

OTDK Paper

“THRIFTED FIT CHECK”: GENERATION Z'S KNOWLEDGE-ATTITUDE-PRACTICE GAP IN SECOND-HAND CLOTHING CONSUMPTION - A PRELIMINARY STUDY

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1. INTRODUCTION

For people living in the Western world, mass consumption of fashion is likely not an uncommon concept. Clothes seem to no longer be viewed as a valuable commodity as they were in the past, but rather as disposable objects by modern consumers. The constant turnover of trends and availability of low-cost garments, along with many other reasons, have encouraged consumers not only to purchase more but also to discard clothes at an alarming rate (Vasquez, 2022). Mass fashion consumption has led to various problems, including strained natural resources, unsustainable and unethical production methods, growing textile waste, etc (Vasquez, 2022).

There are a multitude of options for more ethical and sustainable fashion consumption, however, these avenues are often inaccessible to a young audience that still needs to prioritize affordability. For example, the “slow fashion” market, which is an aspect of sustainable fashion that supports clothing and garment manufacture with respect to people, the environment and animals (Clark, 2008), is also burdened with the seemingly impossible endeavors of defining “truly” ethical and sustainable production. Radicalized approaches such as the zero-waste movement, or minimalism often have little consideration or even trivialize the existence of marginal consumers whose personal styles and consumption principles do not align with them.

As society grapples with the consequences of this relentless pace of consumption, there is a growing awareness of the need for more responsible approaches to fashion consumption, emphasizing quality, longevity, and ethical production practices. Second-hand clothing (often referred to as thrift clothing) with its distinctive attributes emerges as an elegant answer to these problems, continuing to captivate enthusiasts around the world. Since the early 1990s, the second-hand clothing industry has rapidly expanded (Hansen, 2010; NARTS, 2023). Evidence shows that clothing resale is a multi-billion dollar industry, and is among the fastest-growing segments in retail (ThredUp, 2023).

Buying second-hand fashion has always been a topic of much debate. Although embracing second-hand fashion can be a conscious choice that promotes a variety of benefits such as affordability, mindfulness, ethical consumption, and environmental responsibilities, there are certain concerns and risks associated with it.

1.1. Research Purposes, specific aims and objectives.

The drive for this thesis was generated primarily by a personal interest. Being a student, I am a frequent visitor to different thrift stores in Budapest whenever I am in need of cheap clothing and accessories. I consider myself to be a mindful consumer, in that I always attempt

to lower my frequency of purchases and opt for the choices that I consider to be more ethical. I often reflected upon my second-hand clothing purchases as a somewhat “superior” option to engaging in the mainstream market: with proper filtering the clothes are often very cheap; I feel good about not relying on an apparel industry that perpetuates unsustainable and unethical production practices; and most importantly, they are unique pieces that also align with my personal style.

Additionally, I realized that my preference for second-hand clothing was developed after long-term exposure to thrifting-related content on social media, notably those made by a fashion creator called *bestdressed*. Among her most famous videos are “thrift hauls” (showing a collection of items bought in one or multiple visits to second-hand stores), “thrift flips” (altering or tailoring thrifted clothes for sizing or other fashionability-related purposes), and “thrifted outfits lookbook” (the showing of fashionable outfits consisting of second-hand garments). These contents, which I watched in my adolescent years, totally transformed my view: I went from associating second-hand clothing with hygiene risks, outdated silhouettes and strange patterns to recognizing the significance of the circular fashion industry and appreciating the uniqueness and vibrant personalities that second-hand clothes can bring.

After observing my classmates who have different fashion consumption habits, I wondered if there are any differences between their perceptions and mine, what the driving forces could be among groups who choose to get involved with the second-hand market at different levels, and whether other experienced thrift shoppers also went through the same perception formation process through social media as I did.

Though there have been some previous academic materials done on the motivations and barriers of consumers towards second-hand clothing (see Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework), there is still room for further examination. One of these shortcomings is the lack of discussion on the gap between a consumer’s knowledge, attitude, and practice of consumption (KAP gap), as well as comparison among groups who choose to commit to second-hand fashion and those who do not, and the recognition of various levels of sustainable consumption awareness within each group. Given the research background and that the purpose of this thesis is to research second-hand shopping, an empirical study with three focus groups is conducted to explore the concepts mentioned above. In particular, the main research questions are formulated as follows: (1) Are there any similarities or differences between groups in terms of knowledge, perception/attitude, and consumption practice for second-hand clothing? Why do such differences exist?

(2) Can social media be recognized as an effective tool for sustainable consumption communication (SCC), capable of bridging the knowledge-attitude-practice (KAP) gap in the second-hand clothing industry?

1.2.Structural outline

This paper is based on secondary and primary research, providing first a literature review and then insights from three focus groups conducted with GenZ-ers who are at different levels of commitment to thrifting. The following section (Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework) will deal with the existing literature concerning the perception of the second-hand clothing market in different eras of history, and the background conditions for the revived popularity of thrifting in the 21st century. There will also be an examination of the motivations and barriers to shopping second-hand, and how sustainable consumption communication (SCC) can potentially be used to address the gaps between consumers' knowledge, perception, and consumption behaviors. Finally, the chapter will conclude by providing a framework summarizing all the discussed concepts.

The methodology used for this investigation is described and explained in Chapter 3. Focus groups were determined as the best strategy for answering the research questions. This chapter will finish with an examination of the methodology's shortcomings and limitations. Following the theoretical framework, Chapter 4 will present the findings in a descriptive manner, while Chapter 5 will interpret what they truly mean. The research questions will also be addressed in Chapter 5. Finally, the paper will finish by summarizing the results, evaluating their implications, and making recommendations for future research.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The second chapter consists of 5 sections. I will first examine the historical perception of second-hand clothing and conditions for the revived popularity of second-hand clothing in the last 2 decades. Next, I will present pre-existing theories about the potential motivations and barriers, and how CSS can find its place in the domain of addressing the knowledge–attitude–practice (KAP) gap for second-hand clothing consumption. The final section will provide a theoretical framework connecting the aforementioned elements.

2.1. Brief history of the Western second-hand clothing market

From my desk research, it is evident that academic research on the topic was sparse in the 20th century but has steadily grown in number since the beginning of the 21st century. This is no coincidence, as this surge in academic materials occurred around the same time as the destigmatization and revived popularity of the second-hand clothing markets.

In order to understand the forces that might influence the perception of second-hand clothing and create motivations or barriers to shop second-hand, the literature review will first examine the second-hand clothing market in specific historical contexts, and how it correlated with the mainstream market. They do not exist as independent, separated entities from each other, but rather have always had an intertwining relationship, where the rise in popularity of one had often cost the prevalence of the other.

When looking at the development of the second-hand clothing markets we also need to examine the nature of contemporary conventional clothing markets, because the positioning of the second-hand clothing market has always been a reflection of the conventional market and consumption habits of the working class. Historically, the public's perception of the second-hand clothing market has not been consistent. We can divide the history of second-hand clothing consumption into 3 distinct periods: emergence and expansion in the 18th and 19th centuries; decline and stigmatization in the 20th century; and destigmatization and renewed popularity from the beginning of the 21st century (Weinstein, 2014).

2.1.1. Emergence and Expansion

Second-hand clothing purchase is not a new phenomenon. In Europe, there have been records of professional second-hand “clothes brokers” dating as far back as the Victorian era. (Waller, 1747). Historically, clothes had a high economic value, the reuse of clothing was a common practice (Ulväng, 2012). Manufacturing clothes has been expensive—throughout most of history. A lot of materials, effort, and skills went into textile production and tailoring.

The Industrial Revolution came with the invention of different techniques and machinery that made it easier and faster to produce textiles and clothing (Thanhauser, 2022). Manufactured clothing was becoming more plentiful and accessible to consumers. However, clothes were still a highly valuable commodity, and with a growing working class with some extra available spending money but could not yet afford high-quality newly made clothes, the second-hand market was often one of the few methods that these people get access to consumer goods, clothing included. (Lemire, 1988). In this era, the second-hand market was viewed as a useful pathway connecting the working class with a growing consumer market. (Weinstein, 2014)

2.1.2. Decline and Stigmatization

How the second-hand market is perceived is always closely related to how the mainstream market is developing and the consumption habits of the working class, since they make up the majority of the target consumers of the second-hand market. Around the end of the 19th century and the turn of the 20th century, the ready-to-wear garment industry grew substantially. The emergence of new production practices like standard sizing, allowed for the mass and low-cost production of clothing (Thanhauser, 2022). Working-class consumers began to take satisfaction in their purchases of new products; this was a newfound sense of social agency and independence supported by mass marketing and advertising efforts (Weinstein, 2014). With this, the demand for second-hand apparel soon plummeted, and many customers started using second-hand stores only as a last resort. (Ginsburg, 1980).

Mass-produced goods also worsened in quality: Materials became “lighter, more breakable, and less durable” (Van Damme and Vermoesen, 2009), meaning products' lifespans also shortened. When the mainstream products worsened in quality, the discarded garments that were subsequently sold in second-hand stores did as well, and gradually second-hand consumption was made less and less appealing. The act of using someone else's discarded goods became stigmatized and was linked to poverty and destitution. (Weinstein, 2014)

2.1.3. Destigmatization and Renewed Popularity

Interestingly, the negative correlation between the mainstream and second-hand market is not always present in the 21st century. The stigmatization of shopping second-hand, which was a prevalent perspective in the 20th century, has lessened in the last decades, with a great number of second-hand stores witnessing a significant increase in sales and revenues (NARTS, 2023).

In the mainstream market, the most notable player is fast fashion. The concept of fast fashion emerged around the 1990s and has been very present and influential, especially in the Western markets. Clothes are made at a faster rate, with lower cost and the quality suffers. Fast fashion and the fashion production industry in general have raised concerns about the quality, environmental impacts, and ethics of production (Lundberg and Devoy, 2022). The average consumer is more and more aware of these problematic matters, and some have turned to second-hand fashion as an alternative.

2.2. The backdrop for the renewed popularity of second-hand fashion

The revived popularity of second-hand fashion in the 21st century was the result of a combination of different factors. However, I will examine two elements that I believe are the most relevant: Generation Z and social media.

2.2.1. GenZ characteristics

I choose to examine one specific bracket – Generation Z because second-hand clothing is gaining substantial momentum among these young consumers. Statistically, two out of three Gen-Zers said they look for items second-hand before buying new (NARTS, 2023). Through my observation, I noticed that relevant literature has not properly highlighted the generation-specific attributes and other nuances that may differentiate Generation Z's perception formation processes.

Generation Z, often short as GenZ, is defined as the group of people born in the late 20th century to early years of the 21st century (Elridge, 2023). As of 2023, this generation is entering the workforce and emerging as the new major consumer generation.

There are two big factors that set Generation Z apart from previous generations. Firstly, they are the first generation to grow as true digital natives. Most Gen Z-ers have grown up in a time of ubiquitous access to social media and the digital world (Elridge, 2023). Secondly, in terms of economic background, Gen Z-ers, have been undeniably shaped by the Great Recession of 2007–09 and the COVID-19 pandemic (Elridge, 2023). This has undoubtedly set GenZ for their outlook on consumption and consumerism. Volume and speed of consumption historically have been an indicator of wealth and welfare in previous generations. However, this is no longer applicable to Generation Z. There has been a shift from ease and volume to an emphasis on quality of consumption with limited financial resources, which is what has been setting the background for second-hand fashion to step back into the spotlight.

Additionally, GenZ's presence on social media in the fashion field is often paired with critics of consumerism, heightened sustainability, as well as environmental and ethical awareness. The act of buying clothing second-hand is now assessed in a different light by a generation that has a growing interest in economical and sustainable fashion consumption. Buying clothes second-hand, or thrifting is viewed as an "ethical" alternative to the "problematic" mainstream realm dominated by fast fashion. Whether or not thrifting is truly a good replacement for mainstream apparel is still a matter of debate, but it is undeniable that buying clothes second-hand has captivated GenZ enthusiasts all around the world.

2.2.2. Social media

Historically, mass media has always been an incredibly powerful tool of framing and setting agendas for influencing the public's opinion. (McCombs, 2011). Social media has only been around for about 2 decades, meaning it is a relatively recent invention when taking into account the length of media history. However, they have been interwoven into almost every single aspect of our lives, especially that of young people belonging to the Z generation (Kastenholtz, 2021). Social media also play a part in influencing decision-making in the garment sector (Bilah et al 2014).

Social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter, are the most widely utilized tools for facilitating quick and effective communication, as well as the medium for disseminating information to a larger audience (Merchant, 2012; Irwin et al., 2012; Kimmons, 2014). Hence, the power of such social media could be further harnessed for the benefit of growing the second-hand market. The nature of communication surrounding second-hand clothing, and how its benefits and drawbacks are highlighted on social media, can have influential and sometimes unpredictable impacts on the future of the resale industry.

Interest of second-hand fashion and other related agendas such as sustainability, ethical consumption, economic value, etc have been gaining more and more traction on the internet. The sheer volume of content and the growing number of creators specializing in second-hand fashion have undoubtedly increased thrifting's presence in the fashion realm.

Zajonc (1960) theorized that people tend to develop a preference for things that are more familiar to them than others, in other words: Repeated exposure increases familiarity and preference. However, the question remains is that whether this increase in online discourses can be influential enough to positively impact one's perception of the concept of shopping second-hand, and if this positive shift in attitude does happen, will consumption behavior also adjust accordingly. These concepts will be further examined in chapter 3, 4 and 5 with the focus group methodology.

2.3. Forces for and against shopping second-hand/thrifting

Now that the history of the market, and the background conditions for the revival of second-hand clothing have been further examined, it is also important to look at the theories connected to motivations and barriers for thrifting/shopping second-hand to get an understanding of potential forces that might change consumers' perception.

2.3.1. Motivations for shopping second-hand

The values identified among second-hand clothing consumers include economic motivations, hedonic motivations, and environmental concerns (Hur, 2020, Hansson and Morozov, 2016).

2.3.1.1. Economic motivations

The motivations for shopping second-hand are predominantly believed to be economic factors (Williams, 2003). Historically the second-hand market has always been the bridge that allows the working class to get access to goods at a cheaper price, (see subchapter 2.1) and therefore is a perfect medium to shop for clothes, especially for those who are price sensitive. While not all second-hand shoppers have to rely on second-hand shopping out of financial necessity, it has been proven that those who are skilled at thrifting and buy second-hand apparel for economic reasons frequently have lower-than-average incomes. (Christiansen and Snepenger, 2005)

Apart from economic necessity, Guiot and Roux (2010) also proposed additional economic motivation: the desire to receive products at a fair price and the desire to get more for less (gratification effect of pricing). They also proposed in 2008 that frugality - price concern and being thrifty - was positively associated with economic and critical incentives to shop second-hand.

2.3.1.2. Hedonic motivations

There have been records of a population who shop second-hand purely for self-expressive or hedonistic motivation. In recent years, there has been a surge of vintage and thrifted garments' price mark-up, especially in the realm of online thrifting. Some resellers on thrifting platforms like ThredUp, DePop or Vinted have been selling items that were extremely expensive (Zuvela, 2023). Some of these marked-up items might not be "real vintage" or any other values that they claimed to be. However, high mark-up resellers are still a common sight on these platforms, meaning that there are still people willing to purchase from them, creating a viable position for them to operate in the second-hand market. However, in most cases,

economic and hedonic-oriented agencies often co-exist (Williams and Windebank, 2005), although the degree to which these factors impact each population can vary greatly.

Various hedonistic agencies have been identified and examined in previous studies, including concepts such as treasure hunting, originality, nostalgia, etc (Williams, 2003, Bardhi and Arnold, 2005, Roux, 2006).

The hedonic pleasure of treasure hunting deriving from shopping in second-hand stores is supported by studies conducted in 2003 by Williams and in 2005 by Bardhi and Arnold. For these shoppers, thrifting is an exciting and fun hobby that allows them to hunt for things that fulfill their desires (wants rather than needs).

People treasure uniqueness and individuality, especially in a field that is closely knitted to self-expression and identity like fashion. Clothes in the mainstream markets like fast fashion brands do not provide the same level of individuality and personality as thrifted clothes. Moreover, Roux and Guiot (2008, 2010) proposed that another hedonic motivation is the desire to purchase original or unique items that are either unavailable in the mainstream market or that others do not own. These products might be more appealing since they allow the customer to express their identity. Taking this a step further, thrifted retro/vintage clothing was even used to construct an individual identity separated from the mainstream and to show how one belongs to a group of like-minded people (Jenss, 2005). This is why thrifting is often particularly popular among members of certain alternative subcultures, for example, punk second-hand fashion boutiques (Sklar et al, 2022)

Nostalgia has also been coined as one of the hedonic agencies that drive people towards thrift shopping. Clothes can be considered to be an expansion of the self (Roux, 2006). Therefore, by buying old clothes made from a certain era, consumers can find meaning from when or for whom it was produced. Consumers of fashion may discover hedonic values in their attraction to items that are old rather than new, either because they are thought to be more authentic, have a history, or evoke the past (Roux 2006). I believe trend cycle repetition is another important extension of the nostalgia-fueled hedonistic agencies. To some people, a common misconception is that there are seemingly new fashion trends emerging every single week or month. It is worth noting that a large portion of these trends are repetitions of those that have been popular in the past. Some fashion trends often swing back and forth like a pendulum. For example, in the 2000s, low-rise jeans were considered the most trendy item. They were then replaced by high-rise jeans, which were considered to be a more practical and comfortable style in the 2010s. However, in the last few years, low and mid-rise jeans have enjoyed a renewed popularity (Cartner-Morley, 2023). This is only one among countless

instances of trend cycle revival. This phenomenon has brought many items that were once deemed unfashionable and obsolete back into the mainstream, driving more people towards shopping for clothes made in that era. Thrift stores stood out as a supplier that could cater to this specific audience bracket.

2.3.1.3. Sustainability concerns

Some consumers are concerned about resource scarcity and thus want to reject waste and consumption (Roux, 2006). This is a motivation that Guiot and Roux (2010) termed critical motivations as by buying second-hand, they avoid throwing away usable things and fight waste. Buying second-hand clothing is in keeping with their values (Roux, 2006). Overall, there is evidence that there is a rise in environmental concern regarding fashion which in turn impacts consumers' purchases of clothing (Beard, 2008).

In his 2008 paper, Beard also suggests that with the growing interest in eco-fashion, there has been a surge in the second-hand and vintage clothing market, implying that this is about not only buying certain items but also encapsulating a sense of superiority that a consumer can get when owning something both vintage and eco-friendly. Yan, Bae, and Xu (2015) also claim that young adults who buy used apparel are more environmentally conscious than non-shoppers. They do, however, comment that environmentalism does not appear to be an indicator of how frequently a customer would buy used apparel. Furthermore, they propose that just because a student is concerned about the environment doesn't necessarily mean that they are well informed about environmental issues or that they would act on them (Yan et al, 2015).

2.3.2. Barriers to shopping second-hand.

On the other hand, there are various barriers that might prevent consumers from shopping for second-hand clothing, including fear of contamination, the garments' characteristics, and personal values (Roux, 2006, Yan et al, 2015)

2.3.2.1. Fear of contamination

The fear of contamination associated with second-hand clothing can be either rational or irrational.

For instance, for some consumers, used clothes are associated with being too "contaminated" by the previous owner (Roux, 2006). The psychology of possession reveals that we often imbue owned items with an essence that defines their true identity (Hood, 2014). Tangible materials or possessions are even considered to be extensions of an identity. Clothing is considered to be an extension of the self and may symbolize the owner, therefore even when discarded, the "contamination" of the previous owner cannot simply be washed away (Roux,

2006). Furthermore, according to Baxter et al. (2017), fighting irrational fear of contamination with reasoning is particularly difficult.

Contamination can also manifest in second-hand clothing in tangible and physical form, such as bad odor, stains, etc. According to Yan, Bae & Xu (2015), the more the previous consumer has touched a product, the more contaminated that garment seems to be, and the less likely customers will purchase it. This is also reinforced by data from Kristoffersson (2015), which discovered that a barrier to purchasing second-hand clothing was the belief that second-hand clothing was unsanitary.

2.3.2.2. Garments' characteristics

Price alone was insufficient to guarantee a consumer's decision to buy used apparel (O'Reilly et. al, 1984), consumers are usually much more likely to purchase clothes that can satisfy multiple utilitarian standards outside of the price factor. The items available in thrift stores are not always in the most modern colors, patterns, or silhouettes, simply due to the fact that these pieces of clothing have had a previous life before being donated or sold as second-hand merchandise. Other utilitarian factors such as proper sizing and body fit constitute another element that might function as a barrier (Kristoffersson, 2015), since sizing in second-hand garments often falls short of catering to all body types. Even for customers who do not feel the need to be fashion-forward, these characteristics of the garments available can greatly decrease their purchase desire.

2.3.2.3. Personal values

Another point of view is that some consumers believe that thrifting through second-hand apparel is a negative thing. Buying second-hand does not indicate thriftiness or saving money to them, but rather the inability or failure to purchase newly made products (Roux, 2006).

Furthermore, there exists the belief that second-hand clothing doesn't boost originality, on the contrary, wearing someone else's clothes makes them feel less unique (Roux, 2006).

According to Guiot and Roux (2010), individuals who are less interested in physically owning material goods are more critically motivated to shop second-hand. Thus, it can be hypothesized that the opposite is also true: those who are more interested in physically owning material goods are less critically motivated to shop second-hand and are less critical of the traditional system.

2.4. Knowledge-attitude-practice in second-hand clothing consumption

In reality, awareness does not always translate into a higher willingness to purchase second-hand fashion. Even though many support sustainable and ethical consumption in principle, this is often not taken into consideration as a purchase criterion. Cohen et al (2001) and Vermeir et al (2006) found that there was an inconsistency between the positive attitudes that consumer expressed towards sustainability and their behavioral patterns. Thus, consumers' buying behaviors do not reflect their positive attitudes toward ethical products.

2.4.1. The KAP gap

The phenomenon of people being knowledgeable about the issues surrounding a certain production practice (in this case: mainstream newly made garments) but their engagement is not adjusting in accordance has been examined in previous studies and coined the knowledge-attitude-practice gap (short as the KAP gap)

Cohen et al (2001) and Vermeir et al (2006) found that there was an inconsistency between the positive attitudes consumer expressed towards sustainability and their behavioral patterns. Thus, consumers' buying behaviors do not reflect their positive attitudes toward ethical products.

2.4.2. Sustainable consumption communication (SCC) discourse

“Sustainability is often denounced as a bulky, blurry, fuzzy, ambiguous and wicked term, an empty or buzzword” (Weder F. et al, 2021). People relate to sustainability from their personal situation and their own knowledge, expectations, beliefs, and values (Laininen 2019).

Sustainable Consumption Communication (short as SCC) promoting second-hand clothing is particularly challenging because it involves many multifaceted arguments. I believe targeting and addressing the KAP gap can be the key to substantially increasing second-hand consumption. How the KAP gap manifests itself within different individuals can vary greatly, because of people's varying levels of awareness of the complex set of ethical, technological, legal, and societal considerations (Godemann, 2011). Therefore, a one-size-fits-all approach is not feasible, which can make addressing the drawbacks and boosting the benefits of second-hand clothing a much more meandering endeavor.

However, communicators now have new options to contribute to the sustainability discourse. The increasing number of channels outside of traditional media creates new opportunities to hear people's concerns and gain a greater understanding of particular issues. It also allows more sustainability communicators to reach a larger audience. Various people can participate, and social media can be used as an infrastructure for various forms of environmental

activism (Cox and Pezzullo, 2016). However, the growing prevalence of sustainability discourses on social media (as mentioned in subchapter 2.2.2) in practice does not always guarantee a favorable outcome for sustainable fashion consumption.

Perhaps one of the greatest challenges of SCC is the fact that sustainable fashion consumption behaviors do not generate instant tangible outcomes. Asking for long-term dedication and engagement in an alternative practice with no immediate results is seemingly an impossible task. Therefore, Sustainable Consumption Communication efforts should reflect social science research on what makes public engagement more likely (Godemann, 2011). Advocators for second-hand clothing should closely examine how the motivations or barriers had different levels of influence on individuals, in order to construct a communication objective and plan that can cater to various categories of fashion consumers.

2.5. The whole perspective – the framework

Before delving into the method to research the aforementioned concepts, it is important to summarize the theory so that it is more manageable.

2.5.1. Motivations

Motivation #1: Economic

The economic motives concern price considerations and values from buying second-hand, including financial necessity and fair-price incentives.

Motivation #2: Hedonic

The underlying motivation of hedonic values is about being motivated to shop second hand due to the pleasure derived from the process (Roux & Guiot, 2008; Guiot & Roux, 2010). These values can include treasure hunting, originality, nostalgia.

Motivation #3: Sustainability concerns

Sustainability concerns are about the motivation that buying second-hand represents a way to allow the consumer to shop following their ideologies and personalities, namely those connected to sustainable incentives.

2.5.2. Barriers

Barrier #1: Contamination

The barrier of contamination is when consumers see that the clothing has been contaminated by the previous owner and cannot be washed out (Roux, 2006). This factor has two sides, which are the personality aspect and the hygienic aspect.

Barrier #2: Garments characteristics

These factors relate to the outcome of buying clothing such as the fact that the clothes need to be the right size and in good condition (Kristoffersson, 2015) and preferably fashionable as the less fashionable clothing is, the less saleable it might be.

Barrier #3: Personal values

Personal values are related to the personality aspect of what used clothing can mean to the consumer or how the consumer is as a person. This has three aspects to it which are: a failure to buy new, unoriginality, and materialism.

Given the indication of connectivity and that none of the listed motivations and barriers above seem to contradict each other, I can summarize all these factors in a framework. I will do this by adapting some elements of Hansson and Morozov's framework in their 2016 paper. The framework is visually demonstrated in Appendix I.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. The focus group method

An empirical study was conducted on second-hand clothing perception focusing on the correlation between the level of knowledge about second-hand clothing and consumers' perception of it and how different perceptions might influence or alternate consumption behaviors. The focus groups were also meant to evaluate social media as a potential Sustainable Consumption Communication (SCC) tool, by exploring different groups' level of content exposure on social media platforms. This research is exploratory in nature, with a primary objective of finding insights into the perception of second-hand clothing. Exploratory research tends to use qualitative assessment rather than detailed quantitative data and data is normally collected in an informal setting by using focus groups. (Chisnall, 2001).

Each focus group session lasted from 45 to 60 minutes; all discussions were recorded and transcribed. The focus group meetings were friendly and informal in nature, emulating daily conversations. I also decided against video recording of the meetings in hope of increasing the participants' willingness to freely share their opinions. Instead, a note-taking assistant was present at the meetings to document and observe the dynamics, attitudes, and tones of the participants (for example, sarcasm or humor) which could not be displayed in the audio recording. These on-site accounts later further aided me in the interpretation of the content.

3.2. Sample characteristics

Data for the study were collected from a convenient sample based on the researcher's judgment, and the sample was chosen by using personal networks and connections. Given that the research is still at the preliminary stage of the investigation and is exploratory in nature, the sampling is justifiable (Denscombe, 2017). Furthermore, I also believe that this sample consists of people who have a wide variety of perceived motivations and barriers for shopping second-hand (see chapter 2: theoretical framework).

A total of 15 participants were carefully selected and categorized into 3 focus groups based on their level of involvement with thrifting/second-hand clothing purchases. They were all university students in Budapest, aged between 19 and 24, including 6 males and 9 females. Respondents were then divided into 3 groups of roughly the same size,

The first group are Non-Thrifters, consisting of 5 people having no previous experience with thrifting, and only buy their clothes new. The second group are Novice Thrifters, with 6 participants who had little to no experience with thrifting, and do not rely on thrifting to acquire most of their clothes (less than 30% of clothes are thrifted). The third group are Avid Thrifters, with 4 participants identifying as relying on thrifting for the majority of their clothes (more 70% of clothes owned are thrifted) and having shopped second-hand at least once in the last month leading up to the focus group.

The final questionnaires contain 11 questions. Further information about the profile of the participants and the questionnaires are provided in Appendix II, III and IV.

3.3. Limitations

Now that the main focus of this paper has been clearly stated I have to briefly mention the implicated limitations of my study. Due to my location, the research will be based on the existing resources in Budapest, Hungary. This will account for the selection of the focus group participants. This research focus on retail second-hand stores and briefly mention online channels, I will be mostly talking about thrift or charity shops as they are prevalent in my geographic research area, even though in practice there can be many other categories of outlets.

The use of a small convenience sample is another significant limitation of this study. I am acquainted with the majority of the respondents. As a result, it is possible that some participants did not express their true thoughts but instead provided a self-filtered response out of respect. Another drawback is that all participants were university students in Budapest who were well-educated and more open-minded. As a result, they did not accurately represent the general public. Furthermore, this paper will exhibit qualitative research as it was found to be

the most suitable approach for answering the research question and providing the necessary insights. As a result, the findings of the research should not be generalized and no statistical inferences should be drawn.

4. FINDINGS

A summary of the study's findings is provided in Appendix V. Among the total number of participants, 20% had a mixed perception, most people either had a highly positive or highly negative perception of second-hand clothing.

However, all three groups unanimously agreed on the economic value that second-hand clothing brings. No participants expressed any perceived embarrassment or shame towards second-hand consumption; their concerns were mainly reserved for more practical issues, the primary of which is fear of contamination. Furthermore, all 15 participants recognized the risks and concerns associated with second-hand clothing. These barriers were particularly more influential on people of the first two groups, preventing them from purchasing second-hand garments. Avid Thrifters participants had a tendency to compromise and often overlooked some drawbacks that are present in second-hand clothing.

Interestingly, it is not the Avid Thrifters group who were the most conscious about the environmental and social impacts of their fashion consumption habits, or the potential altruistic side that thrifting may bring, but the Novice Thrifters. Compared to the other two groups, the Novice Thrifters seemed to be more knowledgeable about the environmental and social aspects and were overall more mindful and practical consumers. The second group identified economic values as their primary motivations for shopping second-hand, while the Avid Thrifters heavily gravitated towards hedonistic agencies such as fashionability, uniqueness, treasure-hunting, etc.

4.1. Non-Thrifters

The findings confirmed that people who did not engage in the second-hand clothing market often have a negative perception of thrifting. Newly manufactured clothes made up the majority of their wardrobe, and all respondents identified fast fashion brands such as H&M, Bershka, Pull&Bear, etc. as their main source of obtaining clothes. Some other minor sources included hand-me-downs from family members and designer brands.

All five participants recognized the tangible and practical economic value of second-hand clothing. However, to them, the lower price range itself was insufficient to justify purchasing used clothes, due to some risks and concerns. This confirms O'Reilly et al (1984)'s suggestions that price alone might not be a sufficient motivation (as mentioned in subchapter 2.3). All participants associated second-hand clothing with negative vocabulary, mainly those related to fear of contamination, which was also the identified primary barrier preventing them

from thrifting. celebrities. Other barriers included culturally-rooted superstitions and stigmas (Four out of five participants came from Eastern countries, whose cultures have superstitions about used clothes bringing misfortunes), and outdated or obsolete fashionability that do not align with their personal style.

The participants were able to pinpoint some issues and negative consequences revolving around fashion production practices such as exploited cheap labor, and negative environmental impacts. Interestingly, all five participants were aware of and expressed dissatisfaction with some items' low production quality when buying from fast fashion (which is where the majority of their clothes come from), but four out of five participants stated that they were unwilling to modify their purchase patterns and would maintain their fashion consumption behaviors in the future. This has confirmed the existence of the KAP gap, as explained in subchapter 2.4. Only one participant expressed some interest in potential future purchases of second-hand clothing and other sources such as mid and high-end sustainable brands.

The participants also named some reasons explaining their preference towards newly made clothes, namely fast fashion. These included: accessible price ranges, easiness of finding basic and neutral garments, and the availability of items that could be harmoniously styled with clothes they already owned. Overall, the Non-Thrifters group had a minimalist approach to fashion, were unwilling to explore styles out of their comfort zones, and viewed buying clothes second-hand as something risky, both in terms of hygiene and fashionability.

The Non-Thrifters had a high frequency of engagement with social media, reporting daily use of applications such as TikTok, Instagram, YouTube, etc. They are often exposed to mainstream fashion content such as neutral outfit styling videos, influencers' fashion, clothes hauls, etc. Social media was also their main source of information about second-hand clothing, and they knew about the growing popularity of thrifting culture. All five participants of this group believed that social media did not have a big impact on their personal style or choice of fashion consumption. Instead, they used social media as a minor additional frame of reference when styling their clothes and creating outfits.

4.2. Novice Thrifters

This group included participants who had had some thrifting experiences in the past and were willing to rely more on second-hand clothing in the future. Overall, the participants who were on the higher end of the commitment spectrum to second-hand clothing held more positive perceptions, while three participants who had purchased less than 3 items were more skeptical and had mixed opinions. Other than thrifting, they also listed fast fashion brands as the main

source to buy clothes from. One other minor method of obtaining clothes is hand-me-downs from family members and friends.

The participants associated second-hand clothing with both negative and positive vocabulary. Some respondents mentioned a few hedonic motivations like treasure hunting, but all emphasized that economic value was the key factor driving them to shop second-hand. They were also aware of environmental and ethical issues that were present in the apparel manufacturing industry but admitted that they would have to continue purchasing newly made clothes, especially from fast fashion brands, at least on a yearly basis for intimate items, such as underwear, socks, etc.

All six participants recognized the risks that might be present in second-hand clothing and cited the fear of contamination as the main barrier hindering them from a greater commitment to thrifting. The respondents also expressed some dissatisfaction with the fashionability of second-hand items, as they often had a hard time finding clothes in the right sizes, or modern silhouettes, but to them, this factor was not a make-or-break criterion when deciding whether to purchase an item or not. They are also aware of other negative aspects, such as inflated prices or scamming resellers in online thrifting, etc.

This group has a very practical approach to fashion. They often opted for clothes with a reasonable price range and versatility and were also very adamant about taking good care of the clothes they already owned. They are slightly more willing to experiment with fashion compared to the Non-Thrifters but would likely prioritize practicality over fashionability. This group's members were also knowledgeable about what is considered a high-quality garment: they paid attention to the materials and tailoring of the fabric, often opted for natural fibers instead of synthetic ones, and were much more likely to purchase an item if they considered the style to be long-lasting or timeless, instead of following trends.

The Novice Thrifters particularly stood out compared to the two other groups because they were very knowledgeable about the environmental and social aspects of fashion consumption. Three out of six participants confirmed that they considered thrifting to be a fun but risky experiment and were actively in search of information before being ready to have any first-hand experience with it. The Novice Thrifters were also the most utilitarianly, environmentally, and ethically minded people. This came as a surprise because they still have a low level of involvement and commitment to second-hand fashion as well as other sustainable sources. The second focus group further confirmed the KAP gap in second-hand clothing consumption: a considerable level of knowledge and a positive perception does not always translate into consumption behaviors.

The Novice Thrifters reported a medium frequency of social media usage. They often consumed content on video-sharing platforms like Instagram reels, YouTube, TikTok, etc on a weekly basis. These participants rarely got exposed to fashion-related content on social media. They get information about second-hand fashion from multiple sources, in descending order of importance: word-of-mouth, first-hand experience, and social media. They also considered themselves to possess personal fashion styles that were not easily influenced by social media.

4.3. Avid Thrifters

As predicted, the group with the highest level of commitment to thrifting had a very strong positive perception of second-hand clothing. They believed that shopping second-hand satisfied their fashion-forward nature, and by doing so they were also giving support to an eco-friendly and ethical alternative to the “problematic fast fashion”.

The Avid Thrifters associated thrifting with highly positive vocabulary, which, interestingly, included a lot of specific words pointing to particular subcultures, or individualistic fashion influences. They recognized all the values discussed in subchapter 2.3.1 (economic, hedonic, sustainability concerns) as motivations to shop second-hand. The participants also made the observation that the second-hand garments that they often came across, most of which were manufactured over a decade ago, had much higher quality compared to newly made clothes nowadays, and they feel like they are getting “more for their buck”. However, it is important to note that all four participants in this group gravitated towards hedonistic agencies, with a heavy emphasis on the uniqueness of styles and treasure hunting. To them, the economic and personal ideologies factors were more of an additional benefit to the clothes’ fashionability and other hedonistic values, which they considered to be an integral and central influence that drove them to commit to shopping second-hand. Furthermore, it could be observed that there was no positive correlation between how cheap an item was and how likely they would purchase it. Some participants stated that they would often go for mid-range priced second-hand garments, believing that cheaper clothes should be reserved for those who financially need them.

To the Avid Thrifters, the perceived benefits are so great that they admitted they often overlooked the concerns, risks, or limitations of shopping second-hand. This group’s members were very experimental with fashion, willing to step out of their comfort zones, and much more likely to take risks compared to the other two groups. They were aware of the hygiene concerns, and the fact that they could not mainstream trendy clothes in second-hand stores. They also had a higher tolerance towards items that were not considered to be in prime condition, which

otherwise would be passed over if encountered by Novice or Non-Thrifters. Three participants stated that were even willing to purchase items that might be very oversized on them, or might not go with any items in their wardrobe and would try create experimental outfits from them.

Notably, one participant mentioned that in their culture (in Mongolia), buying used clothes was considered to be a taboo that could bring bad fortunes, and the social norms' pressure had prevented them from purchasing second-hand clothing in the past, even though they had long known about and looked at thrifting favorably, and it had only been a socially acceptable thing to do and a possibility for them since moving to Hungary. This once again confirmed the existence of the KAP gap, but in a reverse manner compared to the one discussed in the Novice Thrifters group.

Unexpectedly, the Avid Thrifters all had a very low frequency of social media usage, with most of the group reporting exclusively using texting applications only to stay connected with friends and family. Three out of four participants did not have a habit of consuming content on social media in the previous 3 months, and the other only came into contact with fashion-related content because of their profession - being a model in the fashion industry. The Avid Thrifters participants cited 90s television series, techno subculture, eccentric Japanese animations, punk rock musicians, etc. as some elements that have had minor influences on their fashion style. However, all four participants considered themselves to have unique individual fashion senses and were able to form their own opinions without any external impacts.

5. DISCUSSIONS

It is clear that second-hand clothing is something people often disagree about, since it offers great benefits but also contains certain risks that some cannot accept. Overall, the findings from the focus group suggest that there exists a correlation between consumers' perception of second-hand clothing and purchase frequency. This is especially clear and observable among participants who were on the two polar ends of the spectrum: People who were highly committed to thrifting held second-hand clothing in much higher regard compared to the other two groups, and Non-Thrifters were more easily subjected to a negative one-sided outlook which often heavily leaned towards the associated risks. The Novice Thrifters generally held positive perceptions, which was what had initially motivated them to experiment with thrifting. However, their opinions were still somewhat laced with skepticism, partly due to the fact that they were highly practical and utilitarian-driven consumers.

To the Non-Thrifters, none of the perceived motivations can outweigh the barriers. The Novice Thrifters, on the other hand, were particularly focused on economic motivations, while Avid Thrifters were more motivated by hedonic values especially treasure hunting and, uniqueness of clothes. The primary barrier identified among the three groups was fear of contamination. Garments' characteristics were listed as a barrier but were less influential to the more experienced respondents. Because of the generation-specific characteristics in GenZ (see subchapter 2.2.1), for all participants, second-hand consumption was not associated with any sense of shame or embarrassment. No one looked down on the practice of thrifting, rather their negative feelings were closer to concerns or fears. Therefore, personal values (see subchapter 2.3.2) were not considered a pronounced barrier for these participants.

The connection between the level of knowledgeability – perception – consumption practice is more nuanced. The KAP gap (see subchapter 2.4) was present but manifested in different levels of intensity in three focus groups. In terms of knowledge, all 15 participants possessed more or less some understanding of second-hand fashion and the issues surrounding their consumption habits. To be more specific, the Novice Thrifters were the most knowledgeable about the environmental and ethical impacts of fashion consumption. However, their perception and behaviors do not respond accordingly. In contrast, the experienced Avid Thrifters were less informed but were much more willing to make a purchase. Reports from participants who exclusively buy new clothes were the most interesting out of the three groups: they were very much aware of the issues connected to how they sourced their clothes but were unwilling to alternate their consumption practices.

The study also identified two other key elements that could potentially be utilized: first-hand experience and word-of-mouth. Some participants reported changing their outlook after visiting thrift stores in person, mainly fueled by hedonic agencies. Many others revealed that they had negative perceptions and were unwilling to purchase second-hand clothing in the past, but had been influenced by friends, families, and other close members in the same community and gradually held thrifting in higher regard and started purchasing frequently.

With the absence of first-hand experience, the media would play a dominant role in spreading information about second-hand clothing. However, there was no solid evidence proving social media can be an element capable of influencing consumers' perceptions and alternating consumption behaviors in the second-hand garment sector. The more experienced participants displayed concrete individualistic preferences and opinions, and social media's influence on them was minimal. The SCC incentives that the participants were exposed to were

somewhat effective in spreading information and knowledge but often failed to leave long-lasting impacts on perception and consumption practice.

6. CONCLUSIONS

6.1. Research aims and objectives

This paper set out to investigate shopping for second-hand clothing. In particular, this research looked upon the knowledge, perception, and consumption practice and how they might be affected by SCC or be linked to one another.

In particular, the main research questions are formulated as follows:

- (1) Are there any similarities or differences between groups in terms of knowledge, perception/attitude, and consumption practice for second-hand clothing? Why do such differences exist?
- (2) Can social media be recognized as an effective tool for sustainable consumption communication (SCC), capable of bridging the knowledge-attitude-practice (KAP) gap in the second-hand clothing industry?

With this paper, I strived to confirm the current literature as well as expand on it and develop a new framework based on the results. Therefore, I undertook qualitative research by conducting 3 focus groups with GenZ participants who had different levels of involvement with second-hand clothing. However, I first completed an investigation on the already existing theory. The review started with the historical perception of second-hand clothing, and the background conditions for the revived popularity of thrifting, then different motivations and barriers were examined to give a broad picture of the KAP gap and how SCC can potentially be utilized. By summarizing and structuring the given material, I was able to put together a descriptive framework that offered all the relevant details.

On the basis of my study's results, several fundamental conclusions can be drawn. The Novice Thrifters group had the highest level of knowledge, the Avid Thrifters had the most positive perception, and the highest rate of consumption. The Non-Thrifters had the lowest level of all three elements. There were several similarities among the three groups, however, the differences were stark and existed for a multitude of reasons, including personal fashion style, personal ideologies, cultural background, etc. These concepts were all discussed and examined in detail in chapters 4 and 5. Social media can not be recognized as an effective tool for SCC, since there was no concrete proof of its ability to bridge the knowledge-attitude-practice (KAP) gap in the second-hand clothing industry. Even though social media was identified to be the

main source of information, indicating its potential to raise the level of awareness and knowledge for CSS incentives, its impacts on the perception and consumption practice of second-hand clothing were still very minimal.

6.2.Implications and future research

The outcomes of this research can facilitate a better understanding of the differences in perception formation and consumption behaviors present in the industry. As indicated in subchapter 2.4, how the KAP gap manifests in each individual can be vastly different, meaning SCC cannot be a one-size-fits-all approach. The study suggested that SCC in the field of second-hand clothing is still ineffective, and advocates for second-hand clothing should closely examine how the motivations or barriers had different levels of influence on individuals, in order to construct a communication objective and plan that can cater to various categories of fashion consumers.

Due to some limitations of the focus group method, I suggest that future research can be conducted using more thorough methodologies capable of examining a more representative population. Some participants of the focus group mentioned culturally rooted stigmas, which can be a worthwhile area to investigate, for example, an exploration of how cultural norms affect people's willingness to buy and wear second-hand items. Domains connected to legal issues surrounding second-hand clothing are also one area that has yet to receive academic attention in my opinion. Some dimensions such as copyright issues, product labeling, consumer protection laws for second-hand shoppers, etc. can be of great value to investigate. These research ideas can provide valuable insights into the complex and evolving world of second-hand clothing perception and consumption.

7. SUMMARY

In a modern society with heightened fashion consumerism, second-hand fashion consumption emerges as a notable alternative for those seeking a more unique, affordable, and ethical source for clothing acquisition. Second-hand clothing, also often referred to as thrift clothing, has witnessed massive growth in popularity in recent years. Relevant literature on this topic already exists, however, there is limited examination of how young consumers' perception (especially those belonging to Generation Z) can be influenced by the discourses surrounding this alternative practice and how social media can be a useful tool for sustainable consumption communication (SCC), contributing to the spread of mindful fashion consumption. Therefore, this paper will analyze how young consumers perceive the motivations and barriers for second-hand clothing, whether or not can this translate into alternated consumption behaviors, and the potential power that social media can hold in SCC. In terms of methodology, this paper is based on secondary and primary research, providing first a literature review of existing theories and then insights from three focus groups conducted with GenZ-ers who are at different levels of commitment to thrifting. The main findings did not support a consistently positive correlation between the level of knowledge and improved perception or higher frequency of second-hand purchases but instead revealed that there existed a gap between knowledge-attitude-practice, the severity of which can vary significantly among individuals. The outcomes of this research can facilitate a better understanding of the differences in perception formation and consumption behaviors present in the second-hand apparel retail industry.

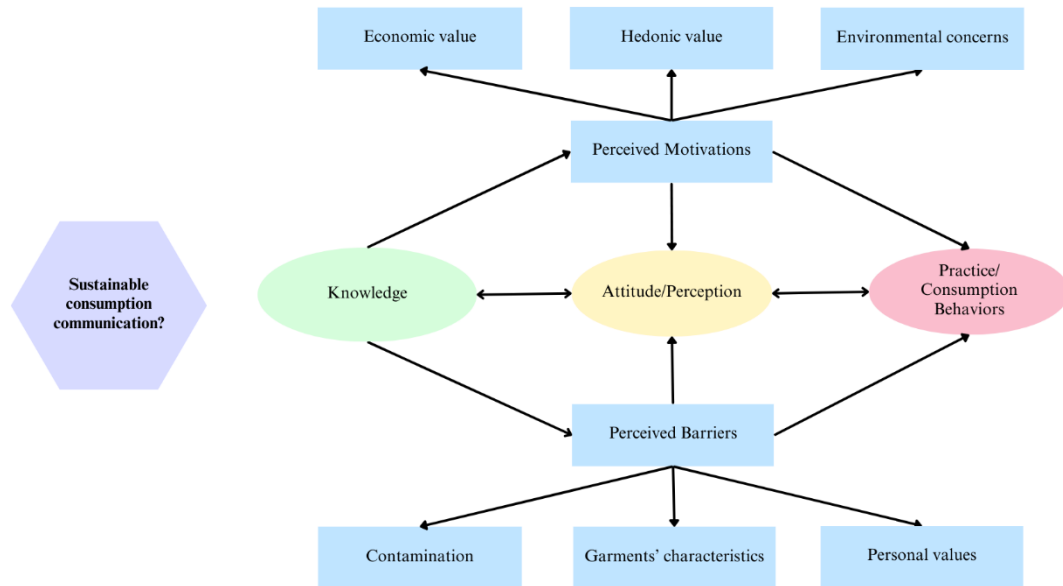
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APPENDICES

Appendix I. Frameworks summarizing the concepts stemming from the literature, as adapted from Hansson and Morozov (2016)



Appendix II: Profile of focus group participants

	Size	Gender	
		Male	Female
<i>Non-Thrifters</i>	5	2	3
<i>Novice Thrifters</i>	6	2	4
<i>Avid Thrifters</i>	4	2	2

Appendix III: Questionnaires used in focus group Non-Thrifters.

- Q1. Form a word cloud: What comes to your mind when “second-hand clothing” is mentioned?
- Q2. What is your perception of buying second-hand clothing/thrifted?
- Q3. What attributes are important to you when you choose fashion products?
- Q4. Which sources do you often get your clothes from?
- Q5. What characteristics come to your mind when you think of second-hand clothes?
- Q6. What are the factors that motivate you to shop for new clothes?
- In your opinion, what positive impacts can second-hand clothing make?
- Q7. What are the factors that prevent you from shopping second-hand? In your opinion, what negative consequences can second-hand clothing have?
- Q8. Where do you get your information about the second-hand clothing industry?
- Q9. What social media platforms do you use? What types of fashion or sustainability-related content are often displayed on them?
- Q10. What impacts does social media have on your fashion consumption habits?
- Q11. Hold up 1 to 5 fingers depending on how much you disagree or agree with these statements: 1 = totally disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = somewhat agree, 5 = totally agree
- Second-hand clothing cannot be an integral part of my personal style.
 - I know about the environmental and social impacts of my fashion consumption.
 - I will continue to buy newly made clothing in the future.

Appendix IV: Questionnaires used in focus groups Novice and Avid Thrifters

- Q1. Form a word cloud: What comes to your mind when “second-hand clothing” is mentioned?
- Q2. What is your perception of buying second-hand clothing/thrifted?
- Q3. What attributes are important to you when you choose fashion products?
- Q4. Which sources do you often get your clothes from?
- Q5. What characteristics come to your mind when you think of second-hand clothes?
- Q6. What are the factors that might motivate you to shop second-hand? In your opinion, what positive impacts can second-hand clothing make?
- Q7. What are the factors that might prevent you from shopping second-hand? In your opinion, what negative consequences can second-hand clothing have?
- Q8. Where do you get your information about the second-hand clothing industry?
- Q9. What social media platforms do you use? What types of fashion or sustainability-related content are often displayed on them?
- Q10. What impacts does social media have on your fashion consumption habits?
- Q11. Hold up 1 to 5 fingers depending on how much you disagree or agree with these statements: 1 = totally disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = somewhat agree, 5 = totally agree
- Second-hand clothing is an integral part of my personal style.
 - I know about the environmental and social impacts of my fashion consumption.
 - I will continue to buy second-hand clothing in the future.

Appendix V. Summary of findings

Non-Thrifters	Novice Thrifters	Avid Thrifters
Very negative perception of second-hand clothing, high level of commitment to purchase new clothes.	Overall positive perception of second-hand clothing, low level of commitment to purchasing.	Strong positive perception of second-hand clothing, very high level of commitment to purchasing secondhand clothing.
Recognized practical and tangible economic benefits of thrifting, did not understand hedonic or sustainability as motivations.	Recognized all discussed values in chapter 2 as motivations to shop second-hand. High emphasis on economic motivations.	Recognized all discussed values in chapter 2 as motivations to shop second-hand. High emphasis on hedonic motivations.
Believed that the benefits is not worth overlooking the risks.	Identified the barriers as the reasons for low engagement.	Choose to overlook some barriers as a compromise to obtain unique clothes.
Associated second-hand clothing with negative vocabulary, mainly including practical risks and concerns	Associated second-hand clothing with both negative and positive vocabulary (including some related to economic and sustainability values).	Associated second-hand clothing with mainly positive vocabulary, mainly including those emphasizing hedonistic agenda.
Social media as main source of information about second-hand fashion. High frequency of social media usage and usually exposed to mainstream fashion content	Social media and first-hand experience and word of mouth as sources of information. Medium frequency of social media usage usually exposed to both mainstream and second-hand fashion content	First-hand experience and word of mouth as main source of information. Very low frequency of social media usage, and low level of exposure to second-hand clothing content.