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## The (im)possibilities of circular consumption

Producing and performing circular clothing consumption in retail and household settings

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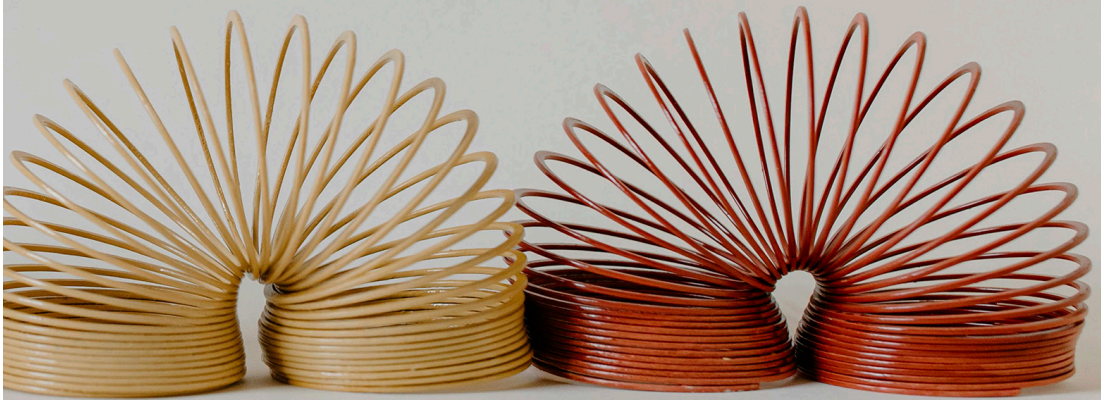
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# The (im)possibilities of circular consumption

Producing and performing circular clothing consumption in retail and household settings

RÉKA TÖLG

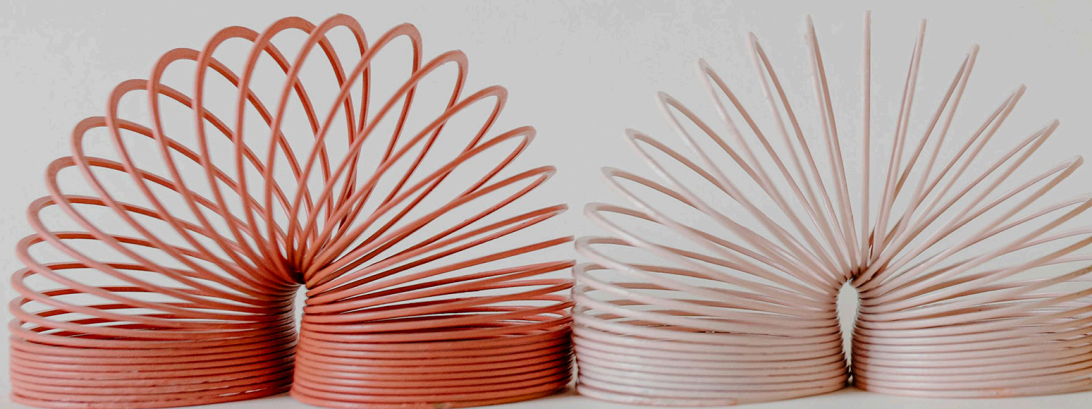
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## The (im)possibilities of circular consumption

As interest in the Circular Economy grows, consumers are increasingly expected to extend product lifetimes and ensure recycling as they buy, use, and dispose of products. However, shifting to circular consumption is challenging, especially when everyday life is set up for a linear 'take-make-dispose' model. How can circular consumption be achieved under such conditions? This dissertation combines market studies with a practice theoretical approach to consumption and uses ethnographic methods to explore how circular consumption is produced and performed in retail and household settings within the context of clothing consumption in Sweden. The findings highlight various (im)possibilities of circular consumption and reveal how its potential is constrained by the linear landscape—much like the half-loop slinkies on the cover.

**RÉKA TÖLG**, with a background in marketing and consumption studies, spent five years as a doctoral researcher at Lund University. Her interest in circular consumption was sparked by a laundry label urging consumers to care for their garments—and the planet.



The (im)possibilities of circular consumption



# The (im)possibilities of circular consumption

Producing and performing circular clothing consumption in retail and household settings

Réka Tölg



**LUND**  
UNIVERSITY

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

Doctoral dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) at the Faculty of Social Sciences at Lund University to be publicly defended on 11th of April at 13.00 in U203, Department of Service Studies, Campus Helsingborg

*Faculty opponent*  
Dr Mary Greene

Assistant Professor in Sustainable and Circular Consumption  
Wageningen University, The Netherlands

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**Abstract:**

In circular economies, consumers are expected to extend product lifetimes and ensure recycling—a considerable departure from the linear take-make-dispose model. To support this shift, we need to understand how circular consumption is currently enabled in retail markets and how consumers navigate these tasks. Thus, in this dissertation, I aim to explore and conceptualise how circular consumption is practically and socio-materially brought into being in a landscape configured for linear modes of consumption.

Theoretically, I combine market studies with a practice theoretical approach to consumption. I use various enabling lenses—qualification, scripting, care-in-practice, and valuation work—to explore the production of circular consumption in retail settings and its performance in household settings, in the context of clothing consumption in Sweden. Empirically, Study 1 explores the production of circular consumption in retail settings through an ethnographic study of circularity products and services. Study 2 investigates the performance of circular consumption in household settings using ethnographic material from a field trial of circularity services.

The findings of the included research papers show that retail settings produce circular consumption to be performed by consumers through caring and value-protecting work, often as part of additional household chores, and without widespread support from market materialities. Furthermore, it is shown that consumers enact care for others and valuation work to perform circular consumption. However, various challenges arise in securing and coordinating the resources, devices and skills required for care and valuations, complicating the performance of circular consumption.

This dissertation contributes to circular consumption research and the sociology of consumption by showing that circular consumption is produced and performed to co-exist with the dominant linear modes of consumption, rather than challenging and displacing them. Studying circular consumption both in everyday life and in retail markets helped to further the knowledge of how retail market materialities shape such (im)possibilities. For a shift to circularity, retail markets need to be re-arranged to enable consumers to sidestep linear modes of consumption and reduce the complexities of circular practices.

**Key words:** circular consumption, retail market materialities, households, care, responsibility, valuation work

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Producing and performing circular clothing consumption in retail and household settings

Réka Tölg



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**MADE IN SWEDEN** 

*To my family, 'here-home' in Lund and 'there-home' in Budapest, Dömsöd and Vienna*

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*Lund, Sweden*

*16/02/2025*



# List of Papers

## *Paper 1*

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## *Paper 2*

Fuentes M and Tölg R (submitted to Consumption Markets & Culture) Scripting Responsible Consumption: The Role of Materiality in Consumer Responsibilization

## *Paper 3*

Tölg R and Fuentes C (2024) Care and circularity: how the enactment of care enables and shapes the circular consumption of clothing. *Consumption and Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1332/27528499Y2024D000000032> (Epub ahead of publication)

## *Paper 4*

Fuentes C, Tölg R, Samsioe E and Sörum N (under review at Consumption Markets & Culture) Circular consumption and valuation work: Enacting circularity in everyday clothing practices

# Author's contribution to the papers

## *Paper 1*

Single-authored article. RT is responsible for research design, conceptualization, investigation, analysis, and all stages of writing and reviewing process.

## *Paper 2*

MF: Research Design (supporting); Conceptualization (lead); Literature review (equal); Investigation (lead); Analysis (equal); Writing - Original Draft (equal); Writing - Review & Editing (lead)

RT: Research Design (lead); Conceptualization (supporting); Literature review (equal); Investigation (supporting); Analysis (equal); Writing - Original Draft (equal); Writing - Review & Editing (supporting)

## *Paper 3*

RT: Research Design (equal); Conceptualization (equal); Investigation (equally shared in project team); Analysis (equal); Writing - Original Draft (lead); Writing - Review & Editing (lead)

CF<sup>1</sup>: Research Design (equal); Conceptualization (equal); Analysis (equal); Writing - Original Draft (supporting); Writing - Review & Editing (supporting)

## *Paper 4*

CF: Research Design (equal), conceptualization (lead), Analysis (equal); Writing - Original Draft (lead); Writing - Review & Editing (lead), Illustration (supporting)

RT: Research design (equal), conceptualization (supporting), Investigation (equal), analysis (equal), writing -original draft (supporting), Writing - Review & Editing (supporting), Illustration (lead)

ES: Research design (equal), conceptualization (supporting), Investigation (equal), analysis (equal), writing -original draft (supporting)

NS: Research design (equal), conceptualization (supporting), Investigation (equal), writing -original draft (supporting)

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<sup>1</sup> Principal investigator in the work package that paper 3 and 4 are based on, led the initial research proposal and set the frames of the study



# Introduction

Multiple policy-making bodies, industries and non-governmental agencies engage with the circular economy (CE) to create more materially efficient and less resource-intensive economies (Ortega Alvarado et al., 2021). CE is an umbrella concept, which encapsulates diverse concepts on material efficiency and sufficiency in design and industrial processes (Blomsma and Brennan, 2017; Bocken et al., 2016). CE involves changing from the linear, take-make-dispose model towards:

[A] regenerative system in which resource input and waste, emission, and energy leakage are minimised by slowing, closing, and narrowing material and energy loops. This can be achieved through long-lasting design, maintenance, repair, reuse, remanufacturing, refurbishing, and recycling (Geissdoerfer et al., 2017: 759)

Today, the concept is championed by strong advocacy groups and policy bodies, like the Ellen MacArthur Foundation (2013, 2017, 2023) and the European Union (European Commission, 2015, 2020). These actors argue that a shift to circular business models and industrial processes is necessary for ensuring continuous development while offsetting and reducing different industries' climate impact.

Connected to these ambitions, a central goal has become to engage consumers in the circular economy (CE) and bring about circular consumption (e.g., Ellen MacArthur Foundation, 2013; European Commission, 2015). Performing circular consumption involves acquiring, using and disposing of goods in new ways. In the CE, consumers need to purchase differently, as according to circularity principles goods need to be acquired second-hand, from recycled sources or even accessed through rental services (Dissanayake and Weerasinghe, 2022; Machado et al., 2019). At the same time, consumers also need to use and dispose of their possessions differently, slowing the use of materials through repair and maintenance and ensuring reuse is equally important as closing material loops (Bocken et al., 2016; Geissdoerfer et al., 2017).

Bringing about such changes in consumption is not an easy endeavour. Despite the optimism regarding the CE in industry and policymaking (e.g., Ellen Macarthur Foundation, 2017, European Commission, 2020), some cautioning scholarly voices have also emerged. These question the possibilities of creating ‘green’ economies and reducing production and consumption’s environmental impact through the CE (Corvellec et al., 2021; Hobson, 2021; Ortega Alvarado et al., 2022). More specifically, one of the main critiques of the CE involves the feasibility of such transformation in production, since for instance, the use of non-virgin material is not slowing down (Circular Economy Foundation, 2023), and most importantly for this dissertation, also in consumption (e.g., Greene et al., 2024; Wethal and Hoff, 2024).

According to this position, the change to circular consumption is more complex than imagined in policy documents (Welch et al., 2017), as it requires consumers to ‘recalibrate’ how and what they consume in everyday life (Hobson, 2021: 173). To bring about circular consumption, some everyday practices need to be changed, such as laundry and cooking. Moreover, new ones need to be developed, such as different forms of repair, upcycling, and correct waste sorting (Hobson et al., 2021). However, changing how people buy, use and dispose of belongings is a complex task, and further understanding is required of what this shift to the CE means for consumption in everyday lives. A central question is therefore how can everyday consumption be made more circular?

## The interdisciplinary research field of circular consumption

Within the wider CE research, the role of consumption has initially been ignored (Hobson, 2016; Mylan et al., 2016). The literature that started to address consumers’ role in the CE mostly focuses on consumers’ acceptance of different CE offers (e.g., De Moraes et al., 2021; Vidal-Ayuso et al., 2023), or on the creation of typologies of circular consumption connected to circular design processes and business model development (Bocken et al., 2016; Haase et al., 2024; Kirchherr et al., 2017; Selvefors et al., 2019). A small segment of this literature, as opposed to these previous two streams, started to draw on sociological theories to explore what circular consumption means for everyday lives. I briefly review these different approaches to circular consumption in the sections below.

## **Behavioural and applied environmental sciences research on circular consumption**

To understand how and why consumers decide to use circular offers, scholars started to draw on different behavioural approaches, such as the theory of planned behaviour (Camacho-Otero et al., 2020; Vidal-Ayuso et al., 2023). Consequently, many of these behavioural studies on circular consumption explore the different attitudes, personality traits or motivations that either positively or negatively impact consumers to use and adopt forms of circular consumption (Camacho-Otero et al., 2018; Vidal-Ayuso et al., 2023). For instance, De Morais et al. (2021) show how green buying and circular behaviour are driven by pure altruism, but not necessarily by the need for social status or competitive altruism. Continuing the investigation on the behavioural aspects of circular consumption, Kutaula et al. (2022) add that extraversion, agreeableness and conscientiousness personality traits positively affect ethically-driven circular consumption. More recently, there has been an effort to synthesise previous research on what drives decision-making regarding circular products and services (Vidal-Ayuso et al., 2023). This study argues that some factors positively influence decision-making for circular offers, like perceived value or green self-identity, while other factors have a negative impact, such as perceived risks due to for instance functionality or contamination of products.

The other dominant approach that addresses the question of consumption in the CE focuses on the creation of typologies of circularity and assigning roles to different actors, amongst them to consumers. One of the arguments that is made within this stream of research is how consumers, often referred to here as users, need to be considered at the start when designing circular solutions. This is supported by the argument that consumers/users have a central role in whether things will be returned for further circulation after use (Selvefors et al., 2019). Thus, consumption processes need to be considered when designing circular products and business models. Additionally, this stream aims to explore, through small-scale examples, which types of business models lead to successful circularity. It also examines the role of consumption in various business models, such as those focused on product returns or extended services (Bocken et al., 2014, 2016; Bocken and Short, 2016; Tunn et al., 2019). For example, Bocken and Short (2016) showcase examples of companies that through sufficiency-driven business models, shift the focus to satisfaction of consumer needs instead of wants and offer long-lasting products. Another example, based on expert interviews, designed a circular business model framework, which leads to more sustainable consumption, by reducing overall

levels of consumption with consideration of consumer efforts (Tunn et al., 2019).

Further studies that focus on the creation of typologies of CE, and within that consumption, order the different ‘R strategies’, that is, reduce, reuse, recycle and recover, based on their environmental impact (Kirchherr et al., 2017). These R strategies are often expanded with refuse, rethink, repair, refurbish, remanufacture, repurpose and recover, and then ordered on the scale of linear-circular economy solutions (Ali and Choe, 2022; Kirchherr et al., 2017; Potting et al., 2017). This shows the variation within these strategies and that not all of them equally contribute to circularity. Taking further the knowledge on different forms of circularity and the role of different actors within, a recent study assigned specific roles to different actors in the CE. According to this, the role of consumers in the CE is to act as ‘value co-operators’, who use products to their maximum utility and also provide multiple use loops (Haase et al., 2024).

Overall, the behavioural and ‘typologising’ studies that focus on consumption in the CE underline the importance of addressing consumption in the CE. The behavioural stream takes further the understanding of how different individual elements, such as attitudes or personality traits, influence the acceptance of circular products and services. However, in doing this they reduce consumers to individualised and rational decision-makers, whose role is to either accept or reject different circular offers that they are presented with. The ‘typologising’ studies link circular solutions and the role of consumers within that, as well as identify what forms of CE and circular consumption are the most desirable in terms of environmental impact. However, they consider consumption only from a point of forecasting or scenario planning, as they do not involve close engagement with consumers. Thus, observations of consumers’ everyday lives, and how the assigned CE-related tasks would fit within that, receive less attention within these studies.

## **Sociological circular consumption research<sup>2</sup>**

In contrast to the above-presented research streams, a small, but dynamic research area critically engages with the question of how circular consumption can be performed as part of everyday life (Greene et al., 2024; Hobson, 2021; Hobson et al., 2021; Mylan et al., 2016). This literature emerged to

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<sup>2</sup> Within this I discuss literature that is either written by sociology scholars, or by scholars using sociological theories

complement the behavioural studies focused on individual factors (e.g., De Moraes et al., 2021; Kuttaula et al., 2022), as well as the design and applied environmental science studies that try to envision circular consumption through models and small-scale examples (e.g., Bocken et al., 2016; van Weelden et al., 2016). Thus, this stream of research on circular consumption underlines the importance of moving away from looking at consumers as individual, rational actors driven by attitudes (Shove, 2010). Rather consumers are viewed as “doers” of resource-consuming activities in their everyday lives (Mylan et al., 2016: 11). From this stream three relevant theoretical moves that differentiate it from the behavioural approaches are highlighted below.

Firstly, sociological studies on circular consumption often draw on a practice theoretical approach to consumption (Shove et al., 2012; Warde, 2005) to study how different circular practices are enacted in everyday lives. As opposed to the behavioural approaches, they show that circular consumption does not simply rely on attitudes, motives or personality traits. Some of these practice theory-informed studies on circular consumption specifically map out what competences, materials and meanings (Shove et al., 2012) are necessary for the performance of the circular practices they investigate. For instance, Camacho-Otero et al. (2020) show how clothes-swapping practices are enabled by the interlinking of different materialities (e.g., the clothes, the venue, tokens), competences (e.g., event organising and establishing rules, selecting and preparing clothes to bring), as well as meanings (e.g., environmental benefits, community-building, but also meanings associated with used clothes). Furthermore, connected to the single-use plastic packaging challenge of the CE, Rabiou and Jaeger-Erben (2024) illustrate the difficulties involved with giving up plastic due to its centrality in mundane everyday doings. According to the authors, to give up plastic packaging, for instance, through package-free shopping, consumers need materials, such as reusable containers and unpackaged products, competencies in weighing and handling the produce, and lastly meanings such as eco-friendly values.

Secondly, this stream also highlights the centrality of materialities in the performance of circular consumption. Despite the importance of material and resource circulation to the CE framework, the focus on materiality in CE transitions has only recently started to emerge in wider academic discussions (e.g., Babri et al., 2022; Holmes, 2018; van der Velden, 2021). Within circular consumption research, the material perspective has helped identify that the material properties of different objects (Närvänen et al., 2023), the infrastructure of domestic spaces (Mylan et al., 2016), and the materiality of how spaces for CE are set up (Holmes, 2018) are not passive participants. The



materialities in circular consumption can also challenge the performance of circular consumption. Närvänen et al. (2023) show that in the assembling of circular clothing consumption, materialities can both support (with tools such as sewing machines) and impede (lacking recycling facilities, unsuitable textile properties) performing circular consumption. Similarly, Holmes (2018) explores how materialities are not only enablers but can also be “troubles” that “unsettle” circular consumption. Thus, the CE possibilities that can emerge are shaped by how the surrounding landscape<sup>3</sup> is socio-materially set up. This view de-centres human agency by arguing that different materialities take part in shaping what forms of circularities can emerge and which ones are hindered.

Lastly, the sociological research on circular consumption re-connects circular consumption to household settings. Compared to the behavioural circular consumption research, here the focus shifts to how circular consumption is performed within homes (Greene et al., 2024; Mylan et al., 2016). Mylan et al. (2016) argue that in early circular consumption research, the domestic sphere has been ignored, as consumption was considered merely the result of how things are labelled and marketed. By focusing on how circular consumption is performed in households, the research stream argues for capturing how circular consumption is implicated by practices taking place in households, such as the ones connected to the preparation of food and its connection to food waste or one-time use of plastic (Greene et al., 2024; Mylan et al., 2016; Rabiou and Jaeger-Erben, 2024). This is a considerable move away from behavioural circular consumption research, as it highlights that circular consumption is not only a matter of choosing circular offerings but also how things are being used and disposed of in everyday household practices.

Through these sociological studies, one can see how performing circular consumption is embedded in everyday lives and the ability to carry out the work of adopting new circular practices, moreover, extending previous ones (Hobson et al., 2021) are shaped by the social, material and cultural factors that shape everyday lives (Hobson, 2020). Thus, performing circular consumption is not a straightforward undertaking.

## **The challenges of circular consumption**

Based on the sociological circular consumption research stream, we know that doing circular consumption in everyday life is a challenging endeavour and

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<sup>3</sup> Referring to the socio-material set up of consumption, containing different market and household materialities that enable and shape actions (see further Jelsma, 2003)

that the socio-material and cultural set-up of everyday life contributes to this. In this regard, sociological circular consumption research has identified that doing circular consumption is difficult for consumers (e.g., Hobson et al., 2021). A central issue is the increased efforts required from consumers in the CE (Hobson et al., 2021). Consumers need to extend previous activities, such as recycling household waste more extensively, and develop new skills too, for instance, repairing and upcycling their belongings (Hobson et al., 2021). Being able to perform such extended forms of consumption work is required for successfully enacting circular practices and shifting towards more circular economies (Greene et al., 2024; Hobson et al., 2021). However, this form of work can be challenging to perform.

Previous empirical investigations show that even when circular consumption is performed, it is challenging to do so on a larger scale. For instance, due to the time required for carrying out the consumption work (Sutcliffe, 2022), or because circular practices do not easily align with routinised everyday practices (Wethal and Hoff, 2024). Others have similarly pointed to the potential issue of consumers only trying out some forms of circular consumption without it becoming a new routine (Rabiu and Jaeger-Erben, 2022). Åberg and Greene (2024) add to this that for instance single-use plastic became the enabler of modern, fast-paced living, where it is challenging to leave plastic behind without the widespread support for circular plastic use or its alternatives. This makes circular consumption an add-on, only if convenient, to continuous linear and high levels of consumption (Wethal and Hoff, 2024). To perform circular consumption, one needs to turn away from a path of less resistance. This raises the question of how consumers manoeuvre the involved challenges of performing circular consumption in a landscape that is set up to facilitate and guide consumers to linear modes of consumption.

The mostly practice theory-informed understanding of circular consumption does not fully account for what goes into bringing circular consumption into being in this challenging landscape. As I outline in the following theory chapter, the investigation of such questions requires additional theoretical lenses, alongside practice theory, to understand better how circular consumption is performed against the dominant forms of linear consumption. Such work has been conducted by Lehtokunnas et al. (2022), who combine practice theory with, for instance, a Foucauldian perspective to study the formation of the ethical self in relation to circular practices in households. They show that while consumers sign up to the goal of becoming a “responsible citizen in the CE” and set to reduce household waste, this can turn out to be a project full of negotiations, and it requires the constant modification and

transformation of the ethical self as part of everyday practices in the home (Lehtokunnas et al., 2022: 241).

Against this background, further understanding is needed of how consumers manage to perform circular consumption in a landscape and everyday life that is organised for the linear mode of consumption. Thus, the current possibilities of circular consumption need to be explored in relation to everyday life and a consumption landscape that is socially, culturally and materially patterned for the linear, take-make-dispose logic. How and under what conditions is circular consumption possible to perform? How do consumers carry out the new forms of efforts and extend previous activities required for circular consumption? How do they manage different challenges that arise? And when do these challenges lead to failures of performing circular consumption?

Furthermore, there is another, less explored side to the challenges of circular consumption, which concerns the arrangement of the wider landscape within which circular consumption is to be brought about. Sociological circular consumption research mostly focuses on how consumers do circular consumption as part of household practices (e.g., Hebrok and Heidenstrøm, 2019; Mylan et al., 2016). While there are some calls for discussing how different provisioning systems and institutional arrangements shape circular consumption (Greene et al., 2024), there is little empirical investigation and conceptualisation within this area (e.g., Holmes, 2018). As Hobson et al. (2021) argue there has been little focus on how the additional work moved to the sphere of consumption implicates consumers; what is expected of them, and what is made possible for them.

The need for further knowledge on how retail markets pattern circular consumption is integral to this problem. The arrangement of (retail) markets plays a role in patterning consumption (Evans, 2020). More specifically, stores, as part of the wider infrastructure, are argued to be essential for the performance of circular consumption (Åberg and Greene, 2024; Rabiou and Jaeger-Erben, 2024). However, only a few studies started to explore how retailers tackle different circularity-connected challenges, such as food waste, or handle its related responsibilities (see Evans et al., 2017; Lehtokunnas and Pyyhtinen, 2022). Furthermore, how retail settings, that is the different physical and digital spheres of “where and when retailing takes place” (Hagberg et al., 2016: 694), are arranged for circular consumption has received even less research attention (see, for instance, Corvellec and Stål, 2019). Thus, the question of what forms of circular consumption are produced, that is, made possible through the socio-material arrangements of retail settings, requires further understanding.

Through such dual focused investigation, involving both retail and household settings, a better understanding can be gained regarding how circular consumption is made possible or hindered and how consumers manoeuvre the involved challenges to perform circular consumption. To enable a shift to the CE, such thorough understanding is required regarding the current possibilities and impossibilities of the circularity project in consumers' everyday lives.

## Aim and research questions

This dissertation aims to explore and conceptualise how circular consumption is practically and socio-materially brought into being in a landscape configured for linear modes of consumption. To answer this aim, I include three research questions, which are addressed through the appended research papers:

How is circular consumption produced in retail settings? (RQ 1)

How is circular consumption performed in household settings? (RQ2)

What are the (im)possibilities of circular consumption? (RQ3)

With this aim and research questions, I direct the analytical focus both to how circular consumption is produced in retail settings and how it is performed in household settings. With such a focus I set to shed further light on what form of actions retail settings allow for or impede, as well as what households do to manage the challenges of performing circular consumption in linear landscapes. Through this investigation I intend to contribute to studies on circular consumption (Greene et al., 2024; Hobson et al., 2021; Holmes, 2018; Mylan et al., 2016; Närvänen et al., 2023), by illustrating what consumers draw on to perform circular consumption and by adding knowledge on how retail settings take part in patterning circular consumption.

By suggesting extending the investigation beyond the domestic sphere in this dissertation, I do not argue for abandoning household settings or returning to reducing consumption to a matter of production, which for instance Mylan et al. (2016) caution against. Rather, I follow the interest in placing consumption and production on more symmetrical grounds and exploring how different (retail) market phenomena as a form of wider economic arrangement also take part in patterning everyday practices and consumption (Evans, 2019, 2020, 2022; Warde, 2022; Welch and Warde, 2015). Or as similarly argued by Hansen (2023, p.33), it is important to take “political and corporate power into

account as at least co-shaping and at times also fundamentally structuring consumption and practice”.

However, we need additional theoretical tools that help in understanding both how circular consumption is produced in retail settings and how it is performed in household settings, while also leaving space for investigating how the (im)possibilities for circular consumption emerge. In this investigation of trying to make sense of how circular consumption is brought into being I rely on a ‘practice theories’ approach. I combine the theories of practice approach to consumption (Evans, 2019; Warde, 2005, 2014) with market studies understanding of how actions on (retail) markets are being enacted in and through different practices (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2006, 2007) and how this shapes consumption (Cochoy, 2007, 2008). This is in line with Evans’ (2020: 351) approach of combining theories of practice approach to consumption, with other material-semiotic approaches, which also belong to what he calls the same ‘family’ of ‘practice theories’. The addition to the more ‘traditional’ social practice theoretical approach is required to aid the investigation of how (retail) markets, besides the everyday and household materialities, conventions and routines, also shape consumption (Evans, 2020), as well as to investigate, with the help of additional, practice theory compatible lenses, how circular consumption challenges are manoeuvred in households.

## Context of clothing

To study how circular consumption is being produced and performed in retail and household settings, I focus on the context of clothing circularity in everyday life. This is a relevant context for studying circular consumption, as in European policy the circular production and consumption of textiles and clothing is one of the focus areas (European Commission, 2022). The EU Strategy for Sustainable and Circular Textiles indicates a direction where: “Consumers benefit longer from high quality affordable textiles, fast fashion is out of fashion, and economically profitable re-use and repair services are widely available.” (European Commission, 2022, p.2). To achieve such goals, a shift from ‘fast’ and linear consumption towards circular consumption is required both in retail and household settings (Niinimäki et al., 2020). More specifically, circular clothing consumption entails acquiring clothes through a rental or second-hand basis, using garments carefully, repairing or upcycling when necessary, and lastly returning these garments for recycling in appropriate ways (Dissanayake and Weerasinghe, 2022). Along these lines,

clothing retailers advocate for new forms of consumption, through which clothing consumption and related practices are increasingly questioned and efforts to produce circular consumption start to take place in retail markets. In this process, retail settings are somewhat re-arranged and call for new forms of acquisitions in the stores, but also to change routines of doing laundry, managing wardrobes, and sorting out unwanted garments in daily lives.

In the context of Sweden, clothing retailers, synchronised with the EU policy, started to early on launch different campaigns, products and services that set to introduce circularity to their mostly linear and in some cases fast fashion business models, and as part of this advocate for circular consumption (Corvellec and Stål, 2019; Hultberg and Pal, 2021). For instance, H&M launched its Take Care campaign, Filippa K advocates for mindful consumption and Nudie Jeans continues to increase their repairing and reselling of jeans in the name of shifting towards circularity. However, producing and performing circular clothing consumption is complicated, as in retail markets, consumers are still presented with the ease of continuing to consume clothing in a linear manner (Corvellec and Stål, 2019; Niinimäki et al., 2020). Furthermore, while retailers advocate for taking care of and repairing what you have, the pace of fast fashion is further accelerating through new online retailers such as Shein and Temu (Brydges, 2024; Mahmood, 2022). Thus, this provides a context where linear and circular modes of consumption often meet, and which provides a ground for investigation of how circular consumption is practically and socio-materially brought into being in a landscape configured for linear modes of consumption.

## Outline of dissertation and overview of included papers

I have included four research papers in this dissertation, which answer the aim and research questions from different perspectives. Research papers 1 and 2 are based on an ethnographic study of circularity offerings in Swedish clothing retail settings. These two papers shed light on “How is circular consumption produced in retail settings?” (RQ1). They do so by focusing on the selling of care offerings that are placed on retail markets and ask consumers to do more care in everyday mundane chores (paper 1), and by looking at how a wider set of circularity offerings allocate responsibilities to consumers for garment

lifetimes and circulation and abilities to act upon those responsibilities (paper 2).

Research papers 3 and 4 are based on an ethnographic field trial involving households in Sweden trying out different circular clothing platforms. These papers answer RQ2: “How is circular consumption performed in household settings?” They do so by showing how caring for environmental and social others is intertwined with and complicates performing circular consumption in households (paper 3), as well as by how consumers do valuation work to tackle the garments’ deterioration and devaluation and ensure circular pathways (paper 4).

Research question 3 regarding the (im)possibilities of circular consumption is addressed by bringing together the findings of all four research papers. The table below briefly introduces the appended research papers and their relation to the dissertation’s research questions.

**Table 1 – Appended papers and connection to dissertation research questions**

Aim	To explore and conceptualise how circular consumption is practically and socio-materially brought into being in a landscape configured for linear modes of consumption.			
Dissertation research questions	How is circular consumption produced in retail settings?		How is circular consumption performed in household settings?	
	What are the (im)possibilities of circular consumption?			
Appended research papers	Research Paper 1	Research Paper 2	Research Paper 3	Research Paper 4
Title	Selling of care offerings and the ethicalisation of consumption	Scripting Circular Consumption: The Role of Materiality in Consumer Responsibilization	Care and circularity: how the enactment of care enables and shapes the circular consumption of clothing	Circular consumption and valuation work: Enacting circularity in everyday clothing practices

In the next chapter, I outline the theoretical approach I take in this dissertation, which following Evans (2020) can be summarised as a ‘practice theories’ approach to understanding the production and performance of consumption. In the methodology section, I describe how the included two ethnographic studies were conducted and how they led to the four appended research papers. Upon this, I describe the four research papers and the findings they provide. Then,

the concluding discussion starts by answering the research questions concerning how circular consumption is produced and performed, and the (im)possibilities involved. Lastly, the contributions of these findings are discussed, as well as the implications they pose for future research and practice.





# A practice theories approach to producing and performing circular consumption

As previously mentioned, I draw on a ‘practice theories’ approach to understand how circular consumption is produced in retail settings and how it is performed in households.

Since the early 2000s, the practice turn in social sciences has influenced studies of everyday consumption (Shove, 2003; Shove and Pantzar, 2005; Warde, 2005, 2014). This has led to more attention being paid to how consumption unfolds while carrying out everyday chores, such as cooking, routines, like commuting, but also free-time activities, like Nordic walking. Parallel to this the practice turn has also influenced the study of markets (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2006, 2007). Studies have set out to explain how markets are made to work, as well as how different actions on markets, such as a consumer choosing a product, are configured through market practices. While these two streams—one focusing on consumption in everyday life and the other addressing how consumption is shaped through markets—developed parallel to each other, their shared theoretical roots, influenced by the practice turn, and their respective sociological approaches to consumption and economics allowed for different cross-fertilisations (Dubuisson-Quellier, 2022; Evans and Mylan, 2019; Shove and Araujo, 2010). Furthermore, it is increasingly argued that the two can strengthen each other to study what shapes consumption (Evans, 2020; Fuentes and Samsioe, 2020; Stigzelius, 2017).

To understand how circular consumption is brought into being, it is relevant to consider how households’ everyday routines and home infrastructures shape circular consumption possibilities. This can be addressed from a practice theoretical perspective, present in the sociology of consumption. However, this practice theoretical approach to consumption needs to be complemented with theoretical tools to further the understanding of how consumption in everyday

life is not only patterned by household routines and infrastructure but also through the wider landscape, such as retail stores (Evans, 2020).

Practice theoretical research has recently started to explore the broader socio-technical, as well as economic arrangements, that shape everyday practices (Fine et al., 2018; Watson and Shove, 2022; Welch, 2020; Wethal et al., 2024). The commonality of these efforts is that they offer different conceptualisations of how wider arrangements within which household consumption is embedded take part in shaping consumption. For instance, through commercial communication as teleoaffective formations creating the ideals of sustainable consumption (Welch, 2020), or how material arrangement, such as gas central heating in the background of practices, shapes demand for high energy consumption (Watson and Shove, 2022). While these efforts are valuable in offering a practice theoretical explanation of how consumption is shaped by wider forces, Evans (2020) suggests drawing on the well-developed and practice theory compatible stream of Callonian economic sociology to further theorise how markets shape consumption.

As I will discuss below, the different moments of consumption are formed in interaction with markets (Evans, 2019, 2020, 2022). Similarly to the performance of more linear modes of consumption, consumers interact with markets to buy, use and dispose of their belongings in more circular ways. Against this backdrop, in my effort to study how circular consumption is produced and performed, I will draw on theoretical concepts from both the Callonian economic sociology influenced market studies and the practice theoretical approach to consumption in everyday life present in the sociology of consumption. Thus, I follow the tradition of combining practice theoretical understanding of everyday consumption and market studies approach to consumption (see also Evans, 2020; Fuentes and Samsioe, 2020; Stigzelius, 2017).

In this chapter, I present how practice theory has been used and developed further to understand everyday consumption (Shove et al., 2012; Shove and Pantzar, 2005; Warde, 2005, 2014). Then I discuss how the market studies tradition addresses how exchange and consumption are shaped through markets and different market practices (Cochoy, 2008; Harrison and Kjellberg, 2016; Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2007). Lastly, I outline how these two approaches are used together to understand how circular consumption is produced in retail settings and performed within households.

# Consumption and theories of practice

Theories of practice started to emerge in the 1970s to address aspects of social life that have received less attention in cultural research (Ortner, 1984; Warde, 2022). Instead of focusing on symbolic expressions and meaning-making, practice approaches engage with how the social world is being performed (Nicolini, 2017). As Nicolini (2017: 24) argues, practice theoretical research “aims to provide a set of discursive resources to produce accounts, overviews and analyses of social affairs that enrich our understanding of them”. However, it is important to note that there is no unified ‘practice theory’ (Nicolini, 2012), as the notion of practice is defined slightly differently, as well as applied in different ways in empirical research.

## Defining practices

Social scientific theorists, such as early Bourdieu and early Giddens, as well as late Foucault and Butler, have engaged with the question of practices (Halkier et al., 2011). In the early 2000s, Schatzki and colleagues (2001), Reckwitz (2002), and Warde (2005) formulated different definitions and key assumptions for practice theoretical research that are today followed in empirical studies. As part of these efforts, the now widely cited definition of practice has been formulated:

A ‘practice’ ... is a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: 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)

This definition highlights that in the practice approach to research, the focus is on what forms of routinised activities are being carried out, how they are made sense of, how they are learnt and what forms of tools and things are part of carrying out these. Examples of these practices are, for instance, cooking a meal, teaching a class or driving a car (Nicolini, 2017).

Within a practice approach, the unit of analysis is always the practice (Nicolini, 2017), while the individual is viewed as the ‘carrier’ (Reckwitz, 2002: 249–250) or the one who performs the practice (Schatzki, 1996). The relation of practices and individuals is further clarified by Schatzki’s (1996) concepts of practice-as-entity and practice-as-performance. The first refers to the practice

itself, while the latter concerns how the practice is being carried out. Practice-as-entity refers to:

[A] temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings. (...) To say that the doings and sayings forming a practice constitute a nexus is to say that they are linked in certain ways. Three major avenues of linkage are involved: (1) through understandings, for example, of what to say and do; (2) through explicit rules, principles, precepts and instructions; and (3) through what I will call ‘teleoffective’ structures embracing ends, projects, tasks, purposes, beliefs, emotions and moods. (Schatzki, 1996: 89).

Thus, practice-as-entity refers to a relatively stable set of rules and understanding of an action or set of actions that people can learn how to perform. On the other hand, practice-as-performance refers to how the doings and sayings are being performed, at a specific time and place (Schatzki, 1996). Carrying out the practice contributes to the practice being maintained and sustained over time (Nicolini, 2017; Schatzki, 1996). Thus, practices exist because of their routinised and regular enactment (Warde, 2005). This differentiation between practice-as-entity and practice-as-performance underlines the role of individuals as carriers of practice, and the importance of studying how specific practices are being performed in a specific context.

What constitutes a practice is explained in different ways in the literature. The above quote by Schatzki (1996: 89) refers to the understandings, different forms of rules, as well as teleoffective structures that link together the different doings and sayings to constitute a practice. Warde (2005) later calls these linkages the three components of understandings, procedures and engagements, i.e., the learned, embodied and practical knowledge, the different guidelines on how to perform the practice, and lastly the shared goal that surrounds the practice performance.

Shove et al. (2012) offer an alternative framework for describing a practice. They argue that practices are constituted by three different elements, that is, materials, competences and meanings. Materials refer to the different “things, technologies, tangible physical entities, and the stuff of which objects are made”, competences include “skill, know-how and technique” and lastly, meanings include “include symbolic meanings, ideas and aspirations” (Shove et al., 2012: 14). These different elements then need to be linked together by the practice carrier to perform the practice.

Practice theoretical research often chooses to follow one of the above approaches (Aslan, 2021; Jack, 2018; Jørgensen, 2023), or alternatively argue for the combination of the two frameworks (Torkkeli et al., 2020).

In the following sections, I discuss how practice theoretical research has conceptualised consumption and questions of sustainability.

## **The practice turn in the sociology of consumption**

In the sociology of consumption, the practice turn was launched by Alan Warde's paper: *Consumption and Theories of Practice*, in which he argues for understanding consumption as goods being used and appropriated in the performance of different practices. Within this article, he made the influential argument that "consumption is not itself a practice but is, rather, a moment in almost every practice" (Warde, 2005: 137). Thus, this perspective focuses on how consumption unfolds as part of everyday practices and draws attention away from studying consumption as a channel for identity construction and expression present in cultural approaches (Warde, 2005, 2014, 2022).

Through this, the sociological consumption research started to focus on the ordinary forms of consumption that happen when people cook meals, clean their homes, or commute. This difference from the cultural consumption research has later been expressed by Warde as:

In reaction to the cultural turn, emphasis is placed upon doing over thinking, the material over the symbolic, and embodied practical competence over expressive virtuosity in the fashioned presentation of self. (Warde, 2014: 286)

This quote outlines how a practice theory-informed perspective on consumption differs from approaches that are concerned with the individual, expressive consumer. It underlines the focus on routinised performances, embodied competences and materiality of the involved processes.

With the shifting attention to how ordinary consumption unfolds as part of carrying out everyday practices, the attention also shifted to questions of how different things are used after being purchased. Warde (2005, 2014) refers to these different moments of consumption as processes of acquiring, appropriating and appreciation. This understanding of consumption thus encompasses how goods are exchanged, but also how they are then used and how pleasure and satisfaction is derived from the consumed good (Evans 2019).

Importantly, Evans (2019) argues that consumption is not only about how things come into use but also involves how these things (or experiences and services) are eventually parted with. Thus, Evans (2019: 507) proposes that each of Warde's (2005, 2014) "As" has a counterpart "D", that is devaluation, divestment and disposal. In this framework, devaluation refers to how the derived pleasure from a consumption object diminishes, and divestment describes the process where the personal meanings and attachments are broken with the object (Evans, 2019). Lastly, disposal describes the different processes by which objects are parted with (Evans, 2019). Thus, the 3As and 3Ds framework describes consumption from the moment of goods being acquired, until how they are eventually disposed of.

To summarise, through this practice theory-informed approach, consumption can be understood as different moments in everyday practices (Warde, 2005). Warde (2005, 2014) and Evans (2019) also point out that moments of consumption within practice enactments go beyond purchase and exchange. Accordingly, how different objects are used, gain and lose value and then eventually are passed on are central to how consumption unfolds in everyday practices (Evans, 2019; Warde, 2005, 2014).

Practice theoretical consumption research has dealt with questions of sustainability to a great extent (Sahakian et al., 2022; Shove, 2010; Welch and Warde, 2015). More recently, within this stream, there is also an emerging interest in circular consumption (e.g., Greene et al., 2024; Hobson et al., 2021; Mylan et al., 2016). I discuss this literature in the following section.

## **Performing sustainable consumption in everyday lives**

An important stream of practice theory informed consumption research focuses on sustainable consumption and argues that sustainable consumption is not a question of attitudes, behaviour, and choice (Shove, 2010). Instead, the performance of everyday practices is socially and materially patterned in a way that requires high levels of resources. Accordingly, high levels of resource consumption unfold through people carrying out everyday practices, such as commuting, cooking meals, heating and cleaning homes or even just handling and laundering clothing (Fuentes and Samsioe, 2020; Jack, 2017; Mylan and Southerton, 2018; Shove et al., 2015; Spurling, 2021). Thus, this literature argues that sustainable consumption is a matter of reconfiguring practices so that they require fewer resources (Shove, 2003, 2010; Shove et al., 2012).

One approach to conceptualise practice change has been provided by Shove et al. (2012) in *The dynamics of social practice*. In this book, besides putting forward the earlier discussed argument of practices being constituted by the linkage of materials, competences and meanings, they also outline how these elements become linked, how links are broken and what this means for changing practices. Shove et al. (2012) argue that practices change if there are new elements involved or if elements are combined in novel ways.

Connected to the climate crisis and environmental impact of consumption, the question of how to deliberately change practices started to emerge (Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014; Shove et al., 2012, 2015; Spurling et al., 2013). Achieving change in practices requires programmatic interventions to tackle the different elements and create new linkages across multiple practices (Middlemiss, 2018). Spurling et al. (2013), drawing on Shove et al. (2012), argue that practice change for reduced environmental impact can be achieved in three ways. First, by re-crafting practices through its elements, such as introducing plant-based substitutes in cooking. Second, by substituting the practice itself, for example, changing commuting by car to commuting by public transport (Middlemiss, 2018; Spurling et al., 2013). Third, practice change can occur by changing how practices interlock. This builds on the interaction of practices, where introducing a change to one practice can impact how another practice is constituted and performed (Middlemiss, 2018; Spurling et al., 2013). However, practices are performed as part of everyday lives; thus, they are socially, materially and culturally patterned, which besides practice elements and their linkages, also shape the possibilities for how practices can be changed.

As practices are part of everyday lives, different social, cultural and material mechanisms take part in shaping how practices are performed (Jack, 2018; Mylan and Southerton, 2018; Shove, 2003; Southerton, 2020). This complicates the attempts made to reconfigure practices. For instance, reducing the energy used in everyday cleanliness practices, such as laundry, dishwashing or personal hygiene cannot be achieved through technological innovations only (Jack, 2017). Social mechanisms and conventions, i.e., what is considered the normal way of doing (Shove, 2003), also structure these cleanliness practices (Jack, 2017). Others have similarly argued that conventions act as cultural ideas, and expectations regarding the outcomes of doing the practice of laundry (Mylan and Southerton, 2018). Besides conventions, Mylan and Southerton (2018) also identify the gendered division of labour, the space for and infrastructure of laundry within the domestic space, as well as institutionalised temporal rhythms like school timetables, exercise classes, or work schedules as ordering mechanisms of everyday laundry



practices. By pointing out these mechanisms and their role in shaping laundry, Mylan and Southerton (2018) argue that making laundry practices more sustainable is not a simple question of education or technological innovations but working together with people and finding solutions that fit with how everyday lives are structured and lived.

## **Circular consumption and the sociology of consumption**

The sociological research on circular consumption can be considered as a sub-stream of the present sociological research stream on sustainable consumption. Firstly, both research areas commonly draw on the practice approach to conceptualise consumption. As previously mentioned, sociological circular consumption research often takes a practice theory approach to explore how circular consumption is complicated in everyday practices (Mylan et al., 2016), or to map the practice elements of specific forms of circular consumption, such as clothes swapping (Camacho-Otero et al., 2020). Secondly, both the practice-based research on sustainable and circular consumption understand the unsustainability of consumption as an outcome of how everyday lives are socio-materially patterned and lived. As part of this, both areas of research have a shared focus on the sustainability of household practices, such as laundry and cooking, and its surrounding infrastructure (Hebrok and Heidenstrøm, 2019; Jack, 2017; Mylan et al., 2016; Mylan and Southerton, 2018). Households within these studies are often considered to be sites for enabling sustainability in consumption (Dubois et al., 2019; Evans, 2018) as well as sites for different circular activities (Greene et al., 2024), such as reuse and resale (Gregson et al., 2013), and repair (Gregson et al., 2009).

However, sociological circular consumption research has also started to address some less discussed aspects of sustainable consumption in everyday life and answer the call of situating consumption in wider societal shifts and economic processes (e.g., Evans, 2020; Warde, 2022). This is due to circular consumption being called for in relation to a wider economic reorganisation programme, i.e., the circular economy. Thus, circular consumption is closely connected to economic and market processes. The mapping of this connection has been commenced in circular consumption research, first and foremost through the notion of consumption work (Wheeler and Glucksmann, 2015a, 2015b) and its re-organisation due to this economic reorganisation programme (Hobson et al., 2021).

Hobson et al. (2021) argue for understanding the increased consumption work involved in the performance of circular consumption. Consumption work

involves “all work necessary for the purchase, use, re-use and disposal of consumption goods and services” (Wheeler and Glucksmann, 2015a: 37). This form of work undertaken by consumers is necessary for the completion as well as complementation of economic processes (Glucksmann, 2016). For instance, self-assembling furniture or installation of different software is necessary before some goods can be appropriated and appreciated. While consumption work is also part of linear economies, in a circular system, previous consumption work activities need to be scaled, and new practices need to be adopted (Hobson et al., 2021). For instance, even if a household already practised waste sorting and recycling according to circularity principles, they also need to enact further practices such as repairing broken belongings or sharing household tools. These increased levels of consumption work in the CE can further contribute to an unequal distribution of labour in terms of gender, class and employment forms (Hobson et al., 2021). Furthermore, it can be challenging to manage the time required for this increased work due to other personal or professional commitments, as the study of Sutcliffe (2022) demonstrates.

The discussion around increased consumption work in the CE, developed and often discussed from a Systems of Provision perspective (e.g., Greene et al., 2024; Wheeler, 2022) shows the close link between circular consumption and economic processes. To further the understanding of how everyday consumption is shaped by economic processes, and study how circular consumption is practically and socio-materially patterned through (retail) markets, I combine the theories of practice approach to consumption with concepts developed in market studies literature (see also Evans, 2020; Evans and Mylan, 2019; Fuentes and Samsioe, 2020). As I outline in the following section, drawing on the market studies approach helps to take a closer look at how circular consumption is produced in retail settings.

## Consumption and market studies

Market studies is an interdisciplinary research field that explores how markets are made and shaped through practices. Scholars in this field draw on Callon’s argument regarding the performativity of economic theories (Callon, 1998b, 2007), as well as on the practice turn in social sciences (e.g. Schatzki et al., 2001). Although this research tradition mainly focuses on how markets are made, shaped and performed, it also addresses how different actions, like the exchange of goods and connectedly the acquisition moment of consumption,

are shaped on markets. While I outlined above what the practice turn entails in social sciences, it is important to briefly introduce the Callonian economic sociology (Callon, 1984, 1998c) and how this has influenced the emergence of market studies.

A key underlying argument, that characterises the market studies approach, has been put forward by Callon (1998b). Informed by Actor-Network Theory, Callon (1998b: 2) outlines that economics<sup>4</sup> as a science does not observe economy rather it “performs, shapes and formats the economy”. This position means that economic theories are performative, that is they take part in shaping how the economy works.

The performativity of economics has been taken to conceptualise and describe the functioning of markets (Callon et al., 2002; Callon and Muniesa, 2005; Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2006; MacKenzie et al., 2007). Through this perspective, the naturally occurring character of markets is probed and questioned. Markets are rather viewed as continuously emerging entities, constituted through different market practices (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2007). The metaphor of English landscape gardens is used by Kjellberg and Helgesson (2007) to illustrate how markets are masked and shaped to work as natural phenomena. Just like landscape gardens, they resemble something natural, but they are shaped and continuously maintained to look as such. Having looked behind the façade of markets and taken a closer look at the different parts that constitute them, one can understand their constructed, performed and constantly emerging character (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2007).

Market studies have paid great attention to explaining how markets are shaped and made to work. Furthermore, and more closely related to this dissertation, this tradition has also paid attention to how consumption, mostly the acquisition moment, is shaped through markets. In the following three sections, I outline these developments.

## **Defining market practices**

According to Callon and Muniesa (2005) markets consist of three activities: making goods calculable, assigning calculative agencies, and arranging the

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<sup>4</sup> Economic theories in Callon’s work refer to theories from the field of economics, such as supply and demand, rational choice theory or externalities, but also theories from marketing and accounting (Callon, 1998a, 1998b, 2007)

meeting of these goods and calculative agents to bring about exchange. This means that in business-to-consumer markets goods need to be made tradable (Callon et al., 2002). Then consumers need to be equipped to recognise, evaluate and purchase the good (Callon, 2005; Cochoy, 2004, 2008). Lastly, the meeting of these goods and consumers needs to be arranged in retail stores (Cochoy, 2007). These activities are organised and re-arranged simultaneously and recursively; they are ongoing processes in the enactment of markets.

Kjellberg and Helgesson (2006) argue that the above three market activities unfold through chains of translations that link together three different market practices: exchange, normative and representational practices. Exchange practices directly contribute to the realisation of exchange (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2007). These practices stabilise the conditions of the goods, the participating agents, and the terms of exchange (price setting, distribution, advertising, etc.) so that the exchange can take place. The representational practices illustrate markets and their modes of functioning (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2007). These representations then also have a performative role in how markets work (Nilsson and Helgesson, 2015). Lastly, normative practices refer to establishing guidelines for how markets should work (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2007). This can include the creation of market reforms or different standards that should be followed. Further, it also includes companies' own strategies, such as financial plans or sustainability goals. These three practices describe "all activities that contribute to constitute markets" (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2007: 141).

According to Kjellberg and Helgesson (2007: 142), the three market practices describe "efforts to shape markets as well as efforts to market in markets (to promote, advertise, sell, etc.)". In other words, this understanding of market practices directs the focus to what is being done on markets both to shape markets, and also to realise exchange around certain products. Thus, while this research orientation offers insights into the workings of markets, it also helps to understand how marketers work towards producing different forms of consumption.

Retail markets offer a rich empirical ground to study the market practices that produce consumption of different goods (Callon and Muniesa, 2005; Cochoy, 2007). According to Callon and Muniesa (2005), to study how products are made calculable, how calculating agents are created and then how their meeting is arranged, one can turn to retail settings, as retail markets are key arenas for making the offerings suitable for consumers.

## **Producing consumption on retail markets**

The market studies approach closely examines how exchange, i.e., the acquisition phase of consumption, is organised through retail markets (Cochoy, 2004, 2008; Cochoy et al., 2016; Fuentes et al., 2017; Hagberg, 2016). According to this scholarship, consumption and choosing in retail markets is a heterogeneous, collective and material endeavour, where different actors work together to produce consumption (Cochoy et al., 2017). In this collective endeavour different professionals, such as marketers and product developers prepare the meeting of products or services and the equipped consumers, aiming to lead to successful exchange (Cochoy, 2007).

How these ‘meetings’ are produced through different market materialities has been explored in previous research (Cochoy, 2008; Evans and Mylan, 2019; Stigzelius, 2018). Cochoy (2007: 110) makes the argument to turn our attention to ‘market-things’, that is, what “everyone sees and still doesn’t see” in a mundane retail setting and work towards encouraging consumers to purchase. These things, for instance, include the different signs and boards, which, at varying levels and heights, alongside the packaging, help consumers navigate retail aisles (Cochoy, 2007); the shopping cart, around which the grocery shopping is organised (Cochoy, 2008); and the shopping bags, which allow for carrying the produce home in specific ways (Hagberg, 2016). Further studies have shown the role of price tags in the creation of loyalty (Hagberg et al., 2020; Hagberg and Kjellberg, 2015) and how price advertisements on social media help to navigate alternative markets directly between producers and consumers (Bååth, 2022).

Much of the work has been interested in the digitalisation of consumption (Cochoy et al., 2017), and how these market materialities often take digital forms. For instance, besides the signs, shelves and price tags placed by retailers, smartphones now also play a role in how consumption is shaped on markets (Fuentes et al., 2017), and smartphone apps, such as retailers’ own, or the ones providing extra information regarding ingredient lists, can guide what consumers will buy in stores (Fuentes and Sörum, 2019). The digitalisation phenomenon also has consequences for how retailing and its boundaries are understood (Hagberg et al., 2016). With digitalisation, retail settings include a set of arenas that reach beyond the physical store, and include the different spheres of “where and when retailing takes place” (Hagberg et al., 2016: 694). Thus, the role of retailers’ social media also needs to be considered when studying the production of consumption.

With this proliferation of retail spaces, market-things work through multiple and coordinated avenues for producing the desired form of consumption. This has been illustrated when it comes to making exchange around products with rich understandings and when some form of change in their consumption is to be introduced like milk produce alternatives (Fuentes and Fuentes, 2017), and with new forms of wearable safety technology in motorcycling (Reimer and Pinch, 2020). To produce the consumption of these products, materialities of different retail settings need to tackle and shape the cultural ideas and understanding of these products. In the case of milk alternatives, the packaging, the socio-material set up of the store as well as the brand's social media together show that milk alternatives can be consumed, not only due to dietary restrictions, but also for other health or environmental reasons (Fuentes and Fuentes, 2017). When it comes to launching and producing the consumption of inflatable airbag clothing for motorcycling, trade shows, races, celebrity influencers and pop-up stores with their included materialities are coordinated to convince consumers that this new technology needs to be incorporated into how motorcycling is performed (Reimer and Pinch, 2020).

Importantly for this dissertation, the market studies scholarship recognises that consumers are more than just made-up 'choosers' in a specific exchange situation. Previous studies within this research tradition show that consumption is also socially shaped by entities from outside retail market settings. As Callon et al. (2002) argue, consumers' lives expand outside the retail stores; their choices are collectively negotiated and made also through their households. Franck Cochoy's ethnographic work in supermarkets on the making of consumption choices (Cochoy, 2004, 2008) sheds further light on this process. While the socio-material set up and 'market things' (Cochoy, 2007) of the retail settings, such as shelves, packaging or even shopping carts—and now digital entities (Cochoy et al., 2017; Fuentes and Svingstedt, 2017)—work towards enabling exchange, the choices configured in retail settings are embedded in and complicated by everyday lives and social relations.

Connectedly, producing consumption on markets is not always a successful process, as social and cultural aspects of everyday lives also play a role in how consumption is eventually performed. In some cases, different materialities in retail settings such as digital apps or more mundane things, like shopping bags, manage to enable and change consumption patterns (Fuentes and Sörum, 2019; Hagberg, 2016; Stigzelius et al., 2018). In other cases, these efforts are not successful. These failures in shaping consumption are explained by Fuentes (2024) in a study on meal box offers, by pointing out how shifting ideas

concerning the right type of diets or simply the change of households' daily routines impedes producing stable and long-term consumer configurations.

Overall, it is important to take into consideration the market materialities that work towards producing consumption in retail settings. However, it is also important to consider that these efforts made at producing specific desired forms of consumption are often complicated in everyday rhythms and socio-cultural ideas.

## **Producing sustainable consumption on retail markets**

Market studies scholars have also addressed the issue of how sustainable forms of consumption are made possible and shaped by market arrangements. These studies shed light on how the marketing and material arrangements of retail stores set to bring about different sustainable forms of consumption, such as ethical (Fuentes and Sörum, 2019), green and political (Stigzelius, 2018), package-free (Hawkins, 2020) or plant-based consumption (Fuentes and Fuentes, 2023), to name a few examples.

These studies show the central role that the materiality of retail settings plays in enabling more environmentally or socially beneficial modes of consumption. For instance, Hawkins (2020) demonstrates how in a package-free store the space is set up differently than in regular stores as the packaging no longer mediates the shopping practice. Consumers are materially required to take their own containers and devote time and work to perform the tasks that would be carried out by the packaging. The socio-material enabling of more environmentally friendly consumption is also demonstrated by Fuentes and Sörum (2019) when analysing ethical consumption apps. These apps are shown to function as consumption devices, giving consumers the capacity to make desired choices while searching for cafes with Fairtrade products or shopping for groceries.

Furthermore, these studies also suggest that retail settings' material reconfigurations to produce more sustainable consumption draw on different moralities. In the ethical-app smartphone study, Fuentes and Sörum (2019) also demonstrate how everyday choices become problematised and ethicalised. Mundane practices, such as grocery shopping or going out for a coffee are questioned and then repositioned as questions of ethical choice through the apps. Furthermore, Hawkins (2020) also demonstrates how the package-free stores' socio-material arrangement also shapes the moralities of grocery shopping. In this study, it is argued that as the plastic packaging is removed,

new responsibilities and accountability relations emerge, with consumers taking over the ‘package’ responsibilities as an act of care.

However, even if different digital devices or store materialities try to produce and enable ethical consumption and evoke moralities, these efforts do not always succeed. Previous studies started to illustrate from a socio-material perspective how and why desired forms of consumption fail to come about (Fuentes, 2019, 2024). For instance, Fuentes (2019) shows how smartphone apps that were designed to enable ethical consumption can fail to do so due to the ‘immutability’ of these apps. In other words, when consumers cannot adopt and fit the action into their everyday lives, consumption is performed against what is being called for and enabled on markets.

Overall, market studies informed research helps to understand how materialities of (retail) markets work towards producing specific forms of consumption. Furthermore, these studies also indicate that this process involves drawing on different forms of moralities and that producing specific forms of consumption is sometimes hindered, due to different social aspects of consumption.

In the following section I explain how I combine this market studies approach with the earlier outlined theories of practice approach to consumption.

## The overarching ‘practice theories’ approach to producing and performing consumption

The complementary nature of the above-outlined theories of practice and market studies approach to study consumption is being increasingly recognised (e.g., Evans, 2020; Shove and Araujo, 2010). The two are sometimes combined to understand and conceptualise how market materialities shape consumption in exchange situations and in homes (Fuentes and Samsioe, 2020; Stigzelius et al., 2018). This is referred to as a socio-material practice approach (Stigzelius, 2017), or as a ‘practice theories’ approach (Evans, 2020). It has been used to study how, for instance, environmentally conscious green consumers are socio-materially made through markets (Stigzelius et al., 2018), or to investigate how cooking practices are re-made due to the involvement of new meal box offers (Fuentes and Samsioe, 2020).

Such combinations in the analysis of social phenomena are enabled through the shared core assumptions in market studies and theories of practice approach



to consumption (Evans, 2020). Firstly, they both see consumption as a collective achievement, which means that the possibility to perform sustainable consumption lies in how it is being enabled, i.e., what are the social, material and cultural factors that make their performance possible and meaningful (Fuentes and Sörum, 2019; Jack, 2018; Mylan and Southerton, 2018). Furthermore, both of these approaches, although to a varying degree, pay attention to how products and services and their marketing shape consumption (Fuentes and Fuentes, 2017; Shove and Araujo, 2010; Shove and Pantzar, 2005). Lastly, a non-essentialist stance and empirical openness are key within both traditions. According to this view, the sustainable consumer is emergent, and how actions are performed depends on the specific empirical context of the situation (Reijonen, 2011). This also means that even if there are configurations to, for instance, bring about sustainable or ethical consumption through different market offers and materialities, these efforts might be unsuccessful (Fuentes, 2019, 2024) if for instance, the offering does not fit in the rhythms of everyday lives (Fuentes and Sörum, 2019).

The combination of these two approaches is motivated not only by their similarities but also by the ways in which they differ. Together they allow for taking a more encompassing approach to understanding both how consumption is produced in retail settings and how it is performed in households. As others have argued, while theories of practice approaches to consumption need supporting conceptual tools to understand markets, a market studies approach to consumption can benefit from additional frameworks to conceptualise consumption beyond exchange in market settings (Fuentes and Samsioe, 2020; Stigzelius et al., 2018). Consequently, the two strengthen and complement one another to provide novel understandings of how consumption unfolds when it is understood as shaped through both markets and everyday life.

From the practice theoretical approach to consumption, we know that consumers, as carriers of practices (Reckwitz, 2002), have some discretion over what forms of consumption to carry out (Warde, 2005). From the market studies understanding of market practices and consumption, it is clear that some actions may be produced for consumers in retail settings, but the desired actions are not always followed through (Cochoy, 2008; Fuentes, 2019, 2024; Jackson et al., 2018). With the combination of these two, i.e., through the ‘practice theories’ approach (Evans, 2020), the question of how different modes of consumption are brought into being is a matter of inter- and counterplay between how everyday lives are lived and how retail settings are arranged.

From this follows that different socio-material household and retail mechanisms together bring circular consumption into being. Circular consumption is not independent of the materiality of retail settings. However, these arrangements do not have complete governance and control over consumers either. Everyday lives also take part in shaping how circular consumption becomes performed. How different socio-material mechanisms take part in bringing circular consumption into being in both retail and household settings requires empirical investigation. In this investigation, I draw on different enabling concepts (Dolbec et al., 2021) that are chosen from the wider ‘practice theories’ approach.

## Conceptual lenses from the ‘practice theories’ approach

I have in the included research papers that make up this compilation dissertation used different ‘practice theories’ concepts. Following Evans (2020), I combine the practice theoretical approach to everyday consumption with concepts drawn from Callonian economic sociology and the field of market studies. Together these concepts are my theoretical toolkit, where some conceptual lenses enable the theorisation (Dolbec et al., 2021) of how circular consumption is produced, while others are employed to add to our understanding of how circular consumption is performed in households. These concepts are not combined here as an overarching framework; rather, they have been chosen due to their differences. They are used to bring out different aspects (Dolbec et al., 2021) regarding how circular consumption is produced in retail settings and how it is performed in household settings.

In the following sections, I outline what concepts are used in each of the research papers. I describe how each of these conceptual lenses add to the understanding of how circular consumption is produced in retail settings or the everyday performance of circular consumption.

### **Research paper 1 – Qualification and ethicalisation**

In the first attached research paper, I draw mainly on market studies, employing the concepts of qualification (Callon et al., 2002) and ethicalisation (Fuentes and Sörum, 2019) as a combined theoretical approach. Through this lens, I study how care offerings—launched by clothing retailers as part of

circularity strategies—are offered for sale and how this problematises consumption in everyday life. Qualification refers to the process of different professionals, such as product developers and marketers attaching qualities, i.e., ‘constellation of characteristics’, to their products and services in the preparation of exchange (Callon et al., 2002: 199). Thus, it describes the socio-material work of transferring products and services into tradable goods (e.g., Dubuisson-Quellier, 2010; Fuentes and Fuentes, 2017; Reijonen and Tryggestad, 2012). While ethicalisation describes the process of how different things on markets problematise and reposition certain mundane household practices, such as laundry and maintaining clothes, into questions of ethical actions (Fuentes and Sörum, 2019). With the help of this combined framework, I explore how the care offerings are prepared for exchange and how the specific ways of selling them problematise the use and consumption of garments in everyday life. This helps to understand how circular consumption is produced in retail settings by drawing out how the launch of care-focused circularity offerings questions and problematises how consumers use their garments in their everyday lives.

Preparing care products and services for exchange in an environment that is characterised by linear and fast consumption requires thorough qualification work in retail settings. The qualification process happens through multiple stages, from product development to also how products and services are presented in retail settings (Reimer and Pinch, 2020). These are sometimes differentiated as *in-vitro* qualifications, referring to the phase of product development and *in-vivo* qualifications, describing the qualities attached to products and services once they are launched (Reijonen and Tryggestad, 2012). In this paper, I focus on the *in-vivo* qualification of the care offerings, which Callon et al. (2002) describe as the temporarily stabilised qualities, that ensure that goods are ready to be exchanged.

Retail settings are rich in qualifications to make the offerings tradable goods and enable exchange agents to choose (Cochoy, 2004, 2007; Reimer and Pinch, 2020). Importantly, the qualities are not only attached to products and services but also present in the socio-material construction of the surrounding retail settings (Cochoy, 2007), inclusive of labels, signs, prices, and physical and digital marketing material. Fuentes and Fuentes (2017) illustrate how digital marketing material, product packaging, and the arrangement of the store together participate in creating multiple markets for alternative dairy products. Thus, when studying the *in-vivo* qualification of care offerings, it is important to study how and what qualities are attached to the goods themselves, as well

as how the surrounding market-things (Cochoy, 2007) and digital and physical marketing materials attach various qualities to the care offerings.

Analysing the attached qualities from an ethicalisation perspective helps to understand how the selling of the care offerings aims to problematise everyday chores. Ethicalisation as defined by Fuentes and Sörum (2019: 147) refers to “the process by which the ethical is actualized as choices and actions are framed as ethical”. Thus, the concept describes how everyday practices become questioned and articulated as spheres for ethical action by different marketing professionals, NGOs or policymakers (Barnett et al., 2005; Fuentes and Sörum, 2019). The combined qualification and ethicalisation framework hence helps to understand with what qualities the care offerings are offered for sale, and how these qualities problematise and reposition everyday chores as spheres for ethical actions.

Looking at the way these offerings are offered for sale and what aspects of everyday garment-related chores they problematise takes the understanding further of how circular consumption is produced in retail settings. By closely looking at the socio-material enactment of care-based circularity offerings in retail settings, we can understand what form of circular consumption is produced in retail settings and how it needs to be performed by consumers.

## **Research paper 2 – Consumer responsabilization as scripting**

The second paper draws on the concept of scripting, which has its origins in Science and Technology Studies but has been used both in the sociology of consumption (Fuentes and Fuentes, 2022; Hansen and Wethal, 2023; Sahakian and Wilhite, 2014) and market studies (e.g., Andersson et al., 2008; Fuentes and Sörum, 2019). In this paper we (with Maria Fuentes as the first author) study consumer responsabilization as a form of scripting in the marketing of circular consumption. Consumer responsabilization refers to how consumers are individualised and assigned moral responsibility for different global challenges (Giesler and Veresiu, 2014; Soneryd and Ugglä, 2015). By approaching consumer responsabilization as scripting, another aspect of producing circular consumption in retail settings can be investigated. That is what forms of responsibilities for the environmental sustainability of the clothing sector are allocated to consumers and how the abilities to answer to these responsibilities are produced, organised and controlled in retail stores. This helps to draw out different forms of consumer responsabilization, some enabling change and the performance of circular consumption, while other forms limit such possibilities.

Previous studies show how responsabilization unfolds within marketing campaigns or policy documents mostly through text and talk (Giesler and Veresiu, 2014). Scholars have also started to engage with how responsabilization unfolds on markets (e.g., Evans et al., 2017). These studies show that products and services are used as avenues for self-management and acting according to the responsabilised subject position (Giesler and Veresiu, 2014; Kipp and Hawkins, 2019), but also as a way for consumers to resist the assigned responsibilities (Cherrier and Türe, 2023; Eckhardt and Dobscha, 2019). However, despite this turn to markets and different ‘disciplinary technologies’ (Soneryd and Ugglä, 2015) or ‘capabilization’ tools (Giesler and Veresiu, 2014), the materialities of the responsabilization process remains under-theorised. Further knowledge is needed regarding how different market materialities take part in the formation of responsibilities, as well as what forms of actions they enable or constrain.

To develop such an understanding, we employ the notion of scripting (Akrich and Latour 1992, Jelsma 2006). With this concept, we critically engage with how responsibilities for circular consumption both are materially and discursively formed and assigned to consumers, as well as how consumers are enabled or hindered to act upon these responsibilities. Thus, we analyse responsabilization as a process of scripting in the circularity products and services and their marketing in physical and digital stores. These circularity offerings include, for instance, care products and services, as well as re-sell and recycled product lines, and take-back systems.

Scripting allows for studying how different practices in (retail) markets are ‘encouraged’ or ‘countered’ through the ‘force’ (Jelsma, 2003: 106) of different market materialities, such as the ones involved with circular consumption. Market materialities, as we understand them, are ‘artefacts’ that carry scripts with prescriptive forces. A script refers to:

“[A] material structure that, by its specific layout, exerts force on the actions of its user. That is, the script of an artifact invites certain user behavior while counteracting other behavior.” (Jelsma, 2006, p.223).

According to Jelsma (2003, 2006) artefacts carry scripts from the product designers (or retailers) which allow them to act at a distance. These scripts invite certain intended user actions while hindering others (Akrich and Latour, 1992). We look at the different circularity products and services, along with their marketing, as artefacts that carry scripts of action — enabling some forms of circular consumption, while hindering others. It is important to note that in

this process, scripts are not neutral, they have a moral dimension and form paths that are more preferred, against which actions or their breakdowns unfold (Akrich and Latour, 1992).

As we analyse responsabilization as scripting in the context of circularity products and services and their marketing, we draw on the notions of inscription and prescription (Akrich and Latour, 1992). We analyse how retail stores are inscribed with the idea of circular consumption and what responsibilities are formed as part of this. We also look at what actions are prescribed to consumers, for instance how the stores and circularity offerings enable sharing garments, extending garment lifetimes, reusing, upcycling or redistributing the clothing items. We analyse what action paths are made easier and what actions are hindered for the responsabilised consumers. Against this background, we understand responsabilization as a form of inscription and prescription, where the responsibility for vulnerabilities and protection of garments is both materially and discursively formed and assigned to consumers. Moreover, we look at how the abilities to act upon said responsibilities are enabled, placing consumers in control over the formed vulnerabilities and need for protection.

This analytical approach helps to further understand how circular consumption is produced in retail settings. It does so by making visible the way circularity products and services, and their marketing, in retail stores materially and discursively form and allocate responsibilities to consumers and shape circular consumption practices. Moreover, it shows how in this process consumers are enabled or constrained to act upon assigned responsibilities, which contributes to making some responsibilities and circular consumption possible to perform while limiting others.

### **Research paper 3 – Care-in-practice**

The third research paper explores the performance of circular consumption in everyday lives of households. Theoretically, it draws on the theories of practice approach to consumption from the sociology of consumption (Warde, 2005), combined with the feminist scholarship on care (Fisher and Tronto, 1990; Tronto, 1993). In the paper, we (together with Christian Fuentes as second author) wanted to understand how care is involved in performing circular consumption. Previous studies argue that in circular consumption, consumers are asked to care for belongings as well as for distant and future others (Ackermann, 2018; Jaeger-Erben et al., 2021; Rabiou and Jaeger-Erben, 2022). However, while care has been part of discussions in consumption studies in the

wider sense (e.g., Cox, 2010; Hall, 2011; Koskinen and Jauho, 2024; Shaw et al., 2017), it seldom receives specific focus or further conceptualisation within circular consumption literature.

Thus, we devised a care-in-practice framework which we employed to further the understanding of how caring for distant or close others, including both environmental and human care-receivers, is part of performing circular consumption in households' everyday lives. In this paper, we shed further light on how circular consumption is performed in households by drawing out how the enactment of care is linked to, enables but also hinders circular clothing practices. In other words, we analyse how care is present as people manage their garments and how this links to circular consumption.

In this endeavour, we start from Tronto's work on care and the definition of:

*"[A] species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible"* (Fisher and Tronto, 1990, p.40, italics original).

While this definition may be critiqued for its wide scope (Shaw et al., 2017), it also directs our attention to the different forms of caring that are involved in everyday consumption (Cox, 2010; Hall, 2011). Through this approach we understand care as the attentive interests, emotions, and concerns for others, but also as the active delivery and doing of this care (Tronto, 1993). Furthermore, based on this definition we also see care unfolding not only in physically present human to human interactions, but also in how people care for their possessions and through that for the environment, as well as how people may care for more distant social others, such as future generations or the next user of garments.

Combining this care approach with practice theory (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 2001) we view care as both produced by and productive of practices. In other words, we understand care as realised in and through practices (see also Mol et al., 2010). Within a practice care can have different roles; it may be the main goal of the practice (Gherardi and Rodeschini, 2016), but it can also be in the background as a moral guidance (Gram-Hanssen, 2021). Thus, multiple household practices carry some form of care. Cooking a meal for others, cleaning homes, repairing clothes or doing laundry in environmentally conscious ways are enacted to the benefit of self or others (see for instance Hall, 2011).

We also use the care awareness, responsibility, and care resource concepts from care theory (Fisher and Tronto, 1990) to understand how care becomes

enacted. These aspects of care are relevant for our care-in-practice framework, as they allow us to see the different elements<sup>5</sup> that are required for the successful enactment of care. We analyse how caring for clothes as a way of caring for the environment and caring for social others can successfully be performed. On the other hand, based on our care-in-practice framework we also conceptualise that care might not always be possible to enact. We first conceptualise and then empirically explore how care struggles emerge if resources, such as time, skills and equipment are lacking. Secondly, we also study the conflicts involved in care (Tronto, 1998: 17), that is how do care dilemmas emerge when there are multiple, sometimes conflicting needs that consumers need to attend to. With the notions of care struggles and dilemmas, we both show how failures to enact care emerge, and it also allows us to illustrate how these lead to failures in performing circular consumption.

This framework allows for understanding a specific aspect of how circular consumption is performed in household settings. It helps to outline how care is part of performing circular consumption. Moreover, with the paper's focus on both successful and failed enactments of care, a further understanding can be gained of how and why circular consumption fails in household settings. Hence, the findings of the paper outline the key role that successful and failed enactments of care play in the (im)possibilities of performing circular consumption in household settings.

## **Research paper 4 – Valuation work in circular practices**

The fourth and final paper draws on practice theory (Warde, 2005) and the sociology of valuation (Doganova et al., 2014; Helgesson and Muniesa, 2013). Together with Christian Fuentes, Emma Samsioe and Niklas Sörum, we shed further light on the work of consumers involved with valuations in circular clothing practices. In other words, we explore a less understood form of consumption work in the CE (e.g., Hobson et al., 2021), performed to counter the devaluation and deterioration of products, to keep them valuable for extended periods, and to ensure their circulation. In this section, I provide an overview of the notion of valuation, which provides the base, in combination with theories of practice, for our analysis of valuation work in circular practices.

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<sup>5</sup> Referring to the care elements of Tronto, not Shove et al. 2012



Valuation includes the social processes through which the values of things are “established, assessed, negotiated, provoked, maintained, constructed and/or contested” (Doganova et al., 2014: 87). Taking this perspective means a shift away from seeing value as something that is ‘naturally’ part of the object or the person who is doing the valuation. Rather value, both in the monetary and non-monetary sense, is understood in this paper, aligned with theories of practice, as an outcome of social practices but also being productive of these practices. How a product is used, for how long, and whether it needs special maintenance or repair, are questions that are subjected to valuations. Similarly, when to dispose of a garment and through what channels, are issues that are dealt with through valuation processes.

Valuation involves both evaluations, the question of an object being deemed valuable or not, as well as valorising, the process of making things valuable (Vatin, 2013). These two acts of valuations, as Vatin (2013) argues, are two different processes, yet are performed simultaneously and are interconnected. For instance, when choosing what clothing items to wear one might evaluate a worn-out t-shirt unsuitable for the daytime, yet it can be re-valorised as suitable for pyjamas as the textile has become softer. When studying valuation work as part of circular clothing practices, we consider both the revalorising and evaluating aspects of the concept.

Valuations are also connected to the materialities of both markets and households. As Lehtokunnas and Pyyhtinen (2022) argue, valuation devices take part in shaping the valuation processes. In the context of clothing consumption, multiple tools, platforms, packages, signs and labels assist consumers in deeming what is valuable or to help make garments valuable.

Importantly, multiple ways of performing valuations and modes of valuation often co-exist (Helgesson and Muniesa, 2013). In other words, valuation can be performed according to different frameworks of what is considered good or bad. This is demonstrated by Heuts and Mol (2013) in their study of the valuation of tomatoes and the registers of valuing involved. The monetary aspect of the valuation is just one of the registers in the valuation, the quality or background of the tomatoes is also important in deeming what is a good tomato. In the case of clothing, one can also expect multiple registers of valuing at play that deem the garments ‘good’ to wear, to repair or to pass on; hence, we explore what forms of register take part in valuing clothing for circular paths.

While valuation has mostly been understood in relation to markets, in this paper we study the work of consumers involved with valuations as part of

circular clothing practices. Bringing valuation to the sphere of consumption involves some necessary conceptual clarifications that carry analytical relevance. Firstly, an aspect of the valuation concept that is specifically relevant to how circular consumption is performed is how goods go through different cycles of valuation. Goods continuously gain, lose and re-gain value (Greeson, 2020; Lehtokunnas and Pyyhtinen, 2022). One garment can move back and forth between being kept in storage, and then later on being re-valorised for use in another domain of life (Assima et al., 2023). Secondly, we understand valuations as running through different moments of consumption. Thus, compared with Evans (2019) we see valuation as not only an important aspect of how goods are appreciated or devaluated, but also how they are acquired, appropriated, divested from and disposed of. Lastly, and somewhat connectedly we view evaluation and valorisation as part of both linear and circular acquisition, use and disposal of products. However, in this paper, we focus on the efforts and work involved with performing valuations as part of circular clothing practices. We look at the valuation work performed for carrying out evaluations and valorisations that lead to circular practices, as well as the actions that are involved in ensuring the performance of these valuations, that is, developing competences, gaining and securing access to valuation devices, as well as the efforts of shifting registers of valuing.

With this investigation focused on valuation work, a further understanding can be gained regarding a specific form of work involved with performing circular consumption in household settings. Focusing on valuation work helps to outline how consumers tackle the material deterioration and devaluing of garments dictated by the linear consumption landscape, try to extend their valuable use time, and evaluate how garments can be best passed on if devalued to ensure their circulation. Moreover, this analytical approach helps to shed light on the (im)possibilities of performing circular consumption, from the perspective of how consumers can perform valuation work for circular practice enactments in a landscape that is set up for linear consumption.

## Summary

To summarise, I understand consumption as different moments of acquisition, appropriation, appreciation (Warde, 2005, 2014) and devaluation, divestment, disposal (Evans 2019) that arise within and for the enactment of practices (Warde, 2005, 2014, Evans 2019). Marrying this conceptualisation with market studies arguments, I acknowledge the role of socio-material

arrangements of (retail) markets in shaping consumption in different retail settings (e.g., Cochoy, 2007, 2008), as well as beyond them, in everyday household practice enactments (Fuentes and Samsioe, 2020; Fuentes and Sörum, 2019). Accordingly, in this dissertation, I understand consumption – supported by a wider practice approach, combining sociology of consumption (Evans, 2019; Warde, 2005) and market studies (Callon, 1998c; Cochoy, 2007; Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2007) – as shaped through both everyday life and socio-material arrangement of (retail) markets.

This combination of the theories of practice approach to consumption with the market studies approach, referred to here and after Evans (2020) as a ‘practice theories’ approach, helps to theorise both the role of markets and everyday lives in producing and performing circular consumption and its (im)possibilities. The questions of how circular consumption is produced in retail settings, how it is performed in household settings and what are the involved (im)possibilities, are addressed together by the four appended papers. All the research paper concepts are taken from the wider tradition of ‘practice theories’ (Evans, 2020).

Qualification, combined with ethicalisation (paper 1), as well as the framework of responsabilisation as scripting (paper 2), help to investigate how circular consumption is produced in retail settings. Qualification shows how the producing of circular consumption is accomplished on the level of care products and services by allowing a closer look at how these circularity offerings are ‘packaged’ and prepared for exchange. Combined with ethicalisation, it can be explored how the selling of care-focused circularity offerings questions and problematises how clothing-related everyday chores are performed. The framework of responsabilisation as scripting helps to outline how the performance of circular consumption is enabled in retail stores. This framework allows for exploring how the stores become inscribed with the idea of circularity, what actions are prescribed, and how these processes produce different possibilities for the responsabilised consumers.

Care-in-practice (paper 3) and valuation work (paper 4) help instead to shed light on what consumers draw on when performing circular consumption. The former concept helps to illustrate how the interconnectedness of care possibilities and circular consumption performances play out. The latter helps to shed light on the efforts consumers make to evaluate and revalorise clothing items in ways that keep them in use and set them on circular pathways.

Together these conceptual lenses help me to answer the third research question of this dissertation, focused on creating an understanding of the

(im)possibilities of circular consumption flowing through both retail and household settings. As I noted earlier, consumption is brought into being through the inter-, and counterplay of different socio-material mechanisms in retail and household settings. Bringing together the findings of the four research papers helps to delineate how the (im)possibilities of circular consumption are produced and performed in everyday life.

The next chapter presents the methodological choices and describes the two studies that were conducted and led to the attached research papers.



# Methodology: studying practices ethnographically in retail and household settings

As outlined in the previous chapter, I draw on concepts from the wider ‘practice theories’ approach (e.g., Evans, 2020) to study how circular consumption is practically and socio-materially brought into being. The concepts I use in this dissertation are all based on seeing reality, or rather realities, as constantly being enacted through practices (Evans, 2020; Law and Lien, 2013; Law and Singleton, 2014). As practices “are endlessly variable and differ from one another”, multiple realities are being continuously enacted (Law, 2004: 162).

This specific ontological position means that I need to acknowledge that what I study is in the process of constant becoming and can take multiple forms (see also Stigzelius, 2017). From this position what becomes interesting is how specific realities are being enacted, instead of taking an epistemological interest in how humans get to know and understand ‘reality’ (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2006; Law and Singleton, 2014; Law and Urry, 2004). These realities are being ‘ordered’ through the relational and performative effect of practices (Law and Lien, 2013: 364), and the methods of understanding these enactments of realities have a performative effect (Law, 2004; Law and Urry, 2004). In the following section, I briefly reflect on what ontological relationality and performativity of social scientific methods entail for my dissertation. Then, in the rest of the chapter, I outline the included studies, and the ethnographic methods used.

## Ontological considerations

Firstly, a relational approach to reality holds that realities are brought into being based on the different associations that are formed between elements (Law and Lien, 2013; Law and Singleton, 2014; Law and Urry, 2004). In this relational reality construction, interactions that make reality are not limited to humans. Associations that are formed and construct reality are between both humans and non-humans (Latour, 1984). Or as Law and Urry (2004: 395) argue: “(r)eality is a relational effect. It is produced and stabilized in interaction that is simultaneously material and social.” Thus, how and what realities are enacted in specific situations depends on what social and material elements are forged together.

Secondly, Law and Urry (2004) argue that it is not only theories that have performative effects, as argued by Callon (1998b, 2007), but also the choice of research methods. Social scientific methods participate in enacting the worlds that they wish to describe (Law and Urry, 2004). Thus, the choice of methods, observation sites, and the asked questions partake in producing different enactments of reality. This poses difficulties for a researcher interested in studying how different forms of consumption are enacted. How can I study the producing and performing of circular consumption, while also producing what I wish to illustrate and conceptualise? These are method-related questions, which I kept reflecting on while designing my studies. To address the issue briefly, first and foremost, I explored how circular consumption is brought into being across multiple sites. This helped to collect different enactments of circular consumption with the help of different methods. Furthermore, I drew on Evans’ (2020) argument that by taking a ‘practice theories’ approach one can take a close look at analysing what different practice enactments require i.e., what does it take for a reality to be enacted; but one also can ‘look up’ and see how and why these specific practice enactments are made possible.

In the following section, I describe how taking an ethnographic approach helped to capture how circular consumption is practically and socio-materially brought into being.

## Two ethnographic studies

How does one study practices when they are constantly emerging, and relational and the choice of methods has performative consequences (Law,

2004)? While there is no agreed-upon methodological package for the study of practices, different versions of ethnography have been widely used (see, for example, Aslan, 2021; Cochoy, 2007; Fuentes, 2014, 2015; Law, 2004; Law and Lien, 2013; Spitzkat, 2022; Stigzelius, 2017). Ethnography, as Law (2004: 18) argues “lets us see the relative messiness of practice”. Thus, ethnography allows the researcher to observe and capture, through different data collection methods, how different practices are enacted. This has been demonstrated through ethnographies of laboratory work and medical practices (e.g., Law, 2004; Mol, 1999).

Ethnographic methods have also been used to study the socio-material making of market practices and consumption in everyday life (e.g., Cochoy, 2007; Fuentes, 2014, 2015). These studies allowed for an in-depth understanding of consumption in everyday life and on markets. In this dissertation, I followed this tradition and took an ethnographic approach to understand how circular consumption is practically and socio-materially brought into being. In this section, along with providing a brief overview of ethnography, I discuss three aspects of my ethnographic approach that somewhat diverge from traditional or mainstream ethnography: duration of engagement, role of materiality and lastly the presence of multiple sites.

Ethnography as a research method has been developed and used differently across disciplines. This has led to the absence of a single, universally accepted definition of ethnography, and different debates on what ethnography is (Hammersley, 2006). While there is no universally agreed-upon definition, there are well-developed descriptions and guides on how to do ethnography (e.g., Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Collecting material through ethnography, according to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 3), involves:

[T]he researcher participating, overtly or covertly, in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, and/or asking questions through informal and formal interviews, collecting documents and artefacts – in fact, gathering whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the emerging focus of inquiry.

This explanation suggests that ethnography entails the researcher engaging in the settings where the phenomenon under study is being enacted. This entails observing and recording the actions and accounts of those who are being studied in their everyday contexts (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). This immersion involves collecting and documenting different forms of available material, e.g., documents, interactions and artefacts, through observing, listening and interviewing about what is really going on. These are a relatively



loose set of guidelines on what doing ethnography entails, and how one carries out ethnographic fieldwork can be adjusted to best capture the phenomenon under study (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). In my fieldwork, I have made three adjustments.

The first aspect of the ethnographic approach I took concerns the length of the fieldwork. The length of ethnographic immersion in the above description is explained as “for an extended period of time” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 3). In traditional ethnographies this could mean years of engagement (Latour et al., 1986; Mol, 2002). However, ethnographies today are often conducted “part time” and through more focused engagements over the course of months, instead of years (Hammersley, 2006: 4). This is not a “quick and dirty” approach; rather, intense and focused ways of engagements leading to in-depth ways of knowing (Pink and Morgan, 2013: 351). To achieve rich material in a shorter period, field researchers can rely on various audio-visual tools and sources, as data collection today is not restricted to pen and paper (Hammersley, 2006; Pink and Morgan, 2013). Furthermore, when the fieldwork is theoretically informed, one can also conduct it more intensively (Pink and Morgan, 2013). While shorter term ethnographies, just like longer ethnographies, are not structured by theory, data collection, analysis and theoretical engagement become a more connected process (Pink and Morgan, 2013). Thus, through designing and conducting my ethnographic fieldwork, I engaged with the chosen theoretical concepts to direct my attention and gather material relevant to my inquiry.

Secondly, the ethnographic approach I took also differs from traditional ethnographies, when it comes to the role of materiality. From the earlier drawn-out ontological position, where connections between both humans and non-humans are considered in enactments of reality, it follows that I pay attention to the role of materiality in the formations of realities (Law and Urry, 2004). With ethnographic methods relations between humans, but also relations, interactions and connections between humans and non-humans, can be studied (Woodward, 2020). Woodward (2020) argues that ethnographic methods are well-suited for foregrounding the role of materiality. Ethnographic methods allow openness to what may emerge in specific settings; they can direct attention to human and non-human relations and do not mask away the messiness of this process (Law, 2004; Woodward, 2020). In consumption studies, this has been called heterogeneous ethnography, paying attention to how consumption is shaped through both human and non-human actors (Fuentes, 2015; Stigzelius, 2017).

Thirdly, while my dissertation is focused on a single phenomenon, I did ethnographic research on different sites. The central focus of this dissertation is how the circular consumption of clothing in Sweden is practically and socio-materially brought into being. However, in this endeavour, I set out to study both the ‘producing’ and ‘performing’ of circular consumption. Thus, I conducted fieldwork across different retail and household settings, which in ethnographic terms can be understood as the inclusion of different research sites. This is in line with the argument of Marcus (1995) that many research questions cannot be answered by looking at one specific research site.

Based on this, I decided to include two studies in this dissertation project, where the commonality that ties together the research sites (Woodward, 2020) is the focus on bringing circular consumption into being in the contexts of clothing and Sweden. In the following sections, I present the two studies that are part of this dissertation. I discuss the ethnographic methods that were used and describe the data collection and analysis process.

## **Study 1 – Ethnographic study of circularity offerings in retail settings**

Study 1 focuses on how circular consumption is produced in Swedish clothing retail settings. The study centres on how different forms of circularity offerings are presented in stores, webstores and social media of retailers.

### *Ethnographic study of circularity offerings*

This study focused on different circularity offerings in retail settings to understand how circular consumption is being produced. As outlined earlier, my dissertation is based on the ontological position that materiality and interactions with it have a central role in shaping enactments of practices and through them realities as well as by the theoretical approach that consumption is shaped by both everyday life and markets (e.g., Evans, 2020; Fuentes and Samsioe, 2020; Stigzelius, 2017). Paying attention to the role of materiality in shaping consumption is not new within the more socio-material stream of marketing and consumption research (Cochoy, 2007, 2008; Fuentes, 2015; Fuentes and Fuentes, 2017; Hagberg, 2016; Stigzelius, 2018), and it is now even discussed in cultural consumption research (Bajde, 2013; Franco et al., 2022; Schneider-Kamp, 2024; Schneider-Kamp et al., 2024; Thompson, 2024).

Accordingly, to understand how circular consumption is produced in retail settings, I turned to objects (see also Woodward, 2020) of circularity that appear in retail settings. I was interested in what products and services are put in clothing retail settings to produce circular consumption. As commonly done in ethnographic fieldwork, data collection consisted of observations and documentation (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) of the circularity products and services as they are arranged in different retail settings to provide a rich picture. In the following sections, I describe the specificities of this fieldwork.

### *Data collection*

In studying how circular consumption is produced through circularity offerings, one methodological choice was to go and see what consumers see in retail settings (Cochoy, 2004, 2007). These settings are the different physical and digital spheres of “where and when retailing takes place” (Hagberg et al., 2016: 694), such as webstores, social media pages, and physical stores.

First, in early 2020, I sampled the 25 largest Swedish clothing retailers based on the Orbis database and then carried out pilot observations on these companies’ websites and in sustainability reports. Through this initial ‘pilot observations’, I narrowed the research to three clothing retailers, Filippa K, Nudie Jeans and H&M. This choice provided a diverse example of companies, all of whom extensively talked about the importance of circularity and consumers’ role in that context at the time of the fieldwork.

During the initial pilot observations, I noticed that retailers discuss their circularity commitments and consumers’ role within that. Retailers started to offer different garment care products and services to enable consumers to carry out different lifetime-extending and garment-protecting activities. The chosen three retailers engaged with garment care extensively. In Sweden, H&M is the largest clothing retailer, and even if viewed as a fast fashion brand, it worked with garment care extensively through its Take Care campaign. Filippa K, on the other hand, is a higher price point clothing retailer, that focuses on long-lasting products and asks consumers to ensure appropriate care for the garments so that they can have an extended lifetime. Lastly, I chose to also include Nudie Jeans, which is known for offering ‘free repairs’ for all their jeans. Besides this offering, Nudie Jeans also started to offer more care guides and started a discussion on caring for jeans.

To gather a deeper understanding of how the selling of garment care products produces circular consumption, I designed a study focused on how the care offerings are placed in the three chosen retailers’ different retail settings. First,

I visited the three retailers' physical stores in Malmö in the Autumn of 2020. These store observations were limited as during the Covid-19 pandemic social distancing was advised. Thus, the data collection mostly involved digital observations conducted in October-November 2020, focusing on webstores, websites, sustainability reports as well as social media. All three clothing retailers' Facebook and Instagram pages were also studied retroactively, covering the 13-month period of October 2019 - November 2020.

During the store and online observations, I followed an observation manual (see the Appendix), that included questions such as the following: How are consumers addressed in relation to garment lifetimes? What tools and services are offered for the consumers to do garment care? This approach led me to record instances when the chosen three retailers talked about garment care, as well as to map how and what garment care products and services were put in retail settings. Throughout the data collection I used the screenshot function to record online material, while during the physical store visits, I took photographs of the different mentions of garment care.

A second round of data collection, conducted by Maria Fuentes, focused on broader forms of circularity offerings present in physical and online retail stores besides the care offerings, such as take-back schemes, a re-sell product line, and recycled garments. This data collection, in addition to building on the initial study design, was more theoretically guided to capture how responsibilities were materially allocated through different forms of circularity offerings and their marketing in retail stores. The same three retailers' stores were visited in Malmö, Stockholm and Gothenburg during May and June of 2023. Data were collected through 23 store visits at the three different clothing retailers' own stores as well as in retail stores, where they stocked these brands. These observations were guided by an updated observation guide (see the Appendix), specifically focused on the stores' spatial arrangement, the products, clothing materials, the store visitors, store staff, and how responsibilities and lifetime of the clothing were addressed. Digital observations at all three retailers' webstores were also collected in May-June 2023. This set of data, along with the one focused on care offerings are summarised in the table below.

**Table 2 – Summary of the data collection and collected material in Study 1**

Study 1 Ethnographic study of circularity offerings– Store and digital observations	
First round of data collection – focus on care offerings	Second round of data collection – focus on circularity offerings
<p>Few store visits:</p> <p>4 store visits (2 H&amp;M, 1 Nudie Jeans, 1 Filippa K)</p> <p>25 images taken during store visits</p>	<p>Mainly store visits:</p> <p>9 H&amp;M visits – average time spent in stores: 34 minutes</p> <p>10 Filippa K visits (6 were at different resellers) – average time spent in stores: 25 minutes</p> <p>4 Nudie Jeans visits – average time spent in stores: 32.5 minutes</p> <p>In total 350 pictures and 43 pages of fieldnotes</p>
<p>Mainly digital observations<sup>6</sup>:</p> <p>57 relevant pages from 6 Sustainability reports (2018 and 2019 for all three retailers)</p> <p>74 downloaded pages from the retailers' websites</p> <p>75 pages of Facebook screenshots/event descriptions covering a 12 months period at all three retailers</p> <p>360 Screenshots of care offerings from Instagram covering a 12 months period at all three retailers</p> <p>61 Screenshots of care offerings from webstores</p> <p>19 Videos</p>	<p>Few digital observations<sup>7</sup>:</p> <p>Webstore – observations at each retailer's webstores</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 637 screenshots at Nudie</li> <li>- 694 screenshots at Filippa K</li> <li>- 403 screenshots at H&amp;M</li> </ul>

### *Analyses*

There are different approaches to the use of theory in analyses of qualitative consumption research (Belk and Sobh, 2019; Dolbec et al., 2021; Lucarelli et al., 2023). In the discussion on analysing ethnographic material these differences on how to use theory, if at all, are also detectable (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Pink and Morgan, 2013). In this regard, I follow what Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 168) argue, namely that in ethnographic

<sup>6</sup> Referring to number of analysed sources

<sup>7</sup> Referring to collected material while mapping the webstores

analysis one not only thinks “about the data”, without any previous theories in mind, “but also with and through the data” with the concepts and theories in mind to “produce fruitful ideas”. In the present section, I describe how I, and later we (with Maria Fuentes as co-author), oscillated between theory, material, and data collection, as well as added additional lenses or collected more material. As Dolbec et al. (2021), and Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) also argue, these are common steps taken in theory-informed qualitative analysis.

After the first round of data collection, which focused on care offerings, I uploaded all the collected material to NVivo and used the node function of the software to do line-by-line coding. While going through the material I assigned different ‘nodes’ such as ‘bond with clothes’ ‘ageing of garment’ and ‘care advice’, leading to 180 different nodes. I divided these nodes into three different sets, focused on how these care offerings were enacted in retail settings, how they spoke of the garments, and how they talked to consumers. The initial line-by-line coding and categorising of the material are common first steps in organising and analysing the unstructured ethnographically collected material (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). This initial organising of the material formed the basis of two subsequent theoretically enabled analyses. By adopting different enabling lenses<sup>8</sup> that provided a “vocabulary”, the initial open coding was developed further (Dolbec et al., 2021: 451).

In the first theoretically enabled analysis, I looked at the care offerings through the qualification concept (Callon et al., 2002). I read the material to identify different qualities that were attached to the products and services to make them appealing to consumers. Furthermore, through drawing on ethicalisation (Fuentes and Sörum, 2019), I analysed how the qualifications questioned and problematised everyday mundane tasks, such as doing laundry or storing clothes into a field of ethical action. This analysis led to research paper 1 of this dissertation.

Then with Maria Fuentes, we looked at the material on care offerings and wrote different analytical notes and memoranda on consumer responsabilization (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). This led to a decision to conduct a second analysis, as well as additional data collection as described above, of how different circularity offerings and their marketing in physical and digital stores allocate responsibilities for garments to consumers. We conducted a closer reading of the material with the help of analytical questions, that were based

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<sup>8</sup> The chosen conceptual lenses have been introduced in the theory chapter, but I briefly repeat them below to explain this analytical step.

on the ‘responsibilization as scripting’ enabling lens. This analysis led to research paper 2 of this dissertation.

### *Ethical considerations*

During both sets of data collection, we avoided taking photos of people in the stores. Furthermore, we asked for approval for the use of image material in publications when they were obtained from the retailers’ own digital platforms. Lastly, as the first round of fieldwork was conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic, extra measures were taken during the store visits. The store visits were limited to four occasions, and social distancing was followed during these store visits.

## **Study 2 – Ethnographic field trial in household settings**

This study was conducted as part of a wider FORMAS-funded research project called Sustainable Clothing Futures in collaboration with IVL, Profu, Lund University and Borås University. I joined this research project when it started, in January 2022, as it was closely connected to my ongoing dissertation work. In our work package, with Christian Fuentes, Niklas Sörum and Emma Samsioe we designed an ethnographic field trial, where participants were asked to try one out of three platforms connected to clothing resale (Sellpy), rental (Rent Routine) and repair (Repamera). In the project, I participated in designing the study, planning the different interview guides and the recruitments, as well as the discussions on relevant literature and how to frame our papers. We conducted the field trials between March 2022 and February 2023, and all households were involved for a three to six months period. In summary, participation involved an entry interview, monitoring while using the chosen platform, and finally an exit interview. During the field trial, I was responsible for 13<sup>9</sup> households, meaning that I conducted their entry interviews, on-boarded them, monitored their field trial, as well as conducted their exit interviews.

### *Ethnographic field trial*

We designed the study as an ‘ethnographic field trial’. This name reflects that the study was inspired by introducing changes in ‘real-life’ settings, like in experimental methods, yet we immersed in these settings ethnographically. The aim was not the identification of causal relationships. Rather, with the

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<sup>9</sup> out of the initially recruited 33 household

ethnographic orientation, we entered the field openly to see what interrelationships unfold and what issues arise as households try out the different platforms. Underpinned by the socio-material aspect of our theoretical and ontological position (e.g., Cochoy, 2007; Fuentes and Samsioe, 2020; Law and Urry, 2004), we not only focused on interactions amongst household members but also on how the home infrastructure, platforms and the garments themselves took part in shaping the performance of circular consumption.

In consumption studies focused on the sustainability of household practices, such a non-positivist approach to intervening in real-life settings is an increasingly discussed and called for methodological approach (Davies and Doyle, 2015; Devaney and Davies, 2017; Doyle and Davies, 2013; Hobson et al., 2021; Sutcliffe, 2022). For instance, Devaney and Davies (2017: 826) developed an “experimental HomeLabs challenge” to intervene with eating-related household practices and trial more sustainable forms. Such small-scale, longer and intervening methods with households have been called for in circular consumption research as well (Hobson et al., 2021). This work has been commenced by, for instance, Sutcliffe (2022), who designed a handbook with instructions for circular consumption strategies for participating households in an intervention-based study. Moreover, Wethal and Hoff (2024) studied the introduction of municipal circularity initiatives in Norway, and how those have been used by residents in the area. In our ethnographic field trial, we asked households to try out digital platforms that are part of clothing markets. Choosing clothing market-based platforms for the trial is well-aligned with my understanding of consumption as being shaped by both markets and everyday lives.

### *Recruitment and participating households*

We targeted our recruitment at households living in or around different cities in the south of Sweden. The recruitment was organised by publishing posts on the participating research institutions’ LinkedIn pages and sharing them on our social media accounts and in Facebook groups (see the call for participation in the Appendix). The committed households also recommended further potentially interested households.

This recruitment strategy generated some variation amongst the households in terms of age, educational background, and number of people living in the home (see Table 3). However, it is important to note that while household members represented different genders, the people who applied to the study and those



we interviewed were most often the women of the household.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, it is also important to acknowledge that with the above strategy, we reached households that are somewhat engaged in or at least knowledgeable regarding clothing sustainability and circularity and wanted to try out further forms of circular consumption. Thus, many of the recruited households had experience with and were engaged in some form of circular consumption prior to the study. Reaching knowledgeable and engaged participants for this form of research is common in sustainable consumption research focused on everyday life (see also Sutcliffe, 2022).

While we only gained an understanding of the circular practices of these knowledgeable and interested households, the entry and exit interviews offered different insights. During the first interview, we were able to understand how participants performed circular consumption, if at all, before the study and the different challenges involved. While in the exit interview, we could explore how circular consumption was performed through the platforms, but also in general after participating in the study.

Through the recruitment process, we initially conducted 33 entry interviews, with nine households dropping out at different phases of the study; we ended up with 24 households who completed the trial. The table below includes details about these 24 households.

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<sup>10</sup> While we have not taken a gendered perspective on the consumption work involved with circularity in households, it is important to note that it is often the women in households who engage in sustainability-related labour (see, for instance, Godin and Langlois, 2021)

**Table 3: Study 2 Participants who concluded the study**

Pseudonym	Age interval	Profession/occupation	Household	Platform choice
Gabriel	30–34	University – Administration	Single household	Resale
Magda	30–34	Product specialist	Family, two children	Rental
Linda	30–34	Dentist	Couple	Resale
Emma	30–34	University – Postdoc	Family, two children	Resale
Anette	45–49	University – Librarian	Family, one child	Repair
Lena	40–44	City council work	Family, three children	Rental
Agata	35–39	Project manager	Couple	Resale
Susanna	35–39	Technology specialist	Couple	Repair
Natalia	45–49	Project manager	Couple	Repair
Maria	25–29	Student	Couple	Resale
Nina	25–29	Sustainability consultant	Couple	Rental
Marina	40–44	Social sustainability consultant	Family, three children	Resale
Elina	35–39	Communications officer	Family, two children	Repair
Alma	25–29	Sustainability Strategist	Single household	Rental
Alice	45–49	Graphic designer	Family, two children	Repair
Stefan	45–49	Waste management professional	Single household, two children	Repair
Camilla	50–54	Student	Family, two children	Repair
Astrid	25–29	Communications consultant	Couple	Resale
Ingrid	30–34	Sustainability consultant	Couple	Repair
Katarina	30–34	Student	Single Household	Rental
Annika	65–69	Retired	Couple (grown-up children)	Resale
Anita	45–49	Group manager	Family with three children	Rental
Sandra	30–34	Research institute	Single household	Resale
Erika	25–29	Material coordinator	Couple	Rental

### *Data collection – entry interviews, monitoring phase and exit interviews*

In the first stage of the ethnographic field trial, we visited the homes of the participants (in some cases digitally, if in-person visits were not possible), and conducted ethnographic interviews complemented by methods inspired by wardrobe studies (e.g. Gregson and Beale, 2004; Klepp and Bjerck, 2014; Mellander and Petersson McIntyre, 2021).

In these interviews, we did not specifically ask about circular consumption; rather, we wanted to see what consumers had in their wardrobes, how they got these items, how they used them, and what disposal strategies they had (see the Appendix for a sample of the interview guide). This involved “grand tour questions” (Spradley, 1979) that were open-ended and asked participants to ‘walk us through’ how they acquired, used, cleaned, stored, maintained and then parted with their clothing items. While answering these questions, the participants guided us verbally or showed us physically through different places in their homes, such as storage rooms, wardrobes and laundry rooms. During the home visits, we gained an initial, but in-depth picture of the households’ infrastructure, current practices, what type of clothes they had at home and how they used them. Inspired by wardrobe methods (Klepp and Bjerck, 2014), participants were also asked to show their most and least worn garments, describing how they acquired them, how often they were used, and how they would go about disposing of the item. The entry interviews ended with discussing the future steps of the field trial and asking about the households’ motivations and ambitions for participating. The home interviews were recorded with written consent from the participants and lasted between 60-120 minutes.

Upon the initial interviews, we individually onboarded all participants to try out their choice of platform out of the following options: Sellpy (resale), Rent Routine (rental), and Repamera (repair). Each trial lasted between 3-6 months, depending on the households’ needs and the nature of the platform. During this period, we interacted with the participants through an encrypted messaging app. The participants self-reported their use of the platform through short descriptions and images, a technique inspired by digital diary methods (Bartlett and Milligan, 2015; Kaufmann and Peil, 2020). At the same time, we also reached out to these participants with different prompts on a weekly or biweekly basis. This interaction between the research team and households ensured engagement in the study and allowed for documenting important moments as they took place, which we could return to in the exit interviews (Jarrahi et al., 2021).

In the exit interviews, we were mostly interested in how the households used the services and whether we could see any change in their daily routines. These interviews were also guided by a shared interview guide, focused on service attributes and experiences with the services. Furthermore, we also returned to important moments that came up during the trial period. The exit interviews were mostly conducted digitally, were recorded and lasted about 60 minutes.

To summarise, in the different phases of the fieldwork we have combined ethnographic interviewing (Spradley, 1979) with wardrobe and home observations (Gregson and Beale, 2004; Klepp et al., 2020; Klepp and Bjerck, 2014) and digital diary-keeping and conversing during the field trial (Jarrahi et al., 2021). Thus, our material consists of observations of practices, but also practices that the participants have described, mostly through the “grand tour questions”. It is acknowledged that observing the different practices that participants described during the home visits would have generated an even richer material and that it can be challenging to remember and talk about practices in detail. However, through specific ethnographic interview techniques (Spradley, 1979), the participants could talk about their practices (see also Hitchings, 2012; Martens, 2012). This helped us to generate an in-depth understanding of how circular consumption is performed in household settings.

In total, we conducted 57 interviews in this study with the participating households, including 33 entry and 24 exit interviews. The table below summarises the collected material during Study 2 of this dissertation.

**Table 4 – Summary of data collection and the collected material in Study 2**

	Study 2 (paper 3 and 4)
Method	Ethnographic field trial (3-6 months observations and interviewing)
Summary of total collected material	Interviews <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Entry interview 33<sup>11</sup></li> <li>- Exit interview 24<sup>1213</sup></li> </ul>
	Other forms of data <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Photographs from first home visits</li> <li>- Images sent during the monitoring phase</li> <li>- Monitoring conversations with the 24 finishing participating households over 3-6 months period</li> </ul>

### *Analyses*

Just as in the analysis in Study 1, the analysis of the collected material in Study 2 involved an oscillation between theory, data collection and the material (Dolbec et al., 2021; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Pink and Morgan, 2013). The ‘practice theories’ approach (Evans, 2020) and the involved theoretical and ontological sensitivities influenced our “modes of thinking” during both the fieldwork and the analysis (Dolbec et al., 2021: 448).

While the larger project focused on how households used different digital circular clothing platforms, the two included research papers from the project investigate what the households draw on to perform circular consumption. Thus, in these research papers, the role of digital platforms in configuring household practices was handled as other materialities present in the home and the wider landscape surrounding households’ clothing consumption. In other words, in these two included papers, the platforms’ role in configuring circular consumption was not the analytical focus. Instead, we drew on two concepts as enabling lenses (Dolbec et al., 2021) to shed light on different aspects of performing circular consumption. Below I describe how the material was analysed for research papers 3 and 4 of the present dissertation.

Firstly, the 48 interviews with the households who participated in the full study were analysed with the help of the ‘care-in-practice’ framework that I outlined

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<sup>11</sup> I conducted 13 of these interviews

<sup>12</sup> I conducted 11 of these interviews

<sup>13</sup> Nine households did not finish the study, out of these I managed two households

in the theory chapter. The interviews were uploaded to NVivo, and I coded them with the help of the collaboratively developed care practice framework. We held analysis meetings (Pink and Morgan, 2013) with the paper's co-author, Christian Fuentes, to discuss the key themes that emerged regarding care in circular practices. We used different questions to guide the identification and discussion of the different themes, such as 'What forms of care awareness are present in relation to different forms of circular consumption?', 'How did the participants take responsibility?', and 'What resources did participants draw on?'. After this, we moved on to identify how the participants manoeuvred and managed different care problems, i.e., care struggles and care dilemmas that emerged while trying to enact care and perform circular consumption.

Secondly, the 48 interviews of the completed field trials were also analysed with the valuation and theories of practice approach to understand the valuation work involved in enacting circular clothing practices. The coding process for this analysis was conducted collectively by the authors and was based on three analytical questions: What circular clothing practices do the household report performing? In what ways do these practices involve valuation? What actors, devices, and registers of valuing are involved in this valuation work?

### *Ethical considerations*

All participants provided informed and written consent regarding participating in the study (see the Appendix) and we handled the material under pseudonyms. Furthermore, we also made sure that the participants' time commitments and efforts involved with participating in the field trial were not exploited. During the study design, we realised that the home visits combined with the interactions during the monitoring phase required more of the participants' time compared to traditional interview studies. Thus, we decided to offer compensation for half of the costs involved with using the digital platforms in our study. Lastly, when recording videos in the home and taking photographs, we made sure to avoid including humans and mostly focused on the infrastructure of the homes. Participants were instructed to do the same when sending us photographs or videos of the use of the platforms.

## Limitations and transferability

One of the limitations of the present dissertation concerns the sampling. The choice of three retailers in Study 1, and the sample of knowledgeable and

informed participating households, with the main respondents being mostly women in Study 2, pose some limitations to this dissertation. In Study 1, all the retailers mostly focus on the selling of new garments. Studying the producing of circular consumption in, for instance, a second-hand store could have provided further insights into how circular consumption is produced in retail settings. On the other hand, such sampling would not have allowed for closely studying the meeting of linear and circular modes of consumption. Study 2, as discussed earlier, is limited to the knowledge and experience of informed, interested and engaged households. While this is not uncommon in similar study designs, studying how less experienced households try to manoeuvre the challenges of circular consumption could provide further understanding of how circular consumption is performed, if at all.

Another limitation of this dissertation stems from choosing to focus on the context of clothing to study how circular consumption is practically and socio-materially brought into being. By exploring the circular consumption of other product categories, such as electronics, furniture, tools or equipment for free-time activities, the studies could have been extended to include a wider range of practices, as well as other retail formats. However, the clothing context is an empirically rich area for exploring how circular consumption is brought into being. It is one of the focus areas of the European circularity strategy (European Commission, 2022), and the need for the circularity of clothing is called for with the involvement of both retailers and households (Niinimäki et al., 2020). Thus, this provided a rich context to explore how circular consumption is brought into being in retail and household settings. Yet, how can these insights be transferred to other empirical contexts?

Transferability in qualitative research “refers to the degree to which readers can transfer the results of the study to other contexts and situations with which they are familiar” (Moisander and Valtonen, 2006: 29). Although the goal is not to establish general rules or theories, understanding how the findings relate to other empirical contexts is an important question (Fischer and Guzel, 2023; Spiggle, 1994). To address this question, it is important to reflect upon how the circularity of clothing relates to the circularity of other product categories. I approach clothing, as an example of consumer goods that have functions for performing everyday life and need to find circular pathways. Similar circularity challenges, with certain contextual specificities, are also present in the context of other everyday product categories, such as food, plastic or furniture (see, for example, Åberg and Greene, 2024; Lehner et al., 2020; Lehtokunnas et al., 2022; Rabiou and Jaeger-Erben, 2024). Just like clothing, these are also goods that carry specific functions for everyday life. Therefore,

the question of their circularity also needs to be understood as embedded in everyday life, shaped by both retail and household settings. The findings from the present dissertation can nuance our understanding of how the circular consumption of different everyday goods is produced in retail settings and performed in everyday life.

## Summary

This table synthesises the two ethnographic studies that were conducted and their connection to the included research papers. It lists the ethnographic methods, the collected material, and the conceptual lenses that enabled the analysis. Importantly, it also connects each paper to the dissertation’s research questions.

**Table 5 – Summary of concepts, methods, and material of each research paper**

	Study 1 (research paper 1 and 2)		Study 2 (research paper 3 and 4)	
Method	Ethnographic study of circularity offerings (observations)		Ethnographic field trial (interviews and observations)	
Material included	Observations of care offerings at H&M, Filippa K, and Nudie Jeans	The same observations of care offerings + observations of other circularity offers at H&M, Filippa K, and Nudie Jeans	Entry interviews & home observations Monitoring and Exit interviews With total of 24 households in Sweden	The same entry interviews & home observations Monitoring and Exit interviews With total of 24 households in Sweden
Conceptual lenses	Qualification and ethicalisation (paper 1)	Consumer responsabilization as scripting (paper 2)	Care-in-practice (paper 3)	Valuation work in circular practices (paper 4)
Dissertation research questions	How is circular consumption produced in retail settings?		How is circular consumption performed in household settings?	
	What are the (im)possibilities of circular consumption?			





# Research paper findings

In the following I describe the findings of the four appended research papers. The findings of papers 1 and 2 answer research question 1 – How is circular consumption produced in retail settings? The findings of papers 3 and 4 answer research question 2 – How is circular consumption performed in household settings?

## Research paper 1

### Title: Selling of care offerings and the ethicalisation of consumption

In this paper, I address how the socio-material enactment of care offerings in retail settings contributes to the ethicalisation of consumption. This research focus allows for an understanding of how circular consumption is produced in retail settings through the launch of care products and services that help consumers extend garment lifetimes according to circularity principles. While previous studies have argued that care is increasingly ‘packaged for sale’ on markets (Chatzidakis and Maclaran, 2022: 161), the implications of this for consumption have received little attention. Thus, in this study (Study 1 of the present dissertation) material was collected on how garment care offerings, such as washing guides, self-repair kits, iron-on patches, or professional repair and personalisation services, are offered for sale for consumers in H&M, Nudie Jeans, and Filippa K’s retail settings, namely on their websites, webstores, social media, and in sustainability reports as well as in physical stores. This material was analysed with the help of qualification (Callon et al., 2002) and ethicalisation (Fuentes and Sörum, 2019) (see theory chapter) to identify the way care offerings are offered for sale and what forms of consumption they enable or impede.

This analytical approach led to the identification of the qualities that are attached to the care offerings as they are offered for sale. These are the three qualities of sustainability proxy, technique enabler and emotional durability

tool. By attaching these qualities, the retailers make arguments for why the purchase and use of care offerings are necessary. Sustainability proxy quality is mainly set out to make the connection between consumers doing garment care and the extension of garment lifetimes. Thus, with this quality, it is shown how consumers through caring for their garments can contribute to the environmental sustainability of clothing. Retailers attaching the care offerings with this quality make the argument that garments are investment pieces that require regular maintenance to extend their lifetime. With the technique enabler quality, retailers can put forward the argument that the care offerings give the necessary caring skills for consumers. Attaching this quality to the offerings shifts the idea of garment care from a complex, unachievable task into something that is easy, or at least possible to learn through the help of care offerings. Simultaneously, the attachment of this quality also opens garments and shows that they can receive care through modification and adjustments instead of being closed objects. Lastly, with the emotional durability quality retailers can show that boredom with clothes is possible to overcome. Here it is also emphasised that garments should not be used as throw-away items as they are rather life companions and friends, i.e., the objects of love.

The attachment of these qualities aims to sell the care offerings by showing their sustainability relevance, giving the necessary skills to consumers, as well as arguing how it is possible to enjoy garments over an extended time. While making a case for buying and using the care offerings, the attachment of these qualities also wants to introduce a shift in clothing consumption. With the qualities, the ‘care-lessness’ in mundane everyday clothing-related chores is problematised. The household chores of laundry, storing, and repairing garments are transferred into the arena for ethical actions, where caring consumption should be performed. Selling the care offering with these qualities shows that: garment care is necessary as garments are not throwaway pieces; one can learn the care techniques; and lastly boredom with garments is also avoidable.

Not carrying out the activities allowed for by the care offerings is hence positioned as a form of ‘care-lessness’. The paper shows that the way care products and services are offered for sale contributes to the ethicalisation of consumption, similarly to other devices in the consumption landscape (Fuentes and Sörum, 2019). Here this is accomplished by making the market-bounded care offerings central to the performance of ethical consumption in everyday household chores, putting forward the idea that ‘care-lessness’ is problematic and caring garment consumption is necessary.

These findings contribute to research on how markets shape, i.e., define, enable or impede, ethical consumption (Carrington et al., 2016; Coffin and Egan-Wyer, 2022; Fuentes and Sörum, 2019; Giesler and Veresiu, 2014) by showing the role of care products and services being offered for sale. As these products and services are set to enable specific performances of caring consumption in everyday life through markets, the shaping efforts go further than tying ethical consumption to the purchase of a product (cf., Kipp and Hawkins, 2019). Through the selling of care offerings, everyday household chores are ethicalised, and specific ‘caring’ ways of how garments should be washed, stored, repaired, and upcycled are put forward. This on the one hand shows how care is used by different marketing professionals to further define how ethical consumption can be performed through markets (Carrington et al., 2016; Coffin and Egan-Wyer, 2022). Furthermore, it also points out how retailers attempt to control and keep caring consumption within markets as part of the wider project of producing specific, retail market compatible forms of ethical consumption.

Taking these findings to sociological circular consumption research shows how circular consumption is produced through the notion of care. Studies started to engage with the moral and ethical dimension of circular consumption in households (Lehtokunnas et al., 2022; Mesiranta et al., 2024) and the ethics of care needed for circular consumption (Hobson et al., 2021), as well as how care and circularity are connected in green marketing (Heidenström, 2025). This paper adds to these studies by showing how ethics and caring are socio-materially made to be central to the circular consumption that is produced in retail settings. The paper illustrates how shaping ethical consumption through care is part of the retailers’ circularity strategies and efforts to produce circular consumption. Thus, the findings illustrate that by producing circular consumption in retail settings, circular consumption becomes wrapped in care. In the selling of care offerings, the primary focus shifts from garments’ technical properties, aesthetic or use value, to how they should be taken care of to extend their lifetimes and make them more circular. The way these offerings are socio-materially prepared for exchange illustrates how specific, care-related forms of circular consumption are produced in retail settings.

Secondly, the paper also contributes to sociological circular consumption research by illustrating how retail settings produce circular consumption that is to be performed in households’ everyday lives. Previous studies have made calls for understanding how the efforts and chores needed for circular consumption are made possible by socio-material arrangements outside households (Greene et al., 2024; Hobson et al., 2021), yet this issue has

received little empirical attention. This paper shows how the produced form of circular consumption in retail settings extends the tasks into the realm of everyday household chores. The produced form of circular consumption can be accomplished by consumers re-configuring their problematised household chores with the help of care offerings. Consumers are tasked to perform the caring lifetime extension not in the retail settings but as part of their everyday garment-related household chores. In other words, consumers are allocated further work in their homes to extend the lifetime of garments, with the help of the care offerings.

The processes by which the production of circular consumption in retail settings further enhances and outlines the role of consumers in the circularity agenda is discussed in research paper 2.

## Research paper 2

### Title: Scripting Circular Consumption: The Role of Materiality in Consumer Responsibilization

In this paper, we (with Maria Fuentes) explore how clothing retailers' circularity products and services and their marketing both in physical and digital stores form and assign responsibilities to consumers as well as enable and/or constrain consumers' abilities to handle these responsibilities. With this focus, we aim to explore and conceptualise the role of (retail) market materiality in the processes of responsibilization and to critically discuss the dynamics of performativity and change involved. As explained in the theory chapter, to contribute to the understanding of the materialities of responsibilization, we draw on market studies' socio-material orientation and use the concept of 'scripting', more specifically inscription and prescription (Akrich, 1992; Akrich and Latour, 1992; Jelsma, 2006). The paper is based on Study 1 of this dissertation, which looked at Nudie Jeans', Filippa K and H&M's circularity offerings and their marketing. While the first paper in this thesis focuses only on garment care offerings, this paper includes material on further circularity initiatives, such as take-back systems and reselling from the same retailers.

In analysing the scripting of responsibilization in the case of each retail, we draw out the convergence and divergence between the formation of

responsibility and ‘response-ability’<sup>14</sup>, i.e., consumers’ allocated ability to handle said responsibilities. This separation helps to outline how different in-store scripts – through both inscriptions and prescription – play with limiting abilities to respond to the allocated garment responsibilities. The analysis of the paper shows how the retail stores are inscribed with ideas of circularity, and what moral responsibilities are formed and allocated in this process. We show how the vulnerability and value of garments that need to be taken responsibility for by the consumers is inscribed in the retail stores. The analysis also shows how the arrangement of the store carries discursive and material prescriptive forces that enable some actions and hinder others. Through allocating (some) abilities to consumers, the garments’ value and vulnerability are placed in their control, making responsibilities a practical engagement through for instance mending or returning garments.

How consumers are enabled to do circular consumption through these prescriptive forces varies between the different retailers. As our analysis shows, each retailer has a different approach to scripting responsabilization and engages differently with enabling or hindering ‘response-abilities’. For instance, in the case of H&M, ‘response-ability’ is limited by lower product quality, which makes lifetime extension more challenging, as well as by placing the circularity offers in the background and focusing on enabling the fast consumption of clothing. In the case of Filippa K, while the garments have higher intrinsic quality and a more timeless design that allows for longevity, consumers are left with little support in developing circular competences or moving away from the purchase of new garments. Thus, while ‘response-abilities’ are in this case not limited by garments’ material properties, consumers are still not supported in handling the assigned responsibility for the value and vulnerability of garments. In Nudie Jeans’ stores, the circular trajectories and hence the abilities for responsibility-taking receive a more central stage. The stores are arranged to enable the repair and reuse of jeans by placing these offerings alongside the newly produced jeans. Furthermore, the script of the store also helps consumers to revalorise the look of worn, older garments as normal and valuable objects. Thus, in this case, ‘response-abilities’ are allocated in a more enabling way. There is a more systemic and

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<sup>14</sup> While ‘response-ability’ has been used to describe situated and relational caring for transitioning to better societies (Moriggi et al., 2020) or handling a crisis (Geiger et al., 2024), here we use the term to direct attention to consumers’ allocated capabilities to respond to assigned circular responsibilities

market-based shift in the script of consumption of jeans in the stores, supported by the simultaneous focus on normalising the lifetime extension of garments.

Through the above understanding of the divergence between responsibility and ‘response-ability’ in the responsabilization process, we differentiate between performative and non-performative forms of responsabilization. In the cases of H&M and Filippa K, we argue that responsabilization remains non-performative, where consumers are not able to act on their responsabilised subject position. On the other hand, when responsibilities and ‘response-abilities’ converge, such as in the case of Nudie Jeans, responsabilization takes a more performative form, involving a move towards a more just allocation of responsibility, where consumers are not only moralised but also supported in the store to act more responsible, and in this case circular.

With these findings, we contribute to consumption research on the responsabilization process (e.g., Cherrier and Türe, 2023; Eckhardt and Dobscha, 2019; Giesler and Veresiu, 2014) by pointing at the key role market materialities play in responsabilization. Furthermore, we identify different modes of responsabilization, based on whether consumers are enabled or constrained to act. This helps to move beyond the question of whether consumers internalise or resist responsabilization (e.g., Cherrier and Türe, 2023; Döbbe and Cederberg, 2024; Eckhardt and Dobscha, 2019; Thompson and Kumar, 2021) and illustrate the issue of a lack of ‘response-abilities’ in the non-performative forms of responsabilization.

These findings also contribute to sociological circular consumption research (e.g., Greene et al., 2024; Hobson et al., 2021; Mylan et al., 2016) by showing how circular consumption is hindered in retail stores through the non-performative responsabilization of consumers. The paper shows how non-performative responsabilization, where the scripts of linear consumption remain dominant, produces limited possibilities to perform circular consumption. In this case, consumers face tensions as they are morally called to act differently, yet the material arrangement of the retail store favours and rather enables linear modes of consumption. Thus, producing circular consumption in retail settings also hinges on how the abilities to act on assigned moral responsibilities are enabled.

Simultaneously, the paper also shows that for a performative responsabilization, where the performance of circular consumption is made possible, the retail store arrangement needs to assist a more systemic shift. The case of the alternative denim retailer illustrates how circular consumption can be handled in stores. The in-store circularity offerings of this retailer are

scripted at least with same the force as linear consumption, and these scripts also promote a cultural shift in how garments can be valued and kept for longer.

How do then consumers try to manage the allocated tasks and responsibilities while performing circular consumption outside retail settings? The following two papers approach the question of circular consumption in households. Paper 3 sheds light on how care is enacted in circular consumption, while paper 4 draws out how consumers try to perform valuation work as part of circular consumption.

## Research paper 3

Title: Care and circularity: how the enactment of care enables and shapes the circular consumption of clothing

In this paper, we (with Christian Fuentes) investigate how care practices are intertwined with the circular consumption of clothing. While different forms of care, such as product care and increased customer care are embedded in circular consumption (Rabiu and Jaeger-Erben, 2022), previous research paid little attention to the role of care in consumers' everyday lives in enacting circular consumption. We offer a more focused illustration and conceptualisation of how care shapes, enables, and/or hinders circularity in everyday life. We do this by developing and drawing on the care-in-practice framework, where we combine care theory (Tronto, 1993) with theories of practices (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 2001) and understand care as produced by and productive of practices, while also drawing out the problems that can emerge with caring (see more developed in theory chapter). Methodologically, we draw on the 'ethnographic field trial' where the circular clothing consumption of 24 households in Sweden was studied (see Study 2 details in the method chapter).

The findings of the paper suggest that consumers care with their clothes for social and environmental others. Our insights, similar to previous literature on circular consumption, illustrate the work and efforts involved with circular consumption (Hobson et al., 2021; Lehtokunnas et al., 2022). However, we also show how households draw on care to make this work meaningful and worthwhile. In the case of 'caring for clothes as a way of caring for the environment', we see that participants perform different forms of circular consumption as they believe that this should lead to environmental benefits, or at least avoidance of further damage. For instance, a participant in our study



described that she repairs clothing items for the extended family even if it is a time-consuming task due to the perceived environmental benefits. Another example shows how some participants try to avoid clothing waste by making sure that each item is used for a long period and multiple times, repaired when needed even if it is just a small hole inside the pocket, and lastly donated to second-hand stores. These activities are motivated as all garments are viewed by the participant as worthy of care, and failures to do so would be viewed as damaging to the environment.

In the case of ‘caring for clothes as a way of caring for social others’ participants perform circular consumption for the benefit of nearby or distant social others. For instance, one of our participants explained that they carry out small repairs and make beneficial adjustments to clothes just before selling or donating so that the next owner of the garment can enjoy it better. Financial returns are not expected by the participant; instead, the work was performed so that the garment is “more appealing for future use” and that “the next person will want the garment”. Similarly, as a form of caring for social others, a participant explained how she got engaged in the local swapping and donation circle to help people in need in the neighbourhood. Eventually, the swapping locale also became used as a social space, where she could take children from the neighbourhood while helping to look after them.

Besides these successful intertwinements, our findings also reveal that the failure to perform circular consumption can be connected to problems in enacting care practices. Thus, problems in caring complicate the performance of circular consumption. In the paper, we illustrate and conceptualise two forms of care problems: care struggles and care dilemmas.

The first form concerns the care struggles that occur when participants do not have the necessary resources to act upon their care awareness and sense of responsibility, which leads to a lack of caregiving. Lack of resources encompasses for instance being short on time, missing tools as well as the know-how to deliver the care. Furthermore, the infrastructure of the home can also present different care struggles. A participant explained how moving homes led to a change of laundry arrangements, where they could no longer air their garments inside and minimise washing. Their new home did not have the infrastructure that ensured such practices, a large bathroom for airing garments or a small machine that could be run with full loads even with fewer garments.

The second form of care problem concerns the care dilemmas that arise when participants encounter multiple care needs, which they take responsibility for

yet must prioritise certain care needs over others, as fulfilling one would lead to the inability to fulfil the other. One of our participants shared how due to personal hygiene she would prefer to do laundry more often and at a higher temperature, but they know that such actions can be damaging for the garment, and thus for the environment too. Another dilemma in the study involved the question of asking for repair help or throwing away a damaged skirt. To be able to repurpose or repair garments this participant usually asked a family member for help. However, she was often conflicted about such favours and wanted to avoid them out of respect and care for the other person's time. Eventually, despite the environmental concerns this skirt was thrown away to avoid burdening someone else with the extra work.

To summarise, the paper reveals how caring for more extended needs (social others and the environment) and circular clothing consumption are intertwined. It also shows how specific care problems, like struggles, due to a lack of resources, as well as dilemmas, due to conflicting care needs and responsibilities, lead to failures in bringing about circular consumption. Hence, these findings show the key role that the successful enactment of care practices plays in performing circular consumption.

We contribute to sociological circular consumption research that previously showed the ethical and consumption work involved with circular consumption (Hobson et al., 2021; Lehtokunnas et al., 2022; Närvänen et al., 2023; Sutcliffe, 2022), as well as the challenges of performing circular consumption (Åberg and Greene, 2024; Wethal and Hoff, 2024). In our study, we add to this research stream in several ways. We first show how care practices are intertwined with circular consumption, by illustrating how the work involved with circular consumption can be perceived as more meaningful through care, and how the challenges of circular consumption can, at least partly, be understood as problems in enacting the care practices. Second, with our findings, we add to the somewhat ignored social and relational aspects of performing circular consumption (see also Meißner, 2021; Morrow and Davies, 2022), by showing how participants cared for known or unknown others through performing circular clothing consumption. Lastly, with the findings on the problems and failures of enacting care practices, we show that it is not enough for consumers to be concerned and take responsibility for others. For care enactments, and hence for the performance of circular consumption, resources must be present. These resources were often lacking in the wider market arrangements.

How do then consumers who face care dilemmas and care struggles to act upon various care needs operate in the challenging landscape where both circular

and linear modes of consumption are available? One way we can understand the manoeuvring of these challenges is through looking at the valuation work performed, which is the focus of research paper 4.

## Research paper 4

### Title: Circular consumption and valuation work: enacting circularity in everyday clothing practices

Based on the same larger study as Paper 3, i.e., Study 2 of the dissertation, in this paper, we (with Christian Fuentes, Emma Samsioe and Niklas Sörum) explore, conceptualise and explain the role of valuation work in circular consumption. Combining the sociology of valuation (Doganova et al., 2014) and theories of practice (Warde, 2005), we show how consumers work to counter garments' deterioration and de-valuation and keep them valuable and in circulation through circular acquisition, use and disposal. We look at the efforts involved with shifting the registers of valuing, the valuation devices that are used, and the competences needed for conducting this valuation work.

Firstly, our analysis shows how participants perform valuation work in different forms of circular acquisition of garments. In second-hand shopping, consumers tackle the stigma of wearing old instead of following novel trends and develop competences to search amongst the plethora of second-hand garments or identify and then evaluate vintage pieces. Participants perform valuation work to be able to identify durable products, which they deem valuable for an extended time in the future. Drawing on different devices of the retail settings, such as garment tags, website or the knowledge of the retail staff, the participants in our study evaluate which garment will stand the test of time. Some of them try to restrict their shopping and de-value the shopping of new items. To do so they critique the fast pace of the consumer culture and instead draw on registers of valuing that help them to resist the temptation of the new items.

Secondly, participants also perform valuation work to lengthen the lifetime of garments while owning and using the garments. They use clothes in versatile ways and repurpose them once they are not fit for their original purpose. Versatility is a specific register of valuing, which helps consumers to use garments more often through various combinations. In our informants' account, we can see how they draw on versatility while looking for underutilised clothes in their own wardrobes, which then can be combined in

novel ways. Participants also maintain the value of garments by shifting the practices in which the items are made use of. A ‘work shirt’ can, with the passage of time, be revalorised as a ‘home shirt’, where instead of helping to achieve a professional look, the garment with its slightly more washed out, softer texture can be used due to the comfort it provides. Furthermore, during in-between uses the valuation work is to maintain and store the items in ways that do not lead to damage or where the value of items can be ‘frozen’ for later. Storing and saving clothes for future use is sometimes viewed as a problem for circularity, but our participants perform it to make sure that as registers of valuing shift with season change or as styles come back into fashion, they can revalorise and use again their already owned garments instead of buying new.

To dispose of clothes in circular ways, valuation work is performed to find the most suitable next phase of the garment. While the item has been devalued for the current owner, evaluations are made to imagine the item’s future usefulness, its next owner or recyclability. These evaluations are often economic; participants make calculations on how much work the reselling of the item requires and what can they earn from it. If the efforts are not considered worthy due to low resale value, our informants shared that they rather donate the item. Furthermore, they also evaluate whether the item can be gifted to someone else and how such a passing on of the garment would be perceived by the receiver. Gifting seemed to be harder to perform when participants evaluated the item as lower quality or out of fashion. Furthermore, the valuation work involved in finding the right path for the garment is often shaped by the active use of different resale platforms or second-hand stores as valuation devices. The choice of platform in our study was determined by the economic evaluation of the garment. Participants shared that they send mid-range garments to Sellpy, which does not require much work, whereas valuable items are often resold on peer-to-peer platforms, like Blocket, which carries more work but also the prospect of higher returns. Myrorna, a second-hand donation-based chain, is used when participants perceive that the resale value to be low.

Our findings also show how valuation work is challenged, leading to breakdowns of circular pathways. Firstly, consumers are not always able to carry out the important work of shifting registers of valuing. Valuing the history, timelessness or versatility of items and devaluing competing registers like novelty or relative cheapness of new garments is a crucial shift in valuation for circular acquiring, use and disposal. In some cases, despite participants taking pride in challenging norms, the engagement in circular consumption was stigmatised or at least in stark contrast with the dominant linear consumer

culture. Hence, participants sometimes found it difficult to sidestep the more normalised linear modes of clothing consumption and in some cases defected to linear ways of acquiring, using and disposing of garments. Secondly, the work of evaluating and revalorising garments for circular paths is complicated by the need to manage multiple registers of valuing. This made, for instance, second-hand shopping especially difficult. A participant described that a “good” garment needs to be high quality, comfortable as well as good style. Valuing a second-hand garment as “good” by all these registers is a difficult accomplishment. Participants in our study did not always locate these items and then gave up on sourcing them second-hand. Lastly, the valuation work was also challenged by the need for valuing not only for oneself but also for closer or more temporally and spatially distant others. This involves uncertainty as well as speculation over the usefulness of garments in imagined scenarios. Handling these uncertainties is a key aspect of valuation work and was in some cases challenging, leading to the accumulation of unused garments in households.

To tackle these challenges our participants drew on different forms of valuation devices. However, these devices could in some cases be the ones who complicate valuation work and hence the performance of circular consumption. For instance, participants expressed critique towards the Sellpy platform as it does not provide good descriptions and in-depth photographs. This complicated the evaluations of garments and made it difficult to find the “good” second-hand garments on the platform. Furthermore, the competences required for valuations that lead to circular paths were often difficult to gather or coordinate amongst the involved actors. For instance, within the household, not all members shared the same interests or skills to carry out the work involved with shifting registers of valuing. These valuation work problems illustrate that even consumers who are engaged and motivated face multiple forms of challenges and can fail to perform circular consumption and provide circular future pathways for garments.

These insights contribute to sociological circular consumption research by showing the valuation work involved in the circular acquisition, use and disposal of clothes. Previous studies illustrate that performing circular consumption involves extended and more diverse forms of consumption work (Hobson et al., 2021). Furthermore, previous studies have also shown the need for competences, time and infrastructure to support circular practices (Åberg and Greene, 2024; Camacho-Otero et al., 2020; Rabiú and Jaeger-Erben, 2024; Sutcliffe, 2022). In this paper, we contribute with an understanding of the work involved with gathering and coordinating these required elements for circular

practices. Shifting registers of valuing, with the help of the right devices and competences, and combating the devaluation and deterioration of products, as well as supporting their extended use and circulation, is not an easy task and requires considerable work from consumers. Furthermore, the present paper contributes to research on circular consumption by showing how consumers not only need to coordinate the tools and competences for circular valuing but also need to devalue linear alternatives. To successfully perform circular consumption, consumers need to shift registers of valuing and devalue the competing and dominant linear alternatives.



# Concluding discussion

The aim of this dissertation has been to explore and conceptualise how circular consumption is practically and socio-materially brought into being in a landscape configured for linear modes of consumption. As previously discussed, sociological circular consumption research has pointed out that circular consumption is challenging in a system that is set up to support linear consumption (e.g., Åberg and Greene, 2024; Wethal and Hoff, 2024). Thus, I asked what it is that consumers do to perform circular consumption under such circumstances. Furthermore, I also posed the question of how this challenging environment is patterned through retail settings. This latter question was inspired by both the lack of understanding of how circular consumption is enabled by the wider infrastructure and systems of provision (Greene et al., 2024; Hobson et al., 2021), as well as by the recent calls in the broader field of sociology of consumption to consider the role of wider economic arrangements in shaping consumption (Evans, 2020, 2022; Hansen, 2023; Welch and Warde, 2015).

Below I bring the findings of the attached research papers together to discuss what they reveal about producing and performing circular consumption and the involved (im)possibilities. Upon this, I present how the dissertation contributes to sociological circular consumption research and to the broader field of sociology of consumption, as well as the implications of these findings for future research and practice.

## Producing circular consumption and its (im)possibilities

The first research question of this dissertation inquired about how circular consumption is produced in retail settings. Previous research has started to problematise the role of wider infrastructures in allowing for circular consumption (e.g., Greene et al., 2024). However, little has been done to



explore how circular consumption is patterned and what forms of it are enabled through various infrastructures (e.g., Holmes, 2018). By combining the market studies approach (e.g., Cochoy, 2007, 2008) with a practice theoretical approach to consumption (Evans, 2019; Warde, 2014), I argued in this dissertation that it is not only household and everyday life dynamics and materialities that shape circular consumption, but also how (retail) markets are socio-materially patterned for circular consumption.

Departing from this theoretical position, the findings of research paper 1 – *Selling of care offerings and the ethicalisation of consumption* – and research paper 2 – *Scripting responsible consumption: The role of materiality in consumer responsabilization* – draw out two separate processes that are involved in producing circular consumption in retail settings. The former deals with the *qualifications of care offerings* that contribute to the *ethicalisation of consumption*, while the latter focuses on the *scripting of consumer responsabilization* in retail stores' circularity offerings. Through these different socio-material processes, the papers show that retail settings are re-arranged (to some extent) to bring circular consumption into being.

More specifically, paper 1 shows how the qualities attached to care offerings as they are offered for sale on markets help to problematise and question the 'care-less' use of garments. Building on this, retailers position their care offerings as a solution that can help consumers to be more caring in garment chores carried out at home and extend clothing lifetimes through their everyday handling. Hence, paper 1 illustrates how circular consumption becomes produced in retail settings as part of the realm of everyday household chores and with the performance of caring.

Paper 2 further nuances how circular consumption is produced in retail settings through consumer responsabilization. The paper shows how the scripts of the in-store marketing of circular consumption form moral responsibilities for garment vulnerabilities and values and assign them to consumers, with some 'abilities' to act upon these. In most retail stores, these 'abilities' are produced, if at all, as added work of repairing, reselling or upcycling, so consumers can follow the otherwise more dominant linear scripts of the stores. However, this was not the only way of producing circular consumption in retail stores. The case of the more alternative denim retailer showcases how circular consumption is also produced and enabled through in-store actions such as re-selling repaired garments next to the new ones and repairing jeans in store. In this alternative case, the store was arranged through scripts that produced circular and linear modes of consumption alongside each other, in a more balanced way.

By making the argument for the need for caring as part of everyday household chores (paper 1) and allocating garment responsibilities to consumers (paper 2), retailers produce specific versions of circular consumption. This form of circular consumption needs to be performed in a moralised manner, as consumers are made responsible and caring custodians of product values and vulnerabilities, often through additional consumption work as part of their everyday household chores. Through this production of circular consumption, it is no longer only producers' and retailers' role to achieve circularity. Circular consumption is socio-materially produced as a moralised mode of consumption, involving caring and responsibility-taking that is to be performed by consumers in everyday life.

The findings of the retail settings-based study also provide some answers to research question 3, regarding the (im)possibilities of circular consumption. With the qualifications of care offerings (paper 1) consumers' everyday chores are questioned and a more caring form of circular consumption is produced as part of household chores. The retailers' focus remains to sell new garments, while consumers are made to handle complex and various forms of new and extended household chores outside the store. The retail settings maintain their focus on enabling linear modes of consumption in stores, while consumers are made to handle caring for lifetime extension at home. This limits the possibilities for circular consumption through retail settings.

Paper 2 further shows the (im)possibilities of circular consumption produced, by pointing at the non-performative form of responsabilization, which does not provide enough support for consumers to carry out the assigned role of protecting the value and vulnerability of products. However, the paper also shows that in the case of the alternative denim retailer, where the assigned moral responsibilities and 'response-abilities', i.e., the allocated abilities to answer those responsibilities, converge, consumers are more enabled to perform circular consumption. While in this case some alternative modes of circular consumption are made possible alongside the purchase of new garments, in the other two and more mainstream retailers, circular consumption is produced as a hidden and limited option to the more enabled and routinised purchase of new garments. This further limits the possibilities of performing circular consumption.

In summary, circular consumption is produced in retail settings in a way that specifically calls consumers into action in a moralised manner and allocates them tasks that need to be performed beyond retail settings and the act of purchase, often as part of household chores. Yet, the possibilities to accomplish such tasks are limited as the different products and services offered for circular

consumption are often hidden behind the linear offerings. The (im)possibilities of circular consumption are produced in retail settings by keeping both linear and circular options available, with the former being the easier path to take. Thus, circular consumption is produced in retail settings in a way that is compatible with linear modes of consumption and that maintains the challenges of performing circular consumption while placing and keeping consumers in a moralised subject position to perform various modes of circular consumption, most often in their households.

## Performing circular consumption and its (im)possibilities

The second research question of this dissertation centred on how circular consumption is performed in household settings. This question has been formulated to contribute to sociological circular consumption research, regarding what consumers do to manoeuvre the challenges of doing circular consumption in a landscape (including their homes, but also the wider retail market arrangements) that is predominantly organised for the linear, take-make-dispose mode of consumption. Previous studies have pointed out that circular consumption is challenging in such an environment (e.g., Åberg and Greene, 2024; Rabiū and Jaeger-Erben, 2024; Sutcliffe, 2022; Wethal and Hoff, 2024), yet relatively little attention has been paid to how consumers manoeuvre the challenges involved and what it is that consumers do to perform circular consumption (e.g., Lehtokunnas et al., 2022).

So how do consumers perform circular consumption in this challenging landscape? With the findings of research paper 3 – *Care and circularity: how the enactment of care enables and shapes the circular consumption of clothing* – and research paper 4 – *Circular consumption and valuation work: Enacting circularity in everyday clothing practices* – this dissertation highlights care and valuation work as specific aspects of circular practices that consumers try to draw on and perform for the successful performance of circular consumption. Understanding the enactment of care and the valuation work in circular practices adds further layers to our understanding of how consumers carry out the efforts involved with performing circular consumption in a landscape that is configured for linear modes of consumption.

Paper 3, by taking a care-in-practice analytical approach shows how consumers develop care awareness and take responsibility for both social and

environmental others, either close or distant in the sense of time and/or space. This care is attempted to be delivered through various forms of circular (clothing) practices, such as repair, re-selling, or better ways of handling the garments. The care involved in circular practices on the one hand makes the work of circular consumption more social and meaningful. However, in circular clothing practices multiple identified care needs are handled, and various resources need to be gathered to deliver care. Thus, delivering such care and thereby performing circular consumption is a complex task, even for engaged and knowledgeable consumers.

In paper 4, the findings on the valuation work involved in circular practices further the understanding of how consumers try to combat the material deterioration and devaluation of garments and keep them in circulation longer. The findings illustrate that for the successful circular acquisition, use and disposal of garments specific ways of valuing are required. A key aspect is that consumers need to shift the registers of valuing to ones that help combat the deterioration and devaluation of products, in this case, that of garments. This work also involves devaluing and moving away from linear modes of consumption. Furthermore, valuing in circular ways also entails the task of evaluating and valorising garments under uncertainties regarding future usefulness for oneself or for imagined future users. To support valuations against the dominant linear landscape and shift the registers of valuing, consumers need to coordinate various valuation competences, such as knowledge of repurposing or price setting. Furthermore, they need to secure access and use valuation devices, such as resale platforms, garment tags, or knowledge of the retail staff.

The findings of papers 3 and 4 also help to answer the question of (im)possibilities of circular consumption (research question 3). While care and valuation work are part of enacting circular practices, the problems of delivering care and doing the valuation work help to shed further light on the (im)possibilities of performing circular consumption.

As paper 3 illustrates, while consumers care for social and environmental others, both distant and closer, and try to deliver this care through circular practices, the accomplishment of such moral orientations is a difficult endeavour. Firstly, the lack of different resources, such as time, tools like a sewing machine, but also the know-how and home infrastructure, can create struggles for consumers when trying to deliver care. Secondly, the presence of multiple care needs, such as care for the environment or social others, can come into conflict and require consumers to prioritise or even choose which one to attend to. Thus, care struggles and dilemmas complicate the delivery of care

and the performance of circular consumption. While care is intertwined with the performance of circular consumption, translating care from moral orientation and a sense of responsibility to practical engagements is challenging.

Similarly, paper 4 shows that the required valuation work involved with keeping garments in circulation is not an easy task. Consumers are required to develop novel or alternative ways of valuing garments. This research paper specifically illustrates how the dominant fast-paced consumer culture and linear landscape works against valuing clothes in alternative ways, for instance, valuing the history of garments over new trends. In such landscapes, it is challenging to shift registers of valuing to ones that support slowness and longevity and devalue, for instance, novelty. The available valuation devices can be the ones that complicate valuations for circular paths, as they often support linear modes of consumption, and access to more alternative devices is limited. Moreover, the work of valuing clothes for circularity is also challenged by the need to co-ordinate and develop the competences amongst household members.

In summary, the performance of circular consumption in the challenging linear landscape involves and often hinges on how care for garments, and through that care for close and distant others can be enacted, as well as on how valuation work to combat the deterioration and devaluation of products can be carried out by consumers. However, the possibilities for both care and valuation work are limited through the surrounding socio-material landscape, inclusive of the different retail settings as well as home infrastructures. The insights into problems with care and valuation work illustrate the conditions under which circular consumption is challenging to perform. Papers 3 and 4 reveal that such (im)possibilities of circular consumption connect to the problems in delivering care and performing the work of valuing clothes in circular ways, which challenges are brought about by the lack of socio-material support in household and wider infrastructures including retailers.

## Research contributions

Taken together, the above findings show that the modes of circular consumption produced in the studied retail settings require considerable work from consumers. Complex forms of consumption work, often in households, are expected of consumers to extend product lifetimes through care (paper 1)

and to take responsibility for protecting the vulnerability and value of products (paper 2). To manage such complexities of circular consumption, consumers enact care for various others in circular practices (paper 3). Moreover, they carry out considerable valuation work to combat the devaluation and deterioration of garments (paper 4). Both care and valuation work entail securing and coordinating various resources, devices, and skills to enact circular practices in linear landscapes. However, this does not come without challenges; consumers face problems when enacting circular practices through care and valuations. Much of this complexity is linked to the limited possibilities for circular consumption produced in retail settings.

These overarching findings contribute to sociological circular consumption research and the broader sociology of consumption in three ways. The first area of contribution concerns how the work of consumers in the CE is produced in retail settings, adding a novel understanding to sociological circular consumption research on how retail settings shape circular consumption. The second contribution shows how care and valuation work are both integral to performing circular consumption, yet are challenged in various ways. This contributes further to sociological circular consumption research by providing nuance about what the performance of circular consumption entails and what is required for it to be enabled. Lastly, the third area of contribution involves extending these insights to the broader field of the sociology of consumption, offering further understanding of how the shift to less environmentally and socially damaging modes of consumption is limited by retail markets. In the following sections, I describe these three areas of contribution of the present dissertation.

## **Retail market materialities creating more work for consumers**

As the first contribution to sociological circular consumption research, this dissertation provides insights into how some of the challenges of performing circular consumption are produced in retail settings by the creation of additional consumption work that is not fully supported.

As I argued at the beginning of this dissertation, previous research has highlighted that challenges emerge when circular practices meet linear systems (Åberg and Greene, 2024; Wethal and Hoff, 2024). It has also been suggested that more support from the wider infrastructure, for instance, retail stores, is needed to enable circular consumption in everyday life (Åberg and Greene, 2024; Greene et al., 2024; Rabiou and Jaeger-Erben, 2024). However, the findings of this dissertation indicate how various problems for the performance

of circular consumption are produced by the offered circularity products and services. Drawing on the concepts of *qualification* (Callon et al., 2002), and *scripting* (Akrich and Latour, 1992; Jelsma, 2006), this dissertation illustrates the role of retail market materialities in shaping and complicating the work of consumers in the CE. Through this theoretical approach, the findings indicate that most studied circularity offerings in retail settings do not reduce the complexity of performing circular consumption by reducing or handling some of the consumption work.

Instead of reducing or simplifying the work of consumers in the CE (Hobson et al., 2021), circularity offerings often produce not only additional consumer work to be performed in households but also work that is difficult to carry out due to a lack of focus on enabling the created work. Firstly, the different circularity offerings suggest various chores to be performed with a demonstration of care and attending to assigned garment vulnerabilities and responsibilities. Instead of assisting consumers to perform circular consumption in stores, the circular chores are generally created as additional consumption work (Hobson et al., 2021) in households, such as repairing, upcycling or carrying out better forms of maintenance and cleaning. This extends the discussion of circular consumption work beyond the questions of how consumers manage the additional work (Hobson et al., 2021; Mesiranta et al., 2024; Sutcliffe, 2022) by pointing to how retailers take part in patterning circular consumption by creating some of the additional work for consumers in the CE. Secondly, this dissertation also shows that retail market materialities complicate the performance of this created consumption work. In other words, instead of providing the much-needed support (Greene et al., 2024; Hobson et al., 2021) the issue is not only that retail market materialities assign more work to consumers, but also that they limit the possibilities to carry out this work. As the findings of this dissertation illustrate, the studied retail settings only offer limited support for completing the assigned tasks. For instance, the findings on the divergence in responsabilization show that while consumers are assigned moral responsibilities, the ‘response-abilities’ are hidden in most stores, if made available at all. These findings demonstrate how retail settings and their materialities, complicate the work of consumers in the CE and the performance of circular consumption.

## **Complexity of care and valuation work in circular consumption**

As a second contribution area, this dissertation extends the knowledge on the performance of circular consumption by firstly pointing at care and valuation

work as integral parts of performing circular consumption, and secondly by showing how both care and valuation work are challenged in the linear landscape.

Recent studies have illustrated through different living labs and other forms of circularity trials how consumers perform circular consumption in everyday life (Åberg and Greene, 2024; Lehtokunnas et al., 2022; Mesiranta et al., 2024; Rabiū and Jaeger-Erben, 2024; Sutcliffe, 2022; Wethal and Hoff, 2024). The household study of this dissertation further develops the understanding of the complexity of performing circular consumption in everyday life. It does so by combining a practice theoretical approach (Warde, 2005), with the theoretical lenses of *care theory* (Fisher and Tronto, 1990; Tronto, 1993) and *valuation* (Doganova et al., 2014; Heinich, 2020; Helgesson and Muniesa, 2013), to draw out further complexities of performing circular consumption in everyday life. Through such a theoretical approach, this dissertation outlines that circular practices are more complex than ensuring material circulations through ‘hard skills’, for instance, the know-how of repairing objects. The enactment of care in circular practices and the valuation work of shifting to alternative<sup>15</sup> registers hinges on not only such skills but also on successfully juggling various care needs, responsibilities and values. Through such an approach, the present dissertation adds knowledge regarding the performance of circular consumption, by illustrating how care and valuation work are integral for successfully enacting circular practices.

Additionally, concerning the coordination of various circular practices in households (Greene et al., 2024; Rabiū and Jaeger-Erben, 2022), this dissertation highlights that with various circularity practices, multiple care needs, responsibilities and registers of valuing intersect and are often contested in households. This further complicates the coordination of different circular practices. For instance, valuation work may require different household members to agree on the next step of a garment, for example, if it should be repaired or if recycling suffice. If repair is chosen due to environmental values, new questions arise: Can another household member be asked for such help to save the garment, or would care for the other person’s time lead to a decision to recycle instead? From this follows the need to support households in manoeuvring the different needs of care and registers of valuing in the coordination of different circular practices. Such support is essential to enable the adoption of more desirable ‘higher R forms of circularity’, such as

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<sup>15</sup> Alternative in the sense of being different to the ones enabled by linear systems



reducing, reusing or repairing instead of defaulting to recycling (Greene et al., 2024).

Furthermore, this dissertation adds that care and valuation work is not only complex within the households but is also complicated by the access to supporting materialities, for instance, in retail settings. The findings on the importance of care, responsibility-taking and values of circular consumption somewhat align with the arguments of Lehtokunnas et al. (2022), who explored the ethical work in waste handling practices of households. Furthermore, similar processes have also been explored by Mesiranta et al. (2024), who studied care as tinkering, affective practice and ethico-political action as part of clothing and food waste-related circular practices. The present dissertation adds to these studies by drawing out how such moral orientations are not only challenged but can also be failed by the linear landscape. While both Lehtokunnas et al. (2022) and Mesiranta et al. (2024) outline some issues with caring and ethical acts, care and ethics as the goals of practices are understood as the help through which circularity can be performed. This dissertation shows that under certain conditions, caring about others, taking moral responsibility and alternative registers of valuing are not ‘strong’ enough driving forces of circularity projects. Problems in care and valuations, for instance, due to a lack of care resources or valuation devices in linear landscapes, can hinder the performance of circular consumption.

Thus, the present dissertation contributes by showing that moral orientations of circular consumption need support, also from market materialities. Looking at how circular pathways break due to (im)possibilities of care and valuation work helped to outline under what conditions the performance of circular consumption fails. As consumers try to enact care or the valuation work needed for circular practices, it becomes visible how resources are missing for this extended and integral work. Consumers, despite going at times to great lengths to deliver various forms of care, and combat the devaluing of products, often defect to linear modes of consumption. Thus, the present dissertation adds a caution that different moral orientations of circular consumption do not necessarily involve a successful performance of circular consumption. Retail settings, as part of the wider landscape, need to provide support in delivering care and carrying out the valuation work needed for circular practices.

## **The (im)possibilities of circular consumption in linear landscapes**

The above arguments illustrate the complexities and challenges of bringing circular consumption into being in a linear landscape. They also give some insights regarding what needs to be done to enable circular consumption.

As the final contribution of the present dissertation, I bring the above arguments more directly to the broader field of the sociology of consumption. In doing so, I attempt to provide some contribution on how the embeddedness of consumption in the broader linear system and economic arrangements shapes the possibilities to bring more socially and environmentally sustainable modes of consumption into being (Dubuisson-Quellier, 2022; Evans, 2022; Hansen, 2023; Wethal et al., 2024). Hence, in this section, I offer the argument that the possibilities of circular consumption remain limited in a linear landscape as retail market materialities only enable circular consumption as additions to continuous linear modes of consumption.

This dissertation points out how retail market materialities, while enabling some forms of circular consumption, are also arranged to support the co-existence of circular and linear modes of consumption. As this dissertation shows, circular consumption as loops of circularity added to linear modes of consumption (see also Sutcliffe, 2022; Wethal and Hoff, 2024), becomes produced in retail settings. Even if consumers are enabled to do circular practices, such as repair or gentle laundry in their households through additional consumption work, the purchase of new items is not excluded in retail settings. Consumers are rather enabled to buy new garments and then perform additional repairs or upcycling as circular loops. Through mostly placing the circular consumption work in households, instead of handling it in stores, retail settings are arranged to enable the co-existence of linear and circular modes of consumption. This limiting of circular consumption to additional loops is contested, in some ways, by the case of the alternative denim retailer. In their stores, consumers are materially and discursively enabled through various market materialities to sidestep the linear modes of consumption and instead repair what they already own or opt for buying a repaired item. However, the more mainstream (retail) market arrangements mostly enable consumers to develop and enact circular competences as additions, instead of questioning and devaluing the linear fast-paced consumer culture.

These insights further the understanding of the challenges of circular consumption by pointing at the role of retail markets in patterning circular consumption as added loops to linear modes of consumption. Such insights can

provide some additional answers to why consumers only integrate the easier, or more convenient forms of circular consumption as circular additions to linear consumption (Åberg and Greene, 2024; Sutcliffe, 2022; Wethal and Hoff, 2024). Furthermore, this dissertation shows that even if some circularity offerings are introduced in retail settings, consumers are not fully supported to leave behind the environmentally, and socially damaging modes of consumption. In its current form, these built-in (im)possibilities of circular consumption pose a problem for a wider-scale shift to circular economies. These insights add to the discussion on how the possibilities for more sustainable modes of consumption are shaped (Dubuisson-Quellier, 2022; Evans, 2022; Hansen, 2023; Wethal et al., 2024) by pointing out how, at least in the case of circular consumption, such changes are socio-materially and practically limited in retail settings and how these limits also impede the performance of circular consumption in everyday life.

The present dissertation departed from a case where clothing retailers attempt to manage the negative environmental impact of the clothing industry by asking consumers to perform circular consumption. However, as pointed out earlier, these efforts often lack the necessary material support and rather create more work for consumers. Consumers are being affected and troubled (see also Geiger et al., 2014) and asked to do the work by caring, taking responsibility and valuing objects. Whether this work is made easy— as in a few cases – or difficult – as in most explored cases – is made secondary.

Without the support from retail market materialities, the presence of care, responsibility and value protection on their own do not overcome the complexity of circular consumption and lead to the reduced dominance of linear modes of consumption. The possibilities of circular consumption in linear landscapes remain complex and limited. Instead of reducing the said complexity, mainstream retail settings are patterned with various (im)possibilities. Such (im)possibilities of circular consumption not only lead to failed or restricted consumer action but also maintain the dominance of linear modes of consumption.

To conclude and return to the issue of the underplayed complexity of circular consumption in everyday life (Welch et al., 2017) and connectedly the feasibility of shifting to circular economies (Corvellec et al., 2021; Hobson, 2021), the present dissertation adds further caution regarding the limits of the CE based on the explored circular consumption (im)possibilities. More specifically, it is argued that limits of the CE are maintained, unless more support is provided for circular consumption, even in mainstream retail

settings, to make the landscape more circular and help reduce the dominance of linear modes of consumption.

## Implications for future research

A central finding of this dissertation is that circular consumption is brought into being through retail market materialities as a co-existing mode of consumption so that linear consumption can continue. From this follows that we need further understanding of how the linear modes of consumption can be replaced by circularity. To achieve this, further understanding is required on how mainstream retailers can bring circular and linear modes of consumption on equal levels. Such knowledge is essential for moving towards the goal of creating circular economies.

It also follows from the findings of this dissertation that the work of consumers in the CE is shaped by retail markets. Studying further the making of consumption work through retail markets can be of interest to sociology of consumption scholars who are engaged with understanding consumption in relation to wider economic arrangements. Future research could continue with taking a ‘practice theories’ approach (Evans, 2020), and explore how the work of consumers is formed in other empirical contexts. Although consumption work is central to the CE (Greene et al., 2024; Hobson et al., 2021), and the concept has been developed through studies focused on household recycling (e.g., Wheeler and Glucksmann, 2015a, 2015b), the concept is not limited to circular economies (Glucksmann, 2009, 2016). The role of retailers in this re-organisation of consumer labour can be explored in contexts other than the CE. For instance, how does the work of consumers become re-arranged as part of various social or environmental challenges, leading to, for instance, food scarcity or challenged access to other commodities and essential goods? Through such studies, further light can be shed on the possibilities to re-allocate work in the case of different challenging situations impacting societies.

Furthermore, while the present dissertation illustrates that there are similar moralities present in retail and household settings, the making of consumption moralities in the CE needs to be explored further. In this dissertation, I focused on retail settings and households and the different moralities of circular consumption that were present. However, taking inspiration from Wheeler’s argument regarding the role of policy and collective customs in shaping

moralties of consumption (Wheeler, 2019), future research could approach the question of what forms of mortalities are materially and practically made as part of EU-level or national CE policy, or in the work of not-for-profit organisations. This could provide further understanding of how the mortalities of the CE differ or align between how different organisations advocate for circularity, and whether the expectations from consumers are motivated on moral grounds.

Lastly, to explore how mortalities ‘travel’ and become negotiated between policy, community or household levels, comparisons can be made not only between countries (c.f., Wheeler, 2014) but also between different circularity initiatives. In my dissertation, I focused on (retail) market-based circularity and its associated mortalities. Future research could explore how mortalities are created and allocated in the case of alternative forms of circular solutions, such as repair cafés or sharing circles. Questions such as where is the responsibility placed, and who is asked to care, with what means, as well as who is proposed to receive this care in different circularity initiatives can be explored. Through such investigations, further understanding could be gained on who is framed as a key actors, as well as who are the beneficiaries of transitioning towards the CE.

## Implications for circular economy policy and retailers

For actors working to enable and promote the CE, this dissertation mainly highlights that the moralisation of consumption will not lead to widescale change. A supporting market infrastructure, involving mainstream retailers, is crucial in such a shift. The different circularity offerings need to be extended so that they not only offer circularity as the alternative but also as the seamlessly available default option in retail settings. Furthermore, these offerings should not simply generate further consumption work to be performed in households but also need to replace some of the consumers’ work, for instance by handling re-sale and repair of used products in the store. The present dissertation shows that households are often aware of and interested in working towards the CE, even if it is challenging and the linear alternatives must be bypassed. However, consumers need further support to leave linear modes of consumption behind.

The EU circular textile strategy works closely with helping consumers to ‘reset the trend’ and ‘make fast fashion out of fashion’ (European Commission, 2022). Based on the present dissertation, such initiatives are a great starting point to help consumers shift registers of valuing, and appreciate alternative aspects of clothing such as durability, longevity or history. However, EU policy also needs to work towards helping to build an infrastructure for circular consumption, one that is at least equal to, if not replaces, linearity. For instance, the EU directive banning the handling of household textile waste as part of regular waste is a move in such direction, which should help to generate the infrastructure for clothing that is made of recycled material. However, as has been reported, producers who could use and re-make the collected textiles are currently missing from markets (Fjellman, 2025). Therefore, even if households go to great lengths to find the appropriate bins for their textile waste, there is currently no assurance that they will find re-made or recycled garments widely available on markets.

This is where the role of clothing retailers, especially the ones with expansive resources, comes into the picture. While the negotiations on the EU level are ongoing regarding extended producer responsibility (Palm Ekspong, 2024), traditional clothing retailers could start looking at the smaller-scale examples of how both circular and linear modes of consumption can be handled in stores and enabled with similar force. Taking inspiration from alternative retailers, larger stores could also start to communicate and provide support for consumers to value the items they already own more, so that they can start ‘investing’ into already owned garments, through upcycling, tailoring or repairing services. While it is challenging to provide recycled garments due to limitations in the circular supply chain (Fjellman, 2025), in-store circularity could focus on repairing and reselling consumers’ garments, before they even reach the stage where recycling is needed. These forms of in-store circularity services have been shown to be attainable, at least in the case of the alternative denim retailer. Such in-store solutions could also reduce the additional work required of consumers and could serve as future income opportunities to replace gains from linear modes of consumption.



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# Appendix

## Study 1 – Observation guides

### Observation guide 2020 – in store

Do they address sustainability in store?

Do they address the role of consumption phase?

Do they mention not only disposal but one of the following? Mending, upcycling, repair, maintenance, laundry?

What form of information is given about these? Video, pictures, tutorials, on products, on services?

Where is the information placed?

- Can it be seen from outside?
- Where in the store?
- Is it on the garment? Where on the garment?

Do they sell related products?

Do they offer related services?

Is the staff ready to engage on the topic of garment care?

### Observation guide 2020 – online

Do they mention not only disposal but one of the following? Mending, upcycling, repair, maintenance laundry?

- How is it touched upon?
  - Selling related products? (i.e. guppy bags, steamery machines, repair kit, detergents)
  - Tutorials? (videos, pictures, blogposts)
  - Collaborations with bloggers/influencers focusing on garment care?
- Where is it discussed?
  - Sustainability reports?
  - Corporate webpage?
  - Sustainability section of website/webshop?
  - Is it mentioned close to the webshop? Is there a connection between buying products and garment care?
  - Is it mentioned on social media? Which one? How much it is emphasised?
- Are there any services offered?
  - Online? (What format?)
  - Offline (What format? Individual/communal? Home/store?)

## Observation guide 2023 (translated from Swedish)

### **Spatiality:**

The location of the store?  
How does it look in shop windows?  
Store layout/floor plan?  
-Is the store divided into departments?  
Which ones?  
-Color scheme/floor and wall materials?  
- Is the customer guided in any way?  
-Is there a link between the physical store and the online store?  
What messages (on signs) are customers greeted with?  
How are the garments framed? (focus on time/material/style)  
Are there messages linked to extending the life of garments?  
Are there signs or similar about circularity?  
Are there signs or similar about sustainability?

### **Products**

What garments are offered?  
How are the garments organized?  
How are the garments presented?  
What information about the garments is available?  
Is it possible to search for information about the garments?  
How many different models of different garments?  
Where are the garments made?  
Price level?  
Discounts/reduced prices?

### **Materiality of clothes:**

What are the garments made of?  
What is the quality of the materials?  
-Thread density/thickness of fabric?  
-Washability/shrinkage/colour fastness/tear resistance/abrasion?

- Correct direction of threads?  
- Fragile materials?  
Are garments soft? Worn out?  
What do seams look like? Seam allowance?  
Extra buttons/threads/ patches or similar?  
How are the garments designed/cut?  
Number of models? Number of colors? Patterns? Number of sizes?

### **Customers**

The number of customers?  
How do customers move around?  
What do customers do?  
The customers who try on - the amount of clothes?  
Do they interact with staff? If yes - about what?  
What do customers buy?  
Do customers buy few or many garments?

### **Staff:**

How many people are working?  
What does the staff do?  
What kind of help/interaction does the staff have with customers?

### **Responsibility/Lifetime extension:**

Does the store contain messages about the lifetime of products?  
Where/how are they communicated?  
Is there available advice on garment care practices?  
Are garment care services offered?  
Are garment care products offered?  
Where are the products/services available?  
Can the staff answer questions about clothing care/quality?

## Study 2: Recruitment text sample, information sheet, consent form and sample questions from interview guide

**We are looking for participants for a research project about clothing and fashion consumption with a focus on second-hand, renting and repairing!**

Would you be interested in sharing your experience with clothing rental, buying and selling second-hand, or repairing clothes during a trial period? We would love to meet you and talk more.

For more information about participating in the study read the attached information sheet! Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have further questions or if you want to register your interest by sending a message to [emma.samsioe@ism.lu.se](mailto:emma.samsioe@ism.lu.se), [reka\\_ines.tolg@ism.lu.se](mailto:reka_ines.tolg@ism.lu.se), or [niklas.sorum@hb.se](mailto:niklas.sorum@hb.se)

→ Attach the information sheet



### **Research project about new forms of clothing and fashion consumption**

#### **What is the purpose of the study?**

New forms of clothing and fashion consumption are on the rise. For instance, we can see how digital platforms for buying and selling second-hand, renting, and repairing clothes are becoming increasingly common.

In this project, we are interested in how people's relationship to clothing and fashion changes in connection with the development of new services for repairing, renting, as well as buying and selling clothes in an increasingly digital world.

We investigate how people go about buying and selling clothes through second-hand websites, repair their clothes via online service providers and rent clothes via platforms that offer customers access to clothes for a period of time.

#### **What does my participation involve?**

The participation in this study is divided into two phases. The first phase involves an interview, conducted either through meeting in-person or via digital solutions (eg Zoom, Teams or FaceTime). During this meeting, we would like to find out how you think about your clothes and style, and you can also describe the clothes you already have. This interview is expected to take about 60-90 minutes.

The second phase of the study involves you signing up for one of the following digital platforms for a period. The purpose is to try one of these services and then to share your experience with us in the project group about renting, repairing or buying and / or selling second-hand clothes. Please note that you have to bear the cost of the service yourself. The three platforms you can choose from are:

Sellpy (<https://www.sellpy.se>) - buying and selling second-hand clothes

Repamera (<https://repamera.se>) - repairing

Hack your Closet (<https://www.hackyourcloset.se>) - renting

While you are trying out the platform, we will also ask you to send some photos and answer short questions regarding your experience with using the platform. We will tell you more about this part of the study, when we meet for the first time.



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### Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. You can withdraw your participation at any time and without further explanation.

### Responsible for the project

The research project is a collaboration between the University of Borås and Lund University. Professor Christian Fuentes is responsible for the project. Dr. Niklas Sörum, Dr. Emma Samsioe, and Reka Ines Tölg also participate in the project.

### Contact information:

If you have questions or concerns about the project or your participation in the project, you can contact Christian Fuentes on telephone 07... or via e-mail [christian.fuentes@hb.se](mailto:christian.fuentes@hb.se). If you want to add more details or change something that has been said at the interviews and observations, contact [niklas.sorum@hb.se](mailto:niklas.sorum@hb.se), [emma.samsioe@ism.lu.se](mailto:emma.samsioe@ism.lu.se) or [reka\\_ines.tolg@ism.lu.se](mailto:reka_ines.tolg@ism.lu.se)

#### **Christian Fuentes**

University of Borås  
Department of Business Administration and Textile Management

[christian.fuentes@hb.se](mailto:christian.fuentes@hb.se)

#### **Niklas Sörum**

University of Borås  
Department of Business Administration and Textile Management

[niklas.sorum@hb.se](mailto:niklas.sorum@hb.se)

#### **Emma Samsioe**

Department of Service Management and Service Studies, Lund University

[emma.samsioe@ism.lu.se](mailto:emma.samsioe@ism.lu.se)

#### **Reka Ines Tölg**

Department of Service Management and Service Studies, Lund University

[reka\\_ines.tolg@ism.lu.se](mailto:reka_ines.tolg@ism.lu.se)

### **Consent form for participating in the research project on sustainable clothing futures**

#### Statement of consent

I have received written information about the study and agrees to participate. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I have been informed that personal data and the data collected about me will be treated confidentially and stored in a secure manner.

I have received information that the results of the research will be presented so that no information can be traced to me.

I am aware that my participation is completely voluntary and that I can withdraw my participation at any time and without further explanation.

I have read the above information, and have received answers to any questions I may have. I consent to take part in the study, and specifically I consent to:

\_\_\_ To participate in interviews and that these are audio and video recorded.

\_\_\_ That interviews, pictures and video recordings are transcribed, analyzed and used in the project's results.

Your signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Your name (printed) \_\_\_\_\_

Date and place of signing: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone number: \_\_\_\_\_

Email address: \_\_\_\_\_



## Sample from Study 2's entry interview guide

### **Introduction**

Could you tell me about yourself?

Where do you live, with whom, work, education, age etc.?

### **1 Everyday household clothing practices**

#### **Initial guide in the home and observations of wardrobe**

*Focus* on the infrastructure of household clothing practices:

Ask for/try to find and make of observations of storage of clothes, laundry baskets, washing machines/areas, mending, etc.

*Focus* on the clothes:

what type/categories of clothes, how much, types of material

How are they stored? A system or logic? How do rented/repaired/resold items fit into this?

*Method:* The grand tour observation is combined with ethnographic chats: stories of specific items or changes in the infrastructure.

Recorded with photos, short films, and audio.

#### **Theme – wardrobe interview**

Place yourself together with participant in the room where garments are stored.

What clothing items would you say that you use the *most*? 5 examples.

For each of these examples – ask them to show you the clothing items. Then ask:

- When / how did you acquire this piece of clothing?
- How often do/did you use it?
- How do you plan to dispose of it?

What clothing items would you say that you use the *least*? 5 examples.

For each of these examples – ask them to show you the clothing items. Then ask:

- When / how did you acquire this piece of clothing?
- How often do/did you use it?
- How do you plan to dispose of it?
- How many clothing items do you estimate that you have?

**Theme – The acquisition of clothes**

- How often do you shop for clothes?
- Could you tell me about the last time you shopped for clothes? / Several examples / Do you usually shop clothes in-store or online? Why?
- What is important to you when you buy clothes? (quality/price/style/design etc.)
- For whom do you shop clothes for? Could you tell us about that? How is it different compared with when you shop for yourself?
- Do you shop for second-hand clothes? (why/why not) Could you tell us about such as occasion?
- Have you rented clothes? Can you give an example of that?
- Was there any difference wearing rented clothes compared to your own clothes?
- How did you go about getting and returning the rented clothes?
- Do you get clothes in any other way? (From relatives or friends, gifts) Could you tell us about an example of this?

The entry interview guide continued with questions regarding wearing clothes, clothing situations and outfits, maintenance of clothes, disposal of clothes

Similar guides were designed for the monitoring phase specified for each platform, as well as for the final interview.

