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FROM WARDROBE TO WARDROBE

Practice theoretical approach to fashion renting

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Master's thesis

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ABSTRACT

Karoliina Ruohonen: From wardrobe to wardrobe – Practice theoretical approach to fashion renting
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The current ways to produce and consume clothes include various sustainability issues. Fast fashion and overconsumption result in a throwaway culture and increasing amounts of textile waste. Alternative modes of consumption that shift from owning to access-based consumption and sharing can introduce more sustainable consumption practices among consumers. Consumers are increasingly more interested in experiencing rather than owning consumption products. This research focuses on membership-based fashion renting. Fashion renting allows clothing library members to experience new clothes regularly without ownership related burdens. In this research fashion renting is defined as access-based consumption. The aim of the research is to depict and analyse fashion renting based on practices clothing library members carry out as they engage in fashion renting. The main theoretical approach utilised in this research is practice theory.

The theoretical framework conceptualises fashion renting based on three mutually related topics. Firstly, the theory section introduces practice theoretical approach and how it can be utilised to study consumption. The unit of practice links together different materials, meanings, and competences. Secondly, the theory introduces different modes of consumption in relation to each other. Finally, this research utilises insight gained from wardrobe studies, based on which the consumption cycle of clothes can be depicted as being structured around wardrobe practices.

The research is qualitative in nature, and it utilises ethnographic wardrobe interviews to generate empirical data. Seven interviews were conducted with four members of Finnish clothing libraries. The participants were accompanied to a visit to clothing libraries where the first part of the interviews was conducted. The second part of the interviews was held at the participants' homes in the presence of their own clothes to further understand how fashion renting becomes part of the established clothes consumption routines. The empirical data was enhanced with collection of secondary data including various types of online media, detailing and documenting fashion renting mainly from the perspectives of clothing library members. The generated data was analysed inductively and deductively.

The research finds that fashion renting is a multifaceted consumption practice that links together multiple different materials, meanings, and competences. The research establishes a fashion renting consumption cycle based on practices the clothing library members routinely carry out as they engage in fashion renting. The fashion renting cycle depicts and explains how the visits at the clothing library are structured and how the rented clothes and accessories become temporarily part of the members' established clothes consumption routines at home. Moreover, the research identifies four consumption practices that the clothing library members carry out, which further depict why and how fashion renting becomes part of the clothing library members' clothes consumption, self-expression, and identity. Regular visits at the clothing library are found to be an important part of fashion renting experience because they allow the clothing library members to engage in the search for something new without ownership related burdens. In addition, the visits at the clothing library are found to be social situations, which foster a sense of community among the clothing library members. The participants of this research viewed fashion renting as a hobby that allowed them to explore their personal style and experiment with their daily dressing routines in a sustainable way, but which also allowed them to become part of the shared wardrobe system.

Finally, this research contributes towards the existing literature of access-based consumption by studying access in the context of clothes and by utilising practice theoretical approach. This research notes that studying and understanding how consumers utilise fashion renting as part of their clothes consumption becomes important in relation to the EU commission's planned strategy for sustainable textiles, which could increase the consumer adoption of fashion renting services. This research suggests that access-based consumption should be further studied in contexts in which different modes of consumption come together in the consumption practices.

Keywords: Fashion renting, practice theory, access-based consumption

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TIIVISTELMÄ

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Nykyiset tavat tuottaa ja kuluttaa vaatteita pitävät sisällään monenlaisia kestävyteen liittyviä ongelmia. Pikamuoti ja liikakulutus johtavat kertakäyttökulttuuriin ja kasvaviin tekstiilijätemääriin. Vaihtoehtoiset kulutusmuodot, jotka siirtyvät omistamisesta pääsyyn perustuvaan kuluttamiseen ja jakamiseen, voivat esitellä kuluttajille kestävämpiä kulutuskäytänteitä. Kuluttajat ovat yhä kiinnostuneempia kulutustuotteiden kokemisesta omistamisen sijaan. Tämä tutkimus keskittyy jäsenyyteen perustuvaan vaatteiden lainaamiseen. Vaatteiden lainaus mahdollistaa vaatelainaamoiden jäsenille uusien vaatteiden säännöllisen kokemisen ilman omistukseen liittyviä rasitteita. Tässä tutkimuksessa vaatteiden lainaaminen määritellään pääsyyn perustuvan kulutuksen muotona. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on kuvata ja analysoida vaatteiden lainaamista vaatelainaamoiden jäsenten harjoittamien käytänteiden perusteella. Tutkimuksen teoreettinen lähestymistapa on käytäntöteoria.

Teoreettinen viitekehys käsitteellistää vaatteiden lainaamisen kolmen toisiinsa liittyvän aihekokonaisuuden pohjalta. Aluksi teoriaosuus esittelee käytäntöteoreettisen lähestymistavan ja sen hyödyntämisen kulutuksen tutkimuksessa. Käytänne yksikkönä muodostuu erilaisista materiaaleista, merkityksistä ja kompetensseista. Toiseksi teoria esittelee erilaisia kulutusmuotoja suhteessa toisiinsa. Lopuksi tutkimuksessa hyödynnetään vaatekaappitutkimuksista saatua näkemystä, jonka perusteella vaatteiden kulutuksen kiertoa voidaan kuvata rakentuvan vaatekaappikäytänteiden ympärille.

Tutkimus on luonteeltaan laadullinen ja siinä hyödynnetään etnografisia vaatekaappi-haastatteluita empiirisen aineiston keräämiseen. Neljää suomalaista vaatelainaamon jäsentä haastateltiin seitsemän haastattelun verran. Tutkija osallistui vaatelainaamovierailuille osallistujien kanssa, joiden aikana suoritettiin haastatteluiden ensimmäinen osa. Haastatteluiden toinen osa suoritettiin osallistujien kotona heidän omien vaatteidensa läheisyydessä, jotta nähtäisiin, kuinka vaatteiden lainaus tulee osaksi osallistujien vakiintuneita kulutusrutineita. Empiiristä aineistoa täydennettiin kokoelmalla sekundaariaineistoa, joka sisälsi erilaisia netistä löytyviä medialähteitä, joissa vaatteiden lainausta dokumentoitiin ja kuvattiin etenkin vaatelainaamoiden jäsenten perspektiiveistä. Kerättyä aineistoa analysoitiin sekä induktiivisesti että deduktiivisesti.

Tutkimuksesta ilmenee, että vaatteiden lainaaminen on monitahoinen kulutuskäytänne, jossa yhdistyvät erilaiset materiaalit, merkitykset ja kompetenssit. Tutkimus muodostaa vaatteiden lainaamisen kulutussyklin vaatelainaamon jäsenten rutiininomaisten käytänteiden toteutuksien pohjalta. Vaatteiden lainaamisen sykli kuvaa ja selittää, kuinka vaatelainaamovierailut rakentuvat ja kuinka lainatut vaatteet ja asusteet tulevat väliaikaisesti osaksi jäsenten vakiintuneita vaatteiden kulutuksen rutineja kotona. Lisäksi tutkimus tunnistaa neljä kulutuskäytäntöä, joita vaatelainaamon jäsenet toteuttavat, ja jotka edelleen kuvaavat miksi ja miten vaatteiden lainaaminen tulee osaksi vaatelainaamon jäsenten vaatteiden kulutusta, itseilmaisua sekä identiteettiä. Säännölliset vierailut vaatelainaamolla ovat tärkeä osa vaatteiden lainaamisen kokemusta, sillä vierailujen aikana jäsenet voivat kokea löytämisen iloa ilman omistamiseen liittyviä rasitteita. Lisäksi vierailut ovat usein myös sosiaalisia tilanteita, jotka edistävät yhteisöllisyyden tunnetta vaatelainaamon jäsenten keskuudessa. Tutkimukseen osallistuneet kokivat vaatteiden lainaamisen ikään kuin harrastuksena, jonka avulla he pääsivät leikkimään omalla tyylillään ja kokeilemaan erilaisia pukeutumiserutineja kestäväällä tavalla. Lainamalla he myös pääsivät osaksi yhteistä vaatekaappisysteemiä.

Lopuksi tämä tutkimus edistää olemassa olevaa pääsyyn perustuvan kulutuksen kirjallisuutta tutkimilla pääsyyn perustuvaa kuluttamista vaatteiden kontekstissa ja hyödyntämällä käytäntöteoreettista lähestymistapaa. Tutkimuksen perusteella todetaan, että se miten kuluttajat hyödyntävät vaatteiden lainaamista osana vaatteiden kulutustaan, nousee tärkeäksi – etenkin EU-komission suunnitteilla olevan kestäväen tekstiilin strategiaan liittyen. Tämän tutkimuksen perusteella ehdotetaan, että pääsyyn perustuvaa kulutusta tulisi tutkia lisää etenkin sellaisissa kulutus konteksteissa, joissa kulutuskäytännöissä yhdistyvät erilaiset kulutusmuodot.

Avainsanat: Vaatteiden lainaaminen, käytäntöteoria, pääsyyn perustuva kulutus
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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Towards slower fashion consumption cycle

The fashion industry is riddled with sustainability issues; environmental, social, and economic. Clothes and textiles have significant environmental impacts from production to consumption (Business for Social Responsibility, 2009). The current estimate is that the fashion industry contributes up to 10% of the global pollution, which makes it the second largest industrial polluter right after aviation (Niinimäki et al., 2020). In 2010, around 38,700 tonnes of textile waste, equating to 16.8 kg per person, was landfilled in Finland (Tojo et al., 2012). Whereas, according to the latest estimates around 70 000 to 100 000 tonnes of textile waste is accumulated in Finland annually (Jääärni, 2021). The global amount of textile waste entails an even larger amount of wasted resources like water and energy and represents the amount of pollution caused during production and transportation as well. For example, the fashion industry is said to produce 92 million tonnes of waste and to consume 79 trillion litres of water per year (Niinimäki et al., 2020). Consequently, “clothing is a material-intensive product. The natural resources required for producing, distributing, and maintaining these products coupled with the consumer’s current penchant for excess consumption and perceived disposability is of great concern environmentally” (Armstrong et al., 2015, 31). The issue at hand is a complex product of unsustainable practices established and performed in every level of the system-wide production and consumption, involving policy, industry, retailers, and consumers (Niinimäki et al., 2020).

The culture of fast fashion and overconsumption often go together, which is why they are seen accountable for a large portion of the global textile waste as discussed above. Fast fashion is often related with characteristics such as cheap prices, poor quality, and fast changing fashion trends, which together aggregate overconsumption and throwaway culture (Allwood et al., 2006 in Armstrong et al., 2015). For example, according to the Finnish Fashion and Sports Commerce Association (TMA) the volume of clothes’ sales in 2018 increased but the value of the overall sales decreased, implying that people choose cheap clothing and fast fashion over more environmentally friendly and higher quality options (Yle, 2019). Over-consumption refers to buying more than one needs, which is very evident in the fashion industry due to fast-fashion and short-changes in fashion trends (Armstrong & Lang, 2018; Niinimäki et al., 2020). Short-term use of the purchased clothing items, the fast process of clothing items becoming ‘old’ or ‘expired’, and the early disposal of clothing products characterize the overconsumption

(Bianchi & Birtwistle, 2010; Birtwistle & Moore, 2007; Niinimäki et al., 2020). Gupta et al. (2019) note that the entire fashion industry promotes overconsumption and reinforces poor consumption practices among consumers. Hence, they (Gupta et al., 2019, 188) note that; “industry driven by speed, change, artificial newness, and obsolescence” makes concepts such as sustainable fashion seem like an oxymoron at best.

To decrease the accumulating amount of textile waste and the negative environmental impact fashion industry has requires a system-wide transition from the current practices. Niinimäki et al. (2020) highlight the need for slowing down the entire fashion cycle. The concept of “slow fashion” (Ertekin & Atik, 2015) means slowing down the speed of the entire fashion consumption cycle by placing emphasis on well-made quality clothes that are timeless in their style. Niinimäki et al. (2020) emphasize the importance of collaboration and cooperation between policymakers, industry, retailers, and consumers, and map out strategies and responsibilities for each set of actors that hold the potential to slow the fashion consumption cycle. In relation to retailers, business models that support slower consumption and circular economy principles are seen beneficial. Hence, alternative modes of consumption that shift the paradigm from ownership to sharing, renting, and swapping, can hold the potential to increase sustainable fashion consumption and consumer wellbeing (Guillen-Royo & Wilhite, 2015 in Gupta et al., 2019, 200). Consumers have an important and active role in this as well. According to Niinimäki et al. (2020) consumers should extend the use time of clothes, make conscious consumption decisions, and slow down their own consumption cycle. Consumers are expected to build new routines and embrace more sustainable consumption practices in the apparel consumption, through which a healthier relationship with the clothes consumption can emerge.

This research focuses on fashion renting taking place in Finnish clothing libraries. Fashion renting represents an access-based consumption practice. Non-ownership-based consumption modes, such as access-based consumption, are seen to hold the potential to reduce and moderate excess buying especially in consumption contexts where excess consumption is prominent and problematic, such as in the context of fashion consumption. Instead of buying consumers can access products through renting, borrowing, sharing, or leasing. This research utilises practice theoretical approach to understand how fashion renting, an alternative to buying, functions in practice based on clothing library members’ accounts. It is important to understand how and why consumers engage with new consumption practices such as fashion renting, as new consumption practices require active engagement from consumers for them to become normalized. As Røpke (2009) notes, large socio-economic changes influence the

development of consumption practices which consequently changes peoples' daily routines and domestic practices. Simultaneously the individual performances of practices continuously evolve given practices. Finally, alternative ways to consume fashion embed new routines, new skills and changed meanings.

1.2 Access-based consumption and fashion renting

Traditionally ownership-based consumption has been the primary way to access things hence consume them. Consequently, this has influenced our consumer culture and consumption practices, and it has shaped how today's markets and societies are organized. However, especially the past decade has seen a surge in alternative consumption modes that steer away from ownership and foster a more collaborative way to consume products and resources in which ownership is placed with access and sharing (Watkins et al., 2016). The internet has played an important role in the creation of different sharing platforms and peer communities, and in general internet and digitalization together have enabled the development and adoption of non-ownership consumption forms. However, the paradigm shift from ownership to access and sharing is fuelled by the changing values of consumers, and while ownership is still seen as the primary way to access and consume things in the marketplace, it is argued that owning things does not necessarily hold the same value to consumers as it used to (see e.g. Lindblom, Lindblom & Wechtler, 2018; Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012; Belk, 2014). In fact, Bardhi and Eckhardt (2012) argue that consumers are increasingly more interested in accessing and experiencing products instead of owning them. Later, they add that "we are what we do rather than what we have" (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2017, 586). Simultaneously, the concept of ownership and meaning of our possessions change (Watkins et al., 2016). Indeed, the broadening scope of different products and services that can be enjoyed without ownership showcases this shift in values. Popular examples of non-ownership services include car sharing schemes, Airbnb, and different online streaming services, for example Netflix. However, the product range is ever broadening and things like children's' toys, bikes, tools, and now clothes have risen in popularity as well. As Lawson et al. (2016, 2615) note, these "business models align consumer self-interest with responsible consumption behaviours, enabling consumers, businesses and society to benefit through this unique form of exchange". Hence, alternative ways to consume helps consumers to share the costs of otherwise expensive products (Botsman & Rogers, 2010 in Armstrong & Lang, 2018).

In this research fashion renting is defined as access-based consumption. According to Bardhi and Eckhardt (2012, 881) access-based consumption can be defined as “transactions that can be market mediated but where no transfer of ownership takes place”. The research on alternative modes of consumption provides numerous terms to capture the phenomenon of access, sharing and non-ownership consumption. Concepts like collaborative consumption (CC) (Botsman & Rogers, 2010) and product-service system (PSS) (Mont, 2002) are often used almost interchangeably with access-based consumption in the existing literature. There are nuances between these concepts, for instance literature on CC often highlights the role of internet and online platforms as the facilitators and organizers of the exchanges of products and services among large number of people, however ultimately all the concepts belong to the wider realm of Sharing Economy (Fraanje & Spaargaren, 2019). Belk (2014) notes that Bardhi and Eckhardt (2012) conflate collaborative consumption and sharing in their concept but continues to say that CC is a subset of the market-mediated access. On the other hand, Huber (2017) constructs his own definition for CC in which he distinguishes access-based consumption from CC to emphasize peers and their mutual interaction, simultaneously proposing that access-based consumption practices like market-mediated car sharing does not entail any collaboration between the service users. While this research employs Bardhi’s and Eckhardt’s (2012) definition of access-based consumption, it is suggested that non-online based fashion renting practice holds some form of collaboration between the users.

Access-based consumption as well as renting has been studied and theorised from different perspectives and in different contexts (see e.g. Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012, 2017; Chen, 2009; Durgee & O’Connor, 1995; Gruen, 2017). However, more diversity in the empirical studies is needed. The existing research on access-based consumption has been especially interested in identifying and examining different variables in relation to consumer intent to adopt different access-based services, and on the other hand understanding what happens to the object-self relationship when things are not possessed in the traditional sense. The object-self relationship is seen hindered by access as it prevents consumers to engage in appropriation practices, thus consumers can only gain utility from access-based consumption (Gruen, 2017; Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). Bardhi’s and Eckhardt’s (2012, 881) comprehensive conceptualization of access-based consumption in the empirical context of car sharing identifies six dimensions how access differ from sharing and ownership, including temporality, anonymity, market mediation, consumer involvement, the type of accessed object, and political consumerism. They disclose four outcomes regarding the consumer-object, consumer-consumer, and consumer-marketer relationship, including consumers do not experience perceived ownership

or engage in practices of appropriation, car sharing is motivated by self-interest and utilitarianism, car sharing is guided by negative reciprocity and big-brother-type governance, and there is a lack of brand community (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012, 894). However, it is noted that different consumptionscapes and different accessed products and services can yield new insight on access, as well as on the related values and consumption practices. Hence, the object-self relationship can differ in alternative contexts of access. (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012.) As this research focuses on market-mediated fashion renting, an alternative way to enjoy new clothes in daily dressing without the exchange of ownership, it is safe to assume that this research context holds the potential to provide new insight on access-based consumption.

Renting clothes for special events and occasions has been around for a long time, while renting clothes as a clothing library member to add versatility to one's own collection of clothes and everyday dressing practices is a relatively new phenomenon that has only relatively recently gained more attention amongst consumers. For example, Rent the Runway is an online-based luxury brand rental service that has been successfully operating for many years, but in Finland fashion renting seems to be a more recent phenomenon, which has not yet seen a wider adoption among Finnish consumers. However, the recent years have seen a steady increase in the numbers of different clothing libraries in Finland. Currently the biggest operating clothing library chain is called Vaatepuu that has stores in four different locations across Finland. Vaatepuu and other Finnish clothing libraries are usually located in city centres, making many of the clothing libraries market themselves as the citizens' shared wardrobes, in which the circular economy principles and sharing economy values are at the core of the service structure. Unlike one-time renting of special garments, the focus of this research is on fashion renting that is based on clothing library membership, which allows members to rent clothes and accessories from the shared wardrobe collection in weekly basis. The idea is to provide members the access to high quality clothing for everyday use, and at the same time promote the idea of sustainable consumption regarding clothes. The clothes and accessories available for renting are usually made by Finnish and Nordic designers and brands, making them often expensive to purchase outside of renting. While many of the clothing libraries also carry special event wear, the main business idea is to offer consumers the chance to diversify their daily dressing, explore their personal style without the burden of ownership, and rent away the urge to buy something new.

To become a member of a clothing library one pays a membership fee that grants the access to the shared collection of clothes and accessories. The membership usually lasts from one month

to six months, after which the member can choose to either continue or discontinue the membership. There are minor differences between the different clothing libraries in terms of membership fees, how long the minimum membership lasts, and how many clothing items and accessories one can rent at a time, which will be further elaborated in the methodology chapter regarding the data generation process. Since this research utilises practice theoretical approach as the main analytical tool the focus excludes online-based fashion renting as it is thought to differ from non-online based fashion renting in terms of the practices and the respective performances of those practices the members carry out. Furthermore, this research does not focus on any particular Finnish clothing library per se, however the interviews were held with members of Vaatepuu and Vaaterekki, and the secondary data obtained majorly represent the perspectives of the Vaatepuu and Vaaterekki members as well.

While the unsustainable practices of the fashion industry have started to gain more attention amongst retailers and consumers, resulting in even larger fashion retailers to offer alternative services as part of their normal service offerings, for instance, H&M nowadays offers the option to rent clothes and Zalando provides an opportunity to buy ‘pre-loved’ clothes alongside the new ones, renting may still not be for everyone. Reasons behind this are on one hand related to the nature of access-based consumption and on the other hand to the meanings attached to clothes. Belk first (1988, 160) suggested that “we are what we have” and that our possessions are part of our extended self, however he later noted that this statement needs to be readjusted as “new forms of possession and uses that do not involve ownership” are becoming more popular (Belk, 2014, 1595). New forms of consumption influence the meaning-making processes and identity practices as the object-self relationship changes without the traditional possession practices. Furthermore, sharing with strangers can lead to feelings of contagion, which hinders the appeal of renting for some people. Belk (1988, 151) talks about symbolic contamination that refers to “involuntarily incorporating another into one’s extended self”. While the concern of symbolic contamination can be seen as an issue for the wider adoption of many access-based consumption forms, clothes are especially vulnerable for this as clothes are often part of one’s personal self-expression and identity projects. The apparel consumption holds various meanings in our society as clothes act as social markers for who we are and who we want to become, and on the other hand happiness is related to the consumption of clothes (Gupta et al., 2019; Aydin, 2010 in Gupta et al., 2019).

An article published in Yle (Jokelainen, 2019) discusses reasons for why fashion renting has not become a bigger trend in Finland. For many sharing everyday clothes is seen as odd and

inconvenient, because clothes are so personal and because renting requires consumers to change their existing routines. On the other hand, it is pointed out that ownership still holds an important place in the Finnish culture and for Finnish consumers, because historically the Finnish consumer culture as it is known today is young and the economically less affluent years in the history are still well embedded to the current ways of acquiring things, and to the meaning of owning things. Ownership communicates one's social status and affluence. On the other hand, Finnish consumers spend their money on electronics, and compared to many other European countries, designer clothes and fashion do not hold the same value to Finnish consumers. (Jokelainen, 2019.) On the other hand, the Finnish Commerce Federation conducted a study where they examined how much and where Finnish consumers tend to buy clothes, concluding that a big portion of clothes bought in Finland are from supermarkets like Prisma, Tokmanni and K-Citymarket (Finnish Commerce Federation, 2019).

Research focusing specifically on fashion renting is still scarce. The existing research is often quantitative in nature, and it focuses on exploring the adoption phase of fashion renting by identifying and analysing consumers' motivations, intentions, attitudes, and personality traits hindering and fostering the adoption of fashion renting. For example, Armstrong and Lang (2018) studied how personality traits like fashion leadership, need for uniqueness and materialism together with consumer's intentions affect the adoption of CC in a form of fashion renting. Their findings show that fashion leadership and need for uniqueness correlate positively with fashion renting, whereas materialism was verified to negatively correlate with renting and swapping of clothes (Armstrong & Lang, 2018). Vasques et al. (2017) pursued to understand factors such as motivations, barriers, and opportunities for using a Finnish clothing library, Vaatelainaamo, based on the service users' perspectives. Among their findings they conclude that Vaatelainaamo and the experience of sharing can have an impact on consumers' practices and make consumers more open to sustainable consumption practices (Vasques et al., 2017). However, this notion needs to be considered together with the other findings noting that the consumers' choice to use Vaatelainaamo service was originally motivated by values such as "generosity, less appraisal on possessions and refutation for a culture of discarding" (Vasques et al., 2017, 729). Lang (2018) studied barriers and motivations that influence consumers pursue of access-based consumption in a form of fashion renting, concluding that consumer intentions to rent clothes positively correlate with their attitudes, perceived enjoyment, and frugal shopping, while perceived risks such as financial, performance, and psychological hinder the intentions to rent clothes. Finally, Loussaïef et al. (2019) examine how women's self-identity is influenced by practices of access, borrowing, and sharing in the

context of luxury fashion. They for example find that contrary to the case of accessing cars (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012) access to luxury fashion does not only reflect and nourish consumers' self-identity, but consumers do also appropriate the luxury garments, thus they treat them as possessions (Loussaïef et al, 2019, 269).

Fashion renting provides an interesting context to gain further understanding on access-based consumption, because the nature of clothes consumption represents different values, meanings and behaviours compared to, for instance, car sharing that has been a popular empirical context for studying access-based consumption. Bardhi and Eckhardt (2012, 896) suggest access-based consumption to be studied in "access contexts in which identity and the hedonic value of the object are more salient". This research believes to take up on this suggestion. Furthermore, practice theory provides a tool to understand holistically how fashion renting works as part of the clothing library members' clothes consumption and what kinds of materials, meanings and competence are involved in this form of consumption.

1.3 Research aim and research questions

The purpose of this research is to depict and analyse fashion renting as part of the clothing library members' daily clothes consumption practices by identifying practices and their constructing elements the clothing library members carry out in relation to fashion renting. Fashion renting is seen as a form of access-based consumption, but the fashion renting cycle is seen to take place between the clothing library and members' homes, which is why, it is argued, that the fashion renting cycle merges together aspects of access, owning, and sharing in the practices performed by the clothing library members. This research approaches fashion renting from a practice theoretical approach, and more specifically this research utilises Shove et al. (2012) understanding of practice being a unique combination of materials, meanings, and competences. Performing different practices bring together these elements. Therefore, the research questions are as follows.

- 1. What kinds of practices are related to fashion renting?*
- 2. What kinds of elements structure these practices?*

The existing research on access-based consumption lacks diversity in the empirical contexts the phenomenon is being studied. Furthermore, the existing research on fashion renting has focused mainly on the consumer adoption and acceptance of fashion renting services, and therefore it is argued that this research can contribute to the understanding of fashion renting

by focusing on the perspectives of people who actively use the service. Hence, practice theoretical approach enables a rather holistic understanding of different consumption practices because it focuses on routinized behaviours and on the use of things, hence it decentralises individual needs and wants from the focus and instead pays attention to collective meanings that construct the everyday life. Huber (2017) utilised practice theoretical approach to theorize the dynamics of collaborative consumption practices by comparing peer-to peer accommodation and cohousing, and Gruen (2017) utilised practice theory together with the discipline of design to examine how consumers form relationships with objects they use in the context of Parisian car sharing system. However, based on the literature review practice theoretical approach has not been utilised to study fashion renting. Therefore, it is believed that a suitable research gap has been identified, which this research can contribute to by studying access in the context of Finnish fashion renting from a practice theoretical approach. The table 1 summarises the research outline.

Table 1. Summary of the research outline

How does this research contribute towards the identified research gap?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access-based consumption studied in a context of fashion renting • Practice theoretical approach • Focus on current clothing library members' accounts • Qualitative research
Topic of the research	Depicting and analysing of fashion renting based on practices and their elements
Phenomenon of the research	Access-based consumption
Context of the research	Finnish fashion renting (physical stores)
Research approach	Practice theory based on Shove et al. (2012) understanding of practice being composed by materials, meanings, and competences
Methodological details	Qualitative research, seven ethnographic wardrobe interviews, and collected secondary data

The theoretical framework of this research synthesizes literature from different topics to conceptualise fashion renting cycle for the purpose of this study. The three key topics of literature include practice theory and consumption, different modes of consumption and possession, and finally clothes consumption and wardrobe studies. The research draws literature mainly from the fields of consumer research, marketing, and consumer culture. Consequently, this research posits itself to the realm of versatile groups of consumer culture research (CCT). CCT “refers to a family of theoretical perspectives that address the dynamic relationships between consumer actions, the marketplace, and cultural meanings” (Arnould & Thompson, 2005, 868).

1.4 Research structure

The research is structured under five main chapters and their subchapters. First chapter provides a background for the research topic and purpose, introduces existing research on access-based consumption and fashion renting to identify a gap this research aims to fill, and finally states the research aim and questions. The second chapter delves into the theoretically meaningful concepts this research utilises to construct a theoretical framework including practice theory and consumption, consumption modes, and wardrobe practices and clothes consumption. Third chapter focuses on the methodological choices made in this research. Fourth main chapter presents and discusses the findings of this research, and finally the fifth chapter provides a summary of the research, theoretical contributions, managerial implications, limitations of the study, and ideas for future research.

2 CONCEPTUALISING FASHION RENTING

2.1 Practice theory and consumption

The roots of practice theory stem from sociology, social studies and social theories comprising a diverse group of authors and works. Social theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens and Michael Foucault are often referred to as the original practice theorists, whose works form the foundation of the current understanding of practice theory (Reckwitz, 2002). Practice theory presents an alternative way of theorising the social and cultural, where the interest lies in the ‘everyday’ and ‘life-world’, and where ‘practice’ forms the foundation of action (Reckwitz, 2002). Hence, the focus lies in understanding how our social lives are carried out through practices (Halkier et al., 2011). According to Schatzki (2019) there are four theses that link different accounts of practice theories together. Firstly, practices structure social life. “Cultural theories, including practice theory, are founded upon a different form of explaining and understanding action, namely by having recourse to symbolic structures of meaning” (Reckwitz, 2002, 244). Secondly, the world comprises of many connected practices (Schatzki, 2019). Thirdly, social phenomena “are either aspects of, complexes of, or rooted in constellations of practice” (Schatzki, 2019, 19). Finally, theories of practices stem from the works of Ludwig Wittgenstein (1957) and Martin Heidegger (1978) whose philosophical ideas illuminate that “human activity rests on something that cannot be put into words” (Schatzki, 2019, 21). Reckwitz’s (2002) comprehensive conceptualisation of social practice theory helps to further understand the latter notion.

Reckwitz (2002) accounts practice theory to be part of cultural theories, an alternative to three other cultural theories: culturalist mentalism, textualism, and intersubjectivism. All the theoretical approaches provide a way to understand where the social and collective are in the social order and social action. Culturalist mentalism regards mental structures as the smallest unit of analysis, in other words the social is found in the mind. Based on culturalist textualism the structure of social life should be explored outside the mind in signs and texts, whereas culturalist intersubjectivism finds the social between agents in the use of language and interaction. (Reckwitz, 2002.) Finally, practice theory finds the social in practices which can be defined as “routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge” (Reckwitz, 2002, 249). Positing practice theory next to other cultural theories establishes two things, firstly it provides clarity to the practice theoretical vocabulary

and identity needed to utilise the approach better (Reckwitz, 2002). Secondly, the rigour in theoretical approaches aiming to explain social change and human activity contributes to the idea that human action stems from something that cannot be captured with mere words.

To understand how practice theory can be utilised in relation to consumption, it is relevant to first view different theoretical accounts on how practices are defined and understood. To expand on Reckwitz's (2002) definition of practice it is good to point out some of the underlining notions embedded to this particular definition. Firstly, in practice theory body, mind, things, and knowledge are in an inseparable relation with each other, linked together in routinized performances and activities. Bodily activities refer to not only the use of body in a form of movement, but these activities refer to a broader understanding of bodily performances including handling objects, intellectual activities, mental activities, and emotional activities. (Reckwitz, 2002.) "A social practice is the product of training the body in a certain way: when we learn a practice, we learn to be bodies in a certain way (and this means more than to 'use our bodies')" (Reckwitz, 2002, 251). Similarly, mental activities, knowledge and objects are essential parts of social practices. Mental activities refer to routinized know-how, understanding, wanting, and feeling, which are as important parts of a practice as bodily performances, therefore practice goes beyond the classic distinction between mind and body, inside and outside. (Reckwitz, 2002.) On the other hand, practice theory does not focus on individuals per se, but it views individuals as the carriers of practices, or as unique cross-sections of body/minds who "understand the world and themselves, and use know-how and motivational knowledge, according to the particular practice" (Reckwitz, 2002, 256). Therefore, practice approach challenges the idea of rational and independent individuals, and instead emphasizes the idea that individuals carry the social in the form of practices (Reckwitz, 2002). Similarly, Schatzki (1996) views practice theories as neither individualist nor holist. Decentralizing individuals from the focus does not imply that subjectivity does not exist, nor does it imply that humans do not have agency, instead practice theory holds that human subjectivity is at the core of structuration, reproduction, and change (Spaargaren, 2011; Spaargaren & Oosterveer, 2010).

On the other hand, Shove et al. (2012) provide important nuances to the discussion of practitioners by highlighting that, practices require practitioners to carry out the performances. Every single practice from the beginning of human history to present day has formed by the changing population of people as practice carriers. While the focus of practice theory is not about the individual desires and feelings, people have an important role in understanding how

practices change lives, and consequently how individual lives change practices. (Shove et al., 2012.) People have different past experiences, know-how, opportunities, and access to materials, which implies that everyone perform practices in their own way (Warde, 2005). People use their limited time engaging with certain practices therefore disregarding others, and for this reason the relation between practices and practitioners is important, as it reveals how “social relations in which persons and practices change, re-produce, and transform each other” (Lave & Wenger, 1991, 68). Practices compete for peoples’ time, money, as well as their mental and physical capacities (Huber, 2017). However, Røpke (2009) notes that modern societies tackle with the issue of the scarcity of time. Therefore, leisure activities that require more time, specialized skills or scheduling are prone to lose the competition against activities that are more convenient and less time consuming (Southerton, 2005; Russell, 2005 in Røpke, 2009). This notion is especially important in relation to the larger discussion of sustainable change and consumption.

Schatzki (1996) adds two notions of practice further clarifying the concept by distinguishing between practice as an entity and practice as performance. Practice as entity can refer to for example cooking practices, and it can be understood as a unique combination of doings and sayings linked together through understanding, and rules, principles, precepts and instructions”, and through ““teleoaffective’ structures embracing ends, projects, tasks, purposes, beliefs, emotions and moods” (Schatzki, 1996, 89). Later Warde (2005) refers the above-mentioned components of practice as 1) understandings, 2) procedures, and 3) engagements, maintaining that practices are unique entities of doings and sayings. On the other hand, practice as performance refers to Reckwitz’s (2002) notion of carrying out practices. The distinction between practice as entity and practice as performance is important because it elucidates that for a practice to exist it requires routinized performance for the practice to stay established, but on the other hand “a performance presupposes a practice” (Warde, 2005, 134). Therefore, people as the carriers of practices are in the constant process of reproducing and recreating practices through their unique performances of practices through which social and cultural change occurs. Furthermore, Schatzki (1996) defines a difference between dispersed practices and integrative practices, where dispersed practices refer to practices which performances require mainly understanding such as, explaining, imagining, or following rules. Whereas integrative practices refer to “the more complex practices found in and constitutive of particular domains of social life” (Schatzki, 1996, 98). For example, dressing or cooking practices could be seen as integrative practices. Moreover, consumption is often an integral part of integrative practices (Warde, 2005). In addition, Giddens’ (1991, 81, in Røpke, 2009,

2493) defines lifestyle as “a more or less integrated set of practices which an individual embraces, not only because such practices fulfil utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity”.

Practice theory has been increasingly utilised in consumption research because it can reveal aspects of consumption that might otherwise be overlooked or trivialized. Aspects of interest are different kinds of routines, habits, and ‘things and their use’ (Halkier et al., 2011; Reckwitz, 2002). In practice theory consumption is understood through the analysis of daily routines involving consumers, objects, and the environment (Shove & Pantzar, 2005). Consumption is seen as a meaning making process, where objects, services and resources have a very central role in revealing more about the social and cultural aspects of our everyday lives (Halkier et al., 2011). Furthermore, practices as “shared behavioural routines” allows consumption to be understood in domains that hold different practices to be studied (Spaargaren, 2011, 815). Practice theory has been utilised in different consumption contexts for various purposes. It is a valuable framework to study change in behaviour (see e.g. Hargreaves, 2011), to gain deeper understanding of the dynamics of consumption practices (see e.g. Huber, 2017), or to analyse the trajectory of a specific social practice (see e.g. Shove & Pantzar, 2005), to name a few. Simultaneously, practice theory can help to bridge the understanding between consumption and identity.

By decentralising the individual motivations, wants and needs as the starting point of analysis, practice theory enables fruitful analysis of consumption that can showcase the central role consumption holds in our lives, hence how consumption shapes our lives. The definition and perspective of consumption go beyond market-transactions, and as Abbot (2001 in Warde 2005) notes consumption is syncretic, which means that consumption merges purchasing and using-up together (Warde, 2005). Therefore, Warde’s (2005, 137) understanding of consumption suits the purpose of this research very well: “I understand 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”. When consumption is viewed from this perspective and when the focus is on practices, people are more than just consumers in different market settings but rather practitioners who engage with different kinds of activities, and since most practices involve both appropriation and use of things, services and ambience peoples’ perspective is that they engage in meaningful practices rather than consumption (Røpke, 2009, 2495). Holt (1995) further describes

consumers' actions as consumption practices, which explain how consumers consume different consumption objects.

When consumption is being studied from the perspective of practices, it is possible to pay attention to the larger social change and understand how it manifests in the form of peoples' everyday routines and behaviour. For example, change in sustainable or unsustainable consumption patterns or shift toward pro-environmental behaviour can be analysed with the use of practice theory as it enables to consider how patterns of consumption or behaviour come to be, take place, and unfold, diffuse, or die out (Piscicelli et al., 2015). A lot of the earlier studies have sought to understand the behavioural-intention and attitude-behaviour gap in explaining sustainable consumption patterns and practices. However, the issue often is that intention to do something does not translate into change in behaviour (Perera et al., 2018). Hence practice theoretical approach to consumption can break the consumer-producer dualism (Shove et al. 2012). This is an interesting notion in relation to alternative consumption modes, such as access-based consumption and the research's context of fashion renting where the clothing library members engage in activities that maintain and elevate the shared collection of clothes like washing and fixing.

Practices are in dynamic relationship with "characteristics of time, space and social context, for example household organization, dominant modes of economic exchange and cultural traditions" (Warde, 2005, 139-140; Røpke, 2009; Shove et al., 2012). Different social patterns and institutions are created by practices, but simultaneously they function as the context in which the performance of practices occur (Røpke, 2009). Therefore, change in practices, for instance, how people cook or how they commute to work change over time together with changes in values and innovations. Practices have different trajectories paths of development (Warde, 2005). Therefore, what is perceived as normality or socially acceptable ways of living or consuming change as well as practices (Piscicelli et al., 2015, 23; Shove et al., 2012). Moreover, routines and habits structure and frame everyday life, and therefore they precede normality. As it will be discussed in the next subchapter the unit of practice is a dynamic construct that integrates interconnected elements together. This research utilises Shove et al. (2012) definition where practice links together materials, meanings, and competences. This approach will be discussed next.

2.2 Dynamics of social practices

Shove et al. (2012) conceptualizes practices being structured with three interlinking elements: materials, meanings, and competences. These three elements are drawn and modified from Reckwitz's (2002) definition of practice. The elements are an essential part of understanding how new practices "emerge, persist, or disappear" (Shove et al., 2012, 2). Hence, according to Warde (2005, 140) this understanding is central in attempts to understand changed behaviours through the development of practices. Consequently, "the reproduction and transformation of social practices had implications for patterns of consumption and for institutions and infrastructures associated with them" (Shove et al., 2012, 2). Performing practices combines and links the elements through which practice entities are either sustained or broken as the links between the elements become disconnected. Furthermore, the trajectories of elements and the changes in the linking between them holds the potential to analyse change and stability. (Shove et al., 2012.)

Shove et al. (2012) note that to utilise their theory they have simplified some of the earlier works and assumptions. For example, two assumptions are made in relation to how practices come to be and what they are. Firstly, the elements integrate forming configurations when practices are performed. The elements are thought to exist somewhere "out there" (Shove et al., 2012, 24) waiting to be linked together in unique combinations of practices. This leads to the second point that practices "emerge, persist and disappear as links between their defining elements are made and broken" (Shove et al., 2012, 21). The development of practices takes place when existing elements or new elements merge together in points of time, which theoretically implies that the development of any singular practice is "a series of snapshots, each capturing the materials, meanings and competences involved at different moments" (Shove et al., 2012, 29). Hence, the elements do not only come together in a form of practice, but they also shape each other. For example, new technology will require different kind of know-how, which consequently changes the meanings attached to using new technology. For practices to spread and persist require the existence of requisite elements, as well as practitioners who with their practice performance bring the elements together (Shove et al., 2012). Røpke (2009) notes that the categories of elements should be understood broadly covering various of "aspects", since they do not have clear boundaries in relation to each other, and because practitioners partly embody them. However, while practices change the elements are rather stable and they circulate through time and space, each in their own ways (Shove et al., 2012, 44).

Elements come together forming practices, and practices can come together to form bundles or complexes (Shove et al., 2012; Pantzar & Shove, 2010). “Bundles are loose-knit patterns based on the co-location and co-existence of practices” (Shove et al., 2012, 81). For example, practices that take place in a kitchen or an office are spatially linked, but they exist independently (Pantzar & Shove, 2010). Practice complexes refers to “practice constellations that are hard or impossible to separate because different practices are “functionally” or (mentally) integrated” (Pantzar & Shove, 2010, 26). The links between practices can also be described as cooperative, competitive, or as a form of prey-predator relationship (Pantzar & Shove, 2010). The formation of practices and their broader groupings are always dependent on the dynamic relation between the elements structuring practices. For example, in their study on the invention and reinvention of Nordic walking Shove and Pantzar (2005) showcase how the meanings associated to the practice changed over time, through which Nordic walking became adopted by a broader group of people. Furthermore, elements that structure one practice can simultaneously link practices together in the form of shared elements (Shove et al., 2012). In relation to this research, it could be thought that meanings associated to access-based consumption become part of the wardrobe system at the clothing library members’ home in the form of the rented clothes, changing or at least influencing the existing clothing related practices. Part of the dynamic relation between the elements, hence practices, can be explained by the nature in which each of the element circulate through time and space differently, materials through transport and access, meanings through association and classification, and competence through abstraction, reversal, and migration (Shove et al., 2012).

2.2.1 Material

Many practice-theoretical accounts acknowledge and highlight the importance of ‘things’ as an integral part of practice. Materials encompass “objects, infrastructures, tools, hardware and the body itself” (Shove et al., 2012, 23). Hence, the material things are made of (Shove et al., 2012). In other words, material element entails all the material things involved in the performance of practice. Different material things have very central roles in the performance of day-to-day life. From the moment of switching off an alarm clock in the morning to brushing teeth in the evening, the day is filled with small and big, tangible and intangible, things and resources that get consumed and used throughout the day. From the practice theoretical perspective, it is especially important to pay attention to what is being done with the ‘things’, hence what does the use of things reveal about our culture and consumption patterns. Latour (2000, 113-114) states that artefacts do not reflect society existing somewhere out there, but artefacts are the main ingredient of what socialness is made of. Many practices hold a set of

necessary 'things', which implies that the subject-object relations are as meaningful as the subject-subject relations in relation to the production and reproduction of social orderliness (Reckwitz, 2002, 253). In other words, different materials are at the very core of any shared meaning making processes that structure peoples' daily lives. However, products and things do not hold value unless they are integrated in practice with competence and meaning (Shove & Panzar, 2005).

Identifying central elements involved in different practices can include obvious notions, but which nevertheless provide meaningful material frames to the daily activities revealing how people perform the social by using things. For example, Shove et al. (2012) use the practice of driving as an example and they identify necessary things to include the car, the road, the traffic signs and so on. One could add to the list things like the gas pedal, the gear stick and even the driver itself depending on how detailed and extensive listings are necessary regarding the context and purpose of the inquiry. Shove (2017) adds another layer to the discussion on practices and their materials by noting that different materials can hold different roles in the performance of practice. She argues that the earlier notion of materials being an integral part of practice does not consider difference between things in terms of which one of them are "directly, routinely or distantly and occasionally implicated in the conduct of a practice" (2017, 157). Three distinctive roles of which things hold in the conduct of practice are established. Firstly, things can be a very necessary part of a practice even though it would not be directly engaged in the 'doing' of the practice, therefore these kinds of things are in "infrastructural relation" to the practice. Secondly, some things can be categorised as "devices" due to their active engagement, mobilisation, and manipulation in practice. Thirdly, things can be categorised as "resources" which refer to things that are dramatically transformed or used up in the doing of practice. (Shove, 2017, 156.) One of the examples used includes the practice of watching television, in which the infrastructural materials could be a warm room and a broadcasting system, devices could be the sofa and television, and finally resources could be electricity (Shove, 2017, 162). While this research does not directly utilise this approach in the analysis, it is indirectly utilised throughout the analysis process. It helped to identify central materials in relation to the practices of fashion renting, hence it helped to organize some of the ideas in relation to the different identified practices and their relation to the 'umbrella' practice of fashion renting. For example, some of the materials that are essential in fashion renting are owned by the clothing library members whereas some of the central materials are shared with other members. Moreover, it could be argued that depending on what practice is at the core of interest the roles of materials can change. For example, when considering the diverse array of

identity practices related to clothes consumption, clothes could be regarded as devices and resources at the same time.

In this research central materials include the spaces in which the entirety of fashion renting practices take place, the clothes, the different attributes and qualities of clothes, the care and maintenance related things that arose from the data, as well as ‘things’ that are central in explaining the social aspects of fashion renting. Things such as energy usage, water usage in doing laundry and places in which the rented clothes are worn are left outside of the inspection, however they are acknowledged to be relevant in relation to clothes consumption if the purpose of the study was different. Finally, the notion of body holds multifaceted role in the practices of fashion renting. As Røpke (2009, 2492) notes “body appears not only in relation to the material component as similar to an instrument, but is also related to other components as embodied skills and as the bodily site for emotions”.

2.2.2 Meaning

Out of the three elements, meanings seem to be the most complex and broad element. Reckwitz (2002) talks about how mental activities, emotions and motivational knowledge have a place in the structure of practice, but to simplify Shove et al. (2012, 23) note that meaning represents “the social and symbolic significance of participation at any one moment”. The meanings associated can change over time as it was the case with Nordic walking. For Nordic walking to become a popular exercise form, the earlier meanings associated to walking sticks had to be transformed from frailty to vitality and wellbeing (Shove & Pantzar, 2005; Shove et al., 2012). Marketing and media often function as tools in the process of changing meanings people associate with different activities or consumption products (Shove et al., 2012). On the other hand, change in the meanings is always part of larger changes in the socio-economical arrangements. For example, the meanings and values associated to renting or sharing have hold very different meanings in the past as to what they hold nowadays. Naturally, the context of which these practices take place matter. For example, renting instead of buying a house was earlier associated with a lack of financial stability whereas nowadays the ever-increasing prices in the housing market, fluid lifestyles, portfolio careers, and changes in the meanings associated to owning has changed the meanings associated to renting instead of buying. As Durgee and O’Connor (1995, 90) note regarding the increase and the broadening scape of consumer renting “trends toward more unique and more transitory life-styles (Durgee, 1984 in Durgee & O’Connor, 1995), uncertain economic conditions, growing technological complexity of

products, and the intensifying demand for convenience” are factors fueling the change in meanings and values of renting.

Discovering meanings associated to different practices can diversify the understanding of why people engage with certain activities, as meanings are “about making sense of the activities” (Røpke, 2009, 2492). For example, Perera et al. (2018, 851) studied green consumption practices among young environmentalist and found that green procurement, referring to “acquisition of necessities, such as basic food items, through non-market transactions”, like dumpster-diving, was not just about acquiring and fulfilling one’s basic needs but it was also perceived fun, adventurous and challenging. On the other hand, the meanings also include ideas of what certain activities are good for or why certain activities can be bad or problematic, as well as emotions associated with practices, and finally beliefs and broader understandings (Røpke, 2009). Some meanings can be broad, generic, and shared in many practices, like for example sustainability and wanting to make sustainable consumption decisions are nowadays embedded to a wide range of activities (Røpke, 2009). Individuals establish themselves within a society as they engage in certain practices, and through the engagement they are part of the reproduction of particular compositions of meanings and order (Shove et al., 2012). The practitioners carry all the associated meanings, like beliefs, emotions, and purposes, when engaging in an activity, which is why the meaning is social rather than emerged from the individuals (Røpke, 2009). Therefore, for example values are viewed as social constructs and as expressions of cultural phenomena and broad ideas rather than as personal motivations within individuals (Piscicelli et al., 2015). Hargreaves (2011, 87) argues that “values might be seen as proxies for meaning”.

The collection of clothes found at home can hold various meanings, both personal and socially shared. Clothes hold meanings that connect the wearer with their self-image, and as Guy and Banim (2000, 316) found in their study of women’s personal clothing collections, the wardrobe holds the “woman I want to be, the woman I fear I could be, and the woman I am most of the time”. Furthermore, the daily routines involve dressing up and undressing, during which we “attach and detach our bodies from clothes, as well as the expectations, dreams, and desires associated with those clothes” (Mellander & McIntyre, 2021, 343-344). On the other hand, various purposes can be achieved through different clothing related practices. For example, the practice of doing laundry has gone through a change in relation to the meanings attached to it where the concept of freshness entered to the group of existing meanings such as cleanliness and hygiene, which resulted in more frequent showering and laundering. (Hand et al., 2005;

Shove, 2003 in Shove et al., 2012). On the other hand, the relatively recent phenomenon of ‘tidying up’ or otherwise known KonMari method introduced by Marie Kondo brings meanings inspired by Shintoism to the organization and disposal of clothes. The method calls for making swift decisions regarding which items are to be saved and which ones are to be discarded, based on which clothes prompts feelings of joy to their owner.

This research approaches the meaning element from a broad angle, in other words the identified meanings are thought to include all the above-mentioned aspects of the meaning element. Huber (2017, 63) notes that “the meaning elements appear to be the ‘glue’ of the practice”. Meanings identified in this research include emotions, motivations, shared values, aspirations, and broader associations and understandings related to the fashion renting practices. An interesting notion regarding the aim and context of this research is that the meaning-making processes are rather multifaceted. With some of the practices the rented clothes were an essential part of the meaning-making whereas in other practices, the meanings are more attached to the use of the service.

2.2.3 Competence

The element of competence comprises a broader understanding of background knowledge, understanding, and skills, as well as technique (Shove et al., 2012). In other words, the competence covers a broad array of skills and knowledge needed in the carrying out of practice. The skills and knowledge are often learned through experience, or through a specific form of training, after which they become embodied in the practitioner (Røpke, 2009). Moreover, most of the competences are tacit because of the routinized repetition of practices, whereas some knowledge can be “codified in formal rules, principles, precepts and instructions” (Røpke, 2009, 2492). Huber (2017) follows Gram-Hanssen’s (2010) notion of Shove et al.’s. (2012) conceptualisation of competence being too simplistic since it does not differentiate between the two main types of competences including “know-how or nonverbal knowledge and explicit, rule-based, or theoretical knowledge” (Gram-Hanssen, 2010, 155). Therefore, in his study on collaborative consumption practices in the context of peer-to-peer accommodation and cohousing Huber (2017) adds fourth element, rules, to the analysis. In this research context, rules could be added to the analysis as a separate element, however, while fashion renting contains guidelines as to what kind of washing detergent to use when washing the rented items and guidelines determining the time span of the renting period, most of the identified competences fit better into the more simplistic all-encompassing conceptualisation by Shove et al. (2012).

Similar to meanings, some competences can be generic in a sense that same set of learned and embodied skills can be utilised in various practices (Røpke, 2009; Shove et al., 2012). For example, the competence of public speaking or the ability to assess can be relevant in many different practice settings. On the other hand, some competences can be very practice specific. According to Shove et al. (2012, 52-53) competences can be “contained for a time in virtual and actual reservoirs, depots and memories, persisting in this form between and beyond moments of practical enactment”. On the other hand, some competences can be forgotten when practices evolve, and meanings attached to them change. Especially in relation to the care and maintenance of clothes many previously routine practices like mangling and mending have become rarer, making the skills and know-how embedded to these practices become more specialized skills only some people embody. Finally, some skills and know-how can be learnt and shared within a family through shared meanings attached to certain activities. For example, one of the participants in this research had a family member whose profession was an atelier sewer and the participant said that she had learnt a lot about different kinds of fabrics and how to take care of them from a young age. This notion relates to the idea of careers different practitioners have in terms of different practices, the social setting can partly determine what kinds of skills and know-how some people have therefore how prone they are to engage with certain practices instead of others (see e.g. Shove et al., 2012).

Again, in this research the element of competence is viewed as a rather broad element that encompasses all the above-mentioned notions and aspects. Like meanings, there are certain embodied know-how that depict the relation between the clothes and one’s body, and then there are competences which are directly related to the use of rental service. Furthermore, the identified skills, understandings and know-how are viewed somewhat dispersed between different clothing related practices, which together depict and merge with the fashion renting practice. For example, care and maintenance require different know-how to dressing, or to the understanding of shared guidelines.

2.3 Understanding modes of consumption

2.3.1 Ownership and possession

Traditionally ownership has held a significant role in describing how people consume things and how they create meanings in their lives through owning. While the concept of ownership appears often in the consumer behavior and marketing literature it is interesting to note that it

is a rather ambiguous concept which definition can vary depending on the context of inquiry and purpose. For instance, defining ownership and possession in legal terms differ from their definitions in marketing literature. Generally, ownership can be defined as a legal or social arrangement between people as regard to a thing and other people, in which a thing can refer to land, material objects or ideas (Gaus, 2012; Munzer, 1990 in Watkins et al., 2016). The act of “owning” something refers to “personal property” or “possession” (Snare, 1972, 200). Owning something gives the owner the rights, freedom, and responsibility to use, sell, and transform the possessions the way the owner sees fit, therefore creating clear boundaries between self and others (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012; Snare, 1972). A certain clarity is related to ownership in relation to commodity purchases since things that are purchased are thought to be both owned and possessed, therefore it could be said that object-self relationship in ownership is clearer in contrast to sharing and access (Jenkins et al., 2014). Ownership is seen to hold advantages in comparison to sharing and access, because it guarantees future use and enjoyment of owned thing and it grants a long-terms interaction with the object (Watkins et al., 2016; Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). However, owning can also be burdensome due to different kinds of obligations including economic, physical, emotional, and social (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012).

Owning things is related to the idea of extended self and identity as the things we own can quite literally extend ourselves like tools or weapons enabling us to do things we would not otherwise be able to do. Personal possessions can also storage past experiences and meaningful memories, which together build one’s sense of self and life. (Belk, 1988.) Therefore, it is argued that for example the issue of disposing and letting go of things can be related to the fear of destroying one’s past (Belk, 1988). On the other hand, Mittal (2006) argues that the concept of self in relation to possessions is under researched. He notes that there are differences between how products relate to oneself, as some things can function as instruments to reveal something about oneself, while other things become possessions as they become incorporated to the extended self (Mittal, 2006). Furthermore, the concept of self is divided between how one sees oneself, “I”, and how others see one’s self, “me” (Mittal, 2006, 555). There can be tension between the “I” and the “me” that consumption and possessions can reconcile (Mittal, 2006).

Ownership is often conflated with the concept of possession, however the relationship between ownership and possession is less straightforward and more ambiguous as presented in the business and management literature (Watkins et al., 2016; Jussila et al., 2015; Jenkins et al.,

2014). Furthermore, the concept of possession goes beyond owning and ownership, as things can be possessed without legal ownership (Watkins et al., 2016). As Belk (1988, 139) notes, possession simply refers to “things we call ours”. It refers to the idea that things can be meaningful to people without legal ownership to them (Belk, 1988; Chen 2009). Moreover, what is regarded ‘mine’ is not always a conscious or intentional decision, but it can happen unconsciously and unintentionally (Belk, 1988). For example, if one decides to sit at the same table every time one visits a public library, that table may start to feel like ‘one’s own’ even though there is no legal ownership exchange nor agreement involved.

To possess something or to acquire the state of perceived ownership, one must perform some possession rituals to gain proprietary feelings (Belk, 2014). The existing literature holds different concepts to describe the object-self relationship and the perceived ownership, hence how the state of perceived ownership occurs. Concepts such as, psychological ownership (Pierce et al., 2001; Jussila et al., 2015) and the extended self (Belk, 1988) describe the object-self relationship, whereas the concept of appropriation (see e.g. Gruen, 2017; Hardwig, 2015) explains the behaviours people engage in to make something feel like theirs. Furthermore, Kopytoff (1986) describe the process of something becoming ‘mine’, as a process where different kinds of rituals and practices transform commodities into singularised possessions as they become part of the owner’s own world. However, the biography of things keeps changing as “good’s new status as singularised remains in potential flux as the owner’s social relations or other rituals have the potential to change its value or even recommodify it” (Jenkins et al., 2014, 132). The meanings and roles objects have in their owner’s life change along the life cycle of the objects, which consequently become reflected in how the objects are used (Kopytoff, 1986). For example, over time clothes start to show wear and tear which can affect where the clothes are worn. Once a favourite t-shirt can become a pyjama top in the later years of the t-shirt’s cycle before its eventual disposal. However, Jenkins et al. (2014) suggest that objects can be many things at the same time.

The practice of appropriation can be defined as a set of actions that consumers engage in to make something (object, place, service) one’s own (Gruen, 2017). Depending on what the item in question is the actions can, for instance, include cleaning, using, and personalizing (Belk, 2014). Through this process the items become to feel like ‘mine’ and to be part of ‘me’ (Belk, 1988). Sartre on the other hand (1943, in Belk, 1988) suggests three ways to make something ‘mine’, including appropriation, creating, and coming to know it. Hardwig (2015) distinguishes the meaning behind ownership and possession in the context of consumption philosophy, and

he notes that there are two ways of appropriating things as well as two different senses as to how something can be said to be 'mine'. To own something, the standard way to acquire ownership over something in a consumer society is to buy something. However, to possess something, one needs to create a relationship with the object or service. (Hardwig, 2015.) "For to possess something is to relate to oneself to it – to use it, appreciate it, understand it, cherish, and care for it" (Hardwig, 2015, 284). Moreover, Peck & Shu (2009) argue that even the act of touching can add to feeling of perceived ownership.

According to Pierce et al. (2001, 299) psychological ownership refers to a state of mind whereby an individual feels like something is theirs or a part of something is theirs whether tangible or intangible. In their theory construction of psychological ownership Jussila et al. (2015) identify motives, causes, and target attributes, which shape the emergence of psychological ownership. In addition, they specify three consequences of perceived ownership: motivational, attitudinal, and behavioural (Jussila et al., 2015, 122). The causes, or 'routes' (Gruen, 2017) to obtain the sense of perceived ownership includes: exercise of control, coming to know intimately, and investment of the self (Jussila et al., 2015; Belk, 1988; Pierce et al., 2001). Belk (1988, 140) adds a fourth cause; contamination: "In contamination, both good and bad aspects of objects are seen to attach to us through physical contact or proximity". Finally, investment of self can mean many forms, like "time, ideas, and skills, as well as physical, psychological, and intellectual energies" (Jussila et al., 2015, 126).

The discussion above highlights that while ownership and possession are often linked together their relationship is not mutually exclusive. As Watkins et al. (2016, 50) note possession should "rather be approached as a patterned relationship between things, people, devices, and knowledge that become aligned in a particular way when *possessing* takes place". Furthermore, Watkins et al. (2016) examine and theorize the relationship between ownership and possession in the context of digital virtual goods. While their context of the study differs from the context of this research, namely the consumption of intangible goods in contrast to physical goods, they make a compelling notion regarding the representation of ownership in the access-based consumption literature. They note that literature on access-based consumption or 'post-ownership economy' (see e.g. Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012; Belk 2010; Chen, 2009) present ownership as 'Full Liberal Ownership', which refers to unlimited use of a resource, ability to exclude others, and rights of transfer (Honoré, 1961 in Watkins et al., 2016). However, they argue together with legal scholars that this perspective on ownership is outdated due to fragmentation of ownership constructs in current forms of consumption, hence they argue that

the importance of ownership may not be in decline, but rather ownership is present in fragmented forms that continues to shape the consumers' object-self relationship potentially in new and even restrictive ways (Watkins et al., 2016). "Ownership makes certain configurations of possession possible while denying others, making it more likely that certain arrangements can be enacted and stabilised" (Watkins et al., 2016, 51).

2.3.2 Access and sharing

Access-based consumption can be defined as "transactions that can be market mediated but where no transfer of ownership takes place" (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012, 881). Consumption modes that steer away from the ownership centralised practices are gaining increasing popularity among consumers and practitioners alike. Consumers are more willing to pay for temporarily experiencing goods instead of buying and owning them, which access-based consumption can enable and allow (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). Consumers are happy to acquire consumption time with the accessed products against a fee (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012; Durgee & O'Connor, 1995). Historically access, and especially renting hold a negative stigma in the marketplace (Ronald, 2008). Whereas ownership has always been related to status, wealth and independence, renting has been seen as the opposite. Renters have been perceived to have lower financial power and to be in a less rooted, or transitory stage in their lives, because renting does not acquire the perks of ownership nor personal wealth or material, it does not allow the consumer to express pride of ownership, nor does it provide similar sense of security as ownership does (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012; Durgee & O'Connor, 1995). However, changes in the sociocultural politics of consumption that have taken place over the past couple of decades, have resulted in different forms of access to become more prevalent in the marketplace (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). Indeed, access can be seen as a response to liquid modernity and society, where social structures and institution no longer serve as a frame of reference for human activity and long-term life strategies (Bauman, 2007a in Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). Ownership embeds solid emotional, social, and property relations whereas access allows more liquid consumer projects to exist because access is temporary, and it embeds flexibility and adaptability (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). The meanings associated to different forms of access are evolving, and a broader and more diverse group of accessed goods and services are becoming normalised in peoples' everyday life.

There are different kinds of forms of access-based consumption. Certain groups of products and services have been accessed for a long time such as library books, public transportation, and sports facilities as well collections of art and cultural artefacts (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012;

Chen, 2009). However, the forms of access and the variety of accessible products are increasing, especially with the help of internet. Renting is viewed as the traditional form of access, which can be defined as “a transaction in which one party offers an item to another party for a fixed period of time in exchange for money and in which there is no change of ownership” (Durgee & O’Connor, 1995, 90). Traditional renting can be viewed as market-mediated borrowing (Loussaïef et al., 2019). Access can also be acquired through memberships (e.g. Vaatepuu and Vaaterekki), through redistribution markets (e.g. AirBnB), or through collaborative lifestyles (Botsman & Rogers, 2010 in Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012) in which similar minded people share their time, skills and money (e.g. Time bank) (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). Consequently, access and sharing hold things in common as consumption practices, and many practices of access-based consumption either use the term ‘sharing’ (e.g. car sharing) or otherwise embed qualities of sharing. However, Belk (2014, 1597) argues that for example access-based car sharing is “pseudo-sharing” as like collaborative consumption practices and access-based consumption practices in general, it occupies the “middle ground between sharing and marketplace exchange, with elements of both”. Similarly, Habibi et al. (2016) argue that most sharing economy practices have characteristics of sharing and exchange. Next sharing is examined more closely to understand how it relates to access.

Belk (2007) suggests that sharing and ownership can be seen as the opposite ends of a consumption continuum where gift giving is found somewhere between the two constructs. “End points may be variously conceived as egoism-altruism, stinginess-generosity, and impersonality-personality” (Belk, 2007, 128). However, Belk (2010) later adjusted this notion by adding that in fact commodity exchange and sharing can be sometimes confused with each other, therefore instead of a linear continuum the linkage point should be cylindrical. Belk (2007, 127) defines sharing as “the act and process of distributing what is ours to others for their use as well as the act and process of receiving something from others for our use.” The practice of sharing entails sharing both costs and benefits of possessing something, whether tangible or intangible (Belk, 2007). Consequently, sharing involves giving and receiving, which both are culturally learned behaviours as much as ownership and possession exchange are (Belk, 2007; Furby, 1976 in Belk, 2007). Different cultures have different norms regarding sharing, which influence how sharing is perceived, whether sharing is viewed as altruistic and fair or whether sharing is seen as stingy and unfair (Belk, 2007). Sharing can be viewed as an interpersonal process which, depending on the cultural and situational contexts, reveals certain dualities of the construct itself. On one hand, sharing can be important in building the sense of community and in saving resources, while on the other hand it can create feelings of inferiority

and resentment. Sharing can take place when there is an excess of something or when there is a deficiency of something. Finally, by the very definition of this construct, sharing can only occur if a sense of possession or ownership exist in relation to the things being shared, otherwise there is nothing to being shared. (Belk, 2007; Belk, 2010.) Distinction is made between sharing in and sharing out. Sharing in refers to the more traditional form of sharing that occurs between family members, whereas sharing out refers to sharing with people outside of one's immediate family group (Belk, 2010). Consequently, for example, large-scale commercial car sharing schemes portray more the case of sharing out.

The similarities that access and sharing then share are mainly based on the fact that neither form of consumption involve the transfer of ownership, while on the other hand they differ in the perceived sense of ownership or shared sense of ownership (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). Access-based consumption resembles more the practice of sharing out which "involves giving to others outside the boundaries separating self and other, and is closer to gift giving and commodity exchange" (Belk, 2010, 725). In sharing out, the individual does not necessarily extend themselves through other people, but instead the self-other bound remains and the people who one is sharing out with do not become part of one's aggregate extended self (Belk, 2010). In access-based consumption the consumer gains access to use the objects in question, which unlike sharing does not necessarily involve altruistic or prosocial values or motivations, but access can emphasize the aspects of economic exchange and reciprocity (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). Sahlins (1972, in Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012) argues that there are three different kinds of reciprocity that depict the exchange of goods between people. First, general reciprocity refers to giving something without expecting anything in return, which depicts especially sharing between family members. Second, tit-for-tat reciprocity in which the parties of exchange expect to get an equal return, and finally negative reciprocity in which the exchange of goods and services is based on one's self interest, and in which the outcome is often unequal. (Sahlins, 1972 in Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012.) However, Belk (2010) argues that whether alternative modes like collaborative consumption or access-based consumption, for example car sharing or fashion renting, involve sharing in, aggregate extended self and generalized reciprocity is depended on how the items in question are consumed. Therefore, it could also be argued that the type of object or service being shared or accessed holds an important indication in relation to this consideration.

Where access and sharing hold similarities to some extent, access and ownership differ especially in terms of the object-self relationship and in terms of the set rules that shape this

relationship (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). As the scope of access broadens, there are various different access contexts, consumption object and services, which all hold their own unique set of features that depict and structure the nature of consumption as well as the object-self relationship and the consumer-consumer relationship (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). Six dimensions are identified based on which the nature of access differ including, “temporality, anonymity, market mediation, consumer involvement, type of accessed object, and political consumerism” (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012, 884). Temporality in access contexts can differ in two ways, duration and usage. Some forms of access can be short in duration, like one time renting, whereas some forms of access like fashion renting membership allows a longitudinal access to products. The length of object use can vary from couple of minutes (e.g. city scooters) to years (e.g. car leasing). Long usage time can result in increased sense of perceived ownership through appropriation practices. Anonymity plays a role in how the consumer relations shape in different access contexts. Access can be private or public which determines whether there is any form of interaction between the consumers or service provider. The public context of consumption can hold more aspects of sharing and prosocial behaviour. (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012.) In the context of toy library Ozanne and Ozanne (2011, 272) find that toy sharing depicts “a model of good stewardship over finite resources” as the toy library users take care of the collective goods. The anonymity can be measured in spatial anonymity as well, which refers to the proximity one has with the accessed product or service. Convenience is valued in access, and consequently loads of the access services are in urban city areas. (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012.) Jenkins et al. (2014, 131) study inter-personal borrowing, a form of non-market mediated access-based consumption and found that borrowing can reveal many ambiguities in terms of “exchange, ownership and possession, the meaning of goods and how goods mediate relationships”. However, they note that in market mediated access contexts the market structures mitigate the ambiguities as no personal relationship are involved in the commercial exchange, hence the blurred lines between ownership and possession are clearer as legal contract guides the return of products back to the service provider (Jenkins et al., 2014; Watkins et al., 2016).

The degree of consumer involvement in different access forms ranges from traditional renting services with low levels of involvement to examples like car sharing or fashion renting, in which the consumer involvement is high, and the consumers are part of cocreating value by partaking in activities like, for example, maintaining and fixing the accessed goods (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). Whether the access is a form of self-service, or a form of full service influences the consumer identification with the accessed objects, hence increased degree of

consumer involvement can result in perceived sense of ownership (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012; Gruen, 2017). Two considerations are important regarding the type of accessed object. First, the purpose of the object can differ and second, the object can be tangible or intangible (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). Chen (2009) argues that accessed objects can be either functional or experimental, hence she asserts that consumers can obtain value from experimental objects when accessed (e.g. art), but that consumers can only derive value from functional objects if they are owned. Accessing art is an experience that can nourish identity (Chen 2009). Watkins et al. (2016) argue that in the context of digital virtual goods (DVGs) the freedom from ownership burdens related to access may be compromised as consumers lack the control to manage and enjoy products that are their own labour. Finally, the concept of political consumerism can be understood as a consumer strategy to express and promote consumers' ideologies regarding society, business, and government, which can be carried out by choosing a mode of consumption, for example ownership or access (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012; Spaargaren & Oosterveer, 2010). For example, the apparel consumption holds numerous sustainability issues, and consequently consumers are more interested in increasing product use frequency and reuse of clothing products to decrease the landfill waste, which access-based fashion renting can enable (Armstrong et al., 2015).

In their empirical part of the research Bardhi and Eckhardt (2012) conduct 40 interviews with car sharing service, Zipcar, users. In relation to the above discussed six dimensions of access, they draw four outcomes of car sharing. Zipcar user do not identify with the cars and the relationship is dominated by use value, the consumption is regulated by negative reciprocity and the governance mechanism comprises a big-brother model, and finally despite the company efforts there is no brand community (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). Gruen (2017) notes two interesting notions regarding these findings. Firstly, the relationship between the Zipcar users and the accessed cars is described as utilitarian, which in turn is in contrast with the ecological and trendy image often associated with car sharing and other sharing schemes. Secondly, feeling of contagion (Belk, 1988) plays an important role in the car sharing context as well. People can feel disgust or discomfort knowing that someone else has used or even touched an object, which in turn influences the object-self relationship and the consumer-consumer relationship, hence the cars are not incorporated into the users' extended selves. (Gruen, 2017.) Furthermore, in her own research Gruen (2017) studies how the object-self relationship formation is influenced by design in the context of Parisian Autolib service. The findings line with Bardhi's and Eckhardt's (2012) findings to some extent as the main motivation to use the service is utilitarian, however Autolib users are also found to experience

a perceived sense of ownership with the cars, which is created through different appropriation practices, controlling, knowing, and creating (Gruen, 2017).

As access and its different forms are becoming more prevalent, the research on access in its different contexts yields new insight to be considered, especially regarding the issues of object-self relationship and the meaning making processes involving oneself and others. For example, Jenkins et al. (2014) note that in borrowing use-value is important but borrowing as non-market mediated access is especially about the relationships with others. In borrowing, through practices of appropriation, re-sacralisation, and reincorporation the borrowed items move between stages of ambiguity and clarity, which “direct us to reflect on ambiguities related to the meaning of goods to us, the role goods play in our relationships with others and on what it means to both possess and to own something” (Jenkins et al., 2014, 137). Some of the ambiguities rise from the difference between how the borrowers see the borrowed items and how they actually use them in practice, as initially the borrowed items are thought to be sacred, but in practice the borrowed items become mixed with the borrowers’ own belongings, and they become profane, but they are also viewed and treated as they were one’s own (Jenkins et al., 2014). While market mediated access differs from interpersonal borrowing similarities can be also found. For example, Loussaïef et al. (2019) study how practices of access, borrowing, and sharing influence women’s self-identity in the context of luxury clothing and accessories, and their findings run counter to the case of car sharing. They find that consumers do identify and appropriate accessed items that can temporarily extend the self (Loussaïef et al., 2019). Furthermore, they note that accessing luxury fashion “allow a more liquid and fluid transformation of consumer identity – in terms of self-presentation, strengthening a latent facet of the self, or even changing the self-concept in connection with change in life cycles – than is the case with full possession” (Loussaïef et al., 2019, 264). As Mittal (2006) noted items can relate to oneself differently, which in the case of access is important to note as different products can serve different purposes to one’s identity and meaning making processes. The experience and opportunity to access something can nourish the identity instead of possession (Chen 2009; Loussaïef et al., 2019). Access-based consumption can hold various perks in terms of consumer identity projections as different forms of access are becoming so common in the marketplace that consumers cannot know for certain whether another consumer using a product owns it or not (Belk, 2014). As Watkins et al. (2016) suggest the construct and meanings of ownership are changing along with access-based consumption.

2.3.3 From solid ownership to liquid access

When the above discussed modes of consumption are presented in relation to each other, Bardhi's and Eckhardt's (2017) new dimension to define and study consumption becomes useful. They make a distinction between liquid and solid consumption, which helps to further understand behaviour and consumption practices, especially, in digital contexts, in relation to access-based consumption and in relation to global mobility (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2017). Solid consumption is defined as "enduring, ownership based, and tangible", whereas liquid consumption is defined as "ephemeral, access-based, and dematerialized" (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2017, 582). For their definition, they utilise the theory of liquid modernity by Zygmunt Bauman (2000; 2003; 2007a; 2007b; 2007c; 2013 in Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2017), who characterizes modernity as the process of fluidity due to the transition from production economies to service, knowledge, and digital economies. As mentioned earlier, this refers to change in social structures and institutions which used to provide people with the sense of purpose, but which no longer provide that (Bauman, 2007a in Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2017). The changes in these structures are influenced by technology, as speed, effectivity, and efficiency are becoming inseparable factors of every aspect of life, and acceleration that used to be a technological and economic factor has become a cultural one defining the tempo of social everyday life (Rosa, 2013; Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2017). In addition to the role of technology, the liquid modernity is attributed to how life is organised around consumption instead of production, and how the expansion of the global market is merging the market logic into all activities in life. Consequently, these macro-level changes transform consumers' values, hence how people consume, why they consume and what they consume. (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2017.) Four characteristics of liquid modernity are especially important in relation to the concept of liquid modernity: instrumental rationality, individualization, risk and uncertainty, and fragmentation of life and identity (Bauman, 2007a in Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2017, 583).

Bardhi and Eckhardt (2017) present consumption to take place in a spectrum where solid and liquid consumption represent the opposite ends, however they note that consumption can also be both solid and liquid at the same time. Solid and liquid consumption differ in two separate levels of analysis including the product level and the consumption practice level. At the product level the consumer value, nature of attachment, benefits, level of possession and meaning of consumption differ between solid and liquid consumption, hence similarly at the consumption practice level the consumer value, stability, temporality, benefits, and the nature of attachment differ. Furthermore, identified risks related to each end of consumption differ, as solid

consumption can be burdensome whereas the downsides of liquid consumption are instability and uncertainty, which urges people to be flexible and adaptable. (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2017.) Moving along in the spectrum of solid and liquid consumption become reflected in peoples' everyday lives in the form of new routines adopted as new forms of liquid consumption enter the sphere of solid, ownership-based consumption. On the other hand, Bardhi and Eckhardt (2017) synthesize existing literature and they argue that moving along the spectrum is determined by four key factors: relevance to the self, the nature of relationships, accessibility to mobility networks, and the nature of precarity. In general, in solid consumption ownership and possession hold a higher relevancy to one's identity whereas in liquid consumption, for instance in access-based consumption, ownership and possession are no longer the desired end goal of consumer behaviour, but instead the ownership is viewed burdensome, and the symbolic meaning and the value resides more in the consumption experience (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2017). Furthermore, as Belk (2007) argues temporarily accessing goods can allow consumers to liberate themselves from the burdens of ownership and allow them to experience fluid lifestyles. For example, Loussaïef et al. (2019) note that access, sharing, and borrowing allows women to transform their self-presentation based on one-off desires because it is fun or because they want to modify the role and image they normally portray.

Motivations to engage in different liquid consumption practices instead of owning vary across different consumption contexts. According to Lawson et al. (2016) the motivations can include variety seeking, cheaper prices, status seeking and environmental consciousness. Thus, different access-based services emphasize different values such as convenience, lower prices, or social and environmental benefits to different degrees (Lawson et al., 2016). Dematerialization embedded to many of the liquid consumption practices implies that fewer possessions are desired or needed (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2017). However, importantly dematerialization and the nature of ephemerality influence both the motivations and intentions to engage with different kinds of liquid consumption practices but they also present implications in relations to materialism and consequently the identity practices related to consumption.

Materialism is particularly interesting matter in relation to access and the existing research is yet to decide whether access-based consumption can be defined as materialistic or whether forms of liquid consumption require materialism to be defined differently as the quick circulation of consumption objects in liquid consumption could be a dimension of materialism. (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2017.) Certain themes arise in relation to the definition of materialism

including the centrality of acquisition, the happiness achieved through acquisition, and success anchored in possessions (Richins & Dawson, 1992). Holt (1995, 13) on the other hand, proposes that materialism can be conceptualised as “the consumption style that results when consumers perceive that value inheres in consumption objects rather than in experiences or in other people”. In this view materialism is not only an attitudinal quality but it is inherent in different consumption activities (Holt, 1995). Thus, while some research argues that materialistic consumers prefer ownership over access and sharing (Akbar et al., 2016), Loussaïef et al. (2019) find that in the context of luxury fashion access, sharing, and borrowing can, and should “foster a temporary extended self (Belk, 2013; 2014), just as possessions do”. Figure 1. summarises and posits the discussed modes of consumption in the spectrum of solid to liquid consumption.

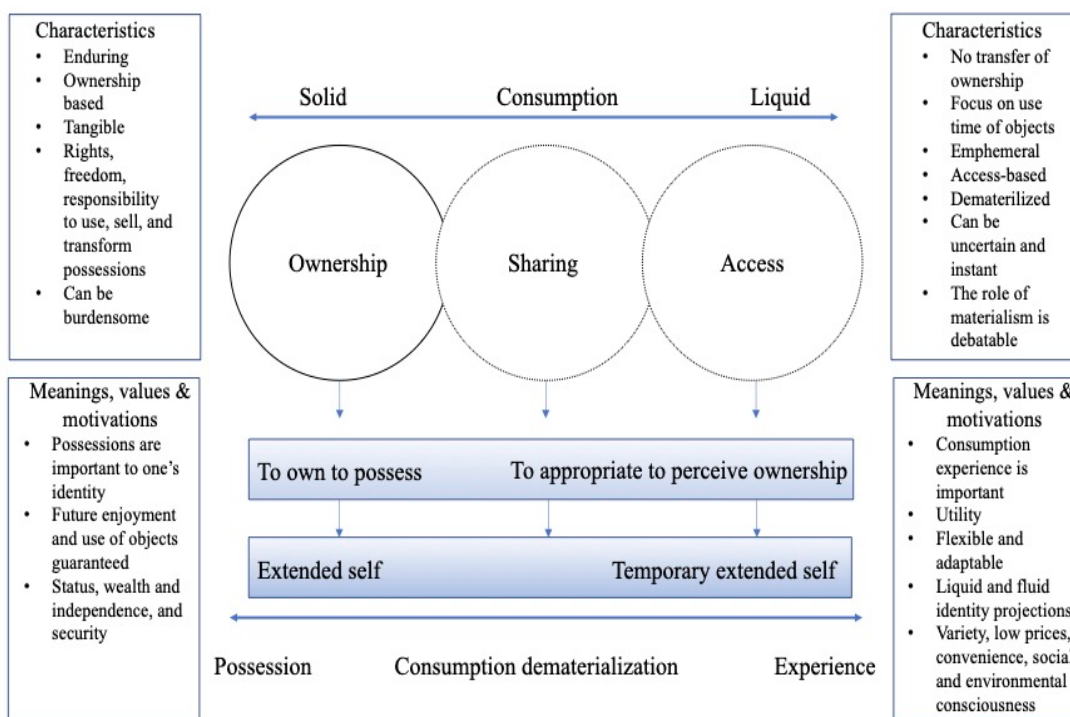


Figure 1. Consumption modes in the spectrum of solid to liquid (synthesis of Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012, 2017; Belk, 1988, 2014; Gruen, 2017; Durgee & O'Connor, 1995; Chen, 2009; Loussaïef et al., 2019; Lawson et al., 2016)

2.4 Clothes and wardrobe practices

Clothes play a central role in many routines and consumption practices that structure the conduct of everyday life. In very simplistic terms, clothes have a very straightforward task in peoples' lives to cover the body from the weather and other elements (Andersson, 2011). Yet, the nature of clothing is complex because clothes are instruments to extent one's identity and to communicate one's social class, gender, and age (Kaiser, 1990; McCracken, 1990 in

Armstrong et al., 2015). Clothes serve novel functions in social relationships, for example Wang and Griskevicius (2014) find that women use conspicuous luxury clothes and lavish possessions to signal other women who pose a potential threat to their romantic relationship that their partners are devoted to them. Consequently “the material is not just ‘a carrier’ of different types of symbols, but an active element in the practices” (Klepp & Bjerck, 2014, 373). Wardrobe studies introduce a unique approach to understand the materiality of clothes related practices, as clothes bridge the relationship between body and culture (Klepp & Bjerck, 2014). The daily consumption of clothes is structured around a set of practices called wardrobe practices (Cwerner, 2001; Klepp & Bjerck, 2014). The word wardrobe is thought to mean two things including the spaces dedicated for storage and the collection of clothes (Hansen, 2000 in Klepp & Bjerck, 2014). Wardrobe represents a form of modern consumption, as people collect more clothes than they can use at once, which consequently means that a portion of clothes is idle and stored away inside the wardrobe for most of the time including clothes that will inevitably get disposed (Cwerner, 2001). A set of spatial practices form the space of wardrobe including “structuring, delimiting, and organizing clothes, as well as the social meanings and identities articulated by these forms” (Cwerner, 2001, 80). Consequently, wardrobe is often perceived as a private space, as it acts almost as a storage of oneself (Cwerner, 2001; Bye & McKinney, 2007). Skjold (2016, 136) introduces a concept called “the biographical wardrobe” based on which she showcases that for many their wardrobe holds items in it, which capture ideas of oneself from the past, present and even future, and in which certain textile materials, shapes, and style choices are repeated over the span of one’s lifetime.

The wardrobe does not only refer to physical and tangible frames and structures where collections of clothes are kept, but it also refers to all clothing and dress practices that can be related to daily clothes consumption (Cwerner, 2001; Klepp & Bjerck, 2014). These practices include maintenance, cleanliness, acquisition, disposal, and dressing (Klepp & Bjerck, 2014, 375). The wardrobe practices belong to a complex process in which “clothes come to signify particular meanings in the public realm” (Cwerner, 2001, 90). The everyday consumption of clothes is carried out by mundane activities like choosing clothes in the morning, changing clothes after work, putting clothes away, caring for them, and so on. The practices are routinised and many aspects of clothes consumption are taken-for-granted, however they embed tacit skills and meanings in them (Klepp & Bjerck, 2014; Cwerner, 2001). It could be argued that the wardrobe practices are interrelated. For example, the *acquisition* of new clothes will require space in the wardrobe, which can result in the disposal of existing unused clothes. In general, the acquisition of new clothes reflects the different stages of life and passing of

time. For example, entering job market or becoming pregnant creates new needs for one's existing wardrobe. (Skjold, 2016.) On the other hand, the need for new, versatility, and variety guide a lot of the modern fashion consumption, since fashion embeds multiplicity and ephemerality (Cwerner, 2001). Harvey (1995, 12) notes that a lot of the meanings embedded to clothes is "based on the perception of specific choices (or absence of choice) as to material, colour, cut, newness". Meanings associated to practices change and evolve and new forms of acquisition enter the sphere of the wardrobe. In this research, fashion renting represents a unique form to acquire new items to one's wardrobe in regular intervals for temporal use, which decentres the importance of ownership and instead embraces shared use and ecological values.

Dressing encompasses a wide range of activities and performances people routinely carry out. "The effort to find "suitable" clothes is part of our daily routines and includes finding clothes that fit the body, the activities and the social contexts in which we take part" (Klepp & Rysst, 2016, 80). Clothes that fit are ones that reflect the current aesthetic ideals, but which also represent the ordinary ways of dressing (Klepp, 2011; Klepp & Rysst, 2016). Dressing and materiality bridge the gap between body and clothes, and the increasing consensus is that body and clothes cannot be studied separately (Klepp & Ryst, 2016; Andersson, 2011). The sensory experience plays an important role in the sense-making in dressing as textures, shape, size and fit are integral parts to the experience of wearing clothes (Skjold, 2018). Moreover, Andersson (2011, 13) notes "as clothing is lived and experienced, the encounters with fashion in everyday life involve not only the apparent questions of personal taste and aesthetics but relate to more diffuse ideas concerning our body and identity". Therefore, the relationship between the body and clothes is complex, as clothes can simultaneously be worn to hide, accentuate, warm, protect or enhance in different ways (Johansen, 1954 in Klepp & Ryst, 2016). In addition, clothes through dressing are part of non-verbal communication processes, like self-expression and identity projects (Andersson, 2011). Skjold (2016) finds that continuity plays a more important role to newness in relation to self-understanding, and that through dressing people aim to establish continuity amidst the changing life.

Klepp and Ryst (2016) studied how people with deviant bodies find suitable clothes, finding that dressing is on one hand about accepting oneself and on the other hand about fitting in. People use different strategies to dress their body, based on how their body is and how they perceive their body (Klepp & Ryst, 2016). Hence, body influences what is perceived as "suitable" or what one feels "fit" well, while at the same time social norms and how tabooed the body is perceived to be influence the constructs of "suitable" and "fit" (Klepp & Ryst, 2016;

Entwistle, 2000). Dressing is about preparing our bodies to be acceptable in a social situation. Thus, clothes symbolise the boundaries between self and other and therefore between individual and society (Entwistle, 2000). Moreover, Klepp & Ryst (2016) note that in many Western countries, health, fitness, and good appearance are perceived as increasingly meaningful and aspirational constructs, and their influence can be seen in the practice of dressing. Hence, social context and body link together with aspects of clothing like type, style, size, and color through dressing (Klepp & Ryst, 2016).

Cleanliness and maintenance of clothes are an essential part of clothes consumption, which encompass a variety of activities such as washing, storing, organizing, folding, sorting, fixing, ironing, and organizing to name a few. These activities show that fashion consumption is not only about the symbols or about one's appearance, but the activities related to cleanliness and maintenance are part of a larger process of domestic management (Cwerner, 2001). Furthermore, Cwerner (2001, 88) notes that clothes could be viewed as ““living things” that need to be nourished and protected from various environmental factors”. Different factors like sun light, temperature, and humidity affect the “lives” of the clothes. Furthermore, each item of clothing has their own unique biography based on the raw materials used and the forms of production the item has gone through. (Cwerner, 2001.) Different textile materials or even colours require different skills and know-how to maintain the clothes in good condition. Similarly, doing laundry is a set of activities that carry out different competences, for example sorting clothes by colour prior to washing, choosing a correct washing program and washing temperature, and knowing what kinds of detergents one can use with different textiles. As it was mentioned earlier, new meanings become associated with different practices, which ultimately changes the practices and their performances, for instance how doing laundry became associated with the meaning of freshness resulting in more frequent washing. In contrast to, during recent years, laundry routines, washing detergents and specific textile materials (e.g. fleece fabric) have come under scrutiny due to their negative environmental impacts, which can potentially allow new meanings and therefore new washing habits to form. Klepp and Ryst (2016) note that different trends like sustainability, homemade garments, remaking and fixing, vintage clothes, and small locally rooted brands are changing fashion market, but also directly and indirectly changing the existing wardrobe practices.

Finally, *disposal* is part of the consumption cycle of clothes, as eventually clothes will become removed from the wardrobe cycle. There are many ways how one can remove items from their wardrobes, for example, by selling, recycling, losing, or donating. Sorting and organizing one's

wardrobe can reveal items that have passed their prime and thus do not get used anymore by their owner. However, the process of discarding is not necessarily logical, as people hold on to clothes that do not fit anymore (Bye & McKinney, 2007). Wardrobe as the storage of oneself refers to the complex relationship between one's identity and one's clothes. Bye and McKinney (2007) find that there are four themes that explain why people hold on to clothes that do not fit including weight management, investment value, sentimental value, and aesthetic object. For clothes to be an active part of the consumption cycle, they need to fit the body and be in good repair, however by not throwing away unfit or unused items people aim to maintain their identities as throwing away is simultaneously about managing emotions and letting go off dreams and aspirations of one's future life and self (Bye & McKinney, 2007; Mellander McIntyre, 2021). Mellander and McIntyre (2021) view fashion as the process of detachment, which refers to the active process of clearing out wardrobe, the dynamics between attachment and detachment between possessed clothes, and detachment as an aspired state of independence from fashion consumption. Like acquisition, the practice of disposal reflects changes in life through which consumers detach themselves from "the styles, cuts, garments, and fashions we like or used to like" (Mellander & McIntyre, 2021, 345). Hence, to let go off things requires one to go through a process of divesting, which depicts the separation of meanings and emotions attached to clothes (Bye & McKinney, 2007).

2.5 Synthesizing theoretical framework

This research aims to depict and analyse fashion renting based on practices the clothing library members carry out. Fashion renting is a consumption practice of access-based consumption. Figure 2. depicts the theoretical framework in more detail by synthesizing some of the key insight gained from the topics and concepts discussed. Fashion renting is viewed to be part of the clothing library members' everyday clothes consumption practices therefore fashion renting is positioned to take place between two key consumption sites, clothing library and home. The figure depicts the sites as wardrobes that become mutually dependent in the fashion renting cycle. Hence, the framework utilises insight from wardrobe studies (Klepp & Bjerck, 2014) which is why the wardrobes (shared wardrobe and home wardrobe) are presented based on the wardrobe practices of acquisition, dressing, maintenance and cleanliness, and disposal. On the other hand, the wardrobes represent sites of access and ownership, and as the cycle of fashion renting become established between these two sites in the form of regular cycle of clothes and accessories it is argued that these forms of consumptions together with aspects of sharing become merged in the practice behaviours related to fashion renting. The research approaches fashion renting from the practice theoretical approach by utilising the

understanding and conceptualisations of practice by different authors. More specifically, this research utilises Shove et al. (2012) understanding of practice as a dynamic unit that links together different materials, meanings, and competences. Thus, the figure depicts the elements that structure the practices of fashion renting in the middle of the wardrobes.

In the context of this research the materials encompass things related to clothes consumption. Clothes and accessories are obviously in the core focus, but the material element also includes a broader array of attributes and qualities related to clothes and accessories (e.g. textile materials, colours, size), and spaces dedicated for clothes and where clothes can be found (e.g. wardrobe, home, clothing library, furniture) as well as care and maintenance items (e.g. hangers, washing machines, laundry basket, drying racks). Body holds an important material role in relation to clothes consumption as well. Meanings encompass a broad array of different mental activities, emotions, purpose, aspirations, shared values, and beliefs related to fashion renting, both consuming the clothes and consuming the service. The element of competence includes understanding (e.g. rented items need to be returned back), skills, knowledge and techniques (e.g. knowing how to handwash clothes, visualisation of outfits). Moreover, following guidelines (e.g. use only scentless detergents) are seen as part of competence. The theoretical framework and its components have evolved with the research process, and it was utilised in the data generating process and later in the data analysis process.

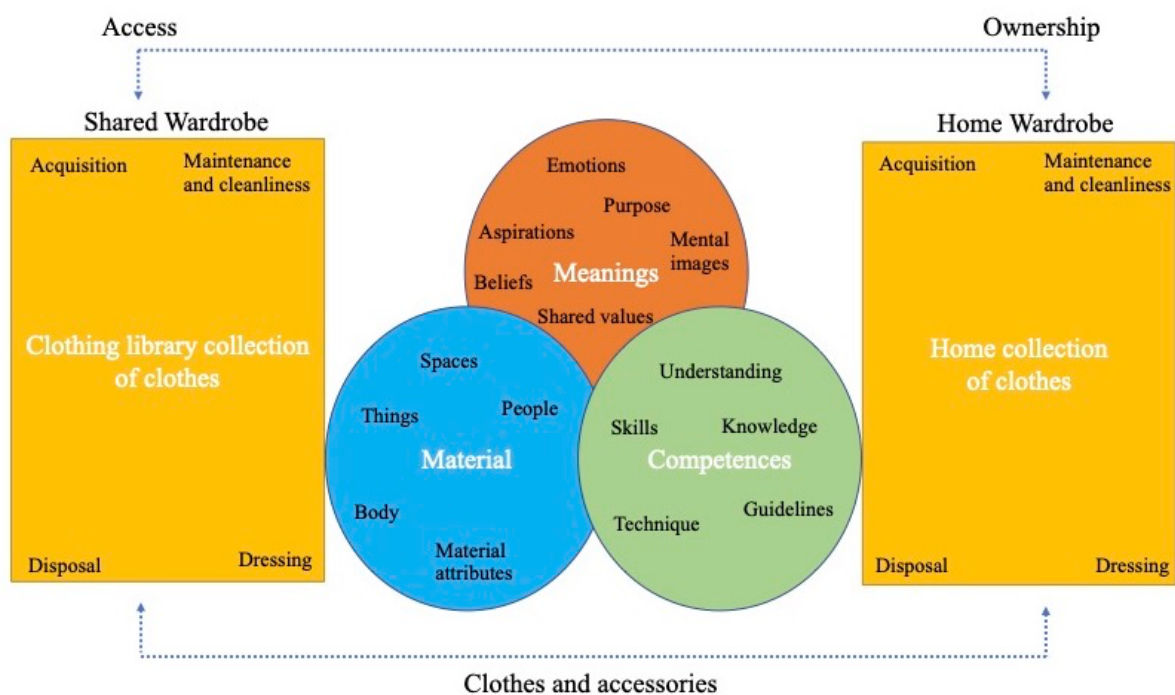


Figure 2. Theoretical framework of the research

3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research philosophy

Philosophical underpinnings shape and guide every stage of the research process, from making decisions regarding the empirical data generation to choosing the way how findings and conclusions drawn from data are interpreted and presented (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). Therefore, research philosophical underpinnings are almost like a blueprint for conducting research which link the research topic with appropriate methodology and methods. Essentially the purpose of research is to generate new, to expand, or to confirm existing knowledge (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). Moreover, Gupta and Awasthy (2015) note that the process of conducting research does not need to be linear but often research is about trying to gain deeper understanding of a specific phenomenon for the sake of accumulating knowledge. However, especially three important considerations guide and define the research process and the generation of knowledge including ontological, epistemological, and methodological considerations. Next these aspects will be discussed in relation to the purpose of this research.

“Ontology concerns the ideas about the existence of and relationship between people, society and the world in general” (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008, 13). Ontological questions are mainly concerned about the nature of knowledge and reality, hence what constitutes reality (Gupta & Awasthy, 2015). Ontological enquiries provide two fundamental distinctions to be made regarding social reality, whether it is seen to exist as a separate and distinctive ‘entity’ (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008) that is “composed of a network of determinate relationships between constituent parts and in these concrete relationships an external and real social reality can be found” (Gupta & Awasthy, 2015, 6). Or, whether social reality is seen as a continuous process whereby social actors are continuously part of producing the reality through social interactions (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). These distinctions are referred to as objectivism and subjectivism respectively. Moreover, instead of using the term subjectivism, the social nature of reality is described by employing the term constructionism instead (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008).

Ontological and epistemological enquiries are intertwined in the conduct of research (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). Epistemology while closely related to ontology asks a different question regarding the nature of knowledge and reality. While ontology is “the study of being” epistemology is “the theory of knowledge” (Gupta & Awasthy, 2015, 6). Therefore, the questions epistemology is concerned with, include what knowledge is and what are the sources

and limits of knowledge. Furthermore, epistemology provides and defines criteria by which knowledge is possible, which directly shapes the research process and methodological practices. Like ontology, epistemology holds two main views of the nature of knowledge an objectivist and a subjectivist view. According to the objectivist view, an external world exists that can be objectively studied, whereas the subjectivist view notes that the access to the external world is limited to our interpretations and observations. (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008.)

The ontological viewpoint in this research is in line with social constructionism, which assumes that the reality is a subjectively experienced and produced through social and cognitive processes (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). Contrary to objectivism, a key point in social constructionism is that “reality does not exist outside individuals; ‘reality’ is always about individuals’ and groups’ interpretations (Blaikie, 1993, 94 in Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008, 14). Consequently, interpretations of reality are shaped by contextual and situational factors, for instance history, geographical location, and culture, or family background education, and life experiences, which means that two realities alike cannot exist (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). In line with the assumptions of social constructionism this research adopts an interpretive epistemological view on knowledge. Consequently, social constructionism and interpretivism are parallel philosophical positions as they both understand reality in terms of subjective experiences and shared meanings, as well as language (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). These philosophical underpinnings are seen consistent with the practice theoretical assumptions regarding reality and knowledge. Interpretive and constructionist research often assumes language as the social construction to reveal the socially and individually build dynamic reality (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008), similarly the unit of practice can hold shared meanings and conventions and reveal things about the reality. Shared meanings are always part of established practices and how they are performed, but simultaneously each practitioner perform different practices in their own unique ways. Finally, the third philosophical aspect in relation to research is the methodological aspect which represents the practical decisions made in relation to knowledge and how to obtain it, in other words how the research phenomenon can be studied (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). Ontological, epistemological, and methodological considerations are linked together in the research design. The next subchapter will introduce the research methods utilised in this research in more detail.

3.2 Research methods

3.2.1 Qualitative research and ethnography

Research methodologies can be “defined broadly and schematically” or “narrowly and precisely” (Silverman, 2005, 4 in Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008, 16). Broadly defined, this research is qualitative in nature, which guided the selection of suitable data collection methods and the overall research design. Qualitative research does not have one definite definition that would capture the meaning and use of qualitative research, or that would anchor the qualitative approach to a specific field or context. Instead, qualitative research comprises multiple different research approaches, data collection methods, and ways to analyse data. Unlike quantitative research that aims to explain reality with hypothesis, statistics and correlations, qualitative research is often utilised when the aim is to gain a holistic and deep understanding of complex phenomena in their appropriate contexts. (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008.) Often qualitative research is defined in relation to quantitative research based on their differences (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998). Furthermore, Ghauri and Gronhaug (2005, 202) note that qualitative research is especially useful when the prior insight and knowledge about a phenomenon is still limited and when the research problem and the researched phenomenon are less defined. This often directs qualitative research to be more exploratory and flexible in nature.

In addition, under many of the qualitative research approaches the reality is seen to be constructed socially (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). This directs the researcher to utilise data collection and data analysis methods that can best capture the phenomenon in question, but which also simultaneously posits the researcher indirectly and directly to the realm of the research through their “socialized worldview” (Glesne 1999, 8 in Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008, 5). This notion is in line with Gummesson’s (2003) thoughts regarding how both quantitative and qualitative research, therefore both numeric data and words-based data, are shaped by interpretations made by the researcher themselves. From the very beginning of choosing a research topic to presenting results, the research process is to some extent influenced by the researcher’s preunderstanding, values, education, and by “a mixture of subjective, intersubjective and objective choices and assumptions” (Gummesson, 2003, 486). For example, in this research the researcher approached the topic of fashion renting with personal interest and curiosity but with little initial knowledge on the practicalities of renting or personal experience. Therefore, it could be argued that for instance the interviews held at the clothing libraries followed both pre-formulated set of questions as well as questions that

organically came up during the renting visits based on the researcher's existing knowledge, or lack thereof.

Choosing suitable data generating methods is important, because the main aim is to choose methods that enable to increase the knowledge of our world better (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). This research employs a practice theoretical approach, and thus it is important to reflect this in the methodological choices. Hargreaves (2011) suggest that ethnography is a suitable methodological technique to observe the 'doings' and performances of everyday practices. Therefore, narrowly defined, this research utilises ethnographic methods, namely ethnographic wardrobe interviews. Ethnography is rooted in the realm of anthropological research, where anthropologists study communities and foreign cultures by observing them for long periods of time to gain the 'native's point of view', or the emic perspective, whereas in business research the aim is usually to gain an outsider's perspective, in other words etic perspective (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008, 138). As a research methodology, ethnography has been developed for studying cultures and how people make sense of their lives and surroundings, in other words sense-making. Ethnography is utilised in various disciplines, and it enables a more multidisciplinary approach to be embraced in the conduct of research. Indeed, ethnographic research and ethnographic methods are versatile and multifaceted with many different versions. (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008.) Marcus (1995) notes that current ethnography is often 'multi-sited' and 'mobile' as the researcher follows people around different physical locations. In this research members of clothing libraries were 'followed' and interviewed in the clothing libraries but also at their homes in the presence of their own clothes. Finally, using ethnographic methods enables the researcher to approach a practice holistically by observing doings and sayings related to the practice and by interviewing participants to further understand the embedded emotions and motivations of the practice (Närvänen, 2014). Ethnographic data is versatile including "interviews, observations, blog posts, videos and photos, because they provide the richest and fullest portrait of all the elements of a practice" (Närvänen, 2014, 9).

3.2.2 Wardrobe interviews

The main method employed to generate empirical data in this research is wardrobe studies inspired interviews. Wardrobe studies, also referred to as wardrobe method, is a methodological approach that "allows for the analysis of the way in which clothes relate to each other on the whole or withing parts of the wardrobe" (Klepp & Bjerck, 2014, 373). Wardrobe studies focus to depict and understand the intimate relationship people have with

their clothes (Mellander & McIntyre, 2021). The aim of the wardrobe approach is to bring the materiality to the focus as opposed to the symbolic element of clothes and fashion which has traditionally dominated a lot of the earlier dress and fashion research (Klepp & Bjerck, 2014). More specifically the wardrobe approach has its roots in practice theory which directs the focus on the material aspect of practice (Shove & Pantzar, 2005). Clothes and other material aspects of clothes consumption, like wardrobe or the use of hangers, can direct the attention and at the same time reveal aspects of the recurring, tacit, and mundane aspects of everyday life and clothes consumption (Klepp & Bjerck, 2014; Mellander & McIntyre, 2021). Consequently, the wardrobe method focuses on the clothes and clothes related daily practices like those of acquisition, dressing, cleanliness, maintenance, and disposal, which frame the daily clothes consumption cycle (Klepp & Bjerck, 2014). There are different kinds of methods how the wardrobe approach can be utilised in generating empirical data, but this research mainly utilises the wardrobe interviews.

There are differences how wardrobe interviews can be conducted. In some examples the clothes are an active part of the interviews whereas in some interviews the clothes are present mainly guiding and directing talking points. Klepp and Bjerck (2014) note that interviews alone can be a limited method to gain insight on peoples' daily clothing related practices, as often routines are tacit in nature and therefore difficult to memorise and put into words. Therefore, the presence of clothes can foster and benefit discussions in two ways. "The clothes are present and thus influence the informants' memories and narratives. Secondly, recording, photographing, and even handling the object itself contribute to the researcher's recollection and empathy, and provide opportunity for new knowledge" (Klepp & Bjerck, 2014, 378). Consequently, wardrobe interviews are often ethnographic in nature. For instance, Skjold (2016) uses the wardrobe method to study the dress practice based on her concept biographical wardrobe. She conducted a series of wardrobe interviews during which she asked her informants to take all their clothes out from their wardrobe and lay them out on the bedroom, after which she proceeded to ask different kinds of questions about the clothes that required the informants to sort and categorize the clothes in heaps based on how much they liked or used certain garments. Mellander and McIntyre (2021) utilise ethnographic wardrobe interviews to understand the process of detachment as part of fashion practices. They conducted semi-structured interviews in the presence of the participants' wardrobe and their clothes to gain insight on why certain clothes are kept or discarded from the wardrobe. In wardrobe studies questions can be directed to specific garments, or the whole inventory of clothes (Klepp & Bjerck, 2014).

This research employs wardrobe interviews in similar manner to Mellander and McIntyre (2021). The interviews were semi-structured as topics, themes, and preformulated questions were established before the interviews based on existing theory and research, furthermore each interview session differed from each other in regards the wording and order of questions (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). Semi-structured interviews are beneficial for many reasons in qualitative research as they are flexible and they enable what, how, and why questions to be employed both deliberately and organically depending on the context and content of the interview. Semi-structured interviews are often informal and conversational in nature, which allows the researcher to gain a comprehensive and rather authentic insight on the topics at hand. (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008.) The interviews that took place during the visits at the clothing libraries followed a set of preformulated questions only to some extent since the main aim was to observe the participants' behaviour and allow new questions arise based on the discussions, observations, and experiences. In addition, the material surroundings directed and influenced the interviews. Similarly, the interviews held at the participants' homes were semi-structured and they were conducted in the presence of the participants' wardrobe and clothes either entirely or partly.

While the interviews at the clothing libraries were more flexible in nature, the interviews held at the participants' homes followed a set of themes and topics drawn from the existing literature utilised in the theoretical framework of this research. The themes included broader sets of topics regarding personal style and relationship with clothes and dressing, thoughts on owning clothes and sharing them with others, as well as discussions regarding overconsumption, sustainability, and fashion renting in general. Moreover, the themes included also more specific questions regarding the daily clothes consumption practices, namely acquisition, dressing, maintenance and cleanliness, and disposal based on the insight from wardrobe studies (Klepp & Bjerck, 2014). For example, participants were asked to describe their daily dressing practices in detail by paying attention to what kinds of things influence the choosing of outfits, how outfits are put together and where the clothes end up at the end of the day. Similarly, rather detailed questions regarding washing and other maintenance activities were asked to attain insight on how, for example, different kinds of clothes and textile materials were treated if they had a stain on them. Participants were also asked to describe and show their clothes collection, how the clothes were organized and stored, where the rented items were kept during the renting period and explain what kinds of clothes they own and why, and on the other hand what kinds of clothes they would like to own. Both owned and rented clothes were considered and discussed in relation to these questions. The presence of clothes and the wardrobe prompted

new questions and interesting discussions and enabled the participants to show and talk about their clothes and accessories and about the spaces dedicated for them. Furthermore, having the clothes and wardrobe present during the interview made it easier for the participants to describe their daily clothing routines but to also recall them more truthfully. For example, one participant said that she usually aimed to fold clothes back to their places after use, but later added that often the clothes ended up on the floor for some time before going back into the wardrobe. As this research is focused on practices, small details, observations, and insight as shown above were deemed very interesting and useful.

3.3 Data generation process

This research utilises both empirically generated primary data and a versatile set of secondary data to gain a holistic understanding of fashion renting based on practices. The set of primary data includes semi-structured wardrobe interviews held with members of clothing libraries. Interviews were conducted during visits to clothing libraries as well as at the participants' homes. The visits at the clothing libraries enabled the researcher to gain a more authentic idea of how fashion renting works by observing the behaviour of the participants while conducting the interviews. Furthermore, these interviews held at the clothing libraries gave an opportunity to gain a better understanding of the clothes and accessories available and see, for example how the participants handled them and how they made decisions based on the materials available. The second set of interviews were held at the participants' home at the presence of their own clothes, which enabled to understand more about the everyday practices people had with their own clothes and understand how the rented clothes and accessories become part of these established everyday practices. A couple of photographs were also taken during the home interviews, and some descriptive notes were taken at both interview sites. The secondary data include different kind of media such as Youtube videos, blog posts, Instagram posts, online articles, and podcasts episodes discussing and documenting fashion renting in Finland.

As Eskola and Suoranta (1998) note, the question that often arises in qualitative research is how much data is enough. In qualitative research the quality of data generally trumps the quantity of data as meaningful and comprehensive analysis can be done even with smaller data sample. Since the aim and purpose of qualitative research differ from those of quantitative research, namely the aim is not to make wide generalizations based on the research, the amount of generated data in qualitative research cannot be judged against same criteria as it would in quantitative research. Moreover, the theoretical approach utilised in qualitative research plays an important role in these considerations. (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998.) As the aim of this

research is to identify practices and their elements related to fashion renting, the overall amount of generated primary data was thought to be enough. Similar themes and theoretically identifiable entities began to appear from the interviews, which meant that a point of saturation was achieved (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998). However, the original aim had been to have more interview participants, but due to Covid-19 related reasons this aim was not achieved, therefore secondary data was also utilised to further strengthen the data. The figure 3. Illustrates the overall data generated and sourced for the purpose of this research. The following subchapters explain the data generation process in more detail.

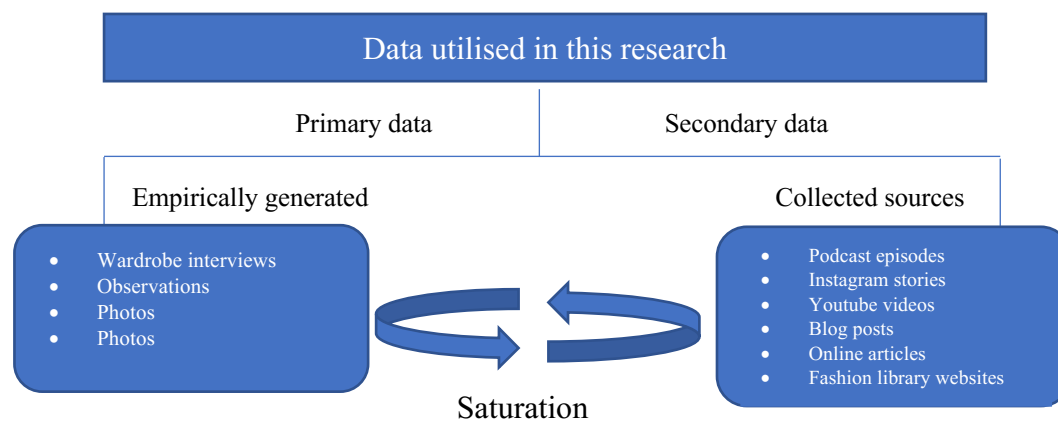


Figure 3. Data generated in the research

3.3.1 Primary data

Gummesson's (2003, 486) argues that the term "data generation" suits better the data collecting in social settings as data is created in social interactions rather than collected. Altogether seven interviews were conducted with four participants. The interviews were held during autumn 2020. Interview questions and themes were modified and adjusted after the first interview to be more relevant and in line with the research problem. A different set of guiding questions were utilised in both interview sites to avoid overlap. However, the interviews influenced each other, and some topics were further elaborated in the home interviews after the clothing library visits. With two of the participants the first interviews were held at the clothing library and the second interviews at the participants' homes. With one of the participants the home interview was conducted in a café before the clothing library interview due to a renovation taking place at the participant's home. After three interviews held at the clothing library it was noted and further decided that the data generated in that setting began to be very similar, and therefore the last interview was conducted only at the participant's home. On the other hand, it was also noted that the interviews held at the participants' homes allowed a deeper and more comprehensive discussion to take place. Finally, the Covid-19 pandemic imposed issues to be

considered regarding how many people were recommended to be in the clothing libraries at the same time. The interview lengths varied between 22 minutes to 72 minutes. The home interviews were longer than clothing library interviews. Interviews were recorded with the researcher's phone and/or laptop for transcribing purposes. Altogether the generated interview data amounted to 5 hours and 42 minutes of recordings and 89 pages of transcripts. Table 2. summarises the interview process.

Table 2. Interview process

Participant	Interview date	Interview place	Interview time & transcribed pages
Henni (1 st)	6.8.2020	Vaatepuu, Tampere	42 min 34 sec = 13 pages
Henni (2 nd)	22.8.2020	Participant's home	63 min = 16 pages
Marika (1 st)	25.8.2020	Vaaterikki, Helsinki	22 min 18 sec = 4 pages
Marika (2 nd)	25.8.2020	Participant's home	56 min 55 sec = 14 pages
Sanna (1 st)	26.8.2020	Café, Tampere	57 min 43 sec = 17 pages
Sanna (2 nd)	26.8.2020	Vaatepuu, Tampere	30 min = 8 pages
Linda	2.10.2020	Participant's home	72 min = 17 pages
Total:			343min = 5h 42min 89 pages

This research employed purposeful sampling to find participants for the interviews. Purposeful sampling refers to recruiting participants who fulfil pre-defined criteria deemed important in relation to the research aim (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998). Two main criteria guided the participant recruiting process. Firstly, since practices are often results of routinised behaviours, it was important to find fashion library members with enough experience of fashion renting and time being a member. Since, at the time of the interviews both visited clothing libraries, Vaatepuu and Vaaterikki, offered minimum membership of six-months, the aim was to find participants with six months or more experience being a member. Secondly, this research excluded online fashion renting altogether, and focused only on fashion renting taking place in physical locations in Finland, because it is argued that online fashion renting may differ in relation to practices and their elements to fashion renting taking place in a physical location.

Finding suitable participants for the interviews happened in stages. First two interviewees were contacted after finding out about them through a friend. After this the aim was to employ a snowball sampling technique, in other words try to gain access to new contacts through existing ones. Third interviewee was found by using this technique, but after this no more participants were found like this. The next stage was to utilise Instagram and Facebook in the search of

potential participants. Instagram was especially suitable for this, because one can utilise different hashtags to find people who interact with different clothing libraries or who post pictures using these kinds of hashtags. Hashtags used included for instance, the names of different clothing libraries, clothes renting, and borrowed clothes, among others. Potential interviewees were approached via private Instagram message or Facebook message in which the researcher gave a brief overview of the research and the nature of the interviews without disclosing specific interview questions. Some of the people contacted were no longer members of fashion renting. Covid-19 seemed to be one factor decreasing the number of active members as it was discussed with one of the staff members during one of the interviews. Table 3. holds the relevant interview participant information.

Table 3. Participant information

Participant	Employment status	Residence	Wardrobe info	Membership information
Henni, 27, (F)	Employed	Tampere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wardrobe • shared with partner (50/50) 	Vaatepuu <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • almost 1 year • 150 points
Marika, 28, (F)	Employed	Helsinki	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • walk-in wardrobe • sole use 	Vaaterekki <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • almost 1 year • 2 items of clothing
Sanna, 28, (F)	Employed	Tampere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wardrobe • shared with partner (50/50) 	Vaatepuu <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • almost 1 year • 100 points
Linda, 44, (F)	Employed	Tampere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • walk-in wardrobe, cupboard space • shared with her kid 	Vaatepuu <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • almost 3 years • 200 points

Every research encounters a unique set of ethical questions to be considered in relation to data generation and how the generated data is utilised (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998). In this research, ethical issues were taken into consideration especially when participants were recruited and when the interviews were conducted. It was informed to the participants that participation in the research is voluntary, and that they were allowed to quit anytime if they so wished. Furthermore, the participants were informed that the generated data was both confidential and anonymous. When conducting the interviews participants' permission was asked to record the interviews for transcribing purposes, and similarly permission was asked to take photos. During the interviews conducted at the participants' homes, participants were asked whether they were comfortable showing their wardrobes and clothes. Furthermore, while the participants were advised to behave as they would normally when visiting the clothing libraries, it is arguable that the researcher's presence influenced the situation somehow, therefore also the data generated.

Since the aim of this research is to understand fashion renting based on practices performed by members of clothing libraries, the focus does not reside in specific service providers. As previously noted, this research excludes fashion renting taking place in online platforms. The interviewed participants and the secondary data accounts were members of two Finnish clothing libraries Vaatepuu and Vaaterekki, therefore it is considered useful to provide an overview of how the membership and renting functions in both places. Both service providers market themselves as libraries for clothing and as citizens' shared wardrobes. Hence, they encourage a more service-based approach to clothing and dressing practices, which can benefit more sustainable practices to emerge amongst consumers. Covid-19 affected both clothing libraries and longer renting periods had been introduced. Table 4. summarises clothing library information.

Table 4. Clothing library information

Information obtained from: Vaaterekki.fi Vaatepuu.fi	Vaatepuu	Vaaterekki
Locations	Helsinki, Järvenpää, Turku, Heinola. Tampere temporarily closed since November 2021.	Helsinki
Membership information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clothes and accessories worth different points • 8 different membership sizes • Smallest 100 points (150€ / 6 months) • Biggest 600 points (600€ / 6 months) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 items of clothing per renting 180€ / 6 months • 2 items of clothing with a jewellery add-on 210€ / 6 months • 90€ / 2 months
Renting period	1-5 weeks	1-4 weeks
Guidelines for renting	Returning clothes back washed and intact. Scentless detergents.	Returning clothes back washed and intact. Scentless detergents.

3.2.2 Secondary data

Secondary data refers to empirical data that already exist without any specific collecting activities, including variety of different kinds of textual data, visual data, and databases (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). Consequently, secondary data is described as 'naturally occurring' (Silverman, 2001 in Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). The ever-accumulating mass media and popular culture provide suitable data for qualitative research (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998). Nowadays especially internet provides a lot of naturally occurring data suitable for qualitative research, such as blog posts, video vlogs, online articles, and podcasts. This research enhances the primary data with secondary data accounts found online. As Eskola and Suoranta (1998) note, when collecting secondary data, it is important to carefully deliberate what kind of data is useful in relation to the research. The secondary data found for this research happened

in stages during and after the interview process. Some of the data was suggested by the supervisors of this master's theses, like the podcast episodes, but other accounts like the blog posts and articles were found by using Google search engine. All the data found is published in public platforms and are publicly available. The table 5. summarises and further describes the data used. The suitability of the collected data was considered against the research questions, but also against the theoretical framework and analysis method of this research. Most of the data provides members' accounts on how they utilise fashion renting in their lives, but also couple of the online articles discuss fashion renting in Finland in more general.

Table 5. Summary of the secondary data

Type of media	Description of the content
Podcast Episode 1, 2020 Episode 2, 2020 Episode 3, 2020	The podcast miniseries documents and discusses fashion renting in Finland. The two podcast hosts become members of Vaatepuu and Vaaterekki for six months and in each episode, they unravel their renting experiences.
Social media posts Highlights 1-2: Instagram, 2020 Highlights 3-4: Instagram, 2020	Instagram highlights that further showcase and document the podcast hosts experiences as members of Vaatepuu and Vaaterekki. Each highlight contains multiple posts. 1-2: Vaatepuu. 3-4 Vaaterekki.
Video 1. 1.12.2020 2. 18.6.2019	1. Youtuber becomes a Vaatepuu member for a month. The video showcases and discusses her experience. 2. Youtuber discusses about her wardrobe collection.
Blog post A1.-A2.	A1. Blogger discusses fashion renting in Finland and becoming a member of Vaatepuu. A2. Blogger writes about her thoughts and experiences after being a member for one year.
Blog post B1.- B6.	Blogger becomes a member of Vaatepuu for six months. The blog posts B1-B6 discuss about fashion renting, clothes, and dressing, and they document her experiences as a Vaatepuu member.
Blog post C1.	Blogger writes about fashion renting and how it works. Post also discusses about how and why she became a member of Vaatepuu.
Online article 1. Yle, 25.9.2019 2. Me Naiset, 12.2.2021 3. Anna, 26.5.2019 4. OP Media, 8.2.2021 5. Fashion Finland, 11.7.2019	1. The article discussing reasons for why fashion renting has not become more popular in Finland. 2. In the article a four-year member of Vaaterekki talks about her experiences about fashion renting. 3. The article discusses about alternative ways to enjoy new clothes. Features a segment about a two-year Vaatepuu member's thoughts on fashion renting. 4. In the article Vaaterekki founders discuss about fashion renting. The article interviews also a member. 5. The article talks about Vaatepuu and how it works.
Website 1. Vaatepuu.fi 2021–2022 2. Vaaterekki.fi 2021–2022	Websites of the clothing libraries provide useful information regarding fashion renting.

3.4 Data Analysis

There are many ways to analyse and interpret qualitative data, but the main the aim of the process is to bring clarity to the data and to draw comprehensive insight in relation to the researched phenomenon (Eskola & Suoranta, 1998). The process employs both analysis and interpretation, often in a non-linear manner (Spiggle, 1994). Analysis refers to breaking down the complex set of data into smaller parts through dissecting, reducing, sorting, and reconstituting, whereas interpretation finds meaning in the data and makes sense of it (Spiggle, 1994, 492). According to Spiggle (1994, 493) analysing happens through different manipulation operations including categorization, abstraction, comparison,

dimensionalization, integration, iteration, and refutation through which “researchers organize data, extract meaning, arrive at conclusions, and generate or confirm conceptual schemes and theories that describe data”. One must consider the research logic applied in the conduct of research and especially in the process of data analysis. The two main models are deduction and induction. Deduction implies that the source of knowledge is more theory-based whereas induction implies that theories are based on empirical research, thus the analysis can be either theory-driven or data-driven. However, these two forms of inquiry are rarely mutually exclusive but often qualitative research employs both logics throughout the research stages. Abduction is thought to combine both logics, which means that the research moves between data and theory in a fluid manner. (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008.) This research approaches knowledge and the data analysis based on the logic of abduction.

While qualitative research does not use pre-set hypothesis, it could be argued that the process of analysis begins early in the research process with researcher’s thoughts and ideas based on the preliminary knowledge of the research phenomenon, often prior to the data generation process. The interview themes and questions were formulated based on theory, but as the data begin to accumulate over the interviews the researcher adjusted interview questions and discussed themes based on the empirical data generated. According to Spiggle (1994, 495) “iteration involves moving through data collection and analysis in such a way that preceding operations shape subsequent ones”. After each interview the interviews were transcribed, and notes were written down. The transcripts were read through carefully multiple times to familiarise them. The secondary data like the podcast episodes and Youtube videos were not fully transcribed, but notes were taken, and time stamps were used to identify important segments, which were afterwards partly transcribed. Secondary data was also carefully familiarised. All data was analysed in a similar manner, in other words the main aim was to identify practices and their elements.

After the initial inductive stages of analysis, the data was further manipulated through categorisation and abstraction. Categorisation refers to “the process of classifying or labelling units of data” whereas abstraction “goes beyond the identification of patterns in data” (Spiggle, 1994, 493). Categorisation happens through the process of coding (Spiggle, 1994). The focus was on to identify different practices that depict the fashion renting, and on the other hand to pay attention to the elements that structure these practices in this context. As this research employs Shove et al. (2012) understanding and classification of practices and their elements the next stage of analysis focused on coding the data based on the elements, materials,

meanings, and competences. Colour codes were used to group data under the elements and simultaneously identified practices were labelled. Notes and figures were made throughout the analysis process as they helped to organize the process but to also gain a more holistic understanding of the relations between practices that mainly focus on the key material, clothes, and practices that clothing library members perform as members. Identified practices were also organized based on whether they take place at the clothing library or at the members' home to further understand the relations between identified practices.

Finally, interpretation was intertwined with all the stages of the analysis. In contrast with analysis, interpretation cannot be broken down into operations, but rather it is an organic part of the analysis, and as Spiggle (1994, 500) note “interpretation is playful, creative, intuitive, subjective, particularistic, transformative, imaginative, and representative.” In some ways the analysis process could be described as a pendulum as the analysis moved between data and theory as well as analysis and interpretations to produce the findings of this research. Figure 4. illustrates the research process as a whole and showcases how the analysis was conducted.

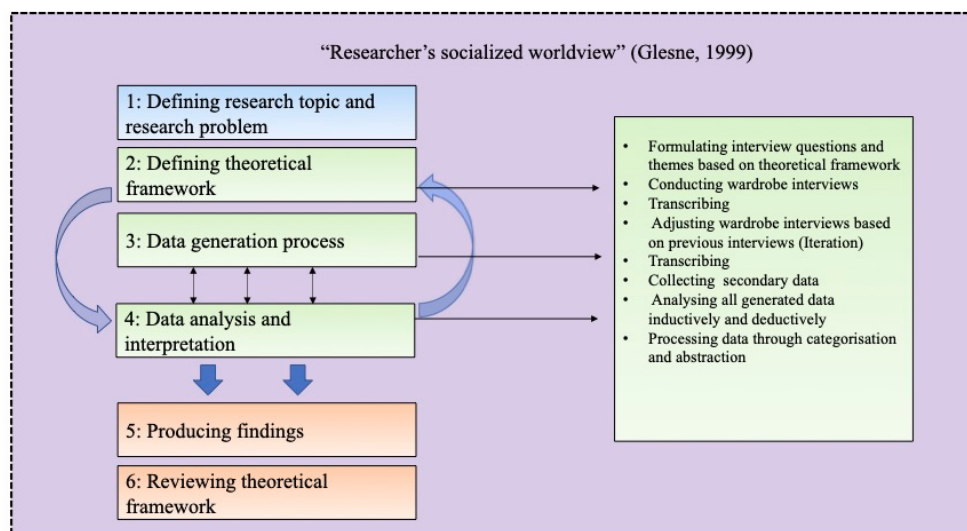


Figure 4. Research process

3.5 Evaluating research quality

Evaluating qualitative research differ from evaluating quantitative research, however, in both cases evaluation should address every stage of the research, preferable in a proactive manner (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008; Eskola & Suoranta, 1998). Different authors suggest different criteria to evaluate the quality of research. Spiggle (1994) suggested evaluation to be done based on the criteria of usefulness, innovation, integration, resonance, and adequacy, whereas Lincoln and Guba (1985) use a concept of trustworthiness that includes four aspects that build

the research's trustworthiness: *dependability*, *transferability*, *credibility*, and *conformability*. Both sets of criteria are suitable for evaluating qualitative research, and they both enhance the quality evaluation in their own ways; however, this research employs the concept of trustworthiness by Lincoln and Guba (1985).

Dependability regards the researcher's responsibility to transparently report and document the research process and choices made. In this research the research process has been well documented including the data generation and data analysis processes. Furthermore, theoretical, and methodological choices of this research have been presented and discussed. *Transferability* refers to the researcher's responsibility to acknowledge existing research and whether similarities apply between existing research and one's own research. Existing research and literature formed the theoretical understanding of this this research, and efforts are made to link this research with the existing findings regarding access-based consumption and fashion renting. The presentation and discussion of findings makes comparisons and links to existing findings.

Credibility is concerned with how familiar the researcher is with the research topic, whether the generated data is enough, whether the analysis and interpretation have been conducted in a credible manner, and whether another researcher could reach similar interpretations based on the generated data. While the researcher approached the topic of fashion renting initially with mere curiosity, throughout the research process adequate and suitable understanding have been gained, which grants the analysis and interpretation made in this research. It is recognized that the number of participants in this research could have been higher, however the purposeful sampling method used and the collection of suitable secondary data to enhance the interview data make the data sample adequate and meaningful. Närvänen (2014, 8-11) lists six issues of practice theoretical approaches, which hold the potential to influence the overall research quality including multiple level analysis, identifying and interpreting routine patterns, drawing lines between phenomena and their context, the relational nature of practice theoretical approach, moving away from individuals as units of analysis, and choosing relevant methodologies to capture materiality. These factors are thought to affect whether another researcher would draw similar interpretations from the data. *Conformability* is concerned with how clearly findings and interpretations made link back to the data and thus are truthful and not made-up. In this research findings and interpretations were made from the data together with the insight drawn from the research's theory. Moreover, the findings are presented in a comprehensive way that utilises excerpts from the data to guide the points made.

4 PRACTICES OF FASHION RENTING

This chapter presents the findings of this research in line with the stated purpose and aim of the research. The aim is to gain holistic understanding of, and to depict and analyse how fashion renting, a form of access-based consumption, functions based on practices the clothing library members carry out. This research employs Shove et al. (2012) understanding of practice theory, which defines practice as a set of routinised behaviours that link together different materials, meanings, and competences. First, the chapter pursues to present the practices and their elements, which build the fashion renting cycle. The fashion renting cycle follows the material, in other words clothes and accessories, as they cycle between two key sites: clothing library and member's home. This way it is possible to gain a holistic understanding of how fashion renting works in practice based on observations made during the visits at the clothing library and on discussions regarding how rented items are used as part of one's own wardrobe cycle. Secondly, the focus shifts to discuss about consumption practices the clothing library members carry out as they engage in fashion renting. These practices build upon the fashion renting cycle, and they depict more broadly the consumption practices the clothing library members routinely carry out, which helps to better understand collective meanings and aspirations related to fashion renting. Thirdly, the chapter reviews the theoretical framework and discusses the findings in relation to existing research on access-based consumption and fashion renting.

4.1 Renaming the corners of the wardrobes: the cycle of fashion renting

The cycle of fashion renting is structured around two main sites, the physical location of the clothing library and clothing library members' home. These two sites frame the consumption cycle in which different practices take place, hence where central materials to fashion renting are found. To retell Shove's (2017) categorisation of the roles different material elements hold in practices, the *clothing library* and *the members' homes* could be viewed to hold the infrastructural roles in relation to the identified fashion renting practices. The figure 5. illustrates what kinds of practices and performances frame the fashion renting cycle. The figure aims to depict the cycle in a chronological order in which the renting cycle starts at the clothing library when previous weeks' items are returned. The practices and their performances are organised based on where they take place, which helps to understand that fashion renting in this context entails both the use of the service and the use of the accessed products. The practices that structure the visits at the clothing library depict the use of the service whereas the practices identified at a member's home depict the use of the service and products as part

of one's own wardrobe practices. The figure utilises the theoretical framework of this research with appropriate changes made based on the findings.

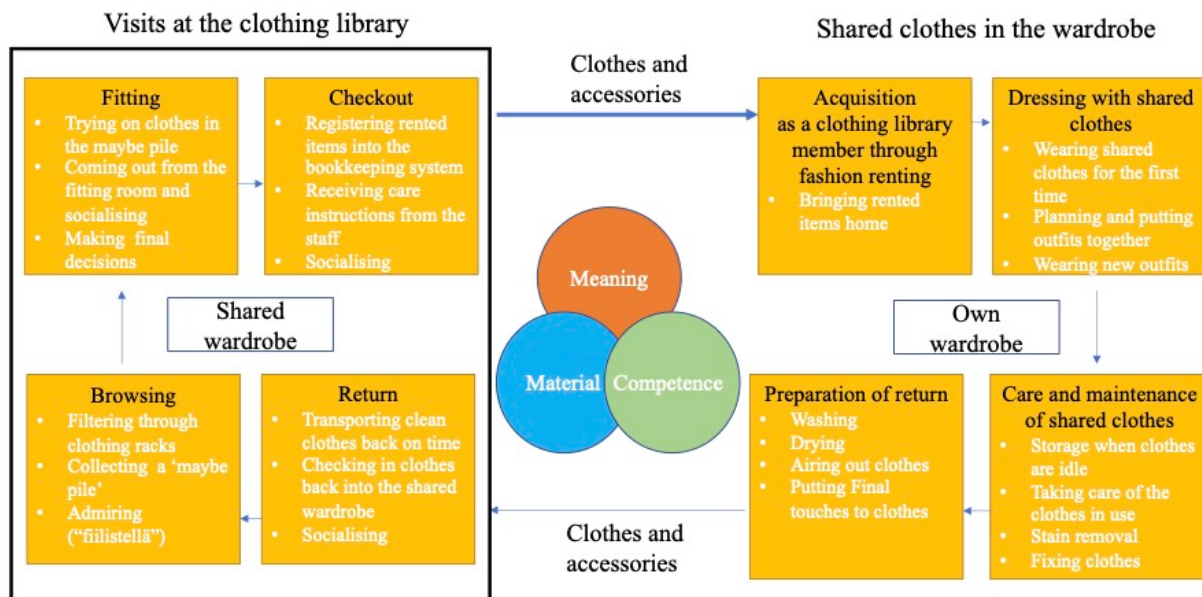


Figure 5. Fashion renting cycle

The visits at the clothing libraries are structured around four key practices the members routinely carry out. These practices include **returning**, **browsing**, **fitting**, and **checkout**. While the practices themselves seem obvious at first, by discovering the elements and performances of these practices it is possible to gain a comprehensive understanding of what kinds of routines build fashion renting at the clothing library. As Katila (2015) notes in relation to her own research focus, travelling by bus in Helsinki, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between practice and a sequence of actions especially because the existing practice theoretical research defines these constructs based on the research context and focus. Consequently, the identified practices could in another research setting be acknowledged as a set of activities that carry out the practice of renting. However, in this research they are identified as mutually dependent set of practices in which each of them “involve a specific (normative) knowledge as well as a way of thinking, experiencing, feeling and communicating and specific material elements” (Katila, 2015, 142). Once the shared clothes are brought home there are three identified practices, which depict the continuation of the fashion renting cycle and how the accessed clothes are consumed including **dressing with shared clothes**, **care and maintenance of shared clothes**, and **preparation of return** of the shared clothes. The practice elements are written in *italics* throughout the discussion, and all the identified practices and their elements are summarised in the table 6. at the end of this section.

4.1.1 Visits at the clothing library: return, browsing, fitting, and checkout

The cycle of fashion renting begins by **returning** previous weeks items back to the *clothing library*. The practice of return is an essential part of fashion renting, thus a unique feature of non-ownership-based clothes consumption. Return marks the beginning and end of each renting period, which means that the visits at the clothing library are a regular routine for the clothing library members. Moreover, return embeds social meanings related to fashion renting as well as central competences required to carry out this practice. Three key performances link together identified materials, meanings, and competences of this practice including transporting clean clothes back on time, checking in rented items back into the shared wardrobe, and socializing. Firstly, according to the renting *guidelines*, the *shared clothes and accessories* are expected to be brought back clean and within the set renting times unless extra renting weeks have been purchased. Many said that their renting cycle varied between one to three weeks based on their schedules and clothing needs. Returning items back entailed *planning* as the visits had to be adjusted based on the opening hours of the clothing library and on one's work schedule. Furthermore, people had to adjust the final washing times of the clothes in accordance with the plan to visit the clothing library so that the clothes had time to dry. Consequently, planning and *understanding how the concept works* are identified as central competences embodied by the members of clothing libraries.

“For a long time, I always went to the clothing library on Thursdays so that I first go to work and then after work I go there [clothing library], which means that the item of clothing needs to be dry and clean on Thursday morning, in which case it might not be enough for me to wash it on Wednesday evening because then it might still be a bit wet in the morning and I have to think about it in relation to the clothing as well, like how fast it dries and can I wash it on Wednesday evening or whether it has to be washed already on Tuesday evening.” –Sanna, 1

Many noted that after washing and drying the clothes they folded the rented items into a separate *fabric bag* in which they were carried back to the clothing library separate from other possessions. Jenkins et al. (2014) find that in the context of borrowing returning is about re-sacralising borrowed items back to their sacred state in which the signs of temporary appropriation are erased, because people want to be seen as good borrowers. Returning clothes back to the clothing library in a separate fabric bag could be similarly seen as an attempt to preserve the state of sacredness achieved after washing and ironing the clothes for the final time before returning. While returning in the context of market mediated access is more governed by a set of guidelines rather than social norms guiding the relationship between borrowers many associated the practice of fashion renting with *a sense of community*. By

following guidelines regarding renting times and clothing care people want to be seen as good members in the fashion renting community. Furthermore, the interviews held at the clothing libraries gave an opportunity to observe how checking in previous weeks' items back was often a social situation during which the members talked about their experiences with the rented items with *the staff member*. The tone of the exchange was always friendly and conversational, and it was noted that the staff members did not inspect the returned clothes extensively. Indeed, Henni noted that "in fact, I have never really observed whether they check the clothes thoroughly, like in what kind of condition they are, but I think it is more based on trust that the clothing is clean". Finally, many viewed the practice of returning as a central part of the fashion renting concept, as for many it symbolised the idea that *not everything needs to be owned to be enjoyed*. Knowing that every item will be returned is an essential part of fashion renting and access-based consumption in general, which influence how both the service and accessed products are consumed but it also depicts the broader aspirations and motivations people have in relation to fashion renting. Furthermore, many viewed returning as giving back to the pool of shared resources for others to enjoy as *sharing with others* was thought to be an integral part of the fashion renting concept.

After returning the previous weeks' items back, people began to browse through the available clothes and accessories. The practice of **browsing** is carried out by the members by filtering through the clothing racks, collecting a 'maybe pile', and admiring. Admiring in this context refers to the act of enjoying oneself, which is better captured by the Finnish slang word "fiilistellä" used often by the participants to describe their visits at the clothing libraries. The practice of browsing could be related to the context of shopping for clothes, however since practices are context-bound the identified behaviours and practice elements reflect the nature of access-based consumption. Firstly, in both visited clothing libraries the clothes were displayed on *hangers* in *clothing racks*, organized mainly by colours and types of clothing. As the *shared clothes and accessories* change based on the communal renting cycle of the clothing library members it was noted from the data that people rarely had specific clothing needs prior to visiting the clothing library but instead browsing was about *novelty* and *joy of discovery*. The practice of browsing interestingly embeds *spontaneity* and a sense of *freedom* associated with access-based consumption, but it simultaneously reflects some of the issues and new considerations related to the non-ownership nature of access.

"Like today, I was pondering 'what kinds of clothes would I like', but then generally like last time, and now during the summer you want, haha, well, something that you can sweat in on your day off at home, so then you do not choose a silk dress, but like

last time I had this linen wrap dress, which was nice to hangout in at the cabin.” – Marika, 2

The short use time gained in access makes people to *deliberate factors affecting the use* of the clothes. For example, some of the participants noted that they checked the *weather* for upcoming weeks before their visits at the clothing library. Furthermore, filtering through clothes and collecting the ‘maybe pile’ was largely influenced by the sensory experience of the clothes (Skjold, 2018). Things such as *textile materials* and *colours and patterns* of the clothing became central in browsing. Many noted that renting allowed them to *seek variety* to their existing dressing practices in the form of colours, styles, and textile materials one would not want to or could not own. Variety was defined against one’s own collection of clothes, thus browsing involved one’s *own clothes* indirectly. This notion relates with a broader set of considerations regarding the role and purpose fashion renting holds in relation to one’s established wardrobe practices and collection of clothes. *Linking wardrobes* is an embodied competence that describes the thought processes involved in browsing. As the desired variety was defined against one’s own collection of clothes, similarly the practicality of the rented clothes in terms of use and care was determined in relation to one’s established wardrobe practices and daily routines. The consensus was that people did not want to rent items that would be difficult to take care of in relation to one’s own clothes, which influenced how people filtered through the clothing racks. Some people checked the *washings tags* of the clothing, whereas some people avoided colours that would make doing laundry more difficult at home. In regular fashion renting the wardrobes become linked in different practices.

Size and *Finnish design* arose from the data as central materials regarding the shared collection in relation to browsing. Firstly, both clothing libraries carry sizes ranging from XS to XXL, which correlate with the pool of the library members’ sizes. Each clothing item is available in couple of different sizes, but there are more bigger sizes and one-size options available as they allow more people to utilise the shared wardrobe. Consequently, while the shared collection contains different types of clothes, items such as *dresses, tops, and jewellery* were deemed especially good for shared use and renting because with these types of items the size was seen as less of an issue and more inclusive. Consequently, as people collected items to the ‘maybe-pile’, in other words a pile of clothes consisting of items one wanted to try on later, many collected multiple different items in different sizes. Secondly, both clothing libraries carry clothes and accessories made by Finnish designers and brands, which to some extent creates stylistic frames to the shared collection within which the members act and make decisions. Hazée et al. (2017) note that customers using access-based services engage in different kinds

of representational practices that help to attenuate some of the perceived barriers. One of these representational practices is to manage, which is carried out by different kinds of behaviours such as adapting, fixing, and self-organizing. Adapting refers to changing one's existing habits. (Hazée et al., 2017.) In this research the ability to *adapt* is seen as an embodied competence, which here refers to making decisions based on a different set of criteria compared to when buying clothes. But it also refers to how in fashion renting members not only adapt to the shared collection and its attributes, for instance limited sizing and styles, but they consequently also adapt to *sharing with others*.

“It is really stressful, I noticed during the first time [renting] that I needed to switch my thinking the other way round, like I am not trying to find something specific, even though I sometimes do that too, but mostly it is better that you give a chance to the clothes because otherwise it is really frustrating, because nothing is exactly what you would want.” –Linda, 1

Furthermore, clothing library members do not only adapt to the shared collection, but the non-ownership nature and limited use time become embodied as the ability to *shift focus* from factors and ideas that guide browsing and decision making when buying for clothes. For example, *the absence of money* in renting allows people to make freer and more spontaneous choices, and instead of looking at the price tags of the clothes people paid more attention to the textile materials of the clothes. However, it is noteworthy that in Vaatepuu people count *points* to know what kinds of items they can ‘afford’ in accordance with their *membership* size. On the other hand, as Linda’s comment points out the ability to adapt and shifting focus can translate into a new way of browsing, where one is not necessarily looking for anything specific but browsing is also a form of admiring and enjoying. Indeed, as it was observed browsing was a social situation for many, during which people talked with the staff members or with other members. Many mentioned that fashion renting and visiting the clothing library regularly felt like *a hobby* that one spends a certain amount of time weekly doing, and in return one gains an access to clothes and to a community, which makes them happy.

“Visiting Vaatepuu is like a dear hobby to me – it is like a small refuge or an oasis in the midst of everything else. I am able to admire and try on clothes and accessories which I could not or would not want to own. The atmosphere in Vaatepuu is cosy and the visits to rent are also social situations.” –Blog post, A2

The practice of **fitting** holds an *informative* role in the decision-making process regarding what people consider renting next. In addition, the practice of fitting acquaints the clothing library members with the shared collection. For example, Linda who by the time of the interviews had

been a member of Vaatepuu for three years, said that she did not try the clothes on every time because she was already rather familiar with the shared collection, however, based on the overall data trying on clothes was a routine practice for many. Identified key behaviours in relation to fitting include trying on clothes in the maybe pile, coming out from the *fitting room* and socialising, and making final decisions. Firstly, *body* holds an important material role in relation to this practice as through fitting people seek clothes that *feel and look good on*. Consequently, fitting holds a lot of internalised know-how how clothes are determined to be fit for oneself. In this research this form of know-how is referred to as the ability to *interpret the relationship between body, clothes, and self*. Through fitting material attributes of the *shared clothes* become concretised such as the *size, shape and cuts* as well as how does the *textile material* feel on one's skin, and how the *colours and patterns* look on. The fit of a clothing item is determined by the sensory experience of the clothes but also by social understandings and meanings related to fashion consumption. In addition, it was interesting to note that people applied their own set of *principles* regarding how the clothes ought to display their body and self.

“That has become, or like something that has become [apparent] during this membership is that when you try on loads of clothes, you start to notice that ehm, this is a little too long and this is a little too short, and then you just realize that that just does not suit me, it does not fit my body, or then I just don't like it. [...] I like, or I am quite particular about where the waist comes in shirts and trousers [...] And also, if I am renting pants or skirts, how long they are.” –Henni, 1

Based on Henni's comment, the practice of fitting both increases and embeds *knowledge of the shared collection*, which in turn influences how the visits at the clothing library are conducted in terms of how much time one spends browsing, and whether fitting is part of the visits. Furthermore, the practice of fitting in the context of renting differs from that of the context of buying, as the clothes will only become part of one's wardrobe temporarily. Based on the observations made and discussions had, people approached the relation between fit and size of the clothes with less deliberation compared to when buying clothes. Many noted that the size of the shared clothes did not matter, and loose-fitting clothes was accepted as a consequence of the clothes being actively shared with different body types. However, Marika noted that she did not dare to rent clothes that felt tight on in the fitting room, because she did not want to risk that the garment would tear in use. Moreover, the pre-defined use time of the clothes gained in fashion renting was taken into consideration as clothes were tried on. Many noted that it was often important to get a vision or idea how to utilise the rented items with one's *own clothes* and accessories as otherwise it was more likely that the rented items would not be used during

the renting period. Consequently, the ability to *visualise* and the ability to *link the wardrobes* mentally are seen as core competence in relation to fitting.

It was observed that for some the practice of fitting involved socialising with *the staff* members as well as with other members. In both visited clothing libraries the fitting rooms were centrally located in relation to the space, and it was observed that many stepped outside from the fitting room to ask opinions or help from the staff members. Giving compliments and recommendations to other members was not considered to be out of ordinary either. These kinds of social interactions enhance *the sense of community*. Furthermore, as Chen (2009) notes art gallery goers share the experience with others at the gallery, and similarly in fashion renting the experience was *shared with other members*.

“If I was in a store, I would probably ponder this [an over-sized jumper dress] over for like an hour like ‘should I buy this or not’, but now I can be like ‘okay I am going to rent this’. And that in my opinion is the wonderful thing here that I can come out from the fitting room and get an opinion [from the staff member], and I believe that Susanna would tell me if I had some hideous clothing on and it just would not fit me at all.” –Sanna, 2

Based on the data, many noted that renting allowed them to be less deliberate when making decisions what to rent next, since the pressures related to buying do not exist in the context of renting as the items will always be returned. Consequently, many felt that there is a level of *freedom* attached to the whole practice of fashion renting, but which became concretised in the practice of fitting as the final decisions are often made in the fitting room.

Before taking chosen clothes and accessories home, *the staff* member took note of the items into the bookkeeping system of the clothing library. This practice is called **checkout** as it holds similarities to checking out items in a store, however the notable difference is the *absence of money* transactions. In Vaatepuu it was noted that people usually counted *the points* of the chosen items before heading to check out the items. This practice embeds an *informative* role as the exchange between members and staff members involved discussions about the care and maintenance of the rented items especially regarding the *textile materials*. For instance, Marika rented a pair of trousers and a dress, which the staff member informed her to be wool mixture and cotton silk respectively. Moreover, they talked about appropriate detergents to use with these materials and about what kinds of laundry programs were suitable. Similar kinds of discussions regarding the care and maintenance of the *shared clothes* were observed multiple times during the clothing library visits. As the clothes and accessories are shared with many

people it is vital to maintain and care for them correctly to assure their durability. As Cwerner (2001) noted clothes could be viewed as living things that require specific knowledge and techniques to be taken care of. This perspective on clothes was emphasized in the fashion renting concept. Therefore, the *care guidelines* provided at the checkout were an important part of this practice, which consequently required the members to have the ability to understand and *follow the care guidelines*. Through this practice, the members gain access but also responsibilities, which symbolises *sharing* and *the sense of community*. Finally, the embodied competence in this practice is *the understanding of how the renting concept works*, which links with the shared value and common motivation among the clothing library members that *not everything needs to be owned to be enjoyed*.

4.1.2 Practices at home: shared clothes in the wardrobe

As the figure 5. depicts, the practices that structure visits at the clothing library represent the practice of renting. Therefore, in this research renting is viewed as the **acquisition** corner in the clothing library members' wardrobe cycle. When the rented items are brought *home*, they become temporarily part of the daily clothes consumption practices clothing library members have established, in other words the wardrobe practices. In the practice of **dressing with shared clothes** rented items become combined with one's *own collection of clothes and accessories* through different performances and actions the clothing library members routinely carry out. The focus is to understand how rented items are utilised in dressing, hence what kinds of practice elements the practice of dressing embeds. Some of the key performances in relation to dressing include wearing shared clothes for the first time, planning and putting outfits together and wearing new outfits. Dressing holds an important role in the fashion renting cycle, as it marks the point when the clothing library members can utilise the gained access and use the rented clothes and accessories. On the other hand, how rented items become part of the dressing practice is partly determined how and what kinds of decisions were made at the clothing library.

As the *shared clothes and accessories* are brought home they remain in an ambiguous stage until they are worn for the first time. Jenkins et al. (2014) find that the ambiguous stage exists when objects are simultaneously active in more than one network of things. Thus, in this context dressing is a possession ritual through which the shared clothes and accessories become integrated with one's own possessions, and through which the status of the clothes temporarily

changes. For example, it was interesting to note that only after rented items had been worn for the first time, they were moved inside one's own *wardrobe*.

“Well usually they go first on the back of an armchair to wait that I use them for the first time, and I do usually wear them quite quickly, like usually always on the next day. And ehm, after that [wearing them] they get to go to my wardrobe because I obviously do not wash them after one time use but based on how I use the item.” – Sanna, 1

Everyday dressing involves *planning* and *deliberation of what kinds of factors affect the use of the clothes*. Dressing is about fitting in to different social settings as well as about finding and creating suitable outfits for one's *body* and for all the daily activities (Klepp & Ryst, 2016). Putting outfits together reflect these notions. For some people choosing and putting outfits together involved planning and outfits were put together a night before, whereas others embraced a more fluid approach and outfits were chosen and put together in the morning based on one's mood and feelings. However, based on the data rented items became often prioritised when outfits were put together, and as many noted outfits were often specifically build around them, sometimes even in the expense of one's own clothes. Linda said that before her clothing library membership she had had a clear idea of which of her own clothes she used the most often, but as renting, thus rented clothes, had become a regular part of her wardrobe she wore less some of her own clothes. These notions line with the existing research, as Bardhi and Eckhardt (2012) note the use-value is maximized in market-mediated access-based consumption. Similarly, Jenkins et al. (2014, 136) found that people used borrowed items more than their own to “make the most of it” before returning them back to the borrower. Similar findings apply in this research as well. The *novelty* and *variety* of the rented clothes in comparison to one's own were often mentioned as the reasons why the rented items became prioritised in dressing. In addition, many noted that since the rented clothes are *Finnish designer* clothes, they become focal points in outfits quite organically.

“I rent clothes, well now Corona mixed things up, but usually I rent clothes for work, so they do get quite a lot of use. But then again, there is something about the clothes being new, like they have the novelty factor in them, so even though when I said that I do not plan my outfits beforehand but that I dress more based on how I feel, the novelty of the [rented] clothes is tempting and then you are more likely to wear them.” –Marika, 2

Variety and novelty were valued in daily dressing, which the clothing library members can regularly carry out with the help of the rented items. The interviews held in the presence of peoples' wardrobes gave an opportunity to discuss about their personal clothing collections in

more detail. In many ways peoples' own collections of clothes represented, to some extent, a deliberated whole, which among other things reflected the realities of one's domestic life and its management (Cwerner, 2001). For example, timeless cuts and classic shapes were preferred along with neutral colours in one's own collection of clothes, because they were easy to pair together in outfits and because it made doing laundry easier, thus they make everyday life more convenient. Furthermore, one's own collection of clothes represented one's own style, body, life, hobbies and interests, work, and different roles and selves, whereas rented items introduced variety and *spontaneity* into the daily dressing in the forms of *colours and patterns, different textile materials, and cuts and shapes*, which people did not want to have in their collection permanently, but which allowed the members to explore, discover and portray themselves in new ways. While dressing is a necessary routine in everyday life it embeds various meanings that link with one's self-expression and broader identity projections. Fashion renting was seen as *a hobby* and based on the data renting introduced a hobby-like aspect to one's daily dressing as new clothes and accessories provided the members with an opportunity to create new outfits and be creative with their self-expression, which made daily dressing more *exciting*.

Furthermore, the practice of dressing embeds various understandings, know-how and techniques. Dressing involves the skill of *interpreting the relationship between body, clothes, and self*, which is particularly important with the rented clothes. As people explained, when they bought clothes for themselves different aspects determining the fit of the clothing were more deliberate, whereas with the rented items the perceived fit between one's body, clothes and self was interpreted differently.

"In Vaatepuu, or in fashion renting in general, there is the issue of size, like you know that the clothes won't be perfectly fitting or some of the clothes can be, but I have given up with that, like yes I like clothes with certain shapes, but they [rented clothes] do not need to be perfectly fitting, and therefore a lot of the rented clothes you choose there [at Vaatepuu] are more relaxed and bigger in some ways compared to what I have. [...] This is a good clothing item for renting because it is big enough and not so form-fitting, therefore you can keep it open, and then you can button it up and wear it as a dress." –Linda, 1

Consequently, as Linda's comment points out dressing with shared clothes involve *the ability to adapt* especially regarding the *size* of the shared clothes, and sometimes one requires *creativity* to make the shared aspects of the clothing wearable for oneself. In terms of dressing, it is interesting to note that as one is buying clothing for oneself the items become part of the

wardrobe indefinitely, whereas renting poses time frames for the use which results in that the rented clothes are utilised differently in the practice of dressing.

It was noted from the data that people apply a set of *principles* in their daily dressing routines regarding different aspects of their dressing routines. The set of principles include considerations regarding how many times the same outfit could be worn during a week, whether the same item of clothing could be worn on consecutive days, and what kinds of factors determine the cleanliness of a clothing item. Many noted that they only wore the same outfit once or twice a week and preferably not on consecutive days, thus it could be noted that the desired novelty and variety are embodied in the performances of dressing also in the form of principles. These principles were applied to the use of shared clothes as well. Many noted that the rented clothes were washed once before return, which for many meant that outfits utilising rented items would be worn around three times before washing. On the other hand, the use of the rented items was determined by how decisions had been made at the clothing library. Prior to bringing shared clothes home, the identified competence, *linking wardrobes*, has referred to the mental activities clothing library members embody as they make renting decisions at the clothing libraries. However, in relation to dressing this competence refers to a more practical skill regarding how rented items are utilised with one's own clothes in outfits. It was noted that rented clothes that were difficult to combine with one's own clothes despite visualised outfit ideas stayed unused during the renting period. The *knowledge of the shared wardrobe* helped people to make better renting decisions, but this knowledge is only accumulated through experience, thus trial and error. Therefore, similarly to the practice of fitting dressing holds an *informative* role in the fashion renting cycle.

"I was really thrilled about this dress when I tried it on in the fitting room at the clothing library, but during the renting period I somehow did not know how to gravitate towards it and use it. [...] Maybe I am not the kind of person that uses this kind of dress after all. [...] But now when I have only rented this clothing, it won't stay laying around in my wardrobe, but it gets to be used by another member. And now after renting this I know better, and I can find myself better options, which I will use." –Instagram Vaaterekki 1

Finally, the concept of *sustainability* was a shared value among the clothing library members. For many, one of the main motivations to begin fashion renting was to be able to buy less clothes and thereby to support more sustainable forms of dressing. Fashion renting, and wearing rented clothes was a way to pursue and carry out sustainability in one's life while still being able to wear new outfits regularly. As Belk (1998) notes in symbolic contamination both

good and bad aspects of objects become attached to one's extended self. For many wearing shared clothes was a form of positive contamination as fashion renting and therefore shared clothes were associated with sustainability that people wanted to carry out as part of their dressing.

“Usually, it is a good feeling that you get when you are wearing clothing that is rented because you have something new on, so then it is nice to go to work and be like ‘hey I have a new shirt’ even though no one else would notice haha, but you get that feeling from it. [...] And that you get that enjoyment out of it, it is like you would have bought something but it [renting] is much more sustainable way to enjoy clothes.” – Sanna, 1

The practice of **care and maintenance of the shared clothes** is a vital part of the proficient functioning of fashion renting. The practice is carried out by the practitioners as a somewhat necessary part of the use of the shared wardrobe, as the form of access in fashion renting involves consumers to partake in the care, maintenance, and cleanliness of the shared resources. Identified key performances include storage when rented clothes are idle, taking care of the clothes in use, stain removal, and repair. It is worth noting, that the washing of the rented clothes is seen as a performance of returning, therefore it will be discussed later. The discussion here focuses specifically on how clothing library members take care of the rented clothes during the renting period, but the discussion is posited in the context of the clothing library members' own wardrobe cycle, therefore the care and maintenance of one's own clothes is considered as well.

Based on the data, members of fashion renting share the *desire to take good care* of the rented clothes while they are at their disposal. However, similarly to the findings of Jenkins et al. (2014), once the rented items are at one's home and they become mixed with one's own possessions they are viewed and treated as one's own in some of the carried-out performances. For example, the interviews included discussions regarding what happens to the rented clothes after undressing and many of the participants noted that the clothes would first end up on the floor or on the back of a chair. However, many also noted that they aimed to keep the shared clothes stored in *hangers* since the clothes were kept in hangers at the clothing library as well. For example, Linda showed that she kept the rented items on the entrance hanger specifically because in that place the clothes kept neat but also because the clothes were more visible and thus, she could view them and plan outfits around them easier.



In the photo the blue shirt dress and striped tunic are rented clothes. This is where Linda kept the rented items at home.

Photo 1. Where Linda keeps the rented clothes at home.

Storage and the organization of clothes are important parts of the functioning of a wardrobe cycle. The way clothes are organized in the spaces dedicated for them can make every day dressing easier. The organization of a wardrobe reflects the changing status of clothes, the biography of things (Kopytoff, 1986). For example, certain clothes were described as home clothes, which often meant that these clothes were kept in a less visible parts of the wardrobe away from the clothes considered to be more valuable or meaningful. Consequently, clothes that were viewed as valuable or meaningful were kept in hangers, more carefully organized in more visible parts of the wardrobe. Of course, *textile materials* and the type of the clothing directed the organization as well, for instance many did not own hangers specific for trousers, therefore trouser and jeans were kept mainly folded in shelves. Wardrobe reflects the adoption of new habits and trends, for example displaying clothes in rolls can increase visibility and decrease the sense of clutter. Furthermore, the ever-changing collection and thus organization of a wardrobe embeds the recognition and allocation of new routines inside the wardrobe. For example, Henni wanted to arrange a space in her wardrobe for clothes that are in the stage between clean and dirty. The structure of the wardrobe cycle reflects ownership hence the understanding and knowledge of one's own possessions. Since rented items do not become part of the collection permanently, they do not have a specific place inside the wardrobe, but simultaneously as the practice of fashion renting becomes part of the wardrobe the regular cycle of rented items finds a place within the wardrobe structure. Often rented items were kept somewhere visible in the wardrobe yet not fully mixed with one's own clothes.

In general, the care and maintenance of the shared clothes was often perceived as slightly intimidating, especially in the beginning of one's membership. However, as the concept

became more familiar the care and maintenance of the clothes became easier, thus a competence embedded to this practice includes *understanding how the concept works*. Certain contradictions regarding the use and maintenance of the shared clothes were found. On one hand, people said that they wanted to take good care of the shared clothes and people treated the shared clothes more carefully compared to their own ones, because the clothes are *shared with others* and because taking care of the shared resources positively influences the durability of the clothes. Consequently, the *sense of community* and the desire to be a good member were embedded to the care and maintenance practice. On the other hand, however, people said that when they used the rented items, they did not alter their behaviour to be more careful or to avoid certain activities but that the clothes felt like one's own and they were worn the same way as one's own clothes. However, based on the practical examples the data provided, there were situations when the use of the rented items reflected the fact that the clothes were not one's own. For example, if the pant legs of a pair of trousers were perceived to be too long, they were stuffed into one's shoes to avoid fraying. Furthermore, Henni talked about her experience with a pair of trousers she wore when it started raining.

“Then I was quite worried about these trousers, like these trousers can be washed in water and everything, but since these were new at Vaatepuu and nobody else had rented these before, I was like ‘oh no now I got them soaked in the rain I hope they did not get ruined the first time’ haha. [...] When I got home, I put them to dry immediately.” –Henni, 2

An ability to act *swiftly* was important in relation to the care and maintenance of the shared clothes. If a rented item got stained people aimed to treat it fast to avoid permanent staining. Soaking stained clothing item in the *sink* and treating the stain with *gal soap* were perceived as good remedies to avoid permanent stains. On the other hand, treating stains without having to do laundry embodies the *knowledge of different textile materials* and the ability to *evaluate* how different clothing items can be cared for. Interestingly, the clothing library members reportedly also fixed the shared clothes. Things such as torn seams, little holes, and loose buttons and pockets were fixed by the members without necessarily knowing how these kinds of little damages in question had occurred. People noted that they fixed the rented items faster than their own ones as there was more reason to do so. Arguably the *ability to fix clothes* is important in relation to this practice.

“Sometimes there have been some small holes [in the clothes], but I do not know if they came during my time or not haha, but if I have noticed that a button is coming off, I have sewn it, so small things like that. Sometimes there might have been

something that I have said [at the clothing library] that 'hey this has a hole like this', but often you just fix it with the same effort yourself." –Linda, 1

Finally, the practice of **preparation of return** marks the end of the of the fashion renting cycle. Jenkins et al. (2014, 136) use the term re-sacralising to describe the end of borrowing, which refers to acts of “cleaning, mending and erasing traces of use before returning it to a lender, in order that the temporary appropriation by the borrower is removed”. Similarly, in market mediated access signs of use and appropriation are erased. Washing and drying *the shared clothes* are identified as the key performances of this practice, but also airing and doing final touch ups to the clothes carry out this practice. Firstly, it is worth noting that there are *care guidelines* that the members of clothing libraries are expected to follow, which differs from the non-market mediated access. Clothes are expected to be returned clean and intact, hence only *scentless detergents* should be used in washing. Consequently, the *understanding of how the concept works* and *following provided guidelines* are embedded to the carrying out of the practice. However, people also employed their own *evaluations* regarding whether an item needed washing or whether airing out was seen as a sufficient way to erase signs of use. For example, with certain *textile materials*, such as wool, airing out was often seen as a sufficient way to erase potential smells after use, and thus wash was not needed. Washing was sometimes seen unnecessary especially if the item of clothing had not been worn more than one time and it did not have visible stains on it. Often, washing was evaluated against its ecological impacts and how washing fosters the wear and tear of clothes. Sometimes these considerations reflected *principles* applied in the washing routines of one’s own clothes, for example jeans were reportedly washed as rarely as possible. However, deviating from the care guidelines is not seen as a form of negative reciprocity here, but rather members applied their own know-how and skills to take care of the shared wardrobe. The shared *desire to take good care of the shared clothes* still applies.

Washing rented items was sometimes accompanied with a certain level of stress as people feared that they would somehow ruin the clothes in wash. This line of thinking was eased as renting became more familiar. Many felt that clothing libraries applied fair rules in the concept, for example rented clothes had to be considered completely ruined before the member would have to reclaim the item for oneself at a clearly lower price compared to the suggested retail price of the item. Based on the data reclaiming had never occurred to anyone. Members said that they were always provided with additional information regarding the care and maintenance in case issues arose with for example, washing. Sanna noted that it was important to know that one was not left alone with the rented items, but that one could always contact the clothing

library and ask questions for instance via Facebook. *The sense of community* was embedded to the carrying out of this practice.

More attention was paid to washing rented items compared to washing one's own clothes, and rented clothes were often washed separately from one's own clothes. People said that they checked *washing tags* more carefully before washing and Henni, for example, had taped the care guidelines of Vaatepuu on the door of her wardrobe to be able to revise what kinds of instructions were given to different textile materials. *Knowledge of textile materials* is considered a beneficial skill in regard to doing laundry. A lot of the shared clothes were allowed to be washed in a *washing machine*, but some items required *hand wash*. Items that required dry cleaning were reportedly rarely rented as members wished to rent items that were easy to wash at home. Usually, rented clothes were kept in a *laundry basket* mixed with one's own laundry waiting to be washed, and if possible rented items were washed together with one's own laundry. More demanding textile materials such as silk and wool were kept separate from one's own laundry as well as *colours* that could not be washed with one's own clothes. The meaning of washing was to erase signs of use and of oneself, which also concerns potential signs of negative contamination that could come from one's own clothes in doing laundry. However, one of the podcasts hosts rented a velvet skirt and she realised wearing it that it sheds loads of lint, thus she concluded that it was better to wash it separate from her own clothes to avoid contaminating her own clothes with the lint. The accumulating *knowledge of the shared wardrobe* through regular renting makes doing laundry easier. After washing clothes were dried, checked through and folded to wait the return.

"I aim to always dry them [rented items] on some hangers, like especially a dress or something else, so that they dry without having any wrinkles on them, like when drying the clothes on a drying rack it leaves this stripe or crevasse on the clothes [...]. And of course, when the clothes are dry, I always make sure to turn the dress' pockets in and to check if there is anything that needs to be cleaned." –Sanna, 1

As Sanna's comment showcases the preparation of return involves *planning* and orderliness. Finally, sometimes people had grown attached to the rented items during the renting period, which means that return requires the ability to *detach oneself from the shared clothes*. However, people often concluded that it was enjoyable to *share the perceived joy with others*, which links with the idea that *not everything needs to be owned to be enjoyed*.

The research finds that there are multiple different materials, meanings, and competences that build the practices of fashion renting cycle. Table 6. Summarises and categorises identified

practices and their elements. The discussion related to the fashion renting cycle employed detailed listings of the practice elements to depict the fashion renting cycle in detail and holistically. The fashion renting cycle and the identified practices and their elements build a foundation for the following discussion about the broader consumption practices embedded to fashion renting.

Table 6. Practices of fashion renting cycle and their elements

Practice / elements	Materials	Meanings	Competences	Practice / elements	Materials	Meanings	Competences
Return	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clothing library • Shared clothes and accessories • Fabric bag • Guidelines • The staff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharing with others • Sense of community • Not everything needs to be owned to be enjoyed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning • Following guidelines • Understanding how the concept works 	Dressing with shared clothes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Home • Own collection of clothes and accessories (neutral colours, timeless, matching, easy care) • Shared clothes and accessories • Wardrobe • Body • Finnish design • Colours and patterns • Textile materials • Cuts and shapes • Size 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Novelty • Variety seeking • Spontaneity • Fashion renting as a hobby • Excitement • Make the most of the shared clothes • Informative • Sustainability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning • Deliberation of factors affecting use • Principles • Interpreting the relationship between body, clothes and self • The ability to adapt • Creativity • Principles • Linking wardrobes • Knowledge of the shared wardrobe
Browsing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clothing racks & hangers • Shared clothes and accessories • Weather • Textile materials • Colours and patterns • Own clothes • Washing tag • Size • Finnish design • Dresses, tops, jewellery • Absence of money • Membership and points 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Novelty • Joy of discovery • Spontaneity • Freedom • Variety seeking • Sharing with others • Fashion renting as a hobby 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deliberation of factors affecting use of the clothes • Linking wardrobes • The ability to adapt • Shifting focus 	Care and maintenance of the shared clothes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wardrobe • Place reserved for the clothes • Hangers • Textile materials • Gal soap • Care guidelines • Textile materials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desire to take good care of the shared clothes • Sense of community • Sharing with others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding how the concept works • Knowledge of textile materials • Swiftness • Evaluation • Ability to fix clothes
Fitting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fitting room • Shared clothes and accessories • Body • Size • Shapes and cuts • Textile materials • Colours and patterns • Own clothes • The staff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informative • Desire to find clothes that feel and look good on • Sense of community • Sharing with others • Freedom 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpreting the relationship between body, clothes and self • Principles • Knowledge of the shared collection • Visualisation of outfits • Linking wardrobes 	Preparation of return	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shared clothes and accessories • Care guidelines • Scentless detergents • Textile materials • Washing tags • Washing machine • Laundry basket • Colours • Textile materials • Fabric bag 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desire to take good care of the shared clothes • Sense of community • Not everything needs to be owned to be enjoyed • Sharing with others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding how the concept works • Following guidelines • Evaluation • Principles • Knowledge of textile materials • Hand wash • Knowledge of the shared wardrobe • Planning • Detachment
Checkout	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The staff • Absence of money • Membership and points • Textile materials • Shared clothes and accessories • Guidelines 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informative • Sharing with others • Sense of community • Not everything needs to be owned to be enjoyed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Following guidelines • Understanding how the concept works 				

4.2 Practices related to fashion renting

The practices of fashion renting cycle provide frames to the consumption practice of fashion renting, in which the circulating clothes and accessories are at the core. However, the research also finds that as the clothing library members engage in fashion renting there are practices that further depict the use of the service, hence how fashion renting can be understood based on experiences involving both the use of the accessed clothes and accessories and the social aspects embedded to the practice of fashion renting. Thus, fashion renting could be viewed as an umbrella practice that embeds different consumption practices the clothing library members carry out when they engage in fashion renting. The identified practices include experiencing new without the burden of ownership, enrichment and exploration of self-expression and

identity, making something mine while sharing with others, and belonging to a shared wardrobe. These practices are mutually interconnected, and they support one another. The notable difference between the identified fashion renting cycle practices and the above listed practices is that the latter set of practices focus on fashion renting as the consumption object in its entirety thus they are referred to as consumption practices based on Holt's (1995) terminology. The findings related to the fashion renting cycle form a foundation for these practices, and thus the identified elements link together in the performances of these practices as well. However, the discussion related to these practices will not employ as detailed listings of the elements, but Table 7. summarises and categorises identified elements under each practice by using broader groupings especially in relation to the material elements.

Table 7. Consumption practices related to fashion renting and their elements

Practice / Performance / Elements	Key performances	Materials	Meanings	Competences
4.2.1. Experiencing new without the burden of ownership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finding new (visits at the clothing library) • Building new (new outfits) • Experiencing new socially (wearing new outfits) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clothing library • Membership • New outfits in which attributes of shared clothes and own clothes come together • Finnish design • Absence of money 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Novelty • Variety seeking • Spontaneity • Joy of discovery • Sustainability • Fashion renting as a hobby • Excitement • Freedom • Spontaneity • Not everything needs to be owned to be enjoyed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Linking wardrobes • Planning • The ability to adapt • Understanding how the concept works • Visualisation of outfits • Creativity
4.2.2. Enrichment and exploration of self-expression and identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Renting experimentally • Experiencing clothes through use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Colours and patterns • Cuts and shapes • Textile materials • Absence of money • Body • Size • Membership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Novelty • Variety seeking • Excitement • Joy of discovery • Freedom • Spontaneity • Not everything needs to be owned to be enjoyed • Fashion renting as a hobby 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpreting the relationship between body, clothes and self • Understanding how the concept works • Deliberation of factors affecting use • Knowledge of the shared wardrobe • Linking wardrobes • The ability to adapt
4.2.3. Making something mine while sharing with others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visiting clothing library (sharing space and experience, making recommendations) • Using of shared clothes and accessories (visualisation of outfits, creating outfits, wearing outfits) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clothing library • Membership • Shared clothes and accessories • Own clothes • Size • Body 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharing with others • Sense of community • Make the most of the shared clothes • Novelty • Variety seeking • Not everything needs to be owned to be enjoyed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning • Knowledge of the shared wardrobe • Linking wardrobes • Visualisation of outfits • Creativity • The ability to adapt • Shifting focus • Interpretation of the relationship between body, clothes, and self
4.2.4. Belonging to a shared wardrobe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visiting clothing library and socialising • Taking care of the shared wardrobe • Continuing membership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clothing library • Membership • The staff • Shared clothes and accessories • Care and maintenance related materials • Guidelines 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sense of community • Fashion renting as a hobby • Excitement • Sustainability • Sharing with others • Not everything needs to be owned to be enjoyed • Desire to take good care of the clothes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning regular visits • Understanding how the concept works • Linking wardrobes • Knowledge of the shared wardrobe • Following guidelines • Ability to fix clothes • Evaluation

4.2.1 Experiencing new without the burden of ownership

Clothing library membership allows the members to regularly experience new without the burdens related to ownership. The performances that carry out this practice include finding new (visits at the clothing library), building new (new outfits), and experiencing new socially (wearing new outfits). Based on the data, buying, and owning clothes were associated with variety of ownership burdens including practical issues such as space constraints and financial burdens but also more complex sets of burdens related to the conflict between consumption and sustainability aspirations and to the limitations of ownership. Firstly, wardrobe sets physical limits to one's collection of clothes. The wardrobe is in constant cycle whereby new

clothes require space in the system, which require organizing, sorting, and letting things go. Part of the space constraints relate to the fact that wardrobe contains instruments, clothes, to reveal and to express different aspects of oneself. Consequently, as many noted there are certain items such as collared shirts and special event wear which one must have but which are mostly idle in the wardrobe. Moreover, some people mentioned how there is a sense of obligation to use everything one owns. Thus, owning can be confusing and frustrating when possessions cannot deliver desired novelty and variety seeking often embedded to the consumption of clothes, and especially dressing. Fashion renting enables the acquisition of new items without the space constraints.

“Well beautiful dresses I could always have more, because I could wear dresses every day, but then I do not know, there is the space constraint, so for that reason I would not want to have more clothes apart from maybe shoes, but then again I feel like they are also accumulating all the time, but then even now I feel like I do not have any shoes even though my cupboards are full with shoes.” –Marika, 2

Visits at the clothing library allow the members to engage in the search for something new, hence they embed the joy of discovery. Many said that visiting the clothing library satisfied the urge to shop but not only because it allowed the temporal acquisition of new clothes and accessories, but also because the practices structuring renting resemble, to some extent, the experience of shopping. However, fashion renting was viewed as a more sustainable way to carry out novelty and variety seeking in one’s dressing practices. The data hold multiple discussions regarding the unsustainable practices of fashion consumption and production. Consequently, for many fashion renting was part of a wider array of adopted practices through which people carried out more sustainable ways of consuming in their lives. People valued Finnish design in their own collection of clothes as well because Finnish design was associated with durability and ecological values. However, Finnish designer clothes were thought to be expensive, which is why people would nor could buy them outside of renting.

“With my New Year’s dress, I saw when it had the price tag on that it was 590€, so not something I would buy for myself. And that is the nice thing that there [at Vaaterekki] are so much expensive clothes available, because I have thought it, like, I pay 150€ for half a year so with that money I could barely buy one dress, maybe I could get one of those dresses [at Vaaterekki] from sale, but now with that price I can get a new dress every week.” –Marika, 2

Many viewed fashion renting as a hobby which allowed them to become a member in a community with similar minded people, but which also allowed them to create new outfits with new clothes and accessories as part of their daily dressing routines. For some participants

visualisation, planning, and putting outfits together were important parts of the creative outlet of dressing. Through renting people could utilise new material attributes in their daily dressing and to utilise their own collection of clothes differently, which made mundane routines more exciting. The findings highlight how the experience of new is more linked to activities rather than the physical objects and their attributes, which correlate with the idea of not everything needs to be owned to be enjoyed. For example, renting period was thought to be long enough to enjoy the set of rented items and by the time items were returned people were excited to find something new to try. Interestingly, only very few of the accessed items were later acquired through buying to be part of one's own collection of clothes.

Experiencing new without the burden of ownership is carried out in social settings through wearing outfits. While using clothes and outfits new to oneself provided enjoyment worn at home, especially during Covid-19 lockdowns, many noted that wearing rented items felt good especially in social settings where designer clothes became part of one's self-expression and the rented clothes received compliments from other people. Consequently, access is almost hidden unless revealed to others (Belk, 2014). Indeed, interactions with other people opened a possibility to talk about fashion renting, which links with one's broader identity projections, which relates to Shove et al. (2012) notion that people locate themselves within a society by engaging in practices. Consequently, by engaging in certain practices structure and portray one's identity.

"I suppose you always wish that especially the clothes from Vaatepuu, like because they are different and new clothes for myself, that somebody would notice them. [...] In the beginning of my membership, it was maybe my second time ever renting anything, I rented a pair of earrings, and then someone complimented them and asked me where they are from, and I was so happy that I could tell that 'these are from Vaatepuu'. It was wonderful that someone noticed them." –Henni, 2

4.2.2 Enrichment and exploration of self-expression and identity

Fashion renting provides an opportunity to fulfil specific clothing needs, but it also allows the playful and experimental part of one's wardrobe to exist without the ownership burdens. One's style was often perceived and based on one's own clothes, yet novelty and variety seeking can be carried out in fashion renting by different performances including renting experimentally and experiencing clothes through use.

"So far the best thing in the fashion renting concept is that it allows you to try new [clothes] and to explore your own style." –Blog post, B3

Fashion renting enables experimenting with dressing as the temporary nature of access provides a safe space to deviate from one's dressing norms and styles. Experimenting with different cuts and shapes, as well as introducing new textile materials to one's dressing through renting are all part of the experimenting. However, trying new colours and clothes with patterns was especially prominent behaviour in fashion renting. Even colours that one did not like were rented as a personal challenge to see whether the preconceived ideas and assumptions associated with certain colours in relation to one's own style hold true. For example, the Youtuber explains in her video how during her membership trial at Vaatepuu she decided to challenge herself to rent a fully white outfit. Her own clothes were mainly black, and the colour white seemed like a challenge. When wearing the outfit, she explains.

"I like this outfit because it is wonderfully different than what I would normally wear. However, I quickly came to realise why I do not normally dress like this because I feel like I was attracting a lot of attention and I was scared to sit anywhere that the trousers would not get dirty. [...] I have a feeling that I am in disguise." Youtube video 1

Colours have an important role in dressing and self-expression. As the comment notes dressing in different colours can feel like the self is disguised. Loussaïef et al. (2019, 268) find that non-exclusive ownership practices can enable "a fluid transformation of self-presentation" as they make it possible to change one's appearance "easily, temporarily, and on a whim", hence one can reveal hidden parts of oneself. Thus, experimentations with one's self-expression is exciting, and it can embed joy of discovery when new sides of one's style are discovered. Consequently, in fashion renting the overall consumption experience can nourish one's identity even though the object of consumption does not line with one's usual style or way to present oneself. This notion lines with the existing literature on access-based consumption and liquid consumption as the value in consumption is shifting from possessions to experiences (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012; 2017). The perceived absence of money transactions fosters experimenting, as many noted the visits at the clothing library felt freeing when one can try on and later rent anything despite the price tags.

"The fact that you do not spend money, or well you do spend money but not in that second when you go to Vaatepuu, like I have paid in advance so then it is kind of like free when I visit there, so then you do not have to think so much, and you can take more risks like 'okay this is now in this colour, but let's try it!'. " –Sanna, 1

In fashion renting the renting period poses time frames within which the clothes and accessories are to be used, which consequently shortens the time between imagined outfit visions and the

execution of those visions. Thus, the fit of the clothes and accessories were determined based on use, unlike in buying whereby purchases become part of one's possessions indefinitely. Rented clothes were often worn the very next day after renting, thus potential issues related to using them arose quickly. For example, the other podcast host documented her experience with a pair of trousers she rented from Vaatepuu, noting that in the fitting room the pair had felt good but while wearing them she realised that the trousers were too long.

“If one wishes to come up with a teaching from this, then one could say that the value of clothes become clear only in use. In the end, clothes that suit everyday life are ones that suit a wide range of situations, and which do not complicate life with their impracticality. [...] Often one realises the impracticality of clothes after purchase.” – Instagram Vaatepuu 1

Many noted that through fashion renting the focus shifts in the practice of dressing as the fit of the size, style and purpose of clothes become determined more based on the experience of wearing clothes, which enable members to learn about their personal style through which the role of fashion renting as part of one's dressing becomes clearer as the knowledge of the shared wardrobe accumulates through the experimenting members perform. Finally, it was interesting to note that while renting enabled experimenting in dressing and self-expression people described their core style based on their own possessions. Hence, people noted that they did not feel like their own style would have changed through clothing library membership but rather renting allowed people to express themselves in different and varied ways.

4.2.3 Making something mine while sharing with others

As the fashion renting cycle depicted, fashion renting as a form of access-based consumption involves forms of sharing. Sharing is embedded to the practices as meaning and as material attributes of the shared wardrobe but sharing can also be seen in the performances of the practices. Therefore, the clothing library members regularly engage in different processes whereby the non-ownership nature of access and the aspects of sharing are transformed to feel like one's own. This practice depicts how throughout the cycle of fashion renting the items travel between different wardrobe cycles back to the clothing library, during which rented clothes and accessories are made one's own temporarily before returning them to the shared wardrobe for others to enjoy, which to some extent resembles what Warde (2005) refers to as the processes of appropriation and appreciation embedded to any form of consumption. This practice is discussed in relation to two key sets of activities including visits at the clothing library and using shared clothes and accessories.

Both clothing libraries market themselves as shared wardrobes to which one can gain an access through membership. While the shared clothes and accessories are owned by the service providers, many approached and viewed the concept rather from the perspective of sharing resources together with others. It is worth noting that this can be a unique feature of fashion renting that involves going to the physical store which makes renting less anonymous, as well a feature that exists when the customer base is not yet too large to inhibit the sense of community. As fashion renting becomes a routinised part of one's clothes consumption the knowledge of the shared wardrobe increases. As Sartre (1943 in Belk, 2014) suggests coming to know something is a possession ritual that increases the sense of something being mine. On the other hand, sharing can only occur when there is a sense of possession or sense of perceived ownership (Belk, 2007; 2010). Therefore, it is argued that that visits at the clothing library and thereafter using the access as part of dressing provides the members with a sense of ownership regarding the shared wardrobe. Visits at the clothing library hold aspects of sharing as the physical space and available clothing and accessory options and opportunities are shared with other members. Chen (2009) suggests that visitors of art gallery share the experience of viewing art with others. Similarly, members of fashion renting share their interest in clothes and dressing, and they can share the experience of admiration and browsing with others. Belk (1988) notes that personalising is a form of appropriation. Members of the clothing library can make suggestions and recommendations to the shared wardrobe, which could be viewed as a form of personalising. For example, during an interview at Vaatepuu Henni suggested Finnish brands she followed on Instagram to be acquired to be part of the shared collection.

As Belk (2014) notes the object matters regarding what kinds of possession rituals can foster a sense of perceived ownership. Since the rented items will not become permanently part of one's wardrobe choosing items to rent in relation to one's own collection by visualising outfits, creating outfits utilising rented items and one's own, and wearing outfits are part of the process of making something feel temporarily like mine. Especially outfit creation can be seen as a form of personalising. As Bardhi and Eckhardt (2017) note in liquid forms of consumption the consumers only attach to items temporarily. In fashion renting, the temporary sense of the rented items feeling like mine is a sum of different performances which link together different embodied competences such as the accumulating knowledge of the shared wardrobe, creativity, ability to adapt and shift focus, and the ability to interpret the relationship between body, clothes, and self. Since people engage in fashion renting to gain novelty and variety to their daily dressing practices, the rented items need to be worn to be able to achieve these embedded goals, and as it was mentioned by the participants sometimes clothes that did not pair well with

one's own clothes were not used during the renting time and thus, they did not temporarily become to extend oneself.

“They usually do feel like my own, especially if I have found something that pleases me, like something I could as well own. Some clothes I have rented for experimenting purposes to see whether I could use something like that, but with those ones you do not necessarily get the same feeling, and then it can be that I do not use the clothing item once during the renting period.” –Henni, 1

4.2.4 Belonging to a shared wardrobe

Based on the findings and earlier discussion the sense of community is embedded to many of the identified practices, which for many was part of the set of reasons to continue fashion renting. This finding contrasts with Bardhi's and Eckhardt's (2012) findings as Zipcar users did not have, nor did they want to have communal links with the company or with each other, furthermore they did not relate with the Zipcar brand as for some it felt embarrassing to be associated as a Zipcar user. The three key performances that carry out this practice include visiting clothing library and socialising, taking care of the shared wardrobe, and continuing membership. Firstly, visits at the clothing library were social situations for many, and as such it is potentially one of the key differences between fashion renting taking place in a physical stores and fashion renting taking place in online platforms. The sense of community was fostered by the social aspects and interactions embedded to the visits at the clothing library, which are lacking or are at least differently carried out in an online setting. The interviews conducted at the clothing libraries gave an opportunity to observe that the staff members and the members often knew each other by name, and the visits contained casual chatting among them throughout the visit.

“Especially when Susanna is working, we chat with each other, and we share how we are both doing and everything. Susanna knows what my hobbies are and all these kinds of things haha.” –Henni, 1

For many the sense of community was also linked to the hobby aspect of fashion renting, which further contrast this access context from car sharing as the consumer value of the Zipcar users is found to be utilitarian (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012), whereas this research finds that for the clothing library members fashion renting was not just about gaining access to products but also about belonging to a community. While many noted that it was important that fashion renting provides a sustainable alternative to disposable fashion acquisition and consumption, it was perceived important that the community did not impose judgement towards peoples'

consumption habits and that the sustainable values found at the core of the concept were not obtruded upon. Rather fashion renting and the community build around it was about people sharing an interest in quality fashion and dressing, which fashion renting allowed to be done more sustainably.

Fashion renting involves the members to partake in the care and maintenance of the shared wardrobe. While guidelines are provided it is noted that people had a genuine desire to take good care of the shared clothes and accessories as they were at their disposal. On top of washing and caring for the clothes some participants had also fixed loose buttons, holes, and torn seams. Ozanne and Ozanne (2011) find that toy library users showcase a model of good stewardship as they take care of the collective goods. Similarly, this research finds that members of fashion renting take care of the shared resources to sustain the shared collection. As it was discussed earlier, people employed their ability to evaluate whether certain textile materials were better off if not washed before return, such as wool products. Thus, the shared wardrobe become to represent the collective skills and know-how of the members as they all partake in the care and maintenance in their own unique ways. Furthermore, members engaged in other kinds of behaviours as well to support and take care of the shared wardrobe. For example, due to Covid-19 there were people who discontinued their memberships, but the participants of this research had continued their memberships despite the pandemic, and as Linda noted she wanted to support the concept. Furthermore, members were happy to tell other people about the concept of an alternative to buying, to potentially encourage others to try fashion renting as well.

4.3 Discussion and review of the theoretical framework

The findings of this research highlight that fashion renting is a multifaceted consumption practice that link together multiple different materials, meanings, and competences. Based on the accounts of clothing library members the research establishes the fashion renting consumption cycle that depicts what kinds of practices structure the visits at the clothing library and thereafter what kinds of practices depict the consumption of the accessed products at members' homes. The fashion renting cycle provides frames to the consumption practice of fashion renting, and simultaneously forms a foundation based on which the research identifies consumption practices that the members carry out as they engage in fashion renting. The figure 6. presents a revised theoretical framework which also summarises the findings. The identified

practices were further analysed by using Shove et al. (2012) conceptualisation of practice elements. The elements in the middle summarise some of the main elements identified.

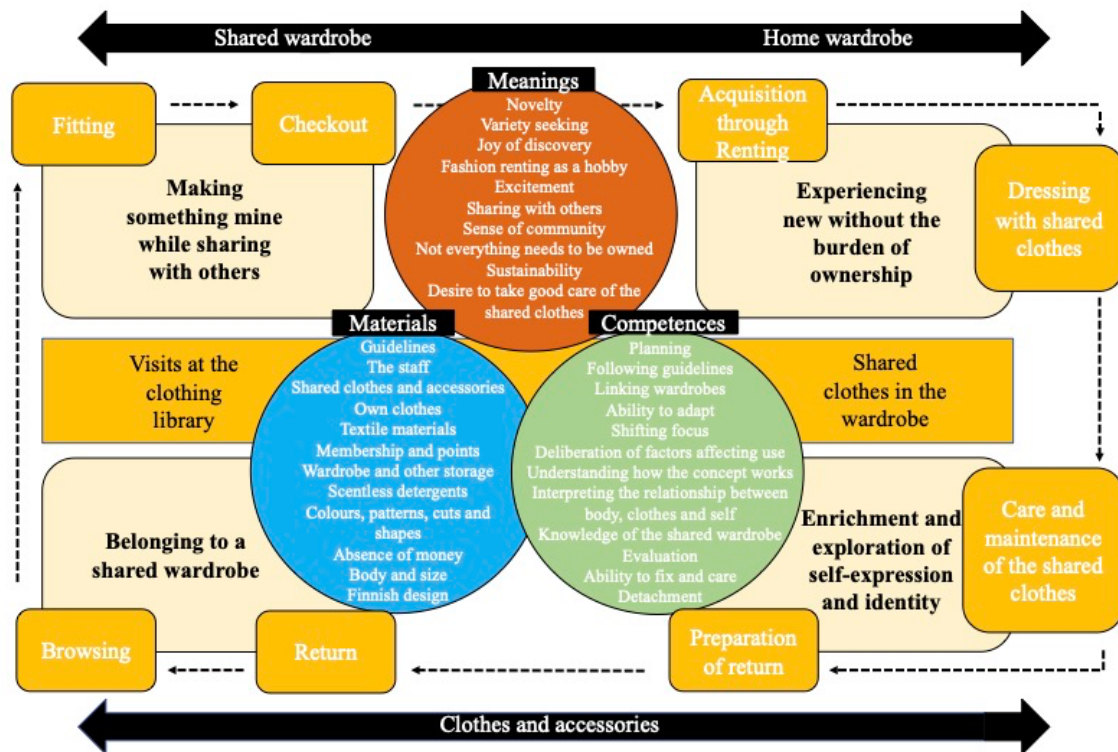


Figure 6. Revised theoretical framework

This research utilised wardrobe studies in the construction of the theoretical framework, based on which clothes consumption is seen to be structured by wardrobe practices including acquisition, dressing, maintenance and cleanliness, and disposal (Klepp & Bjerck, 2014). The figure depicts how the two wardrobes, the shared wardrobe at the clothing library and the members' own wardrobe, become linked in the fashion renting cycle. Thus, the eight practices of the fashion renting cycle depict new corners of the wardrobes based on how clothing library members engage in fashion renting. The visits at the clothing library are structured based on four practices including return, browsing, fitting, and checkout, whereas the practices identified to take place at members' homes include dressing with shared clothes, care and maintenance of the shared clothes, and preparation of return. Furthermore, after establishing the fashion renting cycle the research identifies four consumption practices that the clothing library members carry out as they engage in fashion renting, thus fashion renting cycle. These practices are experiencing new without the burden of ownership, enrichment and exploration of self-expression and identity, making something mine while sharing with others, and belonging to a shared wardrobe. While figure 6. depicts these practices to be positioned based on the two

consumption sites, these practices are not bound to a consumption site per se, but they involve both consumption sites in the performances of these practices, hence they are mutually interrelated. Thus, fashion renting could be depicted as a practice-as-entity, that is framed and structured by the identified fashion renting cycle practices and their constituting elements, but which also embeds consumption practices the clothing library members carry out as they routinely engage in fashion renting.

Fashion renting proved to be an interesting context to study access-based consumption from a practice theoretical approach. Bardhi and Eckhardt (2012, 896) suggest that access ought to be studied in empirical contexts in which the “identity and the hedonic value are more salient”. In relation to this suggestion, fashion renting proved to be a suitable context to gain deeper understanding on access-based consumption as the consumption of clothes holds an important role in relation to one’s self-expression and identity. The research finds that fashion renting was a routinised part of the clothing library members clothes consumption practices. Each member utilised fashion renting differently and performed the identified practices in their own unique ways. In this context of access, members’ wardrobes referring to the collection of possessions and the established wardrobe practices influence how fashion renting becomes part of the wardrobe system, and on the other hand how individual wardrobes become part of the main practice of fashion renting. Therefore, the practice of fashion renting is constantly evolving as the shared resources travel between individual wardrobes. While the findings of this research are specific to fashion renting certain notions can be applied to other access contexts as well. Firstly, every access context holds a unique set of materials, meanings, and competences which depict and shape the practices related to specific consumption contexts. Secondly, especially by discovering meanings embedded to consumption practices and competences embodied by the consumers who engage in alternative consumption practices helps to further understand why and how consumers engage in different forms of access-based consumption as the use of the service and the accessed products involve new forms of understanding and know-how which portray the change from ownership-based consumption to access-based consumption.

Fashion renting embeds collective values and ideas regarding the consumption of clothes, and the consensus was that fashion renting is a more sustainable option to buying clothes. As Cwerner (2001) notes the consumption of fashion is fast and ephemeral. This research finds that people desire novelty and variety in their daily dressing practices, which is why fashion renting enables the playful and experimental part of one’s wardrobe to exist without the

ownership related burdens. This is in line with the notions of liquid consumption (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2017) and with Loussaïef et al. (2019) findings noting that access allows consumers to change, explore, and experiment with their self-expression in a fluid manner. However, fashion renting does not only provide its members with access to Finnish designer clothes, but the sense of community and aspects of sharing with others are deeply embedded to the use of the service. These findings line with the findings of Vasques et al. (2017) that a sense of belonging is important in relation to services that involve sharing. In this research, the sense of community is seen to positively influence how people take care of the shared resources. Furthermore, the participants of this research did not experience the feelings of contagion (Belk, 1988), in other words feelings of disgust or discomfort due to other people wearing the same clothes, but rather shared use was seen as an integral part of the fashion renting. For many sharing with others meant that resources were used efficiently and smartly which contrast with the disposable consumption culture related to a lot of the modern fashion consumption. The clothing library members shared the idea that not everything needs to be owned to be enjoyed. These notions are also in conformity with Vasques et al. (2017) findings that participating in Vaatelainaamo is fuelled by pre-existing values of less appraisal on possessions and refusal of disposable culture. Clothing library and regular visits at the clothing library hold a very central role in relation to these notions since visits at the clothing library are an essential part of the use of the service in this context, because unlike fashion renting taking place in an online platform the members need to physically visit at the clothing library to return and rent new items. The visits were found to be an important part of the fashion renting experience since they were viewed comparable to going shopping allowing members to engage in the act of seeking something new and to experience the joy of discovery but more importantly the social aspects of the visits enhanced the sense of community and fostered the hobby-like aspects of fashion renting. Based on the data, people reportedly bought less clothes due to the clothing library membership, as the urge to acquire something new was satisfied by going to rent something new. Moreover, some noted that since fashion renting membership they had begun to pay more attention to textile materials and washing tags when making purchases outside of renting. These notions showcase that fashion renting does hold the potential to dematerialize existing acquisition practices.

The research finds that non-ownership-based consumption entails a lot of different skills, understandings, and know-how that the consumers embody when they use non-owned products. In membership-based fashion renting different competences relate to the regular use of the service, the use of the shared clothes in dressing, and the care and maintenance of the

shared resources. To adopt a regular fashion renting to be part of one's clothes consumption requires planning, overall understanding of how the concept works and thus how it can be utilised in one's own life, and the ability and willingness to follow guidelines regarding renting times and the appropriate care and maintenance of the clothes. In relation to these notions, the object-self relationship is found to be interesting in this context of access. The existing research on access-based consumption argues that the object-self relationship is hindered by access, which consequently means that consumers do not engage in practices of appropriation with the accessed goods. However, it is also argued that the accessed product and the way it is consumed can affect this relationship (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012; Gruen, 2017; Loussaïef et al., 2019).

In the context of this research the object-self relationship is seen to be influenced by the fact that access is regularly brought home in the form of rented items where they become mixed with one's own possessions and established wardrobe practices. Furthermore, as it was discussed the object-self relationship between rented items and the user is largely determined based on the use of the product. For example, only after rented clothes have been worn for the first time, they were potentially moved to one's own wardrobe. As Loussaïef et al. (2019) argue the accessed clothes should be consistent and compatible with one's identity. This research finds this to be true to the extent that the personal collection of clothes was the core of one's style and self-expression, thus it holds more important role in one's identity practices. If the rented items did not go together with one's own clothes despite outfit visualisations made at the clothing library, it was probable that the clothing item was not used at all during the renting period and no relationship with the clothing item was created. This notion holds importance to consumers' buying behaviours as well, since the acquisition of clothes through buying does not necessarily grant a relationship with an item of clothing. Consequently, by studying practices the members carry out it is possible to note that the object-self relationship can be described to be a sum of doings and understanding. However, the participants expressed that when they wore rented clothes, they did feel like one's own, and certain clothes did become to feel like something one could own. On the other hand, the regularity of the renting cycle is important in relation to how and what kind of relationship members create between the accessed clothes. Since the membership allows people to rent clothes and accessories weekly, they also regularly engage in the care and maintenance of the shared resources, which contributes to the overall relationship people have with the shared wardrobe. In contrast to Zipcar users (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012) the clothing library members do have the desire to take good care of the shared clothes because people want to be seen as good members in the clothing library community and follow the provided guidelines.

Finally, the research assumed that different modes of consumption, or aspects of the modes of consumption, merge in the practice of fashion renting, namely ownership, access and sharing. By focusing on practices and their elements it is possible to see that different modes of consumption exist within the identified practices, especially in the forms of the practice elements. One's personal possessions, including personal collection of clothes and accessories as well as care and maintenance related materials found at home are an integral part of fashion renting. Sharing on the other hand is embedded to the identified practices as meanings but it is also present in a material form in the shared collection of clothes and its attributes. After Bardhi and Eckhardt (2017) fashion renting could be seen to merge solid consumption and liquid consumption together in the practices clothing library members carry out.

5 CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

The aim of this research was to depict and analyse fashion renting as part of the clothing library members clothes consumption based on practices the clothing library members carry out. This research defines fashion renting as a form of access-based consumption. Furthermore, this research focused only on fashion renting taking place in physical stores in Finland. The research approached the set aim with two research questions including what kinds of practices are related to fashion renting, and what kinds of elements structure these practices. Fashion renting was approached from practice theoretical approach. The research draws understanding of practice theory from multiple authors, however the main analytical tool employed was Shove et al. (2012) conceptualisation of practice being a unique combination of materials, meanings, and competences. The theoretical framework constructed utilise insight drawn from wardrobe studies (Klepp & Bjerck, 2014) which suggest that the daily clothes consumption is structured around wardrobe practices namely acquisition, dressing, maintenance and cleanliness, and disposal. The research is qualitative in nature and the empirical data was generated by utilising ethnographic wardrobe interviews. The primary data consists of seven semi-structured interviews held with four clothing library members. The researcher accompanied the participants to visits at the clothing libraries during which interviews were conducted and observations were made. The second set of interviews were held at participants' homes in the presence of their own collection of clothes to gain further understanding how fashion renting becomes part of their wardrobe practices. Primary data was enhanced with collected secondary data documenting and detailing fashion renting consisting of podcast episodes, blog posts, Youtube videos, social media posts, online articles, and clothing library websites.

Based on the analysis of the generated data fashion renting is a multifaceted consumption practice that links together different materials, meanings, and competence. To answer the research questions, the research established the consumption cycle of fashion renting based on practices the clothing library members routinely carry out. The fashion renting consumption cycle takes place between the clothing library and members' homes. The practices identified depict how the clothing library members carry out the visits at the clothing library and thereafter how they utilise the rented items as part of their own established wardrobe practices. The research also identifies and categorises elements that link together in the practice performances of the identified practices. After establishing the consumption cycle of fashion renting, the research also discovered four consumption practices the clothing library members

carry out as they engage in the practice of fashion renting. The identified elements are further categorised under these practices as well.

While fashion renting is still a relatively new consumption alternative to buying clothes in Finland, the research finds that fashion renting was a regular and routinised part of the participants' clothes consumption. The research emphasise that different access contexts can provide new insight on the phenomenon of access-based consumption. By focusing on the accounts of current clothing library members allows fashion renting to be understood based on the routine behaviours the clothing library members carry out. The research finds that fashion renting involving regular visits at the clothing library enforces the social nature of fashion renting, which consequently become reflected in the identified meanings embedded to fashion renting. The research finds that clothing library members engage in fashion renting because it allows them to experience novelty and variety in their daily dressing practices in a sustainable way and without ownership related burdens, but more importantly fashion renting allows people to become part of a community with similar minded people. Thus, fashion renting provides its members with more than just utility and access to shared resources, but it also nourishes the identity as fashion renting was viewed as a hobby that can provide excitement and belonging. On the other hand, fashion renting presents a set of competences that depict how sharing and shared resources are adopted as part of one's own clothes consumption. Fashion renting depicts the shift from ownership-based consumption to access-based consumption, which is reflected in the identified materials, meanings, and competences. Finally, the findings of this research highlight that in alternative consumption modes the consumption experience is valued over the consumption products.

5.2 Theoretical Contributions

When conducting research, it is imperative that the research theoretically contributes towards existing knowledge either by adding something new to the already known or by expanding the existing knowledge in an important and relevant way. There are three domains in which the research can contribute including conceptual domain also referring to the theoretical contributions, methodological domain which refers to the use of new methods or the utilisation of existing methods in a new way, and finally the substantive domain which is concerned with the context of the research phenomenon. (Ladik & Stewart, 2008.) This research contributes to the literature on access-based consumption by studying access in the context of fashion renting from a practice theoretical approach. To the knowledge of the researcher practice theory has not been utilised to study fashion renting before. Based on the practice theoretical approach the

research established the consumption cycle of fashion renting, which contributes towards the understanding of how alternative ways to acquire clothes is utilised as part of one's daily clothes consumption. Furthermore, the theoretical framework of the research utilised wardrobe studies, and more specifically the understanding of clothes consumption being structured around wardrobe practices, which allowed fashion renting to be positioned and understood in a context that focuses on the use of clothes and the materiality of clothes. Based on wardrobe studies this research utilised ethnographic wardrobe interviews as the main method to generate empirical data, which, based on the knowledge of the researcher has not been utilised to study fashion renting before. Therefore, the research is seen to contribute towards the existing knowledge mainly in the theoretical and substantive domains, but in relative terms also in the methodological domain.

5.3 Managerial Implications

The findings of this research hold value to the fashion renting service providers as the research rather holistically depicts how clothing library members use fashion renting as part of their clothes consumption practices and what kinds of purposes and desires fashion renting can fulfil for the consumers. For any business the active consumer engagement is important, thus discovering how consumers utilise different services and products in their lives hold a lot of valuable information for different service providers. Furthermore, studying access-based consumption in the context of fashion renting becomes especially relevant in relation to the EU commission's new strategy for sustainable textiles that specifically focuses on the textile production aiming to reduce and even ban fast fashion in Europe (Frilander, 2022). The aim of the strategy is to make clothes more sustainable and durable, which means the use of textile materials that are fixable, reusable and recyclable. This strategy hopes to have a holistic impact on both production and consumption of clothes, which would involve and have impacts on all different actors from production to retail to consumers. The knowledge of different textile materials regarding the durability of the material should be provided for the consumers to support their purchase decisions. The strategy is seen to impact consumers' behaviours and ways to consume clothes, which could result in increased engagement in alternative consumption practices such as fashion renting. (Frilander, 2022.) Fashion renting represents still a relatively new consumption practice in Finland which is why this research focusing on consumers already using fashion renting can provide useful insight to the service providers in terms of what kinds of behavioural patterns are prominent, what kinds of ideas and purposes are related to fashion renting, and on the other hand what kinds of embodied skills and understandings the clothing library members have when they use the service. This insight can

be useful in relation to how fashion renting is marketed and how the service offering is structured.

The marketing of fashion renting highlights how renting can be a more sustainable option to buying, and on the other hand, themes such as quality materials in dressing, Finnish design and reduced need to purchase are utilised as part of the marketing message. This research finds that sustainability ideas are at the core of fashion renting, and that consumers do engage in fashion renting to reduce their clothes purchases, however the research also finds that there are different kinds of purposes the participation in fashion renting practice can fulfil. As Røpke (2009) notes environment and environmental thinking are rarely, apart from initial motivation to adopt new consumption practices, a goal or purpose people aim to fulfil as they continue to engage in different consumption practices. Moreover, Perera et al. (2018) conclude that reasons to engage in different consumption practices are often varied and they go beyond environmental concerns but rather people can for example belong to a group or find some excitement in their lives. Similarly, this research finds that participants engage in fashion renting to reduce their clothes purchases, but fashion renting is also associated with a sense of community and many viewed fashion renting as their hobby that allowed them to gain novelty and variety to their daily dressing and to experiment freely with their own style. As part of their marketing, clothing libraries could utilise these playful sides of fashion renting and potentially attract more consumers to adopt fashion renting as part of their clothes consumption. Moreover, because in the practice of fashion renting materials of clothes become emphasised as well as the care and maintenance practices of clothes, clothing libraries could host events where one could learn more about sustaining one's own clothes by repairing clothes together with others.

5.4 Limitations and Future Research

This research has its own set of limitations that ought to be considered in relation to the findings. Firstly, the sample of the interview data is relatively small. Moreover, the secondary data accounts entailed people with less than six months of experience as clothing library members. Furthermore, the pandemic of Covid19 influenced the researched phenomenon in unforeseen ways. All the participants had been members throughout lockdown periods which had affected the regularity of the renting cycle, the clothing libraries opening hours, and most importantly the need for new clothes had decreased as most social events had become obsolete. The generalisability of the findings is related to the above-mentioned issues, but also, since this research focused on fashion renting taking place in physical stores it is difficult to say how

these findings would apply to fashion renting taking place in an online setting especially since practices are so context-bound. The cultural context in which research is conducted is often an important factor to acknowledge in relation to the research findings. The trajectory of practices is always influenced by the cultural context, and since this research focused on fashion renting taking place in Finland the findings might differ in another cultural context. For example, honesty and conscientiousness are embedded to Finnish culture, which can influence how specifically Finnish consumers engage in fashion renting, and how this influences the sense of community and aspects of sharing.

Fashion renting could be further studied by utilising practice theoretical approach in an online setting to find out how consumers engage in fashion renting in an online context and whether there are notable differences in the related meaning and competence elements. Fashion renting would also be a suitable to be studied with ethnographic diary methods to gain deeper understanding as to how consumers utilise fashion renting as part of their clothes consumption, especially in a country where fashion renting is already more widely adopted by consumers. On the other hand, it would be interesting to gain more insight on what kinds of impacts fashion renting has on clothes consumption and especially on long-term members' buying behaviours outside renting. In terms of access-based consumption, this research has showcased that access in its different product or service contexts holds valuable insight still to be discovered. Especially empirical studies employing different theoretical perspectives in different access contexts can contribute towards the broader understanding of access-based consumption. Especially contexts where the use of the access merges with other modes of consumption in the consumption of the product or service would be interesting, and it could add to the existing understanding on the matter of the object-self relationship.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Main themes and supportive questions of the interviews

Guiding questions for interviews held at the clothing library

- How long have you been a member for? What kind of membership do you have?
- How often do you come here?
- Can you describe, what do you do first when you arrive here?
- What kinds of things do you pay attention to first when you arrive?
- Did you have anything specific in mind prior to coming here? If yes, what / why?
- Can you describe, how do you choose what to rent? What kinds of things do you pay attention to?
- How would you describe the clothes and accessory collection here?
- Are there any items you have rented before/multiple times? If yes, could you show me?
- How does renting differ from buying to you?
- Does your own clothes influence what and how you rent? If yes, how / why?

Guiding questions for interviews held at home

1. Own style and clothes

- How would you describe your own style?
- What kinds of things are important to you in clothes?
- How would you describe your own clothes? What kinds of clothes do you have?
- Do you wear same clothes often? Why yes / no?
- Do you have clothes in your wardrobe that you do not use often? Why?
- What kind of collection of clothes would you like to have?

2. Renting and rented clothes at home

- How and why did you start fashion renting?
- What kinds of things are important to you in fashion renting?
- Does renting affect the way you use your own clothes? How? Why?
- How does it impact the use of the clothing when you do not own it?
- Have you ever rented something that you did not end up wearing? If yes, why so?
- How do you plan your visits at the clothing library?
- How has fashion renting affected your dressing?
- What are the benefits of fashion renting for you?
- What kinds of clothes and/or accessories do you normally rent?
- Does the way you choose clothes at the clothing differ from the way you choose clothes when you are buying them for yourself? How and why?
- Does the rented item feel like your own when it's in your disposal? Why / why not?
- What do you do with the rented clothes before returning the back?

3. Dressing (own clothes / rented clothes)

- How would you describe your dressing routines?
- How do you plan your outfits?

- Can you describe how do you put outfits together? What kinds of things are important to you when putting outfits together?
- Do you pair rented items with your own clothes and accessories?
- Do you pair the rented items with clothes that you do not normally wear that often?
- What kinds of clothes do your pair with the rented items?
- How do you view the rented items in relation to your own clothes?
- Can you describe what happens to the clothes at the end of the day?

4. Wardrobe, storage, care, and maintenance, return

(Own clothes)

- Where do you store your clothes? Could you show me please?
- What kinds of things determine where and how you store clothes?
- How do you organise your wardrobe?
- Can you describe, what do you do with clothes that you no longer use?
- How would you describe your laundry routines?
- Can you describe, how do you care for your clothes?

(Rented items)

- Where and how do you store the rented items? Why?
- Do you keep the rented clothes in hangers?
- How do you care for the rented clothes? Does it differ from how you care for your own clothes?
- How would you describe your laundry routines with the rented clothes?
- Do you wash the rented clothes separately from or with your own clothes? Why?
- What do you do if the rented items got stained? Or if it breaks?

5. Clothes consumption in general

- What kinds of thoughts and ideas do you have regarding fashion?
- How would you describe the meaning of ownership in relation to the consumption of clothes?
- How would you describe your clothes consumption before becoming a member of fashion renting?
- How has fashion renting affected how you buy clothes / how much you buy?
- What kinds of thoughts and /or ideas you have regarding owning clothes and the consumption related to clothes?
- Do you think one can learn something from fashion renting? If yes, what?