



UNIVERSITETET I AGDER

# **An Ethnographic Exploration of Southern Norwegian Second-Hand Cultures**

INDA MARLINA

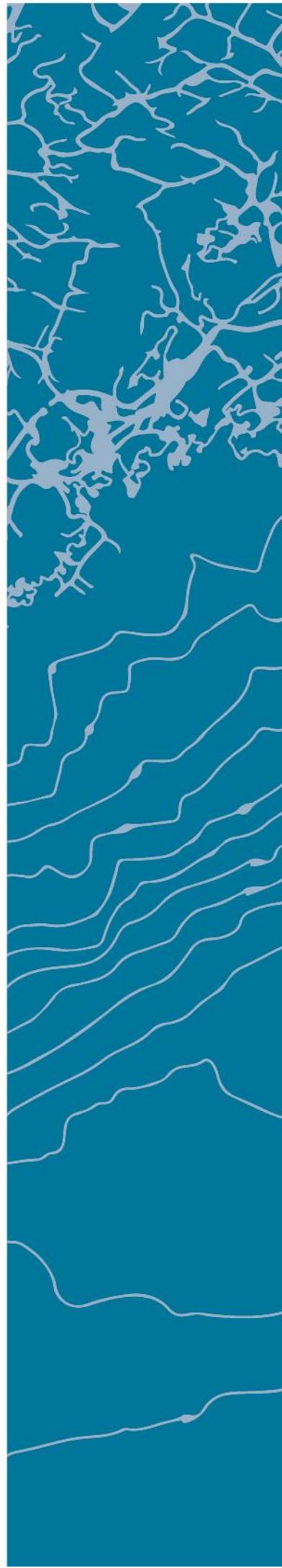
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## Abstract

In this era of online shops and big retail shops, second-hand markets still exist in many places, including in Norway. Second-hand markets in this thesis consist of flea markets and second-hand shops. Flea markets open in spring, summer, and autumn in Southern Norway. These markets are established by various communities, clubs, and organizations. Some flea markets are also opened by individuals. On the other hand, thrift shops or *bruktbutikker* open through year. Second-hand shops are also established by non-profit organizations or individuals. This study explores the culture of second-hand markets in Southern Norway and will focus on flea markets by individuals (non-organization, non-affiliation), flea markets by organizations or clubs and thrift shops by organizations. The second-hand consumption are often related to recycling action and sustainable consumption. Second-hand markets in Southern Norway are not only a place for trading, but they are also a place for social activities and cultural activities. This study also critiques consumption behavior in Southern Norway. Second-hand markets become a paradox. Some people believe those markets support recycling action and environmental sustainability. On the other hand, the markets are impact on consumerism in Southern Norway and in other countries.

Key words: second-hand markets, recycling, sustainability, consumption, environmental, consumerism, paradox

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## Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii
Table of Pictures and Figures .....	v
1. Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background .....	1
1.2 Main Objectives and Research Questions.....	5
1.3 The Study Area.....	6
2. Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework.....	8
3. Chapter Three: Research Methodology.....	16
3.1 Functionalism Perspective.....	16
3.2 Data Collection Methods.....	18
3.2.1 Participant Observation.....	18
3.2.2 Selection of Informants and Ethnographic Interview .....	19
3.2.3 Statistical Data .....	21
3.3 Processing Data .....	22
3.3.1 Field Notes Writing.....	22
3.3.2 Transcription and Taking Photos .....	22
3.4 Data Analysis .....	23
3.5 Research Obstacles and Limitations .....	24
3.6 Ethical Considerations.....	25
3.7 Reflection .....	26
4. Chapter Four: Second-Hand Markets in Aust-Agder and Vest-Agder.....	27
4.1 <i>Loppemarkeder</i> or Flea Markets .....	27
4.1.1 The Types of Flea Markets .....	28
4.1.1.1 Flea Markets by Individual Traders.....	28
4.1.1.2 Flea Markets by Organizations .....	31
4.1.2 Activities at Flea Markets .....	35
4.1.2.1 Buyer and Seller Interaction at Flea Markets .....	35
4.1.2.2 How to Gain Items to Sell.....	36

4.1.2.3 Shopping Techniques at Flea Markets .....	37
4.1.2.3.1 NOK 100 for One Bag .....	38
4.1.2.3.2 Swapping .....	38
4.1.2.3.3 Auction .....	39
4.1.3 Payment Methods.....	41
4.2 <i>Attføringsbedrift</i> and Second-Hand Shops .....	42
4.3 The Existence of Second-Hand Markets in Southern Norway .....	45
5. Chapter Five: Lifestyle and Sustainable Consumption of Second-Hand Culture .....	46
5.1 Home Decoration, Lifestyle and the Concept of Simplicity .....	46
5.2 Sustainable Consumption and Waste Management in Southern Norway.....	53
5.3 Criticism toward Second-Hand Consumerism.....	64
5.4 The Paradox of Second-Hand Markets .....	67
6. Chapter Six: Social and Cultural Values in Southern Norwegian Second-Hand Culture .....	69
6.1 <i>Dugnad</i> : Collective Action for Flea Markets and Neighborhoods .....	69
6.2 Volunteer Work at Second-Hand Shops .....	73
6.3 Flea Markets and Second-Hand Shops: Places to Socialize .....	81
6.4 Collective Action of Second-Hand Culture in Southern Norway .....	86
7. Chapter Seven: Concluding Remarks.....	87
References.....	92
Appendices.....	a

## Table of Pictures and Figures

### List of Pictures

Picture 1 .....	6
Picture 2 .....	29
Picture 3 .....	32
Picture 4 .....	39
Picture 5 .....	40
Picture 6 .....	42
Picture 7 .....	58
Picture 8 .....	83
Picture 9 .....	83
Picture 10 .....	85

### List of Graphs

Graph 1.....	55
Graph 2.....	56

### List of Tables

Table 1 .....	57
Table 2 .....	57
Table 3 .....	76
Table 4 .....	77

## 1. Chapter One: Introduction

### 1.1 Background

I still clearly remember, when I was 9 years old, I passed an open-air second-hand market in Surakarta, Indonesia. It was an illegal market, held on the roadside after the riot incident in May 1998<sup>1</sup> and established approximately for eight years. In that market, traders sold merchandise on the roadside under tarps or built semi-permanent buildings on the sidewalks and roadside parks without permission to trade. The traders mostly sold the same items, such as spare vehicle parts, second-hand clothing and shoes, electronic equipment and items including “antiques” like old radios, televisions and furniture. In her thesis, Fatchuroh Milandari (2012) cites this market caused traffic congestion, therefore the city government began a market revitalization in 2005 and moved traders to permanent market buildings in 2006 (Milandari, 2012).

The second-hand market in Surakarta and Yogyakarta is often referred to as *klithikan*<sup>2</sup> market. Traders in this market sell second-hand goods to fulfill their economic needs. In his thesis about the second-hand market in Yogyakarta, Dicky Putra Ermandara (2017) writes about the *klithikan* market in Yogyakarta that is supported by the government. The market is open every day from 6:00 to 22:00. The government also provides space for traders who also run illegal businesses in the market. However, there are also markets for second-hand goods classified as “antique markets for tourists” in Indonesia. In these markets the prices of antique goods are not as cheap as in *klithikan* second-hand market. In Indonesia, there are various ways through which the merchants obtain second-hand things, including from the collection of junk items, illegally imported items

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<sup>1</sup> The May 1998 incident was a mass riot in several cities in Indonesia, especially in Jakarta and Surakarta from May 13-15, 1998. Jemma Purdey (2002), James Siegel (1998), and Galuh Wandita (1998) have research about this riot. This incident was the culmination of the New Order regime laden with corruption, collusion and nepotism and also high economic and social inequality. It was followed by extreme inflation too which caused an economic crisis in Indonesia starting in 1997. At that time, unemployment in Indonesia was rampant. Along with the demonstrating actions of students in Jakarta, demanding Suharto to step down from his position as president for 32 years, riots and looting were unavoidable. Riots in Surakarta targeted the merchants, especially the ethnic Chinese merchants because at that time most of the ethnic Chinese were known as very wealthy citizens. Destruction, arson, and human rights crimes such as rape and murder, especially among Chinese citizens, were tragedy in this riot (Purdey, 2002; Siegel, 1998; Wandita, 1998)

<sup>2</sup> The word *klithikan* has no clear definition. This word is a verbal language that can mean assorted things. *Klithikan* market can literally be interpreted as a market that sells paraphernalia (Ermandara, 2017).

from other cities in Indonesia and abroad or selling other people's items in a scenario in which sellers also earn high profit margins (Ermandara, 2017, p. 160).

Related to how second-hand items have become a commodity in Indonesia, there are news reports about illegally imported second-hand clothing to Indonesia written by Indonesian reporters, Suhendra (2016) from Tirto.id, and Muhammad Ishomuddin (2019) from Vice.com. Imported second-hand clothing becomes a "paradise" for those who want to look fashionable but do not have enough money to buy new clothes. The reports state that most of the used clothing and shoes enter through Sunda Kelapa port in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. The imported apparel mostly comes from the United States, Germany, Japan, South Korea, Canada, the Netherlands, Belgium and Italy (Suhendra, 2016 and Ishomuddin, 2019). Based on the Indonesia Ministry of Trade's research report (2015), in 2015 used clothing is actually controlled through trade legislation in Indonesia. However, the flow of used clothing is not only through the port but also virtual, as it is sold by online stores. Ishomuddin (2019) writes that the profits gained by merchants from this trade reaches at least Rp1.5 million per day (NOK 909) or the equivalent of Rp540 millions in a year (NOK 330,000). Middlemen can earn from Rp4 millions to Rp6 millions in a day (NOK 2400-NOK 3600). On the other hand, the government of Indonesia loses profit from taxes because most of the trades are illegal (Kementerian Perdagangan Indonesia, 2015). Based on this knowledge about the second-hand market in my country, Indonesia, I wanted to know more about second-hand consumption and its culture in welfare states, such as Norway.

In fact, second-hand markets are everywhere. However, the second-hand markets in Europe represent a different culture compared to Asian and African countries. This kind of market is usually held in a car-free town square, park, on the side of a pedestrian road or even in an alleyway. One of the attractions for tourists toward flea markets and thrift stores is the presence of vintage, retro or items that come from certain time periods (for example, the 1970s). In Central and Eastern Europe, second-hand markets also exist for economic reasons, similar to Asian and African countries.

In their report on Reuters.com, Gargely Szakacs and Wiktor Szary (2014) state that in Central and Eastern European countries such as Hungary, Poland, Croatia and Bulgaria, consumption of second-hand apparel is increasing rapidly. The conflict between Ukraine and Russia also triggered the turnaround of second-hand items in the area around both countries. They add that in addition to selling basic needs, such as clothing, to the citizens of Eastern European countries that were hit

by economic crisis, thrift stores also opened up opportunities for employment. Hada, a second-hand shop in Hungary, deposited a fund in the amount 1.6 million Euros to open a second-hand clothing warehouse in eastern Hungary in 2015. The warehouse provides at least 155 jobs and can accommodate up to 900 workers (Szakacs & Szary, 2014).

Second-hand clothing in Hada warehouse is mostly imported from the United Kingdom. Every week, Hada imports at least 30-40 tons of used clothing. Szakacs and Szary (2014) write that the average annual income of Hada, which was originally a family business, could reach 32.4 million Euros. In addition to owning a shop, Hada also set up a shop in a prestigious mall in Hungary. Moreover, the trading of second-hand items in Poland increased nearly 40% in 2014 compared to the previous year. In Poland, the majority of used goods are imported from the United Kingdom, Germany and Scandinavian countries (Szakacs and Szary, 2014).

On the other hand, the development of the second-hand market is not only in Central Europe and Eastern Europe. In Scandinavian countries, the second-hand market has also grown. In an article written by Noor Dawood (2016) on Huffpost.com, Norway is described as a Scandinavian country that has a choice of various second-hand markets. Second-hand markets in Norway are not only increasing as alternative shopping during the economic crisis in 2008, but as part of general environmental discourse (Dawod, 2016).

Recycling is one of the main environmental issues in Norway. This is also related to waste management in this country. David Palm, et al (2014) write that even though Norway's waste management, both from industry and households, is classified as advanced, the country does not have a special place to manage textile waste. At the municipality level, textile waste will be donated to thrift stores. Some textile waste will be recycled into items for different functions or for the same function but redesigned. Most of the remaining textile waste will be destroyed by burning (Palm, et al, 2014, p. 55). In the second-hand market in Norway, both *loppemarkeder* (flea markets) and *bruktbutikker* (thrift shops or second-hand shops), not only sell clothing, but also other household items such as kitchen equipment, books, furniture, paintings, electronics or even agricultural or garden utilities.

The Nordic Council of Ministers for Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Iceland and Finland has an agreement on the Green Growth initiative to develop technology in the management of waste, especially plastic and textile waste and to open up economic opportunities for waste management. The technical implementation of Green Growth is forming The Nordic Waste Group (NWG),

which is committed to recycling and reusing plastic and textile waste. The first project is the Nordic reuse and recycling commitment, followed by the next project related to the Scandinavian countries' strategy to collect, sort, reuse and recycle textiles and encourage textile producers to take part in Extended Producer Responsibility (EPR). The third project sets out to build a business model to increase reused and recycled items in Scandinavian countries (Palm, et al., 2014, p. 13). According to Palm et al, textile waste in Norway was recorded at 72,000 tons per year in 2013 The authors write that charitable shops, such as *Fretex*<sup>3</sup>, have an impact and play a role in the business model to increase second-hand consumption (Palm, et al., 2014, p. 55).

Buying and selling second-hand clothing is also often for raising funds for local sports clubs or school music groups. The second-hand market culture in Norway, expressed through flea markets and second-hand shops, engages with recycling and reusing activities among citizens. Even though Norway is one of the wealthiest countries in the world, second-hand markets are still a popular place to visit.

The flea market season in Southern Norway only lasts from spring to autumn. At the end of autumn and as winter nears, flea market activities gradually diminish. Therefore, in this thesis I have also added data from visiting thrift shops in the municipalities of Mandal, Søgne and Kristiansand. There are also connections between flea markets and second-hand shops, notably in employees and motivation for activities. For that purpose, I have labeled this thesis as focusing on *second-hand cultures* in Southern Norway, because it represents both flea markets, thrift shops, other forms of second-hand markets and activities related to second-hand goods.

This study seeks to explore second-hand culture and values in Southern Norway. It also relates to questions about sustainable consumption and seeks to answer the general question as to why second-hand markets in Southern Norway still exist amongst larger retail and online shops. This thesis also enriches the literature on second-hand cultures, particularly within the European context. Moreover, the findings are used to discuss and contrast with previous findings from other studies about second-hand markets in Asian and African countries. This research also has the purpose to highlight second-hand values in Norway and how this market stands in this era of capitalism.

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<sup>3</sup> *Fretex* is part of Salvation Army church in Norway. According to its website, Fretex is a company with Salvation Army's values (<https://www.fretex.no/om-fretex/om-fretex-norge/fakta-om-fretex>).

## 1.2 Main Objectives and Research Questions

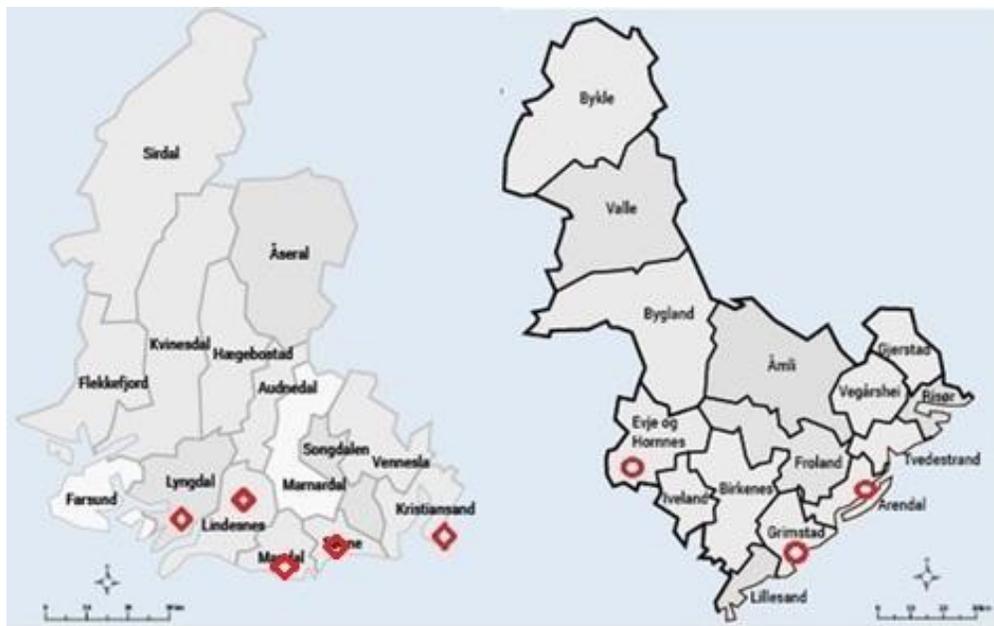
As stated above, the purpose of this thesis is to explore the motivations and values of stakeholders in second-hand markets in Southern Norway. It also aims to discuss the empirical findings with previous findings from studies about second-hand market cultures in other countries. This comparison is expected to provide an understanding between the social and cultural sphere (which includes economic and political aspects) of the formation of second-hand in Norway and compare with previous findings from other countries. To reach the purposes, I will try to explore the following questions in this thesis:

- a. For what reason do second-hand markets exist in Southern Norway; what do they offer to people that ensures their continued existence?
- b. To what extent do people see their involvement in the second-hand markets as related to sustainable environmental issues? To what extent do people use second-hand as their lifestyle?
- c. What kinds of social values are held by groups and individuals who become involved in second-hand culture in Southern Norway?

My thesis will be organized in the following way: In Chapter Two, I provide an overview of my literature review and theoretical framework. Next, in Chapter Three, I present my methodological approach. The three primary research questions will then be presented and discussed in the following chapters. Chapter Four answers the first research question and describes the second-hand market in Southern Norway, especially flea markets and second-hand shops. Furthermore, in Chapter Five, I describe the understanding of consumers who usually visit second-hand markets and their reflection on whether this movement has an impact on sustainable consumption and the environment. In Chapter Six, I describe the social values, which are factors in the survival of the second-hand market in Southern Norway. In last chapter, I will present the concluding remarks of this thesis.

### 1.3 The Study Area

When referring to Southern Norway as a region in this thesis, I refer to a few cities in the Vest-Agder and Aust-Agder region. I chose these two regions because the flea markets in Kristiansand are not regularly held in the same place. At first, I assumed that the flea market in Kristiansand was a permanent market. Then, I learned that flea markets in the southern part of Norway are established sporadically and most of them are in other smaller cities outside of Kristiansand. However, I had some difficulties in visiting all the municipalities in Vest-Agder and Aust-Agder because most flea markets there take place during the weekend. From August to September, some of them took place at the same time on Saturday or Sunday. To overcome this, I chose a municipality which could be reached in about two hours maximum from Kristiansand because some buses do not operate every hour on Sunday. The red marks on the map below are the cities related to flea-markets and second-hand shops that I visited.



Picture 1. Locations that I visited from August 2018 to January 2019 for observing flea markets and thrift shops in Southern Norway (the left is Vest-Agder and the right is Aust-Agder). Both maps are taken from allkune.no. (Edited and marked by Inda)

Vest-Agder and Aust-Agder cover an area of about 16500 km<sup>2</sup>. Aust-Agder county has 15 municipalities. Arendal is the capital city for this county and also the biggest city. Based on the Aust-Agder *Fylkeskommune*'s website, at least 43% of the population in these regions work in the

public and private sectors, such as administration and services sectors. Other common occupations for Aust-Agder residents are in the sector of manufacturing, transportation, constructions, and agriculture. About 1% of the population also works as fishermen. Data from residents working on the site also states that the majority of the working population has worked in steel mills. In addition, some of them also work in ship-building factories and carpenters. Aust-Agder *Fylkeskommune* mentions that the county is the largest leisure shipbuilder in Norway (Aust-Agder Fylkeskommune, 2009).

The second county is Vest-Agder, which hosts the city with the largest population of the two counties; Kristiansand. It also has 15 municipalities. In the latest population survey in 2016, the county had a population of 183,427. The education sector is the main employer in the region, ranging from basic education to higher education (university). In addition, other employment sectors that have many workers are health, development and industry, transportation and the arts (Vest-Agder Fylkeskommune, 2019).

Vest-Agder and Aust-Agder have a regional planning map designed together from 2012 to 2020. One of the planning maps addresses the issue of climate change. The Agder region has a plan related to environmental issues, such as increasing renewable energy. The regional government of Agder agreed on initiatives to educate the public regarding understanding climate change and about how attitudes need to be improved towards climate-friendly behavior (Region Plan Agder, 2012).

I collected information about flea markets and second-hand shops from online social media groups about second-hand markets in Agder. The community is an open group on the Facebook page called *Loppemarked i Agder* which, until January 2019, had 6,041 members. From this group, I learned when, where, and by whom the flea markets were established. This group also disseminates information about thrift stores in other cities in Agder.

## 2. Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This thesis uses several pieces of academic literature as a guide to providing answers to the main research questions. Some literature describes consumerism and the motivation for choosing flea markets as alternative shopping. There are also results of research which state that second-hand markets in other countries such as in Africa are influenced by consumerism in European countries and the United States. The markets are also associated with charity organizations from Western countries.

*Second-Hand Cultures* by Nicky Gregson and Louise Crewe (2003) is one of the main works of literature that I reference for writing this thesis. In this book, they write about the culture of buying and selling second-hand, from both flea markets and thrift shops, in the United Kingdom. Gregson and Crewe argue that the market culture of used goods in the UK is not only related to lifestyle, consumerism, or economic problems. Buying second-hand is an option because consumers have an exchange of knowledge while buying those items (Gregson & Crewe, 2003, p. 61). According to the writers, the standard relations in first-cycle shops (malls, online shops, retail shops) between buyers and sellers are subverted. Buyers are allowed to buy without negotiating the value of items. In second-hand markets, buyers have the right to contest the sellers when it comes to the value of items and determining the price (Gregson & Crewe, 2003, p. 62). Gregson and Crewe write that some items which are considered retro and vintage have different investment values in the second-hand market. Therefore, knowledge becomes a tool for buying used items.

The second-hand market is a place to shop with a moral economic basis. Thrift shopping activity is also a base of critical thinking for massively first-cycle retail stores in the UK (Gregson & Crewe, 2003, p. 86). In their research, Gregson and Crewe asked a second-hand consumer about her practice in second-hand shops. She said before buying items, she will be vigilant and keep on thinking about budgeting, and carefully think about the value (Gregson & Crewe, 2003, p. 92). They conclude that there are three constructions in the second-hand market; philanthropy, economic and political critique, and money-making. First, the second-hand market exists because there are organizations that conduct philanthropy to some countries in Asia and in Africa. Second, the second-hand market can be seen as a political movement against capitalism. Third, the second-hand market is a place for buying and selling items that are valued at high prices (Gregson & Crewe, 2003, p. 119).

Marilyn DeLong, Barbara Heinemann, and Kathryn Reiley (2005) say that the term vintage is basically from a good grape crop for wine from a specific region and year. This term has been extended to other things, including fashion. Vintage has become a term for fashion status that surpasses a certain time and period (DeLong, Heinemann, & Reiley, 2005, p. 23). The writers state that people who are hooked by vintage clothes love to wear old-fashion style from a certain era. Based on DeLong, Heinemann and Reiley, the trend of vintage has a relation with pop culture from grunge bands such as Nirvana, Pearl Jam and Soul Asylum. The band members wore haphazard clothes and the style was followed by their fans, until it became a trend of its own. This style can be defined as alternative clothing that represent appreciation, authenticity, and aesthetic object (DeLong, Heinemann, & Reiley, 2005, p. 25).

DeLong, Heinemann, and Reiley (2005) write that “*vintage clothing could be viewed as a cultural commoditization, involving a cultural shaping in its change in status through a process of withdrawal from one setting and rebirth into another setting*” (p. 26). On the other hand, Louise Crewe, Nicky Gregson and Kate Brooks (2003) write that the term retro is no different than vintage. Retro is a term for fashion from a certain period, mostly from the 1970s. The retro style has become a fascinating concept in the creative industry because it is related to authenticity, aesthetics, and creativity (Crewe, Gregson, & Brooks, 2003, p. 62).

The discussion of value is also found in Cecilia Fredrikson’s article (2013) about a second-hand market called *Myorna* in Sweden. In this study, *Myorna* market is not only a place to compare the used value of items, but it is also affiliated with “*rational need-based consumption and hedonistic enjoyment shopping*” (Fredrikson, 2013, p. 198). Fredrikson revealed that the phenomenon in consumers in second-hand markets is related to the cultural context of a society.

Doing second-hand market shopping is a creative process because the activity creates an understanding of consumption, which is combined with expression of concern for the environment by consumers (Fredrikson, 2003, p. 207). Fredrikson states, while selecting items, consumers at *Myorna* consider how long the items will last and if they can reuse or recycle the items after use. This process of researching, sorting, and considering some items encourages someone to be more creative, more unique, and more personal (Fredrikson, 2013, p. 209).

Inge Røpke (2009) writes about ethical consumption within the second-hand market. Røpke mentions in her article how consumerism in the second-hand market is related to sustainable consumption because buyers at flea markets apply some of the green consumption principles:

recycling and reusing. Røpke writes that buying second-hand is the choice of consumers as a means to be environmentally friendly while consuming. When choosing second-hand, consumers will be more considerate in choosing, sorting and deciding what items will be worn over a longer period of time (Røpke, 2009, p. 2496).

Røpke (2009) states that in sorting and deciding to buy second-hand, consumers require a practical perspective, understanding issues and the motivation to their consumption. In this context, consumers need knowledge in order to have a sustainable consumption practice. Understanding the value of items before buying second-hand should be considered by consumers. In this case, Røpke also mentions that “*promoting sustainable consumption depends on collective efforts*” (Røpke, 2009, p. 2496). Environmental practice will be more effective in collective action.

In line with Røpke, Robert V. Kozinets and Jay M. Handelman (2004) write about the consumerism movement, a theory related to the ethical consumption movement. In this movement, the ideology regarding criticism to global capitalism is combined with a radical view of consumption (Kozinets and Handelman, 2004, p. 691). This radical view of consumption is the basis and motivation for someone to consume something that is directly believed to affect their community and environment.

Kozinets and Handelman (2004) find three main types of activism in their research about consumer behavior. These forms of activism are identifying people who care about consumption, increasing social awareness, and contributing to providing ideological roots regarding awareness of the surrounding environment. Their research also reveals that one of the goals of the consumerism movement is the criticism of large companies. They write that the activist consumer movement is a group of individuals who want change in modern consumption nowadays (Kozinets and Handelman, 2004, pp. 694-701).

On the other hand, Minna Autio and Visa Heinonen (2004) write about the results of their research on young people in Finland who have a view of green consumerism. Their research found that young people in Finland actually tend to know about the idea of green consumerism, but they are still hesitant in living according to its ideals due to various factors, including financial problems. According to their informants, buying green products, such as organic products, is sometimes expensive (Autio and Heinonen, 2004, p. 145).

The organic and green products are mostly exclusive (with selected ingredients and selected process), limited and handmade. However, some of them also consider buying apparel from

second-hand markets. From this report, it is revealed that green consumerism is also related to social class and not everyone can immediately implement the idea. Autio and Heinonen (2004) add that green consumption is a process that cannot change radically or quickly but rather step by step. Green consumerism leads to consumption ethics, which is when a consumer takes responsibility and knows the end of the consumption chain of the objects they buy (Autio and Heinonen, 2004, p. 150).

According to green consumption as discussed by Autio and Heinonen, Karl G. Høyer and Erling Holden (2003) state that consumption is a human activity that is influenced by human behavior and actions. Both researchers focus on traces of consumerism in Norway through the consumption of household items. The selection is also one of the lifestyle factors and part of sustainable environmental development. Høyer and Holden conclude that the attitude of consumers in choosing items is a human exploitation that has a significant effect on the surrounding environment. Consumerism in households could be repressed by housing planning (Høyer & Holden, 2003, p. 330).

There are also different opinions according to the consensus concept of second-hand goods as written by Timothy W. Luke (1997). He writes that buying second-hand did not change consumption behavior and doing green consumerism is an ironic activity. Luke (1997) states *“therefore, green consumerism, which allegedly began as campaign to subvert and reduce mass marketing, now ironically assists the definition and expansion of mass marketing by producing new kinds of consumer desire”* (p. 129). Recycling is also a ruse because this activity is actually unsustainable. Green consumerism is similar to other consumption behavior (Luke, 1997, p. 135).

According to criticism about ethical consumption, Pamela Yeow, Alison Dean, and Danielle Tucker (2004) also write that consumption ethics will not last long because many overlapping factors are involved. Therefore, they have made a study of consumption ethics through exploring the “bag for life” movement in England. The movement encourages consumers to buy something using recycled bags instead of plastic bags (Yeow, Dean, & Tucker, 2004, p. 88). They found that the government and media have played an important role in supporting the movement. Government has the power to regulate taxes, and the media can create news about the movement. Family and friends are also important factors in consumption behavior (Yeow, Dean, and Tucker, 2004, p. 96). Both individuals and institutions have an important role in ethical consumption behavior. Individuals also have a role to encourage the movement to their peer group (Yeow, Dean,

&Tucker, 2004, p. 96). Ethical consumption behavior needs to go step by step. This is one of some strategic issues to make the movement more sustainable (Yeow, Dean, & Tucker, 2004, p. 98).

According to the ethics of consumption, the distribution of second-hand goods in Europe and the United States is inseparable from the role of non-governmental organizations engaged in humanity and charity. Karen Tarnberg Hansen (2000) in her book *Salaula: The World of Second-Hand Clothing and Zambia* writes about organizations that collect used goods which are then resold through their stores. Charitable organizations also export second-hand clothing to countries in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa. Hansen cites Madeleine Ginsburg (1980), who writes that charitable organizations have a long history and involvement in the distribution of used clothing in Europe and in the United States in the late-nineteenth century. These organizations collected second-hand clothing and then donated it to poor countries (Ginsburg, 1980, p. 128 in Hansen, 2000, p. 11).

Hansen (2000) describes in detail the process of buying and selling second-hand clothes in Zambia and the influence of Western countries on East African markets. The distribution activity of exported second-hand clothes to Northern Rhodesia region began in 1910 from Belgium (Hansen, 2000, p. 64). Since then, second-hand clothing has become a commodity, side by side with a lifestyle construction in Zambia.

The relationship between charitable organizations, international trade and state governments that accept donations of second-hand clothing is a complex affiliation, and there is even a separate agenda within it. Hansen found that second-hand clothing becomes a commodity for most classes in Zambia, except the upper middle class. However, this market is considered as a style standard in common society. The rest of the consumerism produced by Western countries has an impact on developing countries that not only affects consumerism but also new lifestyles, politics, economics and culture in importing countries, such as Zambia (Hansen, 2000, p. 254).

From the various literature studies that I have referred to above, ethical consumption is one of the main issues in second-hand markets. There are certain impulses that cause a society to be interested and moved into similar things. In this thesis, I explore theories about collective identity that build a movement in ethical consumption. This thesis takes the perspective of second-hand market consumers.

The second-hand market has a characteristic in its trading transactions. Some flea markets and thrift stores are engaged with humanitarian organizations as described by Gregson and Crewe

(2003). Charity is one of the driving factors in thrift stores and also a reason why some second-hand items are exported to other countries. Instead of throwing away items that are still suitable for use, some people donate those items to thrift stores or sell them to local flea markets without profit margin. In this case, charity is driven by volunteer work.

Second-hand markets also have a relation with studies about family. Marianne Gullestad (1992). writes a study about culture, family, and everyday life in Norway. As cited by Gullestad, family is in the center of Norway's society and it is represented in their home as a modern intimacy. Home is a place for building a family relation and has some functions in social, cultural, and spiritual relation (Gullestad, 1992, pp. 63-64). Thus, Norwegians values a home as a part of their life. Second-hand markets bring an opportunity to continue the tradition of home decorating, especially for the middle class society. Gullestad writes that this activity also relates to the cold climate, the creative society, and the egalitarian ideology which are represented in togetherness (Gullestad, 1992, p. 77).

Hélène Cherrier (2007) discusses in her article how ethical consumption is built through "*ethical concerns and built self-concepts*" of building a better life and better environment. Ethical consumption is also constructed through collective action, which again contributes to building a collective identity (Cherrier, 2007, p. 322). In Alberto Melluci's perspective (1996), collective identity produces social movement. Cherrier states that volunteer work is considered as part of ethical consumption identity. It is related to a postmodern world that liberates individuals to choose a better lifestyle standard for themselves. Ethical consumers understand that they have to choose between ethical and unethical or good and bad in products that they consume. This choice perspective becomes a personal self-identity (Cherrier, 2007, pp. 322-323). Cherrier also adds that volunteer activity prioritizes social life without any monetized reward. In this activity, consumers can manage their own consumption (Cherrier, 2007, p. 329).

Ethical consumption is therefore a construction that involves interaction from both the individual and the collective identity. Together with socialization processes and identity construction, they become a background for social relations among consumers. With this background, there is also a dialogue between individuals and community to participate in a movement of ethical consumption (Cherrier, 2007, pp. 331-332). Each individual becomes an actor in consumption activity. Melucci's work (1996) on *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age* mentions collective identity which involves networks, communication, and

interaction between individuals, as well as a relation to emotional investment. This investment is the foundation for people to engage and become a part of their environment (Melucci, 1996, p. 71). A collective identity turns into unity because it is shared and communicated. It is reflective of a new social movement that is also mentioned by Melucci's previous work (1989) on *Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society*.

In the post-industrial society, a social contemporary movement is created not only by a community, but also by strong individual desires. Melucci (1989) states that contemporary movements are built from common interests and different personal interests that are shared (Melucci, 1989, p. 5). Some forms of contemporary movements are acts of solidarity and collective action. Solidarity is an expression that is shared because of mutual interest and idea. However, this movement does not have to be an action movement such as a "political demonstration" but becomes a system in the social relations of a community that builds sustainable collective action (Melucci, 1989, p. 22).

Participating in collective action is not only driven by economic need. Individuals, who are involved in contemporary collective action, realize that they will have some impact in economic and political movements. He writes that when someone engages in this action, they have to understand the environment around them (Melucci, 1989, p. 26). Melucci argues that each individual has a role to play in order to form collective action. Every individual can influence each other and build a similar movement. As Melucci (1989) states "*if it doesn't make sense to me, I'm not participating; but what I do also benefits others*" (p. 49). Therefore, if each individual has the belief that their actions will affect things beyond themselves, a change in society will occur. A person will consider something worth fighting for if they have experience themselves. Melucci adds that in contemporary collective action, individual influence is one of the elements that most contributes and controls social movements (Melucci, 1989, p. 49).

As in every existing social movement, contemporary collective action also involves certain social classes. Created in the post-industrial society, Melucci (1989) writes that the class that is shaped in this movement is part of a new middle class. This is a form of middle class which basically opposes the elite and the capitalist system. The new middle class has high integrity in social, political and communal activities. This class has access to higher education and professional work, and is politically active because it has wide access to gain information and networks and can filter information according to its needs. With the access, the new middle class becomes a

flexible group that can enter various lines both to the proletariat and the elite (Melucci, 1989, p. 53).

Melucci (1989) gives the example that one of the contemporary collective actions or contemporary social movements is an environmental movement. For the new middle class, environmental issues, such as increasing pollution and global warming, are real challenges they face every day. These issues are also related to social relations between individuals and cultural changes. This new class realizes that environmental problems and cultural changes are related to each other. They consider environmental issues as something experienced by each individual in various aspects of life including ideology, politics and economics (Melucci, 1989, p. 96). Contemporary social movements also occur because of spontaneity and are connected through wider communication between individuals. Thus, individuals from contemporary social movements are more diverse (Melucci, 1989, p. 120).

Contemporary social movements are one of the reference points for the analysis made in this thesis. This thesis will be inspired by the theories of Melucci (1986, 1996) and Cherrier (2007) on ethical consumption that creates collective identity and vice versa. Contemporary collective action is integral, shared and a completing of each other through networking and communication (Melucci, 1996).

On the other hand, I also agree with Hansen's argument (2000) that choosing second-hand is a decision of various provisions. She took the issue of second-hand transactions, especially clothing, because this phenomenon included a subsystem of provision. The idea of this provision was taken by Hansen through Ben Fine's and Ellen Leopold's theories (1993). They stated that the subsystem of provisions affects the entire pattern of human consumption. In the provision subsystem, a person engages in consumption activities not only because of needs but because of other factors including historical factors. They call it the "vertical approach". These historical factors can affect various activities such as economics, politics and culture (Fine and Leopold, 1993, p. 33 in Hansen, 2000, p. 17).

In my opinion, second-hand culture in Norway is more than a vertical approach, but also there are social and cultural values that influence the formation of the second-hand market culture itself. This thesis does not only discuss why some individuals or communities are motivated to buy second-hand goods. This thesis will also try to reveal why the second-hand market persists and still remains nowadays in a complex and modern society like Southern Norway.

### 3. Chapter Three: Research Methodology

This chapter is the elaboration of the chosen methodology for the research. There are two forms of typical data represented in this thesis. The first is qualitative data, and the second is quantitative data. These are complementary and supportive of each other, because the quantitative data are used to explain some qualitative data. For the research perspective, I rest upon ideas of functionalism in social science research, especially in sociology and anthropology. In order to elaborate on the empirical data that is represented in this thesis, I discuss with reference to the function and the value of second-hand culture for the Southern Norwegian community.

The data reveal many perceptions, ideas and agencies. They are related to second-hand culture locally and globally. The methodology that I chose attempts to explain the relationship between consumers and distributors of second-hand items with global structures including waste management and the impact of second-hand export to other countries. I am also aware of the social values that are constructed in second-hand culture through flea markets and thrift shops.

However, I am aware there are many critiques of the functionalism approach in this thesis. This approach is too general and cannot be more specific to the issues. It is also difficult to explain change when the issues are applied in other communities.

#### 3.1 Functionalism Perspective

The research in this thesis draws on ideas based on a functionalism perspective as it will look at the function and the purpose of second-hand markets as well as their impact on the community. I highlight collective action as important in this approach. John Holmwood (2010) writes that the functionalism perspective provides insight in describing the events of a collective action with reference to the systems and structures that exist in a society. Functionalism is an approach that sees things widely and universally, but every sector in a social institution has its function so that it is related to one another and forms a system. This approach could also be used to understand and study cross-cultural comparisons (Holmwood, 2010).

The functionalism perspective for social science was initiated by Emile Durkheim (1974), who was followed by several of his successors. One of them was an anthropologist, A.R Radcliffe-Brown, who was concerned with contemporary functionalism. Durkheim's functionalism emphasizes that each individual and community group has a function that forms a social institution

in the society. For example, functionalism perspective, according to Durkheim (1974) is an arrangement of *“the military, industry, the family have social function, since they have for their respective objects the defense, nurture, and the assurance of renewal and continuity of society”* (Durkheim, 1974, p. 212 in Pope, 1975, p. 364).

Functionalism is an approach in the social sciences that sees that every part of a community institution is formed by a structure which then moves the social system in society. Whitney Pope (1975) writes about Durkheim's view that every institution in society has an important function in building structures. Pope sees in Durkheim's functionalism that social research is an empirical and realistic phenomena that must be explained in social causes (Pope, 1975, p. 374).

With reference to functionalism from Durkheim's point of view, contemporary functionalists, such as Radcliffe-Brown (1940), state that social structure is actually a complex collection of networks that form social relations. Every social relationship has its own rules such as etiquette, morals and law (Radcliffe-Brown, 1940, p. 8). The social interest can be a mutual interest and a common interest or both. When people have mutual interest, it can be a social value for each individual and community. Radcliffe-Brown (1940) states that *“the study of social values in this sense is therefore a part of the study of social structure”* (p. 9).

Functionalism inspires some of the discussions in this thesis because it describes the values and the functions of second-hand markets in the Southern Norwegian society. My empirical findings also reveal agency on behalf of individuals, however, my argument is that actors and structure have to be seen as inter-linked in order for us to see what second-hand markets mean locally as well as globally. The formation of second-hand markets is based on many reasons, not just as a function of economics. The functionalism approach as written by Radcliffe-Brown does not lead to the material function of a thing, but tends to the social function of the instrument's society.

## 3.2 Data Collection Methods

There are two types of data in this study: qualitative data and quantitative data, whereas there are three collection methods: participant observation, conducting ethnography or in-depth interviews, and by exploring and citing the statistical data from Statistics Norway (SSB) and Finn's website.

### 3.2.1 Participant Observation

Bronislaw Malinowski (1922) writes that an ethnographic study basically looks at an object from a native's perspective and activities in his well-known statement "*to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world*" (Malinowski, 1922, p. 22 in Spradley 1980, p. 3). This method involves researchers becoming involved in their research subject's activities. In this method, a researcher follows some activities carried out by a community or individual in order to achieve the same experience as them and to observe from a native perspective while performing the activity. James Spradley (1980) writes that in this method, researchers will repeat the observed activities so that they will see the patterns that have been produced by natives (Spradley, 1980, p. 32). Data collection through participant observation involves researchers making decisions not only based on researcher's perspectives, but also between relations of actors with their activities, places and spaces (Spradley, 1980, p. 33).

In this study, I used the participant observation approach in several second-hand markets both in flea markets and second-hand shops. In the first method of participant observation, I became a customer both in flea markets and second-hand shops. Being a regular buyer gave me access to ask questions about how to obtain items and prices, and to observe how other consumers interact with the store's employees. Secondly, I joined my three main informants, who frequently attend flea markets and observed their activities. Finally, I visited a second-hand shop and asked permission to observe activities there. I have visited thrift shops several times in Kristiansand as a consumer. With help from the other informants, I received the store manager's contact and asked to observe more deeply and take a look at their storage room. Through that approach, I was enabled to observe their activities and interactions in the store.

In observing a flea market, I gathered information from the *Loppemarked i Agder* group on Facebook before deciding to go to a flea market. From this Facebook page, I found the place and time the flea market was established, and what kind of market it would offer. I did not visit each

flea market because of the distance and limited time. Flea markets in Southern Norway are usually organized at the same time, Saturday or Sunday. Sometimes on weekends from August to October, there are two or more flea markets in different municipalities. On weekends, buses only operate at certain times, especially outside of Kristiansand. To cope with this limitation, I visited flea markets that could be reached in less than two hours from Kristiansand by bus and asked my informants which one they would visit. My informants and I made several appointments to meet at the flea market. In total, I visited eight flea markets in Southern Norway. There were four flea markets that I visited with the informants. In addition, to understand how waste is managed in Kristiansand and Norway in general, I also visited *Returkraft*, a company which manages waste, and took a day tour to observe the waste management process and recycling education.

### 3.2.2 Selection of Informants and Ethnographic Interview

An ethnographic or in-depth interview is chosen to complement the participant observation method. One of the main challenges was to connect with informants in Norway. Sometimes, when I spoke with strangers in a flea market in English, they would be a little insecure and avoid answering. To overcome this, I conducted in-depth interviews with my main informants. I conducted interviews several times, both in the form of long conversations and casual chats. Karen O'Reilly (2005) writes that in-depth interviews will guide researchers in looking at ideology, opinions, and feelings on a research subject. This method also provides researchers with answers to what was seen when doing participant observation (O'Reilly, 2005, p. 127).

Spradley (1979) writes that ethnography is a field of research that allows researchers to obtain data because they learn from society, not study society. With in-depth interviews, researchers will look from the perspective of the actors behind certain phenomena and consequently researchers will be able to see their point of view (Spradley, 1979, p. 5). In this method, there are three things that will be faced by researchers. First, knowing the point of view of the research subjects. Second, understanding an individual or a community through the action or attitude that they are carrying out. Third, researchers will understand what material or relations that will form patterns of communication carried out by informants in their community. From these three things, the researcher will obtain a comprehensive perspective through the informants (Spradley, 1979, p. 8-9).

There are several strategies that I used to identify informants. First, I asked friends about the flea market held in Kristiansand. The question came up in small talk to find out when and where the flea market is held. When discussing my interest in flea markets for research, one of my friends stated that she has a passion for visiting flea markets and once worked in a second-hand shop. Through this access, I obtained information about the flea market in Kristiansand and in other communities. My friend, who is one of the key informants, also provided information about the virtual community that is on Facebook that publishes information about flea market activities in the Vest-Agder and Aust-Agder regions. I also achieved access to several informants who invited me to visit their home through my friend. Therefore, I was able to observe some of the homes of Southern Norwegian residents. This method of obtaining informants included “snowball sampling” because I achieved informant access from other informants as cited by Mike Crang and Ian Cook (2007)

I sent an email to the flea market organizers and second-hand market managers to ask for interviews and make observations in their stores. Furthermore, I was also assisted by a supervisor to obtain access to contact someone who knows about second-hand shops and flea markets. After being granted access, I was able to contact the informants again and then conduct in-depth interviews several times. Crang and Cook (2007) classify this type of interview as a serial interview. Serial interviews help in revealing the knowledge of everyday informants and their “life stories” (Crang & Cook, 2007, p. 77).

Data collection methods through ethnographic interviews come from small talk, jokes, and chats about everyday things. Spradley (1979) write that friendly banter brings to ethnographic interviews an awareness about several things, including issues of ethics and the research itself, telling informants about the objectives of the research, the anticipated results to be obtained from interviews, explaining the purpose of the questions in the interviews, explaining recording techniques (using recorders and notes). Small talk also enabled a more relaxed tone facilitating for using descriptive questions so that informants elaborately explain, and this can open up for new questions contrasting things to find out how the informants understand the deeper research context (Spradley, 1979, p. 59-60).

Several interviews in this study were carried out while doing participant observation. Some informants thus also explained about their view of flea market, second hand stores, and their homes while answering the questions that I asked. There were also interviews conducted separately from

participant observation, namely face-to-face or while having dinner. An interview was used to guide the talk and to show the outline of what would be asked during the interview. When the interview took place, I asked descriptive questions such as “how” and “what” to prompt a broader explanation from the informant.

### 3.2.3 Statistical Data

In this thesis I also present statistical data to support and complement the qualitative data obtained through interviews and participation observation. Statistical data is obtained from the market report of website *Finn.no* and the Norwegian statistics bureau, Statistics Norway (SSB). However, the two quantitative data sources are not the main sources of analysis. The statistical data obtained from the SSB website in this thesis includes the graphical comparison of Norway's Gross Domestic Product per capita along with waste production in Norway (Graph 1, p. 55) , graphics of waste management in Norway (Graph 2, p. 56), a table of treatment of household waste in Aust-Agder and Vest-Agder (Table 1, p. 57), a table of breaking down waste category (Table 2, p. 57) , a table charting the number of Norwegians who participate in volunteer activities and organizations (Table 3, p. 76) , and a table about how active Norwegians are in volunteer activities (Table 4, p. 77) . These are presented and discussed in the empirical chapters.

Apart from SSB, I also cite some quantitative data from a market report published by *Finn.no*, a website for second-hand trading in Norway. These two sources of statistical data do not come from the same year as the data obtained qualitatively. However, the figures generally show the situation of consumption, GDP and waste management activities in Norway in the past two years.

The selection of statistical data is adjusted to the discussions of each sub-chapter in the thesis. The selection uses keywords from the SSB website search engine and computer search engine. The search results are compared according to use as part of a wider knowledge on context, as additional information and the support of interviews and the data from the participant observations.

### 3.3 Processing Data

There are two steps to processing the data: Field Notes Writing and Transcription, continued with taking photos.

#### 3.3.1 Field Notes Writing

During participant observation and ethnographic interviews, I brought a field notebook to record empirical observations. After completing participant observations, I wrote down my own experience and conversations that I remembered while in the field. I described what I saw, smelled and tasted when I was at flea markets and second-hand shops. Spradley (1980) writes that in ethnographic writing, there are steps that need to be considered, that focus on a particular domain or several research domains that are interrelated with each other in order to see a larger cultural scene (Spradley, 1980, p. 101).

Determining a focus is certainly not easy. At this stage, the first thing I did was to write down some things that are very visible. In the two flea markets that I visited, there was a lot of furniture and house decorations for sale. In addition, I saw that flea markets were similar to festivals, which were also visited by families. In the next stage, while recording flea market activities, I found that there were certain activities that were repeated, such as how to buy items and how to pay for items. Next, I wrote down the experience notes while observing the second-hand markets in general. I also wrote down the rules of flea markets and second-hand shops, including the unwritten rules on bargaining.

#### 3.3.2 Transcription and Taking Photos

All ethnographic interviews in this study were recorded using a voice recorder. After conducting the interviews, I replayed the recordings from my voice recorder and wrote them down verbatim. The interviews were conducted freely flowing and similar to ordinary conversation. By transcribing the interviews, I was able to establish variables to sort and analyze the data. In addition to the interviews, I also took some photos that recorded the atmosphere and activity at flea markets, second-hand shops, and landfills. For etiquette and privacy, I disguised visible faces. I also took photos from angles that did not show a clear face profile. The photos support empirical data regarding activities in flea markets and second-hand shops. This is certainly not a source from

which to collect primary data, but used as complementary, as stated by Crang and Cook (2007). Therefore, it is possible to select several photos to be displayed at the results of this study, adding to the context of the writing.

### 3.4 Data Analysis

After the data were collected, the next step was to analyze them. As already mentioned I draw on ideas based functionalism. Therefore, in analyzing the data, I also tried to analyze data according to the approach. The three research questions in this thesis will be discussed in the next chapters. In the functionalism approach, general formulation becomes a concept of analysis. S.N. Eisenstadt (1990) writes that there are two challenges in analyzing a subject through a functionalism approach, namely “(a) *the social processes through which the concrete prerequisites and systemic boundaries of social interactions are constructed and effected, and (b) of how the cultural, ideological, and power components in such constructions are interwoven.*” (p. 251).

Eisenstadt (1990) describes the analysis of a phenomenon takes place during several stages. He gives an example comparing the bureaucratic system from across different empires. First, he divides and classifies its political system and the rules in it. Furthermore, he describes the system of economic division along with the functions of the accompanying social structure. Second, Eisenstadt also describes the frequency of contradictory systems. Third, he sees the condition of the bureaucratic system in the empires while experiencing crisis and conflict. Fourth, he analyzes specific mechanisms regarding governing policies and bureaucratic systems (Eisenstadt, 1990, pp. 252-253). From the division of structures that have their respective functions in each field, an empire become a single entity. From this analogy, analysis through the functionalism approach can be described.

According to the analogy, I also see that the second-hand market is not only a place to trade for second-hand items but also there are various factors that construct some value in the markets. Referring to the analysis of the functionalism approach, the ethnography I write is divided into several sections according to three questions that I aim to answer in this thesis.

First, I will answer the first question, what the second-hand markets offer that has ensured their survival even at present? To answer this question, I will describe the types of second-hand markets that I visited in Southern Norway, including flea markets, second-hand shops, antique stores and

online second-hand shops in the chapter “Second-Hand Markets in Aust-Agder and Vest-Agder”. The answer to the second question will be dealt with in the chapter about “Lifestyle and Sustainable Consumption of Second-Hand Culture”. This chapter will discuss the question of how people see their involvement in second hand markets in relation to sustainable environmental issues. In this chapter, there are a number of factors that make people like to visit second-hand markets. For example, collecting and buying home décor has become a lifestyle and a hobby for informants I interviewed. They also understand that buying second-hand goods may help to maintain a sustainable environment since the goods are primarily non-biodegradable.

In the chapter four, some data are presented through graphs and tables. The first graph charts Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and waste in Norway and helps to give an overview of the effect of GDP and waste over the past 20 years (1995-2015). The second graph displays waste management and the percentage of waste processed in the last 20 years. Furthermore, there are two tables that complement the qualitative data from the interviews. The tables show waste management in Vest-Agder and Aust-Agder from 2015-2017.

The third question considers the social values present in second-hand markets and how they influence individuals and communities who participate in them. This question will be answered in the chapter “Social and Cultural Values in Southern Norwegian Second-Hand Culture”. The last chapter is the concluding remarks.

### 3.5 Research Obstacles and Limitations

One of the challenges in participant observation was language, especially when I visited a flea market by myself. Sometimes, I met sellers who did not understand English, and I do not speak Norwegian fluently. In Norwegian, I was, at best, able to ask for the price of the items. Some flea markets were not as big as other markets, and there were fewer customers there. To overcome this situation, I made observations as a customer and bought items in order to start conversation.

Another limitation in this study was distance and time. In the beginning, I planned for my research to focus on Kristiansand municipality. However, flea markets were not held in Kristiansand every weekend. Therefore, I visited several flea markets outside Kristiansand and sometimes even in other municipalities in Aust-Agder. Flea markets were also held in two or three different places at the same time. With the help of friends who liked to explore flea markets, I was able to identify which flea markets I could visit. The shrinking numbers of flea markets in

September prompted me to consider adding data via some second-hand shops. However, there are several important points regarding the limitations in the context of this study, among them, considering the functions of the second-hand shops, the concept of ownership and second-hand shop management, and the method used by the second-hand shops to interact with their customers.

To overcome the language barrier, I asked the flea market traders and employees in the second-hand shops whether they minded if I asked questions in English. This obstacle was also overcome by technology, such as using a mobile phone to translate several words that were not understood by the informants in English. Therefore, I chose key informants who could and wanted to use English to convey the data.

### 3.6 Ethical Considerations

On behalf of the ethical rules that have been approved by *Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata* (NSD) and to protect the privacy of informants, I only mention the names of municipalities without mentioning the name of the informants and organizations. Researchers are responsible for what they research and write in their research reports. In addition, the confidentiality of the informants and the organizations I interviewed is also my responsibility as a researcher.

Before beginning an in-depth interview and conducting participant observation at a second-hand shop, there are a number of things I did:

- Provide a list of questions via email or share verbally in advance what will be asked during the interview
- Request permission to join informants when they visit the flea market
- Request permission to record the conversation and state that their identity will remain confidential
- Request permission before conducting participant observation and interacting with the employees and the consumers in second-hand shops

### 3.7 Reflection

Doing research in Norway is certainly different from in Indonesia. One of the differences is determining the position of a researcher here. Although I did not feel too much bias, for me it was a little difficult to mingle with Norwegians as I did not have the same connections, access and acquaintances as people from Norway or people who have lived a longer time in Norway.

This study aimed to see the function and the value of flea markets and second-hand shops for residents of Southern Norway. Therefore, the approaches used to extract qualitative and quantitative data are important because they support one another. Through this research, I understand more about the social system in Southern Norway.

Although insignificant, in collecting the qualitative data there is still an unavoidable bias, namely distinguishing between someone's words as an informant and as a friend. Another bias is the trustworthiness between the researcher and the informants. Therefore, I always emphasized that the results of this study will not quote the name of the informant or the name of the flea markets. I have only cited the name of the locations where the informants live and the locations of the second-hand markets.

#### 4. Chapter Four: Second-Hand Markets in Aust-Agder and Vest-Agder

In this era of internet, social media platforms are important to spreading information quickly and massively. A group on Facebook called *Loppemarked i Agder* is a forum to upload information about second-hand markets that will be held in the Vest-Agder and Aust-Agder municipalities. I obtained information about where flea markets were held from summer to autumn through this forum.

Flea markets are not the only place to buy and sell second-hand goods in Southern Norway, as they are only held in summer, autumn and sometimes also in early spring. However, there are also second-hand shops or thrift shops in every municipality in Southern Norway. Most thrift shops have some relation to rehabilitation work (*attføringsbedrift*) or charity. In this chapter, I will focus on describing how flea markets and thrift shops engage people from Southern Norway.

##### 4.1 *Loppemarkeder* or Flea Markets

From late summer to mid-autumn 2018, there were a variety of flea markets established in several municipalities in Vest-Agder and Aust-Agder from Arendal municipality to Flekkefjord municipality. Some flea markets take a similar form. Flea market committees collect household goods, clothes, books and furniture in one place. Some of them also host auctions and open cafés. Flea markets in these counties are established in open spaces, such as parking lots or school gymnasiums. However, the open markets are not organized every day nor in a permanent place. Usually, open markets are held on weekends in different places. The atmosphere of some big flea markets looks like a festival, because many people come with their families and enjoy their food in the open air cafés.

Flea markets do not only accommodate communities who want to sell their second-hand items. Youth or scout organizations, music groups, athletic groups and religious organizations in Southern Norway also often organize flea markets. Selling at a flea market is not a main job or a means to support the traders' economy and basic needs. Rather, one of its goals is to raise donations through the sale of second-hand goods or through auctions. The following are some of the types of flea markets I visited from August to October 2018.

#### 4.1.1 The Types of Flea Markets

There are two types of flea markets in Vest-Agder and Aust-Agder: the flea markets by individual traders and the flea markets by organizations.

##### 4.1.1.1 Flea Markets by Individual Traders

One member that participates in the online forum *Loppemarked i Agder* has an account called *Bagasjeromsmarked*. In August 2018, the account announced that there would be a large second-hand market in Skibåsen, Kristiansand. The market was held on August 25, 2018 from 11:00 to 15:30. According to its Facebook page, the organizer hosts this market twice a year, at the end of April and at the end of August. *Bagasjeromsmarked* can literally translate as “selling from the trunk of a car”. Every season, participants and sellers who participate in this market reach 200 cars (Bagasjeromsmarked, 2019).

I had an opportunity to visit *Bagasjeromsmarked* in the end of August 2018 with two of my informants. Most visitors to this market arrived to the market area before 11:00. The area around Skibåsen is a parking lot. It can gather more than 200 cars. Visitors came in groups with their cars and families. Within five minutes of my arrival, the flea market location was full of people. One of my informants said that this August market was more attended than the previous market, in April 2018, considering both the number of traders and visitors. She added that this market is one of the largest and most famous flea markets in Kristiansand.

In this market, vehicles are used as mobile shops from which to sell second-hand goods. There were various types of vehicles in this market, from city sedans, vans, and mini trucks, to larger family cars and campers. Some traders also set out additional tables near their vehicles with merchandise to sell. They stood or opened folding chairs to sit on near their merchandise. The sellers did not join this market for free, as they have to pay a contribution to the organizer, which is about NOK 100 per car. However, visitors or prospective buyers are not charged fees, not even for parking their cars.

The organizer does not assign the traders a certain place. Anyone with merchandise has the same right to occupy an empty parking lot space. Therefore, the items are displayed randomly in each row of vehicles. Usually, visitors walked from one merchant to the next according to which trader is closest to the market entrance. However, there were also consumers who visited certain merchants randomly without a clear direction.



Picture 2. *Bagasjeromsmarkedet* in Kristiansand (taken by Inda, August 2018)

The traders offered various kinds of items in this market. Household goods were the most commonly sold. One trader sold various kinds of shoes and boots, ski equipment, men's and women's clothing, children's clothing, old magazines and books and sets of old ceramics. There were sellers who only sold collections such as plates, glasses, bowls, teapots and ceramic cooking utensils. I also saw some traders who sold military collections, such as rifles, military uniforms, photographs of war, lunch boxes and military drinking equipment.

Many traders also offered 1970s items. My informants guided me to observe more about retro and vintage goods, which are recognized from the models and color. Some merchants obtained these items from their parents or from their grandparents. The items included radios, televisions, vinyl records and record players, musical instruments, books, magazines, comic books, used bottles (wine, beer or soda) and clothes. Both of my informants said that people who love vintage, retro and collectible things visit this market. For example, she bought a big bowl that was considered vintage.

“In *Bagasjeromsmarkedet*, you can see everyone has their own uniqueness. This car sells home decorations in this style, the other car owner has a different style. As a buyer, I like observing because I can go to cars that seem to have a distinctive style like mine,” she said (interview with the informant, August 2018).

In this market there were various items that were not available that summer in commercial shops. Buying autumn and winter clothes in this market was one benefit to consumers. Consumers could buy winter clothes at prices ranging from NOK 50 to NOK 250. If consumers looked in more detail, they could find well-known clothing brands from Zara to H&M that were sold cheaper than in first-cycle shops. Sometimes, buyers found clothes that were still classified as “new models”. The previous owners had purchased the items only a few months prior, but they no longer liked the model. This shows that people can easily “replace” their items and buy new items instead. “The new items” can be literally new items, or they can be second-hand items. Selling in second-hand markets allows them to replace the items they do not like with other items that they really want. It represents that there is high consumerism in Norway. They can throw, giveaway and sell whatever they want and replace the stuff as fast as possible. It is stated by two of my informants.

“It might feel weird, perhaps, for you. For example, let’s see, you come from Uganda as an exchange student, then go to a flea market. You will find many things, kind of giveaway stuff. You would say ‘why do you want to give away your stuff’? But...we have so much. We have too much stuff,” he said (interview with the informant, January 2019).

“It’s like, when you have kitchen equipment, then you get tired and bored with the color, you will give it to second-hand shops or flea markets. Just the way it is. Maybe it’s just the wrong color or just the wrong brand. You can give it away to flea markets or second-hand shops,” she added (interview with the informant, January 2019).

Some other paid flea markets like *Bagasjeromsmarked* were also found in other municipality like Lyngdal. People who want to sell second-hand items from their households rent a place. For the rental fee, they pay around NOK 1000 for two days. However, they do not sell goods there for personal economic basic need.

“I sell these items to clean the house before winter,” said one of the traders I asked there (from observation notes by Inda, September 2018).

The individual flea market is established to accommodate traders to sell their household goods. They must pay some kroners to rent the space. However, the traders are not looking to profit by trading in these open markets. Cleaning the house or reducing their households' items were some of the motivations to join this market. Both of my informants who visited *Bagasjeromsmarked* in August 2018 stated that they had participated in the *Bagasjeromsmarked* activity to reduce their belongings at home. They used the profit to buy other new items. People do not buy items just to resell them at this market. All of the stuff comes from their homes. One of my informants said that after they sell their stuff at *Bagasjeromsmarked*, they have space for new stuff.

“My mom and I sold our stuff at *Bagasjeromsmarked*. I wanted to buy new things, and I also tired of them, I don't like them anymore. I got bored with the stuff, and I wanted the money too. I can use the money to buy new stuff or food, depends on what I want. For me, it's like a hobby. I've been doing it for a long time. I buy second-hand items, use them, then sell them again,” she said (interview with the informant, January 2019).

Selling stuff at *Bagasjeromsmarked* and at other individual flea markets was one of the options for reducing their belongings and getting something new. Another option was giving the stuff away to flea markets managed by organizations or to second-hand shops if they did not want to receive money.

#### 4.1.1.2 Flea Markets by Organizations

At the end of August and in early September, there were still many flea markets that were held in Southern Norway. Different from individual flea markets, some market sellers were organizations, rather than individuals. Committees representing organizations will display some tables and put goods to sell on the tables. Some of the organization members wore vests or shirts labeled with the name of the organization and stood near the tables. Usually, they also wore a waist pack to store money from buyers. Some of the flea markets that I visited also had similar patterns. These markets were established by youth organizations, music groups, the Red Cross and church organizations.



Picture 3. The Flea Market by organization in a school hall in Kristiansand (taken by Inda, August 2018)

A youth organization affiliated with a church in Grimstad, Aust-Agder, managed a flea market in early September. They also uploaded the announcement through *Loppemarked i Agder*. The market location was near a church in Grimstad. Before I arrived at the location where the market was organized, half of the road, divided by a corn field, had already been filled with cars, reaching the front of the church grounds. The flea market was located in a large garage and in a field near cliffs and surrounded by trees. The committee installed tents, markers with pointer arrows and simple maps to show what kinds of items were offered in each tent.

The flea market, this time, did not provide clothing. The open market only sold books, electronics, glassware, furniture, bicycles, various paintings and various kinds of bags. The flea market opened at 09:00, followed by the opening of an auction at 11:00. Before the auction was launched, some people who wanted to join the event bought a chair so they had a place to sit in front of the stage. Other people sat on the ground or stood around the stage.

My informants, who also visited *Bagasjeromsmarked* with me, said the auction was quite famous because the auctioneer was a well-known person in the Aust-Agder region. This event garnered a lot of attention because the auctioneer described the auction items in a humorous manner. People, who were initially scattered in tents, simultaneously headed to an open field where

the auction took place. On the stage there were already objects to be auctioned. In addition, on the side of the stage there were various kinds of furniture such as tables, chairs and cabinets, which would also be auctioned.

At this flea market, I recognized that most visitors knew each other. This could be seen as they greeted and conversed with each other. My informant said her parents, cousins, uncle and aunt also visited this open market together. For her family, visiting flea markets had become a summer tradition.

Entering autumn, in late October, the air was getting colder. The announcement of second-hand markets in the *Loppemarked i Agder* group had slowly diminished. However, there were several places that still held flea markets, for example a scouting organization in Vigeland, a town in Lindesnes municipality, Vest-Agder. Flea markets in this season are also called *høst messe* or autumn market. The committee organized this flea market at a school gymnasium. Similar to other flea markets, when I visited this flea market, there were also many cars that had already parked in the parking lot near the hall. Most of the cars also had trailers attached to them.

This flea market was crowded and noisy because the market and an auction stage took place in the same room. However, the committee still divided the type of goods sold there. There were special sections of books near to electronics. Next to the furniture section was glassware, ranging from tableware and teapot sets to various Christmas decorations. In addition, in front of the entrance there was a table that provided various snacks and handmade items such as socks, gloves and hats. At this flea market, I also found that there were antique items. These items had their own table, and most of them had prices ranging from NOK 500 to NOK 1000. These items included stamp collections, Norwegian coin collections, tea sets, watches and coasters.

My informant, who lives near Vigeland, said that this flea market also offered handmade products since winter was approaching. During the winter season, which started in November, instead of flea markets there would be Christmas markets or *Julemarkeder* that mostly offered handmade and exclusive products. My informant added that summer and autumn flea markets were a market for cleaning house.

The flea market committee in Vigeland also organizes an auction every year. However, this auction was not held in an open place, and the committee had prepared seats for visitors. Before the committee opened the auction at 11:00, many visitors had already occupied the seats. My informant said that she visited this flea market with her parents almost every year. However, since

her father is not so interested in second-hand markets, he usually takes a seat immediately in front of the auction's stage.

“Since I was a baby, my mother always brought me to this flea market. My family always comes here every year. Especially my father, who likes to go to auction. Visiting flea markets has become a tradition in my family. We also recognize people who visit this market. They are mostly from Vest-Agder,” she said (interview with the informant, October 2018).

Before the auction began, I recognized some people who diligently observed and took notes of the items offered on the stage. My informants said that some people were also collectors. This market is well-known because sometimes visitors can find high value antique items for inexpensive prices. The flea market in Vigeland that I visited was an annual activity of a scouting and youth organization in the Lindesnes municipality. The coordinator of the organization stated that they had been organizing this flea market since 1987. Since then, many people have considered this flea market a tradition in Vigeland. This second-hand market is considered to be one of the largest markets and the last in the late fall. This market operated from 09:00 to 16:00.

Flea markets are not only established by youth or religious organizations. Some flea markets are also organized by sports clubs, music groups or other youth communities. They manage flea markets because their organizations, groups or communities are in need of financial support. For example, one of my informants said that he was familiar with flea markets because of his football club in his hometown, Tromsø, years ago before moving to Southern Norway.

“My first experience of second-hand market was at a flea market organized by my football club when I was a kid. I remember that the money collected from the flea market would be used for the club's operational costs. Such as, we need money to pay for our travel to have matches with other clubs in other cities,” he said (interview with the informant, November 2018)

Visiting flea markets has become a tradition for some families, according to my informants. They also meet other people who love hunting for goods at flea markets. Some markets have become a place to socialize because people with similar interests are able to connect. In Southern

Norway, flea markets are organized to gain money for donation. When I visited markets hosted by organizations, there were many committee members, from kids to adults, wearing vests or shirts. They were helping the market in various ways, such as standing near tables, selling snacks at the cafe, helping as cashiers in the auction and participating in the auction.

#### 4.1.2 Activities at Flea Markets

There are various activities at the flea markets, both at flea markets established by individuals and by organizations. These dynamic activities include the interaction of buyers and sellers, how the shopping techniques and how these items are collected by sellers at the flea markets.

##### 4.1.2.1 Buyer and Seller Interaction at Flea Markets

There are different activities at flea markets in Southern Norway and Indonesia. For example, I am used to bargaining and negotiating the price before buying something. Bargaining is a tradition at every open market in Indonesia, while in Southern Norway, it is not a common thing. Sometimes, the seller does not agree to bargain. However, the buyer may still ask whether the seller is willing to bargain. Sometimes sellers allow buyers to bid, even if they look a little reluctant.

I followed my informants who visited *Bagasjeromsmarked* on August 25<sup>th</sup>. When looking at some items, I overheard a buyer next to me who seemed to be bidding. I caught a little of their conversation when the buyer asked for the price. At least, I understood a little because the buyer mentioned prices. When I asked one of my informants, she explained that the buyer was trying to bargain. My informant translated some points of the conversation like this:

“Can I buy this item for less?”

The seller replies with the answer,

“Sorry, but I bought it for about NOK 500 and the quality of this item is quite good, so I think I can’t give you less than that” (from observation notes by Inda, with translation assistance, August 2018).

When I heard that conversation between seller and buyer, they appeared as if they were having a friendly chit chat. They laughed after the verbal exchange about price, and my informants said

they talked about how the seller found the items. In this scenario, buyers either agree on the price being offered or decide to not buy the items at all.

“Bargaining is not common in Norway. You may try, but it depends on agreement with the seller. If there is a price attached to an object, then we better not bid. If there is no price, you may ask the seller if you can bid,” she said (interview with informant, August 2018).

A friendly atmosphere is built between seller and buyer when they communicate. They are not aggressive with each other about prices or the need to buy. In this market, sellers do not shout out to attract attention from potential buyers. They just sit and watch people passing by. If someone approaches their table, starts asking questions or directly pays, the seller will stand up, respond or answer their questions. Trust is witnessed in the interaction. A buyer trusts the price given by a seller, and vice versa, and the seller does not have a high expectation to sell the products.

The interaction between sellers and buyers is slightly different from flea markets established by organizations or groups, in which committee members have to supervise tables or sections. The committee also has the job to work as a cashier. At this form of flea market, there is no bargaining interaction. Prices have been decided by the organization. They have already price tags on a table or on some individual items. However, the organization will reduce the prices up to 50% if the flea market is about to close. The proceeds from their sales are also not to mean to fulfill their economic needs, but for donations to organizations. For example, I visited a flea market that was organized by the Red Cross in Evje og Hornnes municipality. They donated profits from the flea market and auction to other Red Cross chapters in other cities.

#### 4.1.2.2 How to Gain Items to Sell

People collect items to sell at flea markets in two ways. First, if the flea market traders are individuals such as at *Bagasjeromsmarked*, the merchants obtain items from their own property. They do not need to spend money for gaining funds, because basically they sell existing material. The items sold are collections of private property, relics and inheritance of their parents or grandparents. Some items that widely circulate in the second-hand market are children's toys and baby equipment, including clothing, shoes and strollers.

Second, to gain items to be sold at flea markets hosted by organizations, the organization will make an announcement in the local newspaper and on their social media platforms. The members of the organization will then collect those items door to door. In addition, people can drop off their items directly at the organization's building. After that, the organization will sort the items that have been collected, assign prices, and then sell them at flea market or auction. A youth organization in Lindesnes shared its experience about a flea market with me.

“We organize *loppemarked* every year on the last day in October. Throughout the year, we collect items door to door until early October or until our storeroom cannot accept any more items,” she said (interview with the informant, February 2019).

According to the organization's coordinator, a group responsible for collecting items is called *hente-gruppe*. Sometimes, they also acquire merchandise to sell from a house that has been left behind by its owner. For example, because the owner passed away. The group (*hente-gruppe*) will pick up items and put them in the organization's storeroom. The organization's coordinator said that in the fall, many people would call the organization's office to ask them to pick up items from their homes. The *hente-gruppe* also sorts items into several categories: goods that are worthy of auction, paraphernalia or expensive second-hand items.

The organization does not pay people who donate their items. However, there is a trade agreement between the organization and the owner if the owner has items to be auctioned. This agreement can be as little as the organization gaining 10% of the sale, split evenly between the owner and the organization or a seller may give all the profit to the organization.

To be able to sell items at flea markets, sellers do not need venture capital, unless they participate in markets like *Bagasjeromsmarked*. Even there, they only need to pay for renting a space to trade. Most flea markets do not afford benefits because buyers and sellers come with a principle to carry out one of activity of recycling: reusing.

#### 4.1.2.3 Shopping Techniques at Flea Markets

Shopping at flea markets is actually similar to shopping in other markets. A buyer selects some items, then purchases them. However, there were several different activities at flea markets that I observed in Southern Norway. Most of the flea market consumers whom I met said that

going to flea markets felt like digging for treasure. Those who often shop at this type of market will indirectly be more selective and rigorous. While choosing, consumers will make some effort to be more thorough and examine every detail of an item, whether it is still feasible to use or if there are parts that need to be replaced or fixed when considering the price. Here are some ways to shop at flea markets, according to varying perceptions of flea markets:

#### 4.1.2.3.1 NOK 100 for One Bag

At some flea markets established by organizations, there is a “NOK 100 for One Bag” rule. They use this method so that more items are bought, and their merchandise will sell out quickly. When a flea market is opened and buyers start arriving at the sales booths, members of the organization will explain the shopping system to them. The buyers will pay NOK 100 for one bag and then they can start to fill it with as many items as possible, until the bag is full or they are otherwise satisfied. Many buyers use this opportunity to cram as many clothes as they want into the bag. This method benefits both parties. Organization committees will not produce as much waste and will also earn money quickly, while buyers maximize the amount of goods they can buy with their money.

#### 4.1.2.3.2 Swapping

The next way to shop at flea markets is through swapping. This transaction does not require any payment for the purchasing of items. Swapping can also mean barter, but this method of bartering is not between one person and another. One flea market of this style was hosted by vegan and vegetarian restaurants in Kristiansand. People were required to pre-register and get a coupon to join this market. The flea market did not list any requirements for items, except that the items should be apparel.

In the restaurant’s backyard, there were tables on which to put clothes. People could put down their clothes randomly there and mix them together with other belongings. After that, they were able to take as many items as they wanted. Even though the restaurant initially required that people who come and want to take items must use a coupon, in the end, many people joined without one because no one checked whether attendees had coupons or not. This market started at 10:00. The peak of this market was around 11:00, when many people visited and surrounded the tables together, carrying their bags of clothing.

#### 4.1.2.3.3 Auction

At some large-scale flea markets (determined by the amount of goods sold and number of visitors), holding an auction is one way to make transactions. There are also small-scale flea markets that sometimes organize auction events too. This method of selling usually gains a lot of attention, especially from those who are interested in antiques and unique or ancient items. The flea market committee organizes and provides a stage for auction. They then put items that will be auctioned on the stage and at the sides of the stage. Before the auction starts, flea market visitors can take a glance at the items for sale. An hour and a half before the auction starts, the stage and the space around the auction stage will be full of people passing by or observing certain items, and some people will make notes about items they have seen. When the start of the auction is announced, visitors will orderly gather around the stage and take a seat or stand nearby.

“Antique, retro, and vintage” are the main categories up for auction. Objects with known designs from the 1970s or 1980s are also popular items. If an object meets one of those criteria, it will gain a higher price. These items include children's toys, such as dolls with 18th century clothes, paintings, clay pots, furniture, cabinets, non-electric manual sewing machines, books that are no longer published and much more.



Picture 4. The auction atmosphere at a flea market in Grimstad (taken by Inda, September 2018)



Picture 5. The auction atmosphere at a flea market in Vigeland (taken by Inda, October 2018)

The auctioneer will appoint or designate the offered items. The starting price for those items will be established through participants raising their hands, then shouting the price they are willing to pay for the items. After one person offers a price for an item, the auctioneer will ask who is willing to bid higher. If no one responds within about 5-10 seconds, then the auctioneer will knock a hammer, and the item will be rewarded to the person who made the highest bid. This auction activity reveals what types of items are popular. The most popular items are subject to many people making an offer, which means that the selling price will also be higher.

I saw that there were many people who were shouting prices for a pair of garden chairs. After several people shouted and mentioned their offers, the two seats went to someone who bid at NOK 2800. Because no one was bidding anymore, the auctioneer knocked a hammer on a table when that item sold. Then the person who won, would immediately approach the side of the stage after the auctioneer knocked his hammer. They then made a payment to a cashier and take the items they have won (from observation notes by Inda, September 2018).

Auction activities are one of the main attractions of a flea market. In this activity, the organization committee of the flea market also gains more income.

### 4.1.3 Payment Methods

There are several payment methods at flea markets. The first payment method is cash, either through cash directly or using a debit/credit card, if the seller has an Electronic Data Capture machine that receives payments via card. The second method is through using an online payment service application called Vipps. Almost all of the flea markets that I visited displayed their Vipps numbers to facilitate payment transactions. Most people who visit flea markets also use Vipps because this method is easier, and they do not need to carry a debit card, credit card or cash. This application can be downloaded via mobile phone and connected to someone's bank account. There is no minimum value for payments through Vipps so many visitors choose to use this method. Payment methods at Southern Norwegian flea markets have followed technological developments, even though some of the sellers also still accept manual transactions. Mobile applications are the main way to purchase items because of their safety and ease.

Not all items at flea markets have prices. There are several sellers at flea markets that offer items for free. The goods offered for free are placed in a separate box. Giveaways vary from spatulas, mugs, hats, belts, books, comic books, children's toys and much more.

At every flea market that I visited, I saw a box of free items. I saw a comic book that was still intact, but it had a lot of children's scribbles in it. There was also a pair of shoes placed in the box because the owner thought many people might not buy them because the model was too old-fashioned with unattractive colors (from observation notes by Inda, October 2018).

The items offered for free indicate that sellers at flea markets do not aim to obtain the greatest amount of profit. Even though they do not look fine, some items in giveaways can still be used. Besides giveaways, flea market sellers usually reduce their prices by half near the end of the event. For example, if a flea market starts at 09:00 on the announced schedule and ends at 14.00, then the prices of these items will become cheaper at least two hours before the flea market is closed.

#### 4.2 Attføringsbedrift and Second-Hand Shops

Second-hand markets in Vest-Agder and Aust-Agder are not only organized through flea markets but also through thrift stores or second-hand shops (*bruktbutikker*). These shops are common in every municipality in Southern Norway. Thrift stores obtain items from residents. They do not receive pay for the items given to the store. A manager at a thrift shop I visited said that almost every day people would come to donate two to four large bags containing their used items. The number of items donated to the store does not have a certain limitation. The store would still accept donations, even if a resident could only donate one item. After that, the shops will sort, wash, and clean the items. One of the second-hand shops that is part of a church organization that has branches in almost every municipality in Norway also has boxes to accept items from people.



Picture 6. A box provided by a second-hand shop to obtain second-hand items from the community (taken by Inda, September 2018).

In addition to receiving items from the surrounding community, thrift stores get items through personal donations or through heritage owners. For example, if someone passes away and has left many items in their house, their family members will contact the shop and ask them to collect those items.

Inside the store's warehouse, there is a separate place for various types of goods. They also repair clothes that require additional stitches and some stores will redesign clothes or bags before

reselling the items. Each second-hand shop has its own standards in deciding the price, according to the type and value of the item.

“We have volunteer staff who manage the sorting of goods and provide prices on the items. If they find items that look valuable like retro or vintage, they will tell me. Then we will take pictures and upload them to Instagram,” she said (interview with the informant, January 2019).

The second-hand stores place each item, according to the type. There is a place for books, ceramics and kitchen utilities and clothes in different spaces. The shop that I visited organized their merchandise neatly according to the type of item to the color of the item. Even though most of the workers were volunteers, they ran the shop professionally. They also illuminated the room with good light so that consumers can see the color and model of the item well. For example, in the corner of a thrift shop selling books, the books were organized by language and genre. Another example is the three second-hand shops that I visited that sorted clothes according to color and type, and shoes according to type and model.

The second-hand shops also have paid employees. The employees can be full-time or part-time workers. However, they are typically a small team of about five to seven people. The manager of a second-hand shop that I observed is a full-time employee. She has been working at the shop for a year. There are also paid part-time employees at this shop too. The manager works three days a week because she has a preschool kid.

Thrift stores also make use of social media to promote their items more widely. Social media reaches people who live in other municipalities. The items uploaded on social media have a higher value, such as antique ceramics or vintage and retro clothes. However, buyers can also buy them directly at the store.

Second-hand shops in Vest-Agder and Aust-Agder are not only *attføringsbedrift* shops run by volunteer workers. There are also some people that open second-hand stores as businesses. Those who run thrift stores as businesses are more discerning in choosing items, especially objects that have certain historical and nostalgic value. Usually, objects selected for resale look retro and vintage. These shops are mostly well-known as antique shops, retro shops or vintage shops.

One of the owners of a second-hand apparel shop that I met said she initially opened the store as a hobby. She loved to collect vintage and retro clothes. The items sold in her shop were more

expensive than at thrift stores or *attføringsbedrift* shops. Retro and vintage shops buy these used items and do not receive them for free. The retro shops' owners also hire professional models for the clothes they sell.

Old clothes, especially handmade ones, have a higher value. These clothes are more durable and generally have better quality than factory-made clothes. These second-hand shops pay attention to quality so they have higher selling prices.

“The items we have include rare items with good quality. Therefore, we sell them at high prices. Our main target is actually people aged 25 years and over. However, there are also many old people who buy clothes from our place,” she said (interview with the informant, January 2019).

Thrift stores that aim to profit are different than thrift stores belonging to charity organizations. Thrift stores for business usually sell more specific goods, for example, only clothes or decorative objects. These shops focus more on the quality of the objects with a high value, history and nostalgia. The target consumer for non-profit thrift stores is everyone, especially the middle to lower class, while the target market for stores operating as for-profit businesses is the upper middle class.

Nowadays, thrift stores have grown widely, and even virtually, as online shops. Second-hand items can be found on social media, for example Facebook *Marketplace*. Websites, such as *Finn* and *Tise*, an online store which belongs to a Norwegian celebrity famous for her redesign of used items, are some of the popular sites used to look for second-hand items in Norway. Three of my informants said they also enjoyed shopping online because it saves them time, and they could shop at any time they wanted. Sometimes, they needed items immediately. However, one of my informants had concerns about online shopping recently. She is trying to engage online, following business trends. Now, her thrift shop also uses social media for marketing.

“This shop was the only second-hand shop in the city center. Now, it is very competitive, compared to the past, because now people can sell their items on the internet,” she said (interview with the informant, January 2019).

However, she remains optimistic that her shop will continue to operate because sometimes people prefer to see things they want to buy. Some thrift stores, managed by both charitable organizations and private businesses, often create certain themes in selling their clothes. They also give discounts for good quality goods at low prices compared to the online shops.

#### 4.3 The Existence of Second-Hand Markets in Southern Norway

In this research I find that most of the second-hand markets sellers do not gain profits for themselves. Individual flea markets sell their items to clean out the house and to change some items in their house. On the other hand, *attføringsbedrift* or a thrift shop run by an organization are not only a place for trading second-hand items, but also facilitating for voluntary projects. In this chapter I have shown that flea markets and thrift shops in Southern Norway are also places to exchange knowledge as cited by Gregson and Crewe (2003). Consumers at flea markets do determine the prices through auction and swapping. They know what kind of things that are worth the price or not in a specified price range. Gregson and Crewe write that consumers also have rights to determine the value of things (Gregson & Crewe, 2003, p. 62). However, in my research, I also found that bargaining is not a common way to buy something, thus this form of influencing on the prices does not occur. The sharing knowledge in second-hand markets occur during transaction. Buyers can ask sellers about the materials in a thing, how they receive that, then classify the items as vintage or retro. Based on this information, they make a decision to buy the item or not. Gregson and Crewe (2003) also highlight that second-hand markets are related to economy.

As cited by Gregson and Crewe (2003), charity organizations have a main influence in the second-hand culture. Some of the flea markets are also established annually. The organizations gain profit for themselves and for other humanitarian actions. One can argue that second-hand markets still exist in Southern Norway because of these organizations. They become a tradition in the early spring to the end of autumn. Individuals also influence the existence of second-hand markets in Southern Norway. As mentioned they want to tidy up their houses, change something new (either literally new or second-hand), as well as donate to charity organizations.

## 5. Chapter Five: Lifestyle and Sustainable Consumption of Second-Hand Culture

In the previous chapter, I have described several types of places that offer second-hand goods in Southern Norway and the activities happening within those markets. Second-hand markets are also a place for consumers to express their hobbies such as antique hunting and redesigning houses. In this chapter, I will also describe to what extent second-hand consumers understand their actions in relation to sustainable consumption and the environment.

### 5.1 Home Decoration, Lifestyle and the Concept of Simplicity

Buying a simple clothing model but made by an expensive brand, buying a garden chair because of its unique shape or buying a mobile phone because it has a sophisticated camera are some usual consumption activities nowadays. Mike Featherstone (2007) mentions that choices are a part of postmodern lifestyle in this mass consumption era. Everyone has freedom of expression, which is represented through objects that adhere to them. Each person has a different lifestyle. Achieving certain lifestyles is a consumption form of product manipulation in mass society (Featherstone, 2007, p. 81).

Social classes are affected by mass consumption, and this is reflected in lifestyle. The middle class is the largest consumer in Europe. Jürgen Kocka (1995) writes that the appearance of the middle class in Europe in the 19th century was shown through distinguishing themselves from the aristocratic and working classes. However, the middle class still adapted some elite characteristics such as: having power over position, being religious and even orthodox and showing that they were nobles. The middle class in Europe, at that time, began to emphasize the importance of education for them. Kocka (1995) adds that the middle class also respected each other's choices and achievements. One of the fundamental characteristics of this class is that they have similar interests and experiences. Therefore, members of the middle class mostly have the same ideology and share common understanding (Kocka, 1995, pp. 786-787).

In Norway, egalitarianism is a middle class characteristic. Ove Skarpenes and Rune Sakslind (2010) write that there is no immediate connection between a higher education and a higher salary (Skarpenes & Sakslind, 2010, p. 219). The informants I met had education backgrounds up to university level. Buying second-hand is a lifestyle choice for my informants. In addition to lifestyle, buying used goods is considered similar to 'hunting'. The consumers get satisfaction and joy by getting something they really want at affordable prices.

Gullestad (1991), the Norwegian anthropologist, writes that research on Norwegian everyday life shows that there is a home-centeredness among Norwegians (Gullestad, 1991). Home is a place to perform most social activities. One interest of the Norwegian middle class lifestyle is decorating their homes (Gullestad, 1991, p. 64). This activity becomes a symbol of style expression and gives identity to the house's owner. In this chapter, I will try to describe the relation between the second-hand market and home decorating in Southern Norway. The informants that I interviewed decorate their houses with various used items that they have found in different places such as flea markets and second-hand stores.

My first informant said that decorating the house with second-hand items has been a tradition in her family for a long time. She said that her parents' house is decorated with second-hand goods and antiques. Her father also has his own a house that is filled and decorated with second-hand items. Because of that, her father won the *Kulturpris* award in *Byggeskikkpris*, an award given to people who have done a good job to restore old homes and preserve the original style. The award is given by the municipality. People who receive this award do not get any economic benefits, but the municipality presents a plaque and charter.

“For my family and me, flea markets, especially those with auctions, are a place to buy second-hand to decorate a house without spending more money. My parent's house is full of second-hand. My mother also collects old sewing machines and uses them as decoration. However, if I had my own house, maybe I would not buy antiques for the decoration, but I may still buy some items that may be unique. For now, as a student I am collecting books from flea markets,” she said (interview with the informant, October 2018).

My second informant, a service sector entrepreneur, invited me to his home in the Mandal region. His house, located on a hill, is built by logs from his family's property. When I entered the house, the decoration looked different from some of the Norwegian houses I have visited before. Some Norwegian houses are filled with decorations. For my second informant, the best house is as minimalistic as it can be. The living room consists of one table and one large sofa with a fireplace. The main bedroom also only consists of one bed and one wardrobe. The kitchen in the house is similar to most kitchens, and has a stove, a refrigerator, a sink, and a dining table with

chairs. He furnished his house with items from his parents' old house. These items include sinks, tables, chairs, and cabinets. The old house still stands next to his house and is used as a warehouse.

Second-hand, according to him, is often more durable than new items. My informant said the quality of materials used in the past was better than now.

“This cupboard was originally a place to store plates and glasses. This cupboard was made by my grandfather. Back then, my grandfather was one of the carpenters in this region. He would use the best quality of wood. Then I use this cupboard again to store books and paper. The age of this closet is even much older than me. Then, the sink in the bathroom is made of good ceramics. My father installed the sink since he owned that old house. I think it could be more than 60 years,” he said (interview with the informant, December 2018).

He is also a farmer and has his own farm. In addition to furnishing a house with good quality second-hand furniture, his house also has a “function” to fertilize his farm. The toilet in his home’s bathroom is called a composting toilet. His organic lifestyle and recycling started when he was a child. He said his grandparents taught him to respect items, as they did not have enough money in the past. His grandparents also taught him to live healthy by eating their own organic grown vegetables. Therefore, valuing goods and healthy lifestyle has been important to him since his childhood. He said:

“I also experienced a financial crisis when my business did not go well. Therefore, I know how to appreciate the quality of goods. I will choose quality first over price because it will last longer and save more money. I think this is more important, and I am also not trapped to consume more,” he said (interview with the informant, December 2018).

He also intends to sell his car in the future and change his mode of transportation to bicycle. Instead of paying expensive car taxes, he also considers living more minimalist and healthy. Choosing a minimalist lifestyle and using second-hand items are a form of self-expression and personalized effort. He believes that a lifestyle of excessive consumption is considered to contribute to a meaningless life.

“Actually, I care more about quality than price. Consuming lots of things is meaningless, rather it’s better to have durable items. Money is not a problem for me right now. However, I have been comfortable choosing to live like this and this is me,” he added (interview with the informant, December 2018).

Each corner of his house has a story. He has a photo collage of the process of building his house. It shows the step-by-step process from cutting wood, to building the pillars of the house, until finishing it. For him, the house is not just an object and a place to live. It must be meaningful for his life and have a story to tell.

My third informant is a woman who enjoys her retirement in Mandal. Her lifestyle of recycling has been applied since her childhood because her grandparents had also experienced living in poverty. Her grandmother even taught her not to throw away food packages or food boxes because they could be reused. My informant decorated some parts of her house by using second-hand furniture. She bought chairs, tables and work desks from flea markets and thrift shops. She mentioned that some of her chairs may be almost 30 years old since she bought them from the flea market. However, the tables and chairs are still durable today.

“I am not shy to buy and use second-hand. I am proud of it. I can get some great quality items that last for years with low prices. In fact, there are items such as that chair (pointing to chair) that I got without paying because my husband's office moved,” she said (interview with the informant, December 2018).

She considers herself a socialist and environmental activist, and, for her, buying good quality items is one way to reduce the desire to consume more. Quality of life does not only come from items, but also from food. She belongs to a community-supported agriculture group near Mandal. This community has the purpose to supply organic and high quality vegetables and meat for its member.

My fourth informant is a graduate student and the fifth is a worker. They live together in the same house in Kristiansand. Both of them like to go to the flea markets and thrift stores to “hunt” good quality items with low prices. I followed them to several flea markets, including *Bagasjeromsmarkedet*. I had the opportunity to visit their house. Similar to my second informant,

they remembered almost every story of where they had gotten their furniture. They decorated their house with various items that they have obtained through flea markets and thrift shops. On the wall of their main room, they have a bookshelf that covers the entire wall. They put and arranged books there, most of which are second-hand books. There are two old stereos that cannot actually be used to play tapes. However, they fixed the radio transmission so that they could still be used as a radio. Vintage and retro nuances are their favorite patterns, forms and colors. They say it is their “style” in choosing items for their home.

Buying used goods has become a favorite activity of my two informants since they were little. Both of their parents also like to buy second-hand items at flea markets and thrift stores. They learned to buy second-hand because of their parents. Mostly, they bought second-hand items when they were kids. Both of my informants are from Tromsø. They said the second-hand culture in Tromsø and Kristiansand are different. In Northern Norway, second-hand items are not very popular. This is opposite to the situation in Southern Norway, which is close to Sweden and Denmark, where second-hand is very common, particularly in Denmark. People of Southern Norway sometimes go to Denmark and Sweden to buy second-hand. They said that the prices of second-hand items in Denmark and Sweden are lower than in Norway, and the items were also well selected. In Southern Norway, their favorite flea markets are in Arendal and Grimstad.

“We love to go to Denmark and Sweden to buy second-hand. It was like a dream come true when we moved to the South. Flea markets in Tromsø are fewer than in Kristiansand. Maybe it’s because of the weather. Mostly flea markets are in open places,” she said.

“But it is also maybe because there are many Christian organizations in the South compared to the North. Most flea markets are established by those organizations,” he added (interview with the informants, January 2019).

Similar to my second and third informant’s opinions, they also argue that second-hand items are more durable than new items. They realize that most second-hand items have better quality, which is more important to them. When buying second-hand items, they also consider the environment, quality and effectiveness of the items. It is important because they will not throw something away unless it is broken.

“We once bought a table at the largest hardware store in Kristiansand. The shop is indeed famous. You can assemble your own furniture. At that time, we bought a table that had been pre-assembled. When we lifted it into our car, the table broke. Therefore, we prefer to buy second-hand items at affordable prices rather than buying new, expensive, and easily broken items. The old items are more durable than the new brands. They were made to last, but the new brands were made to be destroyed,” she said (interview with the informants, January 2019).

From these interviews with my informants, I discovered that homes are not only a place to live but also a place for people to express themselves and represent their lifestyle. They also prefer long-lasting and durable items compared to fragile stuff. Most of them think about the environment because no one throws things away. If they do not like some furniture anymore, they can donate them to flea markets or thrift shops. In their homes, comfort is a priority. They want to create and design a home as they please. Gullestad (1992) writes that for Norwegians, home is a symbol of intimacy and a social space. From inside the home, they can learn to socialize. The house becomes a symbol that represents warmth as well as emotional, moral and spiritual support (Gullestad, 1992, p. 64). This is similar to what my informants express above. They understand that every corner of their house has a story because they choose specific items, emotionally and personally.

Gullestad (1992) states that decorating a home is one aspect of the lifestyle in modern Norwegian society. This is influenced by the state welfare system in Norway, which developed at the end of World War II. In this system, the family is central and part of the country’s development priorities. This includes, among other things, regulations to provide ease in applying for bank loans for buying houses. The state welfare system also guarantees equal rights between women and men. In this equation, work negotiations are more common in working-class families. The regulation has gradually changed the function of family so that men and women are more equal. She adds that with these changes, many homes have female breadwinners, and there are also more single parents than before in Norway (Gullestad, 1992, p. 65).

Nowadays households in modern Norway have largely changed. The state welfare system that prioritizes equality and not based on gender. According to Gullestad, the household has become a place that is gender neutral. For example, the kitchen is no longer a “place” for women. Awareness of the division of roles between men and women in a Norwegian home makes the kitchen able to

be used by anyone, according to the needs of the homeowner (Gullestad, 1992, p. 71). I saw three informants' houses during interviews. My second informant from Mandal is a single parent. He mostly lives alone, but sometimes his children come around. My third informant is also from Mandal, and she lives with her husband. They both share the same room to work. My fourth and fifth informants also do not divide their house based on gender. They work together to choose new items for the house and in deciding the design of their house.

Gullestad (1992) reveals that decorating a home is a sustainable lifestyle. She studied the house of a couple in Bergen. She found that they redesigned their house over time (Gullestad, 1992, p. 75). I also found something similar when chatting with my informants. They also decorated their houses step-by-step through visiting second-hand shops or flea markets. They had to be patient when they did not find objects that fit the needs of their homes.

The Norwegian state welfare system contributes to the citizens of Norway having a balanced life. Home is a place where Norwegians become “themselves”, as individuals and families (Gullestad, 1992). The tradition of decorating a home gradually, Gullestad writes, also creates a creative society. There is representation, contextualization and reinterpretation of items purchased to decorate the house, which leads to the formation of creative processes (Gullestad, 1992, p. 78).

Houses have a deep meaning for Norwegians. Comfort is the main theme. The word comfortable, according to the Gullestad, has many different meanings such as togetherness, closeness and safety. The house becomes a place of rest and balance for Norwegians after work. As a country that promotes the need for a highly balanced life, the home is one place for relaxation. In addition, Norwegians also like to explore nature in order to lead balanced lives (Gullestad, 1992, p. 79).

Decorating a house creates an opportunity for homeowners to understand the ins and outs of their own home. Gullestad writes that decorating activities form a deep meaning of home as a part of the homeowner or as a representation of the homeowner. Gullestad (1992) states “*Through their homes, Norwegians continuously objectify their specific visions of the good life*” (p. 83). For my informants, home is a place to express themselves as they are: minimalist, idealistic and creative. They also feel most comfortable when they are at home. Decorating a home can be an idealistic activity for someone who loves second-hand items. They can decorate their house with second-hand items. When they are bored or tired with their stuff, they can sell or give it away to second-hand shops and buy new or second-hand stuff again. The informants are also creative persons.

They buy second-hand items one by one and combine them with others. Some of them also buy patiently because they desire to match the color, for example. For my informant who loves minimalism, buying second-hand is about buying quality.

Gullestad (1992) writes that Norwegians do not decorate houses as a status symbol of their social strata. Egalitarian values are a community characteristic in Norway (Gullestad, 1992, p. 80). City awards like *Kulturprisen* exist, but that does not mean a person's social status will rise. The house of my informant's parents who received that award was located far from the municipality and was built on their family's private land. The award is seen as a recognition of creativity. My informant's parents did not receive any benefit, such as funds to maintain the house.

Gullestad (1992) states that every social class in Norway has its own standards in regulating their home decor. The middle class has different standards than the upper class (Gullestad, 1992, p. 88). However, all of my informants have backgrounds as citizens who fall into the middle class level. They work as a farmer, entrepreneur, university student and ordinary worker. As Vest-Agder Fylkeskommune writes, residents of this region are predominantly working class in the service, industry and transportation sectors.

Flea markets, second-hand shops or online stores that sell used goods are places for selling and purchasing items to decorate a house or for buying other items without spending excessive money. Even so, my informants actually realize that not all items can be purchased from second-hand markets. Buying from flea markets or thrift shops tends to encourage consumers to select personalized goods that "represent" themselves. Used goods sometimes have unique shapes and colors in sync with the personalized styles of each of my informants.

## 5.2 Sustainable Consumption and Waste Management in Southern Norway

One of the largest online buying and selling sites in Norway, *Finn.no*, reports the growth of second-hand trading on their site. The report entitled *Det Norske Bruktmarkedet*, published in 2017, reveals that from about 6 million total second-hand advertisements on Finn's website, there are more than 5 million personal items that have been traded an equivalent of 89%. About 9%, or 5000 items, are for giveaway. The remaining items are some requested items from Finn users.

According to Finn's report (Finn, 2017), there are five categories of items that are most advertised for sale on the site. Those items are furniture and equipment, electronics, clothing and cosmetics, children's equipment and clothing and sport and hobby equipment. From 2015 to 2016,

furniture sales increased by 11%. The most commonly sold furniture items were sofas, chairs and cabinets. Finn also notes that sofa was the most commonly searched word.

On the other hand, the giveaway items or not traded category has also increased since 2015. The most-searched for word in the free items category was furniture and interiors, which reached about 284,021 searches. Furniture and interiors include sofas, wardrobes, shelves, beds and chairs. In addition, there were also 15,800 units advertised displaying other decorations for giveaway, such as ceramics, paintings and much more. If all of them were sold, they would be priced at about NOK 157,293,504 (Finn, 2017, p. 44).

All of my informants said they never throw away furniture, clothing or other stuff from their homes. They said, if they wanted to change furniture or other stuff, they would donate them to thrift stores, to family and friends or to organizations that hold flea markets. However, if the item was broken and could not be reused, they would just throw it into the garbage dump.

“I always put my old clothes into different containers instead of throwing it away. Maybe someone will need it someday,” she said (interview with the informant, October 2018).

“I can’t just throw them away. I have to think about who will need it. I will ask my friends or my relatives. Maybe they will need my clothes. We can’t just throw away things that easily,” she said (interview with the informant, December 2018).

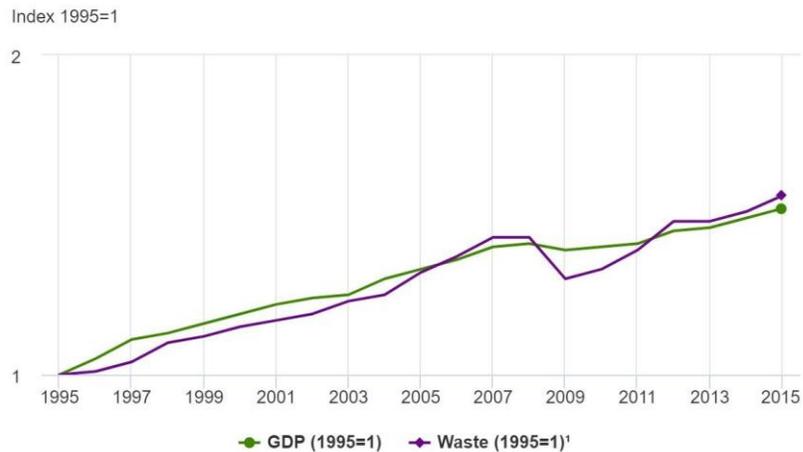
“We never throw away clothes or other things from the home. If there are clothes that I won’t use anymore, I will store them in a container and then give them to a thrift shop. Or if an organization is going to establish a flea market that receives clothing, I will give it to them,” she said (interview with the informant, January 2019).

One of my informants also admitted that some used clothes that were not donated to second-hand stores or flea markets were used for mopping or wiping cars. They tried to reuse items as much as they can. Besides being fond of buying used goods, all the informants I met also realized the importance of sustainable consumption. They reduce waste by not throwing away unwanted

items. Norwegians have the option to deliver used items to flea markets, second-hand shops or used goods stores online. It is because they also have good waste management.

The Norwegian government has a target to reduce the amount of waste, despite an increase in the gross domestic product (GDP) every year. However, until 2016, the target was not reached and tended to show a negative trend. Statistics Norway data shows that along with the increase in GDP per capita of Norwegian society, the trend of public consumption has also increased rapidly, although there have been several periods of consumption trends which have decreased. But this situation changed in the following year. However, since 2010, public consumption (up until the latest data recorded in 2016) has always increased. According to a report from the Norwegian Environment Agency's (Norwegian Environment Agency, 2017), the Norwegian central government has sought various strategies, such as tightening regulations related to waste to reduce emissions, including increasing taxes and providing economic incentives to business, industrial and local government sectors.

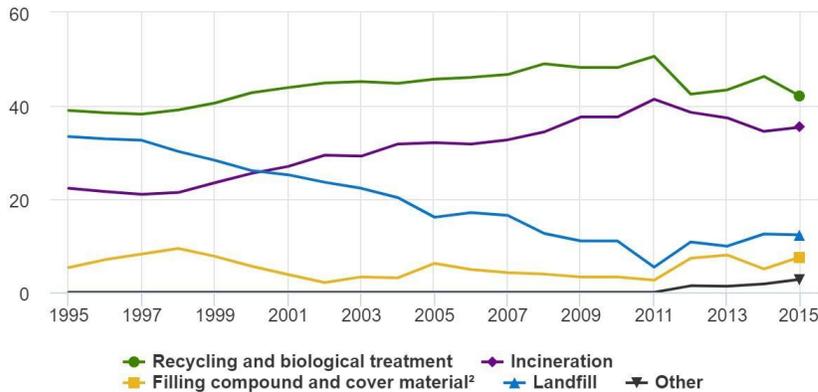
**Figure 1. Trends in waste and GDP (constant prices)**



Source: Statistics Norway. <sup>1</sup> Contaminated soil and stones are excluded.

**Graph 1. Trends charting waste and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Norway from 1995-2015 (Source: Statistics Norway, March 2019)**

**Figure 2. Non-hazardous waste in Norway, by method of treatment<sup>1</sup>.  
1995 - 2015. Per cent of known handling**  
Per cent



Source: Statistics Norway.

**Graph 2. Waste management carried out in Norway from 1995 to 2015 (Source: Statistics Norway, March 2019)**

Statistics Norway wrote the latest report on non-hazardous waste and the processing of non-hazardous waste in Norway, which includes description of the two graphs above (Statistics Norway, Waste Increasing at the Same Rate as GDP, 2017). The first graph is a trend comparing GDP and the total growth amount of Norwegian non-hazardous waste (household, industrial and business). For a majority of the years in the chart, the waste disposal rate is mostly directly proportional to the increasing GDP level of society. The second graph illustrates various types of waste treatment, consisting of recycling and biological treatment, combustion, compound filling and cover material and landfill disposal.

In the second chart, the disposal of waste into landfills dropped dramatically in 2000, even though it also increased in 2012. In addition, since 2009, there has been an increase in waste incinerators. SSB reports that in 2015 there were 77% or the equivalent of 7.4 million tons of non-hazardous waste being treated. Approximately 3.6 million tons of waste is recycled (waste material), while 3.7 million tons of waste was incinerated and become power plant. SSB recorded that the amount of household waste in Norway until August 15, 2018, was as much as 426 kg / per capita. The table below is data obtained from SSB regarding the amount of household waste in 2017 in Aust-Agder and Vest-Agder. The amount of waste below is calculated per 1000 tons and has been adjusted after reducing industrial waste.

	In total	Sent to material recovery	Sent to composting	Sent to biogas	Sent to incineration	Sent to landfill	Sent to other treatment
Aust-Agder	60	14	10	0	32	3	1
Vest-Agder	96	20	14	0	57	5	0

Table 1. Treatment of household waste in Aust-Agder and Vest-Agder (Source: Statistics Norway, 2017. Edited by Inda)

Household waste by material. 1000 tonnes. <sup>1</sup>			
Material/Years	2015	2016	2017
In total	2288	2277	2255
Residual waste	986	977	950
Paper	270	260	251
Glass	60	63	66
Plastics	37	40	44
Metals	84	90	91
Electronics	48	50	50
Food and other wet organic	181	189	192
Tree	283	284	283
Garden waste	164	153	149
Textiles	0	0	2
Sorted to incineration	34	34	38
Hazardous waste	62	62	66
Other	79	75	73
<sup>1</sup> The figures have been adjusted to correct for interference of industrial waste in household waste			

Table 2. Waste materials of Households in Norway in 2017 (Source: Statistics Norway, 2017)

From the two tables above, the total amount of waste in Norway has actually been reduced from 2015 to 2017. Despite that, there were also a number of garbage categories that also increased in volume, such as food waste, hazardous waste, textiles, metal waste and electronic waste. In the Aust-Agder and Vest-Agder regions, incineration is the main solution for waste treatment.

The majority of thrown away waste is broken items. The items that are still able to be reused are mostly donated to organizations that establish flea markets and thrift shops. In Vest-Agder, there are several landfills. I visited two landfills in Mandal and Kristiansand. The landfill in Mandal is located quite a distance from the city center. This landfill is extensive and consists of several parts. The first part is a thrift shop that is located near the front of its entrance. Second, there are buildings, similar to warehouses, to deposit electronic waste. Behind the thrift shop are some large green containers that collect garbage. There are about 15 containers to separate various kinds of waste, such as a container for glassware, wood, plastic and polystyrene foam (blue board) and a container for broken furniture.

The third part of this landfill is a place to dispose of building material debris. The remnants of building materials are piled up to resemble a hill. After I arrived, there were many cars and trucks filled with building debris coming and going. The cars pulled trailers containing garbage. I saw some cars throwing out trees and decorations for Christmas.



Picture 7. Landfill in Mandal (taken by Inda, January 2019)

The second-hand shop belongs to the landfill management. It receives various items from people around Mandal almost every day. Similar to other thrift shops that I visited in Kristiansand, they are also helped by volunteer workers to run the store. The store consists of two are: one for displaying items and a warehouse that is used to keep items. In this warehouse, volunteers clean and sort items.

The second landfill is not far from Kristiansand city center. To get there, I took a bus. The ride was about 10 minutes. The landfill has a similar set up to the landfill in Mandal. There are several boxes that collected waste according to its type. In front of the entrance, there is also a large second-hand shop. This store sells various kinds of items such as furniture, sports equipment, books, glassware and other home decorations. At the landfill, there were many private cars which arrived to dispose of their waste.

Norway has banned open landfills since 2009. In lieu of open landfills, the Norwegian government has set up waste incinerators. Kristiansand also has a waste incinerator and power plant called Returkraft. It has been operating since 2010. The locale is owned by six waste processing companies in Aust-Agder and Vest-Agder. Returkraft receives waste from 10 municipalities in Aust-Agder, 15 municipalities in Vest-Agder and 3 municipalities in Telemark. This company also receives waste from several industries. The household waste that is burned is mixed waste (*restafvall*). The waste material at the Returkraft incinerator consists of 65% household waste and 35% industrial waste (Returkraft, 2019).

Returkraft burns approximately 130,000 tons of trash per year. The incinerator machine is operated every day. However, for two weeks every year they shut down the incinerator to perform maintenance. The combustion energy from the waste produces electricity. One third of the energy produced is used to heat water and warm households, the university and a public swimming pool. Returkraft produces between 95 GWh and 250 GWh of electricity per year (Returkraft, 2019).

Returkraft writes that if Norway still implemented a waste disposal system in open landfills, the landfill would produce at least 830,000 tons of carbon dioxide emissions (CO<sub>2</sub>). In incineration, residual combustion is unavoidable. However, the residual combustion is safer compared to the possibility of carbon dioxide emissions that would be produced by unprocessed waste. The residual combustion has been filtered three times to reduce several gas emissions, such as CO<sub>2</sub>, nitrogen (N<sub>2</sub>), and oxygen (O<sub>2</sub>). The residual combustion can also filter all of these gas emissions to less than one ton.

Finn also reports their role in dealing with waste issues in Norway. In their report, *Det Norske Bruktmarkedet*, they argue that the consumption of second-hand items can reduce CO<sub>2</sub> production. This is because the production of new items requires more material production processes. Finn provides examples of producing cars, furniture and clothing to illustrate the argument. Those three objects have long manufacturing production chains. For example, the production of a car requires at least 14 tons of new material and is likely to produce 16 tons of emissions. If someone buys a second-hand car, then there is no process that requires new material. The emissions from a second-hand car are estimated at only 22 tons, less than the emissions from the production of a new car (Finn, 2017, p. 53).

Each furniture product, especially sofas and armchairs, requires material from textiles and wood. Materials required to make a sofa consist of polypropylene, polyester, wool, leather, cotton, wood and polyurethane. Each material for a sofa requires a long chain of production that also requires water and synthetic materials, such as plastic (Finn, 2017, p. 51).

The long process of material making also applies to clothing, for example, a t-shirt. Finn (2017) notes that there are at least five stages, from the production to the distribution of a t-shirt. The first step is the processing of raw materials into threads and fabrics. At this stage, fabric and yarn manufacturers require lots of water and other chemicals, such as bleaching chemicals. At least 1.3 kg of CO<sub>2</sub> will be produced from the first stage. The second stage is the dyeing and sewing process of shirts that require mechanical power (using electricity). At this stage, the amount of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions produced is about 3 kg. The third stage is the distribution of t-shirts from the factory to the point of sale. This process produces around 2.9 kg of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from transportation. The fourth stage is the process of use. When washing and ironing clothes, consumers will produce at least 3.3 kg of CO<sub>2</sub>. The final stage is the disposal of the clothing, which will produce 0.3 kg of CO<sub>2</sub> for the transportation required to donate the t-shirt. Considering the whole process, the total emissions that will be produced by a new shirt is 10.8 kg of CO<sub>2</sub>. If someone buys second-hand clothes, the emissions produced would only be from the fourth and fifth stages, equal to about 3.6 kg of CO<sub>2</sub> (Finn, 2017, p. 55). Eva Heiskanen and Mika Pantzar (1997) say that in production, distribution and consumption chains, consumers are always the final part that must be responsible for their consumption. Some forms of this responsibility are how to sort waste, understanding the production chain of an item and being aware of what kinds of environmental dangers may exist (Heiskanen & Pantzar, 1997, p. 409).

In their reports, sustainable consumption is a realm that tends to be for researchers on consumption and urban society. Sustainable consumption itself, quoted from the World Commission in 1987, is meeting “*the needs of present generations without compromising the needs of future ones*” (World Commission, 1997, cited by Heiskanen & Pantzar, 1997, p. 410). Sustainable consumption is an activity that aims to fulfill human needs while paying attention to environmental sustainability after the consumption process. The environment, in this case, is a broad area, which includes how the process treats workers who participate in production, distribution and subsequent processes of action when there is waste that will be produced.

Waste becomes a problem in various places, both on the land and in the ocean. Heiskanen and Pantzar (1997) reveal that the focus and emphasis of sustainable consumption is how consumers reduce material from the rest of the consumption process. Reusing items is an action to reduce the presence of waste and provide an “opportunity” for these objects for longer use (Heiskanen & Pantzar, 1997, p. 423).

Heiskanen and Pantzar (1997) state that there are three stages of consumers pass through the stages of consumption. First, the stage in which mass-produced items are obtained and consumed as one of the collective experiences. At this stage, almost everyone has the same items. For example, when mobile phone are produced via mass consumption, everyone has a mobile phone because the price is affordable. Second, consumption which prioritizes the quality and value of an item. In this stage, some people look beyond the function of an item and also see the quality and other values in it. For example, consumers buy different mobile phones because they consider the brand and features that the latest generation of mobile phones have, such as taking photos or accessing the internet. The final stage of consumption is based on art, awareness and representation of oneself. At this stage, people are consuming items based on deeper thought. Consumers may still stick to the quality of items and their functions, but they will also think further, for example, buying a second-hand mobile phone because they want to reduce electronic waste (Heiskanen & Pantzar, 1997, p. 431).

All of my informants said that the tradition of buying second-hand items was common in their families. One of my informants told me that her parents tended to take her to second-hand stores and flea markets rather than ordinary stores. Although her father used to work as a doctor and her mother was a teacher, and thus had a fairly good economic situation, her family applied the principle of simplicity. She said that there was not a huge social class gap among professions in

Norway. For example, the average income of a doctor is not much different from a teacher. The strict tax rule in this country creates a system in which those with the highest salaries pay the most taxes.

According to my informant, buying second-hand became a habit, which later turned into her ideology. There is nothing wrong with buying second-hand because she can reduce waste and save money. She said recycling was an important activity because, for her, it was a form of responsibility for her hobby of buying things.

“In my opinion, everyone has a role to maintain the environment. As an individual, I buy second-hand not only to reduce waste, but I can also choose items according to my personalization because I like shopping. Reuse is one of the important stages of recycling. In Norway, most people have a lot of money. We don't know what we will do with the money. We buy a lot of things, then in a few months or in a few weeks it's easy to throw them away and buy new again. I am more inclined to choose to buy second-hand items because there are actually many new and brand-name items at thrift stores or flea markets,” she said (interview with the informant, January 2019).

My other informant also told me that she taught her children to respect every item that they bought. She always takes them to flea markets. In addition, the way items are purchased at flea market auctions provides lessons for her children to appreciate the money that they spend. Recycling is also one of the lessons her children have learned at their schools. She also taught her children not to be ashamed of using items that have been purchased at flea markets or from second-hand stores. One of my informants also said that she was really happy when she received second-hand clothes and toys.

“I got a container of second-hand clothes that belonged to my mother's friend's daughter when I was a kid. I was very happy to get clothes that I never had before. In my childhood, among girls, there was a trend of collecting pearl-like knick-knacks that we could arrange into necklaces or other accessories. I got all imitation pearls at the flea markets, which my family visited every year. At that time, I was very happy and felt ‘cool’ because I owned items that most of my peers didn't have.

The bonus, I got it at a cheap price,” she said (interview with the informant, October 2018).

The habit practiced since childhood to respect items and the tradition of visiting flea markets are some of the factors why my informants consume second-hand items. One informant said that many young people are more aware of the environment nowadays. Since she moved to Kristiansand in 2013, she realized that more people come to flea markets. Pop culture has also influenced the popularity of second-hand goods. For example, there are environmental documentary movies on the internet and national television and even influences from a popular Norwegian artist, who started Tise, a second-hand shop online. Social media also plays a role in distributing massive and effective information about environmental issues.

On my tour of Returkraft, I also visited a place for waste education. This section consisted of activities for kids to understand what happened to the items they threw away. Returkraft also showed me how they educate children about recycling, including teaching them which items could and could not be recycled.

“Besides being a place about waste incineration, we also receive school visits. There are at least 3000 primary and high school students who come here every year. We educate them about the final stage of processing waste. However, we also have an obligation to educate children so that they know about the flow of recycling and realize that the principle of reduce, reuse, recycle is important,” said a representative for Returkraft (interview with a representative for Returkraft, January 2019).

Sustainable consumption is a part of consumption ethics. The sustainable consumption context is to understand that an item can be reused according to its value. Sometimes an item also has added value if it is recycled or reused. My informants have the same interest toward caring for the environment. They no longer see anything for only themselves, but also for their surroundings. Shopping second-hand also gives them freedom to represent themselves as individuals.

Matthew Hilton (2007) writes that consumer ethics initially arose from criticism of mass production and consumption produced by industry. The emergence of these criticisms was because of the need for decent wages and a safe work environment. The wave of public awareness on this

matter manifested into social action, for example, through boycotting certain products. Another trigger for the emergence of consumer ethics is the existence of a feminist movement that calls on women to be more critical in consuming various kinds of items (Hilton, 2007, p. 125).

Anja Schaefer and Andrew Crane (2005) write that there is a connection between information processes, consumption choices and the prevalence to understand sustainable consumption. Information is a process of delivering knowledge from one individual to another. A person not only receives information but also experiences negotiations in choosing consumption. These choices then become knowledge that is considered as a usual and common activity (Schaefer and Crane, 2005, p. 79). In this thesis context of buying second-hand, there is a lot of information regarding how to consume second-hand that a person has gathered since childhood. The introduction of recycling has been taught through schools and families. Children also have access to information on post-consumption product distribution after being educated about recycling

Schaefer and Crane (2005) also argue that companies should have ethics and take responsibility for the processes of production, distribution and post-consumption of their products. Producers can encourage their markets and consumers to apply sustainable consumption ethics. Understanding consumption in society is a way to apply sustainable consumption and environmental responsibility (Schaefer & Crane, 2005, p. 87).

### 5.3 Criticism toward Second-Hand Consumerism

Humans cannot escape consumption because this is how we survive and socialize. At this stage, consumption of second-hand items is not only for lifestyle, but also a form of concern for the environment that starts from each individual. Arjun Appadurai (1986) writes that consumption is not a passive activity. Consumption overlaps with other social relations and can be a social message (Appadurai, 1986, p. 31). In this context, consuming second-hand is not only for lifestyle, but also a message for environmental responsibility. Most Norwegians tend to “throw” their belongings into flea markets or thrift shops and replace them with new items quickly. This is reflected in Graph. 1 regarding Norway's GDP per capita, which is not so different than their consumption average.

Second-hand consumption is believed to be an alternative attitude to protect the surrounding environment. However, this does not change the essence of consumption itself: buying or using items for the benefit of a person or community. Some of my informants said that second-hand

consumption was sometimes quite excessive and should be reduced one day. Charitable organizations that had thrift stores also export unsold items to other countries in Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe. Most of the exported items are clothing. Buying new items and then depositing them at a second-hand shop or flea market becomes an endless circle.

Hansen (2000) said that the process of distributing used clothing to Africa and Asia has led to the emergence of middlemen. This case mostly does not become a problem for charity organizations themselves because the middleman appears after all the exported clothes arrive to then importing countries. However, this cannot be generalized to charitable organizations and all countries. Hansen (2000) also gives an example from Zambia. Some Indonesian online news portals report that some second-hand clothes are imported illegally (Chapter 1). Consumption in Western and developed countries affects other countries, which still have poor waste management. This influence also shapes a new lifestyle, economy, politics and culture of consumption in the country that imports second-hand items (Hansen, 2000, p. 124).

One of my informants said that the current consumption of people in Norway is indeed very high. She does not appreciate *Black Friday*, which is one Friday at the end of November when stores offer various discounts.

“Black Friday is a bad idea. In one day, people go crazy and buy lots of things. After that, they throw a lot of stuff away. There are also many second-hand goods that are exported. That’s not wise. Those items should be processed here (Norway), not shipped outside (the country). That's one bad idea,” she said (interview with the informant, December 2018).

She added that many people do not think about the sustainability of items that they buy now. This opinion is similar to the one conveyed by my other informant who works at a second-hand shop in Kristiansand. Compared to nowadays, when she was a kid about 20 years ago, Norwegians would save more items than they threw away. The second-hand shop where she works sometimes receives too many items, including new items, almost every day. To overcome this, they send some of the items to another store branch.

“Many people come to this store to give away the latest brand name shoes. Those shoes look new, maybe they used them just few times. They give away without hesitation,” she said (interview with the informant, February 2019).

The thrift shop has a link to exporting items to Eastern Europe. However, they prioritize sales in Kristiansand first. The trading circle in second-hand markets is also criticized by my informant who is a coordinator for one of the popular annual flea markets in Southern Norway. Throughout the year, many people queue to donate their items. A few days after the flea market is closed, there are some people who immediately call to deliver their second-hand items. It continues until the flea market is held again.

“I don’t know how long we have to host this flea market. We will just keep going. It has to stop. Don’t they have enough stuff? Maybe when people don’t need or don’t want to buy second-hand anymore. But, every year there are also more flea market visitors and lots of people come to donate. It’s great. But, I wonder, how long will it keep going? I thought like ‘next year maybe there won’t be enough stuff’, but they always give us stuff, okay, we’ll do the market again. And then next year, again. So we just keep going,” she said (interview with the informant, February 2019).

She said that when she first helped to establish the flea market more than 20 years ago, only a few people came. In the past, people who came were recognized as poor or from the lower class, while now, people from various classes and communities come to the flea market. My informant said that flea market consumers now are not only from the lower middle class and in need of cheap goods. Those who come to the flea market today are mostly young people or young parents who care about the environment.

Twenty years ago, buying second-hand was still considered a shameful activity because it represented an economic need. This contrasts to today, as many young people think they are lucky to buy good quality second-hand goods rather than buying new. This is indeed good news because consumers of second-hand are increasing. However, my informant also realizes that because many people buy second-hand items, there will definitely be people who consume too much and throw away their belongings.

“Throughout the year, before the flea market is held in October, we always get lots of calls, emails and messages in our social media mailbox about the flea market. I often refuse people who come to give second-hand items because we have received enough,” she added (interview with the informant, February 2019).

The items that are not sold at the flea market will be sorted and disposed of in landfills. Some items are also stored and sold at the next flea market. The organization has its own warehouse to store used items that they collect.

Used goods exported to other countries are part of globalization. Hansen (2000) states that the export of second-hand items from Western countries to Zambia, for example, not only has an influence on the macroeconomic level, but also on the cultural and social life of people in importing countries (Hansen, 2000, p. 251). She adds that the relationship between Western consumerism and second-hand importer countries in Asia and Africa is a complex relationship. Commercial recyclers and charitable organizations certainly want to get money from used clothes. Charitable organizations also receive tons of second-hand items every day. Consumerism in exporting countries plays a big role. In Zambia, used clothing becomes a commodity and develops into a market (Hansen, 2000, p. 254). It is also similar in other countries that import used clothing such as Indonesia, Vietnam and the Philippines. These importing countries certainly require supervision so that used clothing does not accumulate and become waste there or in other countries.

#### 5.4 The Paradox of Second-Hand Markets

Second-hand markets are not only related to sustainable consumption but also to a home decoration lifestyle in Southern Norway. Buying used goods is believed to be and argued as ethical consumption (Røpke, 2009; Kozinets and Handelman, 2004). The research shows that the informants decorate their houses with second-hand items. The ethical consumption in this research reflects recycling and reusing. The informants found out that second-hand furniture are more durable than the new one. The ethnography shows that some of my informants also become environmental activists and that they apply their awareness about ethical consumerism to their homes. Gullestad (1992) writes that home decoration is common and part of a lifestyle in Norway. With second-hand markets, my informants can decorate their homes without being so much concerned with issues of whether will produce more waste.

Through this chapter, my research shows that my informants care about environmental sustainability while carrying out their lifestyle. As written by Høyer and Holden (2003) in their article, household consumption in Norway involves consideration and selection. Some informants decorate their home with selective furniture, such as particular collection or multifunctional household furniture. The sustainable consumption leads consumers to take responsibility for their choice and to learn about the chains of objects in waste management (Autio and Heinonen, 2004). My informants realize that the ethical consumption should be done step by step from small part, for example buying second-hand. They learn to be an ethical consumer from their parents. Some of the informants also teach their children to buy second-hand.

On the other hand, second-hand consumerism can also be criticized. It is similar to a circle that never ends. Most Norwegians do not hesitate to donate, throw, or give away their belongings even though they are still new. In the reports by Finn (2017), the giveaway items increase every year in number. The items will be replaced by other items. Second-hand consumption is thus considered as a different part of consumption behavior and consumption desire (Luke, 1997). Some of the second-hand items in thrift shops are also exported to other countries and continents (Hansen, 2000). Those exported items may create new lifestyles, influence culture, politics, and the economy in other countries. The exported second-hand items also produce waste. The exporter countries can be environmentally concerned when their citizens buy and give away second-hand items. They contribute to recycling and an awareness about the environment locally. At the same time, they may end up giving away items without being fully aware about the fact that this act of giving may in other places result in unintended consequences in globally.

## 6. Chapter Six: Social and Cultural Values in Southern Norwegian Second-Hand Culture

Second-hand markets in Southern Norway primarily do not have an economic purpose. In this context, second-hand market culture involves social and cultural interactions in the community. Even though flea markets and second-hand shops have unique characteristics in selling used items, both places have several similarities, especially regarding the form of social interaction and volunteer activities.

Some of the large-scale flea markets in Southern Norway are established by social organizations and other clubs, yet there are always unique dynamics and interactions at each place. They establish flea markets for charity and donation. Second-hand shops are also established for charity and do not earn profit. Some people also work as volunteers at second-hand shops and do not receive monthly salary.

From that hypothesis, there are some interesting things to observe related to trading second-hand goods within the social and cultural interactions of the Southern Norwegian community. The social and cultural relations include the Norwegian concept of *dugnad*, volunteer programs and actions, and how flea markets and second-hand shops become a place to socialize.

### 6.1 *Dugnad*: Collective Action for Flea Markets and Neighborhoods

Some of the flea markets that I visited were organized by youth organizations, the Red Cross and sports or music clubs. To distinguish themselves from other visitors and make visible their role on the committee, the organization members wear vests or special t-shirts. Every time I went to a large-scale flea market, which was held by organizations or a student club, I always saw children, teenagers, adults and parents that formed the committee of the market. They worked together or sold food at the flea market cafés to earn money. If there was an auction, some of the committee members also helped to organize and prepare it.

One of my informants is a coordinator for one of the flea markets and a member of a scout organization for children and teenagers in the Lindesnes municipality. Every year, they host a fall flea market or *høst messe* in the public school hall. She said the first flea market was established to raise funds for a new headquarters for the organization because the members of the scout organization were increasing. The money was also used to pay for the upkeep and maintenance of the organization's headquarters. After the first flea market was established, they continued the

tradition every year. The income obtained from the flea market may also be allocated for operational costs such as traveling, meetings, going to other scout camps or financing the children's choir. About 10% of the money that they earn is donated to a parent organization for a global charity. This organization is one of the branches of a global youth organization. My informant mentioned that this scouting organization was one of the biggest in Lindesnes. She added that the organization helped children and teenagers around the Lindesnes municipality to engage in positive and productive activities.

“Children and teenagers need a place for activities. This organization helps them to have positive activities. It is really good that we have this organization in Lindesnes, so that children and teenagers do not need to go all the way to Mandal,” she said (interview with the informant, February, 2019).

Before having the idea to establish the flea market, parents whose children became members of this organization made handicrafts for sale. However, this activity was not that successful in terms of earning money. Besides that, some parents also spent a lot of money to make the handmade crafts. Around 1996 or 1997 there was an idea to establish a flea market that did not require a lot of funds. The parents started to run a flea market by working together every year, and then it became a tradition at the end of October. The social work performed to raise funds for the organization is called *dugnad*. Karl Henrik Sivesind, Håkon Lorentzen, Per Selle, dan Dag Wollebæk (2002) write that *dugnad* is a voluntary and social activity in Norway originating in the middle Ages. This volunteer work is part of a collective community insurance system. It provides social work rather than financial, paid work (Sivesind, Lorentzen, Selle, & Wollebæk, 2002, p. 82).

Everyone has their respective roles in *dugnad*. For this organization in particular, there are people who serve as *hente gruppe* or as the committee that collects items from the neighborhoods and other places around the Lindesnes municipality. After collecting, some parents will also sort out items, attach price labels and cook food to be sold at the flea market café. Some people are also in charge of researching antique and unique items that may have higher values. Some items are offered in the auction and some others are displayed at a special booth in the flea market. People who work voluntarily are not only the parents of the organization members. Basically, the organization accepts anyone who comes to help prepare the flea market.

“We like the atmosphere when working together. We met many people and talked. Every Friday night, the day before the flea market, we will gather at the hall. Someone brings pizza and cake. The flea market brings us together,” she said (interview with the informant, February 2019).

*Dugnad* is also an individual activity that can help a club or organization. When I visited a flea market that was established by the Red Cross in Evje in Hornnes municipality, I saw many teenagers helped maintaining the booths of the second-hand items such as books, shoes, clothes and toys. Some people who stood at the second-hand booths were not members of the Red Cross. They only helped the Red Cross for the purpose of the flea market. However, they liked to help and be a part of their community. One of my other informants said that when he was a kid, his football club sometimes established a flea market to raise funds. The parents of the club members also helped them to sell match tickets.

The *dugnad* activities are not only for flea markets but also other activities such as spring *dugnad* or a collective work when it comes to welcoming spring. My informant said that in their neighborhood in Kristiansand, spring *dugnad* was usually held in April. However, not everything is done voluntarily. If some members of the neighborhood cannot come on the collective work date, they must pay between NOK 500 - NOK 800. Otherwise, they can choose to work on other social activities in the neighborhood on other day. Spring *dugnad* activities include painting, cleaning trenches or drains, watering flower buds or growing plants in the area of their neighborhood.

“Usually *dugnad* is held in the spring or sometimes in the fall around our neighborhood. This work is also often done at elementary schools. Parents will clean the school area or build a new playground. Sometimes if someone does not often participate in *dugnad*, they will be exposed to social sanctions,” she said (interview with the informant, March 2019).

The activities are also carried out to help the surrounding neighbors. If there is a job at home that requires help from many people, they will ask help from the neighbors. They all work socially and voluntarily, without monetary remuneration.

Robert Putnam (1993) writes that networks, norms and beliefs are the three factors that shape social capital to drive action in society. Social capital is a feature in social organizations to improve the effectiveness of society through a joint movement. Social capital networks are horizontal networks that reach people to resolve obstacles and dilemmas through collective action. He also adds that the wider a horizontal network structure exists within the community, the wider its success of equal network civic engagement for the community. In the narrative that Putnam built he refers to collective action in Italy and how building social capital is not easy. However, with the existence of social capital, democracy will work better for the community (Putnam, 1993, pp. 168-185).

Francis Fukuyama (2001) writes that social capital is a cooperation among individuals. It also brings an economic effectiveness because it initiates reciprocity. Social capital involves internal factors from group members and external factors. If the feature of social capital provides positive attitudes toward external persons, it will result in a larger radius of trust within the group itself (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 8).

Fukuyama (2001) agrees that social capital also involves trust and beliefs among members of the community as well as those outside of the community. This is an attitude for positive externality of social capital that relates to social advantages, such as access and mutual trust in a community. However, he also writes that even in tough collective action based on common interest, the degree of individual capability to create social capital depends on relative position within a community or organization (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 14).

Related to the collective action mentioned by Putnam, Melucci (1996) writes that the collective movement of actors is influenced by individual awareness and cultural influences that exist within society. This action arises when there is a crisis and conflict between actors. Cultural relations influence collective actors. It also includes structural relations, decision-making mechanisms and shared goals in a community. The information circles between actors and is calculated by actors when collective action is taken. Every individuals has an accumulated experience. This is important to understanding a history (Melucci, 1996, p. 17).

Although Norway has a socialist democratic system and applied equality in every aspect of its citizen's life, *dugnad* still exists in communities. There are two types of peoples who join *dugnad*. First, there are the people who join *dugnad* actively. They show up in person when there

is *dugnad* in their neighborhood. Second, there is the passive group of people who prefer to pay money as their contribution to *dugnad*. Dag Wollebæk and Per Selle (2003) write that both passive and active action make a contribution. There are four understandings established in relation to passive and active activities for social capital: the association as a “*social system, imagined community, information system and network of political influence*” (Wollebæk & Selle, 2003, p. 86).

*Dugnad* is a social and collective work performed to establish flea markets by most organizations in Southern Norway. Through voluntary collective works, they raise funds for the sustainability of the organization. Social works through *dugnad* bring people in a community closer together. They have the same concern to help raise funds because these organizations are important in the society. These organizations help their children to have positive activities such as choir, sports, camps, music and scouting activities. Through flea markets organized using *dugnad*, they build social activities between generations and social identities within the community.

## 6.2 Volunteer Work at Second-Hand Shops

Flea markets in Southern Norway are mostly run by *dugnad*. As a voluntary and community work, people who work in *dugnad* are not paid. They do the work for a sustainable community. In this context, some thrift shops also help to provide a job for some people in the community who need to “learn” and “prepare” to be a part of community in Norway. Those thrift shops are mostly affiliated with religious organizations. However, some thrift shops are also owned by environmental companies. The second-hand shops are run by two kinds of workers: volunteer workers and non-volunteer workers. The volunteers work for a set period of time and work toward some goal, depending on their needs.

When I observed a second-hand shop in Kristiansand, the store was not yet open that day. But some activities had already started among its workers. The store manager invited me to enter and asked me to put my bag and jacket on the second floor of this shop. After storing my belongings (jacket and bag), I followed the store manager down to the first floor to see sorting storage. It was a place for items before they were priced and displayed in the shop. When I was in the sorting storage, I met a man. The store manager introduced us in Norwegian. The man, who was from

Syria, said he could not speak English, and I also could not speak Norwegian. The store manager said he worked here as a volunteer while practicing his Norwegian language. I saw he moved some boxes of glasses, cleaned some clothes and sorted other things. I tried to have a conversation with him, even though my Norwegian was really bad. He was a musician back in his country. He also ran a children's clothing store before the war in Syria. Now, he wants to be a part of the Kristiansand community and learn the language before he finds a proper job. His Norwegian was pretty good because I saw he could speak clearly, chatting and laughing with other customers in this store (form observation notes by Inda, February 2019).

The volunteers in this shop are not paid. They do everything they can, such as moving things, sorting things, becoming store cashiers, putting price labels on items, washing clothes and glasses and repairing clothes that sometimes are slightly damaged. However, they do not work full time. They just work on certain days. The store manager said that this second-hand shop was indeed used as a place where people learn the Norwegian language and a place for people who have just been released from drug rehabilitation or prison. This thrift shop is also called an *attføringsbedrift* or Rehabilitation Company. Volunteers who work in these stores have a set time limit to work until they master a conversation in Norwegian and look for permanent jobs.

“We don’t pay them, but the government will pay us and pay them too. Our permanent employees are actually not many, around five or six people. These volunteers stay around one to three months or more,” she said (interview with the informant, February 2019).

The second-hand shop that I observed once received several volunteers who had been released from prisons and people who just finished their drug rehabilitation. They only accept people who are sentenced for a maximum of two years in prison or do not commit serious crimes. On the days of their serve at the store, the prison will take some convicted criminals to work, and they will be picked up again after they finish their shift. This method, according to the store manager, is better because the prisoners can socialize with the community rather than sitting quietly in the prison.

Besides people from prisons, thrift shops also receive volunteers from mental health rehabilitation centers. For example, people who have been treated for depression. Volunteers may

also be people who have just been involved in an accident. The *attføringsbedrift* will accept these people to work while socializing with the community.

“Our work is not only recycling items, but also supporting and motivating people. In my opinion this is very important because they will also return to the community someday. It's very good if there are other people who can have conversations with each other,” she said (interview with the informant, February 2019).

I also visited two second-hand shops in Søgne and Mandal run by volunteers. In both of these stores, the atmosphere was a bit different from the shop in Kristiansand. These shops are run by senior citizens, who are also nimble in serving buyers and arranging the layout of items in the store. When I was observing at the thrift shop in Søgne, I saw a number of older people still carrying heavy boxes of second-hand books. They moved the boxes with a trolley from a warehouse, then put them in front of bookshelves, then started to arrange the books on the empty shelves. Some seniors also stood behind the counter and talked to buyers who were paying.

I went to Søgne with my friend who wanted to shop in a *bruktbutikk*. We went to two second-hand shops. The first second-hand shop was near the city center. The second shop was about a five-minute walk from the city center. In the second shop, I saw many senior citizens there. I also noticed that the cashiers were also senior citizens. I knew that some second-hand shops, such as in Mandal and Kristiansand, were run by volunteers. I tried to speak with them with a little help from my friend to translate. They said,

“We are not paid at all. We are here to help,” said one of the cashiers.

After visiting that shop, I met an informant. I asked about why senior citizens want to work for free. She said they already receive money from pensions, and she added: “Second-hand shops help senior citizen get jobs again. It is very good for them to socialize with other people,” she said (from observation notes and interview with the informant, January 2019).

Thrift stores provide opportunities for people in prisons, senior citizens and people who need a place to learn and practice working again. Second-hand shops and flea markets in Southern

Norway are not only for trading or charity, but also places to socialize and learn to be a part of the community. Both second-hand shops and flea markets are built to help people find their social identities and become part of building sustainable communities.

In the tables below, there are statistics showing the number of Norwegian citizens that took part in some voluntary work in 2014 and 2017. The first table is participation on social networks among citizen aged 16 years and above. The second table records various types of volunteer activities and divides the responses for each by age groups. These tables show that 38% of the Norwegian population in 2014 and 2017 actively joined organizations and worked voluntarily. From 2014 to 2017 there were no significant changes regarding interest in unpaid work. On the other hand, there was an increase in people who wanted to know about public bureaucracy and receive health advice. From the SSB tables below, it's apparent that some Norwegians are still enthusiastic about joining organizations and working voluntarily.

Participation and social networks among people aged 16 years and older (percent)		
	2014	2017
Active member of two or more organizations	16	14
Performed unpaid work for an organization in the last 12 months	38	38
Written internet article to influence an issue in the last 12 months <sup>1</sup>	8	7
Have someone to ask for advice for how to find one's way in public bureaucracy	79	82
Have someone to ask for health and illness advice	84	86
<sup>1</sup> As of 2014 it is specified that messages on social media (eg. Facebook and Twitter) shall not be included in the question 'Have written internet article to influence an issue in the last 12 months.'		
Source: Statistics Norway		

Table 3. Participation of Norwegians in social networks and volunteer activities from 2014 and 2017 (Statistic Norway, Activity in Organizations, Political Participation, and Social Networks, Survey on Living Conditions, 2017).

Participation in volunteer work among people 16 years and older, by organization type and age. (percent)					
	2017				
	Years, total	16-24 years	25-44 years	45-66 years	67 years or older
Performed unpaid work for an organization in the last 12 months	38	36	41	42	30
Average number of hours unpaid work for organizations the last year, among persons doing unpaid work	81	64	73	75	124
Performed unpaid work for political party in the last 12 months	1	1	1	1	1
Performed unpaid work for sports team in the last 12 months	16	15	21	18	4
Performed unpaid work for outdoor activity organization in the last 12 months	2	2	1	3	2
Performed unpaid work for music, theatre or art organization in the last 12 months	4	5	4	5	3
Performed unpaid work for patient or relatives organization, or other health organization	2	1	1	2	3
Performed unpaid work for non-profit organization within the environment, humanitarian issues, etc.	6	7	5	5	7
Performed unpaid work for religious association in the last 12 months	3	2	2	3	5
Performed unpaid work for non-religious belief organization in the last 12 months	0	0	0	0	0
Performed unpaid work for residents' association, community group, etc. in the last 12 months	6	2	6	8	6
Total number of respondents	6179	784	1855	2347	1193
Source: Statistics Norway					

Table 4. The percentage of Norwegians participating in volunteer activities in 2017 (Statistic Norway, Activity in Organizations, Political Participation, and Social Networks, Survey on Living Conditions, 2017)

In the follow-up data written by SSB, regarding Norwegian's involvement in social networks and unpaid work activities, the table above shows involvement of groups from various generations who participated in such activities. People age 67 years and older dominate the category for the amount of time they spend on non-profit and volunteer activities. They spent about 124 hours volunteering in 2017. In another column, at least 7% of respondents aged 16-24 years participated

in activities with non-profit organizations in various fields such as humanitarian, environmental, and so on. The number is the same as the age group for people 67 years and above in that category.

The age group 45-66 and 67 years and above are the groups that dominate several categories regarding non-profit activities in a total of 11 of them. The age group 45-66 has a high representation in several categories, including in the unpaid group that has worked for the last 12 months in an organization, as an unpaid worker at a sports activity, arts activities or for residents association and community groups. On the other hand, the 67 years and older age group records the highest percentage in several different categories. These categories include the length of time they use to work in the non-profit sector, unpaid work for patient and health organizations, unpaid work for humanitarian and environmental organizations and unpaid work for religious organizations.

Per Selle (1993) writes that the state welfare system influences development and existence of volunteer organizations in Scandinavian countries, especially in Norway. The Norwegian state welfare system is a system that emphasizes equity and equality in every sector of life in this country. From a financial standpoint, this system supports the welfare of its citizens with strict tax rules so that every citizen has the same rights in obtaining various public facilities including education and personal insurance. The welfare state applied in Norway also opens opportunities for inclusive communities. This goal can be carried out with quality in the community (Selle, 1993, pp. 4-5).

Even though Norway has guaranteed the welfare of its people with equality in every sector, the volunteer sector will not be redundant because the state still needs such organizations to overcome various problems that still arise, even in Scandinavian countries. These problems include guaranteed welfare for senior citizens, family and child welfare and guaranteed welfare for disabled citizens. In addition, in the 21st century humanitarian disasters such as the exodus of refugees from conflict countries has also become a new challenge for countries such as Norway. Volunteer organizations help vulnerable groups, even though there is a strict system. Therefore, the government and the volunteer sector will continue to work together and simultaneously because they need each other (Selle, 1993, p. 8).

Selle (1993) reveals that volunteer organizations in Norway had indeed undergone a change of function after the end of the Second World War. In 1930s, volunteer organizations served as a place to serve people who needed help. Selle calls it an organization that was purely for social

service fundamentals. This type of organization still survives today. Secondly, new volunteer organizations emerged after 1945. This organization was more specific and tended to improve the welfare of its members. Although there are two functions, both have survived and currently synergize with the government. Volunteer organizations provide balance in a system built by the government, while the government provides financial assistance to the organizations (Selle, 1993, pp. 10-11).

The volunteer sector was initiated by nonprofit organizations in Norway. According to Tone Alm Andreassen (2008), nonprofit organizations in Norway can be divided into two periods. First, the organizations that were established after the end of the Second World War. In this period, the social democratic system in Norway had been developing since the war. Volunteer works in the nonprofit organizations were dominated by philanthropic and religious organizations. These organizations prioritized the provision of services to the community. In addition, most nonprofit organizations also became institutions that had a relation with the government as a complementary institution. The organizations had to cooperate with the government, because it did not provide enough adequate public facilities for the community (Andreassen, 2008, pp. 288-289).

The second period is the period that occurred in recent decades. In this period, Andreassen (2008) writes that volunteer work for nonprofit organizations is increasingly becoming known as a space that provides community services not given by the government. These nonprofit organizations also tend to be service providers to individuals, not necessarily to the wider community. In the second period, nonprofit organizations tend not to give physical items or meet material needs. They tend, rather, to give someone “work” experience. Nonprofit organizations also create opportunities for individuals to get to know the community better and to facilitate social relations. The relationship between nonprofit organizations and the government is reciprocal, through social and political activities in a society that has asymmetric mutuality (Andreassen, 2008, pp. 291-296).

Dennis R. Young (2000) states that there are three types of relations that exist between nonprofit organizations and the government. The first relationship is a nonprofit organization that works supplementary with the government. A nonprofit organization is an institution that responds to public needs that cannot be and are not facilitated by the government. However, the government can still provide funding and other facilities when and if the nonprofit organizations need assistance (Young, 2000, p. 150).

The second relation between a nonprofit organization and the government is a complementary relation. The government is a partner of the organization in forming several policies or providing public facilities. Most of the institution's operational funds come from the government. Young writes that in this partnership, nonprofit organizations have direct relations with the government and vice versa. This is because organizations have cooperation, which is a continuation of government programs (Young, 2000, p. 150).

The last relation is an adversarial relation. In this partnership, nonprofit organizations become an institution that encourage the government to provide better public services or change public services. However, the latter relation is a reciprocal relationship because the government also provides regulations regarding the activities of these nonprofit organizations (Young, 2000, p. 151).

From the three relationship characteristics mentioned by Young (2000), non-profit organizations that establish flea markets or have second-hand shops in Southern Norway tend to have a supplementary relation with the government. This is because they provide services to the community that are not often given by the government. In addition, the government also provides incentives to these organizations when they assist government programs. Non-profit organizations that have thrift stores provide opportunities for people to practice working again before they join or re-enter the workforce. The organizations do not provide services to broad community groups, but tend to provide facilities to individuals. They give individuals in need work experience and the experience to socialize with others.

The volunteer organization that I met provided work training opportunities for people in need, ranging from senior citizens, prisoners, people with disabilities and immigrants and refugees. This organization uses their shop to provide work in a practical manner while providing the things needed by its workers, such as practicing the Norwegian language, socializing and brushing up on work skills.

From the data collected, the government has an important role in maintaining organizations that have second-hand shops. The Norwegian government provides good incentives to stores that accept volunteers and also provides benefits to people who are doing volunteer work. These benefits and incentives are the responsibility of the government because the political system adopted by Norway is a welfare state that highly values equality.

Volunteering at thrift stores provides a second opportunity for people who need work and trains them to be work-ready again. On the other hand, thrift stores also provide opportunities for senior citizens who want to work “light,” part time jobs. This is good for seniors, particularly those who live alone, so they can maintain interaction with others.

Joanne Scott (1998) argues that volunteer work has been an issue in social science and for humanitarian scholars. The definition and scope of volunteer work are wide and complex. Scholars mostly emphasis to an ideology that relates to women’s labor involvement, trade unions and charitable organization. Historians have studied volunteer work as charitable and philanthropic activities. Some studies reveal that class also influences this type of work. In charity and philanthropic activities, the middle and upper middle class dominate (Scott, 1998, p. 12).

There are many definitions of volunteer work, and sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between work as a political and leisure activity. Scott also adds how some volunteer work can be considered a ‘career’ (Scott, 1998, p. 15). However, in this context, volunteer work at second-hand shops and flea markets in Southern Norway has some understanding: as a career leap and political or leisure activity.

### 6.3 Flea Markets and Second-Hand Shops: Places to Socialize

The atmosphere of several large-scale flea markets looks like a festival. When visiting a large-scale flea market, I often saw various food booths along with tables and chairs for visitors who want to enjoy the food there. The food served includes sausages, hot dogs, *lapskaus*, *grøttris*, pancakes, waffles and cake-like brownies. Flea market visitors also bring their toddlers and teen children along. One of my informants said she often knew other people who came to the flea market because they came from the same municipality. They would greet each other and chat.

“Visiting flea markets is not always for political or idealistic interests, but it is because of simple things. Attending flea markets is fun. It is kind of entertainment. The atmosphere, meeting people and looking for cheap and good prices. We enjoy it,” he said (interview with the informant, January 2019).

The auction at the flea market in Grimstad is one example of how people enjoy the atmosphere at flea markets. The auction committee not only offered items but also made pleasant surroundings.

One of the auctioneers said funny things while he presented items. Many people laughed because of some shared anecdote about these items on sale.

The atmosphere of the flea market in Grimstad was not that different from *Bagasjeromsmarked* last August. Lots of children running around, parents walking and pushing baby strollers and some people also ate hot dogs while walking. We arrived around 10:00, but the parking lot was full. I saw many people carrying folding chairs and putting those chairs in front of the auction stage. My friend said that many people intentionally bought those chairs so they could get a comfortable place in front of the auction stage. We split up to look at what this flea market sells, and we agreed to meet in front of the auction stage when it started. Because the market area was large, the committee also provided a map of the flea market. I saw many people sitting in front of the café while eating or chatting. The teenagers were very busy serving buyers one by one. The open café sold various Norwegian snacks such as *grøttris*, a rice porridge topped with butter, cinnamon and sugar. Many people bought food and looked for a seat in front of the stage. People who did not get a place in front of the stage would look for a space that was not exposed to sunlight, then they just sat on the ground. While enjoying a snack and a sunny afternoon, they waited for the auction, which would be opened soon. My friend said the auctioneer was famously funny in the Aust-Agder region (from observation notes by Inda, September 2018).



Picture 8. An open café at *Bagasjeromsmarked*. There were many families eating, chatting and socializing there (taken by Inda, August 2018).



Picture 9. People enjoying their food and taking a seat on the ground to watch the auction (taken by Inda, September 2018).

The intimate atmosphere was also not so different from some second-hand shops I visited in Kristiansand and Søgne. The customers, the workers and the manager in those second-hand shops

had no boundaries like in other shops. Since entering the store for the first time, I often watched the workers talk to customers and offer those chocolates or a cup of coffee. Sometimes, buyers also sat for a moment near a cashier's table and talked a lot.

At the second-hand shop in Kristiansand, I saw a man who arrived just as the store opened. He invited the store manager to chat. The store manager then asked the man whether he wanted to play dice. Not long after, they played dice at the front desk.

After a while, the shop was visited by many people. However, there were also people who just greet the workers in the shop then turn away. Some came to drink coffee for a while and chatted with us at a table in front of the cashier, and the workers invited those who sat at the table to play dice. Today I also met a retired fisherman. He sat down and chatted with volunteers and managers while sipping coffee. I felt a familiar atmosphere around them. Someone then came and greeted us all. The store manager told me that many people need a place to socialize with other people. And this store is one of that places. No wonder why this shop is never quiet (from observation notes by Inda, February 2019).

I found there was no large difference at the thrift shop in Søgne. From the outside, the shop looked like an ordinary house. But what distinguished it from other buildings was a written sign stating that it was a thrift shop, and there were also some cars parked outside the building.



Picture 10. Some people chat and drink coffee in the shop (taken and edited by Inda, January 2019).

When I entered the store, I saw about eight people sitting in a circle. They were chatting and laughing while occasionally sipping coffee. The people who came there to shop did not appear disturbed by them.

Some second-hand shops and flea markets are not only places for trading items, but also places to interact and socialize with others. There are no boundaries and space between the buyers and the sellers in some places that I observed. That makes second-hand shops and flea markets more interesting to visit. However, not all second-hand shops and flea markets have a familiar atmosphere. Some small-scale flea markets are just a place for trading items without open cafés. Some of them are also established in small and limited places. On the other hand, thrift shops that belong to large organizations and companies or private thrift shops that are run for business do not have “closed” environments either.

#### 6.4 Collective Action of Second-Hand Culture in Southern Norway

This chapter shows that second-hand markets have other functions besides trading and maintaining a sustainable consumption. The markets can also be places for gathering and socializing. Flea markets by organizations are also established by collective action, *dugnad*. In this research, the collective action motivates the community to contribute an ethical consumption (Cherrier, 2007). The action, however, also has a purpose to build a social movement which again help the organizations. In the collective action by Cherrier, as I found in the research, consumers can choose between the ethical and the unethical (Cherrier, 2007, pp. 322-323). They understand that donating and buying in flea markets will help the organizations. In Southern Norway, the organizations help the communities, sustain their activities which manly target youth for example through providing sports activities. *Dugnad* is a collective action to keep them running.

This collective action has a relation with emotional investment (Melucci, 1996). A community engages in common things that create networks and communication. *Dugnad* for second-hand markets has a similar characteristic as Melucci's state. Some of the social investments are solidarity and participation. Melucci writes that these actions encourage a sustainable collective action (Melucci, 1989). The actions have benefits to the environmental and the community. As stated by Melucci, the collective action in the second-hand culture is created by the new middle class. The people of this class accept environmental issues easily because they realize those issues are related to their life (Melucci, 1989, p. 96).

Some of the second-hand shops by organizations are mostly run by volunteers. Here the concept of collective action is not different, yet not similar to flea markets. The collective action in thrift shops is still a voluntary project, but with other purposes than keeping a sports organization running for example. Some of volunteers are also people in need of work practice because they have been out of a job for a long time. Some thrift shops have senior volunteers, and some of them have volunteers for learning Norwegian. Overall, they do contribute to a sense of community and reflects ideas about solidarity. Furthermore, both thrift shops and flea markets are similar in the sense that they are places for socializing.

## 7. Chapter Seven: Concluding Remarks

Second-hand markets in Norway have various names such as *loppemarked*, *bagasjeromsmarked*, *bruktbutikk* and antique shop. Second-hand trading culture in Norway is also currently dominated by buying and selling via internet, either from websites or social media. However, the offline stores and markets are still popular attractions in the spring, summer and autumn. There are two types of second hand markets in Southern Norway. The first type is a flea market, which are typically organized in different places during the spring, summer and fall, and the second type is a second-hand shop or thrift shop. Both flea markets and second-hand shops can be opened by individuals and organizations.

Compared with general markets, most flea markets and second-hand shops do not take advantage of personal and economic profit. At individual flea markets, the sellers' motivation in joining the markets is to reduce their belongings at home. Therefore, they do not need business capital to start selling second-hand items. On the other hand, the organizations that establish flea markets also do not take advantage of their members: all of the income from the flea markets is used for operational costs of the organization or the club instead.

However, there are also some people who sell second-hand items as businesses. Mostly, they sell antiques and select items in their stores. On the internet, second-hand items are becoming more popular every year, according to Finn's report. Some of the items are sold, while others are given away. The website also shows that the giveaway items are increasing every year. The giveaways are mostly sofas, chairs, cupboards, children's chairs or other garden materials. The giveaways also can be found in flea markets. This indicates that second-hand markets have ironic side about consumption. Based on my informants, they will replace the items with others, either new or second-hand.

According to this research thesis, my findings show that some people who love to shop in second-hand markets consider three things when doing so: their hobby in collecting vintage, retro and antique items; the cheap price to get items for their home and tradition. Second-hand markets are places to hunt for vintage and retro items. There are also many people interested in attending auctions at flea markets to bargain for antique stuff. Second-hand markets are also places to buy cheap furniture.

As cited in Chapter Five, home decoration is a lifestyle in Norway. People want to decorate their home as comfortable as they want. According to this lifestyle, there is a lot of furniture offered at second-hand markets and online second-hand markets. To fulfill this lifestyle, some people prefer to buy second-hand items than new. In the research sample that I studied, residents of Southern Norway loved to decorate their homes. This is because they see their homes as a central place to Norwegian society. Home becomes a symbol of their self-representation. At various flea markets, second-hand shops and online thrift stores, home furnishings such as sofas, chairs, tables and cabinets are items that are mostly number one on the list. Those items are also very popular in auctions.

Some people also come to second-hand markets because it is a tradition. They used to visit second-hand markets in their childhood and it became a tradition. The trading of second-hand items in Southern Norway is also influenced by several social and cultural constructions of the Norwegian community itself. There is *dugnad* or collective work in the South Norwegian community that is still ongoing. This collective work produces an activity to support the organization's finances that also has positive feedback for their environment. *Dugnad* connects the members of the community to work together in achieving a goal. Flea markets with *dugnad* are part of and maintained as a tradition. In this case, we can see a collective action that is moved by people who have the same purpose in the society. A flea market is one funding source for non-profit organizations to keep them active and also a positive place in their community. Collective actions create second-hand markets, therefore second-hand markets also have impact on social interaction (Melucci, 1996).

Based on the findings above, it seems like equality is one of the most important aspects of community life in this Scandinavian country. An example of equality is that everyone has the right to work. However, some conditions are needed before someone is able to find a job. For example, mastering the Norwegian language for migrants and refugees and having work experience, especially for people who stopped working for a period of time due to health conditions, rehabilitation or incarceration. Some non-profit organizations' thrift shops are places for learning or relearning to work in a Norwegian community. They work as volunteers while learning the Norwegian language, learning how to work again and socializing with other people. Some volunteers in these thrift shops are also senior citizens. They can start to work again after retiring. This work helps them to keep busy, to socialize and to avoid loneliness. In this case, second-hand

stores are important for the government, because they support the building of an egalitarian environment in the workplace.

Flea markets and second-hand stores are not only places for transactions, but also for social interactions between the sellers and consumers, or among the consumers. Some thrift stores that I visited provided coffee or invited buyers to chat and play games. Some second-hand stores also offered sofas for their buyers to rest on and let their volunteers take a break any time. At big flea markets, there are also open cafés. The buyers come with their families to the flea markets. They meet and greet the people they know, have interactions, and share knowledge about second-hand items there, for example what material are the clothes made from or how much the original item cost.

Flea markets are a place where people from every class can socialize. Compared to shopping malls, flea markets are an alternative to obtain items with affordable prices in a good atmosphere. On the other hand, some second-hand shops are also a place for people to gather. The second-hand shops that have elderly volunteers play an important role for the Norwegian society. Loneliness can cause health problems such as dementia. The thrift shops help them to stay active and meet people.

In Southern Norway, people's awareness of environmental issues is influenced by second-hand markets. In this context, waste management is a part of environmental movements. People in Southern Norway make use of second-hand markets to get rid of their unwanted belongings, instead of throwing them away. They realize that some people still need those items. This is part of sustainable consumption. The consumers of second-hand items realize that reusing is one of the most important steps in the recycling circle. Buying used goods also becomes an expression of ideology.

Second-hand markets have implications on a sustainable environment, especially in reusing and recycling (Røpke, 2009). In this context, the consumption of second-hand helps reduce waste and prevents the production of new items that will produce even more waste. As cited from Finn, the productions of cars, t-shirts and armchairs are some examples of items with long production chains that can damage the environment. Some of the materials also contain plastic and metal that cannot be absorbed back into the environment, nor in the land nor water. Plastic and metal are not biodegradable materials and cannot be decomposed.

Reusing or buying items from second-hand markets is believed to reduce waste that can harm the environment. It is a part of ethical consumption (Cherrier, 2007). Second-hand markets give the items a “second chance” and give people a chance to buy items that they cannot afford. Those markets also help people who recently moved to Norway. For example, the quality of coats in Norway is different than in other countries. Second-hand markets help them to buy the right coats at affordable prices.

The trading in second-hand markets can also create an unbreakable circle of consumerism because people will replace unwanted belongings with other things after they send them to second-hand markets. The more the GDP grows, more waste is produced by Norwegian citizens. It means that consumption in this country is increasing. In this case, solid waste management is also needed and Norway already has that. However, I also found that one waste management solution for clothes was to export it to other countries.

Second-hand markets in Norway are different from second-hand markets in my country, Indonesia. In Indonesia, second-hand items, especially clothes, become a commodity. The second-hand markets are also unlike Norway, where they are places for socializing, for rehabilitation through work or for non-profit organizations, instead they are more like ordinary markets, with a high profit margin and consumers are expected to bargain before buying the items. Through the functionalism approach, we can understand a comparison of culture.

However, it cannot be denied that second-hand markets in Norway also influence other countries. In this research, some second-hand shops exported their items to other countries. For example, one of the second-hand shops that I visited exports its items to Eastern Europe. As written by Hansen, second-hand items are a global commodity. The accelerating production of second-hand markets in some countries in Asia, Eastern Europe, and Africa are also impacted by globalization (Hansen, 2000). Even though the second-hand clothes have the purpose to help other countries, they also have an impact on local economies and waste production in the importer countries.

Second-hand markets in Southern Norway are a complex institution. The values of second-hand markets in Southern Norway consist of collective works and actions, sustainability for the environment, the economy of a community and social interactions. Some second-hand markets are not established for gaining profit. Second-hand markets are also influenced by the society and the culture in Southern Norway. However, it should be mentioned that some second-hand shops have

business purposes. Second-hand markets can be good solutions for recycling activities, but they should think more critically when it comes to the items that remain unsold. For example, the left items should not be exported, but they should be destroyed in Norway instead. But, this example also cannot be as simple as it is written. There are already many chains from the second-hand system. Those chains make second-hand markets a paradox. Second-hand markets are believed for sustainability, but on the other hand they also give other implications such as increasing consumerism and illegal trading. The strong rule from exported countries and imported countries should be taken for this case.

The collective action and the social movement can be described as the foundation for second-hand markets in Southern Norway. Melucci (1996) states that the collective action is a part of an investment, because it builds network, communication, and interaction (Melucci, 1996, p.71). In this thesis, I have shown that flea markets by organization are established by the collective action. Each individual has their role to embroider the activities in flea markets. Flea markets by organization involve many people who supply, collect, and sort used goods, and who establish the markets. Furthermore, I have shown that thrift shops by organizations also have important roles to play and should be seen as a social investment in the society.

However, second-hand markets in Southern Norway build a paradox for the environment. In locally, second-hand culture has influence to sustainable environment action by reusing and recycling. In globally, second-hand culture also creates wastes to other countries. Thus, consumers, producers, and markets should be more aware for ethical consumption and product materials that consider for sustainability and environment.

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## Appendices

### **Appendix I: Information for Informants**

*Call for informed consent for processing personal data about participants in research projects. Can be used for surveys, observation, interviews, video recordings, etc.*

Do you want to participate in the research project: The Constructed Values of Ethical Consumption in Norwegian Second-Hand Market ?

This is a letter to your information about the purpose of this project and what participation will involve you as informant.

The purposes of this project:

This project is a study about second-hand market in Norway, especially in Agder region. The project aims a master thesis in Global Development and Planning. This study about constructed values in Norwegian to second-hand items and how this movement is exist in Norway. This project also has goal to study about how the used item are managed in this welfare country. The information that collected for this project are for data and to validate the fact of waste management in Norway.

Responsible for the research project:

Inda Marlina as a master student is responsible for this research project. I will work under supervision from Hanne Haaland and Hege Bergljot Wallevik from University of Agder.

The informants:

There are three informants category for this research

1. Consumer of second-hand market  
They are person who constantly visit second-hand market in Norway, especially in Agder region.
2. Second-hand market committee (person and organization)  
The organizer second-hand market in Agder region
3. Organizations that concern to recycling activities

Contact information:

1. Consumer who constantly visit second-hand market
2. Social media pages about organizations which hold the event and organizations that concern to recycling activities from Loppemarked i Agder' s page.

Methods:

1. Deep interview with recording. Researcher will give interview guide before doing interview

2. Participant observation (visit second-hand markets)
3. Collecting map of Vest Agder and Aust Agder
4. Second-hand market mapping
5. Collecting pictures
6. Collecting table or graphic of second-hand market activities if available

This project is voluntary:

It is voluntary to participate in the project. If you choose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving any reason. All information about you will then be anonymized. It will not have any negative consequences for you if you do not want to attend or later choose to withdraw.

This project will not affect your treatment at the hospital / your relationship with the school / teacher, the workplace / employer.

Informant privacy:

The researcher will only use the information about you for the purposes I have described in this letter. I treat the information confidentially and in accordance with the privacy policy. I will also obey if the informants want their name be anonyms.

This research will be translated to Indonesian without any changes. This master thesis will be published in Indonesian under Gadjah Mada Univeristy.

This project scheduled finish on April 2019. It will be hand in to University of Agder in last of April 2019. It will be translated to Indonesian on June 2019 and will be published as master thesis in Indonesia on July 2019. The informants can access to read or documented this master thesis. Informants can cite this master thesis.

The personal data and recoding of interview will be an archive for researcher and will be published as a journal or article as needed.

Informant rights:

As long as you can be identified in the data material, you are entitled to:

- an overview of what personal data is registered about you,
- to get personal information about you,
- Get deleted personal information about you,
- Get a copy of your personal information (data portability), and
- to send a complaint to your privacy representative or data protection agency regarding the processing of your personal information.

What gives me the right to process personal information about you?

I will process information about you based on your consent.

On behalf of Univeristy of Agder, NSD - Norwegian Center for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with the privacy policy.

If you have questions about the study or wish to avail yourself of your rights, please contact:

- Department of Global Development and Planning University of Agder

1. Hege Bergljot Wallevik

[hege.walleveik@uia.no](mailto:hege.walleveik@uia.no)

38142222

2. Hanne Haaland

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3. Inda Marlina

[indam18@student.uia.no](mailto:indam18@student.uia.no)

96663561

- NSD - Norwegian Center for Research Data AS, by email ([personverntjenester@nsd.no](mailto:personverntjenester@nsd.no)) or phone: 55 58 21 17.

With best regards



Inda Marlina  
(Researcher)

## **Appendix II: E-Mail for Interview**

### A. To Returkraft

Dear Returkraft,

my name is Inda Marlina. I am an exchange student from Indonesia in University of Agder. Birgette Kleivset gave me recommendation about you and she gave me her favor to share your email. During my study here, I have research project about second-hand market and sustainability, especially in recycling, reuse, and the waste management. I learned that some electricity powers in Kristiansand are from waste incinerator plant. Therefore, I motivated to visit Returkraft and having interview with you.

There are some big questions that I will ask to you:

1. How does the Returkraft work?

2. Did Returkraft ever deal with some obstacles in receiving waste?

If it is possible to me to visit and having interview with you about Returkraft and waste management, what is the best time work for you?

I really appreciate your answer and your help. Thank you very much.

yours sincerely,  
Inda

### B. To Shop Management

Dear Shop Management,

my name is Inda, I am an exchange student in University of Agder. During my study in Kristiansand, I have research project for my master thesis about second-hand market and sustainability. Therefore, I really interested when I went to the second-hand and antique shop in Kristiansand.

In this email I would like to ask your favor to have interview with me. There are some big questions that I will ask you:

1. How do you start your shop?
2. How do you choose the fashion apparel and accessories to your shop?
3. Do you think sustainable fashion is important or is it just a flash trend?

I really hope I can meet you and have an interview with you. Would you please let me know if it is possible to meet? Thank you for your attention and answer.

Yours sincerely,  
Inda

### C. To Organization Management

Dear Organization Management,

My name is Inda, I am an exchange student in University of Agder. During my study in Kristiansand, I have research project for my master thesis about second-hand market and sustainability. Therefore, I really interested when I went to flea market and *høst messe* that organized on October last year. I found many things, especially about auction and how people enthusiast with the market.

In this email, I would like to ask your favor to have interview with me. There are some big questions that I will ask you:

1. How and when the organization start the flea market?

2. How did the organization decide to arrange flea market?
3. How is the difference between flea market now and when first open?

I really hope I can visit and have an interview with you. Would you please let me know if it is possible to visit? Thank you for your attention and answer.

Yours sincerely,  
Inda

### **Appendix III: Interview Guides**

#### A. For Flea Market/Second-Hand Market Customers:

1. When you first time visited the flea market or second-hand market?
2. Why are you interested in visiting second-hand market?
3. Can you describe differences between flea market in the past and right now?
4. What do you usually do in second-hand market?
5. What items do you usually buy?
6. Do you even join the event to be a committee or seller?
7. What is your mostly unique experience in second-hand market?
8. How do you feel after buying second-hand items?
9. To what extend buying second-hand items are sustainable?
10. Do your family also attend second-hand market?

#### B. For Flea Market/Second-Hand Market Committee and Managements:

1. Why did you organize this event?
2. How do this event support your organization?
3. What will you do to the goods that not sold?
4. Is this event more popular or unpopular?
5. What do you think as an organizer to see people come to flea market?
6. How did you get all the items, what kind of effort you are doing?
7. How did you sort the items and why did you sort it?
8. What was the requirement that should be obeyed for people who want give their items?
9. Do you have any unique or interesting experience about organize this market?
10. Are there any obstacles to organizing that event?