art, you

know they do, emm they do like to ask my advice and leave it up to me a lot of the time, as if they don't trust themselves to make up their own mind. There are one or two obvious exceptions to that rule that know exactly what they are looking for, I mean they have a particular image in mind and they've got the thing set up for themselves, they are very image conscious and they are very much aware of what suits them and what they look good in, the colours, I love dealing with that too. But I'd say that 75% of the time, in fact that's quite often my opening gambit, 'what era or what look are you trying to create' and people say 'oh I don't really know, just something that suits me'.

R- It seems like quite a personal chat with them in a way.

M – Yes I mean it is quite complex and I need to get to know them a bit. I mean what they associate with, what history they like. In terms of history of the pieces, yeah I think on that basis as well, on a similar related note to that, it is very, very often because they (glasses) didn't have a CE marking or anything like that back then, back until about the 90s they didn't have any of this stuff so. So there was no cataloguing, or dating or identifying markings on these glasses so it wasn't necessary, a lot of them were hand finished, they just had a stamp on them and that was the only way to identify them, the identifying markings would have been on a backing card which was lost in most cases and is now lost to the system, so but I have to say that it is quite often impossible for me to tell what year a frame is from because since people started wearing glasses there has always been this backwards forwards cross over so there might be a trend for five or ten years, or maybe less than that back then trends lasted a shorter time, a season maybe six months miniskirts may have lasted for six months, then box skirts after that and then miniskirts again and

then trousers would come in, there was this recycling of the fashion. Now, in my opinion anything goes, the whole market is open to everyone and everyone can choose all styles, or history they can choose vintage or retro copies, originals, they can go into Topshop and buy the current trends whatever they want to do. But it is more, it is not to do with 'oh I'll have a mini skirt cos this year that what's on trend,' yeah? And what would have happened back then is a look say in the late 50s may have fallen by the wayside for five years, this is what I am thinking with the whole of my collection and then they might have resurrected it in the early 60s or 70s. So they had at various points in time retro revivals of old fashioned styles and after all in the 1970s, 50s glasses would have been fifteen years ago, it was long enough that some people would have forgotten about them in the first place and young people would have come on board and liked them the second time round, you know. Maybe that has happened two or three times, you know it is very, very hard for me to tell the age of a pair of glasses from the look of it and I am beginning to realise more and more that it is irrelevant to vintage. It is actually how it suits you that matters and even valuing the glasses I've stopped so much valuing them on the age of them, it is not like antique value, it is not that, it is intrinsic the quality, rarity and the look of them. Do you know what I mean? It is the, how unique or individual they are or whatever, how irreplaceable they are not whether or not they are fifty or forty or twenty years old, are you with me?

R- That's an interesting idea about how irreplaceable they are.

M- I mean for example I have five or six of Alexander McQueen's original first catalogue range and the instant he passed away, I just took them away, literally took them out, polished them up, put them away, thinking who's to know they have

incredible historical value in fifteen years' time and that will be a real talking point. It is not the sort of thing I should just sell and have someone wear it just now and wear it to destruction and chuck it in the bin, that's clearly something of intrinsic historical value in the grand scheme of things. Emm so that was a rare occasion where I could actually put away something that would become collectable in the future, normally I am buying things that I know are collectable and are keeping them to make them even more collectable but it is not often that something, you know it would be like having an original Mary Quant dress or something from the 60s. Who would have thought to actually keep one of those in its wrapper and stick it in a drawer and never wear it at the time, so that you could pull it out in fifty years' time for your daughter, you know what I mean. I'm sure lots of people did that kind of thing, so that was my wee attempt to just to try that you know, future items of historical significance you know. But I think it is all, it is hard to see that we could ever go back to that seasonal trend thing again now, don't you think. You are a woman you are probably much more in touch with that than me, magazines and those kinds of things, I don't read those kinds of things that tell me what's in one month or another. So it does seem to me that when I was a student and you would pick up Cosmopolitan and it would say, this summer's hot fashion and everyone would have it or everyone would be trying to copy it, they would go to Topshop and get the cheaper copy or the original designer name or you know and the streets would be awash with people wearing the same sort of thing like long coats one season and short coats the next, hoods no hoods, trousers, skirts whatever and that was in my cynical view the market's way of leading people into changing their wardrobe every six months or year clearly, it is all gone bang a wee bit now. I think companies like

Topshop are now latching onto vintage trends, it is almost like they are back tracking to try to keep up with this mass market idea that everybody wants everything at the same time, it's all you would think it would be very confusing but I think that the individual knows what they want and they've got enough avenues now to go down and source these things, vintage fairs, high street shops, markets, eBay there are plenty of ways to find what you are looking for.

R – Can you tell me more about that point around vintage and high street retailers?

M – They have a habit of mixing up retro with vintage. In other words as long as it is based on a vintage look, I mean I am very, very strict with myself about referring to vintage. My definition of vintage is something that is actually of the era that it is from, if you know what I mean by that, so in other words, something aged in some way. Retro is a copy of a vintage look and when I am selling glasses I am very careful to define the two as separate and make sure that people understand the difference and what they are buying, I can't tell you the number of times in the market that I have had people in saying 'I bought this pair of vintage glasses over on eBay the other day, what do you think of them, can you put lenses in them' and I look at them and they are some £2.99 frame from China or a copy which Topshop would sell for £12 or something and you don't know how to tell them that it is not a vintage frame, cause they say 'yes it is it said it in the advert' - it is a copy of a vintage frame and not a very good one at that and I've stopped arguing with people about it now cause people get very 'hoighty toighty' about it because people are protective of their purchases, so you can't really contradict people but at the end of the day you, I find that annoying when you sell the real thing, it is stopping trade and devaluing what I do. But going back to what I was saying earlier on, that doesn't

seem to be my audience anymore, people when they come to me and are buying vintage more often than nought, I've started doing good quality retro as well now, because the vintage glasses are a finite market or a finite supply I've got to try and do something to plug the gaps now, there are various gaps needing plugged and I will bring in decent copies or retro styles, copies of that original look just to try and satisfy that market but almost in a way to try and stop that from people going and getting the £2.99 spectacles from eBay which are a bit of a waste of time, but emm so that's not really my customer, my customers are not are more and more not that type of person now, they come to me because they know what I do, all of that doesn't need explained anymore I can get straight to the point and do the eyedressing thing you know.

R- That is an interesting point that you make about the finite nature of vintage. Do you find it harder to source stock now?

M- Almost impossible, I can tell you that since I started doing this two years ago I have possibly had a dozen frames come my way, so I am on a dwindling supply here and ehh if I carry on like this for five years I will have nothing left as simple as that. Which you have to philosophical about it. But as I saw on Flog it yesterday afternoon that the chap said vintage is the ultimate form of recycling or antiques in his case, it was antique silver milk jug that he was selling and I mean silver doesn't corrode or tarnish or age. I mean it does tarnish but it doesn't destroy itself with time, it is there a little piece that someone has crafted out of a piece of silver, that has been passed around from person to person down the centuries and it will never be binned so it is a fantastic form of recycling taking that piece of metal and changed it into something that people will keep and covet and that they will keep it in their

possession, polishing it away and all the rest of it. So it is the same with the glasses, so what will happen presumably over time is that as people don't destroy their glasses, say no one ever sat on their glasses ever again, they all remained in the pool as it were these glasses would come back to me eventually but I would have to pay a higher market value for them and that's what is pushing the price all the time, so maybe in twenty years' time I might get my hands on some lovely fifties glasses but by that time they will be seventy or eighty years old and they will be ten times more expensive and I will have to mark them up slightly higher and sell them on again, and it will just be those and such as those who can actually afford to get them and that is an odd dynamic it becomes very, what will happen when these glasses are still in the system and they become antiques it is bound to change the audience somehow.

R- That is an interesting concept of how they will age.

M- yeah, like on TV last night, I was watching a bit of TV for some reason last night, they were talking about foraging for food, mushrooms berries etc., the same basic idea, the unique forces of the recession that people think about foraging and thrifting and all the rest of it or would they be doing it anyway just now? It is a question I quite often ask myself, you know, say the recession ended tomorrow and all of a sudden magically there was money back in the system, would people suddenly start going back to Cruise, you know I don't think so. I think it is a change this time, I think it is more linked with recycling subconsciously in a lot of people's minds like mine rather than price or market forces or anything like that, it pleases me when you go to Granny Would be Proud that a lot of what is ending up out of landfill and all the rest of it, you know. Because someone has taken the care to make those things in

the first place, it seems a shame to throw them in the bin. What do you think; I will throw it back at you?

R- I think you mention some interesting points. I think that in some ways there is a slight move away from conspicuous consumption and people are more conscious of things and where they go.

M- Exactly. Right now, I've got a pair of Ralph Lauren trousers on that I bought in TK Maxx, why did I buy them in TK Maxx and not go into the Ralph Lauren store and pay £120? It is because my experience of buying designer glasses tells me that Ralph Lauren, is an organisation, it is an industry, it is not Ralph Lauren sitting at a cutting room in the back of his workshop or whatever cutting out trousers and selling them to me for a £120 a throw, it is all horse trading is what I call it. If I could afford to buy young designers, you know like people out of the art school who made a pair of jeans or whatever fantastic that's what I am talking about buying quality something that someone has put their sweat and blood into it shows in the final product you know. And that is presumably how the big names started out today, but as it happens I know that the Ralph Lauren glasses come out of a head office in Italy which sells probably 50% of the world's designer glasses from the one head office, none of these designer names are lined in real life other than through spectacles, the people at Ralph Lauren will never even have seen them, they use the name under licence to sell glasses and they ram the price up because of it. This is a fact it is not an urban myth, it is a bit of an urban myth that people have thought that you pay for the name, this is absolutely the truth with glasses, you pay for the name, there is no reason to think that that factory is any different than the one that Specsavers glasses from. And what Specsavers try to do is develop, develop their brand, they are the 8th

biggest advertisers in the UK and it shows they are everywhere, talking of semantics it doesn't have the same cache as Ralph Lauren, the name Specsavers but they have made, it is like Tesco, it is acceptable to talk about in common circles, you are no longer a cheapskate to go to Specsavers to get your glasses, so they have achieved what they set out to do. I totally think quality is what it is all about, the Ralph Lauren, Christian Dior glasses from the 1970s that I have seen are way beyond today's quality they are classics, they are absolutely beautiful frames, I mean they are lovely, I just love them, I just, you can feel the difference, they look different there is a lustre about them, there is something built at the time and it was still there today, they don't have that mass market shadow hanging over them, there is still that exclusivity, that wee about them based on an excitement because they are just lovely. It was just holding this thing in my hand, maybe the Christian Dior design house rubber stamped the design and though oh that represents our brand properly or we will let you use that one but it fits in with what they were trying to achieve. So at the moment I've got those Ralph Lauren trousers on from TK Maxx, I don't feel I am being ripped off if I get them there, I get them for what I think they are worth, I don't think that they are any better quality than what I would get out of Topman or whatever. It just so happens that I like the way TK Maxx do their shops, it is unobtrusive, you just go in, no one annoys you, you can shop around, try them on, do what you want, it is easy shopping. But at the same time I have a Tesco cardigan on that my friend got me a couple of years ago, it must have cost me about £2.99 with his club card vouchers you know and I just think it is nothing to do with names or vintage or who designed it but it is just whether it suits you, is it comfortable, do you enjoy wearing it. I suppose can you afford it comes into it, so in other words you've

got to be able to afford it in the first place, do you love it so much that you would go and spend £120 on it, which in the past you might have done. In the past I've done it, I've went into Cruise and bought Jeffrey West shoes at £150 a throw, you just felt like sex on legs, I mean it totally changed your whole opinion of yourself, it just elevated your thoughts about yourself for a wee while. And then it's fabulous but I wouldn't do it every day you know, but at the same time I've got a vintage shirt on from Armstrong's in Edinburgh, another place I like shopping. Again you are left to your own devices, you can rummage around and all the rest of it, I think I probably bought it there - I have vintage shirts that I bought in the Victorian Village when I was a student. I mean I've done all of this the first time round so the funny thing was there wasn't a big audience at the time, I really, really thought I was an oddball back then, I wore collarless shirts which I had bought Edwardian ones or Georgian ones that would be maybe early twentieth century, stud collared shirts and all the rest of it to work and things like that with bow ties and all the rest of it, people kind of thought that you were a bit odd, you stood out from the crowd, I mean that wasn't my intention for doing it but now that's not the case, you feel as if you are part of a bigger club now and it is really, really quite nice to think now that at my age, I can revisit this with the same clothes I was wearing twenty years ago and people think it less strange now than they did back then.

R- Why do you think that is?

M- I think young people have become more open minded, this was what I was thinking about in the car on the way over that I was going to tell you. I think social networking has a lot to do with it, when I was 26 for example, say you had a particular thing for vintage clothes, you would maybe meet other people who liked

vintage clothes at the vintage clothes shop but the chances of hitting it off with them or going for a pint with them were pretty slim, that random chance meeting people is very, very unusual even to this day. But because now people can express their interests up front on Facebook and places like that, there is more interaction with people, with groups that are like-minded, and you don't necessarily have to meet them, just knowing that they are out there, I think maybe gives people that maybe don't have the absolute confidence, which I didn't have at the time, I was very, very shy, it's almost like you needed a leg up and I'm not saying that's right but it is maybe in the Scots nature we are quite shy, there's a reserved nature about the Scots, I think nowadays at least knowing there are people out there who are like yourself, you don't have to hob knobbing with them on a Friday night or whatever it maybe just is that group psychology of human beings that it is nice to know you are not alone. There are true individuals and there are people, the peacock type people, who just want to look as individual as they can and they have extreme true confidence just to be, and I admire them but I have never been one of those. I think lots of young students sitting there are in their bedsits, plugging away on the computer, chatting to people online going 'I'm going to Granny Would be Proud today and all the rest of it' just I think it gives people that little edge of confidence to go out and strut stuff and be proud of the fact that they do enjoy looking or appearing to look the way they look. You know, it sounds very image conscious and all the rest of it but are we not all to a certain extent? Are we not all, I mean people say 'oh I don't care how I look or what I wear' and you think well how do you choose what you wore today then, there must be some thought going into the process behind it.

M- Maybe grunge was a bringing of 'the couldn't care less attitude' to the mainstream and it made it acceptable, acceptable to be grungy but then in itself it becomes a fashion trend.

M - Let me put it to you, the weather is absolutely dismal right, if ever there was a day you would like to stay in your bed this was the one and for the first time that I can remember in a long time, and bear in mind that we are at the bottom of a pit of a recession which is deeper than I've ever seen in my entire life, even I would have to admit to say that this is the worst I have ever seen and I had to park on the top floor of the St Enoch's car park today, not second or third, it's still five weeks to go until Christmas so what does that tell you, people are still in and buying stuff, simple as that. It's not window shopping, they are not going around with their broolly just enjoying looking in the windows surely, they are not all in coffee shops and socialising, they are hardened shoppers. Consumer culture is not dead, absolutely the opposite we are right in, we are in a consumer culture I think that's it, that's what drives it.

R- Can you expand on that? Why do you think that is?

M- I think people like you and me can intellectualise this but when you really get down to it, the ordinary Joe Blogs on the street is still just buying stuff. You know just wantonly going out, spending their money, it is like going out, it is like a drug do you not think, it is a way of relieving the boredom or the depression of their life you know to a certain extent, I mean that's a bit overarching but at the end of the day I would have to say that it is a pretty dismal time at the moment with one thing or another isn't it, things are pretty dismal round about us and I think unless you have

the intellectual capacity round about us, you could get into a bit of a rut. And the way to dig yourself out of a rut easily is just to shop you know and I think that the corporatism just panders to that to people's need to shop, it is very cynical. It's all aspirational, yeah. Absolutely it is umm, you often think what would life be like if we had had a this summer have been like if it had been an absolute scorcher, just glorious that say like they have in Australia or California or places like that, how much different would your life be, you know, if that brightness was around you all the time, that does make you feel more like being ostentatious, you dress up a bit more, you know on holiday, you play it up a bit more, you know the Hollywood lifestyle, so maybe in our climate here...it's quite interesting, I wonder if that's , if there is some link between that and the vintage thing, I mean the very Granny Would be Proud, now I know that is just one vintage fair but the very essence of that is wearing something that your granny would have, might have been proud of you to wear, it does have a slight sort of dour aspect to it doesn't it and yet it doesn't work out that way when you see people buying at the fairs, it really is quite uplifting stuff, you know it's not the everyday kind of granny clothes from back then, or the everyday garb of back then, people are not buying the grey suits and all the rest of it, they are buying the good stuff, the old designer stuff or the bespoke stuff or things that were brightly coloured or were ostentatious at the time, do you not think, the best of, people are going back and selecting the best of what was available at the time. It's a good point actually, it goes back to what you were saying about me being in a position to select what I sell on now, I probably do unconsciously pick out what is more intrinsically interesting from my collection, maybe favour it, is it glib to say that, but I think that probably is the case that everyone would do that. Having said

that one of my biggest sellers are just the NHS glasses from the 1970s, because they were incredibly well designed I mean there was no, there's no contradicting this, they suited everybody that puts them on, so some, I don't know who the designer was I will need to try and find that out, but whoever it was that designed those glasses really had a handle on the human face they knew, they had a real kind of eyedressing bent as it were.

R- Can you tell me more about selecting the items to sell?

M- Put it this way, I am now someone who has kicked around in the west-end most of his life, the first time was when I was a student at Glasgow University when I was in my early twenties or late teens, and then again now. In the middle period, I went away from Glasgow and didn't have much to do with it. Back then in my uni days, I was just anonymous, just invisible, no one gave a damn what I was doing, who I was or whatever, now all these years later, I come back and I've only been back for two years and the only two times I have went up and down Byres Road shopping over the summer there, I've literally been stopped two or three times by people that know me in the space of ten minutes. It is quite nice you know, it is all positive stuff you know it is all good stuff, I get really good vibes behind the whole thing so that's nice. So there is no doubt about it there is a community thing going on, I think this is what will keep the thing going, no matter what happens to the vintage that undercurrent of a vintage trend at the moment which has sparked up because of Hollywood stars and everything, I mean I saw Specsavers are jumping on the bandwagon that's not going to last obviously whereas a year ago that would have worried me, I'm not concerned in the slightest now, I think it would be a good thing if that disappeared, it would get us back to a hard-core of people who are actually into vintage and they

will always be into it you know, but I think what is being talked about by myself and a few of the people around me, what happens next and I think it is probably is based around quality, quality will always sell, it might not have the vintage tag on it, it might not have to have the vintage tag on it, it could be young designers, it could be in other words, it could develop into us moving into what will become vintage in the future. Which is all about quality, something won't last, people won't enjoy wearing it if it falls to bits, it will end up in the bin, it will be put into a charity shop and it will never exist beyond this moment but if people covet something and they keep it in their wardrobe for twenty years and they pass it onto their daughter or whatever and then they put it into a vintage fair to sell or they become a vintage seller or whatever then that thing perpetuates through time again, so if corporate companies like companies that sell Ralph Lauren glasses are not making tomorrow's vintage, who is? So depressingly, it might be the eighties, nineties and noughties were not a lot was being made that was of any intrinsic value, there was a lot of Chinese products, a lot of products were being mass marketed, mass produced, cheapened, profit margins were being raised trying to cut the cost of things in the first place, all of those endless aisle after aisle of stuff, in what are these places called, New Look and places like that you know massive great big warehouses of clothes, none of it is of any intrinsic value, that's a bit of a blanket but I think I would say 95% percent of it is of no inherent value what so ever to history so we are going to have a gap there, maybe what's going to happen now because we have had this reaction against corporatism and against people, with people valuing more what they spend their money on, people are going to start saving up and buying that bespoke piece, coveting it, cherishing it and preserving it for a future vintage, you know I mean like

our children. And I think probably that's where my heart is lying at the moment is to try to find a way in parallel with the vintage is to bring in I just thought of this today, but what is going to be future vintage, I mean it's not that I think that at the moment, something that is going to be able to be sold to people who appreciate the value like you do or I do and they don't just want to go into another optician and buy what is effectively stuff that is of no intrinsic design or value what so ever it is just mass market garbage really, you know, what a shame that we missed all those years, you know. My example of Alexander McQueen, that is an example of somebody who tried to make an effort to bring it back to where it was, for that I have kept his glasses to one side, I think that is a very, very... I think his glasses that he made, only the first catalogue because the second catalogue he had sold his name onto one of the big manufacturing companies, so the first catalogue had his name stamped on it and he had a hand in designing them I believe, I still have the first catalogue which is quite nice as well. I'm sure I am not the only one that has got them because they were still sold in thousands, they weren't just dozens, it wasn't haute couture or anything like that, they were meant for the mass market but they didn't have that valueless feel to them that things seem to have nowadays. It just bores me when people say 'what do you think about the new Armani glasses', they are interchangeable, they come out of the same design studio, and the same plant manufacturer and there are questions about whether that is now in China, and they may be, some of the best glasses in the world come out of China and Japan and places like that, but it is not what you spend £250 on spectacle frame for, do you know what I mean? You buy it because you think it is an Italian designer frame out of an Italian design house, endorsed by Ralph Lauren himself or his minions, you know what I mean? And because of that I

wouldn't buy one new because I would as if I was being cheated because I know the truth, just the same way as I wouldn't walk into a Ralph Lauren store in Ingram St, I just wouldn't humour it at all, I would always know that there was a back story that I wouldn't agree with, it's just the way of it. You can probably tell, I feel very strongly about this, almost every buying decision I make now, I do think about this inherent value thing, is what I am buying, am I making the right decision buying this thing, you know this object, is it just being mass marketed for the sake of it, or has somebody breathed something into this, is there something, life in it from somewhere, either design life or passion or something, colour or whatever it is, has someone actually thought about this? Or is it just orange is this year's colour, let's make 50 million of those, you know and then all of a sudden, magically it is this year's colour because everyone is wearing it and then they get sick of it, do you know what I mean? Anyway, sorry...

R- You spoke about your buying decisions; could you tell me more about that?

M- I suppose I am trying to read trends and judging what will sell, where the interest is at a moment in time. But I do pack my stock based on how I feel that day, I couldn't tell you what influences me really, I just follow my gut. In general, for me, it is not a nostalgia thing, not in the main, if anything the thing that puts people off a particular pair of glasses is because they remember someone wearing it at the time, so ironically if they remember their granny wearing a frame like that, they won't wear it themselves. That's quite often an excuse that I get, is that 'I have to avoid that one because'... so you go into a different era, you go into an era before that or after that, you know. So no, my client base is probably between 18 and 35 predominantly and I don't know if they have a great sense of nostalgia at that point. I am trying to

ask myself the question what is nostalgia? Do I have a sense of nostalgia? I do yes, I definitely do, but it is based on my own experience, I can now remember far enough back to be nostalgic about it, you know. And I probably do moan on about it quite a lot, 'I remember things used to be better', but I didn't probably do that when I was 26 because I didn't have a point of reference far enough back to get nostalgic about it, so I don't think it is so important. A lot of older people just won't wear vintage glasses as everyone round about them was wearing them at the time or they remember not liking wearing glasses back in the fifties and sixties themselves or when they were at school, they hated it. It is a very interesting point, speaking about my own profession, I can't talk about fashion in general, there was a real stigma against glasses and that wouldn't have been the case with shirts or blouses, ordinary items of fashion that you either liked them or you didn't like them, but you didn't have a stigma against shirts you know, you have got to remember when I started in optics it was the case, almost without fail, that every child under ten who came into the practice and was prescribed glasses and needed to wear them, went out of the practice crying because of that, now it is exactly the opposite, so if someone comes in and they don't need glasses they are going 'mummy, mummy, can I have them anyway?' or if their brother or sister do they want to wear them too, wearing them for the sake of it you know. So that's flipped on its head in twenty years you know, if you speak to people and back in the fifties and sixties you know, people absolutely detested them because presumably they made little mini versions of the adult ones, you know little cat's eyes or whatever was about, heavy set little frames, and ehh, or wee round ones you know like what has become known as the John Lennon style and people would hate that, so quite a lot of the time older people than me, don't buy

vintage glasses because they have this stigma ingrained into them from childhood, they hated them at the time and they can't get past that, you know. So that makes me wonder were these glasses ahead of their time because how come we love them so much now, you know it's not just the people that wear them that love them, other people do admit, if you wore a pair tomorrow people do comment and compliment you on them. Whereas when I was your age it would have been sniggering and nasty comments if I had worn them to university back then and all the rest of it. More or less just laughing at you behind your back, I mean I wore designer glasses at the time, contemporary designer glasses at the time, and I would get comments on the street, predominantly negative comments not ever really positive comments. You would be on the train and people would be looking at you going, 'he looks like a weirdo', it might be hard to appreciate but some of the glasses I wore back then were incredibly off the wall, even by today's standards, I pull them out now and think that would be rich for my blood now, even back then it was just way off the wall, I mean that was the 1980s remember, that was a time of experimental fashion. It was a fabulous time, I think if anything that is my favourite decade of my own experience, it was a fabulous time, so much joy behind everything, it was experimental, colour for the first time was brought right to the fore see when you think about it, at the time we all laughed but looking back on it now, I just remember it being a really light, airy, joyful, happy decade, anything went you know. There was no question about it and that came out in the design of things, particularly glasses, there is no doubt about it. It is hard to imagine that we could ever get that back again, I know we could go back to an 80s trend but I am talking about could you imagine coming out the other side of this recession and everybody just having a ball again like that? It is hard to

imagine, I mean I suppose it could happen, I hope it does. The problem is, this is nothing to do with what you are doing but let's just say, I think the problem is well globalisation is kind of the problem in an overarching sense in that everybody knows too much now. I think when people lived their lives more locally it wasn't really important what was happening round the corner, as long as you were happy within yourself and having a good time, do you know what I mean, looking after your own family or doing what needs to be done in your own corner as it were. I think now maybe people are just constantly trying to pull themselves up all the time and are constantly just getting battered down by what is happening round about them. It is all so much, there is always some bad news somewhere in the world and it is just no matter how hard you try to admit it, people must be effected by that, you know. When you are constantly bombarded with stories about war and all the rest of it, it is not healthy, I know that no matter the politics and the reasoning behind these wars are, and whatever is happening with regards natural disasters and all the rest of it and that kind of stuff (long pause). I don't know it makes me think of the phrase or the saying 'charity begins at home' I was never quite sure what that means but there is something in that somewhere, in other words if you don't look after your own corner, you are not really there to look after anyone else. It is the same wise global events and wars and stuff like that, there's not much point in fighting those wars if there is not hope back home if you know what I mean. But that is a side-line issue, sorry. I digress.

R- Going in a different direction. What do you think about the idea of the effort people make with vintage?

M- In some ways it is the same argument as with someone who wears all designer clothes, there is not much point unless people know that they are designer clothes. Hmmm, I would tend to disagree with that. I think that was exactly what was wrong when I was at university. So if we are talking two decades ago here, I would be your kind of age, I can't remember what was going on at the time or why there was a particular thought for me to wear vintage clothes but there were second-hand clothing shops in the city centre which aren't there now and I used to go across to Edinburgh especially and all the rest of it, to seek these things out, but why, why did I get involved in that? (Pause) I think that round about, there was no question about it, people were shopping at Cruise and making sure that they forgot to remove the label on the collar and things like that, I mean that might be an exaggeration but you know what I mean. You knew that they had went out and spent all that money on that, that was a very 80s/90s thing, that was a very kind of a Thatcheristic, you liked to wear your money kind of thing. There is no doubt about it that was all very false at the time. That annoyed me but looking back on it, I honestly can't remember what persuaded me to start wearing vintage clothes, other than I desired to do it so I just did it. Maybe it was because it was smarter maybe I liked the quality, I think from my own point of view back then, there probably was a genuine reason behind it, everything going on round about me was false and I didn't like that. I would say now, and I have said to quite a few people, is that I don't see that so much round about me, I think I see more of myself in the people, a genuine desire to wear what they are wearing for their own personal reasons. What would you get from that, you would get a sense of self or something or a sense of your own identity, I am not 100% sure, you would have to interview a few of them to see what is going on in

their head. There is less falseness around nowadays I think, less wearing things because of what they are and more wearing things because you want to.

R- I suppose as you say it is hard to explain the rationale.

M- The 80s and 90s were just unbelievably false decades, I liked the spirit of the 80s but there was no doubt about it that people were lying all over the place – to themselves and other people. So it was a kind of a right feeling but based on a wrong ideal at the time. You know what magic it would be if you could have captured that time and bring it to young people nowadays and give them an economy and a culture that would drive that forward. You know I think that would be the future. That would be happy days for everyone, so people could have either an affordable corporate culture, where by people would buy what they wanted to wear and display themselves how they wanted to, either by reducing the price of things or by increasing the amount of second-hand that we use or whatever. There is a balance to be created there, in other words not this constant shadow of designer shops dictating to us what should or should not be in fashion. Forget them, they should become more bespoke for people who want it, less domineering in a way. For that you would have to, I think advertising is the big problem in our society, I think it is the devil in all of this. Only the large corporate companies can afford to advertise and their messages are essentially false. It is self-serving on their part, so it goes back to what I said about how I would have known about Granny Would be Proud if someone hadn't pointed it out to me. They not only wouldn't really be able to afford to advertise but also where would they advertise as it is a transient thing, so it is not like you would be using the yellow pages. It happens every couple of weeks it is not that you spend £3000 on an advert to tell people about something that only happens once in a while.

So in some ways it is really relevant to advertise it that is why social networking has become so valuable to them. So converse to that, somewhere like the Ralph Lauren shop on Ingram St or Cruise or wherever, they need to spend about 10% of their turnover on advertising in order to stay afloat and that 10% is added directly on to the cost of the clothing. So it is almost like a self-fulfilling prophecy, the very fact that they are there means that they have to keep telling people that they are there, so because they do that it in turn keeps the cost of the product high. It is all a bit false of you ask me, I don't think that we need it. The world doesn't need designer clothes. But what it does need is things to be created of value. I think this mixture of advertising, designer clothing, big names and all the rest of it; it is feeding corporatism to the detriment of everything else. And everything else would probably be far more prevalent if it wasn't for that constant pressure from the corporate side to keep things down. If people stopped shopping in these shops tomorrow they would disappear without a trace.

R- can you tell me about what you think about the people who make the decision to shop for second-hand and/or vintage?

M- Probably to a certain extent, everyone except the lower classes has hijacked the vintage or technically the second-hand trend a bit. Charity shops are now all posh and merchandised, second-hand places are now fairs instead of jumble sales and bring and buy sales, the prices have elevated. If you can make people want something, then you can charge more for it. So now, I don't think Paddy's market is there anymore, it is gone, so that it where people would have gone in the past. But there would have been a stigma against that to the extent that I would probably have felt odd shopping at Paddy's market when I was a student. I would have went to Flip

or Armstrong's in Edinburgh, or Victorian Village or Saratoga Trunk or these places that were about at the time. Probably rather than go to Paddy's market and probably for snobbish reasons. I probably missed a whole lot of good stuff because of that thinking about it now. Maybe I preferred it to be cleaned up and presented properly to me with a price ticket on it and all the rest of it. That was probably just the culture of the time. You have to remember that I was heavily indoctrinated in that 80s culture because that is when I grew up. That was when I started to have money of my own and it was an impossible thing to avoid. I mean you talk about getting things like a party dress for your Christmas night out but back then everything just piled on top of you, it was almost a social stigma not to buy things you know back in those days. It was about throwing money around, you showed people how much you earned by what you wore and what type of car you drove or house you owned and things like that. I don't think young people have reacted against that but it isn't a backlash, so now young people will rent houses rather than buy them, they choose to go by public transport rather than drive or owning a car. I don't think that is a backlash against what I grew up with; I think that it is a consequence of the time. So they don't know, its borderline ignorance, well it is not even ignorance, they don't have the knowledge to backlash against me or the way that I grew up. So they just have evolved into this society where there is this money around, there is more competition for jobs; it's harder probably much harder now than when I left university. So they are doing what is the only available plan to them. It is not through any politics or anything and because of that they are buying second-hand not buying second-hand because they are anti-designer or anti-corporate or anything like that. It just seems like the natural thing to do, 'I will go to the charity shop and buy

something because I don't have as much money.' It is not even a comparison, they don't have enough money to go and shop in Cruise. Maybe they are valuing those purchases more, putting outfits together and accessorising, making a bigger effort because there is inherently more value in those things that they are buying because they are using what is not very much of their hard earned money to do it and they are appreciating it more. We didn't appreciate things as much in the eighties, you took it for granted that it was your right as you could afford it. It wasn't that you thought oh this is an item that I should keep good but I think with the vintage purchases people are putting that in, they are buying such and such and thinking I will get that to go with it, and I will really enjoy wearing it because it really has been a labour of love to try and put the thing together in the first place. So maybe this trend, which isn't a trend, is born of the cultural and economic times we live in and the only thing that could endanger that is in the future if some kind of good times came back again. With people having this blow out – that was what the eighties were – this big blow out – it was just a reaction to years and years of austerity. All of a sudden you want to wear bright colours and have flashing lights, posh cars and parties, huge telephones, everything was big, there was a lot of other cultures about, now I think the Americans are looking to us more to a certain extent. Yeah I think it is exciting, not like in the eighties but it is a very hopeful time just now and to a certain extent just now, talking about Granny Would be Proud, people talk the way my granny used to talk they will make do and mend, they will go home and darn something that is ripped or whatever, whereas for twenty years now if you said you were going to do that people would have laughed in your face, just buy a new one, this throw away culture.

R- I think it is interesting that some of these skills, such as sewing are really becoming more prevalent again?

M- I've let things pass by, I have ripped trousers or damaged things and I have really missed them, before people may have sewn new cuffs onto a shirt or whatever and it would have done another couple of years with it you know, now you would have just chucked it in the bin and been ready for a new one. But you would miss them like old friends. If you wore the soles through on shoes, you need to go get another pair and you could never find the same ones again, looking for the same spirit of what was there in the original pair. I mean for a while if I found something that I liked I would go into the shop and I would buy three of them. But then you found actually this is really boring and you get fed up and end up giving them to the charity shop or something. You can't win! It is all about that cache. If you have three of something it is no longer special. If I could mass-produce vintage glasses, those chosen pair wouldn't feel as special to you. What is that? Is it snobbery? Who cares, whatever it is that gives you enjoyment out of wearing your glasses is fine by me. But trying to put into word what that thing is that that is about, maybe it is just a confidence or something I don't know. There is something about it; it brings you something that is a wee bit special to you. Therefore you feel more confident because of that.

R- I think there is always something special about feeling you have found something treasured and special.

M- I have a 1972 bay window VW campervan, which is at the moment getting renovated and it is prized by me. Apparently the chap says that he is going to make it a showstopper for me. So that is cherished, that counts doesn't it, 40 years old? As

far as clothes are concerned I have a couple of things tucked away, pristine 1940s shirts, I haven't even brought them out recently cause it is almost like I know they are so good, that I don't even want to wear them, every time I think about wearing them I just look at them. I just love them. I just love the actual items... I have a really nice shirt that I got which I love so much, it is worn in, it is not in anyway pristine, but every time I put it on I think will I wear it today or will I save it because every day that I don't wear it is another day that it is going to last and it is getting a bit thread bare and all the rest of it. It is an old Tutol gent's shirt, do you know the brand? It is what we used to always wear to school in the seventies. It was a mini gent's shirt, white starched collar, you would have bought one in Frasers with a set, so this is one of these chaps, it is just a classic shirt and just one of those finds, and I think I got that in Edinburgh. It is funny, I still go to Edinburgh, and I have more luck in Edinburgh than I do in Glasgow despite the fact of what has been going on here. It is very hard to come by gent's clothes. I've got some of the original what everyone refers to as a granddad shirt, the shirt that becomes collarless and then you can button on a collar, I have at least one of those in its original wrapper – literally the way it came in its greaseproof brown paper with the collar manufacturer's info on it. I have never worn it. What else? I have a huge vintage record collection – 60s, 70s, 80s vintage records, LPs which I love, and I still collect them to be honest till this day. As far as the glasses are concerned, I have glasses that would melt your heart; I mean literally that I just think 'oh.' I mean real kind of anorak material that I think I would never sell that in a million years I mean absolutely dreamy glasses, the things that I would if it ever became appropriate to do so, maybe I would have a glass cabinet in my own practice or if I ever have a second-hand shop or something

like that, I would just have a display of these things out almost like a museum or an archive or whatever - this is how it should be done you know? All these new designers take a look at this and see if you can emulate this past.

R- Have you always-collected things?

M- I am a hoarder yeah. I hoard things; I didn't collect things to start with. It is only recently that I have realised how much that people covet the kind of things that I just happen to hoard. But I have hoarded because I have that typical Cancerian trait of never throwing anything out, I have just always done it. I have a house full of stuff, which I didn't collect through any will, I just couldn't get rid of it, I didn't want to let it go. So here I am, I am old enough now that some of these things do mean things to other people. So I am an accidental collector. I have loads of old stuff, maybe I like old things, old books as well, I have a big collection of old trade books to do with optometry. One or two bits of old furniture as well. I love the things that I have got. It is not materialistic. Materialism the definition of that and the sort of commercial sense is what we were talking about of wearing designer clothes and not being happy if people don't realise that they are designer. That is materialism, buying things for the sake of it. I think that you can have material possessions but they are an extension of yourself almost, they are part of your personality. Which I think is a different thing all together.

R- I think it is so personal in that way and the way people describe their possessions.

M- Well it inspires me to pull out some of these glasses. I mean I love all the glasses that I sell but there are just one or two pieces that I just don't know - it is almost like a sexual feeling towards them. It is a strange thing, it is larger than life considering it

is just an item. But it inspires me because just the time when you are flagging slightly or you are thinking to yourself, you know it is hard going against the corporate machine, you know it is hard battling against this constant threat of being put out of business by people who don't have any intrinsic interest in it. Pulling these things out just makes me think, you don't have a clue what it is all about, the corporate types don't have a clue that the answer is somewhere on this product, it is where we came from and it is the reason that the industry still stands until this day. If no one had enjoyed wearing these things in the past or enjoyed wearing them then we wouldn't be here to tell the story, everyone would get contact lenses or laser eye surgery; people are constantly harking onto us about these things. I mean it is not all fashion; there is the medical aspect too. It is nice to have an antidote to that - that somehow embodied in that is the fact that a lot of people care about the items and industry.

R- It is an interesting marriage behind the science and the aesthetics?

M- There is a lot behind it. The aesthetics is always the bit that has attracted me to be honest, I mean the origins of Eyedresser, well that was like 12 years ago that I set up the Eyedresser in the city centre, but I mean I had come up with concept maybe 10 years before that. I was having a boring afternoon and I was doodling names for my own potential business and Eyedresser was one of those, I still have that bit of paper till this day. I had a logo and everything just put it all down. It was well ahead of its time as a concept, I mean of dressing your eyes, loads of people have latched onto it now. But I was just swimming against the tide in those days, getting people just to wear glasses. So I suppose the industry has changed, I was really enthusiastic about it but not all were and just sold the same frame over and over again. It was such a refreshing difference now I would say just even in the past 5 years it has changed. It

is very freeing now that people are biting my hand off to come and get frames, and they want me to dress their eyes. This is fantastic, I mean my 'friends of Eyedresser' album on Facebook is my recognition of that that people are so enthusiastic and proud of the glasses I am giving them that they are willing to go online with their own pictures, that is really significant to me as it is a big deal. They are better than model pictures or anything; they are inspiring like looking at the vintage spectacles. I mean with vintage, something is working here, it is not a downward trend at the moment, there is something uncanny about despite how deep the recession gets and how much people talk about this possible ebbing in the vintage trend, the actual high street trend disappearing and it going back to like a niche market, I mean I am not getting any quieter. I mean at Granny Would be Proud it is exactly the opposite. Something is working there, I mean the social networking aspect and also there is no doubt that Granny Would be Proud are right behind me I mean it is literally they ask me to tell them if I don't want to come to a particular fair. I mean everyone else has to request a specific date or whatever. So it must work both ways and I am not stepping on anyone else's toes. I went away down to England last week, to Manchester I had a cruise around the northern quarter, there was not a pair of specs to be had.

R- That's funny that there was none. I mean I don't see a lot at any of the vintage fairs or shops?

M- I mean I stumbled across a Judy's fair in Cambridge when I was there a few week ago, it was in a church and there was nothing, nothing special, it was at the fringes of what I do, I did get some good records though, what I did notice there though was going back to the vintage thing was boxes of things like keys, a £1 each and I was

thinking I have loads of those in the house myself maybe I am sitting on a gold mine. Who would have thought that people actually want to buy old keys, like door keys and wardrobe door keys and the old keys and I was thinking is this getting a bit ridiculous now. Is this getting a bit like the jumble sale again? Are we just taking this too far? What do you think?

R- When I have seen old photos for sale, I always think that is a bit odd.

M- Old photos are a bit creepy but I must admit that I collect old postcards. I have always just collected all the old postcards that I get. But I have been keeping it for 10-15 years, I haven't look in it but there must be things in there that in a few years' time must be of some intrinsic cultural value. I don't know, it's an odd one that, see for me collecting postcards the value in that for me is collecting the postcards that you get. So it is about you, you look back on them. Just collecting them for the sake of it seems a bit odd to me. I mean I don't buy records because I think that they are inherently valuable or will be in the future, I buy the record to listen to it. If it happens to be inherently valuable in the future, that's nice, but it is not the reason why you buy it in the first place. It is coming back to that old thing, like designer clothes in the 1980s I think underpinning all of this. I think maybe the thing that you need to take away is, more than anything else that I have said, is that there is some shifting of culture of young people, I don't know enough of them to comment on this on a real psychological basis or whatever but my feeling is that people are more like me and the way that I have always been than at any time in my life. I feel more in tune with what is going on round about me, it is almost like I wish I could actually go back and personally go back to being 26 just to see what that feels like to be in amongst all these people that think the same way as me. To experience what it would

feel like cause as I said I was absolutely swimming against the tide. When I was 26 I was totally and utterly alien to the thinking of other people round about me. My profession in optics was surrounded by; it was all about people who couldn't wait to get out to buy their first Porsche or whatever. It seemed to me like there was more to life than to go out and spend £33,000 on a car that was going to be worth £24,000 the day after you bought it. Whatever floats your boat you know, it was all comparing the number of bedrooms in your houses and stuff, that seems to have disappeared a wee bit now, so maybe there are, maybe I don't mix in those circles anymore, maybe I deflect them. Do you meet people like that?

R- I suppose times have moved on but there must still be an undercurrent of that.

M- Perhaps it is more kept to those cliques now. They keep it to their group now, whereas before it was the norm and if you didn't follow it you were an oddball. Yeah definitely so I think something has happened here, I think there is still that upper layer, that upper strata, not as in class but as in financially secure who know about that. Where I stay they are building yacht marinas like no bodies business. I mean you can't buy a yacht for less than £25,000 so who has money to do this? Never mind the £3000 yacht marina fees and stuff like that. And the having time to go away and sail round the... or whatever, that used to me much more prevalent back in like the 80s. I used to mix with people that did that kind of thing, now I don't see it anymore, they are not broadcasting the fact that, I suppose there is a social stigma against that or something. I think it seems a bit too try hard in a way. Vintage and the return to prizing objects, almost seems like a counter to that.

R- I suppose it is that kind of social knowledge or being seen as trying too hard, like with cooking you don't want to be seen as trying too hard or having put too much effort in.

M- Yeah, yeah, yeah.

R- No one wants to be seen as caring too much or showy.

M- I mean it is a bit like when you went to your granny's house just to say hello it was always like get the kettle on, a bit of cake, no don't go to any bother, do you want any dinner while you're here, it won't be any bother at all. You are quite right. It is always underplayed; I think that is Scots hospitality for you that nothing is too much trouble you know what I mean. Underplaying it all the time, it is quite nice, buy yeah, I mean you yourself you always felt more special because of it. I mean it got to the point where in amongst my circles, you would be down at the pub and the first question people would ask would be how much did you pay for that then. Not what's the engine size or what made you choose that colour? It was like a badge of honour, I mean oh yes it was £25,000 but I managed to hammer the deal down 5% or he gave me free mats or whatever, it was almost like yeah I mean I spend a lot of money on it but I am quite hardnosed myself and I did manage to hammer him down a bit which that makes me a good business man as well, so that is just like a double whammy: not only can I afford to buy it but also I am a good business man so I hammered it down and I got the free mats and that and the next thing. But there was nothing particularly special about that brand new car that you have got. There are no scratches or dents in the paint work that make it feel homely or smell inside that makes it feel like yours or anything like that. I mean we are thinking about buying a

new house, and for the first time in our lives we are thinking about buying a new house – not a new house, like a ten years old one, as compared to the 150-year-old one we live in at the moment. I mean this is a huge, huge question, I am thinking about this all the time, could I live with myself buying a house that is only ten years old? It just has no personality stamped on it of mine, nothing about it that says anything about me but for an easy life we could do what everyone else does and have less maintenance and a safer place for Abigail to be and all the rest of it. It is kind of ripping me apart this question. It is just not my style.

R- how much of yourself do you compromise?

M- Precisely, exactly or can you make up for it in other ways. Could I immerse myself in vintage clothes or whatever so that it didn't matter so much the four walls that I stay in. cause after all it doesn't really matter what four walls you stay in. ironically it doesn't matter so much in the long run so why should I care so much about my old house, it would make more sense to live in a new house. Less upkeep so I could get on with the other part of my life, which I enjoy. Socialising or whatever. So I am really asking myself all these questions just now. What's behind this, what is it that makes me tick? Why is this so important at all? Does it really matter – there are lots of people that can't afford to buy a house just now, so maybe I should be thankful that I can even do it at all. It is nice to have choices, but it can be a bit confusing.

R – I live in an old tenement so I can understand.

M- What you have you love and it is so hard to give it up. I would dread the thought of going back and starting over again now, it was scary enough back then. It's a

nightmare. Jeez, I didn't realise the time so maybe we should wind up. I just get going and don't stop or anything, you shouldn't let me keep going.

M- one other thing before we finish up, The Granny Would be Proud guys and I we would like to progress things, developments and so forth and they want me to be a part of it. The will is there to, even if it doesn't have this vintage tag on it, I think quality will be the buy word into the future so maybe it will develop from this into something inherently lasting that can last in spite of all the fads and all the rest of it. So that even if the vintage current doesn't last, the spirit lives on in how people shop and view their belongings. There is a feeling in me just now that this is very much how I felt when I started Eyedresser off 12 years ago. It is just that nobody was behind me at the time. There wasn't this social networking thing, remember Facebook didn't exist back then, nobody had even considered the possibility. It has that same excitement, then it was a personal excitement, now it is it is a lot to do with trust after doing this vintage selling for two years people trust me, they trust that I am not out to fleece them, I can make the lenses up to the required standards. A lot of trust needs to be built up before people will come to you. Especially with vintage and particularly when it comes to glasses. It is inherently something important to people, it helps them see so I like that bit to almost go without saying. I've got past the point where you know you want them; we know you need your lenses in them so they can concentrate on the fun bit, the good bit, getting themselves looking the way that they want to look. That's the fun bit for me too; the rest of it is all nuts and bolts. The mechanics of it I could do in my sleep so but it has taken 25 years for me to get to that point. I mean I just happened to be in the right place at the right time for once in my life. I think I am owed this one; just a wee moment, if it all ends tomorrow then I

had my fun. If you didn't have the motivation within you in the first place then it would die, it would die a natural death. So I mean say tomorrow all of a sudden everyone wants only the new next big thing and it wasn't old stuff, say they wanted space age or whatever, then I think that if you love your product as much as I do then you will be able to bring your expertise and your passion into whatever happens in the future if you know what I mean. It can move with you or you can move with it. I don't think it is false to say that. I suppose that the challenge is just keeping smiles on people's faces. I think it is exciting.

R- Thank you so much for your time today. It is great to be able to start to talk to people about their passions.

M- It is all so fresh, it must be hard to find written materials, it is so of the moment, the history but it has to be contemporary consumerism, it is so live, it is different today than tomorrow. I need two of me cause it is all so interesting. No matter what I try to do, it sounds a bit arrogant, but it isn't right if someone else does it, I mean people come to you because of you; they want it done because of you, more often than nought people say can I not just see Michael. So I got to the point where I do what I need to do myself and I realised that I will never be a millionaire that way but I don't care, as long as I am having fun as I go along that is all that matters. I find it easy to sleep at night because I put my rubber stamp on everything that I do and I am willing to stand by that you know. It is a nice position to be in, well it is a funny backward forward age thing, it comes from having done it for so long. If I had one regret it would be that I would have like to have enjoyed this feeling back then when I was your age you know and still have the rest to look forward to. Rather than getting to this point and all of a sudden being here but what just happened to that

twenty years there. You wonder if there is a way to skip that or if it is just you have to do the apprenticeship and leap through the hoops along the way. If I could bring one thing to this, it is personal but for me people have been critical or disparaging of what you do and sometimes people not encouraging you and whatever on my path, you have to have this belief in yourself to keep that spark going and you can't let that spark even dwindle. Don't get to the point where you have to resurrect it, keep it alive because of whatever you have got does matter, it is going to matter to enough people and I wish I had known that at the time. There are enough people in the world that are going to be into what you are doing or saying or whatever to make it worthwhile and it might not always seem like. So rather than letting things get you down, shrug it off be proactive, rather than dig yourself out of holes all the time. I wish I had known that, I have a feeling that I am on the right path and I will get there in the end. Don't know what is it, human nature to trip people up and dwell on the negative.

M- I mean you get the feeling that there are all these subgroups and things that still exist but it is just that you get the feeling that all these different strata in society are still there it is just that you find yourself funnelled into particular areas in your own particular interest sphere. Is it possible that in a world of 7 billion people, everything just exists at the same time as everything else? And there are enough people to buffer each other from each other person's groups. In other words there are 100,000 people into vintage in the UK and 100,000 into Harley Davidson, I mean in a country of 60 million people it is quite possible that those two groups are never going to bump into each other. Maybe bump into each other on the odd occasion, they can exist entirely independently of each other and almost think that the world revolves around about

them. I often sit here and wonder about that, it is possible we think that the world is all about vintage cause we are in it and the rest of the world is out there thinking what the hell are you talking about, it is only a tiny little corner of nothing there. They are getting on with their own lives and it has no bearing on this what so ever. But it doesn't seem that way, it seems that when you put on the telly people are wearing vintage clothes or glasses or when you are reading a magazine they are talking about it as a trend and when you are down the pub people are talking about clothes and more people talking about charity shops. It seems to me to be deeper than just the niche that we are in. as if it is bigger than that, bigger than Harley Davidson biking, that is an incredibly specialised market, this, vintage seems to be crossing borders and infiltrating lots of people's lives in different ways and in that way it is more culturally significant. I constantly just stop myself and think are my feet on the ground here, it feels like the world is revolving round about me cause that's the way it feels or is there something physically going on here...who knows! It will be interesting for you finding out.