



A practice theory perspective on apparel sharing consumption models exploring new paths of consumption in France and Mexico

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ABSTRACT

The sharing economy and, more specifically, access-based consumption models are challenging the very nature and purpose of owning consumer goods in a world where consumption is all around us. Previous research on this topic has seldom compared developed and developing countries, nor has it adequately explored access-based models in the fashion market. Building on practice theory, this study investigates the practice of renting clothes in France and Mexico. Our qualitative approach reveals similarities and differences between the two countries. In France alone, a practice of daily clothing rental is revealed, embedded in digital technologies and algorithms. In both countries, the research reveals a practice of occasional rental, with similar meanings - such as smart behavior, variety and testing, or sustainability concern - and similar doings - such as searching on line and trying in store. The observed differences mainly relate to individualistic versus collectivist cultures. In France, social status in a professional environment appears to be important to some consumers, while in Mexico the influence of traditions and celebrations may better account for this access-based consumption practice.

Summary statement of contribution

This article centers on access-based consumption models that reshape the relationship between consumers and objects. Previous research has often focused on developed countries, thus overlooking developing countries. Building on practice theory, this study examines differences between a developed country (France) and a developing country (Mexico) regarding the practice of renting clothes. It reveals the important social practice of occasionally renting clothes in Mexico and identifies a shift from materialism to post-materialism in France, as evidenced by the emerging practice of day-to-day clothing rental.

1. Introduction

Eckhardt and colleagues (2019, p. 7) define the sharing economy as:

“A scalable socioeconomic system that employs technology-enabled platforms to provide users with temporary access to tangible and intangible resources that may be crowdsourced.” The internet has facilitated the development of the sharing economy by enabling both business-to-consumer and peer-to-peer practices (e.g., *Uber*, *Airbnb*, *Zipcar*, *Lime*, *Rent the Runway*).

Revenue from the sharing economy is projected to reach \$335 billion globally by 2025, up significantly from \$15 billion in 2014 (Statista, 2022).^{1,2} This shift reflects consumers' growing preference for more flexible, on-demand access to goods and services (OECD, 2021),³ with 15%–28% of consumers willing to share their electronics, cars, or homes (Credit Suisse, 2021).⁴ More specifically, the shared apparel market is expected to grow by an average of 9.8% per year through 2026, led by Europe and the Americas (Statistica, 2022).⁵ The focus of this study will be on sharing apparel or fashion models and, specifically, access-based

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¹ Statista Report (2022). Value of the Sharing Economy in 2014 and 2025. Published by Statista Research Department, Jan 11, 2022. www.statista.com/statistics/830986/value-of-the-global-sharing-economy.

² PricewaterhouseCoopers (2015). Sharing or Paring? Growth of the Sharing Economy. www.pwc.com/hu/en/kiadvanyok/assets/pdf/sharing-economy-en.pdf.

³ OECD (2021). The impact of the growth of the sharing and gig economy on vat/gst policy and administration. <https://doi.org/10.1787/51825505-en>.

⁴ Credit Suisse (2015). The sharing economy - New opportunities, new questions - Global Investor 2.15 - via SPENDMENOT.

⁵ Op. cit.

apparel models within this market.

From this perspective, among sharing economy companies, access-based consumption models (as opposed to ownership-based models), such as clothing rental, offer new opportunities for both consumers and entrepreneurs. At the consumer level, access can generate psychological ownership by contributing to the extension of the self, similar to possession (Belk, 2013, 2014), but in a more “liquid” manner (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012; 2017). To date, access-based models have not been explored in depth from both consumer and firm perspectives (Scaraboto and Figueiredo, 2022), particularly in the apparel industry (Eckhardt et al., 2019; Loussaïef et al., 2019). Our research aims to fill this gap by exploring how and why consumers engage in renting clothes through such access-based models.

Furthermore, apparel access-based models in developed countries such as France (e.g., *Le Closet*), the UK (e.g., *Chic by Choice*), or the US (e.g., *Rent the Runway*) appear to be more common and are facilitated by a higher level of infrastructure than in a developing country like Mexico. In addition, the social practice of renting clothes may have specific cultural nuances. Previous literature has shown that sharing economy practices are influenced by cultural differences like collectivistic orientation (Belk, 2010; Davidson et al., 2018). Therefore, it is meaningful to compare fashion-sharing practices in a collectivist society with those in an individualistic one.

Hence, the present study explores differences in the practice of renting clothes between a developed, individualistic country (France) and a developing, collectivist country (Mexico). Studying apparel sharing is important because of its role in identity formation and the rise of sustainable fashion (McNeill and Venter, 2019). For this study, we decided to build on practice theory, specifically Magaudda's circuit of practice (2011), which focuses on three key dimensions: Objects, Meanings, and Doings. Practice theory has previously been applied to qualitative studies on collaborative consumption (Gruen, 2017; Guyader, 2018; Philip et al., 2019; Retamal, 2019). Drawing on this line of research, we aim to contribute to practice theory as well. Like these studies, we use a qualitative approach involving 32 in-depth interviews with consumers and 15 in-depth interviews with founders and managers.

This study contributes to existing research in multiple ways. First, it uncovers the new practice in France of day-to-day clothing rental. Second, the findings show this new practice is embedded in digital technologies and algorithms that create new constraints on doings for consumers. Third, the research identifies the meanings attached to this practice, especially smart behavior and sustainability concerns. Fourth, it reveals the practice of occasional clothing rental in both France and Mexico – an individual practice in France but a collective one in Mexico, rooted in social structures like family. Fifth, the findings outline similar meanings for occasional rental in both countries (e.g., smart behavior, variety and testing, and sustainability concerns), as well as similar doings, like online searches and in-store try-ons. Finally, the research highlights differences in the meanings and doings of this occasional practice, such as the importance of celebrations and rituals in Mexico versus professional social status in France. This paper also has several key managerial implications, notably the need to streamline the platform and the logistics processes for day-to-day rental access models in France. Another implication pertains to communication strategies that should focus on the main meanings of smart behavior, sustainability, and pleasure. Furthermore, as the practice of occasional renting is rather similar in France and Mexico, day-to-day rental models could be launched in Mexico with a flagship store, since visiting stores with family or friends to select outfits is a common routine in Mexican collectivistic culture.

The paper is structured as follows. First, we introduce the theoretical framework built around these areas: the shared economy, psychological ownership, practice theory, and fashion-sharing practices in the two countries studied. Second, we describe the methodological issues. Third, we present and analyze the main findings by country. The paper

concludes with a discussion and presents some limitations and further avenues for research.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. The sharing economy and access-based models

The sharing economy or collaborative economy (Herbert and Collin-Lachaud, 2017) emphasizes access over ownership (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012, 2017; Eckhardt et al., 2019). In this model, consumers have the opportunity to use a resource for a given time in exchange for payment. This approach makes the sharing economy more liquid and flexible (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2017), which challenges the centrality of material possessions and its normative dominance in consumption practices (Belk, 1988; Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012). Accordingly, our study focuses on renting/accessing clothes in the sharing economy (from renters' perspective), where individuals pay for temporary use without acquiring ownership (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012). To date, no research has delved deeply into apparel access-based models (Eckhardt et al., 2019; Loussaïef et al., 2019), making this study a timely contribution.

Research shows that consumers often develop a perceived sense of ownership over objects they do not actually own. Known as “perceived ownership” (Peck and Shu, 2009) or “psychological ownership,” the concept is defined by Pierce et al. (2003, p. 86) as “the state in which individuals feel as though the target of ownership or a piece of that target is ‘theirs’ (i.e. ‘it is mine!’)” and is distinct from legal ownership.

Psychological ownership has been documented for a variety of products in access-based consumption models, including in luxury fashion (Loussaïef et al., 2019). Access can foster psychological ownership by contributing to the extension of the self, much like actual possessions do (Belk, 1988). The self can also be defined by what one can share or access (Belk, 2013, 2014). Loussaïef et al. (2019) show that access-based consumption of luxury garments both reflects and nurtures consumers' self-identity. During the access period, women appropriate these luxury clothes and accessories and incorporate them into a temporary extended self. By contrast, no sense of ownership has been demonstrated regarding car-sharing services like *Zipcar* (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012), where consumers are not motivated to appropriate these cars and, thus, do not feel ownership. However, in a different car-sharing setting, Gruen (2017) finds that consumers can indeed experience perceived ownership of the accessed objects (i.e., cars). By building on practice theory (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 1996), Gruen shows that with *Autolib* in France (a service that incorporates a design project at its core), users derive more than just utilitarian value. New meanings (e.g., silent, ecological, futuristic) are associated with driving these cars. Therefore, in the context of apparel access-based models, it is worth examining whether psychological ownership is generated.

2.2. Practice theory in the context of the sharing economy

To examine the sharing economy in the fashion world in depth, we draw on practice theory. Building on various studies, Fuentes et al. (2019) indicate that practice approaches are now well-established in the field of consumption. Practice theory has previously been applied to topics related to consumption (Warde, 2005, 2014; Shove and Pantzar, 2005; Magaudda, 2011; Arsel and Bean, 2013; Feiereisen et al., 2019), sustainability and ethical consumption (Shove and Walker, 1992; Rettie et al., 2012; Moraes et al., 2017; Svenson, 2018), shopping (Elms et al., 2016; Fuentes and Svingstedt, 2017; Fuentes et al., 2019), collaborative consumption (Gruen, 2017; Guyader, 2018; Philip et al., 2019; Retamal, 2019). Recently, practice theory has been employed to examine object repair (Godfrey et al., 2022), ugly luxury (Zanette et al., 2022), and the practice of unboxing videos (Vaudrey, 2022).

Practice theory aims to explore the emergence of practices by examining how they are performed in relation to material, social, spatial, and temporal settings. Practices are considered to cut across

individuals and social structures, in the sense that society is constituted by social practices produced and reproduced across time and space (Giddens, 1984). A practice is initially considered a “set of actions” (Schatzki, 2001). According to Reckwitz (2002, pp. 249–250), a practice is regarded as “a routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge.” Warde (2014) notes that various perspectives have developed within practice theory. All of these authors examine a single practice as the unit of analysis (Röpke, 2009) and, in the field of consumption, study daily routines between consumers, objects, and the social environment (Shove and Pantzar, 2005).

Many academic studies have simplified the complexity of different consumption practices for the sake of clarity into three key elements: (1) objects and technologies, (2) doings, competencies, and activities, as well as, (3) meanings, representations, and emotions (Magaudde, 2011; Murphy and Patterson, 2011; Arsel and Bean, 2013; Moraes et al., 2017; Feiereisen et al., 2019; Philip et al., 2019; Godfrey et al., 2022; Vaudrey (2022), Zanette et al. (2022)). In our study, we build on this extensive line of research and focus on Magaude’s “circuit of practice” (2011), which analyzes these three levels of objects, doings, and meanings that constitute a practice.

This circuit of practice framework helps visualize changes in social practices performed by consumers, as it serves as “both an analytical and visual tool to account for the work of reconfiguration of the practice as actually experienced by consumers, focusing on the individual and concrete level in which practices are created, stabilized and transformed” (Magaude, 2011, p. 21). This framework has also been used to explore taste regimes (Arsel and Bean, 2013), ethical jewelry consumption (Moraes et al., 2017), and TV series consumption (Feiereisen et al., 2019).

Regarding the sharing economy, while practice theory has been applied in several studies, specifically car-sharing (Gruen, 2017), ride-sharing (Guyader, 2018), peer-to-peer online swapping (Philip et al., 2019), and collaborative consumption practices in Southeast Asia (Retamal, 2019), the circuit of practice framework has not yet, to the best of our knowledge, been utilized. Therefore, we propose to apply this framework to the emerging practice of the sharing economy in fashion, where new online business models of rental have been flourishing in recent years. In so doing, we will also contribute to practice theory by applying the circuit of practice framework to the sharing economy.

2.3. Practice of the fashion sharing economy in France and Mexico

Through a specific practice, consumers are viewed not as passive actors but as “carriers” of the practice (Reckwitz, 2002). In other words, they are active producers of the practice within a particular culture. By engaging in a specific practice in a given setting, consumers adapt rituals, bodily and mental activities, symbols, and other “arts of doing” to fit their local culture. Therefore, examining a practice across different spaces and cultures enriches our understanding of that practice.

Previous literature has shown that sharing economy practices are influenced by cultural factors like collectivistic orientation (Belk, 2010; Davidson et al., 2018). Therefore, it is insightful to compare the practices of the fashion-sharing economy in collectivist societies with those in individualistic ones. More broadly, individualism and collectivism may be the most potent dimensions of cultural variation in explaining a wide range of social behaviors (Earley and Gibson, 1998). Finally, as Hira (2017) and Retamal (2019) recommend in their analyses of collaborative consumption practices in Bangkok, Manila, and Hanoi, it is important to study sharing economy practices not only in high-income countries but also in emerging or developing economies.

For these reasons, we chose to analyze the practices of the fashion-sharing economy in France and Mexico. France is the emblematic capital of fashion and the central locus of fashion history (Crane, 2012); it is

also a developed country with a high individualism score (71) (Hofstede, 1993; Hofstede et al., 2010). By contrast, Mexico is an emerging country characterized by collectivism and a low individualism score (30). Other cultural differences may be discerned: France is not only more individualistic but also more feminine, more long-term oriented, and more permissive and indulgent than Mexico.

In addition, various studies have examined these two countries in relation to different variables: values tied to materialism (Clarke and Micken, 2002), the implementation of CSR strategies (Blasco and Zölner, 2010), and customer service (Soong et al., 2016). Moreover, the fashion retail model in Mexico has historically taken inspiration from the French fashion distribution system, with department stores opening almost simultaneously to their Parisian “cousins” (Bunker, 2010). Various access configurations – primarily or exclusively targeting women – are currently available in both countries for the fashion-sharing economy: rental websites with or without a physical store, peer-to-peer platforms, and traditional stores (see Appendix 1 for more details). The French market appears more mature, featuring a greater variety of online access configurations.

3. Methodology

To gain an in-depth understanding of the emerging practice of clothes rental in the sharing economy while drawing on practice theory, we conducted a qualitative study in France and Mexico. Our approach is based on 32 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with consumers (17 in France and 15 in Mexico) conducted in the local languages by the authors (French and Spanish, respectively). This was supplemented by 15 semi-structured interviews with entrepreneurs in apparel rental business models (5 and 10, respectively), which enabled us to triangulate the data. We opted for a qualitative approach featuring semi-structured interviews because: 1) the study aims to explore a newly emerging practice, and 2) previous consumer research applying practice theory has also used qualitative methodologies, especially interviews (Magaude, 2011; Arsel and Bean, 2013; Moraes et al., 2017; Feiereisen et al., 2019; Godfrey et al., 2022; Vaudrey, 2022; Zanette et al., 2022).

As highlighted above, examining and contrasting how the practice is performed in consumers’ narratives across different cultural settings is meaningful. Consumers are active producers of the practice in their local culture (Reckwitz, 2002) and can speak to the subjective meanings and doings attached to this experience. Furthermore, Mexico is a developing economy characterized by strong collectivism and historical structures of collaborative consumption (Clausen and Velázquez, 2017), in contrast to France’s Western, individualistic culture where sharing practices are not rooted in history. As for the interviews with founders and managers, our data brings entrepreneurial and professional perspectives, optimizing the generalizability of our findings by triangulating the approach.

In line with previous studies comparing France with Mexico and focusing on issues like materialism (Clarke and Micken, 2002) or CSR strategies (Blasco and Zölner, 2010), we investigate the similarities and differences between French and Mexican women concerning their practice of renting clothes. The study focuses solely on women, as they are the primary target of the access configurations in the fashion-sharing economy for both countries, a point confirmed by our interviews with founders and managers. Historically, fashion and femininity have always been closely associated (Buckley and Fawcett, 2002; Jones, 2004), and women continue to be the core constituency in fashion research (Entwistle, 2015).

In-depth interviews were conducted with women aged 22–55 who enjoy fashion shopping and have rented clothing at least once (Appendix 2 for details). In both countries, informants were recruited from among the authors’ circle of acquaintances by using the snowball technique, which is accepted in qualitative research (Patton, 1990), as well as via social media. Recruitment concluded when saturation was reached: at the 17th interview in France and the 15th in Mexico. For each country,

this number exceeds the minimum of 12 interviews recommended by Creswell et al. (2007) and is sufficiently large for fine-grained inquiry (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006). The total sample comprises 32 individuals, which is satisfactory for semi-structured interviews (Creswell et al., 2007). In recruiting informants, we aimed for diversity in age, occupation, and geographical location. The findings did not vary based on location or occupation, nor among the participants recruited via acquaintances or social media. However, there were some differences between the younger and older generations, which we highlight in the findings section.

The interview guide addressed the consumers' renting practice within the fashion-sharing economy throughout the whole process (before, during, and after rental). It also explored their relationship with the rented objects and how they used them. We also built on practice theory by including questions about the objects, meanings, and doings of the practice. Interviews averaged 1 h in length and were primarily conducted face-to-face in the local language (French or Spanish), although some took place online via Zoom or Skype. These interviews were fully transcribed, and the authors conducted a thematic analysis (Pellemans, 1999; Spiggle, 1994) using an iterative process to identify categories and themes *ex nihilo*. Initially, two of the authors independently coded the French transcripts, while the other two focused on the Mexican transcripts. Then, for each country, they compared codes, themes, and categories until they reached an agreement on what best reflected the data.

As the analysis progressed, themes for both countries were organized according to the three dimensions (i.e., objects, meanings, and doings) from Magaudda's (2011) circuit of practice. In a subsequent step, the codes and categories for the French and Mexican samples were discussed, compared, and contrasted by the authors. The findings were systematically organized within Magaudda's (2011) circuit of practice framework until a final agreement was reached.

For the expert study, we focused on professionals and founders in the fast-growing fashion rental and collaborative platform sector in both countries. In France, 15 of the most dynamic companies were contacted, and five semi-structured interviews were conducted with their founders or marketing managers. The companies interviewed represent the main economic models in the sector (see Appendix 3): clothing rental websites (*Le Closet*), rental websites with showrooms (*Panoply City*, *Une Robe un soir*), stores without rental webstores (*ElssCollection*), and collaborative rental platforms between women (*Les Cachotières*). In Mexico, 10 semi-structured interviews were conducted with founders of rental companies located in the three main cities of the country: Mexico City (*Wear the Dress*, *Sivuplé*, *Tuluá*), Monterrey (*Cruella*, *Dress Looks*, *Gaun Dresses*, *Dress to Dress*), and Guadalajara (*Conspiración Moda*, *Renué*, *Nuba Apparel*).

The interviews began by discussing the company's offers, then shifted to focus on the clientele: their perceptions of clothing rental, their relationships with the objects, their expectations, the advantages and criteria for appreciation, and the barriers encountered. The transcribed corpus underwent a thematic content analysis, which was then compared with consumer responses to strengthen the validity of the analyses obtained.

4. Findings

4.1. Two distinct fashion-sharing practices in France, related to the nature of objects

In the development of consumption practices connected with the fashion-sharing economy in France, two distinct practices emerged. Drawing on Shove and Pantzar's (2005) practice scheme and Magaudda's (2011) circuit of practice, our analysis reveals that these practices differ based on the very nature of the objects (clothes) temporarily accessed by women.

First, a completely new practice has been adopted: the day-to-day

rental of everyday clothes through subscriptions to new online platforms. In this context, as we will further detail, the objects consist of everyday clothes (for work and daily activities), accessed via the online technologies provided by the rental platform. Second, another practice is enacted in parallel by other consumers, involving the occasional rental of exceptional garments – typically, a party dress for a special occasion. The difference in the nature of the objects (everyday clothes vs. party dress) leads to two distinct practices (day-to-day rental and occasional rental) for consumers. We examine these practices in turn, drawing on Magaudda's (2011) circuit of practice (i.e., Objects, Meanings, Doings), and summarize the articulation of the practices in Fig. 1.

4.2. A new practice: day-to-day rental of everyday clothes by subscription

4.2.1. Objects: everyday clothes

In this new practice of subscription-based, day-to-day rental on platforms like *Le Closet*, the objects women seek are clothes for daily use (e.g., at their workplace or for personal activities). Many informants have jobs requiring a diverse wardrobe to vary their “look” every day of the week, and this is facilitated by these new sharing/rental platforms, as Fantine explains:

I have this subscription at €49 per month with three garments received in each box, so I plan to receive four boxes a month, totaling 12 items. I don't have to wear the same outfit to work every day; thanks to Le Closet's rented outfits, I don't have to!

Any item of everyday clothing may be rented, although our informants often mentioned dresses, tops, and jackets. These garments fit the women's individual style and are treated as if they were purchased, thereby eliciting a sense of psychological ownership (Pierce et al., 2003; Peck and Shu, 2009), as Carlotta further notes:

A blouse is a blouse, a dress is a dress; I see no difference between wearing my own clothes and those rented from Le Closet.

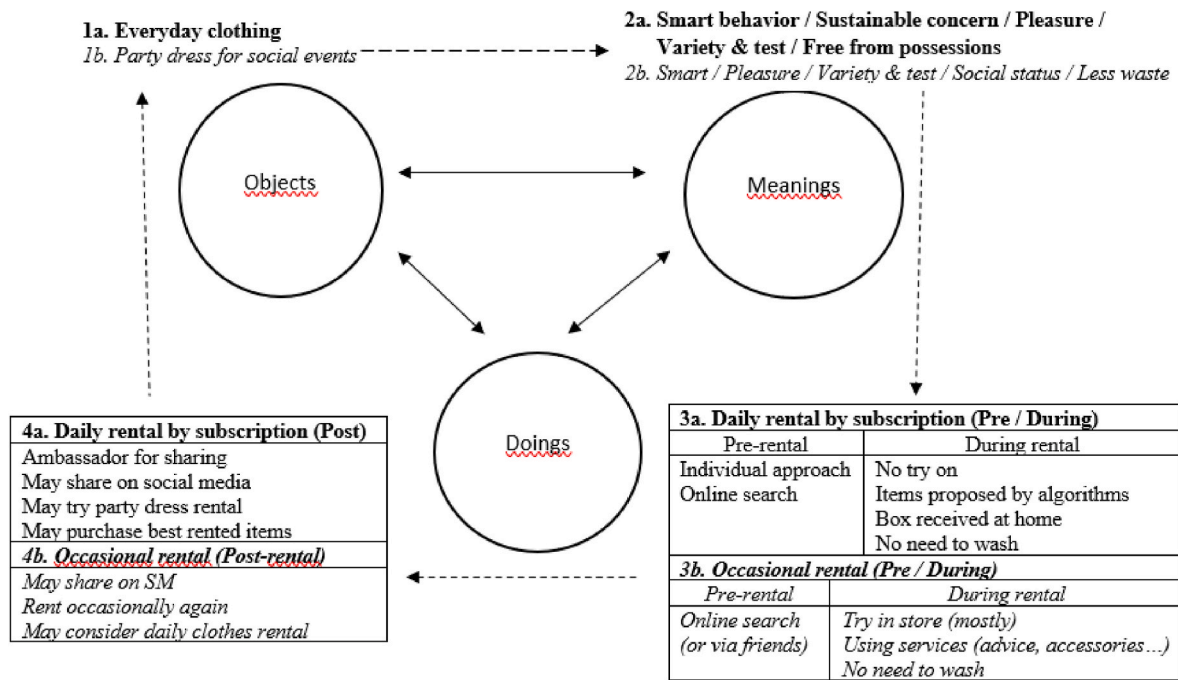
This practice goes beyond the material objects (clothes) and includes digital technologies (Shove and Pantzar, 2005), thus marking a significant departure from the previous practice of acquiring clothing. The objects are embedded in a new technology of algorithms that automatically proposes a “selection” of appropriate outfits available in the platform's catalog, based on consumers' pre-registered preferences for brands, colors, and types of clothes, among others. This technology is mentioned by participants as part of the material culture of this new practice. Fantine says:

Sometimes, they offer me a selection of clothes, and I don't want to change anything, I say to myself: “Ah, this is great! The algorithm worked well, and the selection of outfits suits me! Or maybe it's the stylist who double-checked, and she didn't make any mistakes.” I had to input the brands I liked best into the system and refine it by saying which colors I didn't want to receive, like pink. You can even indicate that you don't want skirts or trousers ... This gives them an idea of your style!

Thus, the practice requires consumers to appropriate the digital technologies and the platform's parameters to optimize the clothing selection and the rental process. This will be further discussed in the Doings section.

4.2.2. Meanings

Smart behavior. The narratives highlight various meanings attributed to the practice of everyday clothing rental. First and foremost, it is closely tied to “smart behavior.” All the women interviewed conveyed that this rental practice makes them feel “smart” as it allows them to access a wide range of stylish clothing at a more affordable price than purchasing. The meaning of smart behavior correlates with spending less money, similar to the concept of smart shopping found in the literature (Mano and Elliott, 1997; Odou et al., 2009). This finding is



Note: in italics, the meanings and doings (pre-rental, during rental and post-rental) for the party dress in occasional rental.

Fig. 1. The fashion sharing economy in France: The circuit of practice.

consistent with the financial motivations for peer-to-peer sharing previously outlined by Hawlitschek et al. (2018). However, this smart meaning also stems from the women's awareness that others notice and admire their regular changes of outfit, even though the clothes are not more expensive because they are rented. As a result, the participants feel savvy, intelligent, and proud of their choices. Thus, Fantine says:

A year ago, I used to spend €200 a month on new clothes. Now I spend less; I have my budget for renting clothes, €49 a month at Le Closet, and for the rest, I think I've cut my clothing budget in half. Because I only purchase masterpieces now, I would say, and less often since I rotate my wardrobe through rental. I have a large range of possible clothes now with rental! Take this mustard color, which was so fashionable last year. Well, I rented a dress in this color – it was a bold move, but it paid off because I received many compliments ... But I'd never have bought a dress like that!

Also, the fact that consumers can temporarily access garments they could or would never buy makes them feel it is a smart move, as expressed by Capucine:

The first thing I rented was a pair of imitation leather shorts. I knew that I didn't want to spend €50 on them because, even though I was told they would fit me well, I wouldn't wear them often. It was a smart move to rent them!

These comments highlight the lighter perceived burden of ownership (Berry and Maricle, 1973) inherent in these clothing rental practices. However, this aspect was not cited by informants as an initial reason for renting, contrasting with prior research on peer-to-peer swapping (Philip et al., 2019). This notion of smart behavior is also confirmed by our professional interviews. The marketing manager of Le Closet views it as the primary motivation among their clientele: *They really think, "It doesn't make sense to spend so much time, money, and energy, so I'm renting."*

Concern for sustainability. The women's accounts of their daily fashion renting habits also reveal an associated meaning of

sustainability and ecological concern. Our participants no longer want to buy clothes that will be worn infrequently, viewing seldom-worn garments as a form of waste. Patricia explains:

I don't like to buy too much. I don't want to fill my wardrobe with clothes. After reading Marie Kondo's book, I'm trying to reduce my consumption. I don't want five white tops and five red tops. Renting gives me access to variety without waste. I don't enjoy going to Kookai and buying crap.

Cécilia shares this sustainability concern:

I decided to rent for ecological reasons. I don't want to continue buying clothes. Renting allows me to address the sustainability concern.

The expert interviews confirm the importance of sustainability concerns among their customers: *Our clients are aware of the world around them, so they question their consumption patterns and their impact on the world (Le Closet).* In this regard, the sustainability meaning aligns with previous research on peer-to-peer swapping (Philip et al., 2019), which found that consumers aim to limit waste. In our study, however, the strong ecological and sustainable meanings attached to this rental practice are also spontaneously mentioned by some informants as a strongly attached meaning of the practice, similar to the findings in Armstrong et al. (2015). In addition, respondents cite ethical reasons for choosing fashion sharing over purchasing from certain retailers known for their questionable social conduct. For example, Florence says:

I'm fed up with fast fashion: buying to throw away. I'm also starting to have a problem buying stuff from H&M when I know it's made by 8-year-olds in basements. It bothers my conscience.

Pleasure. It appears to come up in the women's narratives as an intrinsic meaning tied to everyday clothes renting, often linked to another meaning, namely the variety arising from being able to change their wardrobe. But pleasure is also found in the rental process itself: browsing online to find new items, like window-shopping, discovering beautiful clothing, experimenting with the selections proposed by the

algorithm, and receiving the delivery at home as a gift or pleasant surprise, as the quotation below highlights:

Olivia: It was fun to look on the internet, thinking: "Ah, in two days, I'm going to receive things."

Fantine: It's almost like a gift every time, like receiving a letter, actually. When you open the box, each time, it's a pleasure to discover the new outfit next to the photo of the model wearing it. In fact, it's a pleasure, like receiving mail, but not a bill – like receiving a really nice letter!

This perception of pleasure-resonant meaning in this practice is new, as it was absent from the meanings attributed to peer-to-peer swapping (Philip et al., 2019) and more broadly from the traditional motives for sharing, as reviewed by Hawlitschek et al. (2018). One possible explanation comes from the hedonic, symbolic, and involving aspects of garments, which are a social marker (Auty and Elliott, 2001), particularly important for women (Gould and Stern, 1989), unlike the more functional and utilitarian products examined by earlier sharing literature.

Variety and testing. Variety-seeking is a key meaning associated with peer-to-peer swapping of books or clothes (Philip et al., 2019) and a primary motive for sharing (Hawlitschek et al., 2018). Unsurprisingly, our findings show that women attribute this same meaning of variety-seeking to day-to-day clothing rental. As Patricia puts it:

I have access to a stock of fashionable and trendy clothes without any effort. I'm not forced to wear something 50 times and get bored with it; I can send it back afterward. It gives me a sense of variety. I can try styles that aren't my usual, that I never would have bought, but once I try them on, I think: "Ah well, actually, it's not bad; it suits me." I can try designs that I wouldn't have even considered on a hanger because I get them from the internet. I have variety without overconsuming.

This meaning is confirmed by the manager of the *Le Closet* platform: *Our customers are happy to change clothes regularly, to be more fashionable. They have a thirst for variety.* However, in our case, as this quotation illustrates, the quest for variety is linked to the opportunity for testing. Day-to-day clothes rental lets women try out new looks and types of clothing without the financial burden of ownership or the risk of disappointment. As Capucine explains, *"It allows me to test brands that I can't necessarily afford."* The significance of this meaning in the practice is also highlighted in our interviews with managers: *With our system, you can wear something, test it at home, and gauge the reactions of those around you and how good you feel in it.* (Le Closet).

Freedom from possessions. Several participants, particularly among the younger generation, perceive daily clothes rental as a way to free themselves from material possessions, in addition to the ecological and sustainable benefits. This strong "freedom from possessions" sentiment comes through clearly with Jude (24), who explains her desire to be less materialistic and how renting is a way of becoming less attached to objects:

I try to step back more and more from owning [things] because it's materialistic, and I detach. If tomorrow I don't have this dress or that thing, it doesn't matter. It's hard to part with objects because emotionally, there's a link. So now, well, I don't buy clothes anymore; I rent them, so at least I don't create this link. I feel proud to have changed my way of consuming ... to no longer possess things and to say, "Well, OK, I have it, and then I send it back." I'm proud to have this detachment from objects.

Similarly, Charline (36) appreciates that she is not as committed to an item of clothing as she would be if she bought it. She feels liberated as a result, aligning with a new consumption model that is free from the straitjacket of ownership, in addition to the ecological and social motivation underlying the sharing economy (Edbring et al., 2016):

You know you don't have the commitment and the pressure to say to yourself, "You have to keep this purchase for the rest of your life until the garment is worn out." When you buy, you're more committed than when

you rent. Before, I had 90% of my clothing purchases for pleasure, and 10% were essential. Now, 100% are essential purchases, and the pleasure comes from renting!

The managers of rental platforms confirm this meaning attached to the practice, which the younger generations perceive as particularly promising for the future: *It's really the new generations who don't necessarily feel the need to own things anymore. They're actually fed up with overconsumption; they're more into having just what they need.* (Les Cachotières).

4.2.3. Doings

Individual doings with online search before renting. The practice of day-to-day clothing rental is described as an individual activity that informants opt for in adulthood to access material objects differently. The practice is consistently adopted through a reasoned individual process where the self is central and valued, reflecting French individualist culture (Hofstede, 1993; Hofstede et al., 2010), as Capucine's quotation illustrates:

I wanted to renew my wardrobe but also wanted to lose weight and, therefore, invest in clothes that I hope will fit me soon. At the same time, I wanted to pay a little more attention to myself and maybe dare to wear things that I wouldn't buy.

This individual approach is admired as the informants feel their behavior is "different than" or "ahead of" the crowd. Most of the women find out about rental platforms or shops through a personal online search or initially hear about them from friends and then follow up with an online search to make comparisons before deciding. The narratives highlight this individual approach rooted in individual searching online, as Jude notes:

I was bored of buying all the time, spending all my money on clothes, so I typed 'renting clothes' into Google. After diving deeper, I realized there aren't many providers!

During the rental experience, activities are embedded in techniques. Informants engage in key routine activities, mostly pleasurable, that are embedded in technologies or techniques throughout the rental experience. In so doing, they avoid the often stressful act of trying on clothes, due to sales assistant pressure or the personal burden of deciding whether purchasing the item is worth it. Renting online alleviates the burden associated with purchasing and owning (Berry and Maricle, 1973).

Overall, the activities performed are repetitive and rooted in technicality as they involve selecting outfits for the week online, receiving the package with the items at home, organizing the necessary logistics around timely reception, and subsequently returning the items. While these logistics activities are seen as burdensome, they are offset by three positive and pleasurable doings: 1) browsing the website to review potential offers and making selections, 2) receiving automated suggestions for outfits based on individual preferences and previous rentals, and 3) not having to launder the garments before returning them. Charline's narrative illustrates this:

The two most important moments in the rental process are when you choose your clothes online. There's the e-mail that says: "That's it, your selection has been made for you." And then, the ability to say online: "Thank you very much, but I'm going to change it anyway," and "I want this, I want that," and actually, I'm changing everything! I like to modify the clothes selection made by the algorithm (...) The clothes are supposedly picked for you, and it's true, they do fit me 99% of the time. It's a personalized selection, but I would need to update my parameters because I shouldn't have clicked on all types of clothes ... And in the end, there's no washing; you just send your parcel back. In the evening, I come home, and I have my parcel, received by the au pair, for eight days. And on the day I drop it off, I put it in my firm's mailbox. It could be a constraint, but for me, it's super easy.

However, the practice presupposes an appropriation of and familiarization with the platform's digital technologies (Pantzar, 1997). This includes not only the parameters for system entry (as highlighted above) but also the "likes" to systematically place on favorite items, the time required to understand how the system works, and the rather obscure algorithmic process. Furthermore, the practice requires mastery of logistics techniques within the platform for optimizing the circuit and timing deliveries. In this regard, the practice can be costly for consumers, as noted in peer-to-peer swapping (Philip et al., 2019). Patricia explains:

It's a bit of effort, not a huge one, to get into it and understand the concept. It's not that I'm stupid, but ... once I understand how to have more or fewer choices in the garments, I won't have the courage to go back to another platform. You have to search the site and 'like' your favorites so that in the selection you receive, they actually try to understand what you like. It requires time to say, 'I like/don't like' on the application. You see, it's for their algorithm. To start, you have to enter all your parameters for the selections, which is really time-consuming. Then, the thing that's a bit complicated is that you have to write down what you've received so you can get a new selection within 48 hours. Then, once you've sent back the clothes you've worn, you can get another box ... Well, there are many processes, and they explain how to optimize the timing ...

The logistics constraint is also a concern for professionals, who recognize the cost impact on consumers and highlight their dependence on the efficiency of their delivery partners, who are seen as more efficient in the US than in France. This point is emphasized by the *Le Closet* manager:

The other factor driving this trend toward more daily renting consumers is logistics. If logistics was up to scratch in France and as efficient as in the United States, it would improve the rental market and our delivery efficiency. Things are getting better, especially with the Stuart company, all the new things that are happening, especially in Paris. With increased competition for postal services, improvements are happening quickly.

Habits following the day-to-day rental experience. All informants generally share their daily clothes rental with others. As Capucine says: *I told a mom at school, 'I rent some clothes,' and she said, 'I'm interested.' Now we're three moms exchanging tips on eco-friendly brands, our favorites, how to do it ... The other day I said, 'I'm having a yard sale and found something for me.' It's a mindset of sharing.*

Renters often become ambassadors of the practice, something highly valued within the French individualistic culture. They view it as a smart action imbued with many positive meanings. Some even share photos of themselves in their favorite outfits on social media, thus fostering a community of women renters. This aligns with the creation of community meaning found in peer-to-peer swapping practices (Philip et al., 2019). Another emerging habit is that participants actually end up buying their favorite rented garments, either because they have formed an emotional attachment to the object (Belk, 1988) or received positive feedback. These findings are evident in Fantine's words:

I'm even in a private Facebook group where we post our looks and outfits to each other. So they all know I rent from Le Closet; some have even subscribed thanks to me. And they rate the garments, saying, "You should absolutely keep this outfit" or "Oh no, send it back, it doesn't suit you." I've become a bit of an ambassador for renting. Through my referral, I've brought in two god-daughters and maybe six or seven other people (...) I purchase about one rented item every two months. My husband is the first to say if something from Le Closet really suits me. He says, "Keep it. It really suits you," and I'm only going to buy those key items.

4.3. A reconfiguration of practice: occasional rental of a party dress

4.3.1. Object: party dress

This occasional practice involves the one-off rental of a garment, often high-end, for a special occasion like a ceremony, wedding, birthday, or party. The practice is reconfigured in the way Magaudeau (2011) suggests, as occasional renting existed before, but new business models connect to objects, doings, and meanings that were not there before. Previously, the offerings from renters were considered *cheap*, *low-quality*, and *outdated*. Now, the offerings displayed on websites and in boutiques are much more attractive, as Alix explains:

In fact, these providers were old-fashioned and rather repulsive. But this time I looked at four or five websites, and they were luxurious. Then I found the "Ma Bonne Amie" rental website, and they had all these magnificent Elie Saab dresses ...

The women interviewed describe party dresses that are more prestigious than the usual clothes in their wardrobe. These are specific gowns for events, and the renters feel a temporary sense of psychological ownership (Pierce et al., 2003; Peck and Shu, 2009). Carole says:

When we buy clothes, we don't necessarily have an occasion in mind. But for rental, we have a need, we have an occasion, a wedding, parties ... At such and such a time, we know we're going to have lots of parties, so we want to dress a little more fancy to celebrate the moment. And then we rent. I rented super nice dresses by Cacharel that I could never have accessed otherwise ... When you wear the dress, the garment is yours, it's you. We say to ourselves "Well, no, it's not really mine, I rented it." But when I own it, for a moment, I'm happy to have it, and I feel like it's mine ...

4.3.2. Meanings

Like with daily clothes rental, the first meaning associated with the occasional rental of a party dress is *smart behavior*. This emerges as the primary motive for adopting the practice, followed by *pleasure* and *variety and testing* (see consumers' quotations in Table 1). *Social status* is a new meaning particularly important for this occasional rental practice, differing from day-to-day clothing rental. This also contrasts with meanings in peer-to-peer swapping and specifically the swapping of clothes (Philip et al., 2019). For example, Nadège says it is essential to

Table 1
France - Occasional rental of a party dress – Meanings.

Meanings	Examples of informants' quotations
Smart Behavior	Alix: You don't pay much, €250 for four days' rental of an evening dress, whereas an evening dress can cost several thousand euros. Renting obviously solves some financial issues. You don't end up with something you paid €500 or €1000 for that doesn't fit you or you don't like ...
Pleasure	Aude: It's like: Here I am, I'm wearing a top-of-the-range dress by Sandro or Maje, just for today at this event, it's nice!
Variety and Testing	Aude: That's what I like about the Les Cachotières concept. I can change my selected rented dress for occasions like a dinner or an evening out, or try out new styles if needed, it's great!
Social Status	Alix: Because my husband is the CEO and I'm a senior executive, I had to look very elegant. He was hosting many people and giving out an award on stage at the Cannes film festival. I needed to be perfect for both him and the firm. So there was both the appearance linked to his status and my status. And I don't want to wear the same evening dress because there will be the same guests, and I don't want them to say: "She's recycling her gown from last year."
Concern for Sustainability	Nadège: First, there's a budget motivation because you can't buy this kind of dress, well you can but it's expensive, and you should never wear the same dress twice. So it's more intelligent to rent. Second, you can change and access variety with rental. These are my main motives. Finally, even if it's not my primary motivation, I say to myself that it's also good in a general way for the environment; there's less waste this way ...

rent in order to wear exceptional clothes at weddings and family events to honor the guests and her own family. She feels there is social pressure to wear different beautiful garments every time for these occasions (see Table 1).

Social status attached to occasional rental is also very important in corporate events where one has to represent a firm. Renting an exceptional evening dress from a sharing platform enhances the individual look, communicates self-identity (Entwistle, 2015), and signals social status (Auty and Elliott, 2001) (see Table 1).

Finally, *concern for sustainability* is not a strong meaning in this occasional renting practice, unlike its importance in day-to-day rental. Some informants never mention the ecological dimension, while others acknowledge “less waste” but as a minor motive compared with the smart behavior meaning (see Table 1).

4.3.3. Doings

As with day-to-day rental, occasional rental starts with an individual internet search before the experience, which contributes to reconfiguring the practice itself. Either participants take it upon themselves to search for platforms in the fashion-sharing economy or they mention family/friends as a source of advice and social networks as a source of inspiration to adopt the practice. They first make contact with the practice as the result of an online search to identify possible sharing/rental platforms and then compare outfits online before going to the physical location to actually rent (see quotation in Table 2).

Unlike day-to-day rental, the practice places greater emphasis on the fitting of clothes in the physical shop, which is a key step in the experience for consumers. Trying on the party dress in the boutique is the culmination of rental for an occasion, like a *Pretty Woman* experience, with the joy of slipping into the garment and making sure it fits

Table 2
France - Occasional rental of a party dress – Doings.

Doings	Examples of informants' quotations
Individual Search Online and Try-On In-Store	Aude: I heard about it from friends in Lille. I've got this friend who has beautiful luxury dresses she gets through rental at Les Cachotières. When I got a wedding invitation, I had already seen on their website the different outfits I could rent. I took the package of three dresses for four days and then visited their physical location to look at the dresses and try them on.
Trying In-Store The <i>Pretty Woman</i> Service Experience	Nadege: You enter a room with a mirror, as if they were putting you on stage, and there are some dresses for rent already on display. The consultant helps you dress, zips it up, and is really there to advise you, even to lend you shoes for trying the dress on ... When I tried on the dresses, I felt like a princess! And there's the whole alterations service: They adjust the dress on you if there are little things that don't fit. Afterward, there is no need to wash it or iron it; you just put it back. So there's real service.
Additional Services and Advice	Alix: What was interesting about renting was that I found myself with someone who advised me on my figure. I'm convinced that in a regular shop, I wouldn't have had as much advice since people are interested in selling. For four days of rental, she lent me the stole in addition to the evening dress and gave me a small diamond square minaudière. Then she gave me a bag, an appropriate cover for the dress. She asked me how I was going to the festival, by plane or by train. They're real pros. And you don't wash anything. Some idiot spilled her whole glass of wine on my dress; if it had been my own dress I would have killed her. But it wasn't my dress, so I was cool. It's all included!
Consider Renting Day-to-Day	Nadege: I've seen Le Closet online for renting clothes on a daily basis, and it interests me more than renting for weddings because you don't go to weddings or events like that all the time! I checked out the Le Closet concept on their website. It's really great that I could change clothes regularly through rental! I want to try their €50 package subscription with three dresses ...

perfectly. Because this dress is for a special event and costs more, the in-store try-on stage is crucial (see Table 2).

As outlined here, using additional services offered by the rental firm is another aspect of the practice. First, there is the guidance from the rental service consultant, who is perceived as less pushy than a standard sales advisor when it comes to recommending specific outfits. Additional services, like garment alteration, lending of accessories, provision of transport bags for party dresses, and a no-wash service, are also provided. These are perceived as liberating by the women interviewed and integral to the experience (see Table 2).

After the occasional rental experience, consumers prolong the event by sharing photos on social networks, since it was a special occasion. The practice is often repeated for other special events as our informants are pleased with the service and experience. Doing so may also lead them to consider renting on a more regular basis (see Table 2).

4.4. In Mexico, mostly one sharing practice: occasional renting for social events

In the past, renting dresses was not a popular or well-regarded consumption practice among Mexican women. Usually, it was men who rented tuxedos for weddings and graduation ceremonies. The prevailing sentiment in Mexico was that rental dresses were not the best – often viewed as shabby, outdated, and ugly. There were also concerns about the quality and cleanliness of the rented clothes. However, this perception has changed over time. Today, renting dresses, mainly for special occasions, has become a major fashion trend. When it comes to consumption practices in the fashion-sharing economy in Mexico, renting for daily use is rare and limited to certain occasions, like job interviews, where the client is already familiar with the practice of renting for events. So, our focus is on the most common practice of occasional rental for special social events. We use practice theory (Shove and Pantzar, 2005) and the object-meaning-doing circuit of practice (Magaudua, 2011; Murphy and Patterson, 2011) to review this main renting practice and summarize the process in Fig. 2.

Mexican women tend to rent and pay extra attention to the clothes they rent for special social events like weddings, baptisms, graduation ceremonies, and parties. These events are a key part of the traditions and rituals that shape the country's social and family dynamics. Shove and Pantzar (2005) note that artifacts are acquired and used in the context of social practices, which has important implications for consumption and innovation. According to these authors, it is not enough to show that goods are symbolically and materially positioned, mediated, and filtered through existing cultures and conventions; the important issue is to explain how these practices alter and impact related forms of consumption. Similarly to findings in the French study, this practice – reconfigured in the sense of Magaudua (2011) – shows that occasional renting existed before, but the offerings were considered cheap, low-quality, and outdated.

In the Mexican study, renting is often seen as a shared practice among family and close friends, where the garment becomes part of the social exchange between members. This view aligns with Schatzki's conceptualization of practice (2005, p. 11) as “embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organized around shared practical understanding.” Mayela explains that before renting became an option, clothing was shared within the family: *I have rented evening dresses or dresses for events. Before, when I went to a wedding, I would buy the dress, and well, my little sister, my other sister, my mother, and I would take turns wearing it.*

4.4.1. Objects: party dresses for special social events

Participants often describe original garments, especially evening dresses, that they do not want to wear again at events or see other women wearing at the same event. The desire to wear a “unique” garment is a powerful motivator in the Mexican sample, likely driven by social pressures in certain circles. A distinction is made between renting

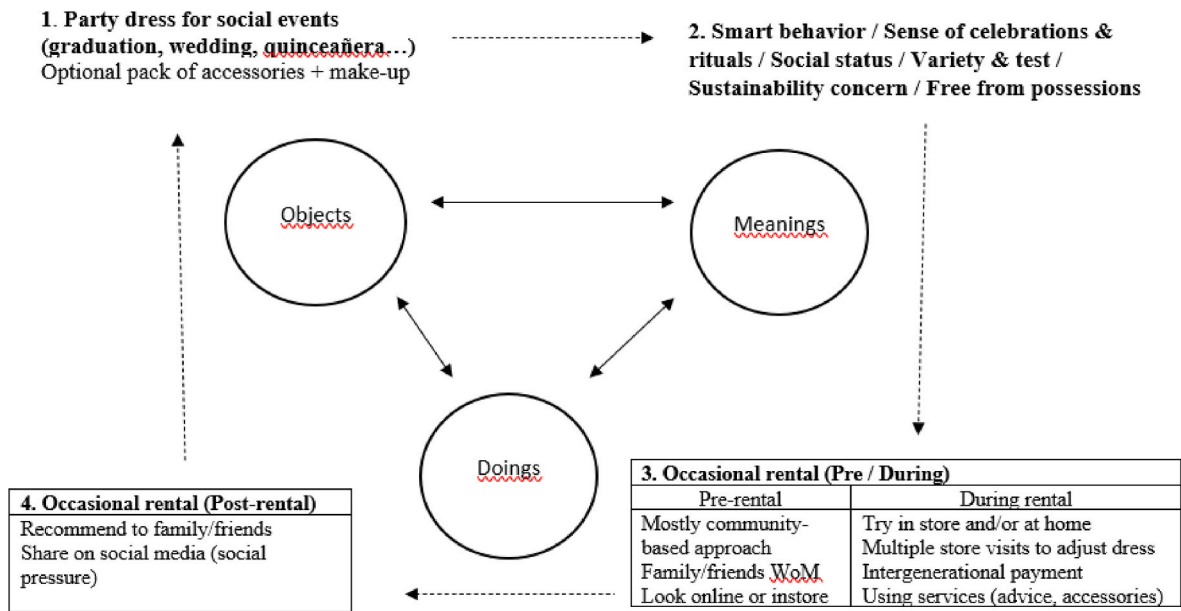


Fig. 2. The fashion hybrid renting/sharing economy in Mexico: The circuit of practice.

for an important social event (e.g., a best friend’s wedding) and a relatively less important one (e.g., a boyfriend’s acquaintance’s wedding). For important events, the Mexican respondents seek special, distinctive, almost unique garments and challenge rental companies to broaden their clothing options and implement systems to minimize outfit repetition among clients (Mariana – Table 3).

The pressure on consumers and companies also explains why rental stores often offer not only personalized clothing but also accessories and sometimes a package that includes the dress, accessories, and makeup. It is worth noting a key difference between renting a dress and renting accessories. Sofia, for example, only rents dresses but prefers to purchase her own accessories (Sofia - Table 3).

4.4.2. Meanings

In the Mexican sample, multiple meanings were identified around the practice of renting, including smart behavior, a sense of celebrations and rituals, the influence of social status and social perception, and the meaning associated with variety and testing. The meaning around concern for sustainability had not yet emerged as a key driver, but increased sensitivity to these issues is evident among younger generations.

Smart behavior. Renting is tied to the need to avoid wasteful spending and to save money, as previously outlined in the review by

Hawlitsek et al. (2018). Sara articulated this as a need to “save money” (Sara - Table 4). Katia highlighted that buying an elegant dress for a single occasion is a bad investment (Katia - Table 4). When asked about her main motivation for renting, Fernanda stated straightforwardly: “If you’re going to use it again and you can rent it, that’s great. You save money and don’t keep it in your closet for a long time and ultimately donate it.” (Fernanda - Table 4).

The Mexican experts’ study also confirms that the consensus is that renting costs less than buying. Those who rent can access different dresses and save both time and money by returning the garment after use. Only the founder of *Conspiración Moda* highlighted the “experience of exclusivity” by having a dress, which would otherwise be unattainable, for a day.

The financial motive supports the notion of “smart renting,” previously highlighted by Loussaief et al. (2019) in the context of luxury fashion. On the one hand, the motivation to save money may intersect with practicality and the benefits of a shared good in a virtuous circle: You rent the dress, wear it, and then return it so someone else can benefit from the same garment. This sentiment is illustrated by Katia’s experience of renting a prom dress (Katia - Table 4). On the other hand, women might choose smart renting when they do not have their “normal” shape (e.g., due to pregnancy) but still want to look stylish at a reasonable cost (Andrea - Table 4).

Sense of celebration, rituals, and intergenerational transmission of traditions. In Mexico, women are invited to a wide variety of events (e.g., quinceañeras, civil and religious weddings, graduation ceremonies, baptisms, etc.) by relatives as well as more distant contacts (e.g., a friend of the father, a client, the brother of a friend, etc.) (Diana & Sofia - Table 4). Generally, Mexicans are invited to more social events than their French counterparts, for instance (Andrea - Table 4). These celebrations and rituals create value by imbuing behavior, objects used, and outcomes with meaning and enabling consumers to consume (McNally, 2015). From this perspective, celebrations and rituals are embedded in Mexico’s cultural, religious, and professional contexts and strongly influence the different renting behaviors and intergenerational transmission processes (e.g., contributions and gifts among family members) (Cova, 2002). By actively participating in the practice of renting, Mexican consumers re-appropriate rituals, traditions, physical and mental activities, symbols, and other “arts of doing,” as well as meanings related to this practice in their local culture (Reckwitz, 2002). The sense of celebration can also be coupled with the sense of family, as renting

Table 3
Mexico – Occasional rental of a party dress – Objects.

- Objects	Examples of informants’ quotations
Party Dress & Accessories	<p>Mariana: In Cruella (a rental store) ... they also create tailored dresses for you. They offer a wide variety and tell you: “We have this dress, and if you like it, we can make it for you ... It’s like buying a new dress; you go in, get measured, they adjust it, and you have a dress made just for you.</p> <p>Sofia: Some accessories, like large earrings or gold wedding earrings, are not so important. They aren’t so expensive; you can buy just them. You have them, and you can use them at other social events. I’ve never rented accessories or shoes. Shoes are better purchased to match the event. Some shoes can be paired with different things, with various dresses. In fact, the dress changes the look of the shoes ... You can wear your beautiful neutral-colored shoes with a red dress, a green dress, or a purple dress. For me, it’s a better investment to buy shoes and accessories rather than a dress.</p>

Table 4
Mexico - Occasional rental of a party dress - Meanings.

Meanings	Examples of informants' quotations
Smart Behavior	<p>Sara: I had already heard about renting clothes; several people [her neighbors] have told me they did not buy but preferred to rent, and it was cheaper.</p> <p>Katia: Single-occasion dresses are cool but are a bad investment. As its a very elegant dress, it's not something you'll wear again. I have my first communion dress, my "quinceañera" dress, and my high school graduation dress. I've used none of these dresses again, nor have I been able to sell them. So, it was cool, but it was money poorly invested.</p> <p>Fernanda: It's great because women usually say, "I'm only going to wear it once," and you pay 5000 pesos for something you'll just wear once. If you're going to use it again and you can rent it, that's great. You save money and don't keep it in your closet for a long time and ultimately donate it.</p> <p>Katia: So, what would be the main advantage of renting? The utility. The dress serves its purpose, then you return it, and someone else can use it.</p> <p>Andrea: After my pregnancy, renting was a convenience purchase to avoid buying a dress that was not yet my normal size.</p> <p>Diana: When I have a wedding or social event in the evening, like weddings, quinceañeras, graduations, parties, I don't know if I have to accompany my dad to an important corporate party or things like that, that's when I think about renting a dress.</p> <p>Sofia: ... the wedding where you are invited by the cousin's friend ...</p> <p>Andrea: In one year I attended 25 weddings!</p> <p>Katia: [Who paid the rental, you or your mom?] My aunt; it was my graduation gift.</p> <p>Sara: My neighbors usually rent clothes. It doesn't bother me to rent because I know they take them to the dry cleaner. You can't wear the dress and then simply hang it back because each person has a smell so the dress would smell bad or have makeup stains or whatever. In any case, when you rent, the dress smells clean.</p> <p>Mayela: Renting became very fashionable, and "everyone" in León [the city where she lives] started renting, so it was very normal.</p> <p>Andrea: In Monterrey, on the one hand, most stores offer the same model in all available sizes, and then they have it in pink, and they have it in red, in all available sizes, and then, they have it in black, then when you enter the store and see the same dress in 40 colors and 100 sizes, it makes you worry as a customer that the chances of someone wearing the same dress at the same wedding are really high (a very serious risk!).</p> <p>In the rental process, store managers ask about the event you're going to, and what wedding, and you have to say the name of the bride and groom. The managers keep this in the system, and if someone else tries to rent the same dress for the same wedding, they won't rent them the same dress. That's what they tell you [but she shows disbelief with her gestures], the same model and the same color, but they don't block rentals if it's a model in another color ... It hasn't happened to me personally [that I rented a dress and someone else wore it at the same party], but I know from many close friends that this happens frequently, which is why stores in Monterrey keep very large inventories.</p>
Sense of Celebration, Rituals & Intergenerational Transmission of Traditions	
Social Status with a Dual Social Practice: Accepted and Criticized	

Table 4 (continued)

Meanings	Examples of informants' quotations
Variety and Testing	<p>Daniela: One dress I rented was strapless. Usually, I don't wear or own strapless dresses, but I said, "Let's try it," precisely because it was for rent and I wasn't going to invest in it. I really didn't like it. Although I must confess, my wedding dress was strapless; even though I had said I would never wear a strapless dress again, I ended up doing so and I was happy. In the middle of the party, I added straps, and it was very simple, much more my style.</p> <p>Daniela: Stay true to your style, especially if you care about the event. I usually rent something more in line with my style than something that has nothing to do with it. When I rented something that was not my style, it was for a wedding that I didn't care about.</p> <p>Ximena: I liked that I could have access to see many dresses and the ones I liked I could try on in a dressing room with many mirrors.</p> <p>Diana: I think it's also a generational issue. It's not so important to own things now; it's not important to buy a house, it's not important to buy a car, it's also not important to buy a dress. You rent it, and then, when you need another dress, you rent another. Younger generations are much more practical in these matters; for them, owning the things or objects they use is not important.</p>
Detachment from Possessions and Concern for Sustainability	

offers opportunities for intergenerational transmission and caring (Katia - Table 4).

Social status with a dual social practice of renting. Rental is associated with community practices where codes and customs are generally respected, thus lending the practice of renting garments a level of social acceptance it did not previously have in Mexico (Sara - Table 4). Renting clothes is unquestionably seen as a fashion trend in the Mexican context – the new black, so to speak – but is also experienced as a risky practice. This sentiment was frequently expressed during interviews, with respondents noting that although rental behavior is now largely accepted, there remain some areas for improvement. In other words, this consumption practice has dual aspects. The positive side was articulated in Mayela's narrative (Mayela - Table 4), and the negative side in Andrea's (Andrea - Table 4), reflecting the fear of being ridiculed, which can happen with a poor rental experience. This duality – this yin and yang – encompasses the idea that two opposite characteristics can co-exist in harmony and complement each other.

Variety and Testing. Another meaning emerges when some participants express a clear interest in experiencing new things and new styles and stepping out of their usual comfort zone, as previously highlighted (Hawliitschek et al., 2018; Philip et al., 2019). Because purchasing “atypical” garments that are not a regular part of their everyday wardrobe presents a risk, renting opens up a world of possibilities to explore, albeit with some reservations. Daniela's experience illustrates the nuances depending on the context. On the one hand, she has experimented with new things (Daniela – Table 4), and on the other hand, she also stated that she would prefer to stick to her usual style for very important social events rather than venturing into unfamiliar territory (Daniela - Table 4). Ximena also mentions the importance of variety (Table 4).

Detachment from possessions and concern for sustainability. In line with previous research (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012; Edbring et al., 2016), detachment from possessions was also identified in the participants' discourse. This relationship with objects is rooted in an ecological and social consciousness that tends to minimize waste and excessive consumption, shifting toward more sustainable practices (Botsman and Rogers, 2010; White et al., 2019; Saravade et al., 2020; Morewedge et al., 2021).

In contrast to the centrality of possessions that was previously

emphasized (Belk, 1988), this new relationship with objects may be linked to the interviewees’ stage in the life cycle and the younger age cohort to which they belong (Diana - Table 4). The meanings associated with garment rental are intertwined with the actions and activities carried out by the participants, as will be analyzed in the next section. However, Mexican professionals that were interviewed do not identify environmental sustainability or social responsibility as a priority motivator for renting.

4.4.3. Doings

Before renting, a community approach with two possible paths. Before the renting experience, two main paths based on a community approach can be discerned: a traditional path and a digital journey. In the traditional path, Mexican women seek rental locations based on recommendations from their entourage – family, friends, and neighbors play a central role in sharing store names and prior rental experiences.

This first step in the rental experience underlines the importance of a person’s social circle and reflects the collectivist nature of Mexican society (Hofstede, 1993; Hofstede et al., 2010) (Diana & Mariana - Table 5). The second path is digital and relies on recommendations from social networks and influencers. In this scenario, consumers use social media as a major source of information before renting and as a springboard before going to a “real” store (Katia & Daniela - Table 5).

Decision-making process: Hybrid paths. The way Mexican women initially engage with a rental location and the decision-making process that underlies the renting process can follow varied paths. The traditional path is often chosen by older women who prefer to visit the stores in person. Typically, this process involves exploring different outlets until the individual finds the right outfit (Daniela - Table 5).

By contrast, the digital online rental path, primarily through social networks like Instagram and Facebook, is often preferred by younger women. Finding the right product can involve trying out different products and searching multiple outlets, both traditional and digital. On many occasions, some participants discovered the product they liked through digital channels (Katia - Table 5), while at other times, both paths – visiting physical stores and using the internet – intersect (Mayela - Table 5).

From the experts’ study perspective, the main obstacle to entering digital channels is the gap in Mexico between purchasing and renting in this way. Mexican women are increasingly gaining confidence in online purchasing, and it is becoming a common practice. However, this level of confidence does not yet extend to online garment rentals.

During renting, either through physical stores or digital channels. The renting of a garment can follow two paths: traditional (physical stores or showrooms) or digital (website/app/platform). Many participants mentioned renting directly from a physical store or showroom after a planned process for the desired product. Some even expressed loyalty to specific physical stores (Fernanda - Table 5). On the digital path, younger participants primarily followed this route. Although some informants reported negative experiences with online renting, they said the online procedure was well-designed (Andrea - Table 5).

After the rental experience, the role of social media. Behaviors such as recommending the rented garment to family and friends and preserving memories of important events by sharing them on social media often emerge post-rental. Consistent with findings in Western countries (Russmann and Svensson, 2017), other people’s perceptions (either in person or via social networks) play a key role in shaping this consumer practice in the Mexican context, both positively and negatively. This impacts how participants actually perceive and appropriate the rental practice. On the positive side, Mayela chose to rent dresses for evening events (Mayela - Table 5). On the negative side, some participants expressed concern about being seen wearing the same dress at multiple weddings, especially when these events are shown on social media. Sharing images on social media exerts such a strong impact that it can be described as a form of social pressure regarding how others perceive the individual. Various interviewees emphasized the intensity of this

Table 5
Mexico - Occasional rental of a party dress – Doings.

Doings	Examples of informants’ quotations
<i>Before Renting, a Community Approach with Two Possible Paths</i>	<p>Diana: How did I find the place where I rented? The owner of the rental store was a relative of mine, so this was the first place I went to – her store. Otherwise, I would have asked some friends if they knew of places where dresses were rented.</p> <p>Mariana: My graduation is next Saturday; I asked my Monterrey friends for recommendations since I’m not from here. My friends often go to weddings, and for them, it’s normal to rent evening dresses. They told me there were good places, and among the places they recommended was a place in Monterrey called Cruella.</p> <p>Katia: I looked for the product in multiple outlets and found the dress on Instagram. Well, for my graduation, I looked at thousands of dresses in many stores, but it was on Instagram that I found the one I finally rented.</p> <p>Daniela: I don’t remember how I first found that store, but on other occasions, I have received recommendations from the Lady Multitask group on the internet.</p>
<i>Decision-Making Process: Hybrid Paths</i>	<p>Daniela: I go to several stores, usually two or three. If the event is on Saturday, I go on Tuesday or Wednesday. If I don’t go a long time before, I run the risk that the dress would be rented out, so before something goes wrong, I do it, and that’s it ... It’s not the same when I try on the dress and I usually visit various stores, but more than anything, if I don’t love the dress, I go to several stores. If I’ve already found a dress that fascinates me, I’ll keep that dress.</p> <p>Katia: For my graduation, I looked at thousands of dresses in many stores, but it was on Instagram where I found it.</p> <p>Mayela: I knew about this concept because there was a store in León. Once I found the store, I started looking on the internet, and then it became very fashionable, and everyone in León started renting. It was very normal, you know. Sometimes I go there when I have a wedding invitation.</p>
<i>During Renting, through Either Physical Stores or Digital Channels</i>	<p>Fernanda: I go to the stores, try on the dresses, and rent them directly ... I have three or four stores where I always find what I’m looking for.</p> <p>Andrea: Their procedure was 100% digital. They offered to send me a second dress for free. That is, in the same order I got two dresses, the same model but two different sizes. They did that because they thought one of the two sizes would fit me. However, neither size fit me. The dress was upmarket, that’s why I chose it, because it was a brand I already knew and I knew my size.</p>
<i>After the Rental Experience, the importance of Social Media</i>	<p>Mayela: To avoid others’ critical gaze, I no longer buy those dresses. You wear them once, and then you don’t wear them anymore because “they” have already seen that dress. In these cases, you rent it.</p> <p>Daniela: Now, photos on Facebook and Instagram mean everyone sees you, and you can no longer repeat so easily.</p> <p>Sara: These days, you go to parties and they put you on the internet; everyone sees you wearing the same dress.</p> <p>Sofia: I hate reusing dresses. I don’t like it when they take a photo of you, and you go out in a dress, and at the next wedding you go to, they see you in that same dress. Oh no, what a shame ... because you make yourself very pretty for this type of event and usually at weddings, more photos are taken of you. So I don’t wear the same dress twice in a row. I very rarely do it.</p>

pressure (Daniela, Sara & Sofia - Table 5).

5. Discussion

Building on practice theory, this study explores why and how consumers in two countries – an individualistic, developed country (France) and a collectivistic, developing country (Mexico) – engage in the practice of renting clothes through access-based models. First, the study uncovers a new practice in France not found in Mexico and, to the best of our knowledge, not previously analyzed in depth in the literature. Specifically, this involves the day-to-day rental of everyday clothes via subscription to new online platforms, like *Le Closet* in France.

The adoption of this consumption practice may be linked to the greater maturity of the French market, as well as the appropriation of web innovations, similar to mature markets like the American market, where platforms such as *Rent the Runway* also offer everyday clothes through subscription. The practice in France is further facilitated by an appropriate level of infrastructure and the presence of reliable partners working with access platforms (e.g., network logistics professionals and delivery companies). It reflects a societal shift from materialism to post-materialism, characterized by flexibility and liquidity (Belk, 1988; Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012, 2017), where ownership is less perceived as the norm by consumers. In line with previous research in France on luxury fashion (Loussaïef et al., 2019), our findings indicate that this practice also involves a perception of ownership, even though consumers do not actually possess the objects. Moreover, in access practices, it appears that the experience takes precedence over the object. This echoes the “new materialism” concept as outlined by Del Mar Alonso-Almeida et al. (2020), where “property and the enjoyment of goods coexist with the enjoyment of experiences”.

Second, we show that this emerging practice involves not only material objects (e.g., clothes) but also digital technologies (Shove and Pantzar, 2005), particularly algorithms that propose a selection of clothes to consumers based on their previous choices and a set of parameters entered into the platform. Integral to the system’s core (Eckhardt et al., 2019), this technology is part of the material culture of access-based models (Pantzar, 1997) and is valued by consumers for reducing the burden of purchasing and for saving time (Berry and Maricle, 1973). Paradoxically, it also introduces a new constraint: adapting to this new technology can hinder consumers in their current practice and when transitioning to the digital processes of other platforms. In this regard, the unexpected digital constraint aligns with prior research on peer-to-peer swapping practices (Philip et al., 2019), which this research highlights for the first time within the context of everyday clothing rental models.

Third, in terms of meanings, we find that the two prominent associated meanings predominantly linked with everyday rental practice are ‘smart behavior’ and ‘sustainability concern,’ with ‘pleasure’ being a secondary association. This new business model of everyday rental attracts consumers aware of sustainability issues, as seen in other sharing practices (Edbring et al., 2016), including the practice of swapping (Philip et al., 2019). It also attracts some consumers with a more activist spirit who seek to minimize their possessions. As some current sharing platforms often emphasize either convenience or sustainability (Eckhardt et al., 2019), uncovering these meanings is essential: It can guide efforts to persuade new consumers to embrace this approach and offer deeper insights into the practice.

Fourth, the findings indicate that this practice is essentially individual in France, as is the practice of occasionally renting party clothes. These practices entail different solitary actions taken by the consumer: online searching, online comparison of various options, and online or in-store purchasing. This reflects France’s individualistic culture, in contrast with Mexican practices that are more embedded in social structures – particularly family – echoing the whole process, which reflects their collectivistic culture (Belk, 2010; Hofstede, 1993; Hofstede et al., 2010). Thus, individualism in France and collectivism in Mexico

serve as powerful dimensions of cultural variation in explaining differences in the doings of these practices (Earley and Gibson, 1998).

Fifth and finally, regarding the occasional renting practice observed in both countries, we reveal many similarities in both the meanings (e.g., smart behavior, variety, or sustainability) and doings (e.g., searching online, then trying on in-store) of the practice. However, some meanings and doings are country-specific and crucial for effectively appealing to consumers in related countries. In France, the meaning of social status in a professional environment emerges as important for some consumers. By contrast, in Mexico, the sense of celebration and ritual appears as the main meaning attributed to the practice, aligning with Mexico’s collectivist culture. With regard to doings, beyond the difference between individualistic practice in France and collectivistic practice in Mexico (e.g., with WOM from family and friends, as well as cross-generational payments), the practice in Mexico appears more anchored in physical stores. The Mexican consumers explore the outfits in-store and revisit for fittings, a deviation from the model’s common definition, which is more suited to the Western context (Eckhardt et al., 2019).

6. Managerial implications

This research offers several managerial implications. First, it underscores the need for apparel access-based models with day-to-day rental to improve the user-friendliness of their platform, especially in the setup of parameters, to suggest outfits aligned with consumer preferences. Second, these day-to-day rental models should also focus on streamlining the logistics process for consumers when returning outfits, since the complexity of the current logistics process is often criticized. Third, their communication strategies should highlight the smart behavior, sustainability, and pleasure associated with this day-to-day rental approach, as these are the most important meanings attributed to the practice. Managers need to center these meanings when developing their communication rather than merely emphasizing price or convenience (Eckhardt et al., 2019). Fourth, managers of the recently introduced baby-clothing rental models in France could glean insights from these recommendations to improve their platforms’ usability and to simplify their logistics process, which may pose the same difficulties for consumers as day-to-day apparel rental. Fifth, for managers of occasional clothing rental models in both France and Mexico, it is crucial to accentuate the values of smart behavior, variety, and testing in their communication, since consumers view them as the most important meanings associated with this practice.

In addition, in France, occasional rental models should also highlight the practice’s important associated meanings of pleasure and social status in their communication. By contrast, occasional rental models in Mexico should focus more on communicating the meaning of traditional celebrations and rituals because it is strongly associated with this practice in Mexican collectivist culture. Furthermore, for both countries, managers of occasional rental businesses must open a physical flagship store in addition to their website, as consumers prefer the option of exploring online and then trying on their party dress in-store before renting. Finally, given that the practice of occasional renting is relatively similar in the French and Mexican markets, companies in Mexico could follow the French and US examples and develop more day-to-day rental models like *Le Closet* and *Rent the Runway*. Owing to Mexico’s strong collectivist culture, business models such as peer-to-peer rentals (e.g., *Les Cachotières* in France) could be very promising in this market. However, in the Mexican context, such business models should always prioritize opening a flagship store, since going to the store with family or friends to select their final outfit is a common practice in the Mexican collectivistic culture.

7. Limitations and future research

This research has several limitations. First, it focuses only on two

countries. In line with the call to study developing countries, it would be interesting to explore rental practices in other countries in Latin America or in Africa. Second, the chosen product category may limit the scope of the study. Examining the rental of a product less tied to identity stakes, such as an electric drill, could offer another perspective on the similarities and differences between France and Mexico. Our sample is limited to 17 consumers in France and 15 in Mexico. Although we reached data saturation and exceeded the minimum of 12 interviews recommended by Creswell et al. (2007), and also, data was triangulated with interviews conducted with entrepreneurs of this type of business, the sample size may still limit the generalizability of our findings. To conclude, focusing solely on women was relevant to the fashion renting market in both countries, but this approach precludes the examination of potential differences that may be attributed to France's more feminine-oriented culture.

As the rise of access-based models transforms consumption practices, emerging business models warrant exploration. One of the trends that merit further research is subscription models, for both occasional rentals and daily rentals. Such models could bolster the adoption of rental practices, thereby mitigating waste, promoting conscious consumption, reducing environmental impact, and fostering a sustainable circular model.

Declaration of competing interest

None

Data availability

Data will be made available on request.

Appendix 1. Examples of Sharing/Access Configurations in France and Mexico

Access Configuration	Rental Website with Store	Rental Website without Store	P2P Rental Website (with fees)	Physical Stores (with or without rental website)
France	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mabonneamie • Panoply City • Une Robe un Soir 	Le Closet	Les Cachotières	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ElssCollection • Mylesia
Mexico	–	–	–	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gaun Dresses • Dress to Dress • Cruella • Sivuplé

Appendix 2. Participants' Profile

Name	Age	Occupation	Location (country)	Day-to-Day Rental	Occasional Rental
Ximena	19	Law student	Monterrey (Mexico)		X
Katia	22	Quality Executive	Guadalajara (Mexico)		X
Fernanda	22	Student & Intern at an accounting firm	Guadalajara (Mexico)		X
Jude	24	Executive in the fashion industry	Paris (France)	X	
Carole	27	Fashion Blogger	Paris (France)	X	X
Nadège	27	Assistant in cosmetics	Paris (France)		X
Mayela	27	MBA student	Monterrey (Mexico)		X
Sara	28	Organizational Director	Monterrey (Mexico)		X
Evelyn	28	Start-up Founder	Biarritz (France)		X
Cécilia	30	Sales Assistant	Paris (France)	X	
Mariana	31	MBA student	Monterrey (Mexico)		X
Sophia	31	Chief of Staff	Guadalajara (Mexico)		X
Carlotta	31	Nurse	St Fargeau (France)	X	
Aude	32	Consultant in a bank	Lille (France)		X
Ana	32	Promotion Manager at a business school	Monterrey (Mexico)		X
Sheila	34	Alumni Coordinator at a business school	Monterrey (Mexico)		X
Florence	35	Job searching	Paris (France)	X	
Diana	35	Housewife	Mexico City (Mexico)		X
Andrea	35	Housewife & Freelance	Mexico City (Mexico)		X
Olivia	35	Executive in insurance	Paris (France)	X	
Charline	36	Executive in the media industry	Paris (France)	X	
Patricia	36	Housewife	Paris (France)	X	
Daniela	38	Manager in a family business	Monterrey (Mexico)		X
Capucine	39	Team Manager in the public sector	Paris (France)	X	X
Cinthia	39	Nutritionist	Mexico City (Mexico)		X
Monica	42	Employee in an airplane firm	Guadalajara (Mexico)		X
Sara	41	Coach	Paris (France)	X	
Fantine	42	Manager in the public sector	Ile de Ré (France)	X	
Alix	50	Senior Manager	Paris (France)		X
Camilla	51	Housewife	Paris (France)	X	
Sara O.	54	Manager at a law firm	Guadalajara (Mexico)		X
Solange	55	Coach	La Rochelle (France)		X

Appendix 3. Profile of Founders and Managers interviewed

Type of Business Model	France		Mexico	
	Occupation	Companies	Occupation	Companies
P2P rental site (fees)	CEO & founder	Les Cachotières		
Rental site without store (Day-to-day rental)	Marketing Manager	Le Closet		
Rental site with store (Occasional rental)	CEO & Founder	• Panoply City • Une Robe Un Soir		
Store without rental website	CEO & Founder	ElssCollection		
Physical stores with website			CEO & Founder	• Gaun Dresses • Dress to Dress • Cruella • Dress Looks • Conspiración Moda • Sivuplé • Tuluá • Renué • Wear the dress • Nuba Apparel

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