BROWSING ECLECTICISM & SEARCHING CLARITY
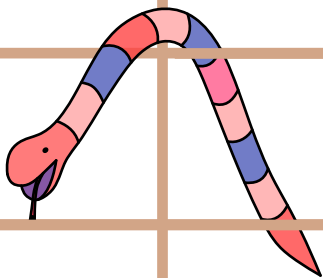
Second-hand shopping practices and spatial design

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the influence of spatial design on consumption practices. Mass consumption has long been criticised within the social sciences, but increasingly, the critique has moved from being grounded in social issues to environment ones, in particular with regard to climate change. One of the suggested initiatives to reduce consumption of new objects is reuse of consumer objects, most commonly done through second-hand shopping. Second-hand shopping has a long history, ranging from "salvage stores" for marginalised groups, charity shops aiming to raise funds, retro shops that celebrate the aesthetics of old objects, and digital platforms allowing resale of almost anything at a high scale. More recently, municipalities have entered this arena. Aiming to save objects from becoming waste, they have created "swap spaces" where citizens can take and leave objects at no cost. Swap spaces are thus publicly owned with the primary purpose of reducing environmental impact. Yet, second-hand shopping is argued to only significantly reduce environmental impact when it replaces the acquisition of a new object. For these reasons, swap spaces are an intriguing phenomenon, and I use these spaces as the cases of study. However, I will also make two theoretical contributions: First, to the understanding second-hand shopping practices in the perspective of environmental impact, and second, to the influence of spatial design on these practices.

First, I aim to contribute to the understanding of shopping practices in the context of replacing new consumption. Based on ethnographic fieldwork and interviews in two swap spaces in Copenhagen, I develop two theoretical concepts for ways of shopping: browsing and searching. They are differentiated by intention, by ways of looking, and by the skills demanded. I argue that while browsing is today the most widespread way of using swap spaces, searching is perhaps the practice with the biggest potential in reducing environmental impact. Searching involves the intention of finding something specific, and is thus also the most likely to directly replace a similar new object. In comparison, people who practice browsing are often so engaged in second-hand shopping that they would rarely buy a similar object new. In a counterintuitive sense, these practitioners' complete resistance to consumption of new objects means their second-hand shopping practices never actually have a direct relationship to new objects. But seeing as their consumption of new objects is indeed limited, it is difficult to argue these practices do not contribute to reducing environmental impact when compared to mainstream shopping practices. Instead, I argue that replacement has to be seen through an additional lens, namely that of recruitment. In terms of recruitment to

second-hand shopping, I show that the practice of searching again has higher potential: Searching demands less of the consumer's competences, and could function as a way into the world of second-hand shopping, giving new practitioners a way to familiarise themselves with the great variety in second-hand object.

Second, I argue for the influence of spatial design on shopping practices. I argue that one of the spaces in my study has an eclectic aesthetic that extends the variety of second-hand objects into the design of the space, while the other emphasises clarity and contrasts the heterogeneity of objects. Based on interviews with the project managers responsible for the development of the spaces, I show that the different aesthetics are grounded in varying understandings of how consumers experience different aesthetics. Finding inspiration in sensory ethnography, I did emplaced interviews in the two swap spaces combined with photo elicitation to study experiences of the two spaces. I show that while the practice of browsing is dominant in both spaces, the latter space better enables the practice of searching. Using a rigid system of clear lines and materials emitting a calm atmosphere, it enables quickly glancing through the space in search of a particular object. At the same time, newcomers to the space experience it as less overwhelming than most other second-hand shops. Today, swap spaces with eclectic aesthetics occupy largely the same role as charity shops, meaning that most of the user base would either use charity shops or make do without them if swap spaces did not exist. For these reasons, I argue that while the eclectic aesthetic is perhaps the most enjoyable to be in for current users, the use of spatial designs emphasising clarity and calm could contribute to reducing the environmental impact of consumption. While such a change could come at the cost of the "treasure hunt" of browsing, I argue that it is difficult to achieve significant environmental impact while privileging people who shop for the thrill of the treasure hunt.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION

Modern mass consumption has long been criticised in the social sciences, seeing the scale and materialism as a "danger to both society and the environment". Some have criticised consumption beyond "what is deemed necessary according to some moral standard of need" (Miller, 2006, pp. 341-343). From an environmental perspective, consumer objects are one of the consumption categories with the biggest carbon reduction potential through urban demand (C40 Cities, Arup, & University of Leeds, 2019). In Denmark, consumer objects are together estimated to make up 10% of the global carbon emissions generated by consumers (The Danish Energy Agency, 2022, p. 33). For the case of clothes, it has been estimated that each person could consume between 3 and 8 pieces of new clothing a year to stay in line with the 1.5° global warming target (C40 Cities et al., 2019; Coscieme et al., 2022). While the consumption of objects could principally be reduced in many ways, one of the suggested solutions is to increase reuse of objects that would otherwise have become waste. Reuse, as opposed to recycling, is the most efficient use of resources, letting functioning things be used by a new owner instead of technologically transforming it into something else (Castellani et al., 2015). For these reasons, second-hand has globally been promoted by environmental agencies through the "waste hierarchy" as well as the well-known phrase "reduce, reuse, recycle" (Cooper & Gotowski, 2017, p. 1).

The perhaps most common way to reuse consumer objects is through second-hand shopping, a practice that dates back to the latter part of the 19th century. The founder of the Salvation Army in the UK found that there was a waste of goods from the wealthier homes and suggested a system to collect quality goods and selling them cheaply for the poor in "salvage stores". In the beginning of the 20th century the concept was expanded to the US and Canada (Horne & Maddrell, pp. 1-7). While the idea of buying used objects was at this point reserved for the poor, the middle class in the end of the 19th century started buying antique furniture from auction houses and curiosity shops (Baker, 2012, p. 623). In 1947, the Oxfam charity opened a shop with the purpose of raising funds for their other charity work, rather than supplying those in need. The concept expanded to other charities and other countries, leading to the charity shops we know today (Horne & Maddrell, pp. 1-7). In the 1960's London, retro shops started appearing alongside antiques shops, selling quirky, unique objects from a variety of time periods (Baker, 2012, 632-624). At the same time garage sales became popular in the US,

while the UK saw an increase in 1970's flea markets and car boot sales (Franklin, 2010, pp. 157-158). Since the widespread use of the internet, second-hand shopping has also moved online through digital platforms that are today as commonly used as physical second-hand shops (DBA, 2022). Most recently, municipalities in Denmark have increasingly established "swap spaces" connected to their recycling stations, allowing citizens to dispose of and acquire reusable objects that could otherwise have been disposed of as waste. The first swap space in Copenhagen opened at the end of the 90's, and today there are 15 of them within the municipality. Seen as shopping spaces, they are the first of their kind to be run by the public sector. Being public, objects are available for free and generating no profits, instead aiming to primarily reduce environmental impact. The historical developments in spaces also reflect the motivations of second-hand shoppers: From being used only for economic reasons to a more mainstream search for unique retro objects, and lately also being motivated by environmental impact.

Today, 67% of Danes buy second-hand objects on an annual basis, in particular from internet platforms, second-hand shops, and flea markets (DBA, 2022). Yet, there are vast difference between categories, with e.g. only 36% of Danes annually buying second-hand clothes (YouGov, 2022). But while reuse is intuitively seen to reduce environmental impact through reducing new production and waste, environmental engineers argue that this impact is highly dependent on replacing the consumption of new things (Cooper and Gutowski, 2017; Wrap, 2011, p. 21). Cooper and Gutowski (2017) argue:

> For this to translate into a real reduction in environmental impacts, sales (or gifts or continued use) of reused products must displace sales of new products. This reflects the extent to which the reused products are utilized by consumers who would otherwise buy new, displacing new sales, or from consumers who would not buy new, which does not displace new sales (p. 15).

Here it becomes clear that the increased lifespan of objects is not in itself a goal. Instead, the total consumption needs to be decreased, and this requires taking into account the consumption practices occurring outside the individual shopping space. Yet, second-hand shopping is exactly distinguished from other shopping practices by the spatial designs in which it occurs. Gregson and Crewe (2003) find that second-hand shopping is about making "the find" among a mass of clothes, enabled by spatial designs combine lack of spatial order with a large variety in objects (p. 74). Retro shops, however, can be spatially similar to first-hand shops, ordering certain "staples" of clot-

hing by category, colour and size (p. 71). To many second-hand shoppers, this ordering takes away the pleasure of browsing through the otherwise messy charity shops. For this reason, Gregson and Crewe (2003) argue that spaces of second-hand shopping are constituted exactly by their difference to first-hand shops, and that the attempt of second-hand shops to gain more customers by curating and ordering goods risks ruining the practice for current second-hand shoppers (pp. 76). However, I argue that their conclusion is incomplete when taking into account the perspective of environmental impact. The lack of perspectives of potential users and relation to first-hand consumption risks promoting the design of spaces that are appreciated by a minority of shoppers, but forego the significant potential in second-hand shopping to reduce the environmental impact from consumption. The goal of this thesis is then to build onto the work of Gregson and Crewe (2003), but taking into account the relationship between first-hand and second-hand shopping.

I build the thesis on fieldwork in two swap spaces in Copenhagen. While any kind of second-hand spaces could potentially be designed to decrease environmental impact, swap spaces are particularly relevant because they have environmental impact as their primary purpose. Without incentives to generate profits or enable charity work, swap spaces are uniquely positioned to maximise their potential for reduction of environmental impact from consumption. Yet, swap spaces are also distinct because of their reliance on donations from citizens, who often place objects directly on the shelves for others to take. This has the implication that the variety in objects is even greater than other second-hand shopping spaces. While the two swap spaces are established with the same formal purpose of reducing environmental impact, they display widely different approaches to spatial design. In particular, I aim to understand how differences in order and atmosphere influence on shopping practices. In a wider context, the thesis thus contributes to understanding how spatial design can influence consumption practices.

Research question

Which shopping practices are performed in swap spaces, and how are they influenced by spatial designs?

- How can second-hand shopping be theorised in the context of replacing consumption?
- What are swap spaces, and how are they distinguished from other second-hand shopping spaces?
- Which intentions and understandings have shaped how swap spaces are designed?
- How does the spatial design of swap spaces influence the way they are used in shopping practices?
- What is the role of swap spaces, and how could spatial design influence this role?

Structure of the thesis

In chapter 2, I unfold my theoretical framing of the thesis. Building on practice theory and consumption studies, I develop two concepts to understand second-hand shopping practices and their replacement of first-hand shopping. Additionally, I show how spatial design can influence shopping practices. Finally, I use theory from design studies to understand how design processes influence the experience of spaces.

In chapter 3, I argue for the use of ethnography to understand the lived experiences of using swap spaces. In particular, I argue that participant observation combined with in-depth interviews give me a rich understanding of both the production and experience of the spaces.

Chapter 4 goes on to give a brief overview of the different types of second-hand shopping spaces. I show how swap spaces are distinguished from other spaces.

Chapter 5 focuses on the design process behind the two swap spaces. Building on interviews with three municipal employees and participant observation with daily staff, I show that while the goal of the municipality is to create spaces for all citizens, varying understandings have vast implications for the resulting designs.

Building on the theoretical concepts introduced in chapter 2, chapter 6 unfolds the practices in the context of swap spaces and shows how they are influenced by spatial design. In addition, I discuss how each practice relates between to first-hand consumption.

Finally, chapter 7 discusses the potential of spatial design in replacing consumption. Based on the analysis in the previous chapters, I discuss the role of swap spaces, and

how spatial design has potential to increase their ability to replace first-hand consumption.

Cases

In this section, I provide a brief introduction to the two swap spaces used as cases in the thesis: Haraldsgade and Remiseparken. Throughout the thesis I will build onto this introduction, giving more details as part of the analysis.

Both swap spaces in Copenhagen are run by the municipality, allowing citizens to take and leave goods for free. There are no cashiers and no registration of acquiring objects, and so consumers take things directly from the shelves and leave with them. There are also no shopping baskets and no changing rooms. Being part of local recycling centres, swap spaces instead have nearby waste containers for citizens to sort the waste fractions they cannot sort by their homes. Swap spaces can be staffed by both employees and volunteers in varying arrangements between each space. Both spaces are located in housing districts with social housing but are accessible to the public. While following the same general concept of exchange, the two spaces are spatially distinct. Studying two different spaces makes me able to unfold how different spatial elements influence the practices of their users. Haraldsgade represents an aesthetic that is widespread in multiple of the local recycling centres in Copenhagen, while Remiseparken is the first swap space of its kind.

Haraldsgade swap space

Haraldsgade

Haraldsgade is an outdoor recycling centre with a small swap space located in a shed. It is spatially organised with large sections for books, kitchenware, and toys and children's clothes. The aesthetic of the space is eclectic: There are many undefined shelves and outdoor areas containing various goods. The shelf units are all different materials, colours, and sizes, and the walls and ceiling are decorated with colourful second-hand objects like toys, paintings, and knick-knack. While most objects are placed in the space by citizens themselves, there is also regular volunteer who spends multiple hours on most opening days hanging up clothes left in piles.

Remiseparken

The Remiseparken swap space is an indoor swap space, occupying a former store space, and with waste containers located outside. Like Haraldsgade, goods are separated into categories, but here almost everything is gathered in one big shelf unit, going from wall to wall and floor to ceiling. The aesthetic is elegant and streamlined: The shelves are uniform, the lamps are identically blue, and the walls are colour coordinated with a large curtain hanging from there ceiling in shades of orange. The Remiseparken swap space was developed in collaboration with a social housing organisation. A group of volunteers had already been running an independent swap space exclusively for clothes, and it was suggested to move their activities to the larger retail space, turning it into an official swap space in collaboration with the municipality. These volunteers

Remiseparken swap space

now staff the space on four of the six weekly opening days, while an employee doing workshops has shifts on the two remaining days. While officially called Remiseparken, this swap space is also called Lykkebazaren, or the Luck Bazaar.

CHAPTER 2:
THEORY

The thesis has a dual focus on practices and spaces of second-hand shopping. I draw on practice theory as a foundation for the thesis, with focus on the relationship between practice and space. First, I unfold the fundamentals of practice theory in relation to shopping and design. Second, I discuss the drivers of consumption and how they can influence shopping. Third, I conceptualise shopping as a practice in itself. Inspired by Gregson, Crewe, and Brooks (2002), I develop two concepts to understand second-hand shopping practices: browsing and searching. Fourth, I describe the relationship between practices and spaces, and I use Böhme's (1993) concept of atmospheres to understand the affective aspects of spaces and their relations to practice. Finally, I draw on the work of Kimbell (2012) to understand the design process behind the production of the spaces. I use design in a broad sense of the word, including not just designers but to a high extent also municipal planners, everyday users, employees, and volunteers in the spaces.

Practice theory

Practice theory functions as the foundation for the thesis, providing a way to see routinised behaviour as the unit of analysis. Shove, Pantzar, and Watson (2012) argue that a practice can be seen through the metaphor of a pattern, consisting of many individual and often unique actions dispersed over time and space. At the same time, practices consist of a conjunction of elements such as knowledge, objects, skills, and meanings. These elements are not seen as attributes of the individual, but as qualities of the practice that the individual draws on when performing it (pp. 6-7).

When it comes to what exactly these elements are, there are different approaches within theories of practice. As perhaps the simplest model, Shove et al. (2012) argue for the differentiation between only three elements: materials, meanings, and competences. Materials are objects, infrastructures, and the body itself; meanings are the social and symbolic significance of participating in the practice; and competences entail the skills, knowhow and knowledge that is required to perform the practice (Shove et al., 2012, p. 23). This deliberately simplistic model is particularly useful to understand changes in practice, with the understanding that all the elements have to both exist and connect for a practice to be performed (pp. 22-25). I use this model explicitly to discuss the potential for recruitment of practitioners of second-hand shopping in chapter 7.

However, Shove et al. (2012) acknowledge that for some purposes this model can be too simple. In particular, they argue that "knowing in the sense of being able to evaluate a performance is not the same as knowing the sense of having the skills required to perform" (p. 23). This is particularly relevant in chapter 5, where I show that the design of swap spaces is dependent on particular *understandings*, a form of knowledge that should not be considered identical to skills.

Consumption

According to Miller (2006), consumption is in academic literature criticised as an "evil" and a "wasting disease", seeing materiality itself as a threat to society. Consumption is argued to take over identity formation, relegating consumers to "the passive role of merely fitting themselves into such maps by buying the appropriate signs of their 'lifestyle'". Some scholars have argued that the materialism (and thus consumption) "represents an attachment or devotion to objects which is at the expense of an attachment and devotion to persons" (pp. 341-343). In a contrasting approach, Miller (2006) argues for an approach to consumption understood as "the specificity of a humanity inseparable from its materiality" (p. 347). Similarly, Warde (2005) argues that consumption is an integral part of almost any practice, a necessity to perform most doings in everyday life: "Consumption is inescapable, momentary and occurs often entirely without mind". Seeing consumption as part of other practices implies that shopping occurs by need: It is the practice that is desirable, and enabling the practice becomes the motivation for shopping (p. 150). Following the arguments of Miller and Warde, I attempt to understand the role of materiality and consumption in people's lives. Below I will briefly describe some of the roles that consumption can play.

In a study of wearing clothes, Woodward (2005) argues for clothing as "externalisations of selfhood", showing that the choice to combine and wear particular piece of clothes can be significant aspects of identity (p. 22). In contrast to the postmodern idea that "everyone can be anybody", she argues that people can be constrained by their personal styles and availability of clothes (p. 35). In another approach, Miller (2004) argues that consumption can be a way of showing care for others, seeing shopping as an "act of love", a way to constitute a relationship. By buying things for others, people show care for them and understanding of their preferences (pp. 251-253). Micheletti (2003) argues that consumption can be political, with political consumers seeing their private choices as having political consequences. Seeing their everyday actions as

"footprints", consumption is an arena for politics (pp. 1-3). As I will show in chapter 6, all these material relations are apparent in the use of swap spaces.

Yet, consumption cannot alone be explained by social and political goals. While Warde (2005) finds that much consumption can be explained by other practices, he also argues that shopping is a practice in itself: People can like or hate shopping, actively seek it, or avoid it as much as possible (p. 150). This suggests that consumption can occur to enable practices, but also because shopping itself is seen as a pleasurable activity. For second-hand shopping, this is particularly relevant. As I will argue in the following sections, second-hand shopping entails very particular practices that are to a high extent differentiated from first-hand shopping. First and foremost, this is due to the variety in the objects of consumption.

Second-hand objects

In this section I will unfold the theoretical implications of the consumer objects previously being owned by someone else. Using human biographies as inspiration, Kopytoff (1986) argues that the objects have life and changing conditions throughout that life:

> In doing the biography of a thing, one would ask questions similar to those one asks about people: What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its "status" and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized "ages" or periods in the thing's "life," and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness? (pp. 66-67)

In this case of second-hand objects, the biography at the time of acquisition is longer than a similar first-hand product. A first-hand product might have been produced and transported to a shop, perhaps with several stops along the ways. A second-hand object, on the other hand, might have been in someone's home, used by owners and perhaps others, and can have wear and tear through that ownership. Gregson and Crewe (2003) argue that the biographies of second-hand goods often become visible through signs of use. While signs of use appear on most objects, it perhaps the most significant in the case of clothes:

> Second hand clothing obliges individuals to negotiate with that which a known/ unknown other has already worn; with clothes that have been inhabited and that frequently bear the trace/s of this habitation – in evidence of leakiness, in the shape of the wearer, in practices of wearing. Perspiration marks, stains, the pounding and fading associated with washing cycles, grease, mud, tears. (pp. 155-156).

But while second-hand goods can have signs of use, there are vast differences in how people relate to these signs. Gregson and Crewe (2003) argue that "newness" is to second-hand shoppers less about following fashion cycles, and more about the lack of bodily traces of previous owners. If a type of clothing is worn too close to the body, however, it becomes less important if there are actually traces of previous owners. The most significant example of this is underwear, although some second-hand shoppers will also avoid shoes, bedding, and nightwear (pp. 157-160). For other types of goods, on the other hand, it is precisely the signs of use that are desired. For instance, Gregson and Crewe (2003), argue that some of the value of second-hand objects lies in the "imaginative potential of its former life", in particular for people who search for objects from specific time periods (pp. 145-155).

At some point, objects are disposed of. Gregson and Crewe (2003) argue that the main motivation for disposal of objects is "making space". As a housekeeping practice, most goods arrive at a space of second-hand shopping because there is no longer sufficient space to store them. Within this overall practice, they identify three motivations to dispose of objects to spaces second-hand shopping: philanthropic donations to "less fortunate" people, environmental impact, and making money (pp. 117-129). Seeing as swap spaces receive objects as donations, the available objects could in particular be those that are not valuable enough to make money, while the valuable ones are sold to other second-hand spaces. Yet, building on the argument that much donation is about making space, I show that the values of the available objects vary widely.

But despite having varying values, all objects in swap spaces are available for free. This could make them similar to Kopytoff's (1986) notion of reciprocated gifts, which he does not see as commodities:

> Gifts are given in order to evoke an obligation to give back a gift, which in turn will evoke a similar obligation — a never-ending chain of gifts and obligations. The gifts themselves maybe things that are normally used as commodities

(food, feasts, luxury goods, services), but each transaction is not discrete and none, in principle, is terminal (pp. 68-69).

Seeing as the word "swapping" implies some degree of reciprocity, objects in swap spaces could be seen as gifts expected to be reciprocated. But because the (expected) reciprocity occurs with the swap space as a mediator, it is up to the consumer if they wish to reciprocate. For this reason, I'll argue that swapping largely consists of two distinct practices: shopping and donating. In the following sections, I will argue that the variation in objects, signs of life, and values has significant implications for how spaces of second-hand shopping are used and designed.

Shopping as practice

In this section, I theorise shopping as practice. First, I develop two theoretical concepts for ways of shopping, and then I discuss how the relationship between first and second-hand can be understood theoretically. While the thesis focuses on shopping rather than donating, I will show that the lack of exchange value does also influence shopping practices.

Gregson and Crewe (2003) find that the motivations for second-hand shopping are largely the same as for first-hand shopping: Shopping second-hand is associated with distinction and taste, as well as capturing value through making "the bargain" (pp. 3-4). But rather than understanding the practice within specific spaces, shopping is performed in a "tapestry of particularity and generality", comprising of both specific places and generic types of places that are "woven together through practice" (Gregson et al., 2002, pp. 598-599). Following that argument means that while the focus of the thesis is on the two specific swap spaces, understanding second-hand consumption practices will have to take into account the individual geographies of each informant. This entails an understanding of the other spaces that are part of their shopping practice.

Browsing and searching

Gregson et al. (2002) argue for the differentiation between second-hand shopping by *necessity* and by *choice*. They find that the former is a routinised and regular practice than involves working through each item methodically, while the latter is a sporadic and spontaneous practice with a dislocated way of browsing by glancing over the space (p. 606). I argue that while elements of both concepts are relevant, these two distinct practices do not explain the use of Copenhagen swap spaces today. While there can

certainly be distinct motivations between second-hand shopping by necessity and by choice, I argue that the practices in swap spaces are often remarkably similar. Instead, I have developed another set of concepts: *browsing* and *searching*. The two practices are differentiated by intention, by ways of looking, and by the use of skills.

First, the two practices are distinguished by intention. While browsing allows for objects to suggest themselves to the consumer, searching has an identified need as its starting point. Like a shopping list, searching does not entirely exclude acquiring unplanned objects, but the initial intention of the practice is to acquire something relatively specific.

Second, they are distinguished by ways of looking. Building on Degen, DeSilvey and Rose (2008), shopping entails a certain *shopping look*, a concentrated vision in search of a desired product. This look varies from a thin, unfocused gaze to a thick, focused look that also involves touching and smelling (pp. 1910-1911). Similarly, Gregson, Crewe, and Brooks (2002) argue for the difference between methodically working through each item and a dislocated way of looking by glancing over the space (p. 606). Building onto my previous arguments, I argue that browsing is often tied to the thick gaze, methodically working through objects in search of an object that might suggest itself, while searching usually involves a thin, dislocated glance through the space.

Third, browsing and searching are distinguished by skills. Building onto the arguments by Gregson and Crewe (2003), I argue that the practice of browsing is in particular defined by its dependency on consumers to do additional "work" that depends on particular stocks of knowledge: it requires shoppers to "let goods to suggest themselves to them" (p. 54). To do this, they have to "identify it among the mass of goods, and to capture it from the unknowing in a way that conjoins symbolic and exchange value, economic and cultural capital". (Gregson and Crewe, 2003, p. 74). More specifically, the practice depends on people's ability to judge an item's condition, price and respectability, and, for some people, expert knowledge on style and trends (Gregson at al., 2002, p. 606). Searching, on the other hand, is less dependent on these skills. Through the distant glance, searchers are able to quickly identify whether an object is available or not, focusing their efforts on judging a few select objects rather than letting any objects suggest itself to them.

Replacing first-hand shopping

A common methodology to quantify the environmental impact of second-hand shopping is through the concept of a replacement rate. With this method, customers who

bought second-hand objects are asked if they think they would have bought a similar item new if they hadn't found it second-hand (Wrap, 2012, p. 23; Nørup et al., 2019, p. 1028; Farrant et al., 2010, p. 729; Castellani et al., 2015, p. 378). This way of questioning relies on the assumption that consumers experience a need that they then choose to fulfil either through first-hand or second-hand shopping.

Nørup et al. (2019) suggest that replacement rates "were lower for respondents with a wardrobe consisting of a large share of second-hand textiles" (p. 1034), meaning that people who mostly buy second-hand would rarely show any replacement because of rarely buying first-hand clothes. In a counterintuitive sense, this means that those who buy the least first-hand objects will contribute negatively to replacing new consumption because second-hand is already their starting point. While true relative to the current state of their shopping practices, this method does not take into account how the regular practice of second-hand shopping could contribute to lowering environmental impact. For this reason, I argue that it is helpful to also see first- and second-hand shopping as two competing practices. Watson (2012) argues that practices "compete for finite resources of time for the practitioner. This becomes a more direct competition where performances of one practice might fall into the same slots of temporal routine and social purpose as another practice" (p. 493). Here, second-hand shopping competes with first-hand shopping for time, but also for the ability to fulfil their material needs and for the experience of shopping. Because they compete, I argue that recruitment of new practitioners to second-hand shopping could in itself reduce first-hand consumption. For these reasons, I will in chapter 6 discuss how spatial designs influence the ability to replace first-hand consumption in both ways: through replacing objects and recruiting new practitioners.

Spatial design and consumption

In this section I describe how spatial design influences practice. Reckwitz (2012) argues that practices are structured by the spaces in which they are performed. Practices are anchored in both the body and in materiality, and so they are structured by our sensuous experience. Spaces affect us in varying directions and intensity, but they always affect us (p. 250). In particular, spaces affect us through continuous practices where we look at, smell or touch materials. And similarly, atmospheres enable the routinisation of practices: "Routine practices mostly rely on perfect matches between atmospheres and sensitivities" (Reckwitz, 2012, pp. 254-255).

Perhaps the most common examples of the impact of space on consumption is the case of shopping malls. Edensor and Sumartojo (2015) argue that the design of shop-

ping malls encourages consumption by carefully controlling the atmosphere of the space through "visual elements that devolve upon and flow through a particular space to produce a tuned realm rather than a concentrated spectacle". These elements create a muted atmosphere through the layout of goods as well as even lighting and temperatures, intended not to "over-stimulate those passing through or provoke them into over-excitable, potentially disruptive behaviour" (p. 255).

Böhme (1993) argues for the concept of *atmosphere* as a way to understand how objects and spaces make people feel. To Böhme (1993), an atmosphere is not subjective, nor objective – instead, it exists in the *relation* between the perceiver and the perceived (p. 122). This has the implication that experiences can vary between different people, but also when the space and its artefacts change. A central point from Böhme (1993) is that things have ecstasies. Rather than the colour blue being a property of a specific cup, it influences how the space around it is perceived:

> The blueness of the cup is then thought of not as something which is restricted in some way to the cup and adheres to it, but on the contrary as something which radiates out to the environment of the cup, colouring or "tincturing" in a certain way this environment (Böhme, 1993, p. 121).

For a shopping space, this means that the objects of consumption can influence the atmosphere. This is particularly relevant for swap spaces, seeing as that are dependent on both receiving second-hand objects and on the continuous reorganisation performed by citizens, volunteers and employees. Similarly, the design of a shelf used for displaying goods does not only influence the perception of the shelf, but the entire room it is in.

Gregson and Crewe (2003) emphasise that many second-hand shopping spaces require rummaging, making it important to have the skills for identifying objects (p. 74). In particular, some spaces "are literally crammed full and that necessitate relations of looking that are about rummaging rather than dislocated appreciation. This is in contrast to other spaces that either attempt to recontextualise goods in a celebration of their aesthetic, or attempt to entirely mirror first-hand retail stores (Gregson & Crewe, 2003, pp. 52-53), which "removes the work of looking" (Gregson & Crewe, 2003, p. 76).

Design as practice

Kimbell (2012) differentiates between designs-in-practice and design-as-practice. While the focus of this thesis is on designs-in-practice, I unfold the practices behind the production of the swap spaces in chapter 5.

Under the term of designs-in-pratice, Kimbell (2012) argues that the act of designing is a continuous activity: "Through engagement with a product or service over time and space, the user or stakeholder continues to be involved in constituting what a design is" (pp. 135-136). In the above sections, I've argued for ways of understanding how citizens engage with the designs of the swap spaces. Following the argument of Kimbell, citizens' engagement with the spaces are not only experiences of the designs, but also part of constituting what it is.

In chapter 5, however, I attempt to unfold the design process behind the production of the spaces, which Kimbell (2012) calls design-as-practice. Design as practice "acknowledges the work done by professional designers in these practices, but also opens up design to others, such as managers and employees in organizations, and also customers, end-users and others who, through their practices, also take part in design" (p. 135). In a space that's planned by municipal employees, designed by architects, staffed by both employees and volunteers, and sourced using objects donated by citizens, design-as-practices allows a perspective that distributes the act of designing onto the many other actors part of shaping the space. Additionally, design-as-practice combines aspects of practice theory into the understanding of design processes. Kimbell (2012) argues that "what designers know, do, and say is constituted by and co-constitutes what is possible for designers to do, know, and say. ... An attentiveness to practice orients the researcher to how knowing, doing, and saying constitute and are constituted in relation to other elements of a practice" (Kimbell, 2012, p. 135). In particular, I will show that the practices of designing swap spaces are to a high extent shaped by different understandings and motivations for each of the actors contributing to the design.

Having both perspectives allows me to better understand the co-constitution of swap spaces between the intentions of the city administration and its users. I show that while the City of Copenhagen officially intends for its spaces to be be "for everyone", the understandings embedded in the designs are more nuanced. And even when they are aligned, they are not necessarily seen as such by its users.

Summary

In this chapter, I have argued for ways to theorise the use of swap spaces. I have argued that the design process behind swap spaces can be understood as distributed among municipal employees, architects, daily staff, as well as the users who leave objects for others to take, all of whom can have varying motivations and understandings which shape the design. The resulting designs attempt to influence shopping practices through atmospheres as well as order. I've developed theoretical concepts for two types of practices which I call browsing and searching. I've argued that while browsing depends on letting objects suggest themselves to the consumers, searching is much more closely connected to an identified need. Finally, drawing on insights from technical literature on second-hand, I argue that the relationship between first- and second-hand shopping should be understood in two ways: First, as a second-hand object replacing a similar first-hand object, and second, as the practice of second-hand shopping replacing the routinised practice of first-hand shopping. This has the implication replacing first-hand consumption could also occur by recruiting new practitioners.

CHAPTER 3:
METHODS

Following the lead of the most significant theoretical source in the thesis, *Second-hand Cultures* by Gregson and Crewe (2003), the thesis is grounded in ethnography. I use ethnography to understand shopping practices, but also to understand the influence of spatial design. McGranahan (2018) argues that ethnography is more than a method, emphasising the "ethnographic sensibility" that makes it go beyond descriptive qualitative methods by focusing on "lived expectations, complexities, contradictions, possibilities, and grounds of any given cultural group" (p. 1). Aiming to understand the lived experiences of people using and producing swap spaces, ethnography allows me to understand the complexities of their practices and experiences of spatial design. While the goal of this thesis is largely about understanding the use ofswap spaces, the ethnographic approach necessitates a wider understanding of the phenomenon. McGranahan (2018) argues:

> It is an attunement to worlds shared via participant-observation that extend beyond the parameters of a narrowly defined research question. It is an understanding that the narrow view can only be understood via the wide angled one, and vice versa.

I've previously argued that shopping practices go across different spaces, and following the arguments by McGranahan (2018) further strengthens the necessary to understand the wider context of informants' shopping practices. While practices are observed through participant observation, and unfolded through interviews, I base my understanding of the influence of spaces primarily on interviews and informal conversation during participant observation. According to Pink (2009), there are two main ways to incorporate the senses into participant observation, one of which is about observing the use of senses by informants, answering questions such as "Is there a lot of touching or very little?" (p. 63). While I've observed the space itself during participant observation, it was not possible to observe any patterns connecting the design with users' practices. As became apparent through my interviews, the connection between space and practices is highly dependent on motivations, expectations and intentions that are not observable, and that often begin outside the swap spaces. Instead, I use my own senses to experience the space, trying to, in the words of Pink (2009), "develop experience-ba-

sed empathetic understandings of what others might be experiencing and knowing" (p. 65).

Participant observation

I conducted 20 hours of participant observation in the swap spaces, approximately 10 hours in each space. I did this in two main ways: First, I participated with users, browsing through the objects, observing space and others users and having short conversations with them. Second, I participated with the staff of the space, having coffee with them and participating in maintaining the spaces. I covered both weekdays and weekends, both early and late hours in each space in order to take into account the variations in staff and users.

Participating with users

During the fieldwork, I've observed and talked to most users visiting the spaces, trying to put myself in their place, understanding how they experience and use the spaces. As suggested by Campbell and Lassiter (2014), I attempted to take into account my own experience, opening myself "to the process of observing experience itself, reflecting on that observed experience in the moment" (p. 64). I did that by browsing the spaces as a user, looking, selecting and sometimes acquiring objects. I experienced the spaces myself, taking into account my own experience of the atmosphere, and I observed how others moved around the spaces and interacted with objects. During participant observation, I had informal conversations with many users, giving me initial insights into their motivations and practices. Combined with longer interviews, this broadened my data collection to include users who were not willing or able to participate in formal interviews. For instance, there were a significant amount of users that spoke limited Danish or English, and who were not available for a longer interview. While there are limits to the depth of understanding through only informal conversations, I was able to piece together an understanding of their practices through a high volume combined with the depth of the formal interviews.

I also used the informal conversations with users to understand how second-hand objects can replace first-hand ones. Finding inspiration in the survey-based environmental literature (e.g. Castellani et al., 2015), I asked users who found an objects for acquisition if they think they would have bought something similar first-hand if they did not find it in the swap space. With very few exceptions, the answer was no. Using the specific objects as a starting point allowed them to reflect on very concrete wants

and needs, but at the same time the informants could only speculate about their future behaviour. Yet, the question became a starting point to understand how swap space users think about the relationship between first- and second-hand shopping.

Participating with staff

Following Kimbell's (2012) call to see the design process as distributed among different practitioners, I also spent time talking with the employees and volunteers in the spaces and observed how they ordered the objects. I tried to understand how they maintain, order, and decorate the space. By *being there* in the spaces, I joined the staff in their routines. In Remiseparken, which is on most days staffed by regular volunteers who spend much of their time talking to each other and drinking coffee around a table, I joined the conversations, had coffee, and along the way got to know their routines. Being present while they worked, I observed some of their ordering behaviour. Additionally, I was able to conduct informal interviews with them about their use and experiences of the spaces. As suggested by DeWalt and DeWalt (2011), interviewing during participant observation was similar to a casual conversation, but asking more questions about the phenomenon in question than I would have done in a normal conversation (pp. 137-138).

Interviews

Interviews were used to understand how practices unfold across time and spaces, to understand experiences of space, and to understand the design process behind the swap spaces. As argued by Brinkmann & Kvale (2015), interviews create knowledge "inter" the points of view of the interviewer and the interviewee, in an attempt at "interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena" (pp. 149-150). Through my interviews with users and municipal employees, I attempt to interpret how they see the phenomenon of second-hand shopping. I conducted 16 interviews with current users, potential users, and municipal employees. 13 of them were with users, distributed approximately equally between current and potential users, while three interviews were with municipal employees. While the interviews with municipal employees were largely traditional sit-down interviews, the user interviews focused on sensory experiences, finding inspiration in Pink's (2009) concepts of emplacement and photo elicitation.

All interviews were audio recorded. They were fully transcribed through an automated transcription service, and corrections were made in significant parts of each interview. The interviews are available in written form in Appendix A. As a study of practices

rather than individuals, the names of users were assigned pseudonyms and the few names mentioned during the interviews were redacted. As I describe the roles of the three municipal employees in detail, anonymity could not be granted through pseudonyms, and so I preserved their real first names. The transcriptions were thematically coded through the overarching themes of practice, space, and designing, as well as themes identified during participant observation such as order and atmosphere. While adding more interviews and working through the data multiple times, themes were added, renamed, merged, separated, and subordinated. After starting the writing process, this process was repeated multiple times. When copying them for use in the thesis, the quotes in Danish were translated to English. I use photos to visualise the experiences emphasised by informants. In line with Rose (2008), I do not see photos as objective illustrations of space, nor too loaded with representations to help the reader understand the experience of a space. Instead, she argues that "photos are indeed riddled with representation but that they can still nevertheless carry a powerful descriptive charge" (p. 155).

Interviewing users

Interviews with users were used to understand shopping practices, experience of the swap spaces, and the connection between the two. I interviewed current users to understand the experiences of people who already use swap spaces, and potential users to understand how potential recruitment to second-hand shopping might occur.

The six current users were recruited during participant observation in the spaces. Through talking to the staff of the spaces it became apparent that a significant group of the users were of foreign background, with low income and sometimes not able to speak Danish or English. Because of this, the recruitment of current users aimed to achieve a variation in ethnicity and income levels. While the informants generally vary in terms of gender (8 women and 5 men), age (ranging between 20's and 50's), and economic situation (from receiving social security to upper middle class), I was not able to interview any users who were not native Danish speakers. As previously mentioned, these were instead studied through participant observation. The seven potential users were recruited with the aim of representing a wider selection of the population in terms of income and shopping habits. Seeing that most Danes only rarely acquire second-hand objects (see e.g. YouGov, 2022), I mainly recruited informants who rarely or never do so. But as I hoped to understand experiences of the space, I did not deliberately seek informants who rejected the concept of second-hand by definition. This has the implication that many of the potential users possess some degree of motivation for

second-hand shopping, even if they don't practice it. To make it as easy as possible for the informants to picture themselves using the spaces, I attempted to recruit people who live nearby one of the two swap stations. But seeing in the initial interviews that other dimensions of location than proximity were important to the informants, I also allowed interviews with informants who live elsewhere in Copenhagen. The potential users were attempted to be recruited through snowballing from current users, through my own professional and personal network, and through neighbourhood social media groups. While one informant was successfully recruited through snowballing, most of the others were referred to me through network. I aimed to get multiple perspectives within each of the four combinations of two cases and two users groups, and stopped interviewing after finding my data adequately saturated at 13 interviews.

While the insights from the two groups were different, the structure of the interviews were largely similar. As suggested by Miller and Crabtree (1999), the interviews were prepared with an interview guide containing only three open "grand tour questions", seeking to "elicit understandings, feelings, key terms, and major feature attributes about people, acts, time, goals, expectations, motivations, and experiences". (p. 97). To begin each interview, each informant was asked to describe their relationship to shopping. If the informant did not mention it themselves, they were later asked to describe their relationship to second-hand shopping, and finally to describe their relationship to the swap space in question. Following each grand tour question, I noted down significant themes and followed up with what Miller and Crabtree (1999) call mini tour questions, asking the informant to elaborate on questions like "what else," "where," "when," "how," "why," and "why important", as well as comparing the difference between two concepts (p. 98). Before each interview, I had noted down a list of potential themes from previous interviews, and during the interviews, I noted down new themes that were mentioned in order to follow up on at a later point. This way of interviewing allowed to me to put myself in the place of my informants, using their language and minimising the use of closed questions.

For current users of the spaces, the majority of the interview was conducted as sit-down interviews, aiming to create a relaxed atmosphere allowing them to reflect. In order to understand their sensory experience of the spaces, I made use of a combination of emplaced interviewing and photo elicitation. Interviews with all potential users were conducted inside the swap spaces. As suggested by Pink (2009), interview can be seen as sensorial encounters. Through emplacing the interview, "both ethnographers and research participants *continue to be* active participants in their environments, using their whole bodies, all their senses, available props and the ground under their feet, to narra-

te, perform, communicate and represent their experience" (p. 85). While part of the interview was done sitting, the informants also had the opportunity to walk around and interact with the space and objects along the way. According to Pink (2009), this creates a space where informants produce creative narratives and representations of their experience rather than objective truths. But while these narratives are produced, they are framed by values and can be key to understanding "what is important to them, and why" (p. 87). When possible, interviews with current users were also conducted inside the spaces, while photo elicitation was used when this was not possible. In Remiseparken, a table with chairs inside the swap space was made available, while Haraldsgade did not accommodate this. Instead, the interviews were conducted in a neighbouring community space and their memories of the swap spaces facilitated using photo elicitation. Pink (2009) argues that showing photos during interviews can help through "inviting biographical and memory work regarding their own experiences" (p. 110). Even if the photos were from a specific point in time with the space looking how it did on that day, this allowed the informants to project their memories into the space. In interviews with both current and potential users, I also used photo elicitation to show informants the other swap space than the one in focus, as well as other shopping spaces. While the experience of being present in a space cannot be achieved through photo elicitation, this allowed informants to compare them with the swap space in question and reflect on the similarities and differences.

Like the informal conversations during participant observation, interviews with users were also used to understand when second-hand objects replace first-hand ones. I asked people to mention some of the second-hand objects they had acquired, and then to reflect on whether they think they would have bought something similar first-hand if they hadn't found it. This allowed the informants to reflect on past acquisitions, letting them use their memory as opposed to speculating about the future. In the space of the interview, informants were in some cases able to remember objects that could have replaced first-hand consumption.

Interviewing municipal employees

I did three interviews with municipal employees involved with designing the two swap spaces. The three employees are all part of the same team in the Technical and Environmental Administration and working on a range of projects within reuse. Kennet has historically been involved with local recycling stations, but is now focusing more on the larger recycling stations. Stine and Tina were project managers for the development of Remiseparken and redesign of Haraldsgade, respectively. The interviews ai-

med to understand the intentions, motivations, and underlying understandings behind the design of the swap spaces. As these aspects are about more general understandings as well as specifics about a past process, the interviews were conducted in a more traditional sit-down format. The interviews took between 30 minutes and an hour, and while one of the interviews was done in the office of the employee, the other two interviews occurred online. For the interviews with Stine and Tina, a semi-structured interview guide was prepared, covering their role in the design process, the purpose of swap spaces, and their intentions for the experience of the spaces. The interview with Kennet attempted to uncover the historical intentions for Haraldsgade, as well as the decision process to the redesign of Haraldsgade and construction of Remiseparken.

Summary

In this chapter I've described the methods used in the thesis. I've argued for ethnography as methodology, seeking to understand the the experiences and complexities of people in their everyday lives. Finding inspiration in sensory ethnography, I've conducted emplaced interviews in two swap spaces, letting my informants reflect on their sensory experiences by being present in the space. I've also used photo elicitation to make them reflect about similarities and differences between spaces. Through participant observation, I've observed how swap spaces are used and had informal conversations with users as well as staff. This also allowed me to understand the acts of designing occurring in the everyday use of the space, and to understand the motivations of these members of staff. Lastly, I've interviewed three municipal employees involved with the design of the spaces. This gave me access to their intentions and the underlying understandings behind them.

CHAPTER 4:
SPACES OF SECOND-HAND SHOPPING

This chapter will briefly describe the landscape of second-hand shopping spaces in Denmark. The landscape is important to consider when thinking about second-hand consumption practices in a broader sense than within swap spaces only. As argued by Gregson et al. (2002), people have "personalised, accumulated geographies" of shopping, developed through personal experience (p. 606). Even if the focus of this thesis is on the two specific swap spaces, consumers rarely relate to only a single space at a time. For these reasons, it's important to understand the other spaces of second-hand shopping, and the ways they are similar to and distinct from swap spaces.

Types of second-hand shopping spaces

In this section, I will show the similarities and differences between swap spaces and other second-hand shopping spaces. In particular, I focus on the availability of objects, price, and spatial designs.

Swap spaces

As previously argued, swap spaces offer objects for free, usually sourced directly from other citizens and with only intermittent curation. Being dependent on donated objects and not going though any formal curation process means the available objects range widely in value. While this thesis focuses on the type of swap spaces that are part of Copenhagen's local recycling centres, the municipality also runs swap spaces in the five large outdoor recycling centres made to access by car. The scale of these larger spaces enable citizens to find larger furniture as well as construction materials. Compared to local recycling centres, the larger recycling centres are larger and appear less frequently,

Swap stations

Swap stations are similar to swap spaces, but unstaffed, located outdoors and always open. Like swap spaces, they offer objects for free using donations from citizens, but being unstaffed, they primarily depend on citizens to maintain order. While the City of Copenhagen runs five of these, there are also initiatives by associations and volunteers

in various shapes and forms. Being smaller than swap spaces, there are fewer objects to choose between, and making it more difficult to create an expectation for certain types of objects. However, there are some types of independent swap stations that focus on only specific types of objects – often books.

A municipality-run swap station in Copenhagen

Retro shops

Retro or vintage shops are often privately owned and for-profit, and are often dedicated to either clothes or interior objects. In almost all ways, retro shops are distinct from swap spaces: Owners of the shops will often select and buy used goods from others and sell them for profit, making the objects more highly curated and more expensive. Staffed by paid employees, they are more easily able to order and display their goods with the intention of increasing sales.

Antiques shops

Selling older, more unique, and expensive objects, antiques shops can be similar to retro shops in terms of business model and ownership. Depending on the sale of few but high-value objects, they are in many ways the opposite of swap spaces.

Flea markets

Flea markets are temporary spaces selling objects directly between previous and future owners. While sellers may pay a fee for a stand at a flea market, there is no intermediary taking a cut of the price. At the same time, this allows private sellers to make maximal profit, meaning that prices can vary significantly. Each seller typically has a stand and is in charge of presenting and organising their goods themselves.

Consignment stores

Similar to flea markets, consignment stores sell objects owned by private people. But unlike flea markets, they are permanent and do not necessitate the seller to be present in the space. In return, the store typically takes a commission, making it most attractive for sellers with objects of high value or high quantity. Similar to retro shops, some consignment stores are highly curated, while others find inspiration in flea markets, giving each seller their own section of the space.

Charity shops

Also known as thrift stores, charity shops are owned by charitable organisations and use their profits for charitable purposes. They are often staffed by volunteers and are exempt from taxes on their sales, meaning they can keep their prices down. Although the primary purpose is to generate profits for their charitable purposes, "charity" is often also read as a place to be used by lower-income groups (Gregson & Crewe, 2003, pp. 78-79). Charity shops can vary in terms of available objects and spatial design. They almost always sell clothes, and often also kitchenware and decorations, and while some shops may be highly organised, others are less so. In terms of objects, order, and price, charity shops are perhaps the type of second-hand shops that are the most similar to swap spaces.

Digital platforms

While this thesis focuses on the spatial world, it is also important to acknowledge digital platforms for shopping second-hand. Similar to the flea market and the consignment store, there are websites and apps that allow consumers to buy objects directly from private sellers. Objects are often categorised and accompanied by pictures, making it easy to search for something specific. Digital platforms in particular have the advantage of scale: Instead of being limited to the objects that can fit inside a particular space, they enable consumers to access a wide range of objects. Additionally, it's often possible to have the objects shipped, letting consumers shop without leaving their home. Yet, shipping often comes at a cost, making prices increase while removing the possibility to touch and thoroughly examine objects before acquisition. Perhaps for these reasons, physical second-hand shopping is still practiced by most second-hand shoppers (DBA, 2022).

Summary

In this chapter, I have given a brief overview of the various types of second-hand shopping spaces available in Copenhagen. Through variations in available objects, prices, and spatial design, they serve largely different roles. However, I argue that charity shops are perhaps the space that is the most similar to swap spaces due to having low prices, a high degree of variation between objects, and generally low levels of spatial order. However, as I will show in the following chapter, there are also distinct differences between the designs of each swap space.

CHAPTER 5:
DESIGNING SWAP SPACES

This chapter will unfold the production of the swap spaces. Drawing on Kimbell (2012), I argue that the space is designed not only by the administrative employees in the City of Copenhagen, but also by employees, volunteers and users of the space. The two municipal reuse spaces are continuously being designed and redesigned by the citizens who leave objects there, as well as the employees and volunteers who organise them. First, I tell the brief history of the origins of swap spaces as context for the latest designs. Second, I argue that the spaces are to a high extent planned based on differing understandings of what second-hand objects *are*. Third, drawing on Böhme (1993), I argue that the design processes behind the two swap spaces show significantly different approaches to the atmosphere they intend to create.

Legacy

The design processes behind the two swap spaces have largely different timelines. Haraldsgade was established in 2012 and redesigned in 2022, while Remiseparken was established in 2022. The first swap space was created at the request of citizens in 1998. A local housing association offered the City of Copenhagen a space within their plot in exchange for being allowed to dispose of their bulky waste. The city accepted the offer and established Haraldsgade local recycling centre as the first of its kind, allowing citizens to sort and dispose of their waste. But when citizens started seeing valuable things left as waste to be incinerated, they asked whether they would be able to take them home instead. Kennet, who was part of establishing the first swap space, explains how the project came to be:

> We had the idea that when people came there, we would create the opportunity for them to reuse some of the things that others had left. People would come up and ask if they could take something. And so with time we had some facilities built where you could come and leave things and take things for free.

We here see how the swap spaces were originally created based on requests from citizens who were dumpster diving, willing to rummage through waste containers to find useable objects. While much has happened since, it is significant in the historical un-

derstanding of the swap spaces that it was this group that were the initial users of the spaces.

Following the initial local recycling station, subsequent ones were established in the following years, with Haraldsgade opening in 2012. Initially, there was not a lot of thought put into the design of the rooms. As Kennet explains: "We thought more about the practicalities of it. It was important to us that the things could remain dry. It was important to us that there was enough room for the containers that we wanted". Since there were already requests from citizens willing to take home things from waste containers, the initial designs of the swap spaces were focused on enabling these citizens to do just that. Seeing designing as a practice, we here see that the planners were motivated by direct requests from dumpster divers, seeing no particular need to consider the spatial design of the swap spaces. However, the 2022 design of Remiseparken and redesign of Haraldsgade build on largely different understandings. With the goal of increasing the amount of objects acquired through them, it was in 2018 decided to build new swap spaces and make the existing ones more "inviting". In the following sections, I will unfold how this goal was carried out in practice. But first, I will show that how the designs are based on different interpretations of the objects in swap spaces.

Objects in swap spaces

The most fundamental part of shopping spaces are the objects for consumption. Seeing as objects in swap spaces are donated rather than sold, they are what the municipality calls "useable" rather than "saleable". Both swap spaces appear to have a steady supply of clothes, kitchenware, books, CDs, DVDs, toys, and home decorations. In addition, Haraldsgade occasionally contains larger furniture such as shelves, chairs, and tables, whereas Remiseparken usually does not allow donations of bigger objects. The objects often have visible signs of wear and tear, and they seldom show expensive brands. Clothes have lint, faded colours and are sometimes deformed from many cycles of washing. Some objects are even unfunctioning or unhygienic. There is empty food wrapping, toothbrushes, and charging cables with nothing to charge.

Yet, as argued by Gregson and Crewe (2003), disposal of objects often occurs as part of "making space" rather than economic gains, meaning that swap spaces

Empty food wrapping left in Remiseparken

occasionally receive valuable goods even without economic incentive. This became apparent during my interview with Lise, a user of Remiseparken. While interviewing her about her shopping practices in the swap space, she also brought a functioning Xbox for donation. Because she is moving outside Copenhagen and felt overwhelmed at the thought of trying to sell it, she instead decided to donate it to the swap space. Among other more valuable objects observed in the swap stations are an electric guitar, a Nespresso coffee machine, a giant house plant, and a coffee table.

A coffee table donated to Haraldsgade

What characterises the selection of second-hand objects in swap spaces, then, is the variety. Even more so than charity shops, swap spaces include everything from clothes to electronics, with values ranging from worthless to high-value objects, in conditions between brand new and nonfunctional. This variety allows for varied understandings of what second-hand objects are, and I argue that this in particular becomes clear in the project managers' two distinct uses of second-hand objects as decorations. Using the metaphor of biographies (Kopytoff, 1986), I argue that Haraldsgade celebrates this diversity by directly *extending* the career of second-hand objects, while Remiseparken celebrates the second-hand find by *promoting* objects through redesign.

First, the case of Haraldsgade: To Tina, the responsible project manager for the space, second-hand is about imperfectness and the contrast to first-hand shopping. She explains it like this:

> It's not a real shop, it's second-hand. And that's also what we indicate by using old shelves that we paint, by using slightly slanting things that we cut out. For instance, on Haraldsgade, we closed a wall, and you can tell that there are different colours in that wall. To me, that doesn't matter, because it indicates that it's second-hand. That's the thing about the perfect space and the imperfect space. Sometimes I think that we can make a space that's perfect in our attempt to make it as nice as possible. But is that really what we want? Because that doesn't have anything to do with second-hand. Not to me, anyway.

Here, Tina shows an understanding that second-hand is about directly extending the lifespan of objects and being content with the looks of it. Taking inspiration in this understanding, she extends into the design of the space by letting layers of a wall be exposed instead of covering it up. Stine, the project manager for Remiseparken, instead prioritises extending the life of objects through redesign, by promoting them rather than extending their previous careers. One example of this is the large curtain, which is pieced together from surplus fabrics and plant-dyed with colours that match the walls of the space, while the exterior of the building has been redesigned by repainting, reorienting and reusing the existing facade slabs. Both examples are objects that had outlived their previous careers but which are elevated to become decorations in the design of the space. To Stine, it's the beauty of reusing resources, rather than the imperfectness, that tells its story best:

> The facade there. That's the existing sad, grey facade element slabs that that have been taken down, cut through, painted and they have such a different aesthetic. Those are examples of something you can use to create a space, I think, where you take reuse and repair more seriously. Because it's beautiful and designed.

It is apparent that while the two planners show similar goals in using the design of the space to showcase the merits of second-hand, they have distinctly different understandings of what second-hand objects are and how their story should be told. While one space emphasises beauty and redesign, the other celebrates the imperfectness of

second-hand objects. In the following sections, I will describe the design practice behind each of the swap spaces, unfolding the intentions and understandings that were part of designing it.

Redesigned facade slabs in Remiseparken

Designing Haraldsgade

First, I will describe the practice behind the design of Haraldsgade. I will show that Haraldsgade is based on the intention to consciously differentiate the space from first-hand shopping spaces using decorations and colours. This is grounded in an understanding that marginalised groups could feel alienated from spaces that are too streamlined, and that people who don't enjoy this aesthetic would not shop second-hand either way. The swap spaces generally have a significant share of marginalised groups as its users, and to Tina, it's important that they don't feel alienated by the atmosphere of the space. She says:

> I think those who would find it too imperfect are not the ones who are our target group anyway. They wouldn't like second-hand anyway. I'm more worried about making it so perfect that these imperfect people who find a community in

our local recycling centres, who like coming there and might not be able to afford buying toys, or clothes, or finding a good book, that they won't come because it suddenly looks so perfect, so nice, so stringent, that they feel like they don't belong.

Two understandings in Tina's design practice become clear here. First, that people who practice second-hand shopping would feel alienated by atmospheres of clarity and order. And second, that people who are not attracted to the atmosphere of Haraldsgade would never practice second-hand shopping regardless of the space in which it occurs. Based on my fieldwork, I will address the former understanding in chapter 7 and the latter one in chapter 6. But first, I will show how Tina's understanding influence the design of Haraldsgade. To Tina, Haraldsgade is made inviting by its use of colours and second-hand decorations, intended to create a sense of ownership:

> I think it creates an atmosphere, coming into a space where it's cosy. You don't come into a space where there are white walls and everything is clinical, and you almost think, what if I drop something. Having decorations and colours inspires

Decorations in Haraldsgade

you to take care of the things because it's cosy, and you can't just drop a bag with waste, and you can't just stand in a corner and pee. It creates some sort of atmosphere.

Here, Tina explains how the design of the spaces is supposed to bring comfort to its users though atmosphere, arguing that the design of the space should make the users feel comfortable enough to care about the things while not being afraid of breaking them. To achieve this atmosphere, Haraldsgade uses colourful second-hand goods as decorations. Hanging from the ceiling is a red plastic chandelier that imitates being made of crystals, finished with a pink sticker labeled "not for swapping" in an attempt to avoid citizens trying to bring it home. Next to it, also hanging from the ceiling, are two faux plant decorations, and hanging from a lamp is a plush snake. A wall is painted blue and on it hangs four mirrors with golden frames. Next

A decorative chandelier with a sticker saying "not for swapping"

to them on the wall are a toy version of Johnny Depp from the Pirates of the Caribbean movies, a bow tie, a fish plush, and a small theatre mask. In itself, neither of these things are unexpected for a space of second-hand consumption. But hanging next to each other, bolted onto a wall, the variety and colourfulness of the things combined are supposed to create an atmosphere of cosiness and comfort.

The furniture used for presenting things is also second-hand, varying in size, materials and colours. In this way, the characteristics of the available goods are extended into the furniture and decoration of the space, and so the boundary between space and objects is blurred. I argue that the aesthetic in Haraldsgade extends the variation in goods into the design of the space.

Designing Remiseparken

In this section I unfold the practices behind the design of Remiseparken. As almost the opposite approach from Haraldsgade, Stine intends for Remiseparken to have a comfortable atmosphere through the use of elegance, colour coordination, and beauty.

The varied use of shelving units in Haraldsgade

Knowing that there will be a large variety in the things brought into the space, Stine emphasises that the design of the space should make people able to "come in and not drown in mess". This, she suggests, could occur in other second-hand shopping spaces, and Remiseparken should attempt to create an atmosphere that better appeals to people who don't use those:

> The way I see it, if we're going somewhere where we're really talking circularity, we have to take care of the resources that come in. And we don't do that by making it more random, like some Red Cross shop where the same dusty old plate keeps lying around in the back somewhere.

Stine here indicates that the messiness of charity shops can be overwhelming and unappealing to people who don't practice second-hand shopping. In contrast to Tina, she is concerned that potential users would feel that they would "drown in mess". To avoid that, almost all goods are contained in a simple, large custom-built shelving unit made of unpainted wood, going from wall to wall and floor to ceiling, while the space is

lit up by identical blue metal lamps hanging from the ceiling in a strict pattern. To Stine, this is about making sure it's clear what is available to bring home and what is not. Drawing on her knowledge from the world of design outside the municipality, she argues for learning from disciplines outside spaces of second-hand shopping:

> I think it's really important to engage different disciplines into this, and to take it seriously in that way. If you were to design a new store, you wouldn't just get started by finding a bunch of shelves. If you had a new brand to sell, or a concept, you would get someone in who's talented at user journeys and cool graphic design. Then you attract attention and you take your products seriously.

The implications are that the design of Remiseparken is much more streamlined than Haraldsgade. When the space was constructed, there were no decorations on the walls, the decoration of the space relying on walls painted white and a muted orange. From the ceiling hangs a large, custom-made curtain in shades of yellow, orange and brown. The central shelving unit in Remiseparken is divided into sections, with signs explaining where to find different categories of goods: men's clothing, women's clothing, things for the living room, kitchenware, and hobby things. Clothes are separated into sections

in groups of gender as well as age for children's clothes. To Stine, this is about providing clarity and order. She says: "We have places where we expect people to leave things and take things. And if it's organised and easy to place, it'll more easily look nice. … It's about making the setting as logical as possible". In this way, the design of Remiseparken deliberately attempts to be more similar to spaces familiar to first-hand shoppers, rather than second-hand ones.

But while Stine displays this intention for Remiseparken, the volunteers staffing the space on most days do not necessarily share the understanding that decorations make the space less inviting. After moving from their former swap space for clothes in a neighbouring space, the volunteers in Remiseparken wished to furnish and decorate the swap space. According to Stine, the volunteers asked to put up an additional shelving unit, a request that was denied:

> They asked me if we can put up this bookshelf. No, you can't. So I'm really the grumpy municipality lady out there. But what I've tried to say is that we have these boundaries, and this is what we're doing. Because I know that all the other stuff is coming in. So we want somewhere where people come in and don't drown in mess. Because you easily do in these places.

Decorations in Remiseparken added by the daily staff

Signs added by volunteers, subdividing clothes by size and age

To Stine, the contrast between the custom-made furniture in Remiseparken and a non-matching bookshelf risks ruining her intention for the atmosphere of the space. Seen through the arguments of Böhme (1993), the bookshelf can be seen to have ecstasies, tinting the room with irregularity. For this reason, she would rather limit the possibility for the volunteers to appropriate the space to their own liking. Yet, in a compromise, the volunteers were allowed to decorate the walls by hanging up a few paintings, a mask, and a display shelf in order to make the space cosy to the staff. The varied nature of these decorations is in some ways reminiscent of the understand shared by Tina in the case of Haraldsgade.

The principle about explicit subdivision of objects in Remiseparken is largely shared by the volunteers, who initially suggested the subdivision of the clothing section. In the initial design of Remiseparken, all objects were categorised, but clothes were mixed together. The volunteers staffing the space thought it would make more sense to subdivide the sections, creating separate sections for women's clothes, men's clothes, girl's clothes and boy's clothes. Following the suggestion, the subdivisions were added to the signs. These were added in a manner consistent with the other signs, using the official City of Copenhagen font. During my fieldwork, additional subdivisions of the clothes were added by the volunteers. A section was added for women's clothing in large sizes, and the two sections with children's clothes were subdivided into clothes for younger and older children. Both of the two latest reorganisations had the intent of making it

easier to browse clothes by size, arguing that both children and adults have a narrow range of clothing sizes that fit them, meaning that they would only ever be able to find something suitable within a certain group of sizes. Even still, there was no subdivision of men's clothes by size, and the other categories remained untouched, indicating that the reorganisation occurred based on a need experienced by specific staff members. In this way, the motivations in staff members also take part in shaping the space. However, these subdivisions were materialised in a more DIY fashion: with a pen on a piece of paper sticked on the side of the shelves. In contrast to the other subdivisions, this ordering differs aesthetically from the rest of the space. As with the volunteers' wishes to decorate the walls, this is a case where the everyday staff influences the space in a direction that goes against the idea of the streamlined aesthetic.

The daily staff also have influence when it comes to the everyday ordering of objects. While some citizens leave things on the shelves, ready for others to take, others leave boxes or sacks of things that are untangled by the staff of the day. In Remiseparken, the daily staff judge each item, placing it into the categories defined on top of the shelving units, and attempt to spread out things in attempt to make the space appear more inviting. But even within the staff, there are differences between understandings of how the space should appear. On four of the six opening days of the week, Remiseparken is staffed by volunteers, whereas on the two remaining days it is an employee responsible for sewing and clothing repair workshops. In their previous space, the volunteers only accepted donations of clothes, and so although they now also help organise other objects, they explicitly still focus on the clothes section. As a consequence of this, the section with other objects is sometimes less tidy, but visiting Remiseparken one afternoon when the employee in Remiseparken is working, I notice that the things appear much more orderly than

Shelves in Remiseparken on a day of order

otherwise, with objects organised more clearly and with space between each of them. This indicates that there are differences in priorities between the different members of staff.

Summary

In this chapter, I've described the intentions and understandings behind the two swap spaces. I've argued that swap spaces are designed by project managers in the municipality, but also by visitors and by the daily staff of the space. In both swap spaces, the project managers intend for the atmosphere to be cosy and welcoming. But the two project managers display different understandings of how the different user groups would experience the space. To Stine, it's important that the design of Remiseparken is clear and not overwhelming or confusing to potential users, whereas Tina with the case of Haraldsgade is concerned that marginalised groups could feel alienated in a more streamlined design. These understandings have significant influence on the spatial designs, with the result that Haraldsgade has an eclectic aesthetic that extends the variety of second-hand objects into the spatial design, while Remiseparken does almost the opposite, contrasting the variety through clarity. However, the work of the daily staff both extends and counters these intentions. Particularly clear in the case of Remiseparken, daily staff have extended the labeled categories into subcategories for clothes, but they have also decorated the space with the type of second-hand objects that Stine largely tried to avoid. However, in the following chapter I will show that the additions by daily staff have not fundamentally changed the atmosphere of the space to users, largely maintaining the intended experience of clarity.

CHAPTER 6:
SHOPPING PRACTICES
IN SWAP SPACES

This chapter will unfold how the design of swap spaces influences how shopping is practiced. Based on the shopping practices developed in chapter 2, I will show how the elements of spatial design enable and encourage practices of browsing and searching. While there are users of both swap spaces that perform both types of practices, I argue that the eclectic design of Haraldsgade best affords the practice of browsing. Most users of Remiseparken also practice browsing, but through its calm, ordered aesthetic, it better affords the practice of searching. Following the initial introduction to shopping as practice, the chapter is divided into two main sections: *browsing eclecticism* and *searching clarity*. In the former section, I will draw on experiences and practices related to data on Haraldsgade, but also include select insights from Remiseparken. In the second section, the opposite is true: I draw mainly on Remiseparken but include select insights from Haraldsgade.

Shopping as practice

First, I will argue for second-hand shopping as a routinised practice. In line with Watson's (2012) argument that practices compete for time and social purpose, the practitioners of second-hand shopping in swap spaces have all partly replaced their first-hand shopping practices with second-hand ones. Even if they might occasionally shop first-hand, most of their consumer objects are sourced through second-hand spaces.

One example of this is Lise, a regular user of Remiseparken and a mother in her 30's. After growing up enjoying first-hand shopping and never buying anything second-hand, her shopping practices are now totally changed. Instead of frequently going first-hand shopping, she now shops more rarely, instead setting aside entire days to search through second-hand shops:

> After getting some really good girlfriends who are also into second-hand shopping, we take whole days where we map out which second-hand shops to go through on that day. Then we take a shopping trip around the different stores. Then each of us have a list of things we're looking for, and we help each other

out, saying, hey, I found this one. I think that's more fun than going into some crammed store.

Here, we see that second-hand shopping competes with first-hand sopping. Lise enjoyed first-hand shopping as a pleasurable activity, but this social purpose is now fulfilled entirely by second-hand shopping. This is typical for most users of swap spaces. The reason for replacing first-hand practices with second-hand ones are largely about economic and environmental concerns. Julie, a student in her 20's and a frequent user of Haraldsgade, explains it like this:

> I mostly think in terms of second-hand. Both because there's an economic aspect, but also in terms of the climate and sustainability aspect. And because there are so many nice things that are barely used. Or that are perhaps used, but not damaged, and that can easily still fulfil a function.

This kind of attitude is typical to second-hand shoppers in the swap spaces. In line with the findings of Gregson and Crewe (2003), second-hand shoppers in swap spaces are largely motivated by saving money and making "the bargain" (pp. 3-4). But while Gregson and Crewe (2003) found that environmental concerns were not a significant motivation for second-hand shoppers in the 1990's England (pp. 197-200), it is largely different in today's swap spaces in Copenhagen. Most users emphasise the environment as at least part of their reason for going there, and in this way, swap spaces can be seen as part of what Micheletti (2003) calls political consumption, a practice where private behaviour is used for political action. Even the potential users of swap spaces, most of whom do not regularly shop second-hand, feel encouraged to shop second-hand because of concerns for the environment. One of these potential users is Sarah, a student in her 20's. She says:

> Well, it's the whole climate aspect. We're living in a massively consumerist culture. It would be better for everyone if we bought more second-hand. And we all know that, and we do try to be a bit more righteous sometimes, but I also think it's really difficult to always do the right thing.

This can be seen as an indication that there is an increasing motivation to shop second-hand, and that the practice is associated with positive meanings in terms of the environment. In the following sections, I will include the experience of potential swap

space users in order to explain the role of space as a barrier to these people. While I focus on the practices of current users, I include potential users to understand how they experience the spaces, and which implications these experiences have for the potential recruitment to the practice.

Swapping as shopping

As opposed to other spaces of second-hand shopping, swap spaces offer goods at no cost. I argue that the lack of exchange value influences the second-hand shopping in two ways: lowering the barrier to acquisition and removing entitlement.

First, the lack of price lowers the barrier to using the spaces, and to many users, swap spaces are preferable to other second-hand shops "because it is free". At the same time, it makes users more likely to acquire objects they are in doubt about. Lise, one of the frequent users of Remiseparken, explains it like this:

> I think I'm more likely to find something and say, I like it and I'm bringing it home, when it's free. If I'm paying something for it, I think more about whether it's something I need and have space for. I don't think so much about that when it's free: I like it, and so I'm bringing it home.

This indicates that the lack of exchange value influences browsing to be both more attractive as a practice, but also to select objects for acquisition. Yet, the lack of price also has the opposite effect on some people. These users emphasise that the lack of prices make them less entitled to the goods. Instead, they feel that the goods should rather be acquired by marginalised groups who cannot afford to buy first-hand objects. Sarah, a nearby resident of Remiseparken user who I brought to the space, is an example of this. She says:

> It's probably because I think I'm privileged enough not to take it. But it's also about who I think comes here. The chances of me using it [a blouse] on a daily basis are low. And perhaps someone else might be able use it.

To Sarah, acquiring something from the swap space would require it to be very special. In this regard, the lack of price in itself becomes a barrier to her using the space. For others with similar concerns, the lack of price means that they take the reciprocity of swapping very literally. Josephine, another potential user brought to the swap spaces,

emphasises that while people in need might righteously acquire objects without bringing any, she would feel obliged to bring an object before taking another:

> I'm guessing that if I had a kid and was in a situation where I have only one income and I have a child, it's just so expensive to renew the clothes every day. Then I would definitely feel legitimate to come here. But as someone that is by myself that doesn't have a family and doesn't have more expenses than this, I think we need to give back to the community to take something.

Seen through the understanding of Kopytoff (1986), objects in swap spaces are through their lack of exchange value not commodities, but rather a type of gift. For marginalised groups, the gifts are not expected to be reciprocated, while for other groups an advance reciprocity is required: it is often seen as a requirement to donate an object *before* acquisition. While perhaps positive for increasing the size of the swap space's collection, this could also be a barrier in terms of attracting practitioners to second-hand shopping.

Browsing eclecticism

In this section, I will unfold the practice of browsing in swap spaces. I will show how the practice is afforded by disorder and encouraged by eclectic aesthetics. While browsing is practiced by almost all the users I've interviewed, one example is Julie. Given that the swap space in Haraldsgade is located in the recycling centre next to her home, she often browses the swap space when sorting her waste. Julie explains it like this: "I don't use it as much as a second-hand shop as I use it as a fun contribution when I'm sorting my glass and so on. Because there are some strange surprises down there, and you can get lucky". Emphasising "surprises" indicates that while the objects might have a function, they were not acquired because of an identified need, but merely suggested themselves to her.

Arrangements of disorder

As I've argued, second-hand shopping requires certain *skills* in order to navigate and find things of value. In this section, I argue that the design of spaces influences the dependency on these skills through disorder. This is particularly clear in Haraldsgade for clothes and other objects that are not part of the more ordered sections for books and things for children. An example of a browser in Haraldsgade is Bjarke, an unemployed

man in his 40's and a long-time user of Haraldsgade. Bjarke appreciates the thrill of making "the find" among a mass of objects:

> I associate second-hand with going around and rummaging through stuff and finding a hidden gem. There's a lot of mess. I don't mind having kitchen utensils gathered here, but I don't think it's crucial in any way. I don't mind if things are a bit messy. I've always associated that with second-hand.

In fact, Bjarke even finds that the space has become too organised after the redesign that brought hangers and decorations to the space. Bjarke preferred rummaging through the boxes that previously housed piles of clothes. He remembers it like this:

> Of course I've experienced there being dirty clothes, or something that was a bit moist from lying on the ground. But I had a feeling that most people who turned in clothes there washed it before turning it in. That's a pretty ordinary thing to do, to wash clothes before turning it in for reuse. No, I was fine with standing and touching it. It was like going into a sale where you rummage through a basket with underwear or scarves or something. I wasn't afraid of cutting myself on a syringe. I wasn't afraid of getting shit on my hands. It's like a treasure hunt, you stand there and rummage through the box, and then suddenly, wow, a cool t-shirt.

While Bjarke is the clearest example of a user appreciating the work being put into second-hand shopping, the general interest in working through the messiness of the space is apparent in most of the current users of Haraldsgade. In line with Gregson and Crewe (2003), they enjoy second-hand because it allows them to use their skills and have fun with it.

The potential users of Haraldsgade, however, largely find browsing the space overwhelming. One example of this is Emma, who lives nearby but had never previously seen or heard of the space. Emma is a self-described searcher, only shopping second-hand when she's looking for something very specific. At the time of our interview, Emma is searching for "a glass vase in crystal glass, which is approximately this tall. It should preferably be reasonably slender and have a simple crystal expression. It should be very minimalist, not too chunky". When asking her to try to browse through the clothing section in Haraldsgade, she feels that the disorder of the clothes makes it too difficult to grasp:

Clothes in Haraldsgade

> There are so many different colours, and I can tell that there are a lot of different things. There's a blouse, there's a towel, and there is... I don't know, maybe that's also a blouse. I just think there are a lot of different colours, a lot of different sizes, a lot of different expressions.

Emma here indicates that the variation in types, colours, sizes and aesthetics of the clothes makes it difficult to grasp. This is in contrast to a flea market stand that she recently visited, where the clothes were "one particular style that she chose to sell, and which was presented really nicely, so it was easy for me to approach". Similarly, I brought Jakob, a nearby resident in his 50's, to Haraldsgade. Jakob expresses an understanding that while others might possess the skills to see how "boring" second-hand clothes could be juxtaposed together with other garments to create outfits, he does not possess these skills:

> I don't get inspired like that, thinking, hey, I could use this t-shirt alongside something else. I don't create those connections. So I'm just standing and looking

at something that looks a bit boring. I wouldn't spend more than a few seconds on it if it weren't because you're forcing me to do it.

Elements of disorder in Haraldsgade

Here, Jakob displays an understanding that others do, in fact, "create those connections", allowing them to select objects for acquisition among an assorted mass of things. This indicates that while disorder may be acceptable, even preferable to current users of Haraldsgade, it is often a barrier to potential users.

While the elements of disorder are most clearly seen in Haraldsgade, there are also elements of it in Remiseparken. As I've argued in chapter 5, there were significant differences between the available objects and how they were placed during my fieldwork. While my interviewees were not able to directly compare one day with the next, it became apparent during some interviews, that some areas of Remiseparken were not seen as approachable. For instance, Lise experienced in her first encounter with the space that clothes in teenage girl sizes were placed in the adult section, making her confused about where to look. Similarly, multiple people highlighted some of the bottom shelves that through multiple interviews contained multiple lamps with their cords tangled around each other, alongside two plastic tubes. Peter, a potential user in his 50's who I brought to Remiseparken, emphasises the ecstasies of unappealing objects.

Almost straight out of Böhme (1993), he argues that the presence of objects that he finds unappealing worsens the experience of the other objects: "The things that are left and highlighted increase in value. Something like this pulls it down. And like this. That's a sad shelf, that one. It's a sad shelf because there's also stuff like that". Here, the presence of disconnected plastic tubes entangled with the otherwise decent lamps makes it difficult to grasp the contents of the space.

The "sad shelf" in Remiseparken

Atmospheres of fun

In this section, I will argue that the practice of browsing is afforded by the quirky and fun atmosphere in Haraldsgade. Through the use of colourful second-hand objects as decorations, the space creates an atmosphere of fun that encourages spending time on letting objects suggest themselves to consumers. Almost all informants in Haraldsgade, current or potential users of the space, describe the space as "cosy". Bille (2015) argues that cosiness in Denmark is used as a vague term with "little chance of social evaluation". Yet, drawing on Hansen (1976) he argues cosiness generally involves

comfort, coziness, cheerfulness, and friendliness. To be in a situation characterized by hygge is to be in a state of pleasant well-being and security, with a relaxed frame of mind and open enjoyment of the immediate situation in all its small pleasures (Bille, 2015, p. 9)

But while Bille (2015) argues for the role of light, the cosy atmosphere in the Haraldsgade swap space is created by colourful second-hand decorations. Seen through Böhme's (1993) theory of atmospheres, these objects can be seen to tint the environment, creating an informal, relaxed tone that feels inviting. Julie is perhaps the most clear example of this. She says: "I think I would describe it as more fun than aesthetically pleasing. But I think it is pretty fun". To Julie, the fun atmosphere fits with the practice of browsing: "It fits pretty well with the experience I have and with how I use it: That it's more about fun and games than it's a source for things I need in my life". As opposed to searching for needs, she feels that the atmosphere encourages her to find objects that suggest themselves, rather than searching for objects that she needs. During my fieldwork, I brought Camille, an occasional second-hand shopper, to Haraldsgade. When she has an urgent need, Camille buys first-hand, whereas second-hand shops are more often used for browsing:

> When I'm buying a new pair of shoes, I mentally need to wait until my last pair is completely destroyed with holes everywhere. So when I'm buying a new pair, I need it now. Otherwise my feet are going to be wet all the time. So it's more about the time pressure when I'm buying something that I need. But when I'm buying something that's out of pure pleasure or satisfaction, I would go more into those stores. Because I would be looking around and having a stroll with my friend. It's not the same situation for me.

Here, we see that Camille uses first-hand shopping for searching and second-hand shopping for browsing. From the perspective of browsing, Camille finds the eclectic aesthetic of Haraldsgade inviting:

> It makes it more like a commercial shop. It makes it less like you know it can be scary sometimes to go in those places and you're like, oh, is it gonna be dirty? It's gonna be like this kind of stuff. Yeah, it's really cute, it's colourful.

Being used to second-hand shopping in retro shops, Camille is intrigued by the aesthetics. Yet, it is for the practice of browsing that she is intrigued, rather than for searching. Additionally, there is also critique of the fact that it can be difficult to differentiate between decorations and consumer objects in Haraldsgade. To Jakob, who I brought to the space and asked to browse it, the lack of distinction can lead to disappointment:

> Because then what am I looking at? One would probably learn it if they came here. But initially, I think that the most interesting things are fastened, which is a bit disappointing. ... I try to interpret the space. There are many things, and they capture my attention to varying degrees. Some things I look at for a longer time than others. If something is just a very fun lamp, but it's there purely for the purpose of creating a cosy atmosphere, that's one thing. And then there's something else: could I actually use this lamp? ... If half of the things are just decorations, I feel like it detracts from the overall experience.

Here, we see that Jakob, in the attempt to let objects suggest themselves to him, finds himself interested in objects that are only there for decorative purposes. To him, this contradicts the practice of browsing that the space affords.

Getting additional things

Browsing swap spaces with the intention of letting objects suggest themselves, rather than searching for something specific, means that people by definition don't have the intention to buy it first-hand. This has the implication that direct replacement of a first-hand object only occurs when consumers find a second-hand object that fulfils a need that they were not intending to fulfil. For instance, Julie explains that the surprising find of a disco ball for a party, an objects that she was not consciously looking for at the time, but now thinks she might later have bought first-hand:

> We have a whole disco ball at home that we found down there before one of our parties. It added so much fun factor that we were like, okay, you can actually find something down here. ... I might had gone out to buy one later on in my life. I don't know if I would have thought at that time, with my current budget, that a disco ball was a priority. So it was just a huge joy to find a disco ball. It felt like I received a gift from the future.

Assuming that Julie is correct in her assessment, the disco ball could be considered to replace the consumption of a first-hand object. Yet, she is one among only few informants who can mention any examples of swap spaces replacing first-hand consumption, and so it is the exception rather than the rule that acquiring an object through browsing has a direct connection to the consumption of a similar first-hand object.

As I've argued in chapter 2, replacement should also be seen at the level of recruitment to the practice of second-hand shopping. But seeing the spatial design of eclecticism as a way to recruit practitioners to second-hand shopping also poses challenges. Although most potential users find the space cosy and pleasant to be in, they also find it overwhelming to navigate the spatial design. In the following chapter I will show how spatial designs of order and clarity do exactly that through the practice of searching.

Searching clarity

In this chapter, I unfold the practice of searching swap spaces, and show how the practice is enabled by spatial designs that emphasise clarity and order. As argued in chapter 2, searching is a shopping practice where the intention is to fulfil an identified need, and where the consumer glances through the space to find it. As perhaps the clearest example of a searcher, Anders has a goal-oriented way of using his nearby swap space, Remiseparken. As a political consumer (Micheletti, 2003), Anders is conscious of his environmental footprint and tries to reduce it by fulfilling his material needs using second-hand objects. When shopping second-hand, Anders will usually have a mental shopping list of objects that he is deliberately looking for:

> Currently, I'm looking for a cast iron pot, which I would like to have. And a mirror that fits into my son's room, and a kitchen clock. So those are the things I have on my wish list. If I have the time and I'm nearby, I would prefer to find them used instead of buying them new.

Around the time of our interview, Anders will search for these things every time he visits a space of second-hand consumption. Yet, none of these needs are great enough to spend money and natural resources on buying first-hand. Using the example of the cast iron pot, he says:

> There isn't any particular dish that I wouldn't be able to make with the pots I already have. So it's not like there's suddenly a meal I can't prepare because I don't have a specific pot. But it's just an extra nice-to-have item that I would like

to have. Therefore, when I'm in a thrift store, I scan and see if there happens to be one available.

To Anders, a cast iron pot is a high-quality object that he'd like to own, yet it's not a need that's strong enough to warrant the use of money and natural resources on buying from new. For these reasons, he instead searches for the pot when visiting Remiseparken. This is an example of an objects that, while functional, is not a necessity in the narrowest sense of the word. As Miller (2006) suggests, it can be difficult to determine the "moral standard of need" (p. 342), and so searching can be practiced in the aim of obtaining a variety of objects. Lise, one of the regular users of Remiseparken, uses the space to search for a black blouse because her other clothes are "very colourful", and so she needs "a few basics that go with everything, so it's easier to mix and match". This could be seen as an example of feeling restrained by clothes, as argued by Woodward (2005), and seeing (second-hand) consumption as a way out of these constraints.

Yet, there are also some objects that the dedicated searchers would buy first-hand. While Anders does not experience any social stigma related to his own second-hand shopping practices, he recently bought a first-hand lunch box for his daughter: "Even though I could find a good used, functional lunchbox for my daughter, I think she would feel a bit deprived having something used". This can be seen as a case of consumption as an act of love (Miller, 2004). While Anders' political views makes him refrain from buying second-hand objects for himself, he constitutes the relationship to his daughter through consumption of new objects for her. While this section focuses primarily on shopping based on own needs, it is thus important to keep in mind that shopping practices are influenced by social relations.

Arrangements of order

In this section, I argue that spatial order enables the distant glancing of searching, making it more accessible for consumers to search for specific objects. As previously described, Remiseparken employs a rigid design, insisting on almost all objects to be located within the central shelving unit, divided into categories and places on shelves that are also to some extent divided into groups of similar objects.

The spatial organisation into groups of similar objects is important to Anders. While he prioritises second-hand shopping for political reasons, it's not something he particularly enjoys spending time on. For this reason, Anders enjoys the ability to quickly glance at goods and trying to identify what he's looking for. He explains:

I don't typically set aside a whole afternoon to go shopping. If I can quickly scan where to stop and look, that makes it easier for me. ... I would rather that children's clothes were hanging by itself, outdoor clothes by itself, and children's clothes hanging by size. If you're looking for a raincoat for your child, and then you don't have to look through other kinds of jackets. Things like that, for when you have ten minutes on your way home from work.

Unlike people who practice browsing, Anders attempts to minimise the amount of work he puts into second-hand shopping. In line with the arguments by Gregson and Crewe (2003), the spatial design helps him achieve that through removing some of the "work of searching" (pp. 76). But whereas Gregson and Crewe find that their informants are tired of having this work removed, Anders prefers it. One of the ways the spatial design of Remiseparken removes work is through the uniform shelves in the central shelving unit. These shelves create smaller spaces, making each group of objects easier to grasp. To Lise, objects for the home is not something she otherwise searches for in charity shops, but in Remiseparken it is different:

I think I spend more time looking at things than I normally would. For example, there's a Red Cross store on Amagerbrogade, and I hardly ever look at their home items. It's just too cluttered and overwhelming for me to browse through, so I don't bother. ... The store is organised a bit more than it would be in some charity shop. All the home items are not just grouped together. There are divisions, like separating dishes and decorative items, but overall, it's more separated here because there are different spaces for different purposes. And then there's just not as much as you would typically find in some other charity shops.

During my fieldwork, I also brought Frida, a potential users and student in her 20's, into Remiseparken. Frida is motivated to shop second-hand because of environmental concerns, but generally finds it overwhelming to visit second-hand shops. In Remiseparken, she finds that the subdivision of objects into smaller spaces makes it easier to get an overview and find the desired object:

I think it's more accessible because you automatically take it space by space, somehow, instead of going in and then there's just a big table filled with stuff,

and you have to orient yourself in the whole table. And then I'm perhaps just the type of person who gives up.

Subdivision of objects into spaces in Remiseparken.

In contrast to some charity shops she previously experienced, Frida finds Remiseparken much more approachable. Going back to Jakob, the nearby resident to Haraldsgade who found it overwhelming to search through the space, I showed him pictures of Remiseparken. While not able to experience the space sensorially, Jakob emphasises that his impression of this design aligns much more closely with the way he prefers to shop:

> The type of consumption I was trying to describe is where I would identify a specific need, and I'm interested in being able to narrow down to a place, much like an online store, that matches my need, instead of having to navigate the whole range of options. It seems like that's what they're trying to achieve here. So that would align with my type of consumption.

The ability to search is also dependent on the expectation of finding the objects they are looking for. This expectation is higher when there is a collection of similar objects similar to what they are looking for, and thus a high availability of objects within a particular category better affords searching practices. This relates to Botsman and Rogers' (2010) concept of "critical mass". They argue that second-hand shopping can only compete with first-hand shopping if there is "enough choice that the consumer feels satisfied with what is available" (p. 76). However, I will show that the need for collections is larger when the space is used less frequently, as people who use swap spaces often are able to distribute their expectations over time.

As an explicit searcher brought to experience Haraldsgade, Jakob looks for ways to use the space to fulfil his needs. When I bring him outside the main swap space, he emphasises a collection of lanterns: "It looks like this is an area where they have a decent collection. So if you were looking for a lantern, you would have a chance of picking one of those, and that would be fine". Here, we see that Jakob emphasises the spatial order of the lanterns, but also the amount of them. Having multiple options for lanterns means that he would be able to go to the swap space with the expectation of finding one that fulfils its purpose. Yet, the collection of lanterns largely stands in contrast to the rest of the swap space. Jakob finds the size of the space underwhelming, and has difficulties seeing himself use the space to, for instance, find a pair of jeans, which there are only few of at the time of our interview. As he says, "all things equal, the chances of finding a pair of jeans must be lower if there are only ten pairs instead of fifty".

To the current users of the swap spaces, however, spatial collections of similar objects are less important. Marie, a frequent user of Haraldsgade living in the neighbouring building, finds that the selection of objects is sufficient when using the space recurrently. Having been looking for a pair of jeans, she found that while there was no big collection of jeans at any given point in time, visiting the swap space frequently made her able to find them. She explains: "I think there are a good amount. Not if you go there once, then you're not like, wow, now I'll find some. But when you go there regularly, a few different ones tend to appear". In this way, adding the temporal dimension to the selection in the swap space allows Marie to use the space for searching in spite of the limited physical space. This indicates that while the small collections of similar objects might be sufficient for current users, they encourage frequent use of the space, whereas infrequent users require larger collections to use the spaces for searching.

Atmospheres of calm

In a more subtle way than Haraldsgade, Remiseparken also has atmospheric qualities. But instead of decorations, it is the goods and furniture in the space that have ecstasies. Using a rigid shelving system made of wood, I argue that the materials calm on the chaotic selection of objects, allowing users to more easily get an overview of the available goods and find what they are searching for. This is perhaps best articulated by Peter, one of the potential users I brought to the space. Peter emphasises the contrast between the wooden furniture and the heterogenous goods: "I really like this very anonymous regime. It's a very rigid system. It's completely fixed. And then you have all this mess. All this rubbish that you just put in there. It works really well. It's nice to be here. With wood all over the place". To him, this way of presenting the goods increases the value of the objects as compared to other second-hand shops:

> The thing about there being space between things means you can see everything. Perhaps there are not that many impressions if you look within each space. I think if it was completely filled with stuff, it would be hard to get an overview of what's here. I think that's pretty cool. And then there's something nice about them being relatively tall. It's not so compressed, and there's a bit of space around it. I think that's nice. It's still mixed up with different things, but it means that you can see it properly.

In this way, the wooden shelves can be seen to have ecstasies, to emit calm over the objects in it. Another potential user, Sarah, experiences that the calmness of Remiseparken makes her feel like it's easier to search for objects. Comparing it to the pictures of Haraldsgade that I show her, she says:

> I find this [Haraldsgade] much more overwhelming. I think I would need to spend much more time to find what I like or what I'm looking for in a store like that [Haraldsgade] compared to here [Remiseparken]. Here, it's open and airy, with lots of light. In that place, it's a bit cave-like, especially that section. I think many people would find that much cooler, but personally, I find this setup [Remiseparken] very manageable. It's bright, with high ceilings, and ordered.

Here, Sarah points at the experience that atmosphere itself influences her ability to search the space, and as most of the potential uses, she finds the calm of Remiseparken much more approachable.

Replacing first-hand consumption

Through identifying a need and using swap spaces to fulfil it, searching is in ways much better aligned with the assumptions about replacement of consumption in the survey-based environmental literature. Because these shoppers are motivated by need, they will occasionally end up buying first-hand objects to fulfil that need if they do not succeed in finding them second-hand. One example of this is Lise, who when I first met her was looking for a pair of jeans in Remiseparken. Currently down to a single pair of jeans that are tearing up, she visits Remiseparken multiple times in hopes of finding a new pair. When I meet her again a few weeks later, she still hasn't found any, and is considering instead buying jeans first-hand:

> Last time I was out looking for jeans, and I still haven't found any. If I don't find any soon, I'll probably have to buy a new pair. But it's more a question of need than it's a question of wanting to. Because otherwise I would gladly have kept looking around for a second-hand pair.

During the interview, I let Lise walk around the space to explain her experience, and suddenly she was in luck: she found the pair of jeans she was looking for. In this specific situation, the pair of jeans from Remiseparken can be argued to directly replace the consumption of new jeans. This is largely in line with findings by Wrap (2012), who argue that reuse is most likely to replace new consumption when bought for a one off event, when replacing an existing item or when aiming to fulfil a need (p. 26). All these reasons could be seen as motivations for the practice of searching. Yet, people who perform this practice are often so motivated to find something second-hand that they would rather search other spaces of second-hand consumption, or even wait and return to the same space, before the hypothetical first-hand purchase would occur. Going back to the case of Lise's jeans, while she says she might have bought jeans first-hand, she has already searched Remiseparken unsuccessfully at least three times alongside charity shops. This could indicate that Lise is stubborn in her intent on finding the jeans second-hand, and so it appears likely that she might keep searching for second-hand ones for a while longer. Being devoted to second-hand shopping is typical for those who practice searching, and so even if the chances of replacing a first-hand object is higher through searching than through browsing, the direct replacement of a first-hand objects through swap spaces still appear to be limited.

Where the spatial practice of searching has significant potential, however, is in the recruitment of new practitioners. Unlike the spatial design of eclecticism, potential users indicate that clarity through calm and order makes it more accessible for them to shop second-hand. For this reason, the following chapter will discuss how spatial designs could further contribute to the ability for swap spaces to replace first-hand consumption.

Summary

In this chapter, I've described how the practices of browsing and searching are performed in the two swap spaces. First, I've argued that second-hand shopping in swap spaces can be seen as practices through their routinised nature, often taking over much of the role of first-hand shopping. Second, I've argued that "swapping" can be seen as two practices of shopping and donating, but that the lack of exchange value does influence the practices of some people. To some people, having objects available for free makes them more likely to acquire more objects than otherwise, while others are discouraged, feeling that the free objects should first and foremost be used those in need. Third, I've shown how spatial designs of disorder and eclecticism encourage the practice of browsing, letting objects suggest themselves for acquisition. Fourth, I've shown that spatial designs of order and calm allow largely the same practice, but also enable the searching for specific objects using a more distanced glance. I've argued that while spaces of eclectic aesthetics may be more fun to browse through to current users, spaces of clarity show a bigger potential in terms of replacing new consumption. This is both because of the more direct relationship to identified needs, and because it is more approachable to potential users, providing a bigger potential for recruitment.

CHAPTER 7:
THE ROLE OF SWAP SPACES

In this chapter I will unfold and discuss the role of swap spaces. As I've argued, charity shops are characterised by having large variations between objects, being staffed by volunteers, and often used by people with lower income because of low prices. In many ways, swap spaces take these qualities further: They have perhaps even greater variations between objects than charity shops, staffed by volunteers that are less regular, and having no prices at all. In this regard, swap spaces are a social phenomenon that enable marginalised groups to obtain objects they might not otherwise have accessed. While the social impact is sympathetic, giving access to additional objects means that no first-hand consumption is replaced. At the same time, this role is a barrier to some potential users of the swap spaces, seeing them as spaces that should first and foremost be used by marginalised groups. Taking that into consideration, the municipality could embrace the role as a charity shop with a social purpose and depend on spaces like consignment stores, retro shops, and digital platforms to replace consumption of new objects and recruit new second-hand shoppers.

But the municipality could also focus their efforts on making swap spaces replace as much first-hand consumption as possible. As I've shown, the practice of searching enables more directly replaces first-hand objects, and also appears more likely to new practitioners by being less dependent on skills. For these reasons, encouraging this practice through spatial design could reduce the environmental impact from swap spaces. In the following section, I will discuss how this could be done.

Recruiting second-hand shoppers through spatial clarity

Seeing recruitment to second-hand shopping through the perspective of Shove et al. (2012) entails an explicit use of the three elements: material, meaning, and competence. I argue that the elements of meaning already show potential for the practice, and that swap spaces could make second-hand shopping more accessible through lower dependency on the skills of consumers. I will now briefly go through the three elements of practice: material, meaning, and competence.

First, the material access to second-hand shopping is high. Copenhagen today has 15 (and soon 19) swap spaces across local and large recycling centres, all offering objects for free. There is a high prevalence of charity shops with low-priced goods, as well as retro and consignment shops with more valuable objects, and digital platforms offe-

ring delivery. Second, the meanings of second-hand shopping are now associated with reducing environmental impact: As I've explained in the above analysis, a significant amount of the potential users of swap spaces are already to some extent motivated to start shopping second-hand. They see second-hand as contributing to lowering the environmental impact of consumption, and while social stigma might previously have been attached to the practice, it is much less present today. However, second-hand shopping is also motivated by making a bargain, and so many still associate second-hand shopping with low prices. Third, despite easy access and positive associations to the practice, consumers are unable to participate in second-hand shopping because they lack the competences to identify second-hand objects for acquisition from the mass.

Gregson and Crewe (2003) argue that the skills to find the right goods "is tacit, innate, not easily passed on", usually learned through a personal history with second-hand shopping (p. 140). And while some spaces be less dependent on these skills, it is often the same spaces that have high prices, and so the associations to second-hand as something cheap can be a barrier. Yet, this is a role that could be fulfilled by swap spaces. With objects already being available at no cost, the dependency on competences could be delegated to the space, facilitating searching rather than browsing. This could let new practitioners build a personal experience with second-hand objects that with time let them build the competences to browse as well.

Based on the experiences of Remiseparken, I argue that searching can be enabled through the use of only few pieces of display furniture alongside clear labels for categories, making sure the consumers know where to look for which types of objects. Objects should have space to breathe around them, and the space should emphasise uniform materials and light, contributing to a calm, pleasant atmosphere. The available objects should encourage the ability to fulfil a specific need through consisting of larger collections of similar items in the same space. This could be through identifying some of the most commonly needed objects, and using campaigns to encourage citizens to donate more of these objects. It could also be done through distributing objects between the different swap spaces, making each swap space specialised and creating an expectation with citizens for certain types of objects in certain swap spaces. However, it is worth considering that this could partly remove the local element of swap spaces, seeing as citizens would be forced to travel to other swap spaces to fulfil at least some needs. Lastly, searching could be facilitated by developing the ordering practices by the daily staff to arrange and present objects in a more approachable way.

This could be done by getting more staff, either paid or volunteers, and by creating a higher degree of agreement on how objects should be ordered.

Sacrificing the treasure hunt

In the above, I've argued that spatial designs of order and calm could both make swap spaces better able to recruit new practitioners of second-hand shopping and increase how often an acquisition replaces first-hand consumption. However, it's also important to consider the implications such a redesign has on those who already use the swap spaces as they are. Part of this is also about addressing the concern articulated by Tina in chapter 5 that marginalised groups would stop using the spaces if they became too ordered because "it suddenly looks so perfect, so nice, so stringent, that they feel like they don't belong".

During participant observation in Remiseparken, it became clear that a significant share of users there are, like in Haraldsgade, of foreign background and with lower income. While not all of these people were able to speak Danish or English, there were no indications that anyone felt alienated by the rigidity of the spatial design. However, I did see some concerns from the users of Haraldsgade when I showed them pictures of Remiseparken. When I showed them to Marie, a student and one of the frequent users of Haraldsgade, she displays concern with the social impact of the spatial order:

> You may lose a bit of that sense of shared responsibility. It's like just walking into a store where others take care of everything for you. You grab exactly what you want and then leave. Because here, people still spend a little time just digging around. And that actually makes people stay for a while. It's like bumping into each other and being like, oh, hey, do you need this? It might create a bit more social interaction.

Marie's concerns indicate that redesigning the spaces for searching, allowing people to spend shorter time there, could come at the cost of community. When it comes to Tina's concern for marginalised groups, it can be helpful to understand the experiences of Bjarke, the long-time user or Haraldsgade who is currently on social security and has previously used the space through periods of homelessness. Bjarke is highly critical of the redesign of Haraldsgade that brought hangers to the clothes section, arguing the attempt to mimic first-hand shops is "like trying to lure kids into eating healthy food by colouring it bright pink". When I show Bjarke pictures of Remiseparken, he is immediately critical because he gets associations to commercialism. Yet, he emphasises that the

practicality of the shelves might actually make the space more useful to him as compared to the redesigned version of Haraldsgade: "As soon as I saw these shelves, I simply thought that in terms of accommodating the presence of items, I find that this one has noticeably better design than the other". This is indicative of Bjarke's critique, which at its core is less about aesthetics and more the experience of being able to practice browsing, which he calls "the treasure hunt". After the redesign, Bjarke experiences there being fewer available objects when visiting the space, and so he has a harder time finding gems than he used to:

> The other day, when we were talking, an elderly lady came over to me afterwards, and she said that in the old days, you could find Gucci bags there. ... That's how I remember it too. But sure, if there's a Gucci bag lying here, it might also be that it disappears faster because it's much easier to spot it when there are fewer items, and then... Oh, there's a Gucci bag! Rather than if it were down there in that box, right? So, it's really difficult to say.

Through this quote, it becomes clear that Bjarke, seemingly along with other long-time users of Haraldsgade, experiences that the redesign made it more difficult to find the real treasures. But symptomatically for this narrative, he realises halfway through the quote that the treasures most likely still pass through the swap space, but are now being shared with a wider range of people. A parallel can be drawn to the history of driving as told by Shove et al. (2012). They argue that because the first cars were unreliable and needed continuous repair, they were primarily used by the "mechanically minded rich" who found that "the challenge of completing a journey without breaking down was arguably part of the fun". But instead of car owners learning mechanic skills, the materiality of cars was redesigned to become more reliable, demanding less of drivers. At the same time, drivers started driving to travel and share experiences with others, and so "mechanical demands became a distraction, a nuisance, possibly even an embarrassment". Thus, by reducing the skills needed to drive, the practice changed from being a narrow practice motivated by fun to a widespread practice used as a means to other ends (pp. 30-31). I argue that second-shopping in swap spaces could be seen through a similar lens. While it is today motivated by fun and practiced by those with the skills to let objects suggest themselves to them, reducing the demand of skills could make it a more widespread practice motivated by other purposes. I argue that the goals of making second-hand shopping widespread fundamentally clashes with the motivation of the finding the gem among a mass of goods: Second-hand cannot both be wi-

despread and give people the experience of making "the find". Not everyone can win the treasure hunt.

Summary

This chapter has discussed the current and potential role of swap spaces. I've argued that swap spaces today fulfil largely the same role as charity shops, but that through spatial design, they could instead contribute to recruiting new second-hand shoppers. Based on my findings from Remiseparken and Haraldsgade, this could be done through a design with a clear spatial organisation, clear labels and a calm atmosphere. The municipality could identify types of objects that are often sought after and use campaigns to encourage the donations of these objects. This could create an expectation for these objects, making it easier for citizens to use the spaces for searching. Going further in this direction could entail redistribution of objects between swap spaces, creating spaces distinguished by theme rather than geography. Finally, the municipality could work with staff to develop more consistent ordering practices with the aim of presenting objects in a more approachable way.

I've also discussed the implications of such a change in spatial design, in particular for the swap spaces that today employ a more eclectic designs. I argue that while some current users would likely be disappointed to see their local swap space redesigned, there are no indications that the design in itself is enough to make anyone feel alienated. Instead, the biggest concern appears to be that designing swap spaces for searching could make the spaces popular enough that the good objects will be taken more quickly, making it difficult for long-time users to keep making "the find". Yet, it appears unlikely that the same opportunities for finding valuable objects can be maintained while also aiming to make second-hand shopping a mainstream practice.

CHAPTER 8:
CONCLUSION

In this thesis I've aimed to understand the influence of spatial design on consumption through the case of municipality-run swap spaces. I've argued that swap spaces can be seen as shopping spaces distinguished by objects being available free of charge while being dependent on donations from citizens. Practices in these spaces are routinised, and their users only rarely buy first-hand objects. Drawing on practice theory and consumption studies, I've developed theoretical concepts that differentiate two distinct practices of second-hand shopping: browsing and searching. I argued that while the former is constituted by using certain skills to rummage through a mass of objects, the latter is based on fulfilling needs by identifying objects through a distant glance.

Building on fieldwork and interviews in the two swap space, I've showed that while both practices can occur in both spaces, they are at least encouraged, and sometimes enabled by spatial designs. Browsing is particularly encouraged by arrangements of disorder and atmospheres of fun, while searching is enabled by arrangements of order and atmospheres of calm. In particular, this is relevant to understand the environmental impact of second-hand shopping, which is highly dependent on replacing first-hand consumption. Through a more direct relationship to identified needs as well as a lower dependency on skills in potential users, the practice of searching appears to have a significantly higher potential. Finally, I argue that swap spaces today occupy a role largely similar to charity shops. If they should contribute more to decreasing environmental impact, I argue that their spatial designs could to a higher extent emphasise clarity and calm. I argue that this could be done through fixed elements of spatial design, but also through increased focus on ordering by daily staff, and on creating collections of similar objects through campaigns aimed at citizens and redistribution between different swap spaces.

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