

# “They Were Built to Last”: Anticonsumption and the Materiality of Waste in Obsolete Buildings

Journal of Public Policy & Marketing  
2018, Vol. 37(2) 195-212  
© American Marketing Association 2018  
Article reuse guidelines:  
sagepub.com/journals-permissions  
DOI: 10.1177/0743915618810438  
journals.sagepub.com/home/ppo



Stephanie Anderson, Kathy Hamilton, and Andrea Tonner

## Abstract

Previous consumer research on waste has prioritized disposable and low-involvement possessions. The authors extend scholarship into the context of obsolete buildings to better engage with the complex materiality of waste and to explore the role anticonsumption plays in consumers' valuations of end-stage consumption. This study focuses on the phenomenon of urban exploration, a subculture that seeks to discover and explore derelict buildings. Drawing on an ethnographic study including in-depth interviews, the authors reveal how anticonsumption manifests in the urban environment in terms of alternative understandings of value. In contrast to the economic valuations that often dominate public policy decision making, this study highlights the need for policy makers to consider diverse, and perhaps conflicting, value regimes. The authors propose an Obsolescence Impact Evaluation that enables a systematic assessment of the stakeholders potentially affected by redevelopment and/or demolition, differing regimes of valuation relevant to these outcomes, and potential uses of the buildings. The authors suggest various ways that public policy makers can take advantage of this tool.

## Keywords

anticonsumption, waste, resistance, obsolescence, ethnography

Public policy makers increasingly face pressure to reduce waste in accordance with the waste hierarchy (reduce, reuse, recycle). This has extended research attention from consumer acquisition to the often under-theorized end-stages of consumption (De Coverley et al. 2008; Parsons and Maclaran 2009). For example, prior research has focused on the scale and complexity of food waste (Block et al. 2016) and the various ways consumers seek to prolong the useful life of objects (Brosius, Fernandez, and Cherrier 2013). Much of this research stream focuses on relatively low-involvement products. However, in this article, we follow Prothero et al.'s (2011, p. 33) suggestion to expand the scope of consumption research into “significantly different contexts” by focusing on obsolete buildings. We see this as an ideal context to better engage with the materiality of waste (Ekström 2015; Gregson and Crang 2010) and to explore the role anticonsumption plays in consumers' valuations of end-stage consumption.

Our study focuses on the phenomenon of urban exploration, a subculture that seeks to discover and explore derelict buildings (Garrett 2014). Urban explorers engage with the materiality of waste and photographically document these buildings

to highlight a fascination with decay. Garrett's (2014) work suggests that urban exploration is driven by a resistance against the privatization of civic space. More broadly, Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw (2012) explore how urban spaces can be appropriated by consumers as a resistance to consumerism and capitalism in the mainstream marketplace. By moving beyond resistance, we explore how anticonsumption manifests in the urban environment in terms of alternative understandings of value. We are guided by the following research questions: How does anticonsumption manifest in the consumption of obsolete buildings? What values do consumers ascribe to obsolete buildings? What anticonsumption practices do consumers enact to express their appreciation of the alternative values of obsolete buildings? How can public policy makers use insights from anticonsumption to reevaluate the significance of obsolete buildings?

---

Stephanie Anderson is Lecturer, University of Glasgow (email: Stephanie.Anderson@glasgow.ac.uk). Kathy Hamilton is Reader, Strathclyde Business School, University of Strathclyde (email: kathy.hamilton@strath.ac.uk). Andrea Tonner is Lecturer, Strathclyde Business School, University of Strathclyde (email: a.tonner@strath.ac.uk).

Urban explorers see value in decaying buildings that is overlooked by other institutional stakeholders such as policy makers, urban planners, and real estate agents. This highlights the subjective nature of value and illustrates the need for policy makers to consider diverse, and perhaps conflicting, value regimes. Türe (2014, p. 55) conceptualizes value regimes as “socially and historically defined contexts of valuation” that “allow objects to move across cultural boundaries, among parties with nonsimilar interests or standards of valuation.” Public policy makers and urban planners interact with the consumption cycle at societal and community levels when dealing with buildings that require restoration, redevelopment, and potentially demolition as properties move through their lifecycle. However, the value regime that often dominates in these decisions is economic, which overshadows the broader regimes of valuation that might shed an alternative perspective on these policy decisions. In particular, Ekström (2015) suggests that understanding the consumer perspective toward waste is necessary to generate effective interventions. By introducing theories of anticonsumption to aid our understanding of regimes of valuation, we demonstrate a broader perspective on the ways in which value is understood at end-stages of consumption.

It is important to consider what happens to buildings when they reach the end of their lifecycle, become obsolete, and require disposal. Despite the durability of buildings in comparison to other consumer possessions, property is regarded as a “wasting asset” because of the ongoing maintenance needed to retain its investment value (Mansfield and Pinder 2008, p. 192). As Bryson (1997, p. 1444) suggests, “in fact, as soon as a building is completed its obsolescence clock begins to tick.” Using decennial census data from 2010, 8% of nonseasonal housing was vacant in the United States (Molloy 2016), and in England there were over 600,000 vacant dwellings in 2015, approximately one-third of which had been vacant long term (Department for Communities and Local Government 2016). Beyond housing, other components of the built urban environment, from industrial to community spaces, are caught up in a dynamic cycle of value creation and destruction (Weber 2002). The environmental encumbrance of building stock illustrates the need for greater sustainability in the maintenance of existing buildings and their recognition as a valuable resource (Thomsen and Van der Flier 2011).

Our paper is organized as follows: First, we review relevant literature on anticonsumption, obsolescence, and value regimes. Next, we provide an overview of urban exploration to better contextualize the study and go on to outline our methods of data collection and analysis. Findings are organized around three central themes that emerged from our data: rejecting the modern, reimagining obsolescence, and reclaiming value. Finally, we outline implications for public policy based on our Obsolescence Impact Evaluation.

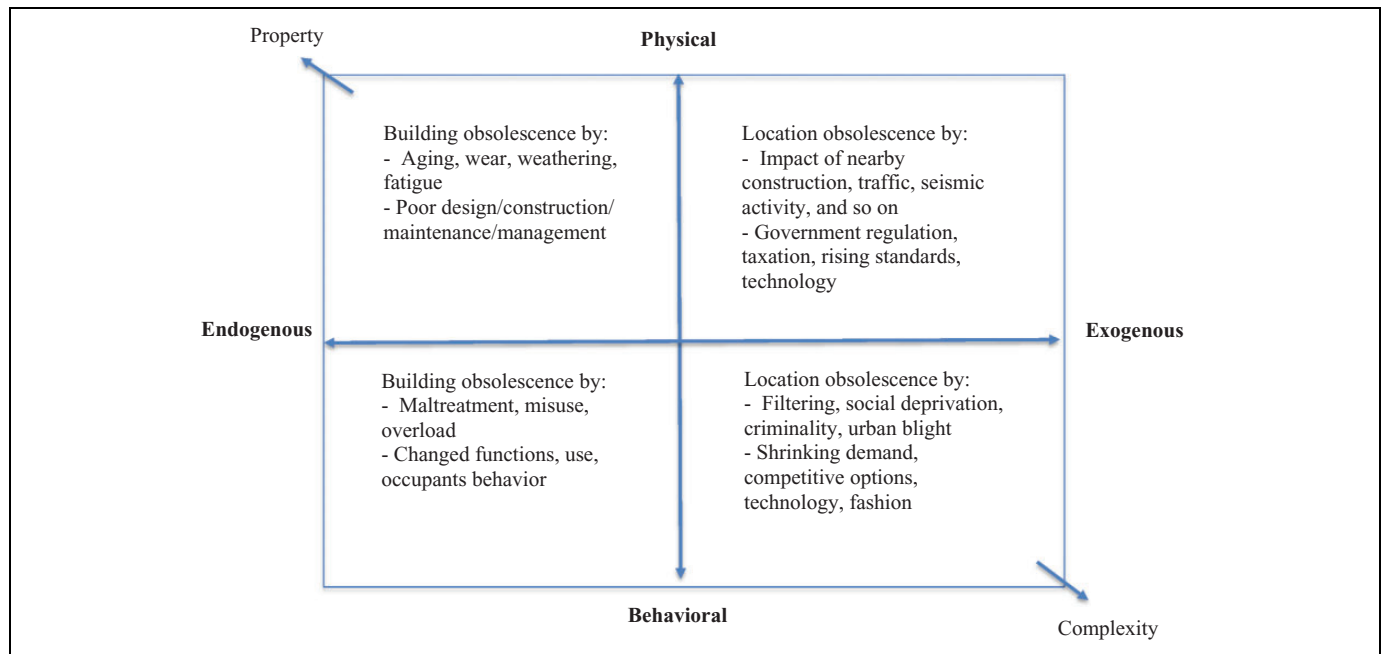
## Theoretical Foundations

### *Anticonsumption and Obsolescence*

Anticonsumption refers to a means against consumption (Zavestoski 2002) and can manifest as an attitude, activity, or behavior (Cherrier 2009; Hogg, Banister, and Stephenson 2009) that is orientated against consumption in general at the macro level, or against specific consumption activities, products or brands at the micro level (Cherrier, Black, and Lee 2011; Iyer and Muncy 2009; Craig-Lees 2006). Consumers use anticonsumption to express both societal and personal concerns (Iyer and Muncy 2009). Lee et al. (2011) identify three categories of anticonsumption: reject, restrict, and reclaim. First, rejection occurs when consumers intentionally avoid or exclude certain products from their consumption habits, such as boycotting (Portwood-Stacer 2012; Lee, Fernandez, and Hyman 2009), brand avoidance (Friedman 1999), and voluntary simplicity (Shaw and Moraes 2009). Second, restriction occurs when consumers reduce or lower their consumption of certain products such as utility services (Lee, Fernandez, and Hyman 2009) or social media (Anderson, Hamilton, and Tonner 2014). Third, reclamation involves an alteration to the normal consumption cycle of acquisition, use, and disposal, such as growing your own produce or upcycling products (Wilson 2016). Lee et al. (2011) suggest that these categories may overlap *within* consumption practices and *with* consumer resistance. Consumer resistance refers to “the way individuals and groups practice a strategy of appropriation in response to structures of domination” (Poster 1992, p. 1) and can be driven by an opposition to multiple power concerns (Lee et al. 2009). This is evident in Cherrier, Black, and Lee’s (2011) concept of intentional nonconsumption, which is an act of both resistance against other careless consumers and anticonsumption positioned by the consumer’s own subjectivity.

Anticonsumption literature has explored consumption directed against wastefulness (Dobscha 1998); however, the materiality of waste has received little attention. One exception is Cherrier’s (2010, p. 259) discussion of anti-consumerism driven by an attachment to, and custodianship of, devalued objects “in order to rescue and safeguard material objects from being thrown away or wasted.” Cherrier (2010, p. 266) argues that objects can carry social meaning when they are “loaded with membership significance to a time, a person, or a place,” which enables consumers to differentiate modern throwaway objects from older objects that are charged with a sense of history, tradition, authenticity, and value.

Cherrier’s (2010) perspective is reminiscent of literature that depicts how old objects are valued beyond their “functional calculation, and answer to other kinds of demand such as witness, memory, nostalgia or escapism” (Baudrillard 1996, p. 77). For Baudrillard (1996), antiques align with an atmospheric value of historicalness and a symbolic value associated with myths of origins. For example, Borgerson and Schroeder (2007, p. 112) illustrate how the material and aesthetic dimensions of used books create meaning and value for



**Figure 1.** Conceptual Model of Obsolescence (Thomsen and Van der Flier, 2011, p. 355).

consumers: “Used goods tell consumption stories and consumption stories sell used goods.” Similarly, Parsons (2007, 2010) demonstrates how the history of objects can be an important source of value within the antique market that drives dealers’ passion and care for antique objects. The cultural biographies of things are therefore central to the commodification process, as they often accentuate aspects of objects that might otherwise remain unknown (Kopytoff 1986).

Prior research on used goods focuses on contexts in which material integrity is retained. In contrast, we explore end-stage consumption of buildings that are obsolete and in material decay. Literature has not theoretically engaged with obsolescence as an important state within anticonsumption. This informs our first research question: How does anticonsumption manifest in the consumption of obsolete buildings? To contextualize this research question, we now turn to the literature on obsolescence.

Obsolescence is emblematic of the end-stage of consumption, as it marks an end or death in which technology, communication, and products are no longer viable (Fitzpatrick 2011). Obsolescence is “something out of date . . . displaced by modernization and progress” (Weber 2002, p. 522). The implications of obsolescence are far-reaching as an outcome of capitalism (Maycroft 2015) and a throwaway society (Cooper 2016). This calls to mind Campbell’s (2015) discussion of the valorization of the new and the novel as a contributory factor to the unsustainable nature of contemporary (Western) consumer culture. Obsolescence is evident in the built environment; however, the meaning of property-based obsolescence is ambiguous, with Mansfield and Pinder (2008) critiquing the lack of research on the topic and the poor understanding of it from a policy perspective. Within the context of buildings, Thomsen

and Van der Flier (2011, p. 353) define obsolescence as “a process of declining performance resulting in the end of the service life.” The authors highlight the multidimensional nature of this process, suggesting that building obsolescence can be caused by physical and behavioral factors, as well as internal and external factors. The interrelationships between these different dimensions are shown in their conceptual model of obsolescence (see Figure 1). Although some of these factors are difficult to control, such as the physical deterioration of buildings over time, Figure 1 also illustrates the potential role of human behavior in accelerating the end of a building’s life. When behavioral involvement extends beyond the building’s owners to other external stakeholders, the complexity further increases (represented by the diagonal arrows).

The potential for policy intervention arguably varies across these different manifestations of obsolescence. For instance, some of the examples in the top left quadrant might be regarded as natural processes somewhat similar to what Weber (2002, p. 533) describes as “time given material expression in physical space.” In such cases, policy makers have little agency to reverse the obsolescence process. In contrast, policy makers have faced criticism in other contexts for the role they play in location obsolescence. Existent literature typically regards derelict buildings as metonyms of deprivation, spatial inequality, and social stigmatization (Apel 2015). This is referred to as territorial stigma, in which institutions such as public policy and media often proliferate a spatial taint on an area by reinforcing associations with poverty, degraded housing and crime (Wacquant, Slater, and Pereira 2014). Indeed, strategic stigmatization may be an attempt by municipalities “to stabilize inherently ambiguous concepts like blight and obsolescence and create the appearance of certitude out of the cacophony of

claims about value” (Weber 2002, p. 520). In this sense, “obsolescence has become a neoliberal alibi for creative destruction” (Weber 2002, p. 532). We now explore “the cacophony of claims about value” in relation to the context of buildings.

### *The Value Regimes of Buildings*

Consumer research conceptualizes value as emergent, interactive, and subjective (Holbrook 1999), based on consumers’ symbolic meaning-making (Shankar, Elliot, and Fitchett 2009; Venkatesh and Meamber 2006). Türe (2014) suggests that value exists in social and historical regimes of valuation that allow objects to move across cultural categories of value. Thus, value is eternally in flux and is socially and culturally determined rather than being a quality of the object itself (De Coverley et al. 2008).

Consumer researchers have identified numerous types of value. Holbrook (1999), for example, identifies three types of value: aesthetic value as an experience of beauty or pleasure through form, moral value as a positive act to enhance welfare of others, and spiritual value where consumers encounter transcendental experiences. Further, semiotic value (Levy 1959) emerges as an exchange of signs between marketers and consumers, and linking-value refers to the shared interests or activities connecting people, groups, and communities (Cova 1997). This body of consumer research categorizes consumers’ value attainment as either value-in-exchange or value-in-use (Türe 2014). This is informed by a Marxian perspective of value in which use value involves a general utility for meeting human needs and exchange value is determined by quantity as it enters an exchange relationship. Furthermore, Lanier, Radar, and Fowler (2013) distinguish between “value,” which is determined by sociocultural market logics, and “worth,” which transcends market valuations. Worth is an appreciation or depreciation of the significance of something for its own sake that does not necessarily have subjective utility, and it is characterized as highly transitory, idiosyncratic, and discrete (Lanier, Radar, and Fowler 2013).

Weber (2002, p. 519) suggests that a range of state and nonstate institutions influence value in the built environment, stating that the “very materiality of the built environment sets off struggles between use and exchange values, between those with emotional attachment to place and those without such attachments.” Heritage agencies often prioritize historical structures that are of ideological significance to national identity but neglect obsolete buildings of the recent past because of their historical immaturity and physical deterioration (Pétursdóttir 2012). This often results in heritage prejudice that determines the types of buildings that are preserved and remembered and in turn perpetuates a distinctive heritage value regime. In contrast, a real estate perspective tends to align with an economic exchange valuation in which obsolescence is viewed as a negative process that affects depreciation (Mansfield and Pinder 2008). Furthermore, derelict and obsolete property creates a barrier to the revitalization of urban areas,

reduces the market value of surrounding properties, and undermines the economic vitality of neighborhoods by increasing homeowner and commercial insurance (Accordino and Johnson 2000). Bryson (1997) discusses property development using the terminology of “space-economy” and considers building obsolescence a consequence of the rent gap between the current building condition and its potential prime condition.

Similarly, local councils may also be concerned with exchange value and, given their alignment with market rule, may disregard demolishing obsolete buildings as nothing more than an answer to investor demands (Weber 2002). Another key perspective comes from urban planners who increasingly adopt strategies of entrepreneurial governance as a response to deindustrialization (Miles 2010; Harvey 1989). This tends to involve an emphasis on style and image, and, once again, the language of economics is central. For example, Miles (2010, p. 43) suggests that urban planners are primarily seeking to “build speculative confidence in the city as a fully functional economic organism in its own right.” Although we recognize that there are competing social concerns such as the need for inexpensive housing or public recreational spaces, Groth and Corijn (2005) suggest that these are often subordinate in urban policy.

Chris Leslie’s (2016) “Disappearing Glasgow” project provides a useful example that focuses on the demolition of high-rise tower block flats within the city. Local authorities, who are often the key decision makers, present these demolitions as a way of achieving an economically prosperous future and eradicating the social problems of drug use and crime that are often associated with these buildings. However, the consumer perspective is more emotional and remains largely absent from decision making. As a prior resident of one of the tower blocks commented, “Once I seen it demolished it tore a bit out of me, just to see a lifetime destroyed sort of thing and, all those people, where have they all gone? Where did everybody go?” Although many institutional stakeholders may care about social perspectives, they are often bound by economic constraints. In contrast, the dominant perspective for consumers is personal and is driven by life experiences and memories.

This perspective highlights the need to integrate a broader sociocultural perspective into valuation discussions. In line with Pétursdóttir’s (2012) call for the democratization of heritage, our second research question asks what values consumers ascribe to obsolete buildings, and our third research question goes onto explore how consumers express their appreciation of these alternative values of obsolete buildings. In our conclusions, we build on the insights from our findings to discuss how public policy makers can reevaluate the significance of obsolete buildings.

## **Method**

### *Research Context*

Urban exploration is a subculture comprised of individuals who explore, trespass, and photograph obsolete buildings. It is a highly dangerous activity that is committed illegally, as

explorers are not authorized to access buildings, nor do they have ownership of them. There are a range of competing motivations driving urban exploration, including enjoyment of experiential and sensorial encounters (e.g., Garrett 2014), recreational trespass (Garrett, 2014) as a form of transgression, community status-seeking and establishing credibility (Mott and Roberts 2014), visual documentation for memory, commemoration and heritage conservation (Bennett 2011; Stones 2016) and visual appreciation of the aesthetics of decay (Paquet 2016). Urban explorers are often compelled to travel long distances to document modern ruins from around the world. This has been popularized by failures of capitalism (Edensor 2005) whereby deindustrialized cities are increasingly drawing the public gaze, resulting in a ruin landscape (Pétursdóttir and Olsen 2014) of derelict industrial and retail buildings, and abandoned communities. Some urban explorers see themselves as global citizens of neglected heritage and build significant knowledge and expertise on disappearing architectural movements. In many ways, urban exploration is a grassroots effort that supports the democratization of heritage away from institutional authorities, who often prioritize ideological values related to national identity and historical perseverance, and towards consumer stakeholders, who hold a more diverse range of values. In this sense, urban explorers have a unique and valuable perspective on evaluating the built environment.

Urban exploration has sociocultural roots in Romanticism, in which ruins were believed to represent the sublime and the conquering of nature over culture. Historically, urban exploration enabled individuals to encounter aspects of wilderness within urban environments and meet their primitive needs for self-preservation. It has also been traced back to accounts of individuals exploring subterranean tunnels and skyscrapers in the Western world, such as Philibert Aspairt's exploration of the catacombs of Paris in 1793 and Walt Whitman's exploration of the Atlantic Avenue Tunnel in 1861 (Ninjalicious 2015). Urban exploration was a relatively underground scene until the 1990s, when it became a recognizable subculture in zines, books, photography, and websites (Ninjalicious 2015), and it has become increasingly more mainstream throughout the 2000s. In particular, the market has co-opted the aesthetics of ruins in applications ranging from tourist experiences of abandoned hospitals (e.g., Ellis Island Immigrant Hospital) to retail environments that use faux patina and reclaimed materials.

Urban exploration involves complex practices of researching place histories, discovering access to sites, and physically exploring derelict buildings. Urban explorers practice a shared ethos of "take only photographs, leave only footprints," which discourages them from altering or damaging these buildings. These buildings exist in a range of different states of deterioration: some are derelict but remain in relatively good condition, others are obsolete and no longer have a viable purpose, and some are beyond the point of repair and awaiting demolition. Urban explorers also act as archivists by textually and photographically documenting these often-forgotten structures and sharing their work in online community forums. This has

reestablished a cultural fascination with urban decay that has appeared in a number of art exhibitions such as Tate Britain's "Ruin Lust" (2014).

### Research Approach

Our findings arise from a three-year multimethod ethnography that draws on a range of techniques, including sensory ethnographic fieldwork, interviewing, and netnography. Throughout the data collection, the first author participated in urban exploration practices by exploring, researching, and photographing abandoned buildings, as well as participating in relevant online forums and social media. Despite the common practice of trespassing in urban exploration, the researcher only explored buildings that were publicly accessible. This approach allowed us to become immersed in the study context and to gain a holistic understanding of the practices and experience of urban exploration.

Data collection began with netnographic observations of urban exploration forums, Facebook groups and personal websites that were identified as "relevant, active, interactive, substantial, heterogeneous, data-rich, and experientially satisfying" (Kozinets 2015, p. 175). These pages were extremely active, with new posts being uploaded every hour on average. Discussion threads, social networking pages and personal websites were monitored on a weekly basis for one year. Throughout this process, the research was overt and was communicated through social media posts and interactions with individuals.

The netnography involved contacting urban explorers who were then invited to participate in an interview. Interview participants were identified through purposeful sampling coupled with snowball sampling and were selected based on their experience with urban exploration and knowledge of the subcultural movement. Overall, 28 participants were interviewed (see Table 1). Participants were all Caucasian, with ages ranging between 21 and 53 years old. Two-thirds of interviewees were male and the remaining third were female. Efforts were made to be inclusive of a range of ages, ethnicities, and genders; however, this sample represents the limited demographic of the subculture, which is not ethnically diverse and is dominated by males (Garrett 2012).

The findings in this paper primarily draw on interview data. However, the netnography and other ethnographic materials contribute to our understanding and interpretation of the interview texts. Ethnographic interviewing was used to gain richer understanding of consumers' experiences by locating the interview process within the consumption context (Heyl 2008; Holt 1997). Interviews were conducted at site locations where possible and over video calling for geographically distanced participants. This face-to-face visualization was important to build rapport and afforded the use of auto-driven photo elicitation (Heisley and Levy 1991), whereby participants displayed and discussed their own exploration photographs. Interviews followed a semistructured approach that covered broad topic areas to allow multiple topics to surface (Holt 1997). Participants

**Table 1.** Participant Information.

Participant	Age (Years)	Gender	Country	Occupation
Josh	38	Male	United Kingdom	Artisan bike designer
Abby	23	Female	Germany	Postgraduate student
Matt	25	Male	United Kingdom	Postgraduate student
Lexi	32	Female	Germany	Professional photographer
Sam	27	Female	United Kingdom	Travel writer
Pete	30s	Male	United Kingdom	Government worker
Aaron	36	Male	Canada	Sales executive
Andy	21	Male	United Kingdom	Sportsperson
Connor	25	Male	United Kingdom	Computer technician
Mila	30s	Female	Germany	Freelance writer
Rory	30s	Male	United Kingdom	Professional photographer
Simon	30s	Male	United Kingdom	Mental health practitioner
Hanna	22	Female	Germany	Undergraduate student
William	53	Male	United Kingdom	Disability support worker
Euan	40	Male	United Kingdom	Freelance building surveyor
Liam	38	Male	United Kingdom	Manufacturing technician
Seb	26	Male	Italy	Professional photographer
Nick	33	Male	United Kingdom	Events manager
Lydia	50	Female	United Kingdom	Magistrate
Tom	40	Male	Canada	Advertising executive
Ariel	29	Female	United Kingdom	Historian writer
Paul	40	Male	United Kingdom	Professional photographer
Luke	32	Male	United Kingdom	Mechanical engineer
Nate	26	Male	United States	Advertising producer
Ross	38	Male	United Kingdom	IT technician
Rob	40s	Male	United Kingdom	Business executive
Max	40	Male	Netherlands	Sales manager
Jack	35	Male	United Kingdom	Self-employed contract cleaner

were encouraged to use rich descriptions in explaining their practices, sharing stories about exploration trips, and describing their perceptions of the buildings. They were also encouraged to reflect on their experiences of urban exploration and the wider societal forces that enable and constrict their exploration habits. Following Holt (1997), emic terms created by the participant were probed to elicit deeper understandings of their grounded meanings. Interviews lasted between 90 and 120 minutes. They were also audio recorded and transcribed in full, generating 630 pages of interview data and 62 pages of interview fieldnotes that were used during the analysis and interpretation stages.

Data analysis followed an iterative process, allowing the researchers to move back and forth between emic terms and etic theorization. In particular, we followed Glaser's (1965) constant-comparative method whereby intertextual similarities and differences across the data set were identified. Further, we focused on identifying recurring patterns and processes, and we explored any alternative or negative cases (Miles and Huberman 1994). This allowed for greater sensitization to themes emerging from the field, rather than projecting predetermined meanings onto emic data (Thompson 1997). The interpretation was equally iterative and was achieved by tacking between fieldnotes and extant theory to learn from the social world during analysis (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011). It also sought to recognize resemblances in meaning or emic

redundancies (Wallendorf and Brucks 1993) across a range of situations and individuals (Spiggle 1994).

## Findings

Our findings are structured according to our first three research questions: How does anticonsumption manifest in the consumption of obsolete buildings? What values do consumers ascribe to obsolete buildings? What anticonsumption practices do consumers enact to express their appreciation of the alternative values of obsolete buildings? Our participants' discourses of anticonsumption were confined to the context of urban exploration rather than broader consumption practices. In considering the subcultural practices of urban explorers, our study exhibits some parallels to Cherrier's (2010) focus on a subtle form of anticonsumption. Similar to Cherrier's participants, the urban explorers who participated in our study engage with the materiality of waste as a form of protest against the consumerist ideology of newness. However, there are two key points of difference. First, whereas Cherrier (2010) considers the consumer custodianship of material objects, we extend the focus from possessions to buildings with uncertain ownership. Second, most of Cherrier's (2010) participants discuss material objects that have the potential for future use. In our context of obsolete buildings, the potential of future viability is more ambiguous.

Our participants had awareness of the social stigma associated with derelict properties. In discussing the dereliction of his local high-rise, Rory suggests that derelict buildings become a “symbol of the neglect of the full area” (see Table 1 for details about respondents). Such territorial stigmatization often symbolizes larger macro inequalities and changes in economic and social structures such as deindustrialization. Whereas literature often suggests that property abandonment is an indicator of regional disinvestment, Burchell and Listokin (1981) argue it is both a symptom *and* a disease that perpetuates urban decline. These areas become trapped in a cycle of inertia and degradation that extends beyond the city to rural areas. Simon’s comments on rural Welsh farmhouses highlight the cyclical nature of neglect that he relates to wider societal shifts:

I have done a lot research into Welsh life and the sociology of Wales and the different periods of the last century when people migrated to England and Australia basically. So it does tie in with a lot of these houses, farmhouses, and cottages becoming abandoned because there was no work so they just left. After the war there was certain times in Wales that became very depressed, so everyone legged it to other places in the 70s and the 80s. So in houses like that you feel very sad that they have just left and left everything behind, and you think, “Well, why didn’t you take anything?” No, they don’t take anything.

Simon’s comments highlight the impact of agricultural decline and deindustrialization, which initiate a cycle of social problems that cumulatively signify a death of farm communities in rural Wales. This reflects location obsolescence in a rural context whereby an area suffers devaluation and is made redundant (Bryson 1997; Thomsen and Van der Flier 2011). Pockets of location obsolescence occur due to uneven capitalist development in which regions that rely upon specific industries are vulnerable to economic fluctuations and deindustrialization. Notorious examples include the urban decay of the Rust Belt in the United States (Schilling and Logan 2008), the decline of shipbuilding in the North East of England (Hudson 2014), and the Glasgow Effect (Hanlon 2015), in which waves of industrialization and deindustrialization have had severe negative impacts on mortality, health, and poverty.

Spatial taints often extend beyond location obsolescence and include the biography of buildings themselves. Nate talks about the “stigma” attached to Kings Park Hospital, a notorious asylum in New York, due to its ill treatment of patients:

I think they would like to see some condominiums come in to boost the economy. It is also a stigma. People are like, “you live where that old asylum is.” People can see it from their houses or whatever, and it is a constant reminder, too. It definitely does not have a great association. Some people were genuinely helped at this facility but that is not really what is remembered of that place. It is kind of looked on as a dark mark in that place’s history and I think they would rather forget it.

From Nate’s comments, Kings Park emerges as a material reminder (Stevens and McGuire 2015) of economic and social

neglect. Epp and Price (2010) suggest that the biography of a space can be a constricting force that shapes meanings and uses. Indeed, the biographic stigma of Kings Park has contaminated the surrounding area, causing a vicious circle that discourages economic development. The community in turn perceives this process as a means to cleanse the dark history of the region. According to Bradford (2009), consumers purge assets with negative associations by stripping them of indexical value and reallocating them with prosaic value. Residents reallocate economic prosaic value to Kings Park Hospital in an effort to purge the building of its negative indexical associations of the past. However, urban explorers view dereliction and obsolescence differently to dominant market logics, and, in the remainder of our findings, we build on Lee et al.’s (2011) conceptualization of anticonsumption and consider how participants reject the modern, reimagine obsolescence, and reclaim value.

### *Rejecting the Modern*

Rejection behavior as a form of anticonsumption is often invisible, as consumers avoid or exclude certain products and services through intentional nonconsumption (Cherrier et al. 2011; Lee et al. 2011). This is a prime way for consumers to demonstrate consistency between their ethics and behaviors (Black and Cherrier 2010). However, as Moraes, Carrigan, and Szmigin (2012) highlight, coherent inconsistencies may emerge between consumer attitudes and behavior that can be understood as signs of meaningful, albeit contradictory, interactions with markets. This is evident in our participants who readily espouse a rhetorical rejection of the cultural trends of disposability and tendency toward a throwaway society (Paul) in the context of buildings, but whose behaviors do not necessarily extend to other consumption contexts. Our participants acknowledge the disposability of contemporary buildings and critique their poor design, which is a characteristic identified by Thomsen and Van der Flier (2011) as indicative of building obsolescence. This is evident in Euan’s discussion:

Buildings are designed to have a 25-year life cycle. . . . Although really to maintain the life cycles of buildings, maintenance should be a continual presence in the building’s life. That is not what happens and buildings are neglected.

Euan’s comments suggest an architectural institutional bias toward planned obsolescence, which in turn drives replacement consumption (Campbell 2015). Similar to other anticonsumption literature on possessions (Brosius, Fernandez, and Cherrier 2013; Cherrier 2010), our participants would like to see building life cycles prolonged:

I think everything should be reused. Everything. I always say we are a wasteful race. We would rather knock down good sturdy stuff and build cheap wobbly crap. It is like with houses, if I was going to be buying a house, I wouldn’t buy a new build because you can’t

even stick a picture on the walls. . . . You get these new houses and they are just built so shoddy. They have no feeling to them. (Ross)

Ross rejects the reification of the “new” within the built environment and positions himself in resistance to new-build housing by electing to live in a period house despite the additional maintenance costs that are associated with older properties. As such, Ross’s beliefs translate into consumption behavior. He distinguishes between old and new buildings and suggests that, despite their recognized economic value, new buildings do not deserve their dominant place in the market because they are not underpinned by any greater worth. For urban explorers, these new styles that are replacing old buildings are “homogeneous” (Sam), devoid of any character, “plain and uninteresting” (Matt), and associated with poor construction and low-quality materials.

Similar to Ross, Simon avidly dislikes modern buildings, which he deems to be disposable, characterless, and devoid of enduring value. He elaborates on this premise in his discussion of St Edmund’s School for Boys:

Last year they demolished it, which was very sad because you know now what will be built on it. . . . Wimpey homes and Barratt homes. It is easier for them to just knock it down because the land is usually more valuable than the property. . . . They are just boxes really. In 100 years’ time they are just going to look boring and the same. They have no character. I am always moaning that the modern buildings have no character. They don’t, they are just crap. They go up in ten minutes and they won’t last. . . . That is progress apparently.

Many participants share a common dislike for new or modern housing, which is captured by Simon’s comment on Wimpey and Barratt homes being characterless “boxes.” This rejection of specific brands associated with the new build movement is reminiscent of Malvena Reynold’s (1967) *Little Boxes*, which satirizes the conformity of suburban housing developments as “little boxes made of ticky, tacky . . . little boxes all the same.”

What often troubles participants more than new builds is the fact that existing architecture is removed or erased to make way for these developments, reflecting a hierarchy of value that they consider disarranged. Participants are troubled by the social disregard for traditional architectural designs and materials, as well as the lack of wider societal recognition of the worth that they place upon these buildings. For example, Ross notes, “In these old buildings, they have got so much character, history, not just to the local towns but to the architecture, to the styles that were used to make them.” For Ross, old buildings are defined by their structural integrity, character and cultural history, and as Larsen and Urry (2011) suggest, they signify for our participants a solidarity against societal forces of destruction and a continuity between generations. By seeing worth in these old buildings, participants move beyond rhetorical and behavioral rejection of the “new.” Through intentional nonconsumption, they collectively disrupt dominant market logics that

determine value. As Portwood-Stacer (2012, p. 88) suggests, “anticonsumption does more than directly subvert its object of opposition . . . it carries cultural and political significance for participants.” Participants therefore seek to subvert the dominant hierarchies of the marketplace, and their urban exploration acts as a form of anarchism, a recognized radical alternative to traditional consumerism.

Participants put blame on both the marketplace and individual landowners for the lack of recognition placed on important buildings and, as such, place themselves in opposition to these institutional stakeholders. Paul suggests that the “people that own them just leave them to crumble so they can just sell the land off for development,” and Ross claims “they want them to crumble, they want to knock them down because they want to use the land to build houses.” Drawing on Lanier et al. (2013), a building’s cultural worth is cast aside for economic value. Although local communities may seek redevelopment as a means of alleviating territorial stigma, participants remain deeply skeptical of the motivations that drive these projects, cite land value as the main driver of redevelopment, and reject the sanitized environments that replace their obsolete buildings. In our findings, it emerged that urban exploration is a means for our participants to ascribe alternative values to the built environment.

### Reimagining Obsolescence

In contrast to dominant market logics that prioritize innovation and progress, participants find value in obsolete buildings on various levels. Although we acknowledge that the practice of urban exploration involves community building (linking-value) and is highly experiential (spiritual value), our focus here pertains to the values consumers ascribe to obsolete buildings. As such, we focus on forsaken, aesthetic, and terminal values as the most dominant and recurring within our findings. Obsolete buildings act as vessels to appreciate the used, neglected, and discarded. In this sense, consumers reimagine obsolescence by countering the dominant economic regime of valuation.

*Forsaken value.* Findings reveal that consumers ascribe derelict and obsolete buildings with forsaken value, whereby their neglected state makes them deserving of recognition and appreciation:

For me it is about respect for the buildings. You are bringing attention to something that nobody really cares about. As someone with a mental health condition I know what it feels like to be abandoned. I can relate to these places. (Ariel)

Although Ariel draws on her distinctive personal experience of abandonment, she is not alone in finding worth in obsolete buildings to counter their societal neglect. Unlike the prevailing perspective, which suggests that consumers are socialized into avoiding waste (De Coverley et al. 2008), urban explorers often empathize with derelict buildings and see them as worthy of attention. This is further reinforced by Luke:



Things like old factories, they have still got memories for people even if they are not the prettiest. I think it is too easily forgotten about nowadays. Knock it down and build something made of glass. . . . I don't get it, how can it be forgotten about and left?

Luke questions why buildings that have community significance are neglected, given their capacity to be sites of individual and collective memory. In recognizing the cultural biographies (Kopytoff 1986) of buildings, urban explorers can uncover cultural meanings that might otherwise be overlooked. A further example is provided by Josh, who is critical of the classification system at play in macro responses to building obsolescence. In particular, he shares concerns about the neglect of the history of the working classes:

I feel it has been neglected. We don't pay attention to that kind of history as opposed to other history. . . . In Scotland people obsess about the castles of Scotland. . . . Some of them are in ruins but they are well-looked-after ruins. They have lots of people to look after them. They have visitor centers and cafes. You see lots of these equally historically important buildings . . . things like the Finnieston crane, which is iconic in Glasgow. Okay, it is looked after a little bit, but it is not very well maintained or looked after for a historic monument.

Josh introduces heritage agencies as additional institutional stakeholders that have specific approaches to valuation. His comments on the neglect of industrial history highlight the forsaken value of these buildings and reflect the heritage prejudice that befalls many modern ruins (Pétursdóttir 2012). Many of our participants share a similar resistance to the power of such institutions because of the seemingly narrow criteria institutions use to inform preservation decisions. The heritage agency emphasizes grandeur and style, often allocating resources preferentially to sites that have widespread appeal and are likely to attract tourist attention. In contrast, those sites that have more localized, "iconic" status remain largely neglected. Prior research suggests that objects can be regarded as cultural resources that materialize individual identities, and the preservation of such objects works in opposition to the consumption of the new (Cherrier 2010). We extend this perspective beyond the context of individual consumer possessions to a more collective level and find that our participants value iconic community buildings as reminders of a collective neglected past.

**Terminal value.** Unlike ruins that are protected by heritage agencies, derelict buildings often lie abandoned for years with an inevitable physical demise. This is evident in Nate's discussion of his fascination with decay:

Decay reminds us of an ultimate fate that nothing lasts in this world. I think that consciously or subconsciously resonates with us. We all realize, the same way that we realize in a tragedy that it is doomed, these buildings are doomed.

For Nate, decay highlights the finite nature of human experience that is made evident in the degradation of these man-made structures. This concept is particularly relevant to issues of end-stage consumption in which terminal value may increase the appeal of objects. Indeed, Türe (2014) demonstrates that the anticipation of loss can increase consumer attachment.

Beyond symbolizing death, these buildings have a real endpoint and are quintessential artifacts of end-stage consumption. Being the last person to see a building has its own value, as Nick suggests:

Some of the places I have been I don't think that many people are going to see them. I have seen some places in the UK that I don't think people will be able to see again because some of them are decaying and some are gone.

Nick highlights the finite character of these fragile buildings, which will cease to exist in the near future. In this sense, these buildings have a terminal quality whereby their imminent and inevitable demise increases their allure. Like limited edition products, urban exploration represents a form of restricted consumption where scarcity increases value. The allure of derelict buildings emerges in the search for finite experiences that are often inaccessible and potentially unknown to the wider public. Terminal value is also associated with a particular aesthetic, as explored subsequently.

**Aesthetic value.** In contrast to a local authority and urban planning perspective that deems derelict and obsolete buildings to be symbols of deprivation, poverty, and crime, our participants find an aesthetic appeal to these places. This aesthetic appreciation is evident in participants' descriptions of decaying buildings as "beautiful" (Tom), "stunning" (Lydia), and "photogenic" (Seb). Participants find the aesthetic of obsolescence more appealing than modern buildings, offering an interesting contrast to prior understandings of aesthetically related consumption, which prioritize the new (Campbell 2015). Liam dislikes "the pristine," believing that photographs of modern buildings make "your pictures look like an estate agent's pictures." Thus, in prioritizing an alternative regime of valuation, our participants see value that would be overlooked by other institutional stakeholders such as realtors. This is evident in his photograph of an abandoned hospital that was built in 1888 and has been neglected for over 25 years (Figure 2).

The visible presence of decay in this photograph is evident through the moss, water ingress, and structural damage that characterizes its material demise. However, our participants still find aesthetic value in such buildings. As Lydia discusses, "A lot of people would see decay as a negative thing. For me, I actually thought it was quite beautiful. . . . When I say beautiful, I mean beauty is in the eye of the beholder. It is a beauty in decay that I see." Lydia's comments on the beauty of decay reflect the notion of the "paradox of ugliness" (Kuplen 2013) in which aesthetic value can be found in things that are deemed to



**Figure 2.** Abandoned Hospital, United Kingdom (courtesy of participant Liam).

be displeasing. This notion draws on Kantian aesthetics that suggest ugliness is not in opposition to beauty because it has its own aesthetic allure and value, whereas disgust opposes beauty as it physically repels the viewer through loathing (Feloj 2013). For urban explorers, decay has an aesthetic quality that is deeply alluring. Our participants give examples of the beauty of decay relating to a diverse range of structures in the built environment at various stages of deterioration, including those that would not typically be considered as aesthetically pleasing, such as derelict hospitals, abandoned houses, and industrial ruins. This is evident in Simon's photographs of an abandoned residential house (Figure 3).

For Simon, the degradation of buildings is something that is beautiful to photograph: "The wall is all crumbling and the wallpaper is peeling down. Maybe there is some ivy coming down as well. If you can photograph these two things together, then this is the perfect thing for me." Simon's thoughts concur with Lexi who suggests, "I love the morbid colors of decay and the special light . . . the more decay and grime the more interesting a place is for me." In contrast to the generally accepted view of decay as out of place (Douglas 1966), our participants value the beauty of dereliction and obsolescence.

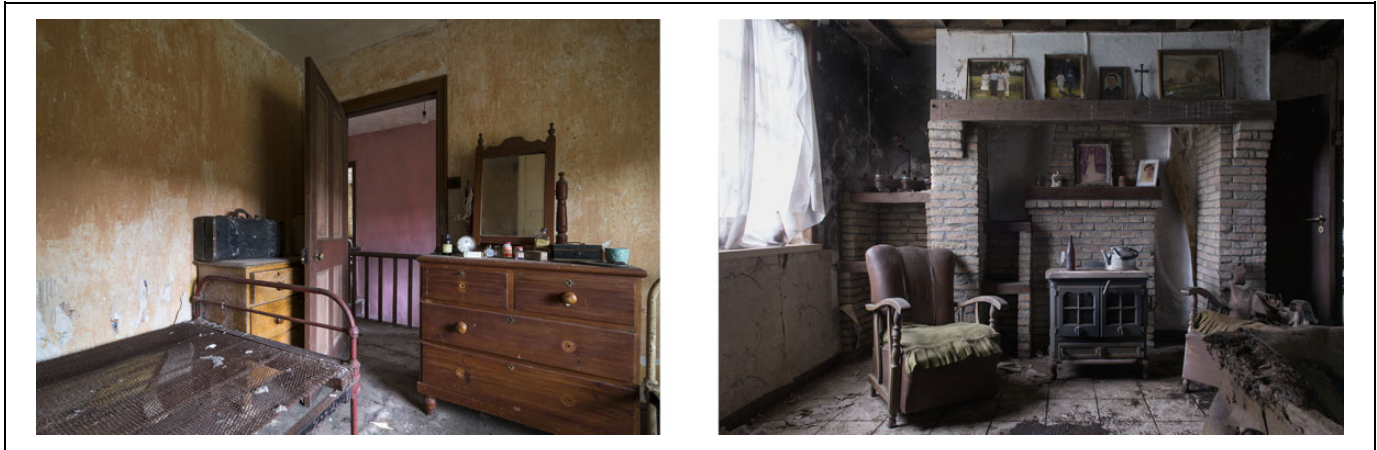
Nate highlights the depth of aesthetic value in discussing his involvement with producing a documentary about Kings Park Hospital in New York. The hospital was home to 10,000 patients at the height of its use, but since its closure in 1996, it has remained abandoned:

We obviously didn't do a straightforward documentary on the place. We didn't do the interviews with the people who were there because that is not the only value that this place has. It is not historical, but it is aesthetically when we think a gorgeous occurrence, a chaotic occurrence that wasn't necessarily planned this way, that has innately brought on a beauty by itself. We thought that alone was worth documenting and sharing. (Nate)

Nate's discussion illustrates the variety of values that could be associated with this hospital, including the historical value of remembering and documenting prior methods of mental health treatment and personal storytelling value for the people who were treated in the hospital. Drawing on Baudrillard (1996), obsolete buildings embody and signify a prior time that is remote from current cultural systems. Although Nate does not deny the existence of these values, he is more concerned with the aesthetic value of this obsolete building. For Nate, the chaotic and tragic circumstances of Kings Park Hospital as an infamous site of disturbing psychiatric treatments have contributed to the beauty in its physical demise.

Another example of beauty in decay is offered by William, who discusses his appreciation of a burned-out castle:

I found it fascinating because the summer light came in and it lit everything up and there were all these beautiful purples and stuff. . . . You are getting the best of both worlds in some cases 'cause if it was intact it would be completely boring but if it was completely done in then it might be pretty boring. So you are using



**Figure 3.** Abandoned Residential Property, United Kingdom (courtesy of participant Simon).

your imagination of what it used to look like and what it is beginning to look like, so it is taking on another life of itself.

William's comments are illustrative of how aesthetics can "inspire people's tacit knowing, feeling, and imagination" (Biehl-Missal 2013, p. 256). William offers a deeply sensory description of the materiality of waste. Reasons against consumption go beyond the intellectual and can also be experienced bodily, inspired by aesthetic forms of communication (Biehl-Missal 2013). Whereas Biehl-Missal (2013) considers artworks that have been purposefully created to encourage consumers to critically reflect on consumption, many of our participants are moved by buildings in their natural state without any intervention or transformation from an artist. Urban explorers approach obsolete buildings as canvases, which engenders what Biehl-Missal (2013, p. 256) refers to as an aesthetic knowing or a "corporeal and emotional understanding of consumption." Some explorers are so moved by the aesthetic value of obsolete buildings that it encourages them to take on an artistic task themselves in an effort to encourage others to be similarly inspired. This will be further explored in the next section.

### Reclaiming Value

This section explores how participants engage in reclamation as a form of anticonsumption, salvaging the value of derelict buildings and highlighting this value in the broader community.

In the previous section, we demonstrated the aesthetic value of obsolete buildings. Urban explorers often use photography both as a means of recording this value and, in turn, reclaiming derelict buildings. In a discussion of derelict and redeveloped churches, Ross explains how he uses photography to create a living memory (Mah 2010) that can be shared beyond his urban explorer peers into the local community:

I am trying to document all of the churches now because obviously, as I am sure you are aware of now, the church congregations are

shrinking, faith is getting less and less, so it won't be too long before the churches of different faiths disappear in some towns. I document them now, get the local community talking about them.

Ross donates his photographs to local community projects in an effort to raise awareness of these often-neglected buildings. Similarly, Ariel uses photography to "bring attention to the place, even if it is just for half an hour . . . making history more personal to people." For Ariel, photographing buildings is about the acknowledgment and attention she feels those buildings deserve due to their forsaken value. Türe (2014) suggests that an object's life can be prolonged through disposition conduits that reevaluate and (re)associate the object with new regimes. We extend this into the context of buildings by highlighting photography as a productive anticonsumption practice.

Ariel has further extended her individual urban exploring behavior by participating in a local "heritage campaign group" in Belgium. This group's main purpose is to save the 150-year-old Chateau Miranda from being demolished. "Anyone who hurts Chateau Miranda is going to face Hell from me," she says. Ariel has been exploring the site for some time and sharing her experiences with the online urban exploration community. However, this community is geographically disparate and though they share a common ethos, they often lack the agency to enact preservation. By creating an official group of relevant stakeholders, Ariel and the other campaign members aim to reclaim custodianship over Chateau Miranda. This involves pluralizing discourses in which multiple stakeholder voices are used to reinforce anticonsumption (Varman and Belk 2009).

Despite an adherence to the ethos of "leave only footprints," in extreme cases, some participants physically reclaim obsolete buildings and their contents. This includes behaviors such as applying their own padlocks to buildings to keep others out. As Ross explains:

I have even known people to put on fresh padlocks after they have seen places. You know if they found a place stuffed with items, they will photograph a place and then put on their own padlocks to keep others out.

Much like Curasi, Price, and Arnould's (2004) caretakers and Cherrier's (2010) custodians, our participants strive to protect buildings from vandals, metal thieves, and arsonists who would destroy their remaining material value. Other examples include explorers taking and removing objects from properties to save them from damage and disposal. However, this kind of custodianship poses an ethical dilemma for explorers, as Simon's account suggests:

I really hate the thought of someone coming along and buying the property and just taking everything in the house and piling it on a giant bonfire and burning it all. So there is always that ethical dilemma: Do you take it? We all have that . . . You could see the bonfire in front of the cottage . . . There were beautiful antique binoculars, World War II first aid kits, really amazing stuff that should be in a museum. So I took the binoculars. I thought, "you are not burning them, no way." They are not worth anything, they are a bit damaged. So I thought, "I am rescuing them."

Simon resolves his dilemma by believing he is "rescuing" the binoculars from a worse fate, similarly to Cherrier (2010), who suggests that consumers' homes can become orphanages for abandoned objects. Findings reveal that placing an object at risk of damage or disposal can highlight its significance and worth beyond economic value. Indeed, Türe (2014) argues that disposal can trigger a deeper attachment to objects that may prompt consumers to use protection strategies to safeguard objects' perceived value, which can be ambiguous or at odds with broader value regimes. This extends Lee et al.'s (2011) conceptualization of reclamation as a form of anticonsumption through new forms of consumption cycle alteration (i.e., donation, safeguarding, rescuing, and campaigning).

## Discussion

In contrast to anticonsumption discourse that emphasizes a nonmaterial lifestyle, Cherrier (2010) suggests a subtler form of anticonsumption that involves salvaging material as a means of protesting against consumerist ideology. Waste scholars have also suggested that research on the materiality of waste can generate useful insights (Ekström 2015; Gregson and Cragg 2010). In this article, we have merged these two perspectives and demonstrated how engagement with the materiality of waste can be a form of anticonsumption. In particular, we have considered how anticonsumption manifests within the context of the waste of obsolete buildings. Prior research on end-stages of consumption has focused on disposables such as food (e.g., Cappellini and Parsons 2013; Southerton and Yates 2015) or approaches to prolonging the useful life of objects (Brosius, Fernandez, and Cherrier 2013; Gustafsson, Hjelmgren, and Czarniawska 2015). However, what is less understood are social and cultural understandings of waste in contexts beyond low-involvement and ownership. We consider the context of obsolete buildings, which have certain unique characteristics that are absent in prior work on waste: (1) buildings are

highly complex assemblages of materials that require specialized practices of maintenance and disposal such as asbestos disposal (Gregson, Watkins, and Calestani 2010), (2) buildings are physically larger than other consumer possessions and thus generate a greater volume of waste, (3) buildings have greater capacity to generate economic value because of the physical asset itself, the associated land value, and the rent value (Bryson 1997), and (4) buildings not only have personal meaning but can have greater societal and community significance than other consumer objects. These characteristics highlight the complexity of buildings as distinct assets requiring more challenging waste management that involves and affects a range of stakeholders.

Urban exploration has previously been identified as a form of resistance to authority and structures of society (Garrett 2014), but we see it as a marketplace resistance that is oriented against the consumerist ideology of the new. Our first research question asked how anticonsumption manifests in the consumption of obsolete buildings. In answer, we suggest that urban exploration sits within what Lee et al. (2011) refer to as the "blending space" between anticonsumption and resistance. In this space, anticonsumption practices are driven by consumer resistance as an opposition to the power of institutions (Price and Peñaloza 1993). Beyond resisting legal authority, our participants are resistant to the power of institutions that prioritize an economic market logic. This manifests through anticonsumption discourses and activities related to the replacing and redeveloping of old buildings with the new. In an extension of the extant body of consumer research on rejection, which takes an antimaterialist stance (such as in the cases of boycotting or voluntary simplicity), our research has revealed that urban explorers perceive obsolete buildings to have strong material value. Unlike new buildings, which they perceive as homogeneous and characterless, old buildings engender an emotional attachment. In rejecting the cultural trend of disposability, urban explorers critique the planned obsolescence inherent in contemporary building design. This manifests in the anticonsumption of specific branded home developments that they see as representative of this new-build movement.

In our second research question, we asked what values consumers ascribe to obsolete buildings. We suggest that obsolete buildings shift between different regimes of valuation. Urban explorers reimagine value in abandoned buildings that might otherwise be left "in a timeless and valueless limbo" (Thompson 1997, pp. 8–9). Our findings reveal that reimagining obsolescence enables obsolete buildings to move from waste status to worthy of reclamation. Hetherington (2004) suggests that waste exists in a region of flexibility and that conduits of disposal allow objects to transfer between regimes of value. Rather than conduits of disposal, we suggest that the alternative values consumers perceive in these buildings prompts the buildings' movement between value regimes. Responding to De Coverley et al.'s (2008) call for research on new ways of visualizing waste, we have revealed that consumers reimagine value in obsolete buildings that have been discarded by the market as waste. They ascribe a range of alternative values to



Stakeholders	Key Questions	Examples of Potential Parties
	Who may be affected by the building's redevelopment and/or demolition? Who may have a perspective on the obsolete building?	Public policy makers, including national and regional governmental bodies and local authorities. Urban planners Regeneration organizations Real estate agents Local commercial community Local residential community Pressure groups Building owners
Value Regimes	Key Questions	Examples of Potential Values
	What are the potential regimes of valuation that apply to obsolete buildings? What potential conflicts exist between competing values?	Economic Community and linking value Moral Spiritual Semiotic Exchange Use Forsaken Aesthetic
Use	Key Questions	Examples of Potential Uses
	In what ways can the obsolete building be used? How viable are each of these uses?	Commercial use Accommodation Community projects Heritage and legacy projects Temporary use (e.g., popup shops, art installations)

**Figure 4.** Obsolescence Impact Evaluation.

abandoned buildings that counter the dominant axioms of consumption, including forsaken value, terminal value, and aesthetic value. This extends Lee et al.'s (2011) conceptualization of anticonsumption by introducing reimagining as an additional form of anticonsumption. Forsaken value counters societal neglect, rejects heritage prejudice, and celebrates local culture. Terminal value is driven by the finite materiality of obsolete buildings and by mechanisms of scarcity and inevitable demise. Aesthetic value encourages critique on consumerism through embodied knowing (Biehl-Missal 2013) and recognizes beauty in obsolescence.

In responding to our third research question, we show how urban explorers express their appreciation of the alternative values of obsolete buildings through strategies of reclamation. Lee et al. (2011) define reclamation as an alteration to the normal consumption cycle. In our findings, this occurs in the form of photography, campaigning, and physical reclamation. In enacting these strategies, urban explorers position themselves as caretakers (Curasi, Price, and Arnould 2004) or custodians (Cherrier 2010) of obsolete buildings and their contents. The strength of our participants' feelings manifests in acts of transgression that work at the limits of legality, such as applying padlocks and removing items from abandoned buildings. They employ both virtual (e.g., photography, online forums) and physical (e.g., removing contents, campaigning) means in an attempt to protect and rescue these vulnerable buildings. Although not all of these practices are typically anticonsumptive in nature, they become expressions of

anticonsumption rhetoric when they are driven by a rejection of dominant value regimes. These expressions of anticonsumption, such as donating photographs to local communities and engaging local communities in campaigning endeavors, can be a means of bringing these buildings to the attention of broader stakeholder groups. These are productive expressions of anticonsumption that reclaim obsolete buildings by introducing them into new regimes of value.

## Public Policy Implications

Our final research question asks how public policy makers can use insights from anticonsumption to reevaluate the significance of obsolete buildings. As Campbell (2015, p. 45) points out, individual consumers do not typically have the power to "halt [the] apparently out-of-control consumption of the new." In this section, we suggest practical ways in which public policy makers can support a reevaluation of the role that obsolete buildings play in society.

Rather than traditional approaches to waste management that focus on diversion and prevention (Bulkeley and Gregson 2009), we suggest that research on obsolescence can benefit from a broader conceptualization of value that encompasses the perspectives of all relevant stakeholders. Public policy debates on urban regeneration tend to be dominated by economic valuations and do not adequately explore the consumer perspective. We propose a comprehensive Obsolescence Impact Evaluation (Figure 4) that relevant decision makers,

including those in public policy positions, should complete as part of their demolition and regeneration appraisals. This Obsolescence Impact Evaluation would enable a systematic assessment of the stakeholders potentially affected by a decision, differing regimes of valuation relevant to the decision, and potential uses of the buildings. This follows Healey's (1998) recommendations for collaborative planning and the inclusion of different forms of local knowledge in communities. It broadens evaluations beyond the predominantly economic perspective in decisions of how to deal with old and obsolete buildings.

We suggest that qualitative approaches including focus groups, town hall meetings, and online forums that bring multiple stakeholders together could be used to discuss and rank conflicting value regimes identified in the Obsolescence Impact Evaluation. We argue that this tool allows for a broader range of stakeholder voices to be incorporated in planning decisions. Urban explorers, for example, though they often sit outside of the local community, have a distinctive perspective on the value of dereliction, developed through their exploration practices across numerous decaying sites; however, their voice is currently largely absent from planning decisions. Saatcioglu and Ozanne (2013) suggest the inevitability of conflict when different actors compete over the same space and highlight the need for public policy intervention to equitably manage this conflict. We do not advocate the primacy of any one individual perspective; rather, we suggest that our Obsolescence Impact Evaluation is a practical aid to public policy makers that brings together multiple voices, competing value regimes, and potential building uses as a basis for more informed decision making and action.

Our findings demonstrate that consumers use reclamation to afford them a degree of empowerment as they strive to highlight the significance of these buildings. This is a social endeavor rather than legal ownership. Building on this recognition of consumer custodianship, we suggest that public policy makers should encourage community empowerment through various means. Andres (2013) identifies two forms of urban planning: weak planning (or place shaping), in which a "watching stage" (Andres 2011) is adopted when urban planning ideals cannot be achieved due to economic instability, and master planning (or place making), which occurs when economic stability enables the design and execution of a development vision. We suggest that the Obsolescence Impact Evaluation would be a key part of both weak planning and master planning. For example, weak planning could involve temporary use projects in which local communities have the opportunity to use derelict or obsolete buildings for short periods of time. Such projects have been used in La Friche in Marseille, France, where small commercial businesses and local partnerships were introduced, and Flon in Lausanne, Switzerland, where retail and art spaces were temporarily installed (Andres 2013). Temporary use projects stimulate short-term economic growth and delay urban disinvestment.

However, temporary use projects can also have long-lasting impacts on communities. In the case of Flon, temporary

occupants participated in organic community-led regeneration by creating a village within the city (Andres 2013). This demonstrates that weak planning can become part of the master planning process. In our research, urban explorers valued a range of different building types that were in different stages of deterioration and had different ownership statuses that could limit the future uses of such properties. However, we consider that the recent introduction of the Community Empowerment Act 2015 in Scotland is a good example of master planning that allows communities to overcome these differences. This act enables certain community bodies to buy abandoned, neglected, or detrimental land and property, irrespective of the level of deterioration or extant ownership status. This act was introduced with the goal of increasing community ownership of the physical landscape and encouraging participation in place-making. We recommend that other public policy makers consider similar radical policy changes to enable obsolete buildings to regain use and occupation. This could be achieved by reducing legal barriers to use and providing funding for community-led redevelopment. We also consider that buildings do not necessarily need to be materially redeveloped to be put to use. Aesthetics of decay are currently popular in consumer culture and are indeed increasingly being simulated for commercial impact. Brinkworth, the design consultants for AllSaints fashion stores, describes creating "a mood of decadent decay and distressed glamour" for the brand. However, we also see examples of genuinely decaying buildings being minimally changed to bring them back into use: The Pipe Factory in Glasgow has used this approach to create space for artists' studios, and The Platform in London rents derelict space for community projects. We consider that wider application of these minimal change projects could form part of a master planning approach.

Extant literature addresses the negative aspects of dereliction and obsolescence through embedded discourses such as territorial stigmatization (Wacquant, Slater, and Pereira 2014). Public policy makers should attempt to destigmatize regions, districts, and areas that experience location obsolescence (Bryson 1997; Thomsen and Van der Flier 2011) to remove negative associations that create the cyclical decline of an area. Our findings suggest that this could be achieved by altering institutional discourses that create territorial stigmatization to instead highlight the alternative social, cultural, and historical values these buildings or places have for local communities. By shaping the sociocultural meanings of disuse, stigma may be reduced or erased from obsolete buildings, allowing alternative values to emerge. One way this could be achieved would be to encourage the circulation of more positive discourses through traditional and social media.

Additionally, our findings demonstrate that consumers find value in sharing the history of obsolete buildings with local and wider communities to draw attention to discarded and abandoned cultural heritage. Public policy makers could take advantage of this by introducing policies that encourage stakeholders to engage with legacy projects that document local memory to connect with community values. In our findings,

we reflected on the Kings Park Hospital documentary, which focused specifically on aesthetic value; however, we suggest that such legacy projects could encompass a much broader range of values depending on the local context. This could be achieved by establishing partnerships with community, local, and national stakeholders such as research bodies, heritage groups, and media and arts organizations. These legacy projects would be particularly relevant in cases where demolition is the only option for obsolete buildings and, in these cases, could act as smoothing mechanisms that preserve collective memory.

These policy recommendations could act as means of extending the lifecycle of buildings by recognizing them as valuable resources. This would not only have a positive impact on the local community but would also have positive environmental impacts.

### Limitations and Future Research

A limitation of our research involves the secretive and individualistic nature of urban exploration. Although urban explorers share information and have some communal understandings underpinning their practices, we could not gather them together to discuss these values because of their strong need for anonymity even among their peers. We consider that this individualism could be a limiting factor in their voices being heard within public policy decisions. Urban planners need to weigh competing stakeholder viewpoints, but urban explorers do not currently have any formal organizations or structures that allow them to lobby collectively. We suggest therefore that there is a need for future research to explore: (1) the communal values of fringe actors such as urban explorers, (2) how communal voices can be developed and captured in the absence of formal organizational structures, and (3) how these communal understandings can be incorporated into the policy landscape effectively. Our research also considers only urban explorers' views regarding the value of obsolete buildings, and we recognize that there are many potential stakeholders in any planning decision. Further research could map these different stakeholder groups in an attempt to understand both their perspectives on obsolescence and the respective power of their voices within important public policy decisions.

### Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

### Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

### Associate Editor

Timothy Dewhirst served as associate editor for this article.

### References

- Accordino, John, and Gary T. Johnson (2000), "Addressing the Vacant and Abandoned Property Problem," *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 22 (3), 301–15.
- Anderson, Stephanie, Kathy Hamilton, and Andrea Tonner (2014), "'I Regularly Weigh Up Just Getting Rid of Facebook': Exploring Restriction as a Form of Anti-Consumption," in *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 42, J. Cotte and S. Wood, eds. Duluth, MN: Association for Consumer Research, 235–39.
- Andres, Lauren (2011), "Alternative Initiatives, Cultural Intermediaries and Urban Regeneration: The Case of La Friche (Marseille)," *European Planning Studies*, 19 (5), 795–811.
- Andres, Lauren (2013), "Differential Spaces, Power Hierarchy and Collaborative Planning: A Critique of the Role of Temporary Uses in Shaping and Making Places," *Urban Studies*, 50 (4), 759–75.
- Apel, Dora (2015), *Beautiful Terrible Ruins: Detroit and the Anxiety of Decline*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Baudrillard, Jean (1996), *The System of Objects*. trans. James Benedict. London: Verso.
- Bennett, L. (2011), "Bunkerology—a Case Study in the Theory and Practice of Urban Exploration," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 29 (3), 421–34.
- Biehl-Missal, Brigitte (2013), "Art, Fashion, and Anti-Consumption," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 33 (3), 245–57.
- Black, Iain R., and Hélène Cherrier (2010), "Anti-Consumption as Part of Living a Sustainable Lifestyle: Daily Practices, Contextual Motivations, and Subjective Values," *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, 9 (6), 437–53.
- Block, Lauren G., Punam A. Keller, Beth Vallen, Sara Williamson, Mia M. Birau, and Amir Grinstein, et al. (2016), "The Squander Sequence: Understanding Food Waste at Each Stage of the Consumer Decision-Making Process," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 35 (2), 292–304.
- Borgerson, Janet, and Jonathan Schroeder (2007), "The Pleasures of the Used Text: Buying, Selling, and Savouring Collectible Books," in *E - European Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol 8, Stefania Borghini, Mary Ann McGrath, and Cele Otnes, eds. Duluth, MN: Association for Consumer Research, 111–12.
- Bradford, Tanya W. (2009), "Intergenerationally Gifted Asset Dispositions," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 36 (1), 93–111.
- Brosius, Nina, Karen Fernandez, and Hélène Cherrier (2013), "Reacquiring Consumer Waste: Treasure in our Trash?" *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 32 (2), 286–301.
- Bryson, John R. (1997), "Obsolescence and the Process of Creative Reconstruction," *Urban Studies*, 34 (9), 1439–58.
- Bulkeley, Harriet, and Nicky Gregson (2009), "Crossing the Threshold: Municipal Waste Policy and Household Waste Generation," *Environment and Planning A*, 41 (4), 929–45.
- Burchell, Robert W., and David Listokin (1981), "Property Abandonment in the United States," in *The Adaptive Reuse Handbook*. Rutgers, NJ: Center for Urban Policy Research, 386–410.
- Cappellini, Benedetta, and Elizabeth Parsons (2013), "Practising Thrift at Dinnertime: Mealtime Leftovers, Sacrifice and Family Membership," *The Sociological Review*, 60 (2), 121–34.

- Campbell, Colin (2015), "The Curse of the New: How the Accelerating Pace of the New is Driving Hyper-Consumption," in *Waste Management and Sustainable Consumption*, Karin M. Ekström, ed. London: Routledge, 29–51.
- Chatzidakis, Andres, Pauline Maclaran, and Alan Bradshaw (2012), "Heterotopian Space and the Utopics of Ethical and Green Consumption," *Journal of Marketing Management*, 28 (3/4), 494–515.
- Cherrier, Hélène (2009), "Anti-Consumption Discourses and Consumer Resistant Identities," *Journal of Business Research*, 62 (2), 181–90.
- Cherrier, Hélène (2010), "Custodian Behavior: A Material Expression of Anti-consumerism," *Consumption, Markets & Culture*, 13 (3), 259–72.
- Cherrier, Hélène (2016), "Material Presence and the Detox Delusion: Insights from Social Nudism," *Journal of Consumer Affairs*, 50 (1), 100–123.
- Cherrier, Hélène, Iain R. Black, and Mike Lee (2011), "Intentional Non-consumption for Sustainability: Consumer Resistance and/or Anti-consumption?" *European Journal of Marketing*, 45 (11/12), 1757–67.
- Cooper, Tim (2016), "The Significance of Product Longevity," in *Longer Lasting Products: Alternatives to the Throwaway Society*, Tim Cooper, ed. New York: Routledge.
- Craig-Lees, Margret (2006), "Anti-Consumption: Concept Clarification and Changing Consumption Behavior," paper presented at the Anti-consumption Seminar, International Centre for Anti-Consumption Research, Auckland, New Zealand (June 20–21).
- Cova, Bernard (1997), "Community and Consumption: Towards a Definition of the "Linking Value" of Product or Services," *European Journal of Marketing*, 31 (3/4), 297–316.
- Curasi, Carolyn F., Linda L. Price, and Eric J. Arnould (2004), "How Individuals' Cherished Possessions Become Families' Inalienable Wealth," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31 (3), 609–22.
- De Coverley, Edd, Pierre McDonagh, Lisa O'Malley, and Maurice Patterson (2008), "Hidden Mountain: The Social Avoidance of Waste," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 28 (3), 289–303.
- Department for Communities and Local Government (2016), "Dwelling Stock Estimates: 2015, England," Housing Statistical Release, Department for Communities and Local Government, (accessed January 14, 2017), [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/519475/Dwelling\\_Stock\\_Estimates\\_2015\\_England.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/519475/Dwelling_Stock_Estimates_2015_England.pdf).
- Dobscha, Susan (1998), "The Lived Experience of Consumer Rebellion Against Marketing," in *NA - Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol 25, Joseph W. Alba and J. Wesley Hutchinson, eds. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 91–97.
- Douglas, Mary (1966), *Purity and Danger*. New York: Routledge.
- Edensor, T. (2005), *Industrial Ruins: Space, Aesthetics, and Materiality*. London: Berg Publishers.
- Ekström, Karin M. (2015), *Waste Management and Sustainable Consumption*. London: Routledge.
- Epp, Amber M., and Linda L. Price (2010), "The Storied Life of Singularized Objects: Forces of Agency and Network Transformation," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 36 (5), 820–37.
- Emerson, Robert M., Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw (2011), *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Feløj, Serena (2013), "Is There a Negative Judgement of Taste? Disgust as the Real Ugliness in Kant's Aesthetics," *Lebenswelt*, 3, 175–85.
- Fernandez, Karen V., Amanda J. Brittain, and Sandra D. Bennett (2011), "'Doing the Duck': Negotiating the Resistant-Consumer Identity," *European Journal of Business*, 45 (11/12), 1779–88.
- Fitzpatrick, Kathleen (2011), *Planned Obsolescence: Publishing, Technology, and the Future of the Academy*. New York: New York University Press.
- Friedman, Munro (1999), *Consumer Boycotts*. London: Routledge.
- Garrett, Bradley L. (2012), "Place Hacking: Tales of Urban Exploration," doctoral dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London.
- Garrett, Bradley L. (2014), "Undertaking Recreational Trespass: Urban Exploration and Infiltration," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 39 (1), 1–13.
- Glaser, Barney G. (1965) "The Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis," *Social Problems*, 12 (Spring), 436–45.
- Gregson, Nicky, and Mike Crang (2010), "Materiality and Waste: Inorganic Vitality in a Networked World," *Environment and Planning A*, 42, 1026–32.
- Gregson, Nicky, Helen Watkins, and Melania Calestani (2010), "Inextinguishable Fibres: Demolition and The Vital Materialisms of Asbestos," *Environment and Planning A*, 42 (5), 1065–83.
- Groth, Jacqueline, and Eric Corijn (2005), "Reclaiming Urbanity: Interdeterminate Spaces, Informal Actors and Urban Agenda Setting," *Urban Studies*, 42 (3), 503–26.
- Gustafsson, Eva, Daniel Hjelmgren, and Barbara Czarniawska (2015), "Cloth Loop: An Attempt to Construct an Actor-Network," in *Waste Management and Sustainable Consumption*, Karin M. Ekström, ed. London: Routledge, 115–29.
- Hanlon, P. (2015), "Unhealthy Glasgow: A Case for Ecological Public Health?" *Public Health*, 129 (10), 1353–60.
- Harvey, David (1989), "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism," *Human Geography*, 71 (1), 3–17.
- Healey, Patsy (1998), "Building Institutional Capacity Through Collaborative Approaches to Urban Planning," *Environment and Planning A*, 30 (9), 1531–1546.
- Heisley, Deborah D., and Sidney J. Levy (1991), "Autodriving: A Photoelicitation Technique," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 18 (3), 257–272.
- Hetherington, Kevin (2004), "Secondhandedness: Consumption, Disposal, and Absent Presence," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 22 (1), 157–173.
- Heyl, Barbara S. (2008), "Ethnographic Interviewing," in *Handbook of Ethnography*, Paul Atkinson, Amanda Coffey, Sara Delamont, John Lofland, and Lyn Lofland, eds. London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 368–83.
- Hogg, Margaret K., Emma N. Banister, and Christopher A. Stephenson (2009), "Mapping Symbolic (Anti-) Consumption," *Journal of Business Research*, 62 (2), 148–59.
- Holbrook, Morris B. (1999), *Consumer Value: A Framework for Analysis and Research*. New York: Psychology Press.



- Holt, Douglas B. (1997) "Poststructuralist Lifestyle Analysis: Conceptualizing the Social Patterning of Consumption in Postmodernity," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 23 (4), 326–50.
- Hudson, Joanne (2014), "The Affordances and Potentialities of Derelict Urban Spaces," in *Ruin Memories: Materialities, Aesthetics, and the Archaeology of the Recent Past*, Bjørnar Olsen and Þóra Pétursdóttir, eds. Hoboken, NJ: Taylor and Francis, 193–214.
- Iyer, Rajesh, and James Muncy (2009), "Purpose and Object of Anti-Consumption," *Journal of Business Research*, 62 (2), 160–68.
- Kopytoff, Igor (1986), "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Arjun Appadurai, ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 64–91.
- Kozinets, Robert V. (2015), *Netnography: Redefined*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Kuplen, Moja (2013), "The Aesthetic of Ugliness—A Kantian Perspective," *Proceedings of the European Society for Aesthetics*, 5, 260–79.
- Lanier, Clinton D. Jr, C. Scott Rader, and Aubrey R. Fowler III (2013), "Anthropomorphism, Marketing Relationships, and Consumption Worth in the Toy Story Trilogy," *Journal of Marketing Management*, 29 (1/2), 26–47.
- Larsen, Jonas, and John Urry (2011), *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Lee, Mike, Dominique Roux, Hèlène Cherrier, and Bernard Cova (2011), "Anti-Consumption and Consumer Resistance: Concepts, Concerns, Conflicts, and Convergence," *European Journal of Marketing*, 45 (11/12), 1680–87.
- Lee, Michael S.W., Karen Fernandez, and Michael R. Hyman (2009), "Anti-Consumption: An Overview and Research Agenda," *Journal of Business Research*, 62 (2), 145–47.
- Leslie, Chris (2016), "Disappearing Glasgow," (accessed January 29, 2017), <http://www.disappearing-glasgow.com/portfolio/introduction/>.
- Levy, Sidney J. (1959), "Symbols for Sale," *Harvard Business Review*, 37 (4), 117–24.
- Mah, Alice (2010), "Memory, Uncertainty and Industrial Ruination: Walker Riverside, Newcastle Upon Tyne," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34 (2), 398–413.
- Mansfield, John R., and James A. Pinder (2008), "'Economic' and 'Functional' Obsolescence: Their Character and Impacts on Valuation Practice," *Property Management*, 26 (3), 191–206.
- Maycroft, Neil (2015), "Obsolete Peripherals: The Ghost of the Machine," conference paper presented at PLATE conference, Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham, UK (June 2015).
- Miles, Matthew B., and A. Michael Huberman (1994), *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook*. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Miles, Steven (2010), *Spaces for Consumption*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Molloy, Raven (2016), "Long-Term Vacant Housing in the United States," *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, 59 (July), 118–29.
- Moraes, Caroline, Marylyn Carrigan, and Isabelle Szmigin (2012), "The Coherence of Inconsistencies: Attitude–Behaviour Gaps and New Consumption Communities," *Journal of Marketing Management*, 28 (1/2), 103–128.
- Mott, Carrie, and Susan M. Roberts (2014), "Not Everyone Has (the) Balls: Urban Exploration and the Persistence of Masculinist Geography," *Antipode*, 46 (1), 229–45.
- Ninjalicious (2015), *Access All Areas: A User's Guide to the Art of Urban Exploration*. Canada: Infilpress.
- Paquet, Suzanne (2016), "La Ruine Postindustrielle, Le Temps De L'image," *Frontières*, 28 (1), 1.
- Parsons, Liz (2007), "Dealing in Histories: Durability, Authenticity, and Provenance in Markets for Antiques," in *E – European Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 8, Stefania Borghini, Mary Ann McGrath, and Cele Otnes, eds. Duluth, MN: Association for Consumer Research, 111–12.
- Parsons, Elizabeth (2010), "Markets, Identities, and the Discourses of Antique Dealing," *Marketing Theory*, 10(3), 283–298.
- Parsons, Elizabeth, and Pauline Maclaran (2009), "'Unpacking Disposal': Introduction to the Special Issue," *Journal of Consumer Behavior*, 8 (6), 301–04.
- Pétursdóttir, Þóra (2012), "Concrete Matters: Ruins of Modernity and the Things Called Heritage," *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 13 (1), 31–53.
- Pétursdóttir, Þóra, and Olsen, Bjørnar (2014), "An Archaeology of Ruins," in *Ruin Memories: Materialities, Aesthetics and the Archaeology of the Recent Past*, Bjørnar Olsen and Þóra Pétursdóttir, eds. London: Routledge, 3–29.
- Portwood-Stacer, Laura (2012), "Anti-Consumption as Tactical Resistance: Anarchists, Subculture, and Activist Strategy," *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 12 (1), 87–105.
- Poster, Mark (1992), "The Question of Agency: De Certeau and the History of Consumption," *Diacritics*, 22 (April), 94–107.
- Price, Linda L., and Lisa Peñaloza (1993), "Consumer Resistance: A Conceptual Overview," *Advances in Consumer Research*, 20 (1), 123–28.
- Prothero, Andrea, Susan Dobscha, Jim Freund, William E. Kilbourne, Michael G. Luchs, Ozanne, Lucie K., and John Thøgersen (2011), "Sustainable Consumption: Opportunities for Consumer Research and Public Policy," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 30 (1), 31–38.
- Reynolds, Malvina (1967), "Little Boxes," *Malvina Reynolds Sings the Truth*, Columbia Records.
- Russell, Cristel Antonia, and Hope Jensen Schau (2014), "When Narrative Brands End: The Impact of Narrative Closure and Consumption Sociality on Loss Accommodation," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 40 (6), 1039–62.
- Saatcioglu, Bige, and Julie L. Ozanne (2013), "A Critical Spatial Approach to Marketplace Exclusion and Inclusion," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 32 (May), 32–37.
- Schilling, Joseph, and Jonathan Logan (2008), "Greening the Rust Belt: A Green Infrastructure Model for Right Sizing America's Shrinking Cities," *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 74 (4), 451–66.
- Shankar, Avi, Richard Elliott, and James Fitchett (2009), "Identity, Consumption and Narratives of Socialization," *Marketing Theory*, 9 (1), 75–94.
- Shaw, Deirdre, and Caroline Moraes (2009), "Voluntary Simplicity: An Exploration of Market Interactions," *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 33 (2), 215–23.

- Southerton, Dale, and Luke Yates (2015), "Exploring Food Waste Through the Lens of Social Practice Theories: Some Reflection on Eating as a Compound Practice," in *Waste Management and Sustainable Consumption*, Karin M. Ekström, ed. London: Routledge, 133–49.
- Spiggle, Susan (1994), "Analysis and Interpretation of Qualitative Data in Consumer Research," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21 (3), 491–503.
- Stevens, Thea, and Neil McGuire (2015), "Material Reminders: Politics, Souvenirs, and Collective," in *Material Culture in Action: Practices of Making, Collecting and Re-enacting Art and Design*, 7-8 Sep 2015. Glasgow, UK: The Glasgow School of Art.
- Stones, Samantha (2016), "The Value of Heritage: Urban Exploration and the Historic Environment," *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice*, 7 (4), 301–20.
- Thompson, Craig J. (1997), "Interpreting Consumers: A Hermeneutical Framework for Deriving Marketing Insights from the Texts of Consumers' Consumption Stories," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 34 (4), 438–55.
- Thomsen, Andre, and Kees van der Flier (2011), "Understanding Obsolescence: A Conceptual Model for Buildings," *Building Research & Information*, 39 (4), 353–62.
- Türe, Metlem (2014), "Value-in-Disposition: Exploring How Consumers Derive Value from Disposition of Possessions," *Marketing Theory*, 14 (1), 53–72.
- Varman, Rohit, and Russell W. Belk (2009), "Nationalism and Ideology in an Anticonsumption Movement," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 36 (4), 686–700.
- Venkatesh, Alladi, and Laurie A. Meamber (2006), "Arts and Aesthetics: Marketing and Cultural Production," *Marketing Theory*, 6 (1), 11–39.
- Wacquant, Loïc, Tom Slater, and Virgílio Borges Pereira (2014), "Territorial Stigmatization in Action," *Environment and Planning A*, 46 (6), 1270–80.
- Wallendorf, Melanie, and Merrie Brucks (1993), "Introspection in Consumer Research: Implementation and Implications," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 20 (3), 339–59.
- Weber, Rachel (2002), "Extracting Value from the City: Neoliberalism and Urban Redevelopment," *Antipode*, 34 (3), 519–40.
- Wilson, Matthew (2016), "When Creative Consumers Go Green: Understanding Consumer Upcycling," *Journal of Product & Brand Management*, 25 (4), 394–99.
- Zavestoski, Stephen (2002), "Guest Editorial: Anticonsumption Attitudes," *Psychology & Marketing*, 19 (2), 1216.

Copyright of Journal of Public Policy & Marketing is the property of American Marketing Association and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.