



NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY
HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

*Tamara P. Tsyganash, Valaria A. Gert,
Anastasia D. Kropacheva*

VARIABILITY IN MOTIVES AND PRACTICES OF PURCHASING USED CLOTHING AMONG RUSSIAN YOUTH

BASIC RESEARCH PROGRAM

WORKING PAPERS

SERIES: SOCIOLOGY
WP BRP 102/SOC/2024

VARIABILITY IN MOTIVES AND PRACTICES OF PURCHASING USED CLOTHING AMONG RUSSIAN YOUTH⁴

The observed growth of supply on the clothing market in Russia in recent years has been accompanied by an increasing interest in secondary consumption, where one of the most popular categories is clothing. The current trend of sustainable development and the environmental agenda is actualizing the "circular fashion" model among an increasing number of Russian consumers. At the same time, there is a parallel increase in Internet users shopping online. All these processes lead to the need to resolve the issue of changing motivation to purchase used clothes among the Russian population, methods and channels for searching for clothes, as well as the rules that guide the purchase. Thus, the paper presents a cumulative analysis of secondary clothing consumption among Moscow youth, which allows us to form a complete image of the variability of shopping practices.

Based on 20 interviews analyzed in the framework of the theory of practices, we pointed out the deficit of clothing felt among Moscow youth on the Russian market due to departing brands, despite the growing number of domestic manufacturers. Factors such as appearance, customer service, reputation, functionality, assortment, and quality of information about the item were noted as an assessment of the most preferred online platforms. The most popular clothing categories among young consumers included tops, bottoms, outerwear, shoes, and accessories. Some of the frequently encountered problems in the process of buying second-hand clothes were fraud, poor quality, problems in communication with the seller, and others. The results of the study confirmed the hypotheses about three predominant motives for buying second-hand clothes: economic—the desire of buyers to save money or buy clothes in the most rational way; ecological—the choice of the buyer's trajectory of 'modest consumption', otherwise modest consumption aimed at reducing the number of purchases; and the desire for self-expression—the desire to stand out due to unique items and due to the practice of buying clothes in second-hand shops. In addition, according to the results of the qualitative analysis of the interviews, other motives were revealed: the practice of buying second-hand clothes as a way of spending leisure time; the opportunity to find unique things—vintage models of clothes distinguished by unique cut, shape, and details; second-hand clothes were also considered by informants as a resource for creativity—that is, the possibility of customization, the process of changing and supplementing already ready-made clothes with the help of painting, embroidery, and applications. Thus, the diversity of the identified motives allows us to conclude that there is variability as a characteristic aspect of the motives to purchase.

Thus, our study aims not only to describe the nature and trend of second-hand clothing consumption among Moscow youth but also aims at a more detailed and in-depth analysis of the variability of motives and practices of buying second-hand clothes on online platforms.

Keywords: secondary consumption, consumer practices, second-hand clothing, online platform.

¹ National Research University Higher School of Economics. Educational program "Sociology". Student; ISSEK «Centre for Industrial Policy». Research Assistant. E-mail: t.tsyganash@hse.ru

² National Research University Higher School of Economics. Educational program "Sociology". Student. E-mail: vagert@edu.hse.ru

³ National Research University Higher School of Economics. Educational program "Sociology". Student. E-mail: adkropacheva@edu.hse.ru

⁴ The authors express their gratitude to Zoya Vladislavovna Kotelnikova (Higher School of Economics) for the articles and relevant data provided.

Introduction

In the period from 2020 to 2023, there is a rapid growth of secondary consumption in the global and Russian markets. According to statistical data, during this period, the share of second-hand consumption in the global market increased from 4.8% to 6.1% and in the Russian market from 2.6% to 3.9%.⁵ In Russia in 2020, the share of the second-hand goods market from the total apparel market was 5.9% and 4.6% from the global resale market.⁶ The growth of the share of second-hand consumption in Russia is accompanied by the development of an environmental agenda, the introduction of sustainable development principles into everyday life, and the destruction of habitual patterns of clothing purchases.⁷ The largest segment of the second-hand goods market in Russia is the adult clothing and footwear category. According to one study for 2022, the volume of this segment accounts for 26% of all second-hand items.⁸ Much of the growth in the used clothing industry, according to 2021 statistics, is attributable to younger consumers—the Millennials and Zoomer generations.⁹

Secondary consumption can be divided into three stages of development: emergence and spread in the 18th century, decline and stigmatization, and de-stigmatization and rise in popularity in the early 2000s.¹⁰ There have been associative changes in relation to secondary consumption: whereas in the past second-hand consumption was associated with marginality, poor quality, and something shameful, now second-hand items are perceived as stylish and unusual.¹¹ Secondary consumption refers to collaborative consumption in which there is acquisition, distribution, and reward. Central to collaborative consumption is the idea of reuse of the same item by multiple people over a different period of time. In the context of fashion, the term takes on the meaning of the process of acquiring clothing through sale, exchange, or rental¹² In this context, the term 'circular fashion' is actualized, meaning that clothing should circulate as much as possible among

⁵ Statista URL: <https://www.statista.com> (date of reference: 15.10.2023).

⁶ Market research Market c2c online commerce market in 2021 // datainsight URL: https://datainsight.ru/DI_Avito_C2C_2021 (accessed on 15.09.2023)

⁷ Shopping? Consumption trends in shopping centres - 2023 // VCIOM URL: <https://vciom.ru/analytical-reviews/analiticheskii-obzor/po-magazinam-trendy-potreblenija-v-torgovykh-centrah-2023> (date of address: 10.10.2023).

⁸ Market research Market c2c online commerce market in 2021 // datainsight URL: https://datainsight.ru/DI_Avito_C2C_2021 (accessed on 15.09.2023)

⁹ Share of consumers willing to buy secondhand apparel worldwide as of 2021, by age // Statista URL: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/828034/willingness-to-buy-secondhand-items-by-age-worldwide/> (accessed 15.10.2023).

¹⁰ Weinstein J., 2014. Reframe, Reuse, and Re-Style: (De)Constructing the Sustainable Second-Hand Consumer. Doctoral Dissertation, Wesleyan University.

¹¹ Steffen A. Second-hand consumption as a lifestyle choice //International conference on consumer research (iccr). - DEU, 2017. - C. 189-207.

¹² Bakkenist J. P., Lammers A. I like to experience clothes, you know: The Role of Online Resale Platforms in Consumers' Fashion Consumption. - 2021.

consumers in order to minimize waste and negative environmental impact. As a consequence, many brands have launched online platforms where consumers can exchange or donate used clothing.¹³

Nowadays, offline and online formats for buying second-hand items are distinguished. The offline version of buying second-hand items is not just limited to second-hand shops; there is also a widespread format of garage sale, where trade is accompanied by various activities and communications between sellers and guests-buyers. Actually, this is one of the factors influencing the successful formation of the resale culture. Nevertheless, online platforms for buying second-hand items are gaining popularity among consumers in Russia. For example, in the C2C (client-to-client) online sales market, the number of buyers increased 10 times in 2021 compared to 2017. The most common online sales channels include classifieds sites (Avito, Yula) and social networks (Vkontakte, WhatsApp, Telegram). In addition, the growth in sales on online platforms from 2019 to 2021 was 69%, which was mostly influenced by the pandemic. The share of those selling second-hand items from all private online sellers grew by 12% in 2022 compared to last year's figures. At the same time, there is an excess of demand over supply of 5-12% in Russia. At the same time, it is noted that offline trade in second-hand goods is declining.¹⁴

Based on the fact that there is an increase in secondary consumption in online resale and that the largest segment of the second-hand market is clothing, the research area is outlined. We will have to describe what motivations and practices consumers have.

Theoretical background

We begin by outlining the methodological framework of the theory of practices with the work of A. Ward, which studies practices from the perspective of P. Bourdieu, E. Giddens, A. Revitz, and T. Schatzki. Ward¹⁵, in which practices are studied from the perspective of P. Bourdieu, E. Giddens, A. Revitz, and T. Schatzki¹⁶. The study of the theory of practices opens up new possibilities for a deeper understanding of consumer motives, values, and preferences in different contexts and environments, including the online space. The study of the consumption process, specifically the acquisition part of it, is a key aspect of the research. The main theories were the

¹³ Kim N. L., Woo H., Ramkumar B. The role of product history in consumer response to online second-hand clothing retail service based on circular fashion // *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*. - 2021. - T. 60. - C. 102457.

¹⁴ Market research Market c2c online commerce market in 2021 // *datainsight* URL: https://datainsight.ru/DI_Avito_C2C_2021 (accessed on 15.09.2023)

¹⁵ Warde A. After taste: Culture, consumption and theories of practice // *Journal of consumer culture*. - 2014. - T. 14. - №. 3. - C. 279-303.

¹⁶ Warde A. Consumption and theories of practice // *Journal of consumer culture*. - 2005. - T. 5. - №. 2. - C. 131-153.

works of V.V. Radaev, H. Kh. Radaev¹⁷, and H. Leibenstein¹⁸. Additionally, based on the theory of I. Zvarich¹⁹, V. Moro²⁰, M.A. Vetrova²¹, and A.V. Gubnitsyn²², attention is paid to the models of circular economy and circular fashion and their influence on the formation of patterns of sustainable consumption. Understanding "consumption" through the economic and sociological prism allows us to take into account both economic and sociological aspects. Consideration of secondary consumption in the context of the circular fashion model provides an opportunity to take into account the ecological perspective when constructing hypotheses.

The next step is to study the role of online platforms in the context of secondary consumption by comparing foreign and Russian experience in the sphere of clothing resale, identifying the main trends in the development of online platforms in Russia based on the works of A. Palmer²³ and A. M. Putina²⁴. Our study also examines the motives for buying second-hand clothes, which is why the main motives underlying the secondary consumption of clothes are considered. In turn, the analysis of similar empirical studies will be useful in formulating research hypotheses as well as in further classification of motives. The works of T. V. Barchunova²⁵, F. Marcellus²⁶, A. Steffen²⁷, D. Roux, and D. Ghio²⁸, I.M. Bezman²⁹, Y. V. Egereva and

¹⁷ Radaev, V. V. Sociology of consumption: main approaches / V. V. Radaev // Sociological Studies. - 2005. - № 1(249). - C. 5-18. - EDN OOOYJUD.

¹⁸ Leibenstein H. The effect of joining the majority, the snob effect and the Veblen effect in the theory of consumer demand // Theory of consumer behaviour and demand / Edited by V.M. Galperin. Spb.: Economic School, 1993

¹⁹ Zvarych I. Circular economy and globalized wastemanagement // Journal of European Economy. - 2017. - Vol. 16, N 1. - P. 38-53. - URL: <http://jeej.tneu.edu.ua/index.php/enjee/article/view/908>.

²⁰ Moreau, V., et al., 2017. Coming full circle: why social and institutional dimensions' matter for the circular economy. J. Ind. Ecol. 21 (3), 497-506.

²¹ Vetrova M. A., Ivanova D. V. Circular models of production and consumption as a tool for achieving sustainable development goals // Russian Economic Bulletin. - 2020. - T. 3. - №. 5. - C. 44-54.

²² Gubnitsyn A.V., Streltsov K. Economics of Joint Consumption in Russia. Raec. Ru. [Electronic resource]. URL: <https://raec.ru/upload/files/raec-sharing-economynov2018.pdf>.

²³ Palmer A. Vintage Whores and Vintage Virgins: Second-Hand Fashion in the Twenty-first Century // Old Clothes, New Looks: Second-Hand Fashion / Palmer A., Clark H. (eds.) - Oxford, N.Y.: Berg, 2005. - P. 198 - 199.

²⁴ Putina A. M., Isaakov G. S. FEATURES AND TENDENCIES OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE SECONDARY MARKET OF CLOTHING, SHOES AND ACCESSORIES IN RUSSIA // Economics Today: Current State and Prospects for Development (Vector-2021). - 2021. - C. 68-72.

²⁵ Barchunova T. Second-hand Stores in Novosibirsk: New Consumption Institution and/or New Networking Centre? // Gender: From Costs to Benefits. 6th Interdisciplinary and International Symposium on Gender Research / Ed. By S. Oelkers & A. Barchunova. Oelkers & A. Gottburgsen. - Kiel: University of Kiel, 2002.

²⁶ Marzella F. (2015), The second-hand market: the practice of reusing goods in cultures dominated by the new, [Italian Sociological Review, 5 (1), 105-122]

²⁷ Steffen, Adrienne. 2017. Second-hand consumption as a lifestyle choice. In Christian Bala & Wolfgang Schuldzinski (eds.), The 21st century consumer: Vulnerable, responsible, transparent? Proceedings of the international conference on consumer research (ICCR) 2016, 189-207. Düsseldorf: Kompetenzzentrum Verbraucherforschung NRW.

²⁸ Guiot D. Et Roux D. (2010), A Second-Hand Shoppers' Motivation Scale: Antecedents, Consequences, and Implications for Retailers, Journal of Retailing, 86, 4, 355-371.

²⁹ Bezman Irina Mikhailovna From "Mega" to "Seki": youth consumption of second-hand clothes in St. Petersburg // Labyrinth. Journal of Social and Humanitarian Research. 2014. №2. URL: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/iz-megi-v-seki-molodezhnoe-potreblenie-odezhdy-sekond-hend-v-sankt-peterburge>

O.Y. Gurova³⁰ are taken as a basis. The role of online platforms can be useful for the research task devoted to consumer practices of second-hand clothing shopping on online platforms. Consideration of the main motives allows solving the research problem related to determining the motives predominant in buying used clothes.

There are also unexplored areas in the literature on this topic, some of which we will "cover" in our study. Thus, there is a lack of scientific and practical data on the secondary market of clothing, its functioning, the peculiarities of clothing sales, the interaction of actors of this market, the characteristics of sales, taking into account the changed situation in Russia in 2022. Also, if we touch upon the motives of secondary consumption, it is important to conduct further research, the purpose of which will be not only to explain the motivation of the population in the choice of second-hand shops but also what specific set of motives they are guided by. Particular attention should be paid to the second-hand clothing market, as there may be unique dynamics and motivations within this sector that may differ significantly from common trends in the secondary market.

Present study: research program

Research programme

Problem situation

The Russian clothing market is forecast to grow by 2.41% annually despite the imposed economic sanctions, indicating a high supply.³¹ At the same time, there is an increase in the popularity of online clothing resale platforms.³² Clothing shopping practices on online platforms have their own specifics that distinguish them from traditional second-hand shops. Online platforms have changed the ways in which consumers search, compare, and make purchasing decisions. They also provide access to a wider range of products from different parts of the world, making the shopping process more convenient and faster. However, there are also some issues around trust in the quality of the product and the authenticity of the product description, which requires more scrutiny and the ability to return the product.³³ It is also worth noting that there are

³⁰ Egereva Yulia Viktorovna, Gurova Olga Yurievna "Hunters" and second-hand consumption in St. Petersburg // Labyrinth. Journal of Social and Humanitarian Research. 2014. №2. URL: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/hantery-i-sekond-hend-potreblenie-v-sankt-peterburge>

³¹ Clothing - Russia // Statista URL: <https://www.statista.com/outlook/cmo/apparel/russia> (date of address: 05.12.2023).

³² Market research Market c2c online commerce market in 2021 // datainsight URL: https://datainsight.ru/DI_Avito_C2C_2021 (accessed on 15.09.2023)

³³ Palmer A. Vintage Whores and Vintage Virgins: Second-Hand Fashion in the Twenty-first Century // Old Clothes, New Looks: Second-Hand Fashion / Palmer A., Clark H. (eds.) - Oxford, N.Y.: Berg, 2005. - P. 198 - 199.

different motivations for buying used clothing. On the one hand, buying clothes and shoes in second-hand shops may be due to economic necessity and limited financial resources.³⁴ However, there are vintage and luxury second-hand shops where goods are sold at quite high prices. On the other hand, secondary consumption can be dictated by the lifestyle, attitudes, and values of the consumer, among which are social, environmental, personal, critical, and nostalgic motives.³⁵ Consumption itself as a practice is symbolic because it conveys certain cultural meanings, which are subsequently closely linked to the construction of individual identity.³⁶ Consumption is a process in which consumers actively express themselves. Clothing becomes a particular way of conveying certain meanings and implications. Thus, the new opportunities offered by online platforms and, at the same time, the need to manage risk and trust, as well as diverse motivations, emphasize the complexity of contemporary second-hand clothing shopping practices.

Research Problem

The scientific problem of the study is the lack of an unambiguous explanation of motives in the practices of online purchases of used clothing, as well as the contradiction between the high assessment of supply in the Russian clothing market in general and the increasing demand for the purchase of used clothing on online platforms. Sociological analysis of second-hand clothing consumption will make it possible to analyze changes in consumer values and preferences and their impact on consumer shopping practices.

Key research question

What motivations and practices do Moscow youth follow when buying used clothes on online platforms in the context of diversity and high availability of supply on the Russian clothing market in general?

Theoretical object of study

Buying used clothes on online platforms.

Empirical object of study

³⁴ Steffen A. Second-hand consumption as a lifestyle choice //International conference on consumer research (iccr). - DEU, 2017. - C. 189-207.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶ mccracken, G., 1986. Culture and consumption: A theoretical account of the Structure and movement of the cultural meaning of consumer goods. J. Consum. Res., 71-84.

Young people³⁷, living in Moscow and shopping for second-hand clothes on online platforms.

Subject of the study

Motives and practices of buying used clothes on online platforms among Moscow youth.

Purpose of the study

To determine the motives and practices of online purchases of second-hand clothes among Moscow youth.

Research Objectives

1. To identify what socio-demographic characteristics respondents possess that are committed to second-hand shopping. (quantitative task)

2. Find out how informants assess supply and demand on the clothing market in Moscow at the moment. (qualitative task, solved with the help of block No. 3)

3. To identify consumer practices of buying second-hand clothes on online platforms.

3.1 Identify consumer preferences regarding the choice of online channel for buying used clothes. (qualitative task, solved with the help of block #5)

3.2 Determine which categories of second-hand clothes are purchased by informants on online platforms. (qualitative task, solved with the help of block 5)

3.3 Identify what problems informants face in the process of buying second-hand clothes on online platforms and how they try to solve them. (qualitative task, solved with the help of block 6)

4. Identify and classify the motives that informants are guided by when buying used clothes on online platforms. (qualitative task, solved with the help of block 4).

³⁷ The age of youth is defined from 14 to 35 years according to: The new age of youth is fixed. - Text: electronic // STATE Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation: [website]. - URL: <http://duma.gov.ru/news/50394/> (date of reference: 05.12.2023).

Hypotheses and assumptions

1. The majority of respondents who buy second-hand goods are women between the ages of 18 and 35.³⁸

2. Informants feel the lack of supply in the Russian clothing market due to the brands leaving Russia in 2022. Reduced competition in the market provided an opportunity for the inflow of domestic producers.³⁹ However, if demand exceeds the supply of clothing, consumers cannot fully satisfy their needs. In the absence of alternatives, consumers tend to consider the goods of domestic producers.⁴⁰

3.1 Consumer preferences regarding the choice of online channel for buying used clothes include reviews of the platform, navigation, convenience and design of the site, security of transactions, and range of products.^{41,42}

3.2 Clothing categories such as outerwear, trousers and jeans, skirts, shirts, jumpers, shoes, and accessories are most commonly purchased by informants.⁴³

3.3 In the process of purchasing second-hand clothes on online platforms, informants encounter such problems as poor quality of service, delays in the delivery time of clothes, and discrepancies of items with the presented photo and description of goods.⁴⁴

4. Among the motives that informants are guided by when buying used clothes on online platforms are economic, opposition to mass consumption society and the desire for self-expression, individuality, and the influence of the environmental agenda.⁴⁵

³⁸ Ferraro, C., Sands, S., & Brace-Govan, J. (2016). The role of fashionability in second-hand shopping motivations. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 32: 262-268.

³⁹ Fedotov Andrey Nikolaevich IMPLICATIONS OF IMPORTS SUBSTITUTION POLICY ON THE ACTIVITY OF NATIONAL NETWORK RITAIL: NEW REALITIES // *Baikal Research Journal*. 2023. №1. URL: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/vliyanie-politiki-importozamescheniya-na-deyatelnost-otechestvennogo-setevogo-riteyla-novye-realii> (date of address: 10.01.2024).

⁴⁰ Drozdova M.A., Fursova E.A., Drozdov V.G. MONITORING THE DYNAMICS AND STRUCTURE OF EXPENDITURES AND DEMAND WITH REGARD TO THE ACTUAL GEOPOLITICAL AGENDA AND SOCIAL-ECONOMIC SITUATION IN RUSSIA // *Management Accounting*. - 2023. - №4. - C. 369-375.

⁴¹ OSKELLY The Cult of Resale // *Blueprint* URL: <https://theblueprint.ru/fashion/special/oskelly-resale-history> (accessed 09.12.23).

⁴² Top 10 reasons why buyers choose resale // *Blueprint* URL: <https://oskelly.ru/blog/pokupateli-vybirayut-resejl> (accessed 09.12.23).

⁴³ Russian luxury resale 2.0 // *Blueprint* URL: <https://theblueprint.ru/fashion/industry/kak-perestraivaetsya-lokalniy-rynok-reseila> (date of address: 09.12.23).

⁴⁴ Resale in Russia: players, trends, prospects // *Blueprint* URL: <https://theblueprint.ru/fashion/industry/resejl-v-rossii> (access date: 09.12.23).

⁴⁵ Guiot D. Et Roux D. (2010), A Second-Hand Shoppers' Motivation Scale: Antecedents, Consequences, and Implications for Retailers, *Journal of Retailing*, 86, 4, 355-371.

Study design

Methodology of data collection and analysis

The methodological framework of the study is the paradigm of "grounded theory"—an approach that uses "a systematic series of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory of some phenomenon."⁴⁶ Grounded theory, developed by A. Strauss and J. Corbin, will allow to integrate different aspects of social reality together, bridging the gap between the theoretical and the empirical. In the context of this approach, the research does not claim to be representative and transfer the results to the general population.

For the majority of the research objectives, qualitative data will be used, namely semi-structured, in-depth interviews. This method was chosen because the practices and motives for buying second-hand clothes are rather implicit. The in-depth interviews will allow the diverse motives to be analyzed in more contextualized detail and to understand how they relate to consumer practices. To collect these, 20 individual semi-structured interviews of at least 40 minutes will be conducted. Interviews will be conducted in person or online with screen recording. All interviews will be tape-recorded or audio-recorded on an online call-in system. Transcripts will be made of the interview material in text document format via Trint, and further coded data will be transcribed via the MAXQDA24 program. This application was chosen as it allows for collaborative working by combining codes, categories, and themes. Thematic analysis was chosen as the main method of analyzing the data. This method involves the identification and interpretation of patterns—similar semantic structures that are repeated. Themes will be identified both deductively and inductively to provide the most detailed and granular data.

The methodological strategies of thematic analysis are applied in this paper. The first strategy is the initial analysis of the interviews, in which the researcher carefully rereads the transcripts and forms a general idea of the themes, which then helps to delve deeper into the analysis. This is followed by the coding stage, whereby the researcher carefully rereads the transcripts and forms a general idea of the themes, which then helps to deepen the analysis. The same part of the text can be coded several times and in different ways. After that, codes similar in meaning are combined into categories, and categories into larger ones—themes. A theme refers to a specific pattern of meaning found in the data" that relates directly to the key research question.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Straus A., Corbin J. *Fundamentals of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory, Procedures and Techniques*. Moscow: Editorial Urss, 2001.

⁴⁷ Willig C. *EBOOK: introducing qualitative research in psychology*. - McGraw-hill education (UK), 2013.

Additionally, a secondary quantitative database on consumption, including second-hand goods, will be analyzed. The data was collected through an online survey of internet users who fulfill the requirements of the target audience using a self-completion questionnaire (CAWI). A total of 6600 respondents aged 18 years and above were interviewed. The quota distribution corresponds to the distribution of the Internet audience in Russia. In the SPSS application, the socio-demographic characteristics of people committed to buying used goods will be determined using the method of descriptive statistics, namely frequency distribution.

Description of the study sample

Actual sample: qualitative data

Homogeneous sampling was chosen as the sample type. A. Steinberg emphasizes that it selects informants with similar socio-demographic characteristics that best describe some relatively homogeneous part of the general population of a certain group.⁴⁸ This choice is explained by the fact that this study is focused on a particular group, namely Moscow youth. In turn, this will make it possible to analyze in more detail the variability of motives and practices of second-hand clothing purchases in a particular social group.

The advantage of homogeneous sampling is the possibility to study a certain group in a targeted manner, allowing for a deeper understanding of the motives and practices of second-hand clothes shopping among Moscow youth. In addition, by selecting informants with similar characteristics, homogeneous sampling facilitates comparison and identification of similarities and differences within a group—Moscow youth. Homogeneous groups tend to share a common cultural context, which can be subsequent support for our analysis. On the other hand, despite the fact that homogeneous samples in a sense seek to reflect the features of a particular social group, they, as in any qualitative research, cannot claim to generalize the results to the general population. Thus, one cannot claim that the identified motives and practices will be characteristic of all young people in Moscow. Another possible problem in constructing a homogeneous sample is that it is impossible to construct an ideal homogeneous group with completely identical traits. By assuming homogeneity within a group, important differences can be ignored, often mistakenly overlooked. There is a possibility that the group of informants we select will not have identical traits.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Steinberg I. et al. Qualitative methods. Field sociological research. - 2009.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

Much of the growth in the secondary apparel industry, as measured for 2021, is associated with younger segments of the population – the Millennial and Zoomer generations.⁵⁰ Therefore, our informants are representatives of young people. In the Federal Law "On Youth Policy in the Russian Federation" from 30.12.2020 N 489-FZ, youth is understood as "a socio-demographic group of persons aged 14 to 35 years inclusive."⁵¹

The group of informants includes only young people of Moscow city because, according to the studied literature, "first of all, urban middle-class youth is a group whose consumer practices are modern and of special interest."⁵² In addition, only users of online resale platforms who purchase second-hand items in this format were also considered informants. Consequently, to date, offline and online formats of buying second-hand clothes are distinguished. However, online platforms for buying second-hand clothes are becoming increasingly popular in Russia. The most common online shopping channels include classifieds sites (Avito, Oskelly) and social networks (Vkontakte, Telegram). It is noted that from 2019 to 2021, the growth of sales on online platforms was almost 70%. This result is primarily due to the impact of the pandemic.⁵³

As a result, 20 in-depth interviews were conducted for the study, lasting from 40 minutes to an hour. The sample included informants currently living in Moscow or the Moscow region. They were mostly students studying at the National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Financial University, and Pirogov Russian National Research and Medical University. The gender distribution was as follows: 30% of informants were male and 70% were female, respectively. The average age of informants was about 20 years.

Actual sample: quantitative data

The object of the study is Russian residents over the age of eighteen, 6,600 respondents aged 18 and older.

⁵⁰ Share of consumers willing to buy secondhand apparel worldwide as of 2021, by age // Statista URL: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/828034/willingness-to-buy-secondhand-items-by-age-worldwide/>.

⁵¹ Federal Law "On Youth Policy in the Russian Federation" of 30.12.2020 N 489-FZ (latest edition). URL: https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_372649/.

⁵² Bezman Irina Mikhailovna From "Mega" to "Seki": youth consumption of secondhand clothes in St. Petersburg // Labyrinth. Journal of Social and Humanitarian Research. 2014. №2. C. 126 URL: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/iz-megi-v-seki-molodezhnoe-potreblenie-odezhdy-sekond-hend-v-sankt-peterburge>.

⁵³ Market research Market of c2c online commerce in 2021 // DataInsight URL: https://datainsight.ru/DI_Avito_C2C_2021.

Introduction: combining quantitative and qualitative data

The data analysis uses quantitative and qualitative data. The first is a secondary database of more than 6,600 respondents. The first task of the study is quantitative; the selection of observations from the database allows us to identify what socio-demographic characteristics the respondents who are committed to buying secondary consumption goods possess. All other objectives of the study are qualitative. They are solved by analyzing 20 collected, transcribed, and coded interviews with informants. By solving the tasks it is possible to analyze the supply and demand on the clothing market in Moscow at the moment, to identify consumer practices and motives for buying second-hand clothes, to identify the most frequently purchased categories of clothes, and to analyze the problems faced by the respondents.

The combination of methods in this study has its advantages. The collection of quantitative data provides answers to a number of questions to identify some socio-demographic traits of second-hand consumers in a large sample. The qualitative data acts as a foundation because, having previously reviewed the literature, the interview guide derives the necessary questions for the research findings. The interviews are semi-structured, allowing the sequence to be changed or questions to be added as they are conducted, revealing the topic in detail. Thus, the quantitative method will generally describe some trends in secondary consumption in Russia, while the qualitative method will reveal underlying motives and their interpretation by the informants themselves, as well as describe shopping practices on online platforms.

The results of the study

Empirical results of the study

Conclusion on data analysis

We were able to fulfill the objectives of the study. After studying the database and descriptive statistics of socio-demographic characteristics, we obtained the following conclusions on the quantitative task. The percentage of respondents purchasing second-hand goods is 23.8 percent of the total. Among the main categories of goods purchased are clothing and footwear, as well as household appliances and electronics. The hypothesis that the majority of buyers in second-hand shops are women was not confirmed. According to the results, the distribution is almost identical for both genders. When analyzing the distribution by age groups, the hypothesis that the majority of buyers in second-hand shops are young people aged 18-35 years old was confirmed.

There was also a high proportion of customers aged 35-44 years, 23.9% of the total number of respondents. Conclusions on other socio-demographic characteristics: respondents - Internet users making second-hand purchases - mainly have secondary professional and higher education levels; Internet users making second-hand purchases mainly had a paid job or their own business in the last 30 days; Internet users without a job and making second-hand purchases are mainly socially disadvantaged groups of society or citizens in need of state support: in the case of Internet users who do not have a job and make second-hand purchases, they are mainly socially disadvantaged groups of society or citizens in need of state support: in the case of Internet users who do not have a job and make second-hand purchases, they are mainly socially disadvantaged groups of society or citizens in need of state support. It is important to compare the results of the study in terms of quantitative data with the results of other studies. Thus, according to the data analyzed, both men and women aged 25-34 are more inclined to buy second-hand goods, but a large proportion of respondents aged 35-44 also do so. If we talk about the distribution of the main categories of used goods in general, the most popular are clothing and footwear, and household appliances and electronics. Other characteristics relate to the level of education, availability of paid employment and occupation, and income level. Thus, respondents with secondary vocational and higher education (bachelor's/specialist diploma) and a paid job are the most inclined to purchase second-hand goods. As for the level of family income, no special trend was observed. When studying the literature on the subject, most of it is research on the motives of purchases; quantitative data is not so much studied in this direction in detail. The literature allowed us to put forward the hypothesis that the majority of respondents who buy second-hand clothes online are women between the ages of 18 and 35.⁵⁴ Which, however, is not fully consistent with the results obtained from the database, that is, socio-demographic characteristics such as gender and age are more often considered. In addition, marketing articles can be accessed that claim the second-hand clothing market is growing in popularity and specifically growing in popularity among all segments of the population, but no more precise data is provided. Therefore, the database seems to be a good option to gain insight into other socio-demographic characteristics such as education level, income, and availability of paid employment.

During the study of supply and demand in the Russian clothing market, we found out that informants do feel a deficit in the market; they point to a decrease in variety and difficulties in searching. The informants also noted an increase in the number of new Russian clothing brands,

⁵⁴ Ferraro, C., Sands, S., & Brace-Govan, J. (2016). The role of fashionability in second-hand shopping motivations. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 32: 262-268.

as well as an increase in demand for domestically produced clothes, caused by the lack of alternatives or the desire to support Russian businesses, as well as the creativity of designers.

Further, the practices of buying used clothes on online platforms were studied and analyzed in detail. Among the factors that informants pay attention to when choosing their preferred online platform, the following are highlighted: functionality, reputation of the platform, its appearance, customer service, quality of information about the item, and assortment. It is important to note that the informants themselves consider the above factors in detail, so they can be studied in more detail to analyze in detail the strategies and rules that informants follow in the process of online shopping for used clothes.

Speaking about the categories of second-hand clothes, the interviewees also discussed in great detail both when identifying the most preferred categories of clothes and the reasons for classifying certain types of things as those that would not be bought. Thus, the informants' reasoning illustrated the individual differentiation of second-hand clothing buying practices.

In addition, we identified and categorized the problems faced by informants in the process of buying used clothes on online platforms: fraud, low-quality items, inconsistency of goods with the presented photo, problems in communication with sellers and couriers, size discrepancy, delivery problems, lack of return and fitting options, low quality of information about the item, presence of annoying factors and advertisements, and others. It is important to consider in more detail the process of problematization of the situations that arise in the buying process in order to further track changes in the practices under study.

Speaking about the motives that guide informants in their decision to buy used clothes, it is worth mentioning that the same motives were understood differently by the interviewees. Consequently, the motives cannot be simplified and reduced to a single understanding. In general, they appeared to be different for each informant, depending on their needs and tastes. In addition, informants were guided by several motives at the same time, which implies that informants in this case are the point of intersection of a whole set of motives.

Some informants were driven by economic reasons, some more, some less. In some ways this correlates with the study 'The meanings of informal and second-hand retail channels: Some evidence from Leicester', which found that although there are many motives, economic is still the primary motive for low-income UK residents. However, as income increases, the primacy of the

economic motive decreases.⁵⁵ In the case of our study, we can assume that most of the informants are students who may have a rather limited budget, so second-hand items may be attractive due to their relatively low price. In addition, Russia is currently experiencing an unfavorable economic situation, which is reflected in the high level of prices for goods and services, including clothing.

At the same time, the economic motive does not prevail in all cases. There were also those informants for whom the role of price does not matter, which is comparable to the study "Second-hand consumption as a lifestyle choice" conducted in Germany, which also studied the motives prevailing in the purchase of second-hand items. According to the findings, buying second-hand goods is not a necessity dictated primarily by economic disadvantage but rather a lifestyle choice. Consumers in Germany buy second-hand items based on two motives: social and nostalgic. For example, when vintage goods are purchased for the purpose of display and self-expression.⁵⁶

Thus, based on the results of the analysis of the qualitative data from the semi-structured interviews, trends were identified that need further conceptual and theoretical development. The first one consists in opposing second-hand clothing to mass consumption, not so much on the basis of an environmental agenda but in terms of the possibility to find original, unusual, and unique items. Moreover, despite the high estimates of supply in the clothing market, informants experience shortages. Accordingly, second-hand clothing acts as an alternative in a situation of rising prices, deteriorating quality, and a lack of variety.

In addition, a new, comprehensive approach to the consideration of motives for buying second-hand clothes was identified, which implies the consideration of several individual-driven motives at the same time. At the same time, the process of buying second-hand clothes was investigated through the increasingly popular buying strategy—through online platforms—which made it possible to take into account its specific characteristics that influence the formation of second-hand clothes buying practices. Thus, the novelty of the study lies in analyzing motives and practices simultaneously, which allows us to assess and trace a certain dependence of the construction of shopping experiences and strategies on certain motives.

⁵⁵ Williams C. C., Paddock C. The meanings of informal and second-hand retail channels: some evidence from Leicester //The International Review of Retail, Distribution and Consumer Research. - 2003. - T. 13. - №. 3. - C. 317-336.

⁵⁶ Steffen A. Second-hand consumption as a lifestyle choice //International conference on consumer research (iccr). - DEU, 2017. - C. 189-207.

Discussion of Results

Theoretical reflection

Studying the variability of second-hand clothing consumption practices as the central object of the study, it is worth noting that the process of buying second-hand clothes on online platforms is directly related to subjective preferences and socially differentiated actions and therefore can be considered in terms of theories of practices. In addition, when making online purchases of second-hand clothes, individuals do not so much follow established social structures as actively participate in their formation and change through their own actions, which is consistent with A. Giddens' theory of structuration,⁵⁷ where practices are the basis for the formation of both the subject and the object. This implies the existence of differentiated consumption based on the way practices are organized.⁵⁸ Thus, individual preferences are a manifestation of social differentiation in tastes and practices, which P. Bourdieu labeled "habitus," which, in turn, generates meaningful practices and meaningful perceptions,⁵⁹ formed in the context of social capital.⁶⁰

At the same time, previous experience influencing the habituation to regular reproduction of practices allows individuals to function in their daily lives in a state of distraction, thereby rationalizing and increasing the efficiency of repetitive actions without additional effort. Thus, practice theory enables us to study the process of choosing an online second-hand clothing platform by evaluating the platform's reputation, appearance, customer service, functionality, range, and quality of information about the item as a routine and sequence over individual actions⁶¹ to achieve the goal of buying things. At the same time, the increasing importance of meanings, symbols, and signs that populate the product, in this case an online platform, transforms it into a system of signs, and consumption into the management of these signs.⁶² Therefore, an individual making a choice of the platform where he/she would prefer to stay for further product search will be guided not so much by material properties as by symbolic qualities.⁶³

⁵⁷ Giddens A. The constitution of society. Cambridge //Polity. - 1984. - T. 284.

⁵⁸ Warde A. Consumption and theories of practice //Journal of consumer culture. - 2005. - T. 5. - №. 2. - C. 131-153.

⁵⁹ Bourdieu P. Practical Sense / Translated from French by AT Bikbov, KD Voznesenskaya, SN Zenkin, NA Shmatko; ed. by AT Bikbov, KD Voznesenskaya, SN Zenkin, NA Shmatko. NA Shmatko //SPb.: Aleteia. - 2001.

⁶⁰ Bourdieu P. Forms of Capital // Economic Sociology. 2005. No 3. C. 60–74.

⁶¹ Warde A. After taste: Culture, consumption and theories of practice // Journal of consumer culture. - 2014. - T. 14. - №. 3. - C. 279-303.

⁶² Baudrillard J. System of Things. Moscow: Rudomino, 1999. Pages 213-214.

⁶³ Douglas M., Isherwood B. The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption. London: Routledge, 1979. P.67.

At the same time, it also turned out that the very fact of consumption is not only in the moment of buying used clothes but is observed in the process of interaction with the online platform. That is, all the services presented on the online resource, as well as its interface and aesthetic composition—all this is already essentially a product for Internet users. This conclusion is supported by the concept of A. Ward, who proposed to consider consumption as a direct process in which agents appropriate and use goods, services, information, and the environment, regardless of whether they make a transaction or not. Particularly consistent with the presented theory is the partially confirmed hypothesis 3.1. about buyers' preferences regarding the online platform, where the main motivating factors for continuing the process of selecting and buying used clothes were not only utilitarian (e.g., the possibility of refunds, availability of delivery, price of goods), but also contemplative aspects (e.g., aesthetics of the site, style of the photo).

The heterogeneous and individual character of the way in which second-hand clothing shopping practices are organized is inextricably linked to the motivation to buy. Thus, one of the most common motivations was economic. And according to a simplified understanding of motivation, it follows that people buy second-hand clothes because they want to save money. This perspective required a more detailed understanding of the formation of this type of motive. The one-syllable explanation mentioned above does not allow us to fully understand true motivation. Earlier studies on the motives for purchasing used clothing often mention the economic motive. In the context of a crisis, poverty and instability in financial situations motivated Russians at the end of the 20th century to purchase second-hand clothes. As a result, for some time the second-hand shop has been labeled as a shop for the 'poor', which has led to their stigmatization.⁶⁴ Further research extends the understanding of the economic aspects of motivation as the desire to pay less, the search for a fair price, the search for a bargain, and the role of a satisfying price. Buying second-hand items alleviates the pressure on shoppers to allocate budgets.⁶⁵

During the qualitative analysis of the collected interviews, the motive related to the desire for individuality and self-expression through the purchase of second-hand clothes aroused particular interest. The explanation for this phenomenon was then found in the position of D. Mead's symbolic interactionism, which focuses on how people interpret and assign meanings

⁶⁴ Barchunova T. Second-hand Stores in Novosibirsk: New Consumption Institution and/or New Networking Centre? // Gender: From Costs to Benefits. 6th Interdisciplinary and International Symposium on Gender Research / Ed. by S. Oelkers & A. Gottburgsen. Gottburgsen. - Kiel: University of Kiel, 2002.

⁶⁵ Williams C. C., Paddock C. The meaning of alternative consumption practices // Cities. - 2003. - T. 20. - №. 5. - C. 311-319.

to symbols, including symbols expressed through clothing. Wearing certain clothes constructs a person's identity, emphasizing their individuality.⁶⁶

It is important to note that in the process of searching and choosing second-hand items on online platforms, informants often noted the need to browse with comments and reviews for a particular item or considered it important to familiarize themselves with the seller's rating. From a sociological perspective, this phenomenon can be explained by the fact that the nature of consumer choice is constrained by interpersonal interaction within social groups and local communities. This regularity was explained by H. Leibenstein, firstly, by the "effect of joining the majority" – a situation when the increase in demand for a product is caused by purchases of this product by other people – and secondly, by the "snob effect" – a situation when the reluctance to purchase a thing increases because others do the same.⁶⁷

The aspect of regularity and repetition of the same actions becoming routines and habits plays an important role in considering the experience of clothes shopping. In this case, experience involves examining through which channels the informants purchase clothes, how often they do so, and how they make their purchasing decisions. The whole buying process in this case is seen as a practice. Shatzki (1996), identifies practice as a coordinated entity in which coordination is mandatory.⁶⁸ Thus, practice is a spatially dispersed and temporally unfolding relation of actions and utterances. Finally, emphasizing the multiplicity of practices, it is worth saying that individuals making online purchases of second-hand clothes are a point of intersection of many different practices that together constitute the basis of consumption.⁶⁹

Methodological reflection

It is necessary to consider how the results of the study would change depending on the use of other methods, research design, time frame, etc. For example, we conducted the study among young people in Moscow. If we had considered young people across Russia as a sample, it would have made it difficult to collect qualitative data. Because it would have been impossible to collect such a number of interviews that would more or less evenly reflect the situation in Russia and transfer the data to the general population. Another issue arises when conducting research based on data from other countries. While quantitative data may not be a problem, as the literature study

⁶⁶ Mead G. H. Symbolic interactionism // A First Look at Communication Theory. - 2012. - C. 54-66.

⁶⁷ Leibenstein H. The effect of joining the majority, the snob effect and the Veblen effect in the theory of consumer demand // Theory of consumer behaviour and demand / Edited by V.M. Galperin. SPb.: Economic School, 1993.

⁶⁸ Schatzki T. R. Social practices: A Wittgensteinian approach to human activity and the social. - Cambridge University Press, 1996.

⁶⁹ Reckwitz A. Toward a theory of social practices: A development in culturalist theorising // European journal of social theory. - 2002. - T. 5. - №. 2. - C. 243-263.

found many sources from Europe and the United States, qualitative data would cause difficulties. Both in transferring the data to the general population and in collecting it directly, given language barriers and the lack of a large number of acquaintances. This, in turn, does not allow for a snowball search of informants.

We use non-probability homogeneous sampling because we are selecting informants based on certain criteria. The use of different types of non-probability samples could be considered. Quota sampling could contribute to a more uniform sample without bias, as informants of different age groups would be selected. Snowball sampling could have been used in this study, but the chain was usually broken because informants did not have as many acquaintances who met the stated criteria and agreed to participate in the interview.

Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were used. If only qualitative methods had been used, the situation with transferring the results to the general population would have been even more difficult, as quantitative sampling allows for a larger number of informants to be interviewed, which is not possible with interviews. If, on the contrary, only quantitative methods were used, although the sample would be large and quite informative, it would still not allow for detailed answers to some of the questions that turned out to be key to the research.

In order to consider this study on limitations, it will be important to pay attention to some aspects: the quality of the instruments and analyses, the sample, and the results obtained.⁷⁰

Limitations of the study

Research Toolkit

As the main method of data collection used was the interview, hence all its limitations. All empirical findings derived cannot be representative and transferable to the general population, but this was intended from the outset. Nevertheless, this method was chosen on the basis that the practices and motivations for online purchases of second-hand items are better studied qualitatively, as quantitative data can miss details important to analyze. The interview guide fully enabled the research questions to be answered.

In addition, due to the informants' schedules and long distances in Moscow, most of the interviews were conducted in an online format, which created additional difficulties. In some cases, communication was interrupted and the informants were hard of hearing, so we had to ask for clarification. As a result, the inability to respond to informants' facial expressions, lack of eye

⁷⁰ Rozhdestvenskaya E. Reliability of qualitative methods and data quality // Interaction. Interview. Interpretation. - 2014. - №. 8. - C. 16-29.

contact, and technical problems led to difficulties in both the data collection process and its interpretation. However, all informants were willing to answer additional questions and clarify information, which helped to ensure that important information was not missed. It should be noted that face-to-face interviews were still conducted whenever possible, if it was convenient and comfortable for everyone to meet in person.

Actual sample of the study

It was decided to opt for homogeneous sampling as the type of sampling. A. Steinberg emphasizes that it selects informants with similar socio-demographic characteristics that best describe some relatively homogeneous part of the general population of a certain group.

Despite the fact that homogeneous samples in a sense seek to reflect the characteristics of a particular social group, they, as in any qualitative research, cannot claim to generalize the results to the general population.⁷¹ The main selection criteria were: age from 14 to 35 years, residence in Moscow or the Moscow region.

The actual sample turned out to be somewhat uneven. Firstly, 14 out of 20 informants are students of the National Research University Higher School of Economics, which is due to the fact that when searching for informants, the invitation to participate in the interview was sent to many groups and conversations, including thematic groups of the university. Often it was students who were familiar with the general direction who responded to a greater extent than those who were unfamiliar. In addition, for the same reason, the age was skewed towards 20 years old. As a result, the sample turned out to be homogeneous but perhaps not entirely reflective of young people.

Future prospects

The prospect of studying the variability of second-hand clothing consumption practices is to overcome the mentioned limitations of the conducted study. First of all, in terms of the socio-demographic profile of the participants, it is necessary to expand the boundaries and include different age groups in order to see possible interdependence with purchase motivations. Income is also of particular interest from the perspective of influencing the motivation to buy second-hand items. Thus several research questions arise: "Low-income informants buy second-hand clothes based on the goal of saving money, while high-income informants pursue the goal of finding unique and unusual items?".

⁷¹ Steinberg I. et al. Qualitative methods. Field sociological research. - 2009.

Personal questions about the informant's lifestyle and his/her approach to everyday consumption will also allow to note trends in the propensity to buy used clothes and answer the research question, "Are people who lead a minimalist lifestyle more inclined to buy used clothes than others?" In addition, it is necessary to consider informants' hobbies, their hobbies, and activities outside of work in more detail, which will make it possible to trace the correlation between the informant's activity orientation and his/her motivations for buying used clothes.

In addition, the significance of the study will increase if we consider not only Moscow but also other Russian cities, which will make it possible to compare the practices of buying used clothes, especially motivations for their purchase. Such an analysis is important from the point of view of taking into account both economic and socio-cultural peculiarities of the country's regions in comparison with the capital. In addition, it is of particular research interest to study not only clothing but also other second-hand items. It is possible to determine the most popular categories of second-hand goods among the population. Thus, when transferring the data to the general population, it is possible to determine the part of the population that is ready to buy used goods.

Thus, the researched area of variability of second-hand clothing consumption practices is promising in terms of developing approaches to the consideration of motives, delving into the personal experience of informants regarding lifestyle, occupation, and hobbies. It is also important to increase the scale of the study and include more informants with different socio-demographic characteristics from different regions and cities of Russia, which will determine the comparison with the motives for buying used clothes and, in general, the practice of their consumption. Thus, it is possible to build a general portrait of the variability of secondary consumption practices not only for clothing but also for other goods if they are included in the analysis.

Conclusion

Returning to the key research question of what motivations and practices Moscow youth are guided by when buying used clothes on online platforms, we as researchers conclude that despite the existing conditions of diversity and high availability of supply on the Russian clothing market, informants still experience shortages due to the departure of brands from Russia. This, in turn, actualizes the need to find an alternative in the conditions of rising prices, deteriorating quality, and a lack of assortment. One of the alternatives is the practice of buying second-hand clothes. The results of the qualitative analysis allowed us to conclude that informants are driven by a set of motives. As the main motives were identified: ecological motive, economic motive, consideration of second-hand clothes as a leisure activity, an opportunity for self-expression, and search for unique things with a special history. It can be noted that the economic motive prevails

among the informants; it is interpreted in different ways, for example, as a favorable price-quality ratio or as an opportunity to save money and buy a large number of clothes at once. Nevertheless, the economic motive is recognized and highlighted but is not determinant. In a sense, secondhand is opposed to mass consumption in terms of the opportunity to find original, unusual, and unique things. It is not so much an alternative as a separate space with its own structure of practices.

The online platform acts as a recruiting strategy for buying used clothes, with certain specific ways of organizing the purchase. The consumer practices of buying used clothes on online platforms identified in the course of the research allowed us to identify the main perceptions that guide informants in choosing the most appropriate online platform for making a purchase, as well as specific categories of clothes. In addition, it was found out that such aspects as the appearance of the platform, its reputation, customer service, functionality, available assortment, and quality of information about the item influence the informants' decision to buy clothes.

Based on all of the above, it can be concluded that practices and motives for purchasing second-hand clothing are individually constructed based on subjective consumer preferences and existing experience of interacting with online platforms.

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Authors:

1. Tamara P. Tsyganash, Higher School of Economics (Moscow, Russia). National Research University Higher School of Economics. Educational program "Sociology". Student; ISSEK «Centre for Industrial Policy». Research Assistant. E-mail: t.tsyganash@hse.ru

2. Valeria A. Gert, National Research University Higher School of Economics. Educational program "Sociology". Student. E-mail: vagert@edu.hse.ru.

3. Anastasia D. Kropacheva, National Research University Higher School of Economics. Educational program "Sociology". Student. E-mail: adkropacheva@edu.hse.ru

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