

Master's Thesis

# Baby Clothes as Symbolic Meaning Transfer into Motherhood

A Qualitative Study of First Time Mothers  
from Generation Y in Copenhagen



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## **ABSTRACT**

Within today's society people consume goods not only for their utilitarian value but also for their symbolic meanings. Therefore, all goods carry symbolic meanings. The aim of the thesis is to understand how baby clothes function as a symbolic meaning transfer and how they assist first time mothers in their identity construction into motherhood. This study focuses on the recent first time mothers from Generation Y, since they are the generation of new mothers today.

The research was made from a social constructionism perspective and was conducted through a qualitative study, which included 10 semi-structured interviews with first time mothers from Generation Y in Copenhagen.

The analysis shows that the baby clothes carry different symbolic meanings, which the mothers use in order to gain a self-perception as a "good" mother and to get recognition from others, by dressing the child in the clothes that carry the "right" values. Furthermore, the baby clothes can assist the mothers to represent who they are as a mother in regard to life style, social status and values. Additionally, the analysis shows that the baby clothes are utilised as a sign of belonging, which the mothers use in order to show an affiliation with other mothers. Thus the analysis demonstrates that the symbolic consumption of baby clothes is used by the mothers in order to construct their self-identity and social-identity and assist them in their identity construction into motherhood.

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## INTRODUCTION

In the last decade the development of the baby and children's clothes market in Denmark has more than doubled (Dansk Mode og Tekstil, 2012). It is estimated that in 2013 the money spent on children's clothes in Denmark was \$970.1 million and the market is forecasted to grow up to 7.2 % to increase the value to \$1,039.5 million in 2018 (Marketline Report, 2014). In Copenhagen the market even has its own fashion fair CIFF KIDS, with more than 300 brands represented at the fair in 2016 (CIFF KIDS, 2016) and the possibilities where to shop and what styles to wear are ever expanding. The growth and expansion within this market, consequently makes it an interesting topic to investigate.

The babies themselves do not have an interest in the clothes they are wearing, so why is it then important for the mothers? There can be many answers to this, but this thesis will focus on the symbolic meaning of the baby clothes, by taking a consumer research perspective. This is supported by the understanding that products hold more value than merely a utilitarian function (Levy, 1959; Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000; Solomon, 2015).

*"People buy things not only for what they can do, but also for what they mean."*

(Levy, 1959, p. 118).

This quote is supported by Salomon, Bamsossy, Askegaard and Hogg (2014) who elaborate, that *"consumption becomes more a matter of cultural meaning and less a matter of utility"* (Solomon et al., 2014, p 55.).

Based on this, it can be stated that the baby clothes do not only have utilitarian function, but also represent different symbolic meanings and can for instance be used by the mothers to express to others how they are as a mother. These symbolic meanings are impacted by the culture in which the mothers live (Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000, p. 22). Hence, it is also critical to examine what the values are, within the given culture of the mothers. These values *"are very general principles for judging between good and bad goals and they form a core principle of every culture"* (Solomon et al., 2014, p. 532).

Furthermore, the consumption of products has been understood to ease transitions (Shouten 1991, Uth Thomsen and Sørensen 2006, Andersen, Sørensen and Kjær, 2008) into the different life phases of a person, and this will be further investigated in connection with the product category of the baby clothes and the identity construction into motherhood.

Other authors have written articles about these topics before, such as Andersen, Sørensen and Kjær, 2006, Uth Thomsen and Sørensen, 2006 and there has also been written a thesis within the topic, called *Baby clothing – an image of the ideal mother*, by Gitte Wonge Nielsen, 2010. However, the focus of this thesis will be on the mothers from Generation Y, since they are the new generation of consuming mothers, who have other types of values, expectations as well as access to products. This is what mainly differentiates this thesis from previous studies.

## RESEARCH QUESTION

In order to understand how the baby clothes hold symbolic meanings for the mothers and how they impact the mothers in their identity construction in the new role as a mother, the thesis will seek to answer the following research question:

*How do baby clothes function as a symbolic meaning transfer for recent first time mothers from Generation Y in Copenhagen in their identity construction into motherhood?*

In order to get a better understanding of the research question, it is worthwhile briefly to introduce some of the key concepts that will be used throughout this thesis. Furthermore, it will be argued why some of the key concepts were chosen in the research question as part of the limitation.

## DEFINITION AND DELIMITATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

### FIRST TIME MOTHERS

In this thesis, it has been chosen to focus on the *recent first time mothers*. The reason to focus on this segment, is due to the fact that they have recently entered the new inexperienced phase in their lives, motherhood, which implies that they will need to take on a new life role (Uth Thomsen and Sørensen, 2006; The VOICE group, 2010). This phase is a significant life transition and therefore the mothers are vulnerable to the symbolic meaning of representing how they are as mothers (ibid). Therefore, the consumption can assist the recent first time mothers in the transition from womanhood to motherhood (The VOICE group, 2010; Andersen et al. 2009; Schouten, 1991). This is not a case for mothers who already have a more children, since they are more established in their role identity as a mother and thus they are less vulnerable. Consumers in transition can therefore be said to “*provide a resource of great value for research on the relationship between symbolic consumption and identity construction*” (The VOICE group, 2010, p.373).

## **BABY**

For the research purposes, the mothers have maximum 2 years old baby. The age of the baby is a significant factor, since the mothers are the primary decision makers regarding dressing the baby. Furthermore, humans of the age of two are still considered *toddlers* whereas three years old are considered as a *child* (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2016) and therefore by definition they will wear children's clothes not baby clothes.

## **GENERATION Y**

The reason behind focusing at the Generation Y is that this is the biggest generation globally (Retail Institute Scandinavia, 2013) and that it is slowly replacing the Generation X in roles of consuming mothers.

Within the literature, there is however, not a clear agreement, when the Generation Y is born. The authors agree with the Pew Research Center's definition that the Generation Y is born between 1980 and 1996 (Pew Research Center, 2014). Often this generation is also referred to as Millennials. These terms will be used interchangeably throughout the thesis.

## **COPENHAGEN**

Within the thesis, the geographical scope is defined as the municipality of Copenhagen. The choice of focusing on this city is due to several reasons:

- 1) According to Statistics Denmark (Dansk Statistik, 2016), it can be seen that the highest amount of babies of maximum 2 years old, who have a mother from Generation Y, are born in Copenhagen (Appendix 1).
- 2) It is also the municipality with the highest number of births, compared to other municipalities in Denmark. (Dansk Statistik, 2016 Appendix 1; Kuhdal, 2014).
- 3) Furthermore, looking at all the municipalities in Denmark, Copenhagen is the one, where most women from Generation Y live (Dansk Statistik, 2015, Appendix 1)
- 4) In addition, Copenhagen is the municipality, compared to the other municipalities in Denmark, with the highest share of women from Generation Y compared to the total amount of women living within the municipality.

In addition, Copenhagen is experiencing the tendencies of birth-surplus, because more women who are in the childbearing age are living there (Halskov, 2015). This is connected with the tendency of young people staying in Copenhagen after they have graduated and had children, instead of leaving for the suburbs (Jensen, 2015). This is, according to Thor Andersen, research director at the National

Building Research Institute, due to the fact that the financial crisis has made people stay close to the city, where it is “*financially secure*” (Albrektsen, 2014).

For these abovementioned reasons, the geographical scope of Copenhagen has been made for this thesis, since they indicate that Copenhagen is an interesting city to focus on when investigating how baby clothes serve as a symbolic meaning transfer for the mothers of Generation Y.

## CULTURE

There are many different definitions of the term *culture*, and it can therefore be hard to describe (Rothman, 2014). Nevertheless, the authors of this thesis agree with the definition of Zimmermann, who describes culture as “*the characteristics and knowledge of a particular group of people, defined by everything from language, religion, cuisine, social habits, music and arts*” (Zimmermann, 2015). This is supported by the reason that the culture is “*accumulation of shared meanings, rituals, norms and traditions among members of a society*” (Solomon et al., 2014, p. 529).

## SYMBOLIC AND CULTURAL MEANING

Other terms that carry much importance are the cultural and symbolic meanings. These terms are significant for this project since the main framework of this thesis depends upon it.

The *symbolic meaning* is defined as representation of greater meaning, because of what it represents (symbolic, n.d.). It can therefore be said that it is used to explain something that stands for something else than its original significance (symbol, n.d.).

In the term symbolic meaning the authors of this thesis also include the cultural meaning, because “*the meanings of the symbols are learned and deliberately perpetuated in a society [culture]*” (Causin and Ngwenya, 2015, p.1466). Therefore, it is the culture, which impacts how we as members of society perceive and shape the symbols.

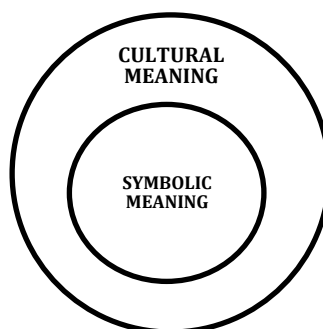


Figure 1: Relation between cultural and symbolic meaning, Own creation, 2016



## BABY CLOTHING

The product category, which is in focus in this thesis, is on the baby clothing. There are many different products, which the first time mothers can purchase, however the rationale to focus on baby clothing is due to the fact that the mothers in their symbolic consumption of baby clothes allow expressing themselves as a mother to the surrounding world. This is to some extent harder in other product categories, such as e.g. diapers, baby food or toys.

There are different attributes when looking at clothing such as; design, price and quality. It is, however, important to notice that this thesis does not take its focus on the fashion and trend aspects of baby clothing. Instead, baby clothing will here be distinguished between branded and non-branded clothing:

### BRANDED CLOTHING

The definition of branded (clothing) is “*carrying the brand or trademark of a manufacturer*” (Branded n.d.) and in order to be more specific, it has been decided to furthermore divide the branded clothing into three categories: *high-end* branded clothing, *mid-range* branded clothing and *low-end* branded clothing.

- 1) *The high-end clothing* is by definition “*the most expensive*” (High-end, n.d.) clothing and therefore marketed as luxury branded clothing. Within the high-end clothing belong brands such as e.g. Dior, Gucci, and Louis Vuitton. In order not to confuse the readers, the luxury branded clothes will in this thesis be referred to as high-end clothing.
- 2) *The mid-range branded clothing* is characterised by having lower price range than the high-end clothing but possessing a higher quality than low-end clothing. Some examples of the mid-range brands are Joha, Miniature, Pomp de Lux, Wheat and Småfolk.
- 3) *The low-end branded clothing* is “*relatively cheap or inexpensive of its kind*” (Low-end, n.d.). An example of low-end branded clothing is H&M.

Further, in this thesis, for simplifying purposes, the mid-range clothing and low-end branded clothing are referred to as the *branded clothing*.

### NON-BRANDED CLOTHING

The other category of clothing is non-branded, which are clothing lines sold in the supermarkets. The authors are well aware of the fact that in certain occasions and promotions it is possible to find branded clothing in supermarkets, however, this is not taken into consideration within this thesis.

The clothing lines sold in the supermarket are referred as non-branded due to the fact that the lines are specifically created for the supermarkets and are not sold elsewhere.

## **DELIMITATION**

In this part, the delimitations of this master thesis are described. These delimitations narrow the scope and improve the understanding of the research.

In this thesis the geographical scope is narrowed to Copenhagen. The reasons for this choice were presented previously in the section of *Definition and Delimitation of Key Concepts*. It is acknowledged that the location where the mothers live can have an impact on the research. The location is connected with factors as income, class and community. The preferences of the mothers can differ based on the location and in conclusion, it can partially impact the mothers' values (Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000, p. 22). In addition, the authors do in this thesis not consider the cultural differences in regard of nationalities; therefore, attention has not been given to background of the mothers.

By focusing at the mothers, this research will not take into consideration the fathers' role in the consumption of the baby clothes as well as their impact on the mothers' identity construction into motherhood. The reason for this is that the mothers serve as main determinants for dressing the children according to the all interviewees.

Another important element to focus in this delimitation is the fact the thesis only focuses on the baby clothes and the symbolic meanings attached to them e.g. being a good mother. However, the authors wish to emphasise that there are many ways other than materialistic to be a good and caring mother. The other factors such as time spend with the child or love to the child are not investigated in this thesis, but they are equally if not more important factors for being a good and caring mother.

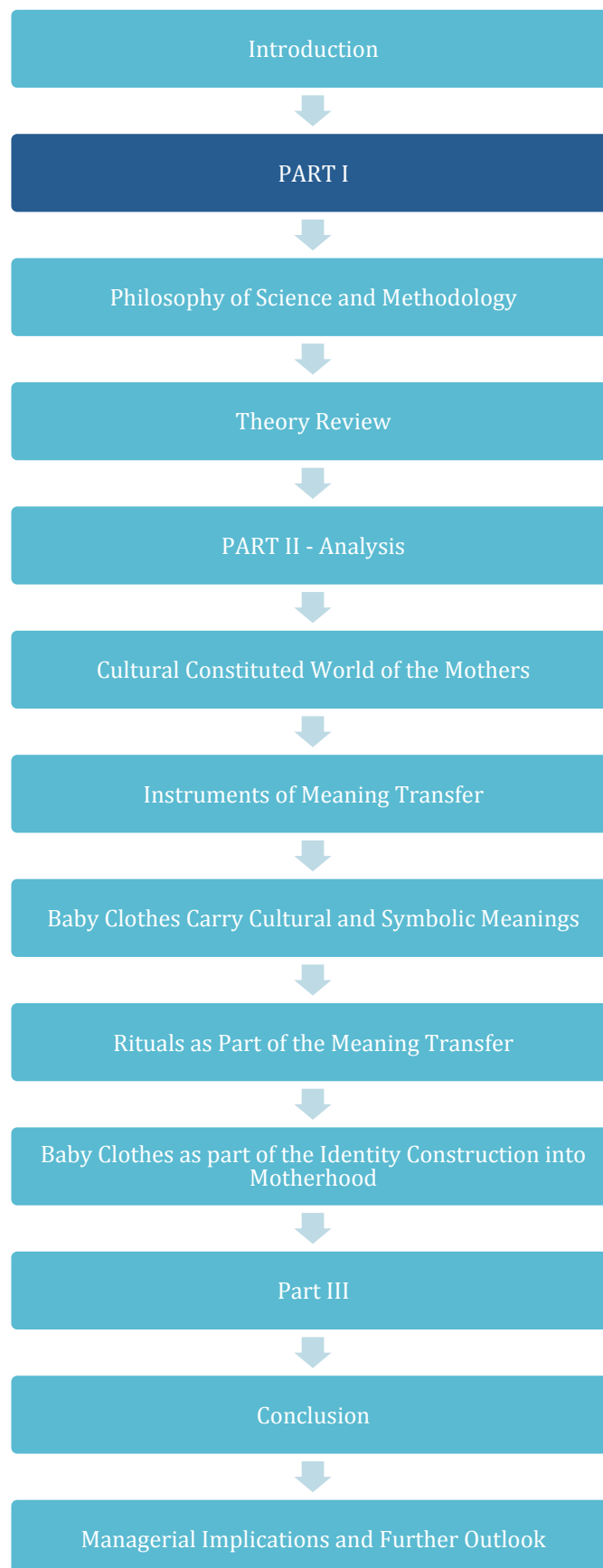
Another delimitation of this thesis is that qualitative data are solely collected and any quantitative data have not been collected as primary research. However, the main source of quantitative data about Generation Y in Denmark is from Research Institute Scandinavia 2013. Therefore, the quantitative data gained from the report are applicable for Copenhagen, since it is embedded in the Danish nation. Lastly it is relevant to mention that this thesis is not focusing on any specific supplier of baby clothes or brands and this implies that the findings within the research are of more general nature.

## **RELEVANCE OF THE THESIS**

This thesis contributes with deeper insights as to how the mothers utilise the baby clothes and the cultural and symbolic meanings they attach to them. This has high relevance for the suppliers of baby clothes since they can use these insights to successfully develop and improve their marketing and communication strategy, which can contribute to improvement of the results for their businesses. By focusing on Generation Y, it is provided an understanding of the new generation of consuming mothers, which has the most relevance for the local businesses in Copenhagen today.

In addition, since the market for baby- and the children wear is predicted to grow in the future (Marketline, 2014), the mothers of Generation Y are a lucrative segment for suppliers to focus on.

## OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS



# PART I

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## 1. PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE AND METHODOLOGY

### 1.1. PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

In this chapter, it will be clarified which paradigm and consequently which methodological choice the researchers of this thesis have applied in order to answer the research question.

The paradigm can be defined as *“a way of examining social phenomena from which particular understandings of these phenomena can be gained and explanations attempted”* (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009, p. 118). This is therefore important to establish, since it provides the basis for the researchers' scientific standpoint and their approach to the field of investigation and thus how access to knowledge is gained.

#### 1.1.1. SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

The paradigm used in this thesis is the *social constructionism*. The reason for choosing this paradigm is that the researchers agree with the notion that no objective reality exists independently, but that all social reality is constructed or created by the interaction and interpretation of social actors (Esterberg, 2002, p. 15). Hence, the reality is depended on our perspective (Wenneberg, 2000, p. 17).

Social constructionism is, however, in a constant state of flux and is changing and expanding rapidly (Burr, 2015; Rasborg, 2009). As a consequence, there exist many different versions of social constructionism and they are all slightly different (Rasborg, 2009, p.350). In this thesis, it has consequently been chosen to adopt Vivien Burr's (2015) view on social constructionism, since the researchers share the understandings of her four basic assumptions of the social constructionist philosophical position, namely that:

- 1) We as researchers need to *“take a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge”* (Burr, 2015, p. 2); meaning that the researchers cannot be fully objective and unbiased but that the way of analysing will be based on their interpretation of the world (Burr, 2015, p. 2-3).

It is here relevant to mention that the researchers of this thesis do not have children and therefore are not biased in terms of having opinions about any baby clothes products, but can be biased in regard to understand motherhood.

- 2) That the understanding of the world, categories and concepts are *“historical and cultural specific”* (Burr, 2015, p. 3). This is incredibly relevant in regards to the fact that the focal mothers in this

thesis are living in Copenhagen and from Generation Y. If the chosen group of mothers had been different, other answers would have emerged.

- 3) That “*knowledge is sustained by social processes*” (Burr, 2015, p. 4); meaning that people construct knowledge between them. This can be seen when analysing how the mothers are influenced by each other in regards to their view on baby clothes and additionally that the mothers construct their understanding of who they are as mothers partially through the social interaction with others.
- 4) *Knowledge and social action go together* (Burr, 2015, p. 5). This is important since the mothers’ behaviour and consumption of baby clothes are influenced by the knowledge they possess about taking care of the baby.

Based on this social constructionist perspective it can be said that the study’s epistemological orientation is interpretivism and the ontological orientation is constructivism (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008, p.15). Thus, it is also acknowledged that there exists a variety of different answers to the research question, depending of who is asked and in which context.

### **1.1.2. RESEARCH APPROACH**

In order to answer the research question an abductive approach has been applied. This way of generating and collecting knowledge can be seen as a mix of the deductive and inductive reasoning, which are the two basic models of social science research (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008, p.21). In order to better clarify the concept of abductive approach the inductive and deductive approaches will thus briefly be explained:

When applying an *inductive approach*, the theories are outcomes of empirical research (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008, p. 22), meaning that the researchers draw from the observed cases and then create more general statements or claims about the most cases (ibid).

*Deductive reasoning* on the other hand takes point of departure in existing theory and from this the researchers deduce hypotheses, which then will be subjected to empirical scrutiny (Bryman and Bell, 2015, p. 23). Based on the empirical study the hypotheses will then either be rejected or accepted (ibid).

Nevertheless, in this thesis it has been chosen to apply an *abductive approach* in order to overcome the limitations associated with the deductive and inductive positions. The weakness associated with the deductive reasoning is that it is depended on a strict logic of theory-testing and accepting or falsifying hypotheses (Bryman and Bell, 2015, p. 27). According to Bryman and Bell (2015), it can therefore be a

problem, how to select the theory to be tested (ibid). The criticism of the deductive reasoning is on the other hand, that “*no amount of empirical data will necessarily enable theory-building*” (ibid).

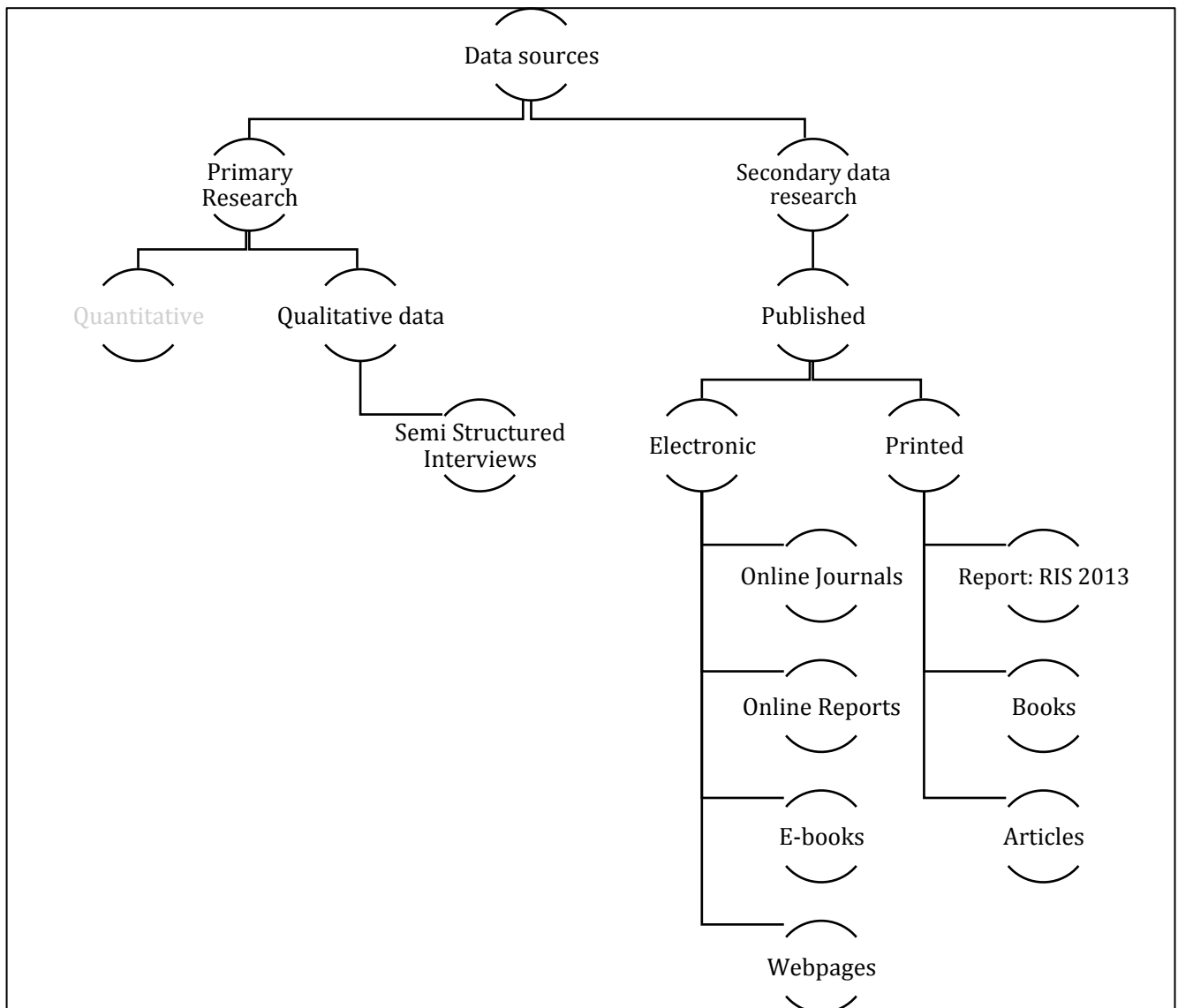
By moving iteratively between these two research approaches in the research process, the authors of this thesis have thus gone back-and forth between the social world as an empirical source for theoretical ideas and the already established theory within the field of investigation.

## **1.2. METHODOLOGY**

In this chapter, the methodological choices within the research process will be presented.

This thesis is created on the premise of qualitative research, since it involves the scrutiny of social phenomena (Gubrium and Holstein 1997, cited in Esterberg 2002, p. 2), which is in line with the research problem of the thesis. By applying a qualitative research, the authors are able to understand the phenomena of symbolic meaning transfer in a context (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p. 103). In addition, by applying a qualitative research the authors gain deeper consumer insight (Moisander, and Valtonen, 2012). This is useful for the marketers of baby clothes as this allows them to get a deeper understanding of their consumers and therefore will help them in order to create more consumer-oriented strategies.

The sources of data of this thesis are coming from primary and secondary research. The primary research is done through the collection of the qualitative data, which are gathered through the semi-structured interviews. The secondary data used are collected from published sources both electronical and printed form. The main sources of secondary research are from academic journals, reports and books. This is further explored in the next section.



**Figure 2: Data collection overview**

### **1.2.1. PRIMARY DATA**

In order to collect primary data for the thesis, semi-structured interviews, also called in-depth interviews (Esterberg, 2002, p.87), have been conducted. The main advantage is that it is collected specifically for answering the problem statement. The source of the data has been recent first time mothers from Generation Y living in Copenhagen. The interviews were conducted until the researchers achieved information saturation. The saturation happened after conducting the 10<sup>th</sup> interview.

#### **1.2.1.1. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW**

The semi-structured interview is a method, which combines an explorative approach, that stimulates new knowledge and where the researchers on the same time already have some chosen themes in advance, which they wish the interviewees will reflect about (Justesen and Mik-Meyer, 2010, p. 55).



The semi-structured interviews in contrast to the structured interviews have less rigid structure in terms of questions (Bryman and Bell, 2015, p. 480), which make the interviews more flexible and provide more in-depth answers.

The interviews are collected to comprehend “*what life is like from the perspective other than our own*” (Esterberg, 2002, p.87). Due to this, it is necessary to move beyond the researchers of this thesis experiences and ideas to understand the interviewees point of view (ibid). Thus, the in-depth interviews are especially useful for exploring a topic in detail (ibid). This is especially important in order to understand the mothers and their viewpoint. This is the main reason why semi-structured interviews were used as the primary data collection method for this thesis.

#### **1.2.1.2. RECRUITMENT OF INTERVIEWEES**

This thesis builds on the premise of understanding how baby clothes serve as symbolic meaning transfer and how it assists the first time mothers from Generation Y in Copenhagen in their identity construction into motherhood. Therefore, it has been vital to understand this topic from the mothers’ point of view, since they are the ones who can provide in-depth information about this topic.

In regards to the recruitment of the mothers for the interviews, different criteria have been utilised as selection criteria in order to ensure the participants would be representative for the focal mothers of this thesis. In order to participate, they would therefore need to meet all of the following criteria:

- 1) *The mothers should be part of the Generation Y* and therefore they should be born between the years 1980-1996.
- 2) *The mothers should live in the area of Copenhagen*, since this is the geographical focus area of this thesis.
- 3) *The participants should be first time mothers*. The reason for this it that first time mothers are entering into motherhood and thus they experience a life-phase transition, where consumption can aid in the transition from one role to another (Shouten, 1991; Uth Thomsen and Sørensen, 2006).
- 4) *Their baby should maximum be two years old*, since the child still use baby clothes and therefore the mothers are in the process of purchasing and consuming baby clothes and thus if the child was older, the mother would need to think back in retro-perspective, which could provide biased answers.

In order to recruit participants for the interviews, the interviewers had created posts on Facebook (on their own profile and different groups) asking if anyone knew a person that matched the criteria and who would like to participate in the study or if they could share it with their peers. Furthermore, two participants were contacted directly since the researchers knew that they matched with the selection criteria. The fact that the interviewers knew some of the participants before the interviews could, however, affect the answers. Nevertheless, the researchers were aware of this and thus aimed at minimizing the influence by being reflexive of their own presence.

Another approach utilised to recruit interviewees was through the snowball sampling technique, in which the researchers asked some of the participating mothers to help them establish contact to other mothers among their acquaintances, who might be willing to participate (Bryman and Bell, 2015, pp. 434-435). One of the risks of this method is that the participants may be too similar to one another in order to give a diverse perspective (Esterberg, 2002, p.93). Nevertheless, this is not the case in this study, since the snowball sampling were initiated by different mothers who did not know each other, which helped ensure a more diverse perspective.

This way of recruiting participants to the interviews resulted in 10 interviews with the following profiles:

<b>Name of the mother</b>	<b>Year of birth</b>	<b>Employment</b>	<b>Relationship status</b>	<b>Place of residence</b>	<b>Household income (DKK/month)</b>	<b>Child</b>	<b>Monthly spending on baby clothes (DKK)</b>
Kristine	1983	Multimedia designer	In a relationship	Valby, apartment	75.000	Emily, 6 months	300
Josefine	1990	Business Student	In a relationship	Østerbro, apartment	100.000	Oscar, 20 months	500
Cathrine	1991	Business Student	Engaged	Østerbro, apartment	18.000	Freja, 6 months	100
Julie	1987	Nurse	In a relationship	Nørrebro, apartment	40.000	Marie, 6 months	200
Judith	1983	Pedagogue Student	Married	Østerbro, apartment	35.000	Emma, 2 years	400
Sara	1986	Medical student	Married	Nørrebro, apartment	22.000	Anna, 12 months	500
Benedikte	1981	Consultant	Married	Nørrebro, apartment	70.000	Elias, 7 months	400
Michelle	1985	Business student, Previously: investment banker, but is returning to work in September	Divorced	Nørrebro, apartment (before the divorce; house in Charlottenlund)	18.000 as student but when she returns to work 80.000	Noah, 2 years	1500
Isabella	1984	Analyst	Married	Copenhagen S House	80.000	Lucas, 13 months	500
Ida	1990	Business Student and part-time work with PR	In a relationship	Nørrebro, apartment	30.000	Frederik, 6 months	500

#### **1.2.1.3. INTERVIEW GUIDE**

In order to prepare for the in-depth interviews, the researchers had created an interview guide (Appendix 3), which should ensure that certain topics would be covered (Bryman and Bell, 2015, p. 486). The researchers therefore created different questions, which followed these themes (Appendix 4) (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2015, 125):

- 1) Generation Y
- 2) Symbolic meaning of baby clothes
- 3) Influence and inspiration of baby clothes
- 4) Transition into motherhood
- 5) Buying behaviour

The themes were selected as they were found to cover the areas of the research question. Since the researchers chose an abductive research approach, some of the questions were based on pre-existing knowledge from the theory (Cultural Meaning Transfer, McCracken, 1986; Theory of Generations and Extended Self, Belk 1988) (deductive) while other of the prepared questions were selected of curiosity within the topic of the research (inductive).

It is important to mention that the interview guide solely functioned as a guide to the interview but that other questions were asked as well, as the interviewers picked up on things said by the interviewees –hence gaining a deeper consumer insight.

Furthermore, the interviewers began to see different patterns in regards to some of the topics, which the interviewed mothers emphasised on and thus began asking more about these things in the following interviews. These themes included e.g. gender specific colours, clothes without chemicals, being organic, recognition from others and the impact of mothers group.

Hence, it can be said that the questions asked were developed along the research process.

In order to get an overview over the interviewees the researchers in addition created a *face sheet* (Appendix 5) that included demographic information about the interviewees (Esterberg, 2002, p. 101) Together with the qualitative answers to the questions asked, this provided a more holistic picture of the interviewed mothers.

#### **1.2.1.4. SETTING THE INTERVIEWS STAGE**

When conducting research within the *social constructionism perspective* it is believed that the physical environment impacts the participants, since human beings are seen as social actors who adjust their actions to the social reality, and thus also to the situation of the interview (Justesen and Mik-Meyer, 2010, p. 66). This was also something the researchers of this thesis had in mind while conducting the

interviews and therefore wished to ensure that the interviewees felt comfortable - both physically and psychologically in order to open up and talk freely.

In order to secure that the mothers felt comfortable, the mothers were therefore asked where and when they wanted to conduct the interview and if they wanted to participate with or without their baby. Thus nine out of the 10 interviews were conducted at the mothers' home, while the last one was conducted at the mother's work. Furthermore, the babies were present in six of the interviews.

When conducting the interviews at the mothers' own home, they felt safe, relaxed and in control of the situation and they were furthermore able to take care of their baby while being interviewed. Thus, the interview was not seen as something "getting in the way" of the mothers' everyday life, hence it was not only comfortable for them but also convenient.

Prior to the interviews the mothers were asked if they would feel comfortable conducting the interview in English. They were explained that it would be completely acceptable if they preferred to talk Danish or if they switched over to Danish when talking in English. Consequently, two of the interviews were conducted in Danish (Julie and Kristine), since the interviewees would not feel comfortable talking in English. All of the remaining interviews were conducted in English, however, all of the participants did at some point switch over to Danish, when they forgot a word or if they wanted to express themselves better. The reason for conducting the majority of the interviews in English was due to practical reasons, since Danish was only the mother tongue for one of the researchers.

The fact that the mothers were able to talk Danish when they felt the need for it, allowed the mothers to express themselves easily, thus limiting the language-barrier, which otherwise could have occurred, since English was not the mother-tongue of any of the participants.

Since talking about baby clothes could be considered as a sensitive topic, the researchers made it clear to the mothers in the beginning of the interview that the interviews were anonymous. This allowed the mothers to speak their mind and share their viewpoints without fear of being judged.

By allowing the mothers to choose the location, time and language as well as being interviewed anonymously, enabled the mothers to feel more comfortable and thus be able to share deeper consumer-insights.

#### **1.2.1.5. CONDUCTING THE INTERVIEWS**

All of the 10 in-depth interviews were conducted within a time span of four weeks, thus being a cross-sectional study (Saunders et al. 2009, p. 155). By spreading the interviews out the interviewers could learn during the process and develop new questions that responded to what they had learnt along the

way. Therefore, the questions that were asked in the different interviews were developed throughout time. This is in line with the abductive approach, since the researchers were moving between the theory and the empirical study throughout the research process.

The interviews lasted between 45 minutes to 1.5 hours and were all audio-recorded. This was done in order for the researchers to be able to focus on what was being said during the interviews instead of focusing on taking notes and furthermore to remember what was talked about in the interviews afterwards. Another benefit was also that the interviewees' answers were captured in their own terms (Bryman and Bell, 2015, p. 488). However, the fact that the interviews were being recorded could affect the answers of the participants, since they could feel nervous or be more self-conscious when talking (Esterberg, 2002, p. 106). Furthermore, both of the thesis' authors were present at the majority of the interviews, thus one was focusing on asking questions while the other was concentrating on note taking. In this way the interviewers were also supporting and supplementing each other in asking questions, hereby gaining deeper consumer insights (Bryman and Bell, 2015, p. 487). Another advantage of being two interviewers was also that it contributed to a more informal atmosphere, creating "*a discussion between three people rather than an exchange between two persons*" (ibid).

In the beginning of each interview the mothers were introduced to the general topic of the thesis, however, they were not presented with the actual problem statement, in order not to be influenced into thinking that the interviewers were seeking specific answers, opinions or attitudes (Esterberg, 2002, p.101).

In order to make the mothers feel comfortable and relaxed it was also mentioned in the beginning that the interview would be more like an informal conversation rather than a strict and formal interview, and that the mothers should feel free to ask questions and to interrupt.

By telling this, it not only ensured that the mothers would talk more openly but also for the researchers to conduct semi-structured interviews.

In order to follow the in-depth interview structure, the interviewers utilised the interview guide (Appendix 3), which was created in order to ensure that certain topics were being covered; however, other questions were also asked as they came along during the interviews. In this way the researchers could gain more detailed information about different topics and also be able to explore the topic of the problem statement more openly. In order to ensure to get deep consumer insights, the type of questions asked were *open questions* thus allowing the mothers to express their opinions and ideas in their own words (Esterberg, 2002, p. 87). Furthermore, the interviewers used *probing questions* to add

depth to the interview data, such as; *elaborations* to encourage the participants to keep talking in order to gather more detail of the topic; *clarifications* to seek explanations; and *completion probes* to ask the interviewees to finish an explanation or story “*that seemed to had been broken off before its natural end*” (King and Horrocks, 2010, p. 53). Additionally, the interviewers were aware of not asking *leading questions* and giving judgemental responses, in order to avoid influencing the answers of the respondents. In the end of all interviews, the mothers were also asked if they had anything, they would like to add in regard to the topic, which had not been asked about. Hence, allowing the mothers to bring further viewpoints into the interviews, which the interviewers had not thought about asking. By conducting the interviews in this way, the researchers gained in-depth data about the topic of the research question, which then could be used in the analysis.

#### **1.2.1.6. TRANSCRIBING**

As mention above, all the interviews have been recorded and afterwards transcribed (Appendix 6). This action was done in order to analyse the information from the interviews. The quotes from the interviews have been categorized. This process is also known as coding (e.g. Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p. 226). The coding “*involves attaching one or more keywords to a text segment in order to permit the later identification of a statement*” (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p. 227). However, in this thesis the coding was performed not by the keywords as such, but by the highlighting process where quotes have been highlighted in different colours. Each colour represented the keyword. This was due to better visibility, practicality in the amount of the data and also because it was less time consuming. The categories have been selected along the transcribing process. The advantages of coding are that the researchers are pushed to be familiar with all the details and it helps to break the transcriptions into parts (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p. 228). The example of one coding of the interviews can be found in Appendix 7 together with the list of colours representing the keywords.

It is lastly important to mention, that two of the interviews have been translated from Danish to English, thus the researchers have needed to take translation-related decisions (Birbili, 2000). The wordings within the transcripts are consequently not the exact words of the interviewees, however, the translation was done as accurate as possible in order to keep the objectivity by having a third party revising it.

#### **1.2.1.7. FOCUS GROUP**

One of the other considered methods to use for the primary data collection had been a focus group. However, this method of data collection has not been conducted in the end. This is due to the several limitations of this method. One of the main limitations has been that the mothers could

(un)deliberately speak untruthfully and dishonestly, since there is a possibility that the mothers would show-off in front of the other participants in focus group. Another limitation could be that one of the mothers in focus group would be dominant speaker, which could affect the willingness of the other participants to speak freely. It could nevertheless be interesting to understand how the mothers influence each other's behaviour, however, this thesis' primary focus is on the baby clothes and how they carry symbolic meanings and assist in transition to motherhood. Therefore investigating the mothers' behaviour within a group, would be another type of study, and consequently it was not found relevant for this thesis. In the end, it was therefore decided only to make semi-structured interviews in order to get deep consumer insights and to have "true" data, where the mothers could speak freely without the fear of being judged.

### **1.2.2. SECONDARY DATA SOURCES**

In order to support the primary data gained from the primary research, secondary data has been used as well. Since the data has been collected by another party it would not be suitable to lead this project, but to support the primary research it is more than appropriate. Meanwhile, the advantages of using the secondary data are expressive; it is economical as well as time saving (Ghauri, 2005, cite in Perez-Sindin Lopez, 2013). The other reason for using secondary data is that it helps to see the research problem in context (Saunders et al, 2009), which helps to comprehend the research from various perspectives.

The main source of the secondary data is the report *Generation Y: Oplevelse af og krav til Den Danske Detailhandel* created by Retail Institute Scandinavia in 2013. The secondary data has been collected after conducting the primary research and it is therefore only used to reinforce the findings from the primary research.

#### **1.2.2.1. GENERATION Y: OPLEVELSE AF OG KRAV TIL DEN DANSKE DETAILHANDEL <sup>1</sup>**

This report is publically accessible in the Copenhagen Business School Library or can be purchased at the Retail Institute Scandinavia. It was published in 2013 and the data had been collected as quantitative research. The report is considered relevant, since it was conducted in Denmark and it particularly focuses at the Danes from Generation Y. Even if it does not focus on Copenhagen as such, it is applicable for this thesis, since the mothers are Danes and they are influenced by the national culture. These data are suitable especially for the first part of the analysis in which the culture and purchasing habits of Millennials are analysed. Additionally, the study in the report is considered reliable since it

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<sup>1</sup> Translation: Generation Y: Experience and Requirements of the Danish Retail

reached more than 1000 Danish respondents from Generation Y and consequently it yields the same results on repeated trials (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008, p. 292). The main source of the data was an online survey, which assured that the respondents are representative concerning region, urban area and gender of the Danish population.

The secondary data used in the thesis are *compiled data* (Kervin, 1999, cited in Saunders et al., p. 258), which had been collected (ibid) in form of reports, graphs and statements. The advantage of this report is that it more widespread than the in-depth interviews conducted first hand.

In general, the secondary data's disadvantage is their *inappropriateness* (Perez-Sindin Lopez, 2013). The inappropriateness of secondary data appears, because the data collected beforehand for the report have been collected to reach other objectives than in this thesis. However, since this report is only used to support the primary data the inappropriateness is reduced. Moreover, another limitation of this report is that the writers of this thesis have no control over the quality of the data compiled (Saunders et al, 2009, p. 272) in the report as well as some definitions may be unsuitable (ibid).

### **1.2.3. THE QUALITY OF THE RESEARCH**

The classic evaluation criteria of quality of the data collection is mainly based on two concepts: *reliability* and *validity* (Saunders et al, 2009). They are mainly used in quantitative research, but have been adopted in some qualitative researches (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008, p. 291).

The term reliability "*refers to the extent to which the data collection techniques or analysis procedures will yield consistent findings*" (Saunders et al, 2009, p.273). Moreover, validity "*is concerned with whether the findings are really about what they appear to be about*" (Saunders et al., 2009, p.157). However, some authors are concern about the relevance of reliability and validity for qualitative research (Bryman and Bell, 2015, Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008, Justesen and Mik-Meyer, 2010). Bryman and Bell (2015) explains: "*the issue of measurement validity almost by definition seems to carry connotations of measurement. Since measurement is not a major preoccupation among qualitative researchers, the issue of validity would seem to have little bearing on such study*" (Bryman and Bell, 2015, p. 400). The authors of this thesis acknowledge the criticism from Bryman and Bell (2015) and will therefore not take validity into account, because of the fact that this thesis is a qualitative research, which focuses on contextual uniqueness and aspects of the social world.

Instead, in order to assure the quality of the thesis the process of *triangulation* has been utilised. Triangulation refers to the use of different data collection techniques within one study in order to clarify the findings of the research (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008, p. 292). Guba and Lincoln (2005,



cited in Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008, p. 293) came up with different forms of triangulation. In order to secure the quality of the thesis, different forms of triangulation has been applied: *Triangulation of data, triangulation of theories* and *triangulation of researchers*:

1) *Triangulation of data:*

While writing the thesis different evidence from multiple empirical sources (mothers) have been used in order to cross-check the information attained (Thurmond, 2001; Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). The in-depth semi-structured interviews allowed to cross-check the information with each source. This is connected with repetition of the information gained from the interviews. The findings were confirmed by reaching a point of information saturation, as the mothers began to explain similar things and thus the researchers' results were developed accordingly. This fits with the definition of *conformability* by Guba and Lincoln (1985). According to them conformability "*is about linking findings and interpretations to the data in ways that can be easily understood*" (Guba and Lincoln cited in Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008, p. 294).

2) *Triangulation of theories:*

In this research numerous theories have been applied to explain, understand and analyse the research problem (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008, p. 293). This has been done in order to support or contradict the findings.

3) *Triangulation of researches / Investigator Triangulation* (Thurmond, 2001):

Due to the fact that the research has been done in pair, both researchers "*have investigated the empirical material and cross-checked the interpretations and conclusions*" (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008, p. 293). The authors have thus among other things functioned as auditors for each other in order to ensure that all the phases of the research process were consistent and coherent (Justesen and Mik-Meyer, 2010, p. 42). Nevertheless, two of the interviews were conducted in Danish, therefore they were not audited by both researchers, due to the fact that only one of the researchers understood Danish, however they were audited by a third party. Therefore, it can be said that the project has high dependability, since the researchers "*have adopted an auditing approach*" (Guba and Lincoln cited in Bryman and Bell, 2015, p. 403). In addition, dependability is "*parallel to reliability in quantitative research*" according to Guba and Lincoln (1985, 1994, cited in Bryman and Bell, 2015, p. 403).

Lastly, it is acknowledged that complete objectivity of the researchers is impossible (Bryman and Bell, 2015, p. 403), but the researchers have according to the best knowledge not "*overtly allowed personal*

values or theoretical inclinations manifestly to sway the conduct of the research” (ibid). Therefore, the confirmability of the project is high (ibid).

#### 1.2.4. STRUCTURE OF THE ANALYSIS

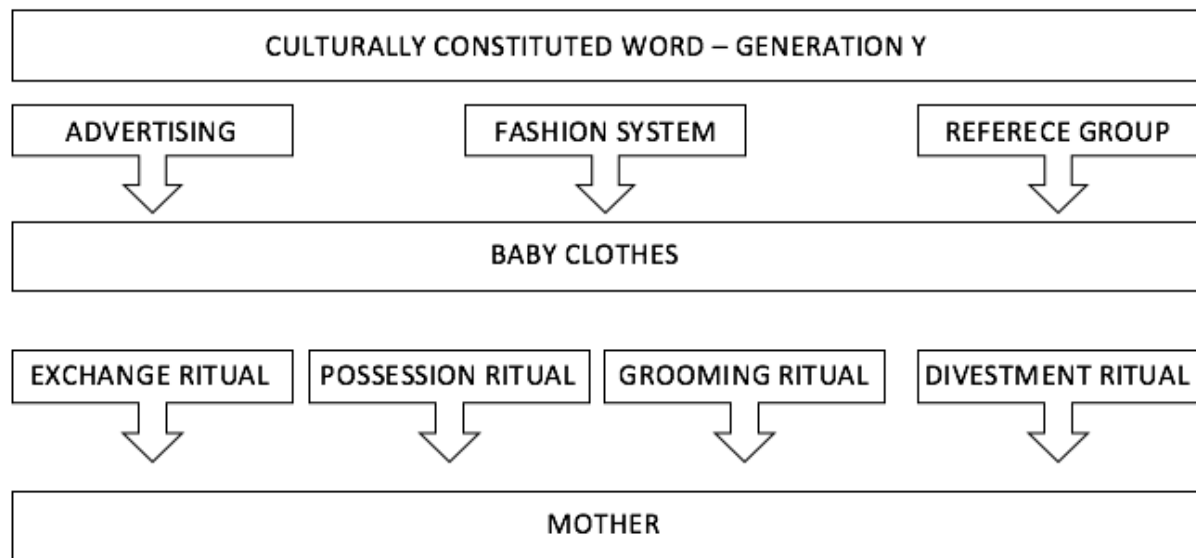


Figure 3: Framework of Cultural Meaning Transfer, McCracken, 1986; with own additions

The framework of *Movement of Cultural Meaning of Consumer Goods* (McCracken, 1986) has been chosen to use as structure for the analysis, since the researchers found that it fits with the primary data gained from the interviews and the secondary data about the Generation Y. The framework has thus been used to analyse the primary data together with the secondary data.

The theory behind this model is further explained in the following *Chapter 2, Theory review*.

## 2. THEORY REVIEW

In this chapter the main theories used within the thesis will be presented. However, before they will be introduced, it is firstly important to elaborate on how the researchers of the thesis view consumption and furthermore to provide a deeper understanding of the generations theories, since this thesis focuses on mothers from Generation Y.

### 2.1. CONSUMPTION PERSPECTIVES

In order to understand how the researchers of this thesis understand consumption, it has been chosen to introduce Østergaard and Jantzen's study (2000), in which they present the different ways of seeing consumption throughout history. This is significant in regard to how the first time mothers' consumption of baby clothes is viewed upon within this study. This therefore provides the basis for the understanding of the consumers in today's world.

Per Østergaard and Christian Jantzen (2000) have in their study "*Shifting Perspectives in Consumer Research: From Buyer Behaviour to Consumption Studies*" introduced a historical development for consumer behaviour research, in which they present four perspectives:

1) *Buyer Behaviour*, 2) *Consumer Behaviour*, 3) *Consumer Research* and 4) *Consumption Studies*. It is relevant to mention here, that this thesis' focus will be on the last perspective.

The analysis of the four perspectives is based on a five criteria-framework:

1. The first criterion is called *The Consumer Metaphorically*. It likens the consumer metaphorically to certain noun to use allegorical representation in order to explain, "*how these perspectives conceived the consumer*" (Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000, p. 12).
2. In *Ontology of Consumption* it is explained "*how and why the consumers are engaged in consumption*" (ibid).
3. *The Character of Subject Matter* symbolically connects part of the body with research tradition.
4. *Primary Method* describes certain research perspective, where one will be generally the principal one but generally other methods will be used too (ibid).
5. The last criterion, *Scientific Foundation* explains that "*the different research traditions have different conceptions of the consumer and what consumption is about*" (Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000, p. 13).

The four perspectives are developed successively. The fourth perspective, *Consumption Studies* does, however, deviates from the others, as it extends beyond looking at the single consuming individual, as it takes culture into consideration (Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000).

The differences and evolution of the four perspectives are illustrated in the table below:

PERSPECTIVES:	BUYER BEHAVIOUR	CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR	CONSUMER RESEARCH	CONSUMPTION STUDIES
The consumer metaphorically	Animal	Computer	Tourist	Tribe Member
Ontology of consumption	Mechanical Instinct driven	Electronic Rational	Emotional Narcissistic	Metaphysical Symbolic
Character of the subject matter	The Stomach's needs	The Brain's wants	The Heart's Desire	The Eye's recognition
Primary method	Experiments	Questionnaire	In-depth interviews	Fieldwork in an elaborated sense <sup>2</sup>
Scientific Foundation	Behaviourist Psychology	Cognitive Psychology	Existential Psychology	Cultural and Social Theories

Table 1: Overview of the four perspectives and its conceptual analysis, Source: Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000

### 2.1.1. CONSUMPTION STUDIES – A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

In the thesis the focus is only on the fourth perspective, the *Consumption Studies*, since this is Østergaard and Jantzen's most recent perspective of consumer research and it is therefore the most relevant, rationalized, and applicable approach. It takes into consideration the cultural aspect, collectivity and class by which the person is influenced. Furthermore, it brings a deeper understanding of the motivations, which leads towards consumption practices.

In the *Consumption studies perspective*, people consume goods for what they mean to them as well as what do they communicate to others in the society (Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000, p.18). The consumer is hence understood as being the *tribe member*. As tribe members, the consumers live in a world where consumption creates a "metaphysical" universe (Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000 p. 19), since they are looking for the '*right symbols*', which would be known and recognized of the members of the same tribe (ibid). Until the perspective of *Consumption Studies*, the reasons for choosing goods were based on psychological motives, but within this perspective, the reasons for picking the goods are "*guided by the eye*", which means that the consumers are aware of the meanings, which the goods hold (*symbolic surface*) (Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000, p.19). This perspective therefore acknowledges the importance of product symbolism and that consumption goes beyond just fulfilling utilitarian needs (Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000, p. 20).

In conclusion, the view of consumption has altered throughout history. Nowadays consumption is understood, as it "*is a social act, cultural event implying traditions, rituals and symbolism (culture)*,

<sup>2</sup> When making the research fieldwork, it should be understood "*in an elaborated sense, which involves interview techniques*" (Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000, p. 20).

*socialization, status hierarchies and ideology (society) as well as conformity and deviance (normativity)*" (Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000, p.21). Therefore, Østergaard and Jantzen concluded that *"the interaction through the consumption and exchanges of meanings are constitutive for society and for individual identities ... and consuming should not be conceived as the consumer's behaviour, but as conduct: acts where members of a group or society perform together, i.e. as exchange of shared or differential meanings between groups"* (Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000, p. 22). This is relevant to understand, since the consumers' consumption is formed by the culture and the interactions in the society by which the consumers seek social recognition and cultural significance (ibid).

Since the focus of this thesis is on the mothers from Generation Y, Theory of Generations will be introduced in order to establish an understanding of how the generations differ from each other.

## **2.2. THEORY OF GENERATIONS**

Through centuries people talk about how their children's generation differs from theirs. The first research, about generations and the differences between people born in the different decades, was firstly published in the essay *Problem of Generation* by Karl Mannheim (Eyerma and Turner, 1998, p.92). Mannheim called his concept *Theory of Generations* (Mannheim, 1952). In this sociological theory, the individuals in young age are influenced by the geographical and cultural location and a participation in the social and intellectual currents of their time and place (Pilcher, 1994, p.483). There is distinct emphasis on the events the individuals experience and live throughout it. Therefore, the generations are perceived as groups of individuals born during the same time period who experience a similar cultural context and, in turn, create their culture (Gentile, Campbell and Twenge, 2013 cited in Campbell, Campbell, Siedor and Twenge, 2015, p. 324). Since Mannheim's original theory, the research has evolved and spread (Nakai, 2015, p.334). The *Theory of Generations* is important to mention, because it gave bases to further research about the certain generations and the applications.

In the literature there are different names for the generations. This is due to many publications and many authors who called the generations differently and it depends on the public, how the term/name of the generation is accepted (Sunburn, 2015) and which one they want to use it. In the conclusion, the people born between same years are called differently depending on the author and publication. To show the complexity, some of the terms for the specific generation will be mention. Codrington (2008) published a summary of what the generally used terms for generations in United Kingdom are (Codrington, 2008). It is noticeable that the years are approximate and they overlap.

Generations:

- *GI* (born 1900 – 1930)
- *Silent* or *Veteran* (born 1929 – 1945)
- *Boomers* or *Baby Boomers* (born 1946 – early 1960)
- *Xers* or *Generation X* (born 1968 – 1989)
- *Generation Y* or *Millennials* (born 1980s – 2008)

Another example is the table by Gibson, Greenwood and Murphy (2009), which shows how many different names have been “invented” just for the Baby Boomers, Generation X and Generation Y (Gibson et al, 2009) by different authors.

<b>Baby Boomers</b>	<b>Generation X</b>	<b>Generation Y</b>
Sandwich generation	Latch-key kids	Netters
Company loyalty	Lack of loyalty	“Contract” mentality
Idealistic	Reactive	Civic-minded
Self-absorbed	Self-reliant	Self-centered
Workaholic	Work/life balance	Multi-taskers
Tech conservatives	Computer savvy	Tech experts
Entitled	Cynical/skeptical	Easily bored
Traditional family	Divorced family	Many family forms
Wary of authority	Independent	Crave feedback
Competitive	Entrepreneurial	Serial Entrepreneurs
Materialistic	Fun-loving	Volunteers
Training	Life-long learning	Distance learning
Comfortable with change	Creative	Crave challenge
Optimistic	Want fulfilling work	High maintenance
Security oriented	Career options	Collaborative

Table 2: Overview of Generations' Names, Source: Gibson et al, 2009, p. 3

### 2.2.1. GENERATION Y

In this thesis the focus is specifically on the Generation Y also known as Millennials, and these two terms, Generation Y and Millennials, are synonymous and will therefore be used interchangeably throughout the thesis. The term *Millennials* is credited by the authors Strauss and Howe (Horovitz, 2012). As mentioned previously in the *Key Concepts* the reasons behind focusing at Millennials are that they are slowly replacing the Generation X in roles of consuming mothers. This is important, because the Millennials have different opinions, values and demands than the Boomers and Generation X (Gibson et al, 2009). Additionally, the Millennials are less brand loyal than the other generations and they utilise the brands as an extension of themselves (Novak 2006, cited in Lazarevic, 2012, p. 47), which is reflected in their consumer behaviour.

For illustration, the summary the ranked values of the generations can be seen in the table:

<i>Terminal Value Ranking</i>	<i>Baby Boomer</i>	<i>Generation X</i>	<i>Generation Y</i>
# 1 (most important)	Health	Family security	Family security
# 2	Family security	Health	Health
#3	Self-respect	Freedom	Freedom
#4	A comfortable life	A comfortable life	True friendship
#5	Freedom	Inner harmony	Self-respect
#6	Wisdom	Self-respect	A comfortable life
#7	True friendship	True friendship	A sense of accomplishment
#8	Salvation	Wisdom	Wisdom
#9	Inner harmony	Mature love	Mature love
#10	A sense of accomplishment	Pleasure	Salvation
#11	Mature love	A sense of accomplishment	An exciting life
#12	An exciting life	Salvation	Equality
#13	Pleasure	An exciting life	Pleasure
#14	A word at peace	Equality	National security
#15	National security	A world at peace	A world at peace
#16	Equality	National security	Inner harmony
#17	A word of beauty	Social recognition	Social recognition
#18	Social recognition	A world of beauty	A world of beauty

**Table 3: Ranking of values by Generation; Source: Gibson et al. 2009, p. 4.**

In conclusion the individuals are influenced by the geographical and cultural location, their social participation and of the specific time and place in which they are born. Therefore, different generations have different values, demands and preferences. The Generation Y is becoming the largest generation globally and it is slowly replacing the Baby Boomers and Generation X in role as consuming mothers.

In the following chapter the main theories used in this report will be presented.

## **2.3. MOVEMENT OF CULTURAL AND SYMBOLIC MEANING OF CONSUMER GOODS**

The theory of *Movement of Cultural Meaning of Consumer Goods* is chosen, as this is the main theory explaining how consumer goods can be used in order to transfer cultural meanings to the individual consumer. This theory provides a conceptual framework, which will be used in the analysis to understand the symbolic and cultural meaning transfer from goods to the users. The researchers of this thesis have chosen to also include the symbolic meanings, as they are impacted by the culture (Causin and Ngwenya, 2015). The meanings “*move first from the culturally constituted world to consumer goods and then from these goods to the individual consumer*” (McCracken, 1986, 71).

The theory was first published in McCracken’s article: *Culture and consumption: A theoretical Account of the Structure and Movements of the Cultural Meaning of Consumer Goods* (1986).

McCracken's theory rests upon the notion that many products carry symbolic features and therefore consumer goods have significance beyond the utilitarian character and commercial value (e.g. Levy, 1959; Salomon 1983; McCracken, 1986; Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000; Solomon et al., 2014). They therefore have the ability to carry and communicate cultural and symbolical meanings (ibid). Thus the comprehension that goods can carry meaning is not new.

The understanding of products as carrying meanings implies that the individual consumer, as in this case a mother, not only uses a specific product, e.g. baby clothes, for its physical and utilitarian function, but also to express with it the symbolic meanings. Thus, it is believed that products allow the consumers to express themselves while using them (e.g. McCracken 1986, Belk, 1988, Ahuvia, 2005).

The theory in the article about *Cultural Meaning Transfer of Consumer Goods* suggests that the meanings are constantly in transit and can be transferred from the *culturally constituted world* to the *consumer goods* and then over to *the individual consumers* (McCracken, 1986, p. 71). In short, the movement from the culturally constituted world is facilitated through the instruments of fashion system, being the role models, and advertising while the following four consumption rituals; 1) *Exchange*, 2) *Divestment*, 3) *Grooming* and 4) *Possession*, serve as instruments of meaning transfer from the consumer goods to the individual consumer. (McCracken, 1986).



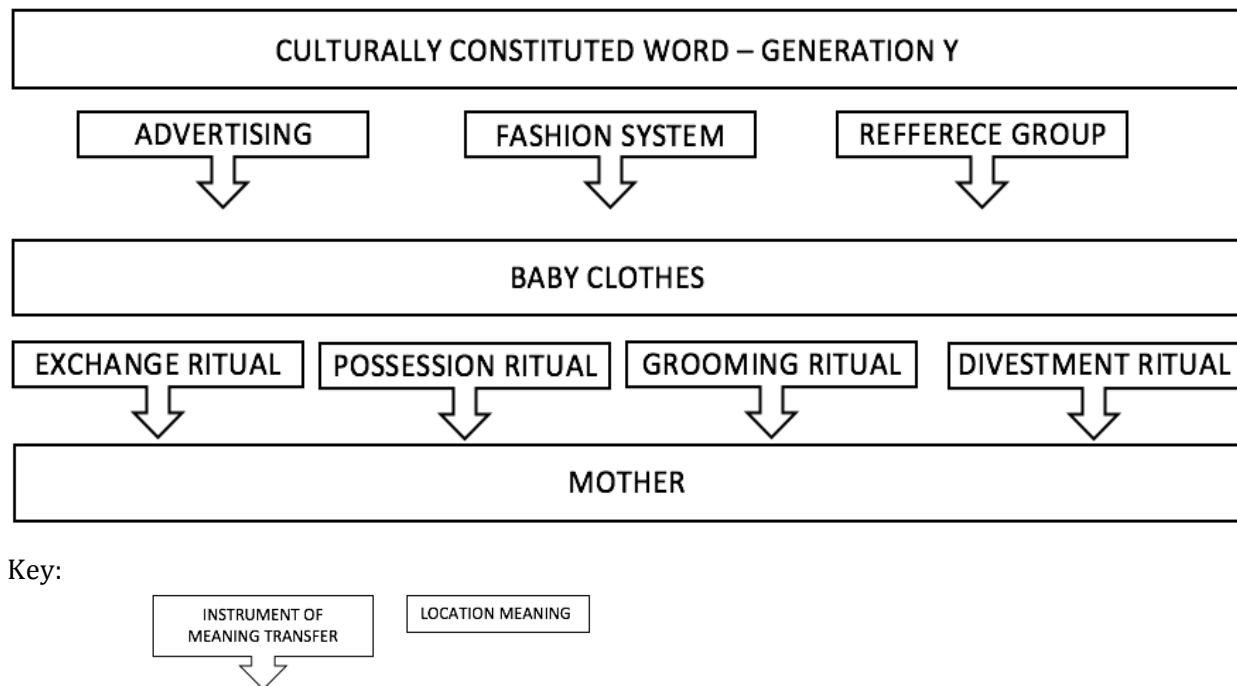


Figure 4: Framework of Cultural Meaning Transfer, McCracken, 1986 with own addition 2006

## 2.2.2. CULTURALLY CONSTITUTED WORLD

McCracken states that “*the culture constitutes the world by supplying it with meaning*” (McCracken, 1986, p. 72). The culture shapes how the world is seen and how the interactions between people are experienced. The culture can therefore be seen as the lens of how the individual sees the world and additionally, it can also be seen as a blueprint of human activity and it determines how world will be fashioned by human effort (McCracken, 1986, p. 72). According to Solomon et al. (2014) the culture may be thought of “*as the collective memory of the society*” (Solomon et al., 2014, p. 529). It should be looked at as an accumulation of traditions, ideas, shared meanings, ethics and values amongst the members of society, and additionally it is what defines the economic and political systems (Solomon et al., 2014, p. 529-530).

According to McCracken (1986) culture, can consequently be characterized in terms of *cultural categories* and *cultural principles*.

*Cultural categories* are in this context used to describe the basic distinction that a culture uses and to divide up the phenomenal world, such as e.g. class, gender, status and occupation. (McCracken, 1986, p. 72) and the culturally constituted world is hence of high centrality, as this is part in impacting the individual member’s meanings, believes and worldview. The reason for this is that each culture

creates its own vision of the world, norms, rules, and understandings, which therefore will impact the members of the given culture (ibid).

In regards to the cultural principle, meaning resides in the ideas or values that determine how the cultural phenomena are organized, evaluated and construed. Probably the best explanation of the cultural principles comes from the McCracken quote:

*“If cultural categories are the result of a culture’s segmentation of the world into discrete parcels, cultural principles are the organizing ideas by which the segmentation is performed. Cultural principles are the charter assumptions that allow all cultural phenomena to be distinguished, ranked, and interrelated” (McCracken, 1986, p. 73).*

In other words, this means that the cultural categories are used as a way to divide the world, whereas the cultural principles communicate how the categories are split.

An example of this could be the distinction between genders (cultural categories), where the clothing communicates the distinction between woman and men (cultural principles) as either being feminine or masculine. The clothing is thus signalling the differences between the genders (McCracken, 1986, p. 74).

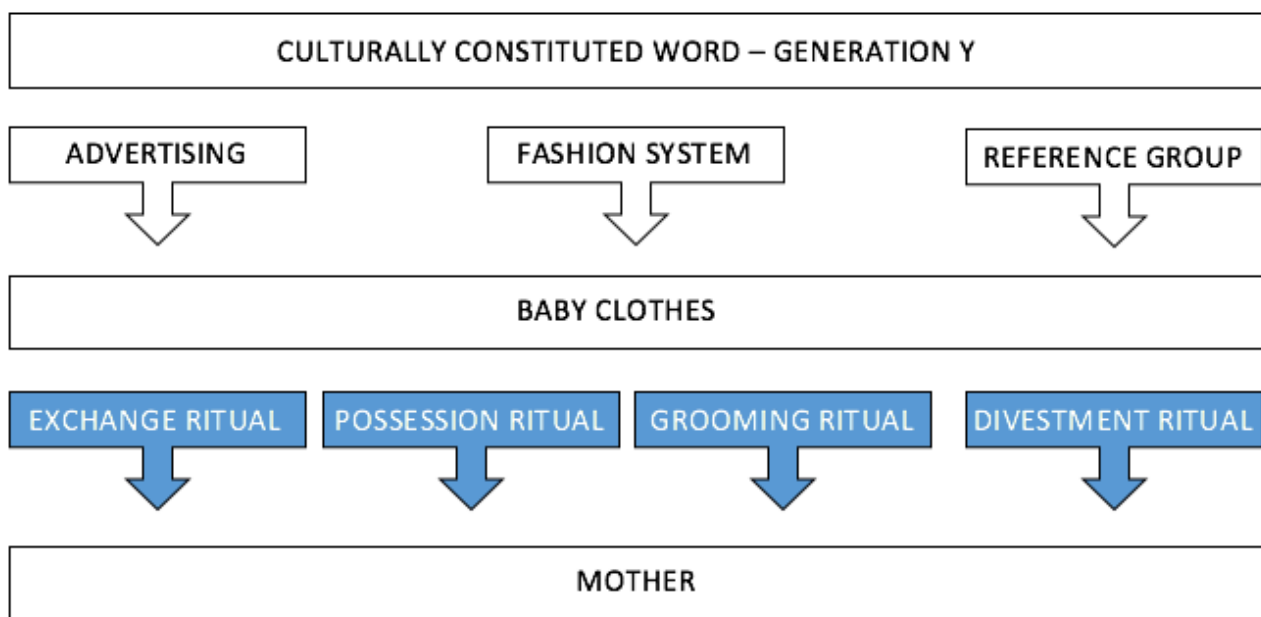
Hence, based on this the cultural categories and cultural principles occur simultaneously and when *“goods show a distinction between two cultural categories, they do so by encoding something of the principle according to which the two categories have been distinguished”* (McCracken, 1986, p. 74).

According to McCracken (1986) the cultural and symbolic meanings are then transferred to the consumer goods through the instruments as advertising and fashion system (product designers, fashion journalists and social observers) (McCracken, 1986, pp. 74-77).

### **2.2.3. LOCATIONS OF CULTURAL MEANING: CONSUMER GOODS**

In summary, the culture has now transferred to the goods through the instruments of meaning transfer. Therefore, the consumer goods serve as a media for the expression of the cultural meaning that constitutes the world (McCracken, 1986, p. 78). McCracken argues that the consumers may consciously see and manipulate the cultural meanings (ibid), e.g. when the mothers are using specific baby clothing.

From the consumer goods, the meanings are then transferred into the life of the individual consumer through the four rituals.



#### 2.2.4. RITUALS

The ritual is “a kind of social action devoted to the manipulation of cultural meaning for purposes of collective and individual communication and categorization. Ritual is an opportunity to affirm, evoke, assign, or revise the conventional symbols and meanings of the cultural order” (McCracken, 1986, p. 78). This means that through the social actions, which the individual consumer performs, he/she manages the cultural and symbolic meanings.

- 1) **Exchange Ritual:** In the Western culture, exchange ritual is when a party, chooses, purchases and presents consumer goods to another person (Caplow, 1982, cited in McCracken, 1986, p. 78), e.g. presents at baby showers. This movement of goods is potentially also a movement of meaningful properties (McCracken, 1986, p. 78), where the gift-giver chooses a present because “it possesses the meaningful properties, that she/he wishes to be transferred to the gift receiver” (ibid).
- 2) **Possession Ritual:** In this ritual, the owner of the possession, makes claim about the good, e.g. by showing of in front of the others, for instance when sharing photo of the product, housewarming etc. This should not be seen as territorial, but rather as an attempt to draw, from the object, the cultural qualities that the product possesses. (McCracken, 1986, p. 79). Furthermore, it is also the act of personalization, where the individual attempt to transfer meaning from his/her own world to the newly obtained good (ibid).

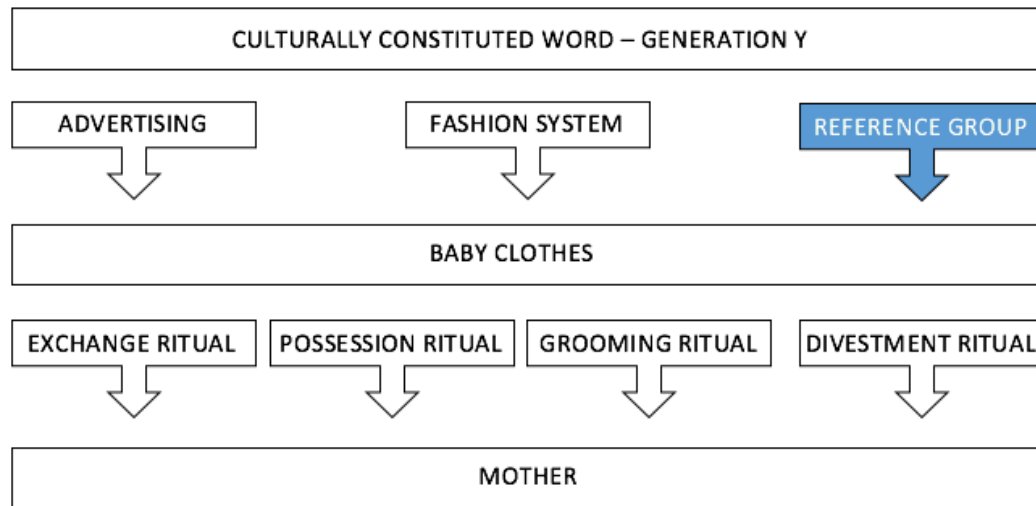
- 3) **Divestment Ritual:** This ritual deals with erasing the meanings associated with a previous owner from the product. This can both be in regard to receiving a used product, where the new owner is eliminating the meanings from the old owners, or when a person is selling/giving away owned products (McCracken, 1986, p. 80).
- 4) **Grooming Ritual:** In this ritual, the meanings move from the consumer goods to consumer e.g. putting special clothes on before going out. The grooming rituals therefore help to draw cultural meanings out of the goods and invest it in the consumer (ibid). Sometimes, it is, however, not the consumer that is being groomed but the product (ibid).

These rituals are important for this thesis, since they can be used to analyse how the symbolic meanings of baby clothes are being transferred to the mothers.

In conclusion this is the basic theory and model of McCracken. Next, the adjustments to the theory will be introduced and therefore provide the criticism of the model as such.

The main critique that the authors of this thesis found of McCracken's theory is that it is not taking into consideration that the culture is also being transferred to the consumer goods by other members of the same cultural constituted world, further on referred to as *reference groups*. The reason for this is that each culture creates its own vision of the world, norms rules, and understandings, which therefore will impact the members of the given culture (McCracken, 1986; Solomon et al., 2014). This will consequently also influence how the individual is affected by the other members of the culture. Thus reference groups also function as a key determinant of instrument for meaning transfer. This critique is inspired by lecturer Thyra Uth Thomsen in the course Perspectives on Consumer Behaviour at Copenhagen Business School, 2015.

After collecting the data, it has furthermore been understood that Belk's theory of Extended Self provides an additional supplement to the McCracken framework, since the individual consumer uses his/her possessions to extend him/herself.



### 2.2.5. REFERENCE GROUPS

According to Arnould, Price and Zinkhan (2005) all people are influenced by the groups to which they belong as well as by those, which they do not (Arnould et al., 2005, p. 608). These groups can be referred to as *Reference Groups*. A reference group can be defined as a “group whose presumed perspectives, attitudes, or behaviours are used by an individual as the bases for his or her perspectives, attitudes or behaviours” (Arnould et al. 2005, p. 609). They have a large impact, when the individual consumer makes his or her choice of products. This is due to the fact that the individual consumer seeks the social bond as a response to the more than ever individualistic society (Cova and Cova, 2002, p. 602) and search to “share similar experiences and emotions, and bond with the loosely interconnected communities” (ibid), e.g. tribes within the society. This is therefore important for the marketers to understand how the impacts from the reference groups works.

In order to support the view that reference groups serve as an influencing instrument when transferring the culture and symbolic meanings to the consumer good, the theory of *Thought Communities* will be included.

#### 2.2.5.1. THOUGHT COMMUNITIES

In order to understand how people can be influenced by others (reference groups) in their way of thinking, the researchers of this thesis will utilise the theory of socio-cognitive science view of human thinking presented by Zerubavel (1997). This is especially relevant since, the thesis is taking the point of departure in the Consumption Studies (Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000), where the consumers are viewed as members of the tribe and therefore they are consequently impacted by the other members.

In order to understand the *cognitive sociology*, it is important first to put it into the context of how thinking has been viewed upon. Thus, the *Cognitive Individualism* and *Cognitive Universalism*, which are two other perspectives on thinking as understood throughout time, will firstly be explained:

The first view, *Cognitive Individualism*, presented by Locke and Berkly understands thinking as something individual, where a person's thoughts and ideas are rooted within this person and not impacted by any others. Cognition is in this view therefore seen as individual and personal (Zerubavel, 1997, p.2). However, most scientists today reject this highly personalized view of the mind (ibid)

*Cognitive Universalism* does on the other hand revolve around the search for the universal foundations of human cognition (Zerubavel, 1999, p. 3), meaning that there exists a cognitive commonality, or said in other words, that there exists a universal way of thinking as human beings. The limitation within this view is therefore that it neglects the major cognitive differences that exist, not only amongst individuals but also among different cultures, social groups and historical periods (Zerubavel, 1997, p. 4).

Cognitive Individualism	Cognitive Sociology	Cognitive Universalism
Thinking as individuals	Thinking as members of though communities	Thinking as human beings
Subjectivity Personal experience	Inter-subjectivity Conventional cognitive traditions	Objectivity Natural or logical inevitability
Personal cognitive idiosyncrasies	Cultural, historical and subcultural cognitive differences	Universal cognitive commonalities

**Table 4: Brief overview of the three cognitive views, Source: Zerubavel, 1999**

Instead of understanding cognition as either *individuals*, like the cognitive individualism, or as *human beings* like the cognitive universalism, Zerubavel presents the socio-cognitive way of thinking, which is a mix between the prior two views.

By undertaking the socio-cognitive science point-of-view, Zerubavel understands "*thinking as similar to as well as different from the way other people think*" (Zerubavel, 1997, p. 5). Cognitive Sociology therefore implies that people do not think just as individuals or as human beings, but also as social beings, since they are part of particular social environments, e.g. mothers, Generation Y, Copenhageners. This will affect the way, people interact with the world and therefore also how they think (Zerubavel 1997, p. 6).

This is supporting the critique of McCracken, since he is not taken in to considerations, that humans are social beings and therefore being effected by other people. As Karl Mannheim (cited in Zerubavel 1997, p. 8) explains:

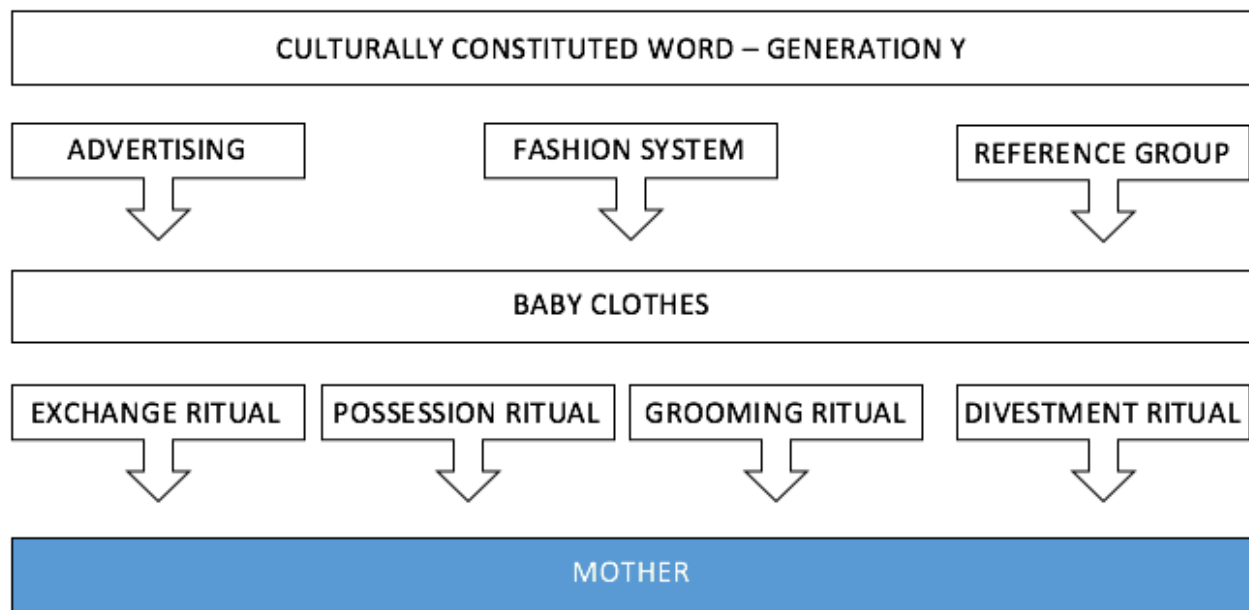
*“it is not the isolated individual who do the thinking but men in certain groups who have developed a particular style of thought...strictly speaking it is incorrect to say that the single individual thinks. Rather it is more correct to insist that he participates in thinking further what other men have thought before him”.*

When sharing thoughts people therefore create *social mindscapes*, which they share in common (Zerubavel 1997, page 8). However, by being parts of different groups people belong to different *thought communities*, such as churches, generations and nations, which reflects the way they think, what they believe is appropriate, what their norms are, how meanings are assigned etc. (Zerubavel, 1997, p. 9). In other words, people learn to see the world through the mental lenses of particular thought communities (Zerubavel, 1997, p. 15). Thus, Cognitive Sociology views culture as a major locus of cognition (Zerubavel 1997, p.11). Nevertheless, there are still differences in the way each person thinks, which is due to the fact that they belong to not only one thought communities but to several. This is also supported by Cova and Cova (2002), who hold similar view on this topic, since they claim that it is likely that the individual belongs to more than one group/tribe in the same time (Cova and Cova, 2002, p. 599).

The researchers of this thesis agree, with this view of thinking, and in the thesis, it will be examined how first time mothers are influenced by their thought communities.

This therefore complements the view that reference groups can be seen as part of instrument for meaning transfer. This understanding therefore add on to McCracken’s framework.

Another theory that will be used in order to understand how the baby clothes can be seen as part of the mothers’ identity is the theory about how possessions can be seen as part of the self. This therefore goes beyond the theory of McCracken, as it will look into how the possessions are being used.



### 2.3. POSSESSIONS AS PART OF THE SELF

This part supplements the idea that consumers' possessions can contribute to their identity. The researchers believe that this is an important addition to McCracken's article, which focus mainly on the rituals and cultural environment where the consumer lives and who influences him/her, rather than the possessions as such.

Within the consumer behaviour literature, much has been written about how consumers can use possessions to extend themselves and to help show the surrounding world who they are as a person, and thus help forming part of the owner's identity (e.g. Solomon, 1983; Belk 1988; Ahuvia, 2005; Solomon et al., 2014). The premise that possessions are regarded as part of the self is therefore not new and it goes back all the way to 1890, where William James, who is seen as the founder for modern conception of self (Belk 1988, p. 139), wrote:

*"A man's self is the sum total of all that he can call his, not only his body and his psychic powers, but his clothes and his house, wife and children...all these things give him the same emotions. If they wax and prosper, he feels triumphant; if they dwindle and die away, he feels cast down"* (James, 1890 pp. 291-292).

This quote suggests that the possession of things is part of the consumer's self, and that he/she can use the possessions he/she owns to show who he/she is as a person. The possessions, therefore, become part of the self and help define people's sense of who they are (Ahuvia, 2005, p. 171).



### 2.3.1. POSSESSIONS AS A TOOL FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SELF

According to Rochberg-Hakton (1984, cited in Belk 1988, p. 141) possessions should not only be regarded as part of the self, but should also be seen as instruments to the development of self. It is consequently acknowledged that special possessions can ease life transitions (Belk, 1988; Solomon, 1983; Schouten, 1991; Elliott and Wattanasuwan 1998; Uth Thomsen and Sørensen, 2006; Andersen et al. 2008; The VOICE group, 2010) and that they can assist a person in his/her development of constructing his/her identity as well as the social identity which is shown to the social world (Elliott and Wattanasuwan, 1998, p. 132). One of the main reasons for this is that the cultural and symbolic meanings, which the owner attach to the possessions are vital in regards to how he/she interprets the social world and consequently him/herself (Solomon, 1983; Elliott and Wattanasuwan, 1998), since *“consumers use the symbolic meanings to construct, maintain and express each of their multiple identities”* (Elliott and Wattanasuwan, 1998, p. 133). Furthermore, a life transition and the acquiring of a new life role can be a vulnerable situation for many individuals, since they are inexperienced in the new role (the VOICE Group, 2010, p. 384). Consumption can thus assist the consumer in his/her new life role as the consumption of products *“can support the identity construction, because of their signal value or because of their potential to provide the consumer with a certain experience of self”* (Uth Thomsen and Sørensen, 2006).

This is important to understand in regards to this thesis, as it seeks to comprehend how first time recent mothers from Generation Y in Copenhagen view the baby clothes as part of their extended self and as a way to help them in their construction of motherhood identity.

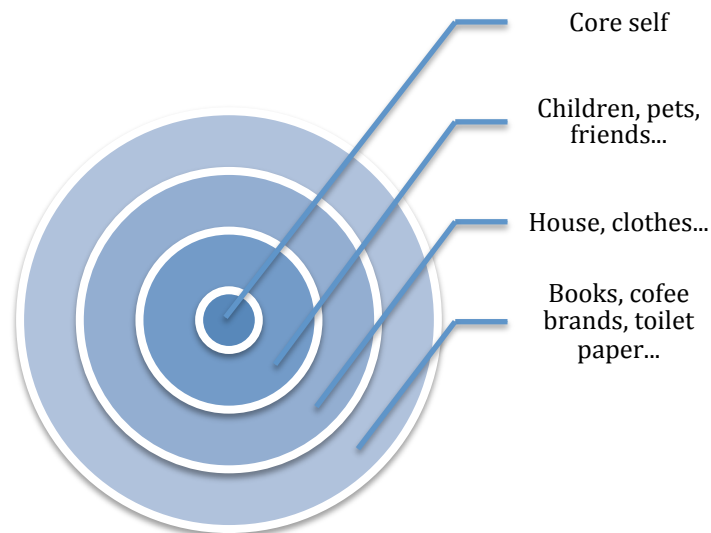
### 2.3.2. CORE AND EXTENDED SELF

The term *Extended Self* was first introduced by Belk, who in 1988 wrote the article *“Possession and the Extended Self”*. Here he argues that our possessions *“are major contributor to and reflection of our identities”*, and they therefore function as important components of our sense of self (Belk, 1988, p. 139). It is according to his view, not a single item or brand that represent all of one's self, but instead it is a complete group of consumption objects, which represent the diverse and possible inconsistent aspects of the total self (Belk 1988, p. 140).

According to Belk, consumers are seen as possessing a *core self*, which is expanded to include items that then become part of the *extended self* (Ahuvia, 2005, p. 172). However, there are some possessions, which are more related to the core self than others, such as; the body, internal processes, ideas and experiences whereas others are seen as part of the extended self – these include *“those persons, places and things, to which one feels attached”* (Belk, 1988, p. 141). Therefore, possession in his

view does not only include external objects and personal possessions, but can also include people (Belk 1988, p. 140), e.g. the children can represent an extension of self (Belk, 1988, p. 148).

In the illustration below, it can be seen how the core self is extended by different possessions and that there are some possessions, which are more close to the core self than others.



**Figure 5: Illustration of core and extended self, own contribution, 2016**

Another way in which the self can be extended is through *vicarious consumption* (Veblen, 1898, cited in Andersen et al., 2008). Here the goods not only represent the owner or wearer of a product, but also ascribe status and represent the dependents of the owner (Belk, 1988, p. 157). This is important in regards to baby clothes, since it is not the mother who wears the baby clothes, however it will through a vicarious consumption represent her as a mother.

### **2.3.3. HAVING, DOING AND BEING**

According to Belk, the possessions can be seen as both extending the self literally and symbolically (Belk, 1988, p. 145). An example of how possessions could be used literally is e.g. when a tool is used to do things, of which the owner otherwise would be incapable of doing (Belk, 2016, p. 50) whereas an example of symbolic self could be jewellery, which can represent status.

This also distinguishes between what the owner can *do* with the possession, as in the case of literally meaning of extended self, and *having* and *being* as in the symbolical meaning of extended self.

In this thesis the focus is on the symbolic value of the extended self, since the focus is on baby clothes, which cannot be used as a tool for the owner to extend himself/herself literally.

According to Satre (1943, cited in Belk 1988, p. 146) *having* and *being* are distinct but inseparable, since they are being merged when an object becomes a possession, because what were once self and not self is being fused (Belk, 1988, p. 146). This can therefore be seen as the underlying reason for why possessions become part of the extended self, since “*people seek, express, confirm and ascertain a sense of being through what they have*” (Belk 1988, p. 146).

#### **2.3.4. POSSESSIONS AS REPRESENTATION OF THE SELF**

The possessions of things is not only used for the owner, to understand who he/she is, but it is also to show to the surrounding world, who he/she is as a person (Elliott and Wattanasuwan, 1998; Uth Thomsen and Sørensen, 2006). Even though the mothers do not wear the baby clothes, it is argued that this theory still applies because of the vicarious nature of baby clothes.

According to Belk (1988, p.147) this implies that the relationship with objects not only is seen as two-way (person-thing), but always three-way (person-thing-person), as other people assess the possessions and this is therefore also something that influences the choice of products. Other people are therefore seen as an important mirror, through which people see themselves (Belk, 1988, p. 146).

##### **2.3.4.1. SOCIAL MEDIA – A NEW WAY TO EXPRESS THE SELF**

The *person-thing-person perspective* is especially relevant in today’s society, where the digital development have allowed people to extend themselves not only offline but also online through for instance social media, such as Facebook or Instagram (Belk, 2016, p. 50).

Belk (2016) argues that there is a tendency that people choose online visual representations that are closer to the ideal self than the actual self (Belk, 2016, p. 51). People for instance choose which photos to post online and how to envision their career on their LinkedIn profile. In this way they seek to enhance the social capital (Sheth and Salomon 2014) by displaying a person to others that is more an ideal version of the self. This tendency is also increased through the many inexpensive applications of postproduction tools, which allow people to modify and improve pictures through the use of visual filters, hereby allowing them to change the look and feel of the photos (Sheth and Solomon, 2014, p. 124). In this way the digital development have changed the extended self’s physical possessions expressed in the offline world to also include the online universe and digital possessions. It can therefore be said that it has changed from “you are what you wear” to “you are what you post” (Sheth and Salomon, 2014, p. 126).

Another interesting aspect to notice is that the digital development also has an impact on the control of the extended self. Previously a person was in charge of his/her possessions, however, in the digital era of Web 2.0 the self-expression and the presentation of the extended self is not fully in one's control. The reason for this is that other people have the possibility to comment, tag, like or share the input that the person posts and hereby they can help shape the self image and self concepts in ways, which were not possible before (Belk, 2016, p. 51)

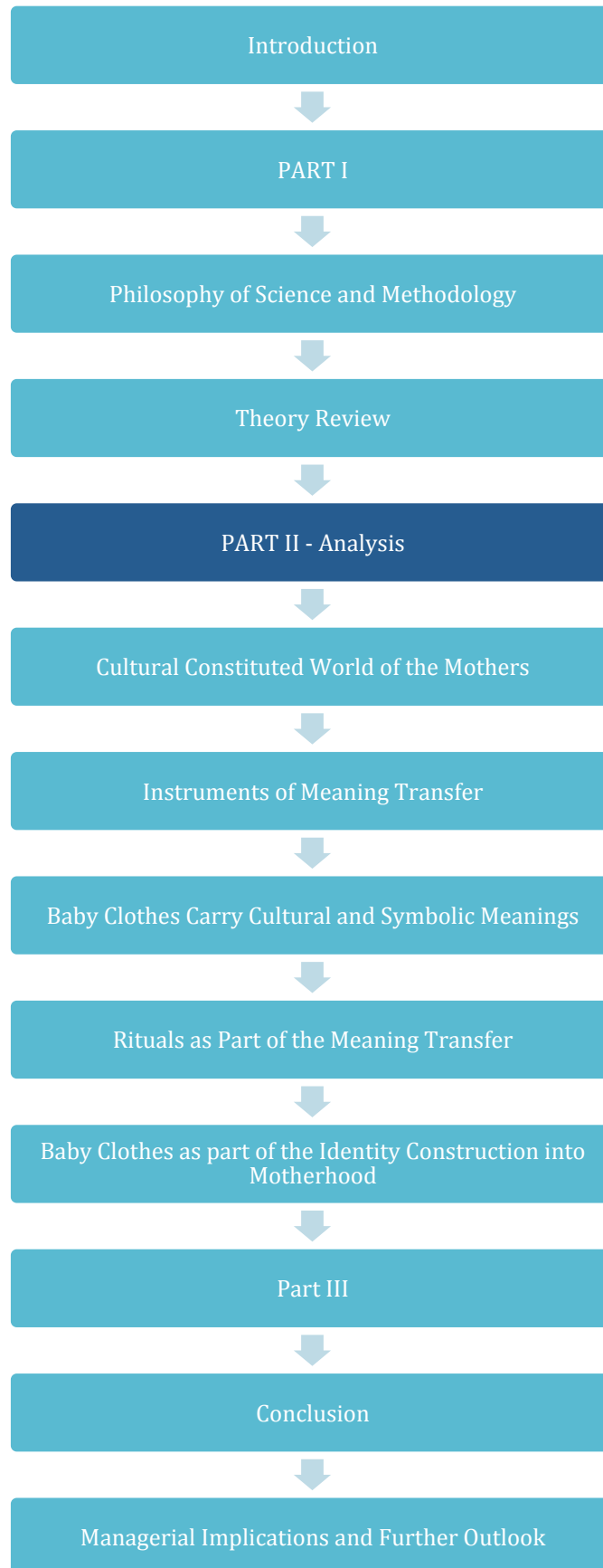
In conclusion it can be said that the relationships to possessions therefore matters, as they express and mediate the relationship to other people (Ahuvia, 2005, p. 180).

This hence supports the Consumptions Study's view on consumer behaviour, namely that consumers are affected by the culture and reference groups as also previously discussed.

### **2.3.5. CRITIQUE OF BELK'S METAPHOR OF CORE AND EXTENDED SELF**

Even though Belk's metaphor of core and extended self has been highly recognised, it has, however, also received criticism. Ahuvia (2005) does for instance criticise Belk's metaphor of the core and extended self, because he argues that it can be seen as confusing. The reason for this is that the metaphor can be understood as the consumer having one true or authentic inner core self, which is given to him/her from an external source – e.g. God or Genetics (Ahuvia 2005, p. 180). Ahuvia argues that this is metaphor is misleading, since current research have demonstrated that consumers today have difficulties in developing and maintaining a coherent sense of self due to the many choices available (Ahuvia 2005, p. 172). Instead the consumers are seen as having fragmented and multiple selves, which can be in conflict with each other (Ahuvia 2005, pp. 172-174). Therefore, he claims that it would better and clearer to avoid the misleading term *core-self* and instead using varying degrees of selfness for a consumer (Ahuvia, 2005, p. 182).

In this thesis, the authors agree with Ahuvia's critique of the metaphor of core and extended self – since they support the view that a person can hold multiple selves, such as e.g. a mother, a friend, a girl friend/wife etc. Nevertheless, the claim, that possessions can be seen as part of the self and part of ones identities and way to present himself/herself to the surrounding world, is acknowledged and supported. However, in order to create a simplification in the thesis, the term *Extended Self* will be used, when possessions are seen as part of the self.

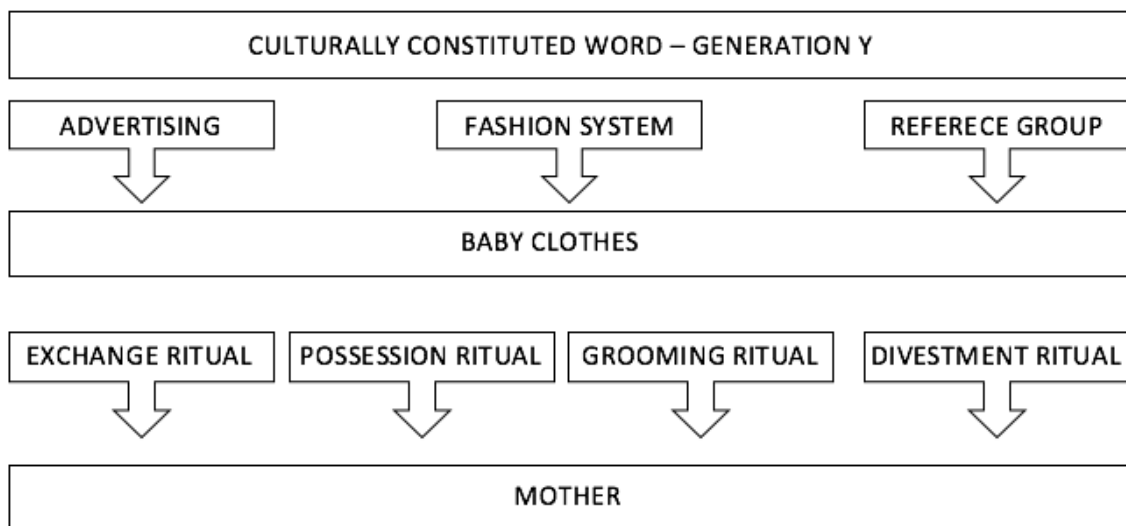


## PART II: ANALYSIS

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In this part it will be analysed how the cultural and symbolic meanings, which are resided within the cultural constituted world of the first time recent mothers from Generation Y in Copenhagen, will be transferred to the baby clothes through the three instrument of meaning transfer; *Fashion System*, *Advertisement* and *Reference Group*. This is due to understand how the baby clothes function as a symbolic meaning transfer since the values within the culture impact how the symbols are perceived. Afterwards the analysis will continue looking at how the meanings are transferred to the mother through different rituals. Lastly it will be examined how the mothers by the use of the baby clothes is extending their self and being supported in their identity construction into motherhood.

The structure of the chapters within the analysis will be based on McCracken's Cultural Meaning of Transfer Model. However, it will be adjusted according to this thesis, in the way that the *Cultural Constituted World* will be understood as the culture in which the first time recent mothers from Generation Y in Copenhagen live, *Consumer goods* will be understood as baby clothes and *the Individual Consumer* as the mother.



### 3. CULTURAL CONSTITUTED WORLD OF THE MOTHERS

This chapter examines the culture by which the first time mothers in Copenhagen are affected. Regarding this, it is analysed which cultural values the mothers from Generation Y have and addition how the cultural movement is transferred.

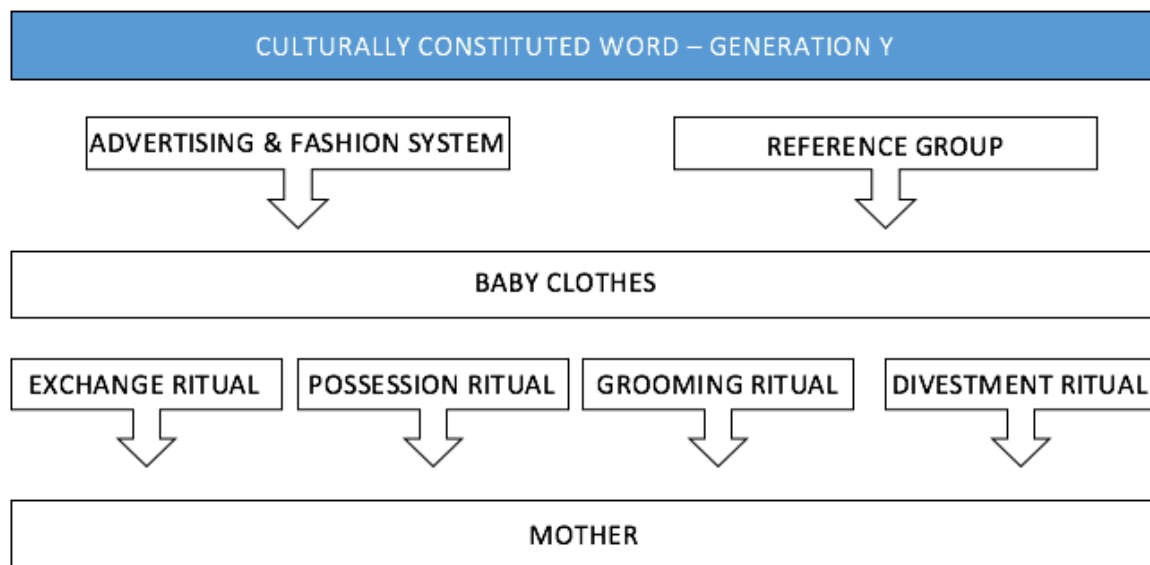
The outline of this chapter is based on the data gathered through conducting interviews with first time mothers in Copenhagen. In order to support these qualitative findings, there is used secondary data from the latest public consumer research studies and reports e.g. Retail Institute Scandinavia (2013), (hereinafter abbreviated RIS, 2013). These data have been added to the McCracken framework, since the theory and previously gathered data compliment each other and also help to shape the structure and understanding of the thesis.

The structure of the chapter will be the following:

#### **Cultural Constituted World of the Mothers**

- The Mothers' Culture
- Values of Millennials
  - Financial Responsibility
  - Time
  - Renting and Sharing
- Millennials and Technology
- Millennials and Social Responsibility
- Gender and Clothing
- Superstition
- Cultural Values in Connection with the Symbolic Meaning

In this section, the cultural constituted world of the Generation Y in Copenhagen will be analysed since it is in this world the mothers, who are under scrutiny, live. Hence by analysing the culture, the factors that influence the first time mothers and are part of creating their world-view, will be found. The culture furthermore impacts the society in which the mothers live, and therefore it will also impact their values. This implies that the values found within a given culture are impacting, how the consumers perceive the meaning of the symbols, since it is learned and deliberately perpetuated within the society (Causin and Ngwenya, 2015, p.1466).



### 3.1. THE MOTHERS' CULTURE

A brief introduction of the Danish culture will here be presented, in order to understand the general culture in which the mothers grow up and raise their children. Since Copenhagen is the capital of Denmark, it will also be embedded by the nation's overall culture (House, 2016).

The culture is specifically influenced by the social beliefs with negative thought towards the egoism and with it connected individualism. Danes value community feeling in their society and in equality between people, as well as solidarity and quality of life with work-life balance (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010; Hofstede Centre, 2010). In addition, they value the social welfare state and its effect of a minimal gap between the social classes (ibid). Thus, the society in general is very flat, and this is important since it affects the mind-set of the people and ultimately the mothers in the Generation Y. The high focus on equality and the power distance is symbolised by the egalitarian mentality (ibid), which affects the mothers too.

The Danes are *“expected to take care of themselves and their immediate families only”* (ibid), which differs from different cultures, e.g. Chinese people put more emphasis on the interest of the group rather than themselves. This is important since the mothers are impacted by the “me” approach rather than “we” approach and their behaviour and choices will thus not affect the extended family but only the mothers themselves. Furthermore, this implies that even though the mothers might seek advice from and are influenced by others, the end-decisions are theirs and they are the one who should deal with the consequences.



Another specification of the culture is that “*standing out from the crowd is not admirable*” (ibid). This is connected with the “Jante law”, created by Sandemose, which outline 10 rules by which everyone should adhere. The most common rule is that “*no one is better than others*” (Appendix 8). As it is possible to see later in the study, the mothers are influenced by this attitude regarding not wanting to stand out.

After having gained an understanding of the culture in general it is furthermore important to look into the values and world-view of Generation Y, since the focal mothers come from this generation.

### **3.2. VALUES OF MILLENNIALS**

#### *FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY*

There have been many noteworthy events, which have affected the Generation Y and therefore it has impacted them in regards to their view of the world. These include the significant events in 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century like; the fall of the Berlin Wall, the invention of the Internet, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the economic recession in 2008. The last mentioned event has affected the economical thinking of the Millennials and in the primary research there were also found signs of the mothers being financial responsible, conscious about their spending habits and being considerate consumers. Most of the interviewed mothers (across different income groups) have expressed that they generally think about:

the quality; how much baby clothes cost; and how little the babies actually use the baby clothes, since they grow so fast and that the clothes only fit them for some weeks. Therefore, it was found that the mothers normally purchase baby clothes on sale, buy used clothes or have inherited clothes. This was found irrespective of income.

Michelle as representative of higher income:

*[Instead of buying clothes as a present] I just asked for stocks [...] so I just asked [friends and family] for stocks actually, put it on his [son's] bank account, cause he much rather want it when he gets bigger" [...] "Rather than spending x amount of money on a month. I rather want to do a saving and I think in 10 or 15 years' time he will care about his clothes... I think its nicer for him to have some sort of savings so he has money to go out and spend it on nice clothes, rather than now where he actually doesn't care, so what I did in the first year. It is like every time I bought a second hand [baby clothes] I put the value and estimated from what I would cost if I bought new and put the money in to his [son's] account... so the difference I did as savings" – Interview Michelle.*

Ida as representative of lower income:

*"Yeah, I don't want to spend that much on clothes, because I know he [her son] is only going to wear it like 5-6 times, and then he grows out of it. So I thought about if I wanted to buy clothes that is really nice and maybe more expensive, then I will wait until he is actually ready to walk. Because now he is like laying down. It is stupid, because he is growing out of it in no time. So I definitely think about that when he gets able to walk around, I think I will think even more about what he is wearing."* – Interview Ida.

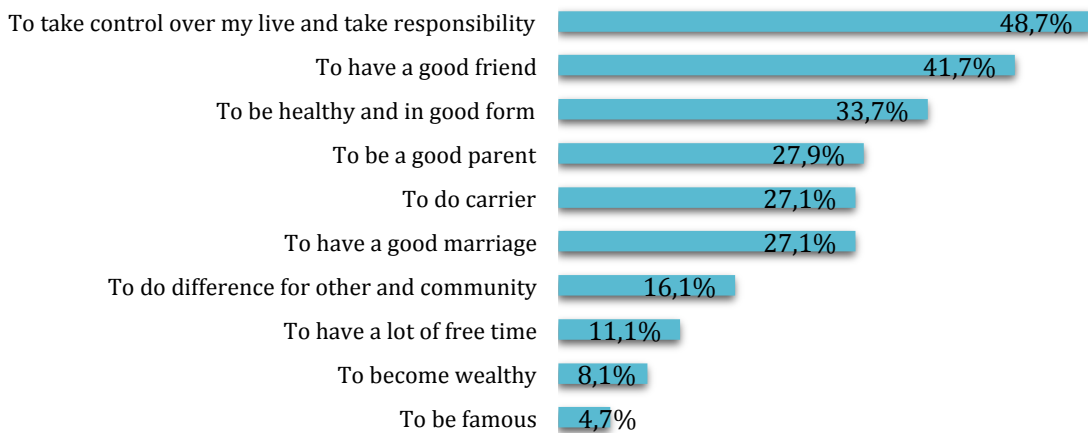
These findings show that the mothers are concerned about the financial accountability and think where to allocate their money.

The findings are supported by the study of the RIS, where it states that Millennials are behaving responsibly with regards of the personal economy (RIS, 2013, p. 5.) Other signs of their financial responsibility are their independency and taking life in own hands (RIS, 2013, p. 13). Furthermore, this is supported by fact that they purchase with consideration and common sense (RIS, 2013, p.14).

Additionally, as it is illustrated in Graph 1, it is indicated that a little over 48% of the respondents take control over their life and are behaving responsibly (RIS, 2013, p.5). Being raised by the Boomers and Generation X who both valued health as one of the most important values in their life (Gibson et al., 2009, p.4), it is not surprising that the Generation Y focuses a big part of their life on the health and the exercise (RIS, 2013, p.5). In the survey sample of RIS, it was voted by 33% as the third most important attribute in the lives now and in the future. As the least scored attributes were on the other hand to become wealthy 8,1% and famous 4,1% (Ibid).

In summary Generation Y values taking control over their lives. The cultural values in the society are values of being responsible and more deliberately being financially responsible and accountable. In connection with the mothers from Generation Y, this means that they consider their spending with regards to baby clothes, since they compare the costs of the products with the limited amount of time that the baby can wear it.

### What is the most important in your life now and in future?



Graph 1: Source: Retail Institute Scandinavia, 2013

#### TIME

When women become mothers they need to prioritise their time differently. Therefore, their time is also an important value for them. In the interviews it was found that the mothers value their leisure time. For some it means that they can hang out with their friends and peers, for other it is the time, which they can spend with their family.

*"I know that when I get to have a full-time job I won't be able to do that [pick her up at 3pm from day care and spend time with her], and that makes me a bit upset, so that has changed me" - Interview Sara.*

*"I started a new company together with my friend, but there are no money in it, and then I had my job next to it and also the studying. So right now, I'm thinking "wow, this is way too much", because when do I have the time for my family? I didn't think about that so much before. So now I have to cut down on some the things in order to get more time. So maybe that is something that has changed." - Interview Ida.*

These quotes not only indicate that the mothers wish to spend more time with their family but also the issues that first time mothers have when needing to plan their time better and also be more structured (e.g. Interview Sara, Judit, Ida, Isabella, Julie, Josefine). Therefore, the free time is found to be a valuable asset in their lives. This compliments the research done by the RIS (2013, p.12), where they

found out that the Millennials feel pressured in regard to time, and therefore think convenience and flexibility are important factors.

#### *RENTING AND SHARING*

Based on the primary research it is possible to see that there is a growing trend of renting and sharing products (Interview Isabella, Julie), which is also supported by secondary data research (Fromm et al, 2011; Goldman Sachs, n.d.; Nielsen, 2014). Due to the fact that the Millennials have experienced the economic recession they come in favour of renting things (Mincer, 2015), which allows them easy access to the things they need and or desire, rather than be burdened with ownership. They only acquire what they truly valued (Rebell, 2015). This has resulted in a growing interest in the sharing economy and sharing goods.

*[Consumers] “are getting involved in the consumption cycle by contributing to the funding or even the creation of products they want and by reselling or renting out their unneeded possessions. They're creating new formats for the exchange of goods. And every step of the way, they are practicing ‘less is more,’ and savouring their ‘less” (Andrew Benett, Havas Wordlwide, 2014).*

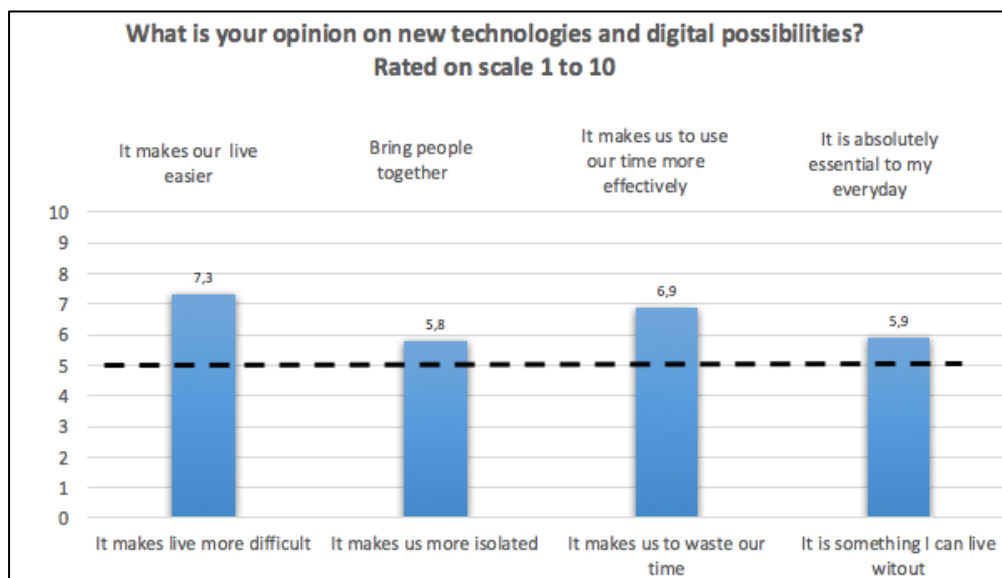
For long time the sharing houses and sharing cars have been the main items in the sharing economy, however, the Millennials are moving beyond that (Mincer, 2015). The new businesses, which are on the rise, are sharing smaller items such as clothing and electronic devices (ibid). This is supporting the primary data, since the mothers were using the services of sharing baby clothes (Interview Julie, Isabella).

### **3.3. MILLENNIALS AND TECHNOLOGY**

The technological raise and the development of the Internet and smartphones have affected Generation Y to a great extent. They are also the first generation, which more or less have grown up with these technological devices. In the findings, it was discovered that nearly all of the interviewed mothers confirmed that they either have used or are using social media for inspiration for finding baby clothes.

*“When I go online I never buy anything online. I do it for inspiration” - Interview Ida.*

The most mentioned (and therefore it is assumed it is also the most used) apps between the mothers have been Facebook, Instagram and Reshopper. Social media such as Facebook have provided a new *touch point* (Hogan et al., 2005), where the brands can reach and interact with the consumers (RIS, 2013, pp. 23-26).



Graph 2: Source Retail Institute Scandinavia 2013, p.17

These finding are supported by the RIS's study where it is stated that 96% of women use Facebook (ibid). The 96% shows not only enormous popularity of Facebook, but also supports the fact that Generation Y wishes to be informed about what is happening in their surroundings. Furthermore, this shows high digital and online literacy of the generation - they feel comfortable and confident online. This is supported by the fact that most of the respondents of RIS' survey, agree that the new technologies and the digital possibilities make their life easier than difficult (7.3 on scale to 10) (RIS, 2013, p. 17).

### 3.4. MILLENNIALS AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Sustainable world and ecology have been some of the main topics discussed in today's society and these debates have impacted the mothers, since being ecological and environmental responsible was found to be important to the interviewees.

*"And I haven't really thought about that it meant so much to me – for instance with the environment and recycling. I think it is important" [...] "But I think we are more environmentally conscious today and also that it needs to be organic." - Interview Julie*

The mothers do not only think about the influence this have on their own life but also about the influence on the world, e.g. the ecological cycles and how it influences the humans. The environment and the social responsibility are crucial topics, and one of the interviewed mothers, had a detailed view on how these topics were connected with the symbolic meaning of being a good person:

*"I just think general in society there is a trend going on, that you should buy organic, otherwise...You know to create a better world and to be a better person. But it's not like that it's bad if you don't buy it. It's more like that you are a better person if you do (laughing)". – Interview Isabella.*

Another topic, which was found to be a concerning issue, for the interviewed mothers, was the chemicals. All of them were washing their newly bought and the used clothes in order to get rid of the chemicals. In the following quote, one of the mothers provides an explanation of why she thinks it is important to avoid chemicals:

*"I try, and also to think about the environment, like also with the detergent and I try to think about it the whole way around, not to use things with too much chemicals" [...] "I think the first priority is to protect her [daughter] and us from all different kinds of chemicals. I have studied Health Communication and wrote a paper about straw shortening chemicals in bread. And they make studies that indicate that it can harm the sperm quality for boys... So I think about these things and when you dig a little deeper and understand that it can harm things like e.g. the sperm quality and also immune disturbing chemicals. I think it means a lot. I have also thought about it for myself, and also in regards to that I knew that I wanted children. That I didn't want to fill myself with all crap, when I knew that I also wanted children." – Interview Kristine.*

The study from RIS (2013, pp. 13-14) supports that Generation Y in overall is concerned about the social responsibility. It shows that 34% of the respondents assumed that they, as consumers, can create a more sustainable world and more than 36% of the respondents have a high focus on the negative aspect on consumption (RIS, 2013, p. 14). This might be due to the higher awareness in the society and also due to several tragic events that have occurred - e.g. the collapse of a big factory in 2013, which caused a high number of death of garment workers in a place of producing clothes for H&M (Manik, 2013).

Furthermore, the consumers feel – especially women – that it is to a "very high importance" or "high extent importance" (70% of women; 61% of men) that the brands and the shops focus on the social responsibility and being environment friendly (RIS, 2013, p.38).

In conclusion it can be said that the opinions about clothing and ecology are evident and hence these factors are something, which the Generation Y and thus the mothers focus on in regard to the consumption.

### **3.5. GENDER AND CLOTHING**

Through the history, the roles of women and men have been separated. In the past decades, men and women have become increasingly more equal. Nowadays, it is possible to say that women and men have become practically equal in the society by law. However, this equality does not mean that women become more masculine and the men more feminine. Gender as cultural category stays but the cultural principle, the clothing, has changed over the past, since the cultural category is used to divide the world whereas the cultural categories divide how the categories are split (McCracken, 1986, pp. 72-74).

In the past, the clothing has represented the status and role of the men and the women. Just by the look at someone's clothing, one would be able to point them out in certain class or even nationality. Today, because of the globalisation, it is not as visible and the customers can purchase the same brand in several countries. An important point is that even the Danish royal family, as one of the last remaining example of people with status, wear "normal" accessible clothing. This is due to the bigger accessibility of clothing, which is connected with the lower price and designers who offer exclusive products as well as products for masses e.g. Karl Lagerfeld, head designer of the house of Chanel, designed clothing for H&M in 2004.

The fact is that, men and women do still express their gender, among other things, through their choice of clothing or makeup. For the adults this is mostly expressed by the style of clothing rather than the colours. For kids there is, however, a general belief that the clothing should be in certain colours. Since 1950's traditionally, the colour pink is used for girls and blue for boys, and the colours thus come to represent a symbol for the genders (Møller Rasmussen, 2015). This "symbol of gender" often makes the mothers feel a pressure from the society to dress their child in the colour that represent his or her gender. Although, as one of the interviewed mothers stated she is not sure if it is only her who thinks she needs to follow this, or if it is the society (Interview Ida). It was found that this pressure created an uncomfortable feeling inside the mothers. The mothers are naturally proud of their children and therefore they feel uncomfortable and not confident when someone is asking about the gender of their child (Interview Cathrine, Kristine, Ida; Julie, Sara).

The following quote exemplifies the tension the mothers of Generation Y have:

*"I don't think I would buy pink [for the son]. But we do have this duvet cover, which [boyfriend's] mom made for us. And it is like with all different kind of colours [...] and there was like a lot, a lot, a lot of pink in it, but also green and blue - but a lot of pink. And I was like 'he can't sleep in that'. It is way too girlish! And then I think. Maybe, actually that is also something I think; that if I put that out, and we walk on the street, and then people will keep asking like "oh is it a girl or is it a boy", because people ask that. Because I know that if I dress him in all blue, then people will know that he is a boy. So it is easier. So actually, that is also something I think about."* – Interview Ida.

Nonetheless, in today's society there is the confrontation against the sex differences and some parents are taking an opposite stand to parenting. Thus, they try to raise their children more gender neutral in order to avoid the stereotyping (Hjortsø, 2015).

*"So we [the mother and her husband] were quite aware that we wanted like more, like, unisex colours and ... and try to ask for people to just not give him blue, because he would get just like so much blue clothes and we were just like, a bit of red"* – Interview Benedikte.

To sum up, it could be said that there exist different opinions about expressing the gender of the baby through the colour of the clothing. Some mothers feel that this has created a hidden pressure from the society and as a result, they seek to oppress it, while other mothers wish to follow this norm and thus dress their child in colours that act as a symbol of representing the genders.

### **3.6. SUPERSTITION**

Superstitions are intertwined in every culture despite the fact they do not have rational reasons. They affect people's everyday life (Agarwal, 2014) as people conduct specific actions in order to avoid misfortune.

There are lot of examples of superstitions in the society and some of them deal with entering motherhood. One of the most common superstition in regard to motherhood in Denmark is regarding the prams (Davies et al., 2006, p. 4). In this superstition, it is believed that the parents are not supposed to buy a pram and bring it home before giving birth because it brings bad luck and therefore something can go wrong with the pregnancy or the actual birth. By leaving the pram in the shop, the mothers are ensuring themselves that nothing bad can happen to them. This act is indicating that non-consuming the pram, is also seen as a way in which the pregnant women seek to ensure, that they are acting as responsible mothers to be.



### 3.7. CULTURAL VALUES IN CONNECTION WITH THE SYMBOLIC MEANING

In the above, the different cultural values, which have been identified by the mothers from Generation Y, have been analysed. These include

- 1) Financial responsibility;
- 2) Social- and environmental responsibility;
- 3) Dressing the babies in gender-specific clothes or going against it;
- 4) Being superstitious;
- 5) Manage time;
- 6) Not being burdened with ownership but instead renting and or sharing the clothes.

Since these values can be comprehended as the “right” ones, they do not only carry the *cultural meaning* but also the *symbolic meaning* of being a good and caring mother, who worry about the well-being of the child and the future world.

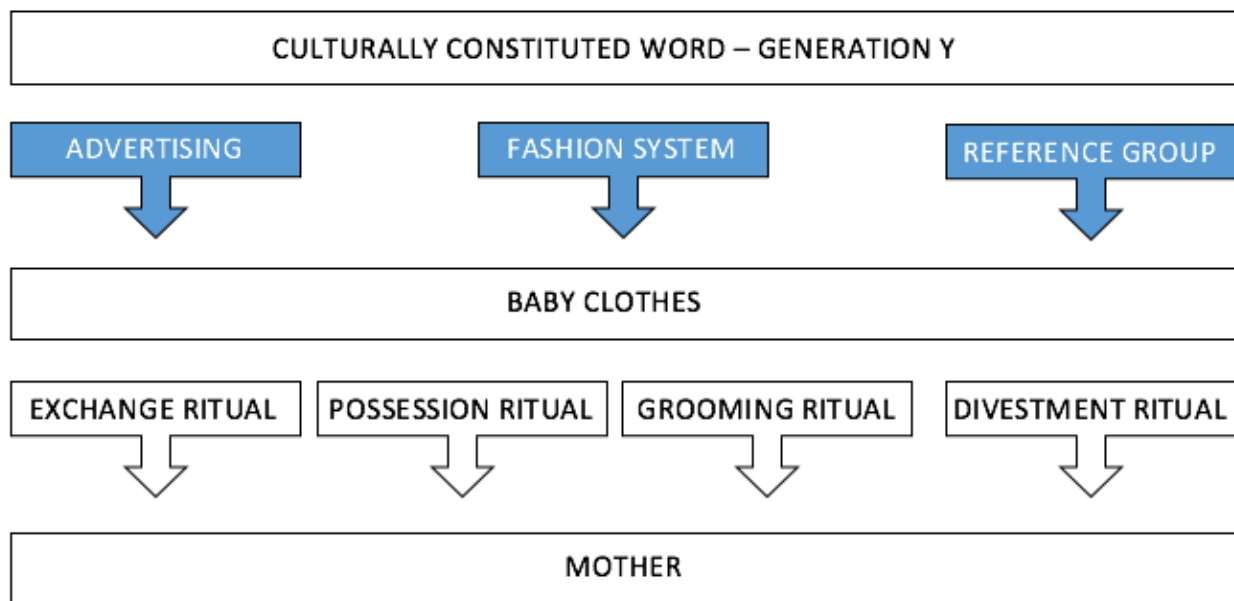
### 3.8. SUB-CONCLUSION

In this chapter it has been analysed that there are certain values, which reside in the culture of the mothers in focus, which can be categorised as being the “right” and normal ones. These include: being financial responsible, valuing the free time, being socially responsible and environmental friendly, being online on social media and holding preferences for the colour of the baby clothes, following the traditions of superstition and not being troubled with ownership but instead renting and or sharing goods.

These values and preferences can therefore be understood as the cultural meanings resided in the cultural constituted world of the first time mothers from Generation Y in Copenhagen. Additionally, since these cultural values are considered as the “right ones” in the mothers’ culture, they also hold symbolic meaning of being “good” and caring mother.

## 4. INSTRUMENTS OF MEANING TRANSFER

In this part of the analysis it will be investigated how the meanings and values of the culturally constituted world of the Generation Y in Copenhagen are transferred into the baby clothes through the instruments of meaning transfer: advertising, fashion system and reference groups.



The structure of the chapter is the following:

### **The Instruments of Meaning Transfer**

- Advertising and Fashion System
  - Social Media
- Reference Groups
  - Family and Friends
  - Mother Groups

## 4.1. ADVERTISING AND FASHION SYSTEM

In this section it will first be demonstrated how advertisements and the fashion system function as instruments of meaning transfer and then, based on the findings from the thesis' study, argue for, how these two instruments have merged in the world of Generation Y through the use of social media.

Advertisements have the possibility to transfer meaning by bringing together the cultural constituted world into the consumer goods within a given advertisement (McCracken, 1986, p. 74). This means, bringing together the cultural values found in the previous chapter and connecting them with baby clothes within the advertisement. Marketers can do this in a variety of ways. The aim of this thesis is, however, not to analyse examples of advertisements since it is out of the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, this is something that could be investigated as part of a further research.

An example of this can be seen by the advertisement made by the Danish baby clothes brand Müsli by Green Cotton. In this advertisement a baby who looks happy, comfortable and satisfied is pictured together with the text *"Choose and Reuse – the sustainable choice – organic kidswear"*.



**Picture 1: Advertisement from Müsli by Green Cotton, collection 2016**

Hereby, the ad connects the values of being sustainable and organic together with the baby clothes and as a consequence having a healthy and happy child, and as an extension of this being a thoughtful and caring mother.

It is important to point out that the mothers play a key role in the process of meaning transfer, since the transfer is not accomplished until the mothers accept and connect the baby clothes with certain properties from the culturally constituted world (McCracken, 2006, p. 105) – this can happen consciously as well as unconsciously. First then has the process taken place and the baby clothes will now represent a cultural and symbolic meaning, which it did not do before. Other examples of this could be connecting the baby clothes without chemistry or 100% cotton with being a thoughtful mother and having a beautiful and happy baby or connecting the baby pink/blue clothes with respectively a girl and boy.

For marketers it might, however, be a difficult task to demonstrate the values of the culture in the ad and connect them with the baby clothes, since most often the advertisements for baby clothes are only picturing the baby dressed in the clothes. As a consequence, it will be the values attached to the brand name that will need to represent this connection.

However, what should be noticed is, that even though the marketers seek to create a specific meaning for their brands in the advertisement, it may be interpreted differently from mother to mother and therefore as a result the symbolic meaning might also be different (Elliot and Wattanasuwan, 1998, p. 136). The reason for this is that the mothers come with different personal backgrounds as well as perceptions and the attention given to the advertisement might furthermore be different (ibid).

In this study, there was not found evidence that the mothers were consciously impacted by traditional advertisement (such as ads in magazines, posters or commercials in the television). This could, however, be due to the fact that a lot of the processing of advertisement happens on a subconscious level (Ramsøy, 2014, p.22) and therefore the mothers are not aware of the impact that the advertisements have on them. Another reason could be assigned to the decrease in the Millennials' use of flow-television and magazine reading (DR Medieforskning, 2015).

#### **4.1.1. SOCIAL MEDIA**

In the primary research, it was instead found that the mothers to a high extent were influenced by advertisements on the social media, such as blogs, Instagram or Facebook etc. (Interview Sara, Ida, Cathrine, Julie, Josefine, Benedikte). This happened on both 1) an *overt level*, such as when they looked at different brand's profiles and pictures or received advertisement in their newsfeed, and 2) on a more *covert level*, as when the advertisements were hidden behind celebrities' recommendations or pictures on the social media. These celebrity recommendations can be seen as part of the *Fashion System*.

In this way it can also be said that the division between the advertisement and the fashion system have to some extent merged in today's society, since the *Fashion System* is characterised by opinion leaders such as celebrities or fashion journalists, who function as agents of the meaning transfer (McCracken, 1986, p. 77). These opinion leaders "*help shape and refine existing cultural meaning and function as sources of meaning for individual of lesser standing*" (McCracken, 1986, p. 76). This can both be if the opinion leader is writing his/her thoughts about the baby clothes and or when he/she is showing a picture of his/her baby wearing a specific outfit on either his/her blog, Instagram or Facebook.

This action does not only picture the clothes but it also connects the lifestyle and values of this person with the clothes. Consequently, the opinion leader himself/herself come to symbolise the cultural values and combines it with the baby clothes. Therefore, it can be said that the cultural properties are shown to reside in him/her and move from him/her and over to consumer good (McCracken, 2006, p. 97).

In this way social media allow to merge the advertising with the fashion system, as the opinion leaders advertise for the products in a subtle and sometimes hidden way. This has however been heavily criticised, since the consumers are influenced, without knowing it.

*“Most of us have learned to have a critical filter turned on, when we see advertisement. But when friends, bloggers or celebrities market products we lower our barricades, because we trust them”* – Kalsi, expert from the Danish consumers’ advisory council, Forbrugerrådet Tænk (Samir Sørensen and Hjortshøj, 2016).

In order to protect the consumers against the hidden advertisement, there now exists a law in Denmark, stating that it needs to be clearly written if a post on the social media is sponsored (ibid).

In the following example, it can be seen how one of the interviewed mothers is influenced through the fashion system, by observing an opinion leader’s children displayed in certain outfit:

*“There’s a photographer called Maria Franck, she has two beautiful little girls and she buys them matching clothes, expensive clothes, and I look at them and I think that it’s just, it looks very nice and... And I, I just look at them and think ‘Aw, that’s so nice’, and then I’ll go ‘Mum, can you make these? (laughing)”* – Interview Cathrine.

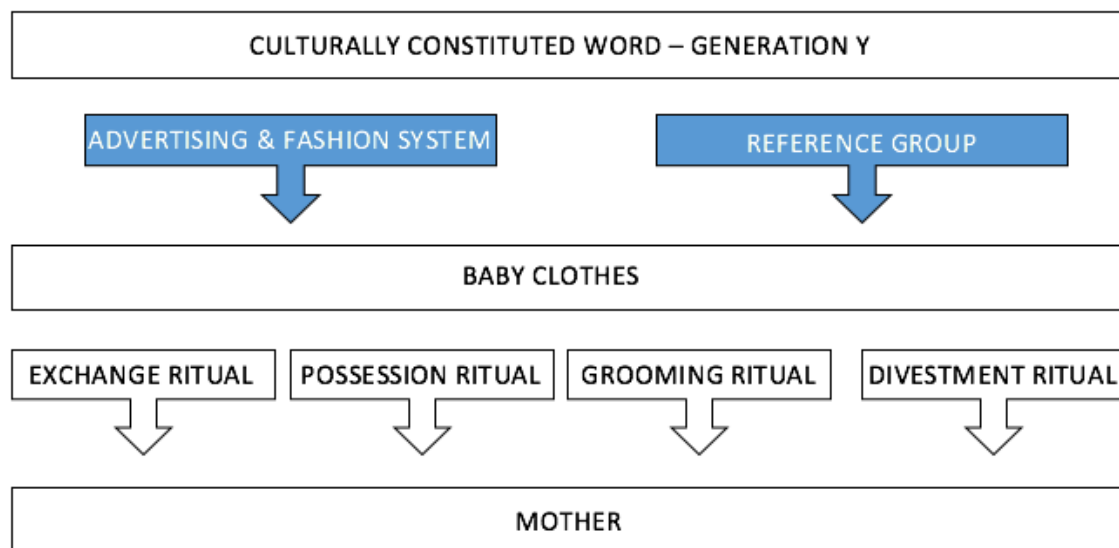
In this example, it can be seen how the mother idealises the opinion leader, Maria Franck, by calling her children “beautiful little girls” and highlighting that the clothes are expensive and look nice. The mother furthermore combines Maria Franck and her children with the displayed baby clothes. This influences the mother’s preferences for baby clothes and she desires the same type of clothes for her child. Hereby, it can be argued, that the mother uses the opinion leader as inspiration for how she wants her child to be dressed.

In another example it is shown how the opinion leaders’ meanings impact the mother to purchase special brands:

*“And you scroll down pictures [in Instagram] of other babies and then you see it a lot. And people [different opinion leaders] were like “Oh I’m so happy for that” (laughing) and “our kids love it”. And then it gets into your head and then you are like “Maybe I’ll like it as well” and then you go out and buy these brands.” – Interview Ida.*

This quote illustrates how the mother trusts the opinion leaders’ meanings and how she thus is influenced to purchase these brands. It could be said, that the mother is more prone to purchase the brands as these recommendations are given in a more covert way than a normal advertisement. It could be interesting to investigate to which extent the mothers are impacted by hidden advertisement, however, this is out of the scope of this thesis.

In summary it can be said that both advertisements and the fashion system work as instruments of meaning transfer from the cultural constituted world to the consumer good. It has here been demonstrated how the meanings and values that Generation Y holds is being transferred to the baby clothes through advertisement through their connection to opinion leaders. Furthermore, it has been showed that the advertisement and fashion system as described in McCracken’s framework (1986), have merged through the use of social media in today’s society. This is illustrated in the following framework, which has been edited accordingly and which will be utilised subsequently within this thesis:



There is also another instrument of meaning transfer, which the authors of the thesis have added to McCracken’s original framework (1986), in order not to neglect the fact that other reference groups also hold a great impact in the process of meaning transfer.

## 4.2. REFERENCE GROUPS

After having conducted the interviews certain patterns have been found concerning who functions as influencers for the interviewees. The instrument has been identified as reference groups (Arnould et al., 2005, p. 608), through which the cultural and symbolic meanings have been transferred to the product. The reason for this is that these groups to some extent have shaped the individual's perspectives, attitudes and beliefs. This is due to the fact that the mothers belong to different *thought communities*. Thought communities, such as generations or nation reflect the way people think; what they believe and how the meaning is assigned (Zerubavel, 1997, p. 9).

Furthermore, the reference groups can be seen as a critical source of brand meanings (Escalas and Bettman, 2005, p. 379), since the mothers can use these reference groups as a source of information for "*arriving at and evaluating one's beliefs about the world, particularly others who share beliefs and are similar on relevant dimensions*" (ibid).

The recognised reference groups within the interviews have been the mother groups and friends and family. This identification is important since the reference groups are seen as instrument of meaning transfer from the society to the goods, and in addition they can be seen as thought communities. The individual mother can be part of more than one reference group (Cova and Cova, 2002). Thus, by being part of the different reference groups e.g. family, colleagues, and friends, the mothers belong to different *thought communities*.

An example of this can be seen in the following quote:

*"I was encouraged [by someone] to buy used clothes because it had been washed so many times the chemicals have been washed out. That's something I actually prioritise"* - Interview Benedikte.

Here it can be seen how "someone's" idea has been accepted in the mother's mind, it has been memorised, later realised and now she prioritises it. In this way the "someone" have influenced her and made her see the world through "the someone's" lenses (Zerubaval, 1997).

### 4.2.1. FAMILY AND FRIENDS

Since becoming a mother is a transformative life experience, the future mothers do naturally turn to their family and friends to seek advice and to gain information. Additionally, it could be said that the new mothers receive information without asking for it from the family members or friends. For this reasons they have been recognised as one of the two reference groups.

The knowledge about what to buy from the family and the friends who recently had children has been found to be common amongst many of the interviewees. The mothers seek to know what they need to purchase first. The friends and family have a good overview of the market, the trends and they know which clothes that cannot miss in the layette (the baby's first wardrobe). Thus, this reference group is essential to the first time mothers who are inexperienced with the process of buying baby clothes.

The opinions of the family and the friends (who recently have children) are a significant source of information regarding the cultural and symbolic values attached to the baby clothes, e.g. in terms of not buying clothes with many chemicals (Interview Benedikte), buying organic (Interview Ida, Isabella, Kristine), or that girls can also wear blue (Interview Julie, Kristine). Thus the family and friends assist in the transfer of meaning from the culturally constituted world to the baby clothes.

*"Yeah, I've been thinking about that [how she is as a mother] a lot as well, because we have all this like ecological mind thinking, like being sustainable and everything. Which, I have been baited into thinking from CBS and everywhere else and friends. You know "think about sustainability, and it is really important. I mean, when he has to wear clothes for instance, I go and buy ecological" – Interview Ida.*

This illustrates well, how the mother's friends and university transfer the cultural and symbolic meaning of being sustainable and that this is the "right way" to think to e.g. the baby clothes and that this effect the mother's way of thinking.

#### **4.2.2. MOTHER GROUPS**

The other identified reference group has been mother groups, because they are a network constructed of the individuals who share: common subculture, bonds and vision of life (Cova and Cova, 2002) beliefs and attitudes (Arnould et al., 2005). Furthermore, knowledge sharing is part of the reference group. This is also seen in regards to the opinions based on baby clothes:

*"So there is a lot of knowledge sharing in mommy groups in that sense. With clothes at all I think" - Interview Sara*

In Denmark, there is long tradition of the mother groups. The mothers are placed in to the groups by the midwife. They are assigned into the groups based on where they live and when they gave birth. Hence it can be concluded that the groups are heterogeneous (Cova and Cova, 2002), since the connection between the members are based only on their entrance into motherhood.



Moreover, in the beginning of motherhood, the mothers meet once or twice a week to talk about their experiences and problems they might face (Melish, 2015). Some also gather in cafés, hang out in the swimming baths or go to the church for baby singing activities (Interview Ida).

In the mother groups, the mothers are engaging in knowledge sharing and as a consequence they influence each other's opinions and beliefs. Nevertheless, the women still have their own preferences and interests in certain contexts. In the following example it can be seen how the mothers influence each other's way of thinking:

*I have this group of mothers, where we meet. From the beginning we talked a lot about how important it is that the home doesn't need to be all clean for us [as a response to the perfect mother]. And you don't have to like dress up or anything like that. We just need to be very chilled about everything, and that suits me very well." - Interview Ida.*

According to the mother's experience there is a general desire in society to be perfect, however, by sharing the same *perspective* and *belief* with the mother group about "*being chilled mother*", there is an evidence in transfer of the meaning about not to be stressed and pressured. This can also be seen as a sign of a *thought community* (Zerubavel, 1997), since the mothers agree to share a similar way of thinking. As a consequence, the mothers become part of the social environment (Zerubavel, 1997).

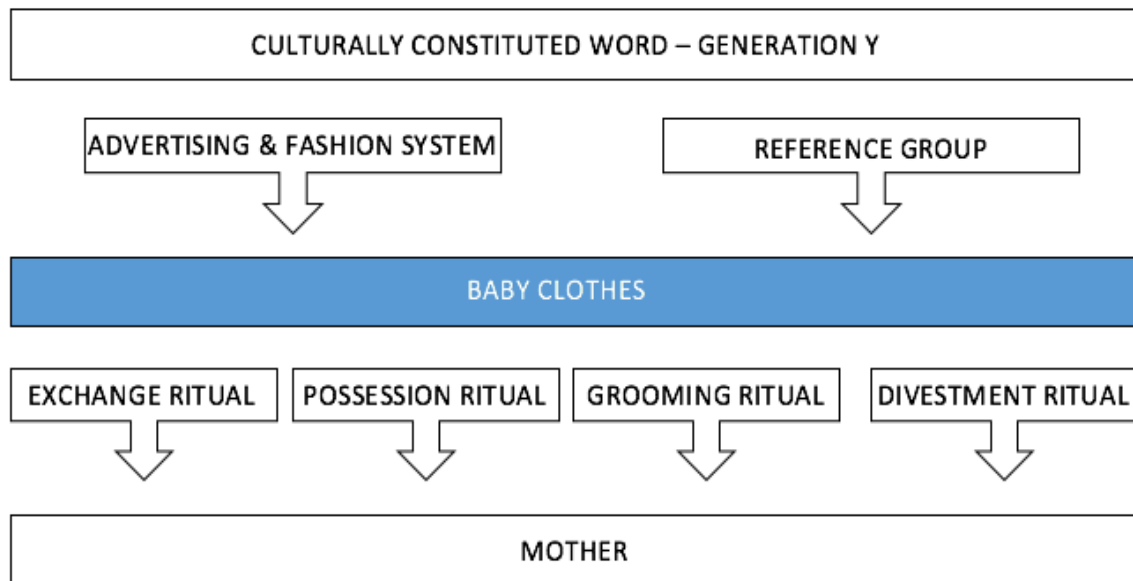
In the research it was found that chemicals are one of the main topics when the mothers discuss baby clothes in the mother groups (Interview Benedikte, Sara, Ida). This can be seen as an example of the meaning transfer from the culture, where the being environmental friendly and socially responsible are considered important values for the Generation Y. Based on this, it is demonstrated how the mother group serve as an instrument for meaning transfer.

In summary the family, friends and mother groups have been identified as a reference groups, since they are influencing the mothers within their thinking. Since the mothers belong to more than one reference group, they belong to different thought communities. The cultural and symbolic values are transferred through the reference groups to the goods.

### **4.3. SUB-CONCLUSION**

In this chapter the instruments of cultural meaning transfer from the cultural constituted world to the baby clothes have been analysed. The instruments have been identified as Advertising, Fashion System and Reference Groups. Nowadays, the Advertising and the Fashion system have been merged together through the use of the social media in the society. Here, the meanings and values have been transferred by the opinion leader. Within the Reference Groups the meaning and value from the culture have been transferred, mainly by the family, close friends and other mothers within the mother group. Additionally, it was found that the mothers belong to different thought communities, which is important to know since the thought communities affect how the mothers think.

## 5. BABY CLOTHES CARRY CULTURAL AND SYMBOLIC MEANINGS



In this chapter it will be analysed how the baby clothes represent and carry cultural and symbolic meanings identified in the cultural constituted world. As it has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, the meanings have moved through the different instruments such as advertisement, fashion system and reference group in to the goods. The identified values mentioned previously are in this chapter going to be examined in connection with the baby clothes.

Additionally, in the second part of the chapter the purchasing preference have been illustrated since today the society is marked as a consumption society and people buy things for their meanings and not only for the utilitarian purposes (etc. Levy 1959; Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000; Solomon et al., 2014) and where is convenient for them. Moreover, the deeper meaning of the product may help to stand out from other similar goods (Solomon et al., 2014, p.55).

The structure of this chapter is the following:

**Baby Clothes Carry Cultural and Symbolic Meaning**

- Organic Baby Clothes
- Gender Stereotypes in the Baby Clothes
- Financial Responsibility and Egalitarian Thinking

**Purchasing Behaviour of the Mothers**

- Social Media
- Physical Shops
- E-shops
- Combination of E-shops and Physical Shops
- Branded vs Non-Branded
- Shared and Rented Clothing

## **5.1. ORGANIC BABY CLOTHES**

In the findings, it was identified that there are different cultural and symbolic meanings, which have been transferred to the goods. Firstly, in the primary research it was found that most of the mothers are determinedly looking to purchase organic baby clothes for their child. This is because they are concerned about the social responsibility and the health issues connecting with the material used in baby clothes. For the majority of the mothers the most important attributes concerning the baby clothing, was that it was organic and with less chemicals. For the mothers the organic clothes equal less chemicals.

One of the mothers has a particular view to this topic. She categorically seeks after organic baby clothes and she refuses to dress her child in clothing “full of chemicals”:

*“I look a lot after the organic stuff without chemicals, that have a very high priority... very high priority, I wouldn’t like to dress her in clothes that was full of chemicals.” – Interview Kristine.*

Some goods are marked with the eco-labels, which are signalling that the clothes are organic, hereby offering the mothers transparency in regards to their consumption. It is therefore a benefit to the majority of the mothers, although it is not seen as a requirement by everyone. One of the most important attributes for them is the amount, or rather not amount, of the chemicals in the clothing, in order to protect their babies against the side-effects they associate with the chemicals. This is supported by following statement:

*“Also before when they [the babies] are from zero to one they are very absorbing much more. It is very important that you care about what kind of fabric you put on to your baby and I always wash the new clothes before she [the daughter] is wearing it. It is very important to me.” - Interview Judith.*

It can here be seen how the cultural value of being socially responsible by not using chemicals and the symbolic value of ‘being a mother who care about the health and well-being of her child’, is transferred to the clothes.

## **5.2. GENDER STEREOTYPES IN THE BABY CLOTHES**

Additionally, the other traced cultural meaning within the baby clothes, has been identified as gender stereotypes. In general, the selection of baby clothes offered in the shops in Copenhagen, are representing the feminine and masculine values identified within the culture (Interview Julie, Benedikte, Isabella). For example, the feminine values can be seen in the clothes by the colour pink, patterns with hearts and dresses; or the masculine values with the clothes in the colour blue, polo shirts or prints with cars etc. Through the colours and the design, the product of the baby clothes hereby comes to represent the gender stereotypes of clothing within the culture.

Within the research, most of the interviewed mothers have preferred gender specific goods, in order to express to others the gender of their child (e.g. Interview Kristine, Cathrine, Judith, Michelle, Ida, Sara, Josefine). In this case the cultural meaning has been transferred to the baby clothes, since the mothers want to express the gender stereotypes to the society through the clothing. Thus, these baby clothes represent the mothers ‘who like the traditional colour spectrum as are pink and blue, in regard of expressing the cultural meanings of femininity or masculinity of the child’.

On the other hand, some of the mothers wish to dress their children in more gender neutral colours in order not to express the gender of the baby and therefore not labelling the sex of the child. However, according to the interviews (Benedikte, Julie) it has been found that the selection of baby clothes in other colours than pink and blue is smaller:

*“Pink is nice, but there are a lot of other pretty colours; orange, green, yellow and blue. And I don’t think that girls need to wear pink...But the selection is very much like that. It is either blue or pink, right? It is very divided.” - Interview Julie*

In this example, the mother feels forced to dress her daughter only in certain colours, since she does not have options to dress her child in different ways. In this particular case the mother seeks to go against the culture of dressing the child in gender specific colours, but the supply does not meet her demand. Therefore, according to her, she does not have the option to dress her child according to her taste. Additionally, it can be said that the cultural value of “unisex”, is to some extent not transferred to the baby clothes.

In this way it can be said that the cultural meanings of femininity or masculinity are transferred to the baby clothes, however the cultural value of dressing and raising the children more gender neutral, has not been transferred to the supply of the clothes.

### 5.3. FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND EGALITARIAN THINKING

Another traced cultural and symbolic meaning has been found regarding financial responsibility of Generation Y and regarding the *Jante Law*.

As mentioned in the *Culture Chapter*, the Generation Y is financially responsible and purchases with consideration. This is seen, when the Millennials mothers reflect about the cost-benefit in regards to the quality of the products versus the price (Interview Cathrine, Ida, Sara, Isabella, Julie, Josefine). There are several factors, which they take into the consideration when purchasing baby clothes, e.g. the household income and the rapid speed in which the child is growing. Therefore, these factors represent a ‘mother who is financial aware and think about considering the quality of the baby clothes with the price vs quality’.

In the research it was found that there exists a general tendency of opposition towards purchasing high-end brands for the babies, due to the fact the interviewed women think that the high-end clothing is “*too expensive*” and “*show off*”.

This dislike can be seen as a result of the *social mindscape* (Zerubavel, 1997), which are the thoughts that shared in common within the general culture, surrounding the interviewed mothers, namely that high-end products for children expresses a superficial mother (Interview Kristine) who wishes to “show off”.

[talking about Ralph Lauren shirts] “*I think it is bit show off. (laughing) I do not like the brand [...]* It is this type the polo shirt. This kind of business dude who is not that much business dude but he wants to be [...] I do not think my child should wear Ralph Lauren shirt at the age of one [...] I do

*not like to be associate with the kind of value [which Ralph Lauren represents] I think it is bit snobbish. You know just... I actually think if you want to put your child in something very expensive or high quality branded clothes I think it is much more stylish if you cannot see the brand [...] My parents bought a very nice vest in Hawaii and it has this very small Calvin Klein logo. That is ok. It is very small. I do not think it is show off. [...] I just think it is odd that the children are wearing these show off brands – Interview Josefine.*

This quote illustrates how the mother associate large visible brands with “show off” and “snobbism”. This represent a mother who takes a stand against buying a high-end baby clothing and also symbolising a mother who does not want to be associated with the showing off.

In another example the high-end clothes are seen as representing superficial behaviour:

*“I would never give it [high-end brands] to my child. It is because I think it is ugly and then because of the price (laughing). It is insane, I can imagine. These brands, I think...I don’t know. And also because I imagine that the ones using Louis Vuitton or these expensive brands, they have...I don’t know. But I don’t use it myself. [...] I think they [mothers who are dressing the babies in high-end labels] are a bit superficial, because you are giving them a label and a piece of clothes. It doesn’t really say anything about how they are as human beings [...] But I think it becomes superficial, because why is it important that they should wear a piece of clothes that cost 800 DKK instead of 200 DKK, or...Well... As long as she [her daughter] is comfortable and warm and not get cold. And then I also think something more practical”. - Interview Julie*

This view supports the above-mentioned opinion towards high-end baby clothes and contributes to it by suggesting that high-end logos carry the symbolic meaning of a superficial mother. According to the mother the high end-brands thus come to label the child and other people will therefore “see the brand” rather than the personality of the child.

The findings from the research provide an evidence of cultural meaning transfer, since the design and brand choice of the baby clothes, according to the interviewed mothers, should not show that one is better than the other. Hence, it can be seen how the egalitarian thinking and impact of the *Jante Law* is transferred to the baby clothes. This has also impacted the symbols attached with the baby clothes, since it is found that high-end clothes carry the symbolic meaning of being a superficial mother, who likes to brag and is being financial thoughtless by spending too much money on the clothes (Interview Kristine, Michelle, Julie, Josefine).

This perspective on baby clothes can, however, be seen as a contrast to the perception of a “good parent” provided by Uth Thomsen and Sørensen (2006). The reason for this is that they suggest that there exists a pressure of consumer culture, in which “*extensive or high-end consumption makes the better parent*” (Uth Thomsen and Sørensen, 2006, p. 919). This change of symbolic meaning could be based on: the development there has been in society since 2006; the events of the financial crisis, which has occurred meanwhile; and or that the demographic segments of the focal mothers have been different. This is could be subject for further research.

#### **5.4. SUB-CONCLUSION**

In this chapter it has been analysed how the baby clothes carry cultural and symbolic meanings. The values transferred from the culture throughout the instruments to the baby clothes have been identified as:

- 1) *Social responsibility*, which reflects the interest in purchasing the organic baby clothing and clothing with less chemicals. This represents a ‘mother who cares about the well-being of the child as she protects the child against chemicals’ and a ‘mother who is concerned about the future world in which the child will live in’.
- 2) *Gender stereotypes*, which are seen in the choice of the colours and design of baby clothing. This represents the mother who ‘is either in favour of the traditional colour spectrum (pink and blue) in regard of expressing the gender of the child’ or ‘who is in favour of unisex clothing in regards of not labelling the child’.
- 3) *Financial responsibility*, which reflects in the focal mothers’ assessment of the quality and the price of the baby clothing. This represents a ‘mother who is financial aware and thinks about assessing the quality of the baby clothes with the price vs. quality and not purchasing expensive clothes’.
- 4) *Egalitarian thinking*, which reflects in the dislike of the high-end clothing brands and logos. This represents a ‘mother who takes a stand against buying a high-end baby clothing’ and hereby symbolising a ‘mother who is not “snobbish”’.



In order to provide a deeper analysis of the consumer research of the first time mothers in Generation Y, it was decided to include a brief analysis regarding the mothers' purchasing habits for baby clothing. This provides a more comprehensible picture of the mothers' usage of baby clothes, which can be in use for the businesses.

The reason for including this part is furthermore that the mothers need to purchase the baby clothes (if not considered inherited baby clothes or presents) before they can be considered as part of their extended self (chapter 7).

## **5.5. PURCHASING BEHAVIOUR OF THE MOTHERS**

This part touches upon the topic of purchasing by the Generation Y, their preferences and habits. Since there is connection between the purchasing and the baby clothes it is analysed in the same chapter.

### **5.5.1. SOCIAL MEDIA**

The Generation Y appreciates social media and spends their time there (RIS, 2013), thus it is safe to say that they always have "life" in the pocket by always carrying their smartphone around (RIS, 2013, p.5). Hence, the Millennials are also characterised as the Facebook generation and they lean toward the new technological possibilities (ibid).

The active presence on Facebook is crucial for businesses, due to the fact that 96% of Millennials have a Facebook profile (RIS, 2013, p.23) and 62% use it more than once a day (ibid) and therefore are considered as active users.

The interviewed mothers use social media, in regard to the purchasing of baby clothing, however, this is mainly used for inspiration and some of the mothers follow certain baby clothes brands or bloggers on different social media (Interview Sara, Ida, Julie, Josefine). In connection with the findings in the RIS report (2013) 60% of the respondents follow their preferred brands on Facebook in order to get updates and news from the brand (RIS, 2013, pp. 23-26).

It can therefore be concluded that social media is a popular *touch point* between businesses and Millennials. However, the businesses are urged to have dialog with the Millennials on the social media, because the conversation signals active presence. The active online presence of the companies demonstrates that they care about their customers by answering complaints and giving feedback on questions and commentaries. Hereby the social media enhance the customer experience and service.

### 5.5.2. PHYSICAL SHOPS

Although the interviewed mothers as well the other Millennials are known as the *technological generation* and have high usage of technology, it is interesting to note that when it comes to shopping, the majority of the mothers prefer shop the traditional way. This could, however, seem contradicting to the fact that most of the mothers explained that they had limited time available (especially for the ones who are no longer on maternity leave). Nevertheless, this could be due to the fact that they value higher the benefits of purchasing in physical shops.

The benefits for purchasing in physical shops can be found in the following (RIS, 2013, 32):

*"I would like to try the item before I buy it"*

*"Because I can see and feel the item and talk with the personnel"*

*"Because it is more "hyggeligt"<sup>3</sup>"*

By purchasing the baby clothes in the physical shops the mothers can get assistance from the personnel and get guidance in the complex market of baby clothes, which they can otherwise find confusing (VOICE Group, 2010). Buying the baby clothes in physical shops furthermore allow the mothers to touch and feel the products and this could also be one of the reasons for the mothers to purchase the clothes in physical shops. This is especially relevant, since the "softness" of the material is an important attribute for the mothers when choosing the product (e.g. interview Josefine, Benedikte, Kristine, Sara, Isabella):

*"I think a lot about if it is soft, I think it is very important that it is easy for him to wear them [pants] when he is running and crawling and then it should not be tight, no button, it is impossible to tight it with buttons." - Interview Josefine.*

The fact that most of the interviewed mothers purchase the baby clothes in physical shops can be seen as a general tendency of the Millennials. According to results from RIS (2013), the Millennials still prefer to shop in physical shops 37% and nearly 50% likes to combine shopping in physical shops with online shopping (RIS, 2013, p. 31).

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<sup>3</sup> In translation - cosy

### 5.5.3. E-SHOPS

Even though more mothers prefer shopping baby clothes in the physical shops, there is still evidence that online shopping provides some benefits for the mothers, for example:

- 1) That it is easy
- 2) More convenient
- 3) Comparison of prices
- 4) The selection is bigger
- 5) It is delivered to the door
- 6) It is more flexible

(RIS, 2013, p.32).

By providing the service of purchasing the products online, the brands provide an alternative for the mothers and it allows them to use their time more efficiently (Interview Sara, Isabella, Judith) and chose from bigger selection (Cathrine). This is vital, since time is an important factor for mothers with babies. The amount of time when they can do shopping is limited and they do not have option to spend a lot of time in stores. Therefore, they enjoy the convenience of the e-shop service.

*“Actually I don’t have time go out and look for clothes, and I don’t enjoy it.... It’s just easier to just buy it online and then just get it.” - Interview Sara.*

This quote supports the benefits mention above, since the mother confirms that it is easier and more suitable for her to shop online.

In summary some of the interviewed mothers prefer to shop only in e-shops (Interview Sara, Judith) due to the fact it is more convenient for them and they prefer to spend their time to be more efficiently with their family. In addition, they enjoy the service e.g. that the goods are delivered to their door, comparable prices and or that the selection is larger. As it was mention in previous part, some of mothers like to combine both online shopping and going to the physical shops.

### 5.5.4. COMBINATION ON THE PHYSICAL SHOPS AND THE E-SHOPS

In the primary research there were found evidence that some mothers prefer the combination of the physical shops and e-shops. Some mothers find inspiration for what to purchase when window shopping (Interview Cathrine, Judith), while others like to browse at online sites (Interview Cathrine,

Ida). Additionally, as mentioned previously some mothers prefer to use the fashion system, such as bloggers or magazines for inspiration.

One of the mothers describes her shopping behaviour in which she combines physical shops and e-shops:

*“And then I also sometimes do it [buy baby clothes in online shops] ... if I for instance find a sweater that I really like in a shop and I can just feel that the quality is also really nice, but then I think it is too expensive or if they don't have it in his [the son's] size...so then I sometimes go home online to see if I can find it cheaper or if I can find the clothes in the size he needs.”*

– Interview Isabella.

In this quote it can be seen how the mother visit the physical shops in order to find the products that she likes and then go online to browse if she can purchase it cheaper online or find the right size clothes. In this way she combines the benefits associated with the physical stores, such as being able to touch the product with the benefits of the e-shops; finding the product cheaper and the right size.

The combination of physical shops with the e-shops does, however, also goes the other way around:

*“I go to the store. When I go online I never buy anything online. I do it for inspiration. I actually spend a lot of time going to all these websites.”* - Interview Ida.

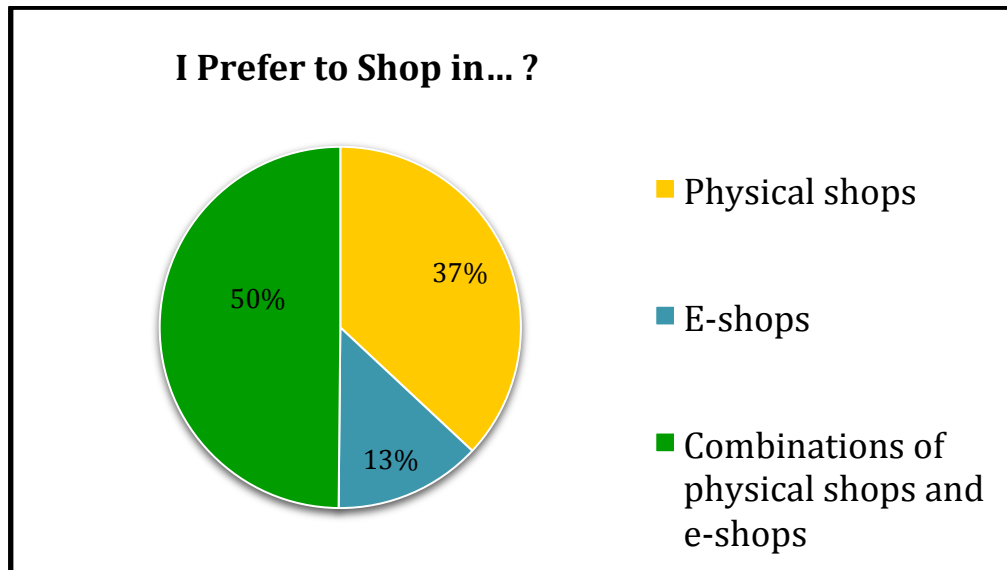
By using the online shops in order to find inspiration, the mother is able to browse for a wide variety of baby clothes, which she could not do in a physical shop. However, when going to the physical shop, she is able to see the products in real life and assess the quality of it. Thus she is combining the online and offline benefits.

This goes in line with RIS' (2013, p.32) findings regarding the combination of online and offline shopping habits amongst Generation Y:

*“Prices online, observation in shops”*

*“Because it is something about go in and touch and try and see the products “live”,  
but about at the same time it is easier and faster to buy it online”*

The interviews together with the results from the RIS (2013), presented in Graph 3, support the idea that all businesses should be present online and offline in order for the customer to be able to choose what they prefer.



**Graph 3: Preferred shopping channels** Source: Retail Institute Scandinavia, 2013,

In conclusion the majority of Millennials like to combine shopping in both physical shops and e-shops for different reasons as well as they enjoy using technology and social media.

#### **5.5.5. BRANDED VS NON BRANDED CLOTHING**

Within the analysis the majority of the interviewed mothers have claimed that they do not have specific preferences between low-end branded clothing (e.g. H&M) and non-branded clothing from the supermarkets. According to them, this is due to the fact that the supermarkets brands also offer organic clothing lines as well as woollen clothes (e.g. Interview Sara, Judith, Cathrine, Josefine). The mothers hold positive perception towards the non-branded clothing and they have had good experience with them. The mothers agree that the quality after several washings is not perfect (e.g. Interview Cathrine, Ida, Isabella), but since the baby can only wear the clothing for a short period of time it is satisfying for the price they purchased it for. Thus the cost and benefit equalises. Only one of the interviewed mothers strictly stated that she would never buy clothing from supermarket, since it is not anything she would buy for herself (Interview Michelle).

On the other hand, even though the mothers hold positive feelings towards the non-branded clothing, they do not feel any attachments with them. The reason for this could be that the mothers mainly purchase the supermarket clothes due to the lower price.

This implies that the mothers feel more emotionally, attached to the branded clothing. The reason for this is that the brand-meanings and values are more prevalent in the branded clothes and furthermore the mothers perceive the clothes as better quality (Interview Judith, Josefine, Cathrine, Kristine, Sara).

Another way of seeing that the values of being financial and socially responsible can be seen in the trend of the service of shared clothing.

#### **5.5.6. SHARED AND RENTED CLOTHING**

In the research there was found evidence that there is an interest in sharing and renting products. This can be seen as the mothers are affected by: the cultural trend of *Age of Access* (Rifkin, 2001), in which consumers buy access to products instead of them; as well as the awareness of being financially and socially responsible.

The service of the renting clothes has entered the market (e.g. company Vigga) and the mothers have the option of renting the clothing for monthly fee and deliver it back when the products have fulfilled the purpose (Interview Isabella).

By this option the mothers have a possibility to overcome the problem of purchasing new clothing frequently and they also have an easy access to the clothing they need for the baby. However, the main company in the primary research (Vigga) does only offer pre-defined packages; therefore, the mothers cannot choose their style for their baby, which they found as a disadvantage and a reason for why not to use the service offering (e.g. Interview Ida, Isabella, Benedikte).

Another service that allows access to baby clothes is the rotation groups, which can be found through Facebook (Interview Julie). This rotation is based as volunteer service in Copenhagen. This service of shared clothing is another example of cultural meaning transfer. Thus, it is shown that the cultural meanings of being financially and socially responsible and of “not being troubled with ownership” have been transferred towards the service of renting baby clothes.

#### **5.6. SUB-CONCLUSION**

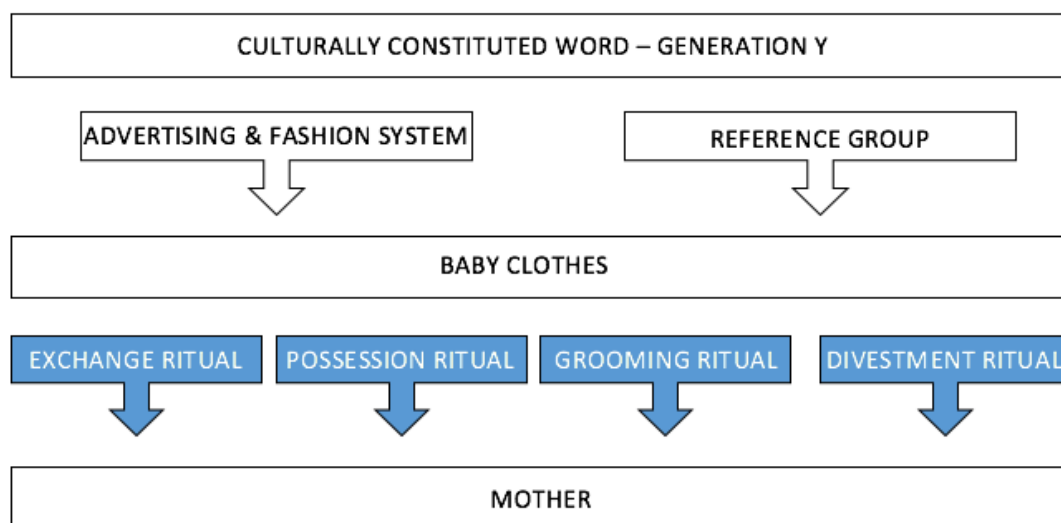
In summary, the majority of the Millennials mothers prefer to combine the online and offline channels for shopping. They are confident on using social media and other online tools and are using them mainly for inspiration for the purchases of the baby clothing.

Furthermore, the specific cultural meaning of being organic and financially and socially responsible can be seen in the purchasing habits and offerings of shared and rented baby clothes.

## 6. RITUALS AS PART OF THE MEANING TRANSFER

Until now it has been analysed how the movement of cultural and symbolic meaning has transferred from the cultural constituted world, namely the world of the first time mothers from Generation Y, to reside in the baby clothes through the three instruments of meaning transfer; 1) *Advertisement*, 2) *Fashion System* and 3) *Reference groups*. However, in order to understand the further process of how the meanings are being transferred from the baby clothes and into the life of the mothers, the following four rituals will be presented;

1) *Exchange Ritual*, 2) *Grooming Rituals*, 3) *Possession rituals* and 4) *Divestment Rituals*. According to McCracken these rituals function as another set of instruments of meaning transfer (McCracken, 1986, p. 78) in order “to complete the second stage of the trajectory of movement” (McCracken, 1986, p. 79) of the cultural and symbolic meanings. Through the research it was nevertheless found that some of these rituals are more prevalent for the mothers than others.



The structure of this chapter is the following:

**Rituals as Part of the Meaning Transfer:**

- Exchange Ritual
  - Baby Clothes as a Present
- Grooming Ritual
- Possession Ritual
- Divestment Ritual

## **6.1. EXCHANGE RITUALS**

In the following it will be analysed how exchange rituals in this case serve as instrument of meaning transfer and how they allow the meanings to move from the baby clothes and into the mother's life. Through the research it was found that this ritual is one of the most prevailing in the case of baby clothes.

An exchange ritual can be described as "*when one party chooses, purchases and presents consumer goods to another*" (Caplow 1982, cited in McCracken, 1986, p. 78). This is not only a movement of goods but also a potential movement of meaningful properties. This is due the fact that the gift-giver often chooses the present because it possesses the meaningful properties he/she wishes to see transferred to the gift-receiver (McCracken, 1986, p. 78). Thus this gift exchange allows "*individuals to insinuate certain symbolic properties into the lives of a gift recipient and to initiate possible meaning transfer*" (ibid). Therefore, it can be said that the gift-givers functions as agents of meaning transfer (ibid).

In this research there were found several examples of exchange rituals, since all mothers at some point had received baby clothes as presents either from family, friends or colleagues.

During the research it was, however, found that the process of meaning transfer works slightly different in the case of giving baby clothes as a present, since the gift-receiver (mother) and gift-user (baby) is not the same person, therefore the mother function as middleman, as she can decide how to dress the child.



### 6.1.1. BABY CLOTHES AS A PRESENT

When the mother receives baby clothes as a present on behalf of her baby, the meaningful properties which the gift-giver wishes to see transferred is consequently not intended at the mother but for the baby, for instance; that the baby will be perceived as being a cute little princess when receiving a pink dress. Nevertheless, the baby can be seen as the mother's possession and thus also part of her extended self (Belk, 1988). Therefore, the meaning will indirectly be transferred back to the mother, because the way she dresses her child represents her as a mother to the surrounding world (Uth Thomsen and Sørensen, 2006; Andersen et al., 2008). This will however be analysed in *chapter 7*.

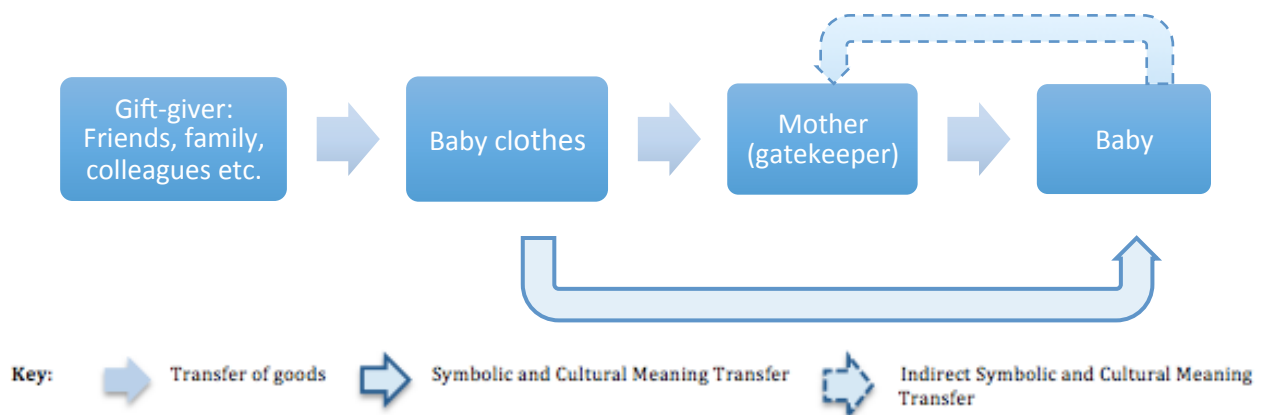


Figure 6: Exchange transfer of baby clothes and its symbolic and cultural meaning transfer, Own Creation, 2016

#### 6.1.1.1. REJECTING THE TRANSFER OF MEANING

Since the baby clothes indirectly represent the meanings and values of the mother, this also influence on the fact that the she can choose to reject the intended meaning transfer by not dressing the baby in the baby clothes given as a present. For example, this could be if the mother does not like the product both in regard to what it stands for (e.g. having big logo on, coming from the supermarket or not being organic) or the style of the design. Therefore, she cannot identify with this meaning transfer that dressing the child in this clothes would imply.

*"I think that if I'd put her [daughter] in it [talking about a pink sweater with a big bee in Burberry pattern, she received], people would think: "Oh my God, there goes one of the mums and it's so important for her to show that she's bought an expensive blouse for her kid". So, actually, it's, I mean, it's a nice pink sweater but I guess it's because... you know, what it would say about me or what I would think about someone who did that" - Interview Cathrine.*

In this example it can be seen that the mother does not want to dress her daughter in the pink Burberry sweater. She acknowledges that it looks nice, but the fact that it has a big Burberry bee on the stomach prevents her from dressing her child in it, since for her it symbolises a mother that likes to show off. Therefore, she does not want to be associated this type of mother, since she cannot identify with the meanings attached with the sweater.

This also implies that the meaning transfer in the exchange rituals will not occur, unless the mother agrees with it. Therefore, it can be said that she functions as a “*gatekeeper*” in this process of meaning transfer, since she can chose to either accept or reject it and the meaning transfer is thus negotiated.

Nevertheless, sometimes the mothers feel obliged to use the clothes they got as a present, even though they do not like it, since they want to be polite and show gratitude to the gift-givers. As in the case of the following example:

*“Like a week ago my mom bought some pants for him [son], and I didn’t thought they were that nice. And then I was going visiting her (laughing) and I know that she would love for him to have them on, so I put them on, and she was really happy (laughing), and then when we got home, I took them of (laughing). So yeah” – Interview Ida.*

#### **6.1.1.2. BABY SHOWER – RITE DE PASSAGE**

Another exchange ritual that has become increasingly popular in Copenhagen is the baby-shower (Buch Hoyer, 2015), where the family and friends organise a party for the expectant mothers. This ritual, where amongst other things baby clothes are being exchanged as presents, also symbolise a *rite of passage* (Rook, 1985 cited in Davies et al., 2006, p. 3) into motherhood, and thus symbolises the transition from women to being a mother.

In summary it can be said that the exchange ritual is significant in the transfer of meaning from the baby clothes and into the mothers’ lives. The reason is that the meaning not only is transferred to the baby, wearing the given clothes, but also reflects back on the mother and represent how she is as a mother. Thus, the meanings must be negotiated and either accepted or rejected by the mother, if she cannot identify herself with the values attached to the baby clothes. The ritual of baby-shower furthermore serves as a rite of passage into motherhood.

Another instrument, which transfer the meanings resided in the baby clothes into the lives of the mothers is the Grooming Ritual.

## 6.2. GROOMING RITUAL

The grooming ritual functions as another instrument of meaning transfer, since the cultural and symbolic meanings are taken out of the goods and are invested into the consumer (McCracken, 1986, p. 80). The reason for this is that the baby clothing itself does not contain the meanings without being used by the consumer, and as a result the consumer must draw the meanings out of the possession on a repeated basis (McCracken, 1986, p. 79).

However, the important thing to notice is, that the grooming ritual does not occur until the mothers consciously think about the meanings associated with the baby clothing, and dress their child in order to signal these meanings (ibid).

In this case this implies that the cultural and symbolic meanings, which reside in the baby clothes, will be transferred to the baby when he/she is wearing them and the meanings will indirectly be transferred to the mother. Therefore, when the child is wearing the baby clothes the meanings attached to her as a mother are also being represented, e.g. lifestyle or social status. Nevertheless, this will be investigated and explained deeper in *Chapter 7*.

An illustration of the grooming rituals that allow the meanings from the baby clothes to be transferred can be seen in the following example:

*"I mean, first, when they're little, there's the issue of kind of wanting people to recognise that it's a girl...because you...you often can't tell the first moment because it's just a soft face... [Interviewer: So do you think that it should be like girl's colours?] Yeah, at least something to represent the gender"* - Interview Cathrine.

In this example the mother dresses her daughter in specific clothes that represent the gender, when they are going outside the home. The reason for this, she explains is that it allows people to recognise that the baby is a girl. By wearing the gender specific baby clothes, the feminine meaning resided in baby clothes is consequently transferred to the baby.

In summary, in the grooming ritual, the mothers consciously seek to take the meanings out of the baby clothes and invest them into the baby, by dressing him/her in specific clothes on a repeated basis.

Another way, in which the cultural and symbolic meanings of the baby clothes are transferred into the mothers' lives, is through the possession ritual.

### 6.3. POSSESSION RITUAL

In the finding there is certain evidence that the mothers are taking possession over some of the baby clothes. Thus, some of the mothers have made the claim about the baby clothes. This is also what McCracken (1986) refers to as *Possession Rituals*.

The most prevailing evidence found in regard to the mothers taking possession over the baby clothes, was that mothers shared photos of their children, when they were wearing newly purchased baby clothing (e.g. Interview Ida, Judith). This is an action of the possessing ritual, since it can be seen as an attempt to draw the cultural qualities from the object (McCracken, 1986, p. 79). The possession rituals marks that the baby clothes are no longer just any mass-produced baby clothes, but it becomes the mother's baby clothes, *"It is hers and she owns it"* (Solomon et al., 2014, p. 542).

The act of sharing the photos also represents the personalisation by which the mother transfers the meaning from her own world to the baby clothes:

*"When I'm taking pictures, I do actually think a lot of what he is wearing. I could maybe if he looks really cute in something, and I know I want take a picture of him, then I 'm gonna put it on him (laughing). And then he maybe didn't wear it like two hours ago. So I just put up [on Facebook and Instagram] this blue outfit. And I just wanted to try this hat on him, so I was like "it looks really cute, it will look cute with the blue" and then I put it on and took a picture of it. So I do yeah... dress him (laughing)"* - Interview Ida.

The mother realises that she dresses her son just in order to take the picture. This behaviour can be also classified as showing-off in positive meaning, as she is a proud mother and want to show the result of the "personalisation" of her son and in his new clothing.

In summary, by taking possession over the baby clothes such as when the mothers shares photo of the children in specific clothes, it acts as bringing the meanings of the product into the mothers' lives.

The last ritual, which work as an instrument of meaning transfer from the product and into the life of the mothers is the Divestment Ritual.

### 6.4. DIVESTMENT RITUAL

As mentioned previously in the *Theory Review Chapter* within the divestment ritual, the mothers are removing the meanings associated with the previous owner from the goods as well as eliminating the meaning when they themselves sell a product (McCracken, 1986, p. 80). In order to remove

the elements of the identity of previous owner and or user, the mothers are cleaning and washing the baby clothes before they put it on their children. All of the mothers have agreed that they wash the clothing before they dress the child in these clothes. By washing the clothing the mothers are subconsciously removing the meaning from the previous baby.

At first glance, washing the used baby clothing can be seen as a “cleaning process” rather than removing the meanings attached with the previous wearer. However, it is reasonable to assume that the seller wash the clothing before he/she sells it. Therefore, when the mothers wash the clothes for the second time, they are actually washing already clean clothes and they therefore perform the *Divestment Ritual* (Solomon et al., 2014, p. 543). In conclusion this is important point since this process is no longer the process of washing of the dirt rather than erasing the meaning associated with a previous owner.

*“So there are some pants that I just put on him yesterday. I just put down a bag that I forgot that I had, because I had so much. And I was like “Oh there are these pants. Oh they are his size right now”. And I thought that they looked so nice, but I could smell my cousin’s smell and it reminded me so much of her, so it actually felt like that I put her son’s pants on my son.” - Interview Ida.*

The mother described that she could smell her relative from the baby clothes. She did not want her son to wear something that reminded her of her cousin and therefore she wanted to remove the smell, which was associated with someone else.

By engaging in a divestment ritual and thus cleaning the used baby clothes from the meaningful properties of the previous owner, consequently makes the mother be able to claim the clothes for herself and thus to consider them as part of her extended self.

## **6.5. SUB-CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, in this chapter it was analysed how the meanings from the baby clothing are being transferred to the mothers’ lives through the four rituals, that serve as instruments of meaning transfer.

In the *The Exchange Ritual* it was analysed how the baby clothes as presents have the ability to transfer the meaning, which the gift-givers wish to be transferred to the baby. In this ritual the mothers function as “gatekeepers”, since they have the possibility to either reject or accept

the meaning transfer. The rejection happens when the mothers did not identify themselves with the meanings attached with the baby clothes, and therefore they did not want to be associated with these symbolical properties. Consequently, this implies that the symbolical meanings resided in the baby clothes need to be negotiated with the mothers before a meaning transfer into their lives can occur.

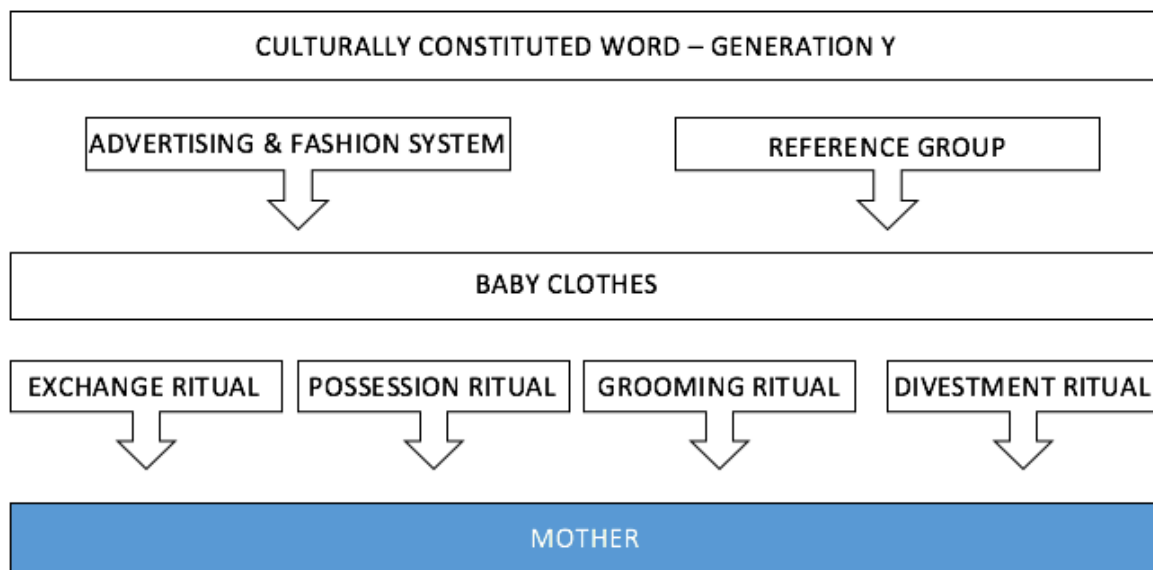
In the *Grooming Ritual* it was analysed how the mothers consciously seek to take the meanings out of the baby clothes in order to invest them into the baby. This is done by dressing the child in specific clothes on a repeated basis. In this way the mothers are not only taking the meaning out of the clothes and transfer it to the child, but can also indirectly transfer it into their lives. The baby clothes are hereby representing how they wish to be perceived as a mother.

The mothers use the *Possession Ritual* when they want to show possession over the baby clothes. In the time of social media, this was mostly performed when the mothers were sharing pictures of the babies with specific outfit on. In this way the meaning of the clothes is transferred into the mothers' lives.

In the last ritual, the Divestment Rituals, the mothers cleaned and washed the baby clothes in order to empty the clothes from meaning of previous owners. In this way the mothers are able to claim the clothes for themselves and thus to consider them as part of their extended self.

## 7. BABY CLOTHES AS PART OF THE IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION INTO MOTHERHOOD

Until now in the analysis it has been demonstrated and analysed how baby clothes carry cultural and symbolic meanings and how these meanings have been transferred from the culturally constituted world into the baby clothes and into the mothers' lives through various meaning transfer instruments. In this chapter, it is subsequently be analysed how the baby clothes assist the first time mothers in their identity construction into the motherhood.



The structure of this chapter will be the following:

### **Baby Clothes as Part of the Identity Construction into Motherhood**

- Baby Clothes as Representation of the Mothers
- Baby Clothes Constructing the Mothers' Self-Identity
  - "Not Me" - Baby Clothes
  - Baby Clothes Central to the Self
  - Superstition
- Baby Clothes Constructing the Mothers' Social Self
  - Seeking Confirmation from Others Through the Baby Clothes
  - Fear of Being Perceived as a "Bad" Mother
  - Constructing the Ideal-Self as a Mother: Different Clothes in Public and Private
  - Baby Clothes as a Way to Fit in to the Tribes of Mothers

When the first time mothers take the baby clothes into their lives and have negotiated and accepted the meanings attached to it through the four rituals, the baby clothes become part of the mothers' extended self (Belk, 1988), since it will help representing their new identity and role as a mother (Andersen et al., 2008; Uth Thomsen and Sørensen, 2006; Solomon, 1983; Elliott and Wattanasuwan, 1988). This implies that the baby clothes do not only carry cultural meanings but also hold symbolic meanings, since it helps the her represent, who she is as a mother - both to herself as part of her *self-identity* but also to others as part of her *social-identity*. The consumption of baby clothes is thus consumed both for the private meaning and for the social meaning (Elliott and Wattanasuwan, 1998, p. 324). Hence, it can be derived that the baby clothes can be utilised as a resource for creating and maintaining new identities and positions (Andersen et al., 2008, p. 94).

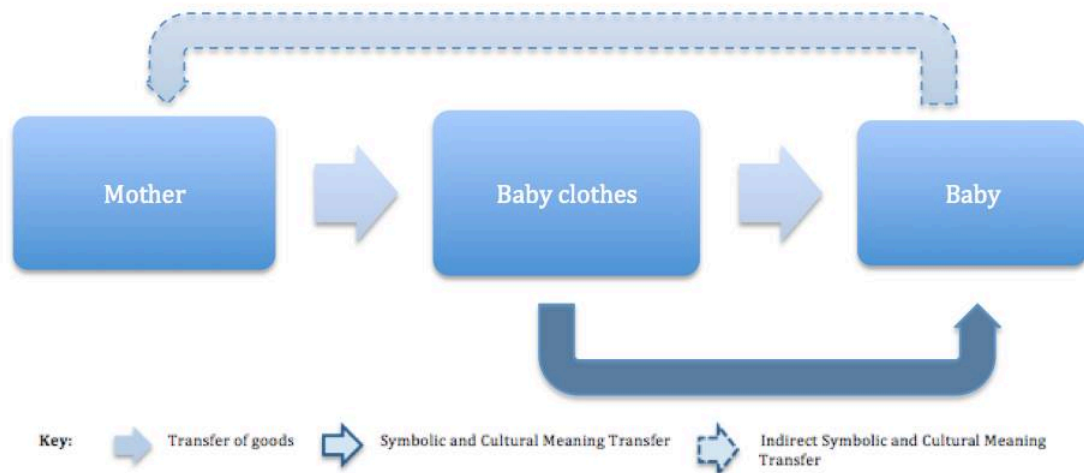
In the following it will be investigated how the baby clothes come to represent the mothers' extended self through *vicarious consumption* (Veblen, 1898, cited in Andersen et al., 2008) and afterwards it will be analysed how the symbolic meaning serve as an instrument in the construction of the mothers' self-identity as well as her social-identity as a mother:

## **7.1. BABY CLOTHES AS REPRESENTATION OF THE MOTHERS**

Even though the baby clothes are not consumed directly by the mothers, they do still represent her, since the child can be seen as part of her extended self (Belk, 1988, p. 156).

Another explanation can also be found through the *vicarious consumption*, in which goods such as clothing or bejewelling not only come to represent the wearer but also ascribe status and represent the dependents of the wearer (Belk, 1988, p. 157). Thus, the baby clothing is by nature vicarious, as the babies cannot and do not purchase clothes themselves. This consequently implies that the mother through a vicarious consumption of baby clothes on behalf of her child, represents how she is as a mother. Hence the signals and values attached to the baby clothes come to represent her (Andersen et al., 2008, p. 94). Because of this it can be said that the consumption of baby clothes also come to enhance the mothers' extended self (Belk, 1988, p. 157).





**Figure 7: Transfer of goods and indirect symbolic and cultural meaning transfer, own creation, 2016**

Having understood how baby clothes become part of the mothers' extended self, it will now be analysed how the symbolic meanings of the baby clothes serve as an instrument in the recent first time mothers' identity construction into the motherhood. Therefore, it will be analysed how the baby clothes contribute to build the mothers' self-identity as a mother as well as contribute in the creation of their social-self, as how they use the baby clothes to represent them as a mothers to the social world.

## **7.2. BABY CLOTHES CONSTRUCTING THE MOTHERS' SELF-IDENTITY**

When the first time mothers enter into motherhood they also enter a new phase in their lifecycle, hence they need to acquire a new identity and life role as a mother (Uth Thomsen and Sørensen, 2006, p. 907). This transition into motherhood can, however, be filled with uncertainties and vulnerabilities, both in regards to *liminal vulnerability*, when the mothers enter the new phase in their lives and as *consumer-vulnerability*, since the mothers needs to navigate in a new consumption space (The VOICE Group, 2010, p. 385). This can influence and challenge the mothers' current self-perception, since they will need to create a new life role. In the research it was found that the new identity as a mother only serves as one part of the mothers' self, as they also understand themselves as being a girlfriend, wife, friend, business woman etc. (e.g. interviews Ida, Benedikte, Sara). This can therefore create a conflict between the selves. In the beginning of the transition into motherhood, the new identity as a mother can even be hard to identify with, for some of the mothers.

*"I think that I had a really hard time getting use to the "stamp" mother (laughing). People were saying "Oh Ida-mom" (laughing). And I was like "Don't call me that!". I'm not just a mom, I'm still me [...] I just didn't wanted it to be just mom. Yeah you know? Cause yeah when I'm with him [her son] of course I'm a mom, but when I'm out with my friends I'm not, I'm still Ida (laughing). So I just had to get used to it. It's much better now, but in the beginning - I mean the first 4 months, it was really, really hard for me to be named that." – Interview Ida.*

Through this example it is clear to see that the mothers not only have one real self, but multiple and this therefore supports Ahuvia's notion (2005), that there does not exist one core self, but multiple selves that can conflict with each other. Thus, it can be said that in today's society the self *"is not conceptualised as a given product of a social system, nor as a fixed entity"* (Elliott and Wattanasuwan, 1998, p. 132), but as being dynamic, and therefore the individual mother can adopt and actively create this new self, partially through consumption (ibid).

The consumption of baby clothes can help the mothers in their identity construction as a mother (Uth Thomsen and Sørensen, 2006; Davies et al. 2006 Andersen et al., 2008), since the possessions serve as *"major contributor to and reflection of our identities"* (Belk, 1988, p. 139). Therefore, the baby clothes function as important components of owner's sense of self (ibid). The consumption does not only become a simple choice about goods for the mothers, but a choice of lifestyle and the particular identity image that the mothers wish to have (Martens et al. 2005, 168, cited in Theodorou and Spyrou, 2013, p. 82).

Through the use of the baby clothes the new mothers thus gain an understanding of who they are as a mother, and the baby clothes therefore holds an individual symbolism for them by serving as a mediator of self-definition (Solomon, 1983, p. 329) An illustration of this can be seen in the following example:

*"That [being environmental friendly by reusing clothes and living organic] all of a sudden means a lot, because she [the daughter] should live on and should have a nice life. So I think that we need to take care of the environment and take care of the body and her body" – Interview Julie*

In this example it can be seen how the mother by using organic and second-hand baby clothes, is forming her self-definition as a mother 'who is conscious of her child's future by not over-consuming' as well as being a caring mother, 'who seek to do the best for her child by dressing her in organic clothes'. Hereby, it can be seen that the baby clothing contributes in her identity construction as a mother.

As it has been analysed in the *Culture Chapter*, having an environmental friendly and organic mind-set are for the millennial mothers in Copenhagen also a symbol of the “right” values. It can therefore be said that by using products that supports these values, the mothers perform their new role well and will as a result be perceived as a thoughtful mother. This “correct” use of the baby clothes can thus be seen as a determinant of success in completing the role transition into motherhood (Solomon, 1983, p. 326). Said in another way *“the consumer relies upon the social information inherent in the products to shape self-image and to maximise the quality of role performance”* (Solomon, 1983, p. 320).

### 7.2.1. “NOT ME” - BABY CLOTHES

In the research it was found that just like the baby clothes can contribute positively to help the new mothers in constructing the mother she seeks to be, it can also have the opposite capacity, as when the mothers do not accept or agree with the meanings attached to the baby clothes. The baby clothes will in this situation have the mothers feeling that *“this is not me”* (Kleine, Kleine III and Allen, 1995; Uth Thomsen and Sørensen, 2006). By choosing not to dress the child in a specific way, it does therefore also represent them as mothers and the values that they identify themselves with.

*“I don’t think that I would like to give her these kind of clothes [luxury brands]. For instance, Louis Vuitton or Ralph Lauren. I remember that we were in Malaysia, the year before I got pregnant. And we went into this HUGE shopping mall in Kuala Lumpur, and here they got a whole level just we baby clothes, and they also had these brands. And they just looked like small adults. And all this clothes, that cost like a billion DKK, and they hang on these small mannequins. And you think, they look like small businessmen. They signal something that I’m really not. For me it seems like to pressure the child. It is not comfortable with a suit or tie for small children or small hair bands and purses. It is just far away from how I am. And I might think that it is more for the look that thinking that the children can play in it.”* - Interview Kristine.

In this example the mother connects the high-end brands such as Ralph Lauren and Louis Vuitton with values of exerting pressure on the child and only thinking about the looks of the clothes instead of the child’s comfort. The mother does not identify herself with these values and meanings, which she attaches to these brands, and they therefore come to represent “this is not me” for her, and something that she does not want to be associated with as a mother.

It can therefore be derived that baby clothes as a product category belongs to the mothers’ extended self. However, when looking on baby clothes on a brand-level there exist a clear difference as to how the mothers perceive the brands as part of their extended self, since the brands are attached with

different values, which the mothers do or do not identify herself with. However, it is important to notice that brand-meanings can symbolise different things for different persons and in different contexts (Mühlbacher and Hemetsberger, 2008, p. 10). Hence, while some mothers might connect strongly with one brand and classify it as part of her extended self, other mothers cannot associate themselves with the brand at all and do not consider it to be part their extended self.

In summary it was analysed that there are some baby clothes brands, which the mothers do not consider as part of their extended self, however, on the other hand there exist some types of baby clothes that the mothers consider as closer to the self and hereby consider them as important part of their identity as mother.

### **7.2.2. BABY CLOTHES CENTRAL TO THE SELF**

In the research it was found that some baby clothes were more central to the mothers' self than others. Or said in the words of Ahuvia (2005), some baby clothes were more *loved objects* than others and therefore seen more as part of the self, since the mothers attach more meaning to them.

In general, it can be stated that the mothers were connected especially to three types of baby clothing: 1) *Presents*, 2) *Hand crafted clothes*, either made by the mother herself or received it as a gift and 3) *the first piece of clothes* that the baby wore.

#### **7.2.2.1. BABY CLOTHES AS PRESENT – SYMBOL OF LOVE FROM SIGNIFICANT OTHERS**

In regard to the *baby clothes as presents*, many of the mothers mentioned that they would never sell or give away some of the clothes, which they received as a present, since it for them represented the person, who gave the present (e.g. Interview Sara, Benedikte, Julie, Ida), often a family member or friends. These pieces of baby clothes are by the mothers associated with significant loved ones, and this therefore indicates that the baby clothes as presents, represent the symbolic meaning of love from the significant others (Belk, 1988, p. 49). Furthermore, by symbolising the love from the gift-giver it can be said that the present can be regarded as a positive extension of the self (Csikszentmihayi and Rochberg-Halton 1981, Wallendorf and Anould 1988, cited in Belk 1988, p. 150).

However, even though gifts serve as an affiliation and thus symbolise the relationship between the giver and the receiver, it is not always enough for the gift to be perceived as close to the mothers' self. The reason for this is that the presents and the symbolic meanings attached with them also need to fit the receivers' personal identity (Kleine, Kleine III and Allen, 1995, p. 340). This have also been demonstrated in *the Exchange Ritual chapter*, in which it was analysed that the mothers need to accept

the meanings associated with the baby clothes in order for the meaning transfer to occur - and thus also to perceive the gifts as central to the self.

#### **7.2.2.2. HANDCRAFTED BABY CLOTHES**

Another type of baby clothes, which the mothers felt strongly connected with, were the handcrafted baby clothes. The reason for this is based on the fact that it takes a lot of work, time, effort and thoughts to make handcrafted clothes (Interview Cathrine, Sara, Ida, Benedikte, Kristine) and therefore they are valued higher than the mass-produced clothes. It can therefore be said that "more of others' selves were invested in it" (Stewart, 1984, cited in Belk 1988, p. 149).

*"She [the daughter] has some home-knitted sweaters...they are very nice and I know that my mother-in-law, she took a lot of time making them and I think they are very, very pretty. I'd never give them away"* – Interview Cathrine.

Handcrafted clothes hereby come to carry the symbolic meanings of time, effort and love that is put into them, and furthermore, if they are given as presents, they also carry the meaning of the significant others. If the handcrafted clothes are made by the mothers themselves, it was found that they felt proud of their work and therefore they felt more connected to this particular piece of clothes (Interview Kristine, Judith, Ida).

Another factor, which also influences that the handcrafted clothes are more valued by the mothers (and therefore considered as closer to their self), is because they are made especially for the baby, and in this way the clothes become personalised.

#### **7.2.2.3. FIRST PIECE OF CLOTHES WORN BY THE BABY**

For many of the mothers it was found that they felt strongly attached to the first piece of clothes, which their baby wore when leaving the hospital after giving birth (e.g. Interview Benedikte, Josefine, Kristine). This particular piece of clothes has a big significance for them, as this was the first clothes that the child wore. Therefore, a lot of thoughts and consideration were given in order to find exactly the right outfit. This also symbolises that this piece of clothes for the mothers serve as an object, which assist them in the transition into motherhood. Therefore, it can be said that the baby clothes not only are regarded as part of the mothers' self, but also serve as instrument to the development of their self (Belk, 1988, p. 141).

*"It was actually very important for me [talking about the first piece of clothes that the son had on, when leaving the hospital]. My boyfriend and I bought it together, what we wanted him to wear*

[...] *When you are preparing yourself to be a mother, it is a big deal to buy something that you know you are going to put your own child in".* – Interview Josefine.

In this example it can be seen how the mother emphasises that the first piece of clothes served as a fundamental element, when preparing herself to become a mother and that it was very important for her to find the right outfit, as this symbolised her transition into the mother identity. This is supported by Schouten (1991) who suggests, that *"the symbolic consumption behaviours are important to successful transitions in that they aid the exploration, establishment, and on-going support of new roles and identities"* (Schouten 1991, p. 422).

In summary it can be said that the mothers felt more attached to these three types of baby clothes, since they hold different forms of symbolic meanings for them and furthermore all represented a form of nostalgia.

#### **7.2.2.4. BABY CLOTHES CLOSER TO THE SELF ON A BRAND LEVEL**

Lastly it is worth mentioning that some of the mothers felt connected to different brands. The reason for this were based on different factors, such as; 1) the design of the clothes, 2) that the clothes were more expensive, and therefore the mothers needed to work more to pay for them, 3) as well as the values and meanings they attached to the brand. Therefore, it can be said that by looking at a brand level, it is different how central the brands are to the mothers' self, as this is based on the individual feelings, which the mothers hold towards the brand (see also the section "Not me"- Baby Clothes)

#### **7.2.3. SUPERSTITION**

As it has been seen in the analysis until now, the consumption of baby clothes can help the recent first time mothers in their identity construction into motherhood. However, just like consumption can help the mothers in order to perform the new role as a mother well, non-consuming can also help the mothers in their identity construction into motherhood (Davies et al., 2006, p.4). In the research it was found that many of the new mothers did not want to have too much baby clothes at home before giving birth in case something went wrong with the pregnancy. This is a traditional act of superstition, which has a deep-rooted history in Denmark (Davies et al. 2006, p.4).

This was expressed by the mothers did not want to remove the tags from the clothes that were purchased before the child was born or by giving them to the grandmother until the child was born.

*"I was quite superstitious. I didn't want to take the tags off [...] You keep them on, so officially it is yours, but it is not really yours, it is still... So I know my cousins for example kept the stuff at the parents' home or left it in the shop. But yeah it is just, if something goes wrong, you don't want to jinx it (laughing) [...] and it is with your baby so you just do it, just to be sure (laughing)." – Interview Benedikte.*

*"There is this kind of a superstition. Like "You can't buy stroller, you can't buy stuff for your baby before, because that will bring bad luck". [Interviewer: So did you leave it at the shop?] "No, actually my mom got some of it. And then I was like "no that is stupid", but sometimes it gets in my head." – Interview Ida.*

In these examples it can be seen how the mothers are distancing themselves from the newly purchased clothes, even if they think it is "stupid". For them the clothes symbolise the transition into motherhood and they do not want to associate themselves with this new identity and risk something goes wrong until it is sure that they become a mother. Therefore, it can be said that this *"non-consuming is a way of putting off a future identity"* (Davies et al. 2006, p. 4).

Up to now, it has been investigated and analysed how the symbolic meanings of the baby clothes have contributed in the construction of the first time mothers' *self-identity* and experience of self in the new role as a mother. In the following the perspective will however be broaden in order to examine how the baby clothes assist the mother in constructing her *social-self* and thus how she uses it, in order to express herself as a mother to the public domain.

### **7.3. BABY CLOTHES CONSTRUCTING THE MOTHERS' SOCIAL SELF**

The functions of the symbolic meaning of the baby clothes not only serve as part of constructing the mother's self-identity, but it additionally helps her expressing to the surrounding world who she is as a mother as well as her lifestyle and status in the society (Andersen et al., 2007, p. 8). Hereby, the baby clothes are also constructing her social self (Belk, 1988, p.153) and thus hold social-symbolism (Elliott and Wattanasuwan, 1998, p. 132).

This can be linked back to the *Grooming Ritual*, where the mothers take the meaning out of the product and into the user. For the mother the meanings are therefore more of a symbolic nature, representing her as a mother (Figure 7). This is therefore something that the mothers think about, when dressing their child.

### 7.3.1. SEEKING CONFIRMATION FROM OTHERS THROUGH THE BABY CLOTHES

According to Solomon (1983) *“the individual’s self-concept is largely a result of other’s appraisals, both imagined and actual”* (Solomon, 1983, p. 322). The reference groups’ opinions therefore have a strong influence on the mothers and on how they understand themselves as a mother. The development of the mothers’ self-identity is thus inseparable from the parallel development of her social identity (Solomon, 1983, p. 133). This is supporting Belk’s theory of *person-thing-person* (Belk, 1988, p.147) in which he argues that the relationship with objects is not only seen as two-way (person-thing), but always three-way (person-thing-person), since other people also assess the possessions. This is also something that influences how the mothers dress their children. Therefore, it can be said that other people are seen as an important mirror, through which the mothers see themselves. This was also found in the research, as seen in the following example:

*“It’s nice to get the recognition of the choices you make, that there are others who also thinks it looks pretty. So I think that a lot of it is that you want this recognition... that what you do are good and right. You would not really want that other people think “well, her child is really poorly dressed” (laughing)”* – Interview Kristine.

In this example it can be seen how the mother seeks recognition from others and want to get confirmed that the choices she is making and how she is dressing her daughter are the right ones. This can therefore be interpreted as that she seeks confirmation that she is doing a good job as a mother through others. It can consequently be said that her self-image of her as a mother is being determined largely by a projection of how others see her and that the baby clothes serve as a determinant of this evaluation.

### 7.3.2. FEAR OF BEING PERCEIVED AS A “BAD” MOTHER

The fact that the mothers’ seek recognition for being a “good” mother from others can, however, bring in an element of anxiety into the mothers’ lives, since they fear being perceived as a mother who does not take good care of her child, when dressing the child “the wrong way”. This is supported by Davies et al. (2010) who suggest that the informal meeting with other mothers *“not always is a source of reassurance, given the ideals, individual insecurities and taboos involved”* (Davies et al., 2010, p. 392).

*“Well, I worry that if they will think that she’s dressed poorly or... yeah, poorly, I don’t care about if they think it’s fashionable, just if they think it looks, you know, worn out, I worry that they think that I live in an apartment that I don’t vacuum and I don’t shower and I probably don’t clean my*



*kitchen and... Yeah, so that's that kind of things. [Interviewer: Unhygienic?] Yeah, that's what I think. Because...I see a child and then I think "Really? You couldn't have, you know, changed that sweater with the old food on it before you went out?" Or "you probably live in a house where your dog has hair everywhere and when you see something, you just put it on the floor and leave it" or...yeah"* – Interview Cathrine.

In this example it can be seen how the mother is reflecting upon how the daughter's clothes are representing her as a mother and the fear she has that people will think that she is unhygienic if the daughters' clothes are worn out. The reason for this fear is, however, imagined, since it can be seen that it is based on her own judgements of others and thus the way she would imagine them to think of her. It can therefore be said that the anxiety derives from the "generalised other", where the mother imagines the responses of others (Solomon, 1983, p. 321).

### **7.3.3. CONSTRUCTING THE IDEAL-SELF AS A MOTHER: DIFFERENT CLOTHES IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE**

This high awareness that the mothers have of 1) how they are (think they are) perceived by others, as well as 2) the wish they have to be recognised as being a "good" mother, and 3) the fear for being perceived as a mother, who does not know how to take good care of the child, could also be the reason why the mothers dress their children differently when they are going out in the public compared to when they are staying at home. In the research it was found that all mothers dressed their children differently when they were leaving the house.

*"I also like to dress her up nicely, when we go out. Well, normally when we are at home, she is usually wearing pantyhose and a body" [Interviewer: Do you dress her differently when you are at home and when you go out?] "Yes, especially if we need to do something – e.g. a birthday party or for instance when we go to baby rhythmic...then I think about how I dress her. It means something, that I think that she looks nice and pretty (laughing) and don't have...like for instance it is a little funny because now, she is at home and sleeping, and if you will see her, she has food all over because I need to give her food late...so yeah..."* – Interview Kristine.

By dressing her child differently in public than in private, it can be said that the new mother seek to represent a more ideal version of herself as a mother as well as gaining recognition from the others. This is supported by Davies et al. (2006) who suggest that *"the new mothers are more inclined to attempt to portray themselves as good and underplay or hide when they do not live up to the perceived, ideal state of being the perfect mother"* (Davies et al., 2006, cited in Andersen, 2008, p. 94).

#### **7.3.3.1. IDEAL-SELF ON THE SOCIAL MEDIA**

In the research it was furthermore found that it is not only in the offline universe where the recent first time mothers from Generation Y seek to portray a more idealistic version of themselves, but also online, through social media such as Instagram and Facebook (Interview Ida, Kristine, Judith). This finding is supported by Belk (2016), who argues that there is a tendency that people choose online visual representations that are closer to the ideal self than the actual self (Belk, 2016, p. 51).

*“She [her daughter] looks like mess when she comes from kindergarten. It is not there when I’m taking a picture. Today mothers tend to plan too much. And I am doing the same, so when she is wearing Pomp de Lux [the mother’s favourite brand] I want to keep the moment on the picture. Also because it is very cute and really adorable, so my latest, I show you the latest. I made and put it on Facebook because it was so cute. I had so many comments from people that were writing, “Ooh she was so cute” [showing a photo on the smartphone]” – Interview Judith.*

This quote indicates that the mother is highly aware of how she is portraying herself on the social media through the daughter’s clothes. By dressing the child in specific branded clothes and uploading the photo on Facebook, the mother seeks to portray a more idealistic self. Hereby, the baby clothes serve as a communicative tool and help to construct and extend a more ideal self of her as a mother than the actual self and thus she seeks to enhance her social capital (Sheth and Salomon 2014, p. 124).

It can therefore be said that the recognition from others and the mothers’ self-representation is even more relevant in today’s society, since the digital development have allowed the mothers to extend themselves not only offline but also online (Belk, 2016, p. 50) and where there exist a pressure of visualising “the perfect mother”. This therefore also implies that the mothers are even more aware of the symbolic meanings of baby clothes and how they are representing her as a mother. Thus through “the correct” use of baby clothes mothers seek to construct a more idealised version of their social-self.

By envisioning an ideal picture of themselves as a mother and seeking confirmation from others can also be seen as a sign that the mothers pursue to fit in and be part of “tribe” of mothers in Copenhagen. This therefore leads us to another aspect of the baby clothes, namely that it also symbolises cultural belonging.

#### **7.3.4. BABY-CLOTHES AS A WAY TO FIT IN TO THE TRIBE OF MOTHERS**

In the research it was found that baby clothes also serve as a cultural sign, which the mothers use in order to be recognised by the reference groups and to become a member of the tribe of mothers, for

instance in the mother group or mothers in the kindergarten. The mothers thus seek affiliation and use the baby clothes to reflect connection with others (Kleine et al., 1995, p. 328). Since the role of being a mother is new it is even more important for them to fit in, in order to be recognised as being a tribe member of “the good and caring mothers”. Feeling affiliation and part of this tribe then impact the mothers’ self-image and thus their identity construction into motherhood. The consumption of baby clothes should therefore also be considered a social act (Østergaard and Jantzen, 2000, p. 21).

An illustration of this is given in the following example:

*“I was worrying in beginning [when the daughter started kindergarten] what they [the other children] are wearing – is it a lot of the expensive clothes or is it H&M and super-market clothes? And I found that I think it is a mixture and then I was thinking it does not matter what is she wearing because no one is like pays attention and yeah [...] I want her to fit in to the other children and do not want her to feel that she is not good enough or something like that, but I quickly find out that it is not any issue. At the beginning when she started we have been much in the kindergarten and she was wearing Pomp de Lux [the mother’s favourite brand] and I quickly find out that it wasn’t necessary”. – Interview Judith*

As it can be seen the mother seek to fit in with the tribe of mothers in the kindergarten by dressing the daughter in the “right brands” and it is first when she recognises that the other children were not wearing fashionable or expensive brands that she starts dressing her daughter in less expensive clothes. Even though the mother says that it is the daughter she wants to fit in, it is, however, interpreted, as the mother who seeks to fit in, since two-year old children are not aware of the brands that they are wearing. Thus it can be said that the mothers seek to use the appropriate brands as cultural symbols in order to get tribe-affiliation and the baby clothes brand hereby serve as a tool for social integration (Escalas and Bettman, 2005, p. 379).

## **7.4. SUB-CONCLUSION**

In this chapter it was analysed how the baby clothes assist the first time mothers in their identity construction into motherhood. It was showed that through a vicarious consumption the baby clothes are becoming part of the mothers’ extended self and that the symbolic meanings represent who they are as a mother both in regards to their own self-understanding (self-identity) and to the surrounding world (social-identity).

Through the use of baby clothes, it was found that the mothers form their self-perception as a mother and by dressing their child in the clothes that carry the “right” values, the mothers gain an

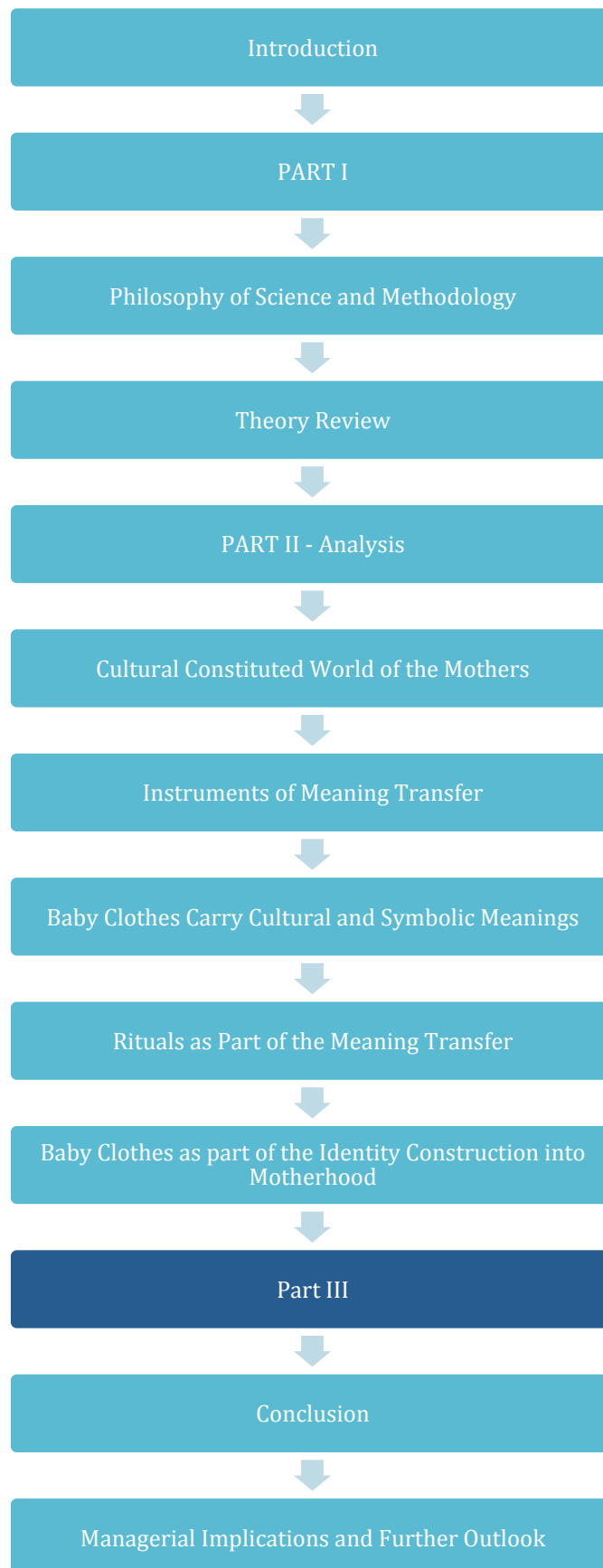
understanding of themselves as a caring mother - thus contributing positively in their identity construction as a mother. On the contrary through the “this is not me”-products the mothers were distancing themselves from brands that they associated with different values, which they did not wanted to represent.

Furthermore, the consumption of baby clothes was used by the mothers to express how they were as mothers to others, both in regards to their lifestyle, values and status in the society, hereby constructing the mothers social-self. Thus, it was shown how the baby clothes carry social symbolism.

It was also analysed how the mothers self-understanding were affected by the recognition from others, and how important it was for them to be reinforced that they were performing a good job as a mother. Consequently, it was showed, how this affected the way the mothers dressed their babies, as they sought to represent a more ideal picture of themselves as a mother, by dressing the children differently in private and public (also online).

This is connected with how the mothers used the baby clothes in order to become member of the tribe of the mothers, and therefore they were seeking to use the “right” kind of brands in order to get recognised by the other tribe members.

In conclusion it can be said that it has been demonstrated many ways, in which the mothers used the consumption of baby clothes in the identity construction into motherhood.



## PART III

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### 8. CONCLUSION

In this thesis it has been analysed how baby clothes carry symbolic and therefore also cultural meanings and how the recent first time mothers from Generation Y in Copenhagen use the baby clothes as part of their identity construction into motherhood.

In order to understand how baby clothes function as symbolic meaning transfer, the cultural values in which the mothers live, were firstly analysed. The reason for analysing the cultural values was due to the fact that the culture impacts how symbols are perceived and understood.

In the case of the first time mothers from Generation Y in Copenhagen these values were identified as; being financial responsible, valuing the free time, being socially responsible and environmental friendly, being online through social media and to hold preferences for different colour of the baby clothes, following the traditions of superstitions and not to be burdened with ownership but instead to rent and or share baby clothes. These values were for the mothers understood as the “right” ones and therefore were perceived as the symbolic meaning of being a “good” and caring mother. In order for the baby clothes to function as a symbolic meaning transfer the values needed to be moved from the cultural constituted world into the baby clothes through the instruments of meaning transfer. These instruments are: 1) *Reference Groups*, which has been identified as family, friends and mother group; 2) *Fashion System* which has merged with the *Advertisement* through the use of social media. This was due to the hidden commercials and bloggers/celebrities who advertise for the baby clothes.

The analysis demonstrated that when the meanings have been transferred, the baby clothes come to carry cultural and symbolic meanings. Thus they function as *symbolic meaning transfer* for the mothers who dress their children in order to represent to others, who they are as a mother.

In the analysis it was found that the baby clothes symbolise the values of: 1) *Social Responsibility* reflected by the interest in buying organic clothing and clothing without chemicals. This represents a mother who cares about the well-being of her child in regard for him/her not to absorb chemicals; and a mother who is concerned about the future world in which the child will live in. 2) *Gender Stereotypes* which represent a mother who is either in favour of the traditional colour spectrum in regard of symbolising the gender of the child or a mother who is against labelling the child and consequently favouring unisex colours. 3) *Financial Responsibility* that represents a mother who is in charge of her

finances by assessing the quality of the baby clothes with the price and by not purchasing expensive products. 4) *Egalitarian thinking that* represents a mother, who dislike baby clothes with big logos, and who considers purchasing high-end clothing as superficial and connects it with showing off in front of others, hereby, symbolising a mother who is not “snobbish”.

In this way the analysis has shown that the baby clothes not only serve for their utilitarian purposes but also for the symbolic meanings, which they contain.

However, in order for the baby clothes to serve as a symbolic meaning transfer to the lives of the mothers and thus assist in their identity construction into motherhood, it was demonstrated that the mothers first need to take the baby clothes into their lives. This was done through four rituals: In the *Exchange Ritual*, the baby clothes as gifts have the ability to transfer the symbolic meanings to the baby. However, since the baby clothes indirectly represent the mothers, it was found that the mothers need to accept the symbolic meaning transfer in order for it to occur. In the *Grooming Ritual* it was analysed how the mothers consciously dress their children in order to take meanings out of the clothes and to invest them into the babies, for consequently representing themselves as mothers. In the *Possession Ritual* it was demonstrated how the mothers want to show possession over the baby clothes. This was mostly performed by sharing photos of the newly purchased clothes. Lastly, in the *Divestment Ritual* the mothers wash the inherited or second hand clothes in order to erase them from meanings of the previous owners. Thus it has been shown that the mothers claim the clothes for themselves and consider them as part of their extended self.

After the mothers have taken the baby clothes into their lives, the baby clothes serve as symbolic meaning transfer and they assist the mothers in their identity construction into motherhood – both in regards to the mothers’ *self-identity* and *social-identity*.

In regard to the mothers’ self-identity, it was demonstrated that the baby clothes support the mothers in their new life role by constructing their self-definition of a “good” mother by dressing the child in clothes that symbolise the “right” values. On the contrary, it can be seen that through these are “*not me-products*” the mothers are distancing themselves from brands that they associate with different values, which they do not want to represent. The consumption of baby clothes does therefore not only become a choice about the goods but also about the mothers’ own understanding of who they are as a mothers in regard to lifestyle and their identity image.

The function of the symbolic meaning of the baby clothes also allow the mothers to express to the surrounding world who they are as mothers as well as their lifestyle and status in the society. Hereby, the baby clothes also construct the mothers’ *social-self*. Since their self-understanding is also

based on opinions of others, the mothers desire to be recognised for how they dress their child while fearing to be perceived as “bad” mother. Thus, the baby clothes are used to create the *ideal mother identity* by dressing up the children when entering the public sphere both in online and offline world. Based on this, it can be concluded that the baby clothes function as a symbolic meaning transfer for the recent first time mothers from Generation Y in Copenhagen in their identity construction into motherhood.



## **9. MANAGERIAL IMPLICATIONS AND FUTHER OUTLOOK**

### **9.1. MANAGERIAL IMPLICATIONS**

This thesis has provided consumer insights from recent first time mothers in Copenhagen, in regard to how baby clothes carry and transfer symbolic and cultural meanings. Furthermore, it has been investigated how the mothers use the symbolic consumption of baby clothes in order to support them in their new life role as a mother. The suppliers of baby clothes can use these consumer insights in order to better understand their customers and hence improve their marketing and communication strategies in order to better target the consuming mothers.

As examined previously, the first time mothers can experience anxiety while going through their transition into motherhood and the consumption helps the mothers to ease this change in to their new life role as a mother. Therefore, there is a market potential to focus on this life transition. The marketers should seek to understand the consumption through the lenses of the mothers and adjust their strategies accordingly. In detail the marketers could look at what symbolic meanings that are associated with the baby clothes as well as the how the clothes help to construct and extend a more ideal-self (as a mother). In this matter, the marketers can focus on connecting their brand and products with the values favoured by the mothers from Generation Y and consequently support the mothers in their representation as a “good” and caring mother. By this, the mothers can better connect with the products, as well as the brand itself. On the contrary, the marketers should at the same time avoid representing the “wrong” kind of values, such as big visible logos, since the brand thereby will hold a negative brand-image.

A different approach that the marketers can adopt is to increase or even induce the anxiety of the first time mothers. By encouraging this, the mothers would purchase and or use the brands, which support them in their construction of the new identity. This approach is, however, not for the well-being of the mothers (Uth Thomsen and Sørensen, 2006, p. 922). Furthermore, the mothers also seek recognition from others and look for confirmation that they are doing a good job as a mother. Therefore, instead of emphasising on the anxiety, the marketers can focus on emphasising that the mothers are performing well and are “good” mothers. By applying these tactics, the mothers would have positive perception about the brand and feel better about themselves as well.

## 9.2. SUGGESTIONS FOR BUSINESSES

In this section practical suggestions, regarding how businesses can use the consumer insights gained from the analysis, are briefly presented. This knowledge can be applied within businesses' tactics and later further developed into improved communication strategies and better targeting of customers.

Since this thesis is focusing only on Copenhagen, this knowledge is mainly applicable for the local suppliers of baby clothes, but could also be useful for online businesses that focus on selling to the Copenhagen market.

In the analysis it was found that one of the values of the mothers from Generation Y is financial responsibility. The mothers are not willing to pay high prices for the baby clothes, since the babies grow rapidly and therefore only wear the clothes for a short period of time. Furthermore, the mothers compare the cost with quality of the clothes and they expect these two factors to match. This is therefore something that needs to be reflected in the marketers' pricing strategy.

This is connected with the products features and attributes. It is suggested that the baby clothes suppliers offer a variety of colours of clothing including the traditional colours as pink and blue to demonstrate the gender of the baby. Some other important attributes the mothers look for are: eco-labels on clothing, in order to make it easier for the mothers to identify the organic clothes and clothing with minimum of chemicals. This is supported by the fact that even if the product is organic the mothers wash the clothing before they dress their child. Therefore, the businesses could have a look into their suppliers in order to know how to limit chemicals in clothing while delivering it to the customers.

Regarding shopping, the businesses are expected to have both e-shop as well as physical shops. Being able to touch the fabric of the clothing is important for the mothers when choosing baby clothes. However, the mothers seek convenience, because they feel that time is a scarce resource for them and therefore they like to use the e-shops with home delivery as well.

Furthermore, it was found that the mothers feel more emotionally attached to the branded clothing rather than non-branded ones from supermarkets. The emotional attachment is important in order to connect with the brand. When the mothers share similar values as the brands they tend to like the brand more, therefore businesses are suggested to work on making their values visible for the consumers. The businesses of branded clothing can attach with the customers through their shops in which they have control over the surroundings and personnel. The personnel should be educated about the products' features and the values the brand hold, and therefore create a bond between

the brand and the customers as well as to be able to assist the mothers to navigate in the complex market of baby clothes.

Additionally, in order to feel more attached to the brand, the businesses could offer the possibility for the mothers to become co-creators and co-designers of the clothing. By enabling the mothers to participate at the designing phase, they feel as part of the process and therefore the mothers will take possession over the product and feel more attached with them and consider them as closer to their self.

There is also a trend with renting and sharing baby clothes, however, the businesses that currently offer these services are not diverse enough in regard to their supply of colours and styles for some of the mothers. Due to this, it could be advised for some existing businesses to expand their business model towards the renting and sharing of clothing. This is connected with the trend of buying an *access* to goods, rather than an actual ownership, and thus supporting one of Generation Y's values.

It is furthermore found to be necessary for the businesses to be present at Facebook, since more than 96% of women from Generation Y have an account. Facebook and other social media such as Instagram become new touchpoints between the businesses and the customers. The online presence of the consumer hereby gives the businesses possibility to communicate with customers and get feedback instantly. The presence on social media provides a powerful tool for the mothers to link and share their knowledge and experience (Cova and Cova, 2002, p.616) at different social media, chats or forums.

Additionally, today social media have become a place where the mothers are portraying more idealistic version of themselves, since the online representation are closer to the ideal self than the actual self. The businesses can use this to their advantage, since the *advertising* and *fashion system* have merged together by supporting and sponsoring the bloggers who are contributing to the image of the ideal self. Therefore it could be suggested that businesses focus more on this kind of advertisements, compared to more traditional methods.

### **9.3. FURTHER RESEARCH**

In this section suggestions for further research are presented:

Firstly, it would be interesting to look at the cultural differences within the culturally constituted worlds of different generations as well as the multiple cultures regarding nationalities living in

Denmark, which are not considered within this thesis. This is due to the fact that different nationalities and also generations have different cultural and symbolic values. By looking at these different values, it can be concluded how the approach of the businesses should change regarding the mothers' different nationalities and generations. For the same reasons, it could be interesting to investigate if there are any differences between the cities, such as the high-income areas versus low-income areas or if there is a difference between the cities compared to the villages in Denmark. Additionally, it could be interesting to investigate Denmark as a whole; this could especially be relevant for the e-shops, which sell to the entire country.

Furthermore, it would be valuable to analyse how the advertisers currently connect the cultural values with baby clothes within their advertisements and investigate how this could be improved. Moreover, by finding out what values the advertisers currently connect with the baby clothes it is possible to compare it with the current values of the Generation Y. In this comparison it can be concluded if the cultural and symbolic values of Generation Y are advertised and further reflected in the baby clothes.

In connection with advertising, it can be investigated if and how the mothers from Generation Y are more prone to purchase brands when recommendations are given in a more covert way than traditional advertising. By looking at the "hidden advertisement" behind the recommendations of the celebrities as well as bloggers who represent the *ideal self* at social media, it would be interesting to see if there is a tendency for the mothers to purchase more of the baby clothes.

Additionally, within the analysis, it was found that the mothers are resistant towards the pressure of buying the high-end baby clothing, since they are not affected by the belief that the high-end consumption make better parent. It could be further researched if this is specific case for the Generation Y or if this is just the mothers who live in Copenhagen.

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## APPENDIX 1: STATISTICS OF BIRTHS

**Number of births 2014-2015 based on municipalities in Denmark,  
Mothers from Generation Y (age 20-35 years)**

<b>Municipality</b>	<b>Nr of children born in 2014-2015 Mothers from Generation Y (age 20-35)</b>	<b>% of total nr of baby</b>
København	14.892	15,68%
Aarhus	7.149	7,53%
Odense	3.863	4,07%
Aalborg	3.809	4,01%
Frederiksberg	2.391	2,52%
Esbjerg	2.050	2,16%
Vejle	1.870	1,97%
Kolding	1.602	1,69%
Viborg	1.593	1,68%
Horsens	1.561	1,64%
Randers	1.561	1,64%
Herning	1.544	1,63%
Silkeborg	1.439	1,52%
Næstved	1.228	1,29%
Slagelse	1.213	1,28%
Gladsaxe	1.124	1,18%
Roskilde	1.111	1,17%
Holstebro	1.048	1,10%
Hvidovre	1.019	1,07%
Sønderborg	998	1,05%
Holbæk	990	1,04%
Hjørring	988	1,04%
Høje-Taastrup	951	1,00%
Skanderborg	947	1,00%
Ringkøbing-Skjern	916	0,96%
Køge	898	0,95%
Gentofte	874	0,92%
Haderslev	834	0,88%
Aabenraa	825	0,87%
Frederikshavn	810	0,85%
Varde	795	0,84%
Fredericia	789	0,83%
Favrskov	780	0,82%
Helsingør	779	0,82%
Guldborgsund	777	0,82%
Svendborg	749	0,79%

Hedensted	726	0,76%
Ikast-Brande	724	0,76%
Rødovre	719	0,76%
Ballerup	717	0,75%
Vejen	709	0,75%
Hillerød	697	0,73%
Thisted	682	0,72%
Skive	678	0,71%
Greve	676	0,71%
Tårnby	674	0,71%
Lyngby-Taarbæk	673	0,71%
Brøndby	670	0,71%
Faaborg-Midtfyn	643	0,68%
Kalundborg	629	0,66%
Mariagerfjord	617	0,65%
Rudersdal	596	0,63%
Brønderslev	594	0,63%
Egedal	593	0,62%
Vesthimmerlands	584	0,61%
Tønder	581	0,61%
Jammerbugt	564	0,59%
Frederikssund	541	0,57%
Norddjurs	535	0,56%
Assens	532	0,56%
Vordingborg	519	0,55%
Herlev	513	0,54%
Middelfart	510	0,54%
Fredensborg	505	0,53%
Ringsted	503	0,53%
Furesø	499	0,53%
Lolland	491	0,52%
Syddjurs	489	0,51%
Ishøj	485	0,51%
Rebild	484	0,51%
Albertslund	477	0,50%
Glostrup	453	0,48%
Gribskov	435	0,46%
Nyborg	435	0,46%
Faxe	426	0,45%
Bornholm	404	0,43%
Billund	385	0,41%
Nordfyns	370	0,39%
Sorø	361	0,38%
Odsherred	356	0,37%
Halsnæs	343	0,36%
Kerteminde	324	0,34%

Lejre	303	0,32%
Solrød	294	0,31%
Vallensbæk	278	0,29%
Morsø	277	0,29%
Odder	276	0,29%
Stevns	269	0,28%
Allerød	262	0,28%
Struer	259	0,27%
Lemvig	242	0,25%
Hørsholm	230	0,24%
Dragør	160	0,17%
Langeland	123	0,13%
Ærø	57	0,06%
Samsø	23	0,02%
Fanø	19	0,02%
Læsø	13	0,01%
Christiansø	-	0,00%

Source: Danmarks Statistisk, 2016

## APPENDIX 1: STATISTICS OF BIRTHS

### Number of births in 2015 based on municipalities in Denmark

Municipality	Nr. of births 2015
København	9568
Aarhus	4389
Odense	2283
Aalborg	2267
Frederiksberg	1540
Esbjerg	1198
Vejle	1102
Kolding	995
Viborg	947
Horsens	924
Randers	917
Herning	884
Silkeborg	873
Slagelse	750
Næstved	723
Roskilde	722
Gladsaxe	669
Gentofte	662
Holbæk	626
Holstebro	620
Hjørring	612
Hvidovre	607
Skanderborg	588
Høje-Taastrup	568
Køge	565
Sønderborg	550
Ringkøbing-Skjern	516
Haderslev	511
Helsingør	478
Lyngby-Taarbæk	477
Aabenraa	468
Guldborgsund	464
Fredericia	464
Ballerup	460
Varde	455
Tårnby	454
Rudersdal	454

Favrskov	450
Svendborg	445
Frederikshavn	444
Greve	439
Rødovre	438
Hillerød	431
Hedensted	420
Thisted	405
Vejen	399
Brøndby	394
Ikast-Brande	393
Faaborg-Midtfyn	391
Skive	387
Kalundborg	384
Egedal	377
Mariagerfjord	377
Furesø	363
Assens	336
Fredensborg	333
Brønderslev	332
Jammerbugt	332
Tønder	331
Vordingborg	325
Frederikssund	319
Norddjurs	316
Herlev	314
Ringsted	309
Syddjurs	309
Vesthimmerlands	301
Ishøj	297
Middelfart	297
Lolland	293
Rebild	290
Albertslund	283
Nyborg	273
Faxe	266
Gribskov	261
Glostrup	257
Bornholm	249
Billund	242
Nordfyns	223
Odsherred	219
Halsnæs	212

Solrød	209
Sorø	207
Kerteminde	196
Lejre	193
Hørsholm	178
Allerød	176
Stevns	172
Morsø	166
Struer	164
Odder	163
Vallensbæk	160
Lemvig	148
Dragør	116
Langeland	74
Ærø	36
Fanø	17
Samsø	15
Læsø	9
Christiansø	0

*Source: Dansk Statistik, 2016*



## APPENDIX 1: STATISTICS ON BIRTHS

### Forecast of number of child births based on municipalities in Denmark (2016-2016)

	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026
København	9831	10080	10344	10692	11084	11521	11929	12232	12424	12534	12589
Frederiksberg	1604	1629	1660	1703	1754	1812	1867	1908	1933	1946	1953
Dragør	114	117	119	121	124	127	130	132	133	134	135
Tårnby	432	443	454	466	479	495	509	519	525	528	529
Albertslund	286	288	292	298	306	314	322	326	329	329	328
Ballerup	473	479	486	496	508	521	534	543	547	549	549
Brøndby	407	417	427	439	453	467	480	489	494	495	495
Gentofte	672	680	691	704	719	737	755	768	776	781	784
Gladsaxe	785	803	822	845	870	897	923	940	950	954	956
Glostrup	275	281	287	295	303	312	320	325	328	328	328
Herlev	325	335	345	358	370	384	396	405	411	413	415
Hvidovre	630	646	663	683	704	727	747	761	768	772	773
Høje-Taastrup	599	611	625	643	663	684	703	716	723	725	726
Ishøj	294	299	305	312	320	329	337	342	344	345	345
Lyngby-Taarbæk	514	525	537	549	563	579	594	605	612	616	618
Rødovre	446	456	466	480	494	510	524	534	539	541	542
Vallensbæk	186	189	193	198	204	210	215	219	221	222	222
Allerød	182	186	191	195	200	206	212	216	218	219	219
Egedal	377	387	399	408	419	432	443	451	455	457	457
Fredensborg	333	337	342	348	356	365	373	379	382	383	382
Frederikssund	339	348	357	365	374	384	394	401	404	405	404
Furesø	356	365	375	386	397	410	421	430	435	438	439
Gribskov	278	284	290	295	301	308	315	319	321	321	321
Halsnæs	226	231	237	241	246	252	258	261	263	263	262
Helsingør	473	485	498	510	525	541	556	567	572	575	575
Hillerød	455	467	480	494	509	525	541	551	557	560	560
Hørsholm	169	174	179	183	187	193	198	201	204	205	205
Rudersdal	440	449	458	468	478	491	503	512	517	520	522
Bornholm	257	263	268	269	272	276	279	280	279	276	273
Greve	442	456	471	487	503	521	537	547	553	555	556
Køge	552	570	589	607	627	648	668	682	689	693	694
Lejre	206	212	218	222	227	232	238	241	243	243	243
Roskilde	741	763	786	808	833	860	885	903	912	917	918
Solrød	183	188	193	198	203	210	215	219	221	222	222
Faxe	265	273	280	287	293	301	308	312	313	313	312
Guldborgsund	465	476	485	493	502	513	522	527	529	527	524
Holbæk	623	635	648	660	674	690	705	713	716	715	712
Kalundborg	404	414	424	432	441	451	460	466	468	467	465
Lolland	299	301	303	303	304	306	309	309	307	304	300
Næstved	759	780	800	819	841	865	887	901	907	908	906

Odsherred	208	213	219	222	226	231	236	238	239	238	237
Ringsted	319	325	333	341	350	360	370	375	378	379	378
Slagelse	734	752	770	788	808	830	850	863	867	866	863
Sorø	228	232	237	240	245	250	256	259	260	260	259
Stevns	170	176	181	185	189	194	198	201	202	202	201
Vordingborg	322	331	341	347	355	364	372	377	379	379	377
Assens	334	344	355	361	370	379	388	393	395	395	394
Faaborg-Midtfyn	419	432	445	454	465	477	489	496	498	498	496
Kerteminde	194	200	206	211	217	223	229	232	234	234	234
Langeland	77	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	85	84	84
Middelfart	302	311	320	328	337	348	358	365	369	370	369
Nordfyns	233	238	244	247	252	259	265	269	271	271	271
Nyborg	274	281	289	296	304	313	322	328	331	332	331
Odense	2380	2453	2530	2622	2723	2834	2935	3008	3050	3070	3076
Svendborg	474	483	494	504	516	530	542	550	554	554	552
Ærø	34	34	35	35	35	36	36	37	37	37	37
Billund	239	244	248	252	258	264	270	273	274	274	272
Esbjerg	1236	1267	1297	1324	1356	1391	1422	1440	1445	1441	1432
Fanø	16	16	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
Fredericia	506	516	526	536	548	563	576	584	588	588	586
Haderslev	505	515	526	536	547	561	573	580	582	581	579
Kolding	968	990	1012	1036	1065	1097	1127	1147	1156	1159	1157
Sønderborg	621	630	639	646	657	671	683	689	691	689	684
Tønder	348	356	363	367	372	378	383	385	385	382	378
Varde	473	486	499	508	519	532	543	550	551	549	546
Vejen	419	427	435	442	451	462	471	476	478	476	474
Vejle	1178	1209	1242	1273	1310	1350	1387	1412	1424	1428	1426
Aabenraa	514	522	531	539	548	560	571	577	578	577	573
Favrskov	462	473	485	495	507	522	535	544	548	550	549
Hedensted	428	437	447	454	464	476	487	493	496	496	495
Horsens	977	998	1021	1048	1078	1113	1146	1169	1182	1188	1190
Norddjurs	332	343	354	362	372	382	390	396	397	397	394
Odder	171	176	181	185	190	195	201	204	206	207	207
Randers	965	994	1023	1052	1085	1121	1154	1177	1189	1193	1193
Samsø	19	20	20	20	21	21	21	21	22	22	21
Silkeborg	886	903	921	939	962	989	1014	1031	1039	1041	1039
Skanderborg	588	600	613	625	640	659	676	689	695	698	698
Syddjurs	315	322	330	336	343	353	361	367	370	370	370
Aarhus	4378	4498	4622	4774	4947	5138	5315	5443	5520	5559	5574
Herning	923	945	966	987	1011	1039	1064	1080	1086	1086	1082
Holstebro	614	628	641	653	668	684	700	709	712	711	708
Ikast-Brande	416	423	431	437	446	456	464	469	471	470	467
Lemvig	146	149	153	155	158	161	164	165	165	164	163
Ringkøbing-Skjern	519	529	540	547	556	568	578	584	585	583	579

Skive	413	421	430	436	444	453	461	464	464	462	459
Struer	164	166	169	171	174	178	181	182	182	182	180
Viborg	989	1014	1040	1062	1089	1121	1149	1167	1175	1176	1174
Brønderslev	345	354	364	373	382	393	403	409	412	412	411
Frederikshavn	477	490	503	511	522	533	543	548	549	546	541
Hjørring	589	604	620	632	646	663	677	685	687	684	679
Jammerbugt	354	364	374	382	391	401	410	415	417	416	414
Læsø	9	10	11	11	11	12	12	12	12	12	12
Mariagerfjord	381	391	402	411	421	433	443	449	451	451	449
Morsø	165	167	170	171	173	176	178	179	178	176	175
Rebild	302	313	323	330	338	347	355	360	362	362	361
Thisted	412	424	435	444	454	465	475	480	481	479	476
Vesthimmerlands	350	359	369	376	383	392	400	405	406	405	402
Aalborg	2318	2404	2491	2578	2675	2779	2873	2939	2974	2989	2990

*Source: Danmarks Statistik, 2016*

## APPENDIX 2: STATISTICS ON WOMEN FROM GENERATION Y

### Number of women from Generation Y based on municipalities in Denmark

Municipality	Numbers of women from Generation Y (20-35 years)	% of total amount of women in the age of 20-35 in Denmark
København	113.440	20,29%
Aarhus	53.024	9,48%
Aalborg	26.795	4,79%
Odense	26.253	4,70%
Frederiksberg	16.620	2,97%
Esbjerg	10.758	1,92%
Vejle	9.445	1,69%
Randers	8.821	1,58%
Kolding	8.555	1,53%
Horsens	8.288	1,48%
Herning	7.977	1,43%
Viborg	7.803	1,40%
Roskilde	7.365	1,32%
Silkeborg	7.075	1,27%
Næstved	6.885	1,23%
Slagelse	6.884	1,23%
Gadsaxe	6.589	1,18%
Gentofte	6.037	1,08%
Sønderborg	5.435	0,97%
Hvidovre	5.388	0,96%
Holbæk	5.246	0,94%
Holstebro	5.174	0,93%
Hjørring	4.943	0,88%
Høje-Taastrup	4.859	0,87%
Lyngby-Taarbæk	4.677	0,84%
Køge	4.627	0,83%
Haderslev	4.391	0,79%
Svendborg	4.263	0,76%
Guldborgsund	4.205	0,75%
Helsingør	4.201	0,75%
Aabenraa	4.190	0,75%
Fredericia	4.132	0,74%
Ballerup	3.935	0,70%
Frederikshavn	3.932	0,70%
Ringkøbing-Skjern	3.909	0,70%
Hillerød	3.826	0,68%
Skanderborg	3.777	0,68%
Rødovre	3.774	0,67%
Varde	3.635	0,65%

Tårnby	3.472	0,62%
Greve	3.412	0,61%
Skive	3.363	0,60%
Brøndby	3.358	0,60%
Rudersdal	3.352	0,60%
Kalundborg	3.313	0,59%
Faaborg-Midtfyn	3.302	0,59%
Favrskov	3.156	0,56%
Ikast-Brande	3.131	0,56%
Vejen	3.111	0,56%
Thisted	3.093	0,55%
Hedensted	3.085	0,55%
Mariagerfjord	2.925	0,52%
Vordingborg	2.876	0,51%
Frederikssund	2.786	0,50%
Ringsted	2.772	0,50%
Norddjurs	2.726	0,49%
Albertslund	2.714	0,49%
Vesthimmerlands	2.604	0,47%
Assens	2.584	0,46%
Fredensborg	2.561	0,46%
Herlev	2.548	0,46%
Tønder	2.534	0,45%
Egedal	2.532	0,45%
Jammerbugt	2.515	0,45%
Lolland	2.503	0,45%
Brønderslev	2.494	0,45%
Furesø	2.480	0,44%
Syddjurs	2.469	0,44%
Ishøj	2.436	0,44%
Middelfart	2.366	0,42%
Faxe	2.308	0,41%
Glostrup	2.266	0,41%
Bornholm	2.217	0,40%
Gribskov	2.208	0,39%
Nyborg	2.195	0,39%
Rebild	1.987	0,36%
Halsnæs	1.962	0,35%
Sorø	1.907	0,34%
Billund	1.901	0,34%
Odsherred	1.814	0,32%
Nordfyns	1.773	0,32%
Kerteminde	1.508	0,27%
Odder	1.446	0,26%
Lejre	1.444	0,26%
Solrød	1.395	0,25%

Stevns	1.391	0,25%
Struer	1.358	0,24%
Vallensbæk	1.357	0,24%
Morsø	1.330	0,24%
Hørsholm	1.329	0,24%
Allerød	1.276	0,23%
Lemvig	1.185	0,21%
Dragør	684	0,12%
Langeland	644	0,12%
Ærø	247	0,04%
Samsø	137	0,02%
Fanø	122	0,02%
Læsø	66	0,01%
Christiansø	2	0,0004%

*Source: Danmarks Statistik, 2016*

## APPENDIX 2: STATISTICS ON WOMEN FROM GENERATION Y

Share of women from Generation Y compared to the total amount of women living within the municipality

Municipality	Share of woman from Generation Y (age 20-35) within each municipality in %
København	37,91
Aarhus	31,56
Frederiksberg	30,16
Odense	26,01
Aalborg	25,68
Ishøj	21,83
Hvidovre	20,07
Glostrup	20,00
Albertslund	19,45
Høje-Taastrup	19,45
Rødovre	19,38
Gladsaxe	19,16
Horsens	19,04
Brøndby	18,67
Esbjerg	18,64
Kolding	18,58
Herning	18,30
Randers	18,05
Holstebro	17,93
Vallensbæk	17,59
Slagelse	17,53
Herlev	17,38
Vejle	16,89
Roskilde	16,83
Næstved	16,55
Lyngby-Taarbæk	16,54
Fredericia	16,42
Viborg	16,40
Ringsted	16,36
Tårnby	16,01
Ballerup	15,98
Haderslev	15,67
Ikast-Brande	15,59
Silkeborg	15,55
Køge	15,33

Gentofte	15,24
Hillerød	15,12
Hjørring	15,11
Holbæk	14,84
Vejen	14,80
Varde	14,69
Norddjurs	14,67
Skive	14,60
Svendborg	14,58
Billund	14,57
Sønderborg	14,50
Aabenraa	14,21
Vesthimmerlands	14,19
Thisted	14,18
Mariagerfjord	14,12
Brønderslev	14,06
Rebild	13,91
Ringkøbing-Skjern	13,90
Guldborgsund	13,76
Kalundborg	13,67
Nyborg	13,63
Greve	13,60
Hedensted	13,60
Tønder	13,45
Favrskov	13,40
Jammerbugt	13,28
Helsingør	13,20
Faxe	13,20
Frederikshavn	13,12
Morsø	13,06
Odder	12,98
Faaborg-Midtfyn	12,95
Sorø	12,92
Struer	12,73
Solrød	12,70
Skanderborg	12,70
Halsnæs	12,63
Stevns	12,63
Assens	12,61
Kerteminde	12,51
Middelfart	12,48
Vordingborg	12,43
Fredensborg	12,41
Frederikssund	12,35
Nordfyns	12,28
Furesø	12,07



Lemvig	11,87
Syddjurs	11,85
Lolland	11,84
Egedal	11,77
Rudersdal	11,72
Odsherred	11,10
Bornholm	11,05
Gribskov	10,70
Lejre	10,58
Langeland	10,35
Allerød	10,11
Hørsholm	10,02
Dragør	9,48
Ærø	7,93
Samsø	7,36
Læsø	7,34
Fanø	7,28
Christiansø	4,65

*Source: Danmarks Statistik, 2016*

## APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Can you tell us shortly how did it change you to be a mother? And tell us something about who you are as a mother?

*Now we will talk about Baby clothes*

2. In the beginning, how did you know what to buy? And did you find this confusing?
  - if yes, why? What do you do?
  - if no, why not?
  - e.g. knowing the right size, finding the style you like, the right material
3. Is there any difference in the way you thought you were going to dress your child and the way you are actually doing?
  - Especially in regards to brands?
4. What is important for you, when you buy baby clothes?
  - Attributes
  - Design,
  - quality,
  - brand
  - place of origin, organic, comfort etc.
5. What kind of baby clothes have you bought the past month?
6. Can you tell me how the process normally is, when you buy the baby clothes?
  - Is it you?
  - Is it something you plan?
  - Is it impulsive?
7. Before you go shopping baby clothes, where do you look for inspiration?
  - Advertising
  - Fashion system
  - Reference
8. Who do you consider as a baby clothes expert?
  - is there a blog or famous person, that you get inspired of?
9. With whom do you talk about baby clothes (family, friends or colleagues)
  - What do you ask them about?
  - Do you seek advise?
  - Where? Face to Face, social media, chat communities
10. Do you have any favourite baby clothes brands?
  - Why?
  - What makes it special? (Which associations)
  - Is there a brand that is “you”?
  - Do you think that you have a certain connection with it?

11. Is there a specific piece of clothes, that you feel really connected with?
  - Which and why?
12. When you buy new clothes to your baby, would you then sometimes share a photo of the clothes?
13. Are branded clothes more important for you than non-branded?
  - Does it depend on the occasion?
  - Do you buy more branded clothes?
  - Do you think it has better quality?
14. Are there any brands, which you would like to buy, but haven't?
  - Why? (e.g. good quality, prestige) examples: Geography, can't afford, don't want to be looked at in a special way
15. Have you experienced that there are some brands which are more trendy ?
  - Are there some brands which have higher status?
  - Which ones? and how did you experience it?
16. Are there any brands you would never buy?
  - Why not?
  - Are there any brands you cannot identify yourself with?
17. Do you think that the clothes, that you chose for your child reflect your child's personality and your own personality?
  - in which way?
18. Do you use different clothes (brands) for different occasions?
  - For instance are there a difference between how your baby is dressed, when you are at home, than when your are out?
  - Are there specific group of people where you dress your child differently?
19. When dressing your child, do you then think about what other people will think about your child and you as a mother?
  - Do you think that influence how they see you?
  - In which way?
20. Have you been in a situation, where you have thought about what other children were wearing?
  - What do you think about the mother, if the child e.g. is wearing used clothes, clothes from supermarket, or high end clothes?
21. Have you been in a situation, where you received baby clothes as a present, but you would never have purchased yourself?
  - What did you do with it?
  - Do you use it sometimes anyway?
22. Have you inherited any clothes?
  - If yes, from who?
  - What do you think about it?
  - What do you do with it?

- Do you think that you are putting another person's style on your baby?
- Do you use them just as much as the clothes you buy yourself?

23. Have you ever bought second hand clothes?

- If yes, where? What kind of clothes?
- If no, why not?

24. Have you ever given away or sold any of your child's clothes? Did you do anything specific with the clothes before?

25. Why does she shop as she do...ask more in to it?

→ More in detail. E.g. why online/offline?

26. Can you recall any advertisement of baby clothes?

- What do you think about advertisement for baby clothes, do they impact you?

27. What do you think about the statement that our generation is financial responsible?

- Can you give examples?

Extra

Where do you buy the baby's clothes? And Have you thought about renting clothes?

## **APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEWS GUIDE BASED ON THEMES**

### **TRANSITION INTO MOTHERHOOD**

1. Can you tell us shortly how did it change you to be a mother? And tell us something about who you are as a mother?
2. In the beginning, how did you know what to buy? And did you find this confusing?
  - if yes, why? What do you do?
  - if no, why not?
  - e.g. knowing the right size, finding the style you like, the right material
3. Is there any difference in the way you thought you were going to dress your child and the way you are actually doing?
  - Especially in regards to brands?

### **BUYING BEHAVIOUR**

4. What is important for you, when you buy baby clothes?
  - Attributes
  - Design,
  - quality,
  - brand
  - place of origin, organic, comfort etc.
5. What kind of baby clothes have you bought the past month?
6. Can you tell me how the process normally is, when you buy the baby clothes?
  - Is it you?
  - Is it something you plan?
  - Is it impulsive?
7. Are branded clothes more important for you than non-branded?
  - Does it depend on the occasion?
  - Do you buy more branded clothes?
  - Do you think it has better quality?
8. Why does she shop as she do...ask more in to it?  
→ More in detail. E.g. why online/offline?
9. Have you ever bought second hand clothes?
  - If yes, where? What kind of clothes?
  - If no, why not?
10. Have you inherited any clothes?
  - If yes, from who?
  - What do you think about it?
  - What do you do with it?
  - Do you think that you are putting another person's style on your baby?
  - Do you use them just as much as the clothes you buy yourself?

## **INFLUENCE AND INSPIRATION OF BABY CLOTHES**

11. Before you go shopping baby clothes, where do you look for inspiration?
  - Advertising
  - Fashion system
  - Reference
12. Who do you consider as a baby clothes expert?
  - is there a blog or famous person, that you get inspired of?
13. With whom do you talk about baby clothes (family, friends or colleagues)
  - What do you ask them about?
  - Do you seek advice?
  - Where? Face to Face, social media, chat communities
14. Can you recall any advertisement of baby clothes?
  - What do you think about advertisement for baby clothes, do they impact you?

## **SYMBOLIC MEANING SYMBOLIC MEANING OF BABY CLOTHES**

15. Are there any brands you would never buy?
  - Why not?
  - Are there any brands you cannot identify yourself with?
16. Have you been in a situation, where you received baby clothes as a present, but you would never have purchased yourself?
  - What did you do with it?
  - Do you use it sometimes anyway?
17. Have you experienced that there are some brands which are more trendy?
  - Are there some brands which have higher status?
  - Which ones? and how did you experience it?
18. Are there any brands, which you would like to buy, but haven't?
  - Why? (e.g. good quality, prestige) examples: Geography, can't afford, don't want to be looked at in a special way
19. Have you ever given away or sold any of your child's clothes? Did you do anything specific with the clothes before?
20. Have you been in a situation, where you have thought about what other children were wearing?
  - What do you think about the mother, if the child e.g. is wearing used clothes, clothes from supermarket, or high end clothes?
21. Do you use different clothes (brands) for different occasions?
  - For instance, are there a difference between how your baby is dressed, when you are at home, then when you are out?
  - Are there specific group of people where you dress your child differently?

22. When dressing your child, do you then think about what other people will think about your child and you as a mother?

- Do you think that influence how they see you?
- In which way?

23. When you buy new clothes to your baby, would you then sometimes share a photo of the clothes?

24. Do you think that the clothes, that you chose for your child reflect your child's personality and your own personality?

- in which way?

#### **GENERATION Y**

25. What do you think about the statement that our generation is financial responsible?

- Can you give examples?

## **APPENDIX 5: FACESHEET**

### **FACE SHEET**

1. In which year have you been born?
2. What is your educational background
3. What is your working status?
4. What is your relationship status? (
5. Where do you live? (area and house type)
6. What is your household income a month before tax?
7. How old is your child and what is her/his name?
8. How much do you normally spend on baby clothes a month?



## APPENDIX 6: INTERVIEWS

### INTERVIEW WITH KRISTINE

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Interview with Kristine

Child: Emily, 6 month. Was sleeping in the yard in her pram during the interview.

Location: In the mother's apartment in Valby.

Interviewer: Rebecca

K: Kristine

R: Rebecca

The interview was conducted in Danish, but has been translated into English.

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R: As mentioned, I first want to explain a little, what we are writing about. We are studying Branding and Communications management at CBS – and what we are writing about is how first time mothers here in the area of Copenhagen...how you see, use and think regarding baby clothes...yeah your feelings about it, your thoughts about it, your experience with it...yeah sort of very broad. So that it just like in general what it is about,

K: Ok...

R: ..And as mentioned we have prepared some questions.

K: Mmm...

R: But we also just take it as it comes along, and just so it feels like a conversation, and feel free to interrupt me and things like that (laughing)...

K: Yeah...Yeah...

R: I can maybe start by asking you how you feel, if you can just shortly describe, how you feel. If it has changed for you...how becoming a mother has changed you. If it has?

K: Just like in general?

R: Yeah, like you as a person...

K: Yeah...I think that the biggest...I feel a lot like myself..Ehmm, I actually don't feel that there is so much, that has changed. I actually feel that the biggest thing, which we felt pretty fast is the worry that there will happen something to people. Well...

R: Mmm...

K: And it has been all different things. In dreams, and things like that...that I was hurt or my boyfriend or our family but also distant friends. If I for instance hear that some friends are going to fly, then I can get the thought like "Oh no, I hope they will not crash down"

R: Hmm...yeah...So they do not as such have to have a special connection to Emily?

K: No, not as such, is more like "argh"..that there is this unsafe feeling that there will happen something to people...and of course in one way it also have a connection to Emily, and that you want that she is safe and secure and stuff like that...so...yeah... but that I have felt. That I needed to get use to the feeling that the worrying has become different, that it is not just yourself.

R: Hmm...are there other worries that you have experienced?

K: No, I actually not think so...Ehmm...it is all very new

R: Yeah...I see. That is understandable

K: And you need to consider a lot of new things, that you have never considered before...And also the thing with being on a maternity leave... that is kind of crazy

R: Yeah...mmm...what did you do before?

K: I work as something called visual editor,

R: Yeah?

K: Where I took pictures to mobile phone manuals (Laughing).

R: Ahhh...

K: Maybe that is a little weird job (laughing), but yeah... I'm very happy going to work, and I have the worlds best colleagues, they are so sweet...

R: Oh, that's really nice

K: Yeah it's a really good work place, so that is a little weird not to be there...and then you just become a little weird of not sleeping that much...well...I have been surprise that the concept of "breast feeding brain" actually exist...

R: (Laughing) it is not just a myth?

K: (Laughing)...no...cause I've been like "Yeah, right" (laughing) but that is a completely real concept (laughing)...I just think that you are in lack of sleep the whole time and then...

R: Yeah that of course affects you

K: Yeah...and then you forget things and become mega distracted...and yeah you need to remember lots of things... It can be frustrating sometimes, when you cannot remember the words and things like that...Because you know, that you know it, but it's just hidden far away...So I'm looking forward getting out at the other side.

R: Mmm...

K: (Laughing) You feel a little stupid, or so I feel...that it is very practical stuff all the time...so yeah...That's the way it is

R: What about in regards to how you see yourself as a mother? Have you made any thoughts about that?

K: ...Not really...I think that I was very nervous about taking the plunge that now we should have a child...and I think that my approach has really been to take one day at the time...

R: Yeah...

K: And therefore, have we tried not to...yeah...like..to think about that of becoming a mother...I have just plunged into it and taking one day at the time...but it is huge and mega cool...It's really good...

R: What about...like when you were pregnant you didn't make thoughts about...like how you wanted to be, kind of?

K: Yes, that I have...ehmm...I most definitely have...A little sad part of this is that I lost my own mother just 2 month before I gave birth

R: Im sorry to hear...

K: Yeah...so that was very close, so I very quick came to talk with a psychologist...because it was overwhelming and unexpected...and then I actually used a lot time of working with my relationship with my mother and what I could bring on from her...and how I would take the good things, which I got from her, and pass on to Emily...

R: Yeah...

K: And then you can say that, this is something, which is very reflexive. What I want to pass on, and something she has taught me.

R: Can you give me an example of this?

K: Yeah...like the joy of small things you know, like the childish enthusiasm, that you want to maintain it...and yeah you are allowed to play a little...and to see the beautiful things and the positive aspects of humans...to have a positive attitude towards the life. That I really want to pass on to her. And then confidence and to trust others.

R: That are also beautiful values.

K: Yes, I think so. I think that there are some things, which I valued a lot, that I got from my mom, that I would like to pass on. So that I definitely thought about – for sure.

R: What about if we talk about baby clothes. How did you know, or did you buy some things for her, before she got born?

K: Yes, we bought one piece of clothes for her – a romper suit. Talking about baby clothes, Allan by boyfriend has 3 older sisters, and they also have children. So we got mountains of clothes, like we got so much. The other day I was counting pantyhose and they are the size from 0 to 1 year, and we got 75 pair of pantyhose.

R: Wow, that's a lot.

K: I think that for the first half year, we got 115 bodies (Romper suits). It was crazy!

R: Did you choose all of them?

K: They [the sister-in-laws] sorted a lot of it. They threw out and sold all the clothes that were tatty or that had spots on. So all the clothes we got was all in perfect shape. And I also got some from colleagues and stuff like that (laughing). And you don't really know, what you should use in the beginning.

R: No, no...

K: And then we were like...what about sizes...we had no idea! But then I was like, because we got so much, then I was also like... I also want to buy some myself. So I purchased a suit myself, which she [Emily the daughter] should have on, when we left the hospital. And then I actually also bought a pair of clothes for her, for my boyfriend as a present. It was in the beginning before we knew the sex of the child. Because he sails, so I found this little pair of clothes, that had boats on. So I thought that it was funny to give it to him as a present.

R: Did you then make some specific thoughts about the first piece of clothes, the one she had on, when leaving the hospital?

K: I thought that it was extremely pretty, and also that it was something that I chose and it was new, it was hers...and also that it is a memory in one way. So that suit, it's something that I would love to save. I think that it is funny, that it is something that she has.

R: So you feel attached to it?

K: Yes, a little. Well, there are some few items that I feel have a little more meaning. But especially this one, that she had on, when we left the hospital. We have used it a lot, and it is very special for us.

R: How does it look like?

K: Pink in wool and then with big stars. It is really pretty and "dejligt".

R: Do you remember, which brand it was?

K: Yes, Hust & Claire. It is one of our favourite brands. They have some wool body stockings and some pyjamas that are extremely delicious.

R: What is it? Is it the quality, or what is it?

K: Yeah, and also because they have such a pretty design. It's a Danish brand...but both Allan and I were very excited about it. So we actually bought the same model in another design and a bigger size.

So she grew out of the pink and then she got the new one...one with sheep, in a size bigger. We are really happy for it

R: What about, now you say that you are really happy for the things that you bought yourself. I don't know, but would you say that when you are using the in heritage clothes, that you are then putting their style on Andre?

K: No that I actually do not think. Cause there is so much and there is a lot of basic clothes and a lot of really pretty things. They really bought extremely delicious things, and also a little more branded but also H&M. They also make a lot of nice things. So we have felt us so privileged. But I also think, that for me, it has also been the feeling, that *"I also would like chose myself, that I think is pretty and, which are hers and has not been used by 3 children"* Not that it has been bad and it is super delicious, what we have. And we use it often, but once in a while, I buy something for her, because I think it is pretty. And then it can be that we for instance have 4 things of something, that are similar (laughing)...but then it is more, something, that I chose for her.

R: Is it mainly you that chose it or do you do it together?

K: Yes, it is. And normally...I think that baby clothes are extremely expensive. I would say...now we got so much, but for the ones who do not have access or cannot in heritage anything. I think it is crazy how much money, you can spend on baby clothes, it is really crazy. If you for instance want some of these known brands...well pheew.

R: Now, when you are looking at clothes, what is it then, you are looking at?

K: Now the situation maybe is a little different, cause we don't miss anything. So it is impulse shopping, in reality, right? It is like...well...now I just go in and have a look, and then you find something. But most often I buy things on sale, because there are just as many nice things, which are on sales. But it is very like feminine stuff, like dresses and something like that. I hardly don't buy any bodies, cause we have so many of them, and they are pretty basic. So it is more like dresses or a "flyverdrag" or something like that.

R: Is it then in physical shops you buy them?

K: Yes, I don't buy anything online.

R: If we take the past month, do you then remember, where you bought the clothes from, which brands?

K: Ehmm...I bought, what is the name? There is a shop on Gammel Kongevej, the brand was Okker Gokker, but I can't remember what the name of the shop was. But I don't want to make commercial for them, cause they are always in such a bad mood.

R: yeah (laughing), no but it is also more the brand that was important.

K: Yeah (laughing), so the first thing I bought was from this brand Okker Gokker, but then I also bought something from the brand called Wheet. I also got a lot of stuff from them in childbirth gift. I think it is extremely pretty.

R: What is it that you like about them?

K: They have extremely delicate fabric it is always delicious?

R: Like soft?

K: Yeah, and then they have some very pretty print. And you know, when you have a girl (laughing). Then it is very nice to find some pretty feminine stuff. But yeah I also buy things that are not pink. So yeah...But I think for me..I look a lot after the organic stuff without chemicals, that have a very high priority?

R: Is that the highest priority for you?

K: Yes, that has a very high priority, I wouldn't like to dress her in clothes that was full of chemicals.

R: Is it something you talked about with others or where do you have this from?

K: I think it is something, that is just like...I also buy organic food

R: So in general you live organic

K: Yes, I try, and also to think about the environment, like also with the detergent and I try to think about it the whole way around, not to use things with too much chemicals?

R: Is that mainly to take care of her, because she is so little or is it also because you in general are environmental conscious?

K: I think it is a mix of everything. I think the first priority is to protect her and us from all straw shortening chemicals in bread. And they make studies that indicate that it can harm the sperm quality for boys...So I think that these things and when you dig a little deeper and understand that it can harm things like e.g. the sperm quality and also immune disturbing chemicals. I think it means a lot. I have also thought about it for myself, and also in regards to that I knew that I wanted children.. That I didn't want to fill myself with all crap, when I knew that I also wanted children. And I don't want that she for instance become a teenage at the age of 7. And here baby clothes is definitely part of this. That these places where you can avoid it, then I think that you should do that. I would say, that I'm not hysterical..

R: So if you for instance receive something as a present?

K: No, no not at all. It is hard, you cannot avoid it, but when you can choose yourself, then I think it's good.

R: That sounds reasonable (laughing). So as you said. Hust & Clair and Wheet, which are the brands you said that you liked. Are they then also organic?

K: Yes...A big part of them are, I don't know if all are...but I think so.

R: Is it then, that you like them the most because of the design or?

K: No, its more the quality, that the fabric feels so nice. It is very delicate fabric. And then they look very sweet (laughing).

R: Would you say, that what you buy for Emily reflect your own style?

K: Hmm.. that is hard (laughing)...maybe a little, I haven't thought about it actually. Well it is pretty feminine, which I also think that I am. So yeah...I have actually had long discussions with a friend, cause she is very much into the sex/gender debate, the whole discussion with colours and stuff like that. So every time she sees Emily in something blue, she is just like "YEAH" (laughing). But I also think that there a lot of things, that are pink!

R: So it is not something you think about, like pink with girls and blue for boys?

K: No, in the beginning, as I actually also talked with my friend about, I couldn't dream about only dressing her in blue or grey – because I was a little like...she was my daughter, and she is a girl...and I would be really sad, if people couldn't see that she was a girl and ask which gender she was. Well, I actually think that it is good that you can indicate it.

R: So is it also to show it to others?

K: Yes, definitely. But I think that now, we don't think so much about it. Now she gets all different kinds of colours and also just blue. Now it is just mixed

R: Now you told, that you were talking with a friend. Do you in general...or who do you talk with about baby clothes?

K: Well, not that many. Like I had the discussion with her sometimes, and also because that is like a value thing in regards to genders. What you signal, where we disagree a lot. But it is actually funny to discuss. But otherwise, not really – then it is more Allan's sisters. But that is also because we received a lot of clothes from them – and they are also have know a lot about baby clothes. And then you also receive some comments about it sometimes...Like oh this looks so sweet.

R: What do you then feel, when you receive these comments?

K: This is nice, and I also like to dress her up nicely, when we go out. Well, normally when we are at home, she is usually wearing pantyhose and a body.

R: So you dress her differently when you are at home and when you go out?

K: Yes, especially if we need to do something – e.g. a birthday party or for instance when we go to baby rhythmic...then I think about how I dress her. It means something, that I think that she looks nice and pretty (laughing) and don't have...like for instance it is a little funny because now, she is at home and sleeping, and if you will see her, she has food all over because I need to give her food late...so yeah...But I will say, yeah...that we went to a class with baby signs, where we were 12 persons in the class and then (laughing)...Then there was 11 boys and Emily. And then we made a name-presentation round and I had dress her in a rose-pink knitted dress from a friend that knit a lot of very pretty clothes. So she was especially delightful that day (laughing) And then there was this presentation round, and I said and this is Emily, and then it just came from all of the other mothers like "AAAAYYY" (laughing). And I could just feel that...I think that a lot of women has this special thing with a girl... and you can like decorate her a bit. And they all had boys, and then she was the only girl and she had a dress on and in pink, and then it was just like "aaaw" (laughing).

R: Do you then maybe unconsciously or consciously think about what others think about you or Emily in regards to how she is dressed?

K: It is...yeah it is..it is clear, that it is not because it reflects me as a good or a bad mother, but I think that one could think that other people could interpret this. I will actually say that I am surprised that I feel this way, because normally it is not something that I care about so much for myself. Like of course I want to look pretty and especially if I need to go somewhere. And I'm like a real princess girl myself and I have always been it. And I love everything that sparkles everything that bulges (stutter) and like really...but it is mostly if I have a specific occasion. In everyday life I tone it down a lot. And I also think it is funny with Emily, if I can give her a beautiful dress on. And I definitely think that it is nice when people praise your child. Well, now she starts getting some personality, but in the beginning there is not so much else (laughing).

R: But what do you think? You said before that of course it is not the clothes that define if you are a good or bad mother, but that you still think about, what she is wearing. But what is it concrete that you are thinking?

K: Well, I like that she is pretty and that she looks pretty (laughing)... I just think, that then others also think that she looks cute. And I think she is extremely lovely and I also want that others think she is sweet and cute. And again, I think that especially in the beginning, then the clothes is part of reflecting something, because they are kind of anonymous in the beginning. The personality is not really coming until late. And then it is just a nice way to get something to talk about, because you'll get the reaction. It is very clear that if they have something on, that is delicious, then people react. You can also see it in the mothers group, like *"Woow that's some nice pants"*. It can also be that I'm a little bias, since I'm in the middle of it, and I look myself. But it is something that is being recognized if they have something specific on.

I have knitted a dress for her, and that is also extremely nice, when people were noticing it, just like *"ahh that looks nice"* and stuff like that, especially because you did something special.

R: So that you got recognition?

K: Yes in some way. I think it is a big part of it. But it was also for myself. I think she looked cute (laughing)

R: Do you also think about what other children are wearing?

K: It would be a lie, if I said no. Because of cause, well yeah...It's funny because there are a couple of people from my mothers group.? (Laughing) and in our mother group, you can feel that there are some means that other places. And there are some boys who are wearing polos from the expensive brands. That you'll notice?

R: What do you then think?

K: Personally I think it is a waste of money (laughing). I really can't understand it. You know it because there is a logo on it. There is this big logo on it, so that you can recognise it, but otherwise it looks like all other clothes. And then I'm thinking, that I don't understand, why they bother. And then I feel that it's show off.

R: Ahh ok

K: Personally, I don't mind if it's a cheap or expensive brand, as long as I think, that it looks nice, right?

R: So do you feel that they are giving the children these brands on in order to show off?



K: Yeah, like *"we have a little more money"*

R: Are there then some values, that you think are attached to these type brands with big logos? Or do you think then think about how they are as mothers? Well, know you know them, because they are part of your mothers group, but more in general?

K: Yeah, I think that you do that. I think you will always have some prejudice about how the things are and how they are connected. And I clearly also have that in regards to how things are. But I really think that it fits (laughing). They are extremely nice people, but there is not doubt that the clothes reflect their lifestyle, and how they are and what they do. That they just have more money or that they prioritize them differently.

R: What kind of lifestyle is it then, that you think it represents? Now you don't need to say especially regarding them [The persons from the mothers group]. I'm just thinking more in general with parents who dress their children with big logos? What is it for a lifestyle you think they represent, or what kind of values do you think they give to the children? If you think that there are something specific?

K: Yeah, there are...Well, I don't know how to say it, but there are probably some attitude. Well, I think and also because you have worked a lot for your money. For these type of people, that I'm thinking about. There are of course also people who in heritage a lot of money, but they are not the ones I'm thinking about. But there is this attitude that you can use your money, that you have earned, also to show it. Also that they think about quality. I'm most definitely also think that. That I then don't understand why they would buy it to so small children, cause they are growing so fast (laughing). They wear it like 3 times, but it is an attitude to how you live your life and that you want good things. And it is also a way to show that you have a good taste.

R: What if the brands where the same, but you could not see the logo?

K: Then I don't think you would think about it?

R: Then it would not be seen upon as being show off?

K: No, I don't think so, no. It is clear that there are some brands like the ones with the logos. Then you also think something about it. But I also think it would go the other way. Like if you for instance see a child who always have wrinkled or dirty clothes on.

R: What do you then think?

K: Well, then I think that I would think that it was reflecting how the parents were in reality. It is also a picture of where they come from. Do they then live messy,? Do they not wash the clothes that often? Things like that. But it does not necessarily need to be like that. But I just think that it is what it expresses.

R: Is it something that you also think about when dressing Emily?

K: Yes, that I do. Yes. But of course, if for instance like now she is sleeping and needs to get food afterwards, and we don't have any plans. Then Im just thinking that it doesn't matter that she has dirty clothes on. But if we were going out, I would change it, cause it does not look super nice (laughing). But I don't think that Im totally vain with things like that, but of course it means something.

R: Are there some places, before you buy things for her, where you seek inspiration? Like for instance advertising?

K: No. It is just impulse, when I look at a shop. I found a shop called Tinderbox in Frederiksberg Centret, it's a very very very nice shop. There are a lot of different brands. It's just crazy nice. And then I feel like I get inspired because the clothes are hanging and you can go around and look at it. So it's kind of a dangerous shop to enter, cause there is always something nice (laughing)

R: What if you see someone who is wearing something really nice?

K: Then I think it needs to be very special. Also because we have so much clothes and we are not really missing anything. So it is more like, if I bump into something nice. I like the sales stands outside the shops. Also because it is difficult to enter the shop with the pram. But you can do that in the shop Tinderbox, because it is so big. But otherwise I look at the stands on the street.

R: Do you prefer branded clothes compared to non-branded clothes?

K: No, not at all. I look much more at the looks and quality. But I can see, that now we got so much clothes, and some of them are branded and some of them are not. It's really a mix. But there is a big difference in the sizes. We joke about that my sister-in-law's baby looked like a suitcase when she was a baby. So the clothes was not so long but wide, however, Emily is very long and skinny. So the clothes do not fit her so well. So there is definitely some brands, which fit her better. E.g. Holly. It fits her very well, and then Petit Bateau, cause they have clothes, that is long and slim.

R: What about buying clothes in the supermarket?

K: I've bought a pair of woollen trousers in Føtex. But I don't really want to.

R: No? Why do you think it is like that?

K: I don't really know. I have actually looked sometimes, but there has not been anything that I've liked – just the woollen trousers. But for instance if we didn't in heritage so much, then I would probably buy there. Cause you can get a lot of things, which are pretty nice and really cheap. And I think quality wise, it is just as good as a lot of other clothes. I just think that the clothes, that I buy for her are more specific than what they have in the supermarket. Cause that's more basic, especially for the small ones

R: Is it then, because you already have so much, so that what you buy should be different.

K: Yes, but I would say, that I would do if, if we didn't have so much clothes. Cause I think I get a little cheap, when I think about how shortly it is used. I want something that is good and it needs to be comfortable for her to wear. So that means more, but I think it is very crazy to give like 400 DKK to for instance a body stocking, which she would wear like 3 times. They grow really fast (laughing).

R: Do you think that it is different to buy clothes from the supermarket for adults and for babies?

K: I think it is for me. I don't know why, but I have an idea that it is worse quality in the supermarket and that when I wash it, it will go out of shape. And it is most definitely a prejudice, cause it could be just as nice as when you shop in for instance H&M. So yeah, just the fact that going in a supermarket, that is weird?

R: Also for babies? Or just for adults?

K: That, I don't think, since I've been in Føtex and looked after clothes. Cause I do actually believe that it looks really nice and it is also Økotex (laughing).

R: What about buying used baby clothes?

K: I would have done it, if we did not receive so much!

R: So it is not something, which you have done?

K: No, it has really not been necessary. It is very limited how much clothes, that I actually bought myself.

R: Do you then feel more attach to the things that you bought yourself?

K: Yeah (laughing)

R: What do you think about it?

K: First of all, it is something that I really liked. It is something which I've fell for, cause it has not been necessary. I just think that the things I chose myself, is because I really like it, and then it just means something else than the things you know, that has been used a lot. There are a lot of the things, which we got, that looks really nice. And especially the knitted things, because that is not something you buy, that is something you receive as a gift. There is a woman from the family who knits a lot, and that means something special, cause you know, that they are made especially for Emily. But I have thought about it, because if we for instance get more children in the family and you need to deliver it back, and also the sharing clothes, then I'm thinking that there are certain items, which I would select out. For instance the clothes we bought when she was born. That I would never give to anyone else, cause Im like, that piece is Emily's. It is very special.

R: Actually, how long time before you gave birth, did you buy it?

K: I think it was some couple of month before. Pretty close to the due date.

R: What other things would you select out?

K: There is a dress, that one of my friends made for Emily. And this is also hers. It is not something that are born.

R: It's kind of made for Emily?

K: Yeah, and then you have that dress, that I've knitted. Some of these thing that have some kind of personality. I would like to save them, also If we got another child

R: Yeah. What about the things that was knitted or made for her? Did they chose what they liked or did they come and asked you about which colours or patterns that you prefer?

K: They have just made it.

R: And it fits well?

K: Yes, yes.

R: Have you actually received presents, that you did not really liked?

K: We have received some Christmas presents that we chose to change.

R: So you changed it?

K: Yes to a gift voucher. Something that was not really our style. But otherwise I think that we received a lot of really nice clothes! There are some of the things we in heritage from the others where we thought like “argh”, but we have been so privileged that we received so much, so we did just not pick it (laughing). Like the things where we were like *“this is just not our colours, or design, or the shape was just completely off”*

R: What could it be, that were not your style?

K: I’ve received a neon body stocking with animal print. It was just not us. I could really not imagine that she should wear it. And some clothes with rainbow colours. I like colours, but not when they are mixed a lot. Like extreme. That we did not chose. But I think there is not so much baby clothes that are like that., especially when they are so small

R: Are there some brands, in which you would never dress Emily?

K: No, I don’t know them so well. No.

R: What if you received like the clothes, you talked about that there were some children from your mothers group, who were wearing these big logos?

K: Yeah, I don’t think that I would like to give her these kind of clothes. For instance Louis Vuitton or Ralph Lauren. I remember that we were in Malaysia, the year before I got pregnant. And we went into this HUGE shopping mall in Kuala Lumpur, and here they got a whole level just we baby clothes, and they also had these brands. And they just looked like small adults. And all this clothes, that cost like a billion DKK, and they hang on these small mannequins. And you think, they look like small businessmen. They signal something that I’m really not. For me it seems like a pace of the child. It is not comfortable with a suit or tie for small children or small hair bands and purses. It is just far away from how I am. And I might think that it is more for the look that thinking that the children can play in it.

R: So comfort is more important?

K: Yes, absolutely! It needs to be comfortable for them to wear. We received a dress with bottoms at the back. It is very very cute, but I will never put it on her. Cause she rolls around and I just don’t think it is comfortable to lay on bottoms.

R: But have you received some clothes, that you didn’t really like, but you used it anyway?

K: No, then we have just not used it.

R: Is there a difference, if you had any idea of how you would dress her, and how you actually did?

K: No, I was very open-minded.

R: What about...

K: I actually also have some clothes, from when I was a baby.

R: That she also wear?

K: Yeah she wore a couple of items. There are some that are very 80-style, where I thought, no, that would be a shame. And then there are some items, that are not so practical. Cause I think a lot about it, like can I quickly change the diaper (laughing). And then there are some of these old things that are not so practical.

R: Do you think that we have become more aware that the design should be practical?

K: I most definitely think so. There were no pushbutton in my body stockings and it was very difficult to change a diaper with it (laughing). You need to get all of it off. But I've used some items, and that is really funny. You are like "*yeah so this is 30 years old*" (laughing)

R: Are you then also more attached to these things?

K: Yes I am. I think it is funny that my parents saved it. So, absolutely!

R: Is it then also something that you think about with the clothes that you want to save?

K: Yes most definitely. I also think it is funny that it has a history.

R: Do you know the story behind the clothes that your parents saved?

K: No, I actually don't. My dad cannot remember, and now I cannot ask my mum. But it's funny, there are some fun items amongst them, and it is pleasant (hyggeligt). And I also think about that it would be nice for Emily to have some of the things, we save for her (laughing).

R: Are there actually some pieces of clothes, that you would say "*I just love it*"?

K: It's clear that there are some pieces of clothes, which are our favourites and that she wears more often. Where you are just happy when it is clean again, so she can wear it.

R: What is it that makes that these are your favourites?

K: I think it is a combination, that they are comfortable for her to wear, that they look nice on her and that they are easy for us to use. There are just some things, where she looks extremely cute, like a special dress or a body stocking with a nice colour...Sometimes we find some clothes that fits well together, where you think "*this just look very pretty together*", and then it just something you use a lot for her, while she can still fit it (laughing).

R: Is this something you think about? That the clothes are matching?

K: I try, but it's not always working, but we try.

R: What about when you buy something new, or you think this looks very cute. Could you then imagine yourself taking a picture and sharing it?

K: (laughing) yes, and I already done it to some of my friends. I also think that there are a lot who think it is cute with baby clothes and the small sizes. And then...It's nice to get the recognition of the choices you make, that there are others who also thinks it looks pretty. So I think that a lot of it is that you want this recognition... that what you do are good and right. You would not really want that other people think "*well, her child is really poorly dressed*" (laughing)

R: No, that you don't want (laughing)

K: But yes, if I find something, which is extremely cute, then I share it sometimes.

R: Is it to your friends or online?

K: No, just in private messages.

R: What about in the beginning, how did you know, what she needed?

K: I asked Allan's sisters a lot. We received boxes with clothes. And then you were thinking like "*I have no idea what these sizes means. I don't know what we should use*". So we actually got one of the sisters to come over, and then we spent the whole evening looking through the boxes, piece by piece. And then she explained: "*This is for now, this is for the winter*". So we just got like a basic introduction to what to use, when to use it and the sizes. And then I think, that when there is passing some time, then you get an idea yourself. In the beginning it was very difficult.

R: So it was kind of mother advice you got or how?

K: yeah, and you don't know the size of the baby either. So like how small should it be? And also because they had cut the size label off, so I couldn't see the sizes either. But now we just try... And there is a big difference in the sizes depending on the brands, so it is very difficult to know. Some of the brands she can use a size smaller or bigger. I've tried to dress her in something that was just way to big (laughing). But then it was just like, ok so she cannot use it yet.

R: So it has been kind of a learning process?

K: Yeah...I don't know if it will change (laughing).

R: Oh yeah...In regards to the clothes that you in heritage, have you done something specific with it before she was wearing it?

K: We have washed it. All of it.

R: Was it because it should be clean?

K: Yes, and also because it has been washed with a lot of fabric softener, so it smelled very strong (laughing)...and also because a lot of it had been packed down.

R: Yeah. What about the things that smelled of fabric softener? Did you wash it, so that the smell should disappear?

K: It smelled really a lot, so that we didn't like. We are very neutral; we don't use fabric softener or perfume... And also just so we knew that it was clean. Cause we didn't know, because it has been in a basement.

R: What about...would you sell any of the clothes?

K: (Laughing) that is a really good question. I have thought about it many times. Cause it is not sure that Allan's sisters will have more children...And we have talked about that we want 1 or 2 more. But these mountain of clothes, that we have are so massive, so we could consider it (laughing)...But I also think it is a bit difficult, cause it is something we received. I didn't buy a lot. And then I have a couple of friends, who are starting getting babies..so I will pass the things on, which I bought to the.

R: But not the clothes you received?

K: No, cause I would feel a little bad about it. At least I would need to talk with them before, cause I know that they spent a lot of money and I also think that they have some favourite items, that they would like to keep. And in another way it would also feel stupid, that they spent all these money on it, and if I then sold it and earned money on it (laughing). I would not sell it without their consent. But I really like the idea with recycling. And also a lot of the things that we have a used. For instance the bed, high chair and changing table. So I think, especially for baby things. I'm really crazy with the idea of recycling them. I don't like when people are just buying and throwing out, buying and throwing out...

R: Do you think that this is specific for our generation or is it specific for you?

K: I also know some people that like that everything is new. That they don't like anything that it used before... So it is different how you feel. But I can't really see any idea of why you should not do it.

R: What about your pram?

K: That is new, but we also looked at used ones. But the prices are actually pretty expensive on used prams...So we thought, this is also something, which is used a lot and therefore they are often very worn-out – even though they have only be used to one child. And then relating it to how much we would save on it. Then we didn't think it would be worth.

R: No

K: So we bought a new, and then we bought a balcony pram, which be bought used (laughing).

R: What about your pram? Did you get it home before you gave birth?

K: (Laughing) It was in the shop, we just needed to call them when we wanted to pick it up.

R: Ok, was that because of the superstition?

K: (Laughing) I actually told my grandmother that we bought a pram. Then she became EXTREMELY mad. She was just like "*Have you bought a pram?*" (Laughing) and then I explained her, that it was still in the shop, and then it was ok. But I don't think, that I thought so much about it. I didn't even know

about all the superstitions. I just heard about it just before I gave birth. And then I thought like “*wow, you cannot do this, and you are not allowed to do that*” (Laughing).

R: What other things are there? Cause that is just the one, that I know.

K: Well, you are not allowed to cut the labels of new clothes, actually

R: Did you do it?

K: No...That we didn't do.

R: Was that because of superstitions or was it by coincidence?

K: No, we are not really superstitious. And then there is something about, that you are not allowed to build the bed...You are not allowed to put the beddings on before the baby has arrived.

R: So it's like all the things to prepare to the baby?

K: Yeah, there are a lot of things, which you are not allowed. But it is funny, because it is ok with used clothes. But there were a lot of things, where I was like “Well, Well” But we don't really care about it (laughing). We don't really think about it.

R: No, no... Now I'm just jumping away from that, but what about online social media. Do you look here for inspiration for baby clothes?

K: Not for clothes, but I use the apps, Reshopper. That one I used a lot, but mainly to things. I actually chose not to get information about clothes, because there is a specific filter. I don't want to look at clothes...No when I have so much (laughing)... Yeah, I'm following some of the brands on Facebook also Hust & Claire. So there are some of the baby clothes brands, which I think are pretty that I look at and when they got sales.

R: Yeah

K: But I haven't bought anything online. I have looked at their webpages many times, but never bought anything.

R: Ah ok. Are there any celebs or blogs you follow?

K: No, no.

R: I think that was it. Do you have anything that you think, “*this I want Rebecca to know before she leaves?*”

K: No, I don't think so.



## INTERVIEW WITH CATHRINE

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Interview with Cathrine

Child: Freja, 6 months

Location: In the mother's apartment in Østerbro.

Interviewers: Kate and Rebecca

I: Ida

K: Kate

R: Rebecca

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R: First of all, this interview is anonymous... so don't be afraid of saying anything. We are doing research for our master thesis about baby clothes. We are researching how first time mothers in CPH see the baby clothes, how you feel about it, how you use it and so on. We have prepared some questions but we wanted this to be more like conversation so you would not feel stressed. This is (papers with questions) more like a guidance for us.

R: How do you see yourself as a mum?

C: I see myself as a very back-to-basics kind of mum. Very down to earth, I hope. And it's just pretty much...learn by doing. And of course, I'd like to see myself as quite loving and caring and...calm, I would say I'm pretty calm.

R: How has it changed you to become a mother, if you think it has?

C: I'm very worried about...anything and everything. Actually...it's the hardest thing I worry about, sometimes, when I hear a track go by, I think about "Oh my god, it's a Russian tank, we've been invaded, what can I do now... (laughing) But, also I feel... I don't really feel different from who I was before, it's just... I just feel like myself but now with a baby (laughing). I don't feel at all restricted or limited, I just, I guess that I accepted that things have changed and that's how things are now.

K: How did your free time change?

C: Well. At first, this baby's been, she's been very so I mean, I've had a lot of free time, I felt. But I guess what I did before, well, I don't see friends as much anymore because they have jobs and school but I see my sisters a lot and I do the same thing. I mean when she's...at night, I've been out to dinners and I visit friends "and when she's put to bed" I guess it's changes a little...Also, one of the things that changes when you have a baby, you don't remember everything that happened before (laughing) I don't remember really what I did before (laughing) But I...I guess I also have less free time because when I look at (the clock) when I go to bed it's like...nine. That's the latest - please let me go to bed

R: Yeah, you become more tired so you have to sleep

C: Yeah.

R: And...Yeah, I guess that's pretty much

R: What about, like, if we're talking about...baby clothes,

(Pause, a conversation not related to the interview)

R: But if we're talking about baby clothes, what would you say you look after when you choose it?

C: I look for...affordable prices, but I also...I don't really buy too much baby clothes because my mother-in-law, she knits, and my own mum, she sews so she's making a lot...these trousers are by my mum, this sweater's by my mother-in-law and...so the things I purchase, I guess they're not the cheapest but... I don't really buy too much baby clothes.

K: What did you buy last time?

C: I bought...this pantyhose...or leggings so that's what it was.

R: Do you remember from which brand it was?

C: Yeah, they're from NP and I bought them online on a...I pretty much buy everything online because there are no shipping fees and a big store that carries all the brands, so...

R: Okay, what is that site?

C: Kids world.

C: So I bought these and they are from NP.

R: And do you then...like when you select...buy... do you find inspiration anywhere or is it because you miss something, you go in there, how is it working?

C: I look at a lot of stuff on Instagram, actually, that I wanna buy. And then I also go to the very expensive store Pure baby that's right down here and I look at all the things and go "Wow, this would be so cute" But...I mean, the thing is just that I don't think it's worth buying it because she doesn't really use that much clothes. So when I...I pretty much just know, well, what does she need, is there something broken or is she always cold on her feet, and I will buy a couple of slippers or something like that. And I actually always... I mean, it's very rare that she's wearing something that actually fits her (laughing) because I always buy it one size too big.

R: That's smart. So she can wear it for longer time.

C: Yeah. And because I do that it's okay to spend a bit more because then it lasts longer, because she is using it, you know.

R: Would you say you would prefer branded clothes to what's non-branded clothes?

C: Yeah, I would.

R: Why?

C: For example, these...are they called pantyhose? I...I've had some from H&M and the elastic band just wasn't that good, it got loose and it's annoying that it won't stay up and so I've decided to buy from this

brand that I've read about that it should be the best and it costs twice as much but they're just...I don't see that they've been worn that much and they just...they're the same as when I bought them. And...So, I just decided that I'll just have one pair or two pairs instead of, you know, five different colours from H&M and then I'm happy about the quality. And I think that's money well spent.

R: What about, you said that you were looking or found inspiration in Instagram, is it like a special person you are following or...?

C: Yes. It's a couple of people. Do you want names or...?

R: If you remember?

C: There's a photographer called Maria Frank, she has two beautiful little girls and she buys them matching clothes, expensive clothes, and I look at them and I think that it's just, it looks very nice and...Then it's actually a few women from adult women's fashion that just happen to have babies. So I think one is called... Jeeny Morgensol (?), she works at Stine Gaarde, she has a very cute baby. And there's a girl called Lou, that is also from Stine Gaarde, she's just had a little baby also and she buys expensive clothes and very nice, so that's... And I, I just look at them and think "Aw, that's so nice", and then I go "Mum, can you make these?" (laughing)

R: That's a good thing about your mum being able to sew.

C: Yeah. But I don't really care too much about dressing her up, I don't...I mean, when I go to my own closet, I just want to pull out something that I know will fit and that matches, you know, everything else and it's the same thing with her, I don't care for staying there, looking in the drawer: "Ooh, my little baby will look good today ...she...sailor? you know (laughing). I just put on, you know, one or/in three of the sweaters that my mother-in-law knitted and then, you know, she has four or something trousers, and, it comes out and it's dirty and then...I don't really change it that much.

R: Would you say that when you are home or when you go out, is there any difference in how you dress her?

C: Yeah. Always if we go visit my mum, I put on something she made (laughing) to stay with my mother and if I see my friends, yeah, I definitely have a couple of outfits that I would say "This looks...", you know, this is something that I think she looks even better in, you know... Yes, so I definitely think about that. So in that way, I guess I dress her up.

K: Do you ever take pictures of her, of what she's wearing?

C: For the purpose of showing what she is wearing, or just...?

K: Yeah, yeah. You know, like a....

C: No. Although, I do, I think if I look at the pictures that I post...nej (Danish)...I definitely, if I take a picture and it's showing an outfit that I like, I would definitely think "Wow, she looks even better" if you've had stepped with me in my mind, yeah.

R: Do you think...maybe it's a hard question to answer...are you unconsciously thinking about how other people see her when you dress her?

C: Yes. It's not unconscious at all, actually. I mean, first, when they're little, there's the issue of kind of wanting people to recognize that it's a girl...because you...you often can't tell the first moment because it's just a soft face...

R: So do you think that it should be like girl's colours...?

C: Yeah, at least something to represent the gender.

R: Yeah.

C: But... I don't care that you can recognize the brand, I just care that it looks as if it's not dirty and worn out or doesn't really fit or...anything, so.

R: But how come that you're thinking about these stuff?

C: I don't know actually. I think because I... I look at a... I guess that I like to look at pretty stuff, I like the whole polished image that you find on Instagram, for example. I mean, I like it in the way that it's nice to look at, and don't like the whole thing that is...you know, that is, in a broader picture, what it's doing to my behaviour and society and women and... (laughing) you know. But... I guess it's, I also think that if they look at her and you know, she's a little... sort of... not, I mean, not cheap-looking, I guess I think it's reflects somewhat on me and I don't want to look as if I'm not taking care of her.

K: Is there like... before, while you were pregnant, have you imagined that you'll dress her in certain way?

C: Yes.

K: Is it different from...how it is now?

C: How it is now?

K: Yes.

C: Yes. I had an idea that I'll probably use a pile of these amazing clothes that I see on Instagram and but then, I mean, I see the prices and I guess that they're a little too high for me, it's not worth it. And then, plus, you get...I mean, people, they throw clothes at you. Um, everyone. Yeah, it's just: "Ooh, you had a baby, theirs is a...thousand things..." (laughing) Um, so... I forgot what I was about to say.

K: If you imagined that you'd dress her differently before and after?

C: Um...I guess I dress her a little bit different. Just because I don't...a lot of the clothes I don't buy myself.

R: What about, when you get clothes, or when they make clothes for you, um...or maybe more when they make clothes for you, is it then their own style they're doing it in or do they ask you...?

C: No. I've done a lot of lobbying (laughing) With my own mum, it's easy to say: "Aah, really...?" and with my mother-in-law, I... I did, kind of "Ooh, look at this, it's so nice!" (laughing) And it's actually, she tends to show me something: "Oh, isn't this cute?" and then I can say: "Well... not really." But I think that they both have pretty much the same...same style as me. There have been a couple of things and

I'd say "No, that's not really my...for me." And then, there was something that they made themselves and they go: "No, don't put her in that."

R: So what's the the difference?

C: It's the colour, that they see, for example, in a store...my mum, she buys the fabrics at the same store and then she goes "Ah, this looks so cute" when she's there and then she comes and then: "It's totally not her colour."

R: Are there some colours you would never put on her?

C: Um...anything neon, anything that doesn't go with purple because everything is purple when Eh, no. I don't... I have very few things that have a pattern, because... I don't like patterns, I just don't know why, it confuses me a lot, I get... I don't like patterns on myself... and then I guess, I mean, she does have like that little stuff with flowers and she looks cute in it but I... I don't like... And I also don't like all the Disney characters and everything. I don't believe that, you know, there are some people that think: "Oh, it's so important that children have real children's clothes" that you could tell: "Oh, this is for a child." But I mean, when it's this size and it's obvious that it is for a child so I don't really need that whole...Okay, here is a crocodile riding a...banana boat or something.

R: What about the clothes you got as a present, is there anything that you have received that you don't want to put on her?

C: Yes. Um...yeah, there is... she got like... little Nike shoes and I guess they're cute in the store but like, she can't use them for anything and I... I don't like... I think it's... it was too, sort of, look at me, I've spend 300 kroners on a pair of shoes that won't work but it's Nike and... Then there a couple of um, some underwear, that had, like, ---- because they have short sleeves I didn't use them actually... and what else... Actually I didn't um... a lot of the stuff that I got for her she's not grown into it yet. And I also got a little, I, the first couple of months I've just borrowed a lot of clothes from my co-worker and I also... you know, she's... she's got a lot of clothes that are... inherited by my cousins and...

R: Did you then choose everything or was there something like you picked them like "This, I want the..."

C: Yeah, I picked them. And then, sometimes they bring me something, that they think: "Ooh, this is what you would like..." and then it's a pink sweater with a... it's a Burberry sweater with a Burberry bee and I don't like that (laughing)

R: Does that something to do with that it's Burberry?

C: Yes. 100%. I don't like showing...um... It's like actually a very nice sweater. It's a... you know, good quality, I guess, but I don't like... that it has a...

R: Because you don't like that it's too big a brand when/like you see it...?

K: Do you think it's like showing off?

C: Yeah. I think that if I'd put her in it, people would think: "Oh my God, there goes one of the mums and it's so important for her to show that she's bought an expensive blouse for her kid. So, actually, it's,

I mean, it's a nice pink sweater but I guess it's because... you know, what it would say about me or what I would think about someone who did that.

R: What if the logo was covered and you couldn't see it?

C: Fine, then it would be perfectly fine.

R: Now, you say what you would maybe think about other people if they put on logos... Can you elaborate more?

C: I think it's... it's just... if I see someone, we have one in my eh... group of mothers, and she always, she has all these, all kinds of expensive baby clothes, Ralph Lauren, Burberry skirts, just anything that is high... high price. And I, I just think that it's too much, it's a... it's a dress-up, it's like the baby's a little doll and you wanna reflect some kind of perfect image via the baby, so... But I mean, I know she's gotta shitloads of money so, I mean, I get that she wants to buy it, she... it just doesn't matter for her.

R: But do you think it represents kind of the mother's values or...?

C: Yeah. I think it's... I just think it's unnecessary to... I mean, it's too much money to spend on so little fabric that they'll fit in for a month and a half. So I just, I don't see the point. And I don't really think that it's... I... I think it's... you are too materialistic person when you do that. I mean... I sound very judging. (laughing) I am very judging.

R: What about when you dress Freja, do you then think that other people judge you as well?

C: Yeah. I do.

R: Is it something that you think about?

C: Yeah, I do, actually, but I don't... I don't care that someone who buys expensive clothes thinks that: "Oh my God, she's wearing that, and it's... where did she get that, is it really home-made or is that a fault here, she's not..." I mean, I don't care that the people that I dislike dislike what I'm doing, I mean, it's obvious that you hate when they... when the people that I judge don't judge but then I feel like "Oh, such a judgmental person..." (laughing) I don't mean in terms of things that people judge me much more than they do in terms of clothes.

R: Have you ever experienced ...or is it?

C: No, I haven't, actually.

R: Never?

C: always jealous that she has these nice home-made nips, for example, because they cost a fortune if you buy them in the store.

R: But when you then think that other think something about you, what is it that you think of?

C: What I think they think about me? Well, I worry that if they'd think that she's dressed poorly or... yeah, poorly, I don't care about if they think it's fashionable, just if they think it looks, you know, worn

out, I worry that they think that I live in an apartment that I don't vacuum and I don't shower and I probably don't clean my kitchen and... Yeah, so that's that kind of things.

R: Unhygienic.

C: Yeah, that's what I think. Because I... if I see a child and then I think: "Really? You couldn't have, you know, changed that sweater with the old food on it before you went out? Or you probably live in a house where your dog has hair everywhere and when you see something, you just put it on the floor and leave it or...yeah.

K: Have you ever sold or given away any of her clothes?

C: I haven't sold anything because I don't have anything that... you know, when I look at what people sell, it's not anything that people buy, they...they are particularly interested in the expensive and brands... I don't have anything of that, so. Plus, I know, we'll have a couple of more kids so there's no point selling it. I keep it, yeah. But I do buy some used clothes.

R: Yeah? Like at where ?

C: People on Instagram, they have a separate Instagram account for selling their baby's clothes. And it's...a... I mean, they have bought a ton of clothes for their babies because a lot of what they sell hasn't really been used.

R: What about when you buy clothes that have been used, do you do something to it before she's using it?

C: Um... Yeah, I just wash it.

R: Is that... Why is that, to get it clean or that it would smell or...?

C: Just because, you know, I don't know what kind of detergent they washed it in and I want it to be without perfume and everything and I don't know where they kept it or... Just, you know, it's just that. It feels more new when it's just washed.

K: Do you also wash new clothes you purchase?

C: Yes, everything. I wash everything before using it. Once, I forgot to wash some of my clothes and I got a rash. And it was underwear, so it was not good. (laughing)

R: It's always good to wash it (laughing)

R: What about when you inherit a lot of... or borrow, some of the clothes, did you think about that you were putting another child's personality on her or you chose the one you thought chose her or like...

C: Did I think about...?

R: If there's like personality attached to the clothes?

C: No, don't think about that at all. The only thing I think about is: is this... do I think that it looks... is it in an okay condition? Or does it look too...too worn out? That's the only thing. I don't ever think about who's worn it before.

R: What about, you said there were some styles that were absolutely not your kind of style. So you think that your style is kind of representative in this case?

C: Um... When I buy it or...?

R: When you buy it or when you choose it, just in general?

C: Yeah, I only buy, I would never buy anything just because she needs something to wear and then buy anything, I would always buy something that I would feel like it goes with all the other stuff and that I think it's nice and goes with the whole...well, how I'd like to see my baby. (laughing)

R: What about in the beginning, how did you know what to choose for her?

C: I didn't choose anything, I got a lot of second-hand and I borrowed a lot so it was just...I...I chose what I wanted to borrow and I just didn't know the gender at the time so I just took all whites and the greys and... Yeah, I just... she wore a lot of white and grey, actually, so...

K: So you didn't know if she's gonna be a girl or a boy?

C: No. So like, that was actually a very good idea in terms of shopping because I went to a lot of stores before she was born and you see: "Oh, this is so cute..." and then I just, and I couldn't buy it. Because, I mean, it was such a good...good thing for me.

K: I haven't thought about it this way. (laughing)

C: Because I think if I knew the gender before she was born I would've bought a lot of... a lot more, and I wouldn't have used it.

R: Did you buy something before she was born?

C: Ah yeah, I bought a couple of... what did I buy? Um... some body stockings, I think, um... And then a sleep suit. But um... but she was so big when she was born, so she couldn't fit in it (laughing). But it... I knew that I could borrow all the baby clothes so I didn't... I didn't buy too much.

R: But you kept it here, at home?

C: Yeah, I did. But, when... I mean, there definitely came a time when she was like a month, month and a half, that I felt like: Okay, I put her in the white, small, gender neutrals and now I need, I mean, I felt like...oh, but that was that, she was just a couple of weeks. Um... then I felt like: "Okay, she needs to own something of her own, I mean, she deserves, I mean like...I guess I got a little...

R: How come you felt that she deserved some kind of her own...?

C: Um... I think it was just because I could finally pick something that I liked and that had an... and of course that wasn't in pink.



K: Is there a piece of clothing that you feel attached to? That you would never give away? Even to your cousins or anyone? You would just keep it forever?

C: Yeah, all the...she has, um... some home-knitted sweaters that I would never do like this...that's very nice and know that my mother-in-law, she took a lot of time making them and I think they are very, very pretty. I'd never give them away.

But...um...something that I bought... I don't, I'm not sure I have any feelings really attached to it. No, I don't...

R: So it's more because they've spent a lot of time and...

C: Yeah, it's personal.

K: And...you said...before, at the beginning, you said you had a favourite shop here on the corner? Pure baby, was it called? Is it like something you wish to buy or...or...but you never bought anything from it?

C: I would buy pretty much everything. If I had unlimited means, I'd buy...

K: Why from there? Why is it special?

C: Um... Well, it's special because it has...it's all organic and... It just has the colour scheme that I like, sort of. It's um... sort of, douche, sort of, does that make...um...sort of, pastel colours and um...not too bright and materials are really like wool...for most of the things...and they have a lot of wool and also...because I just... I've heard and I've read and seen that the quality is... it's just nice, you can just tell... and she does have some things from Bilka, for example and it's alright, I mean, it fits, it's fine, but you can just tell that if you've washed it, it just turned more grey... and... loses a lot of flexibility and...

R: Who do you talk about baby clothes with? If you do talk about it.

C: I don't, actually. Not about designs or anything like that. Just um... I talk to, well, my mum and my mother-in-law about what to make next but... I don't really talk to anyone about it. Because...it's just...this whole...um...eh (a pause, Freja crying) I'll be back.

[pause, discussion not related to the interview]

C: I think that before I gave birth I just, I read a lot about... people... that there are lot of Instagram people that just had babies and all the comments and stuff. And you have to be super careful, I mean, you have to be so open to everything and just accept that everyone does everything different and, you know, no matter how you do it, it's just as good as Instagram. So I feel, that when it comes to everything, also baby clothes, don't step on anyone's toes because we're all rookies, and it's really, I mean, it's so difficult not to just say what you mean sometimes. Not about the clothes but about everything else. And I don't really... the only one I talk to it about is basically my boyfriend because he... I bought some stuff she didn't really use and then, it cost money too, so...he would say: "No, no, no..."

R: Does he pick clothes for her as well?

C: No. He doesn't. But he does like to...when I, if I bought something, you know, sometimes, he would say: "Ooh..." you know, I could just tell he's gonna think it's so cute, so... But for example, I wanna buy her a sunhat for the summer because she can sit in her stroller with it and it's from a... a brand called Soft gallery, I saw it on Instagram of one of the mothers and I thought it was amazing, it costs 200 kroners and you can buy one for 45 if that's what you want, or 50, or you can buy a used one. But I want this one. So...I told him about it because it's...

R: And that's because of the design...?

C: Yeah. It's very cute.

R: Do you notice what other children are wearing?

C: Um...do I no.... yeah. But only... I don't notice it and then go: "Wow, this is amazing, I want that. I guess I only... sometimes, I find myself looking for... because I know a lot of the brands and the stuff that they produce because I... I window shop a lot. And then I see, if someone's wearing it, and I go: "Oh my God, did they really spend 800 kroners on that jacket" or something... So, actually.

R: So it's more when you think something is kind of stupid then if you think that (laughing)

C: Yes. Exactly. Yeah. But... I've never looked at someone and said: "Oh, where did you buy that, I want that!" Never, no. You know, she has enough clothes, um, yeah. (Pause). But, I mean sometimes, I think about, I don't... there are, I mean, unlimited numbers of web shops, that have all the same brands, I mean, they carry the same brands pretty much everywhere and I just, I can't believe how they can all profit from, I mean, selling the same clothes as all the big department stores also do but I guess there's... a lot of people must, like, buy it, although I think it's reasonably priced... but, yeah. But, I mean, yeah, I guess just people, a lot of people buy a lot of stuff. I'm very surprised about how many outlets there are with children clothes. Just, in my neighbourhood, right here, I mean, I can... in the radius of 200 meters, there are one, two, free, four, five, six... eight stores that sell children's clothes.

R: Wow, that's a lot. Do they sell kind of the same thing?

C: A lot of the same brands, yeah. And I... I can't imagine how that works. I mean, how many babies can there really be to put clothes on? (laughing)

R: Have you actually... or, do you know if there are any brands which are more popular than others? Like, more trendy, or giving more prestige?

C: I think trendy - yeah. Um... There's the whole... The whole eco, wool, natural... There's a brand called Serendipity that a lot of people buy and Silana or Silena, I don't know, and Wheat and then there's a whole other, um, sort of more hip and fun, a lot of people buy that Mini Butiny that has lot of fun, sort of patterns. And... then, there is... I think what a lot of people that I know that when they need something basic, they just go to Carl-Johan. Just because they have... I mean, it's... I mean, it's an okay price for what you get.

R: When you buy branded clothes, which brands do you prefer?

C: Well... I prefer the NP for all the accessories and socks and stuff. And then I prefer a brand called Small Stuff for... her body stockings because she's quite long in her upper body and they just have a better fit, a lot of bodies have a wide fit because a lot of little babies get very chubby. But she's very

long so that's why. But they are actually a little bit more expensive and... but she has a couple of them and they look like they're new although she's... there's been... I mean, everything on them. So, yeah.

R: What about clothes from supermarket, do you buy that?

C: Yeah. Bilka and Frotex have their own brand in a way, they make a lot of wools as well, and it's actually a very good quality for the price so she has some stuff from there, sleep suits and body stockings? as well. But I don't go to Super brugsen and look at what they have and

R: Only Bilka and Fotex?

C: Yeah, and that's purely to buy their wool section and I don't care about any of the other stuff.

R: How come that you don't care about the other stuff?

C: Because I... she doesn't need it... I don't, I mean, she just doesn't need it.

R: Now you've said that you're judgemental of all the other parents who just put their children into any, like, flashy brands... What about if a mother only uses supermarket clothes for her child?

C: I don't, I don't actually care about that. I don't. I think there are a lot of nice designs that you can buy there but... Yeah, I don't actually mind at all. It's just all I... all I ever think about is... is the state that the clothes are in. Like, I wouldn't put something that was totally worn out on her. Yeah, I would think: "Why would I put it on her" and I guess that's stupid because she won't notice but it's for my own sake. But I actually don't know, I mean, I don't what... some clothes, you can tell: "Okay, that's from this and this brand." And I can't tell if it's from a supermarket. Because I don't know the designs. So, I don't really think about it. But I would say... in my, sort of, circle of mums, they don't buy anything... the kids' stuff... from a supermarket.

R: No?

C: No. They... it's... quite a rich area. So... and they have... I mean, one of them even has a subscription so that she gets new clothes every month... I mean (laughing)

R: Do you know where it is from? The subscription?

C: Eh... what is it called... I don't remember what it's called... You know, some of the...

R: There's one... Vigga

C: Yeah. And it's like, 300 a month or something, and then she also buys clothes, so um... and then she also complains that the child, um, support that you get is too low, eh (laughing) and you go: "Oh, you think? Maybe you should not spend all your money on the clothes..." (laughing)

K: I see.

C: Yeah.

R: It is something you talk about then when you are in your mother group

C: No. That was just that she just bought it and she had to announce it, she thought it was so amazing... So that's pretty much what we talked about. No, actually, sometimes, if there's a stock sale, um, then we talk about that. But that would also just be if there was one of the, more expensive brands and then we would go to a stock sale. But, I mean... I don't know what I would buy. She doesn't need anything. She has everything she needs.

R: You said previously, in the beginning, and of course we also know that in the beginning, when you are mother for the first time and people who you know have different ways of doing things and um, of being sensitive about it, um... And you said also, it has also something to do with the clothing... Do you think that some people, some mothers, kind of see you, okay, if you dress in one way, you are kind of a better mum then if you'd do it in the other way, is that why it's so sensitive or...Is that why it is, is that like um....?

C: Yeah, it's just...eh... I just think that it's the whole... our sort of generation, that it's just... Because there's so much that you can read about and so much you can look up and... then you can really, just sort of see how many different ways there are of doing things. And... I think that sometimes, you... There's a lot of, in my opinion, today, that is just sort of: "Oh, it's so hard to have babies. So, so, so hard, and you can't do anything, and you won't get any sleep, and you won't get any of this, and you won't get any of that, and then: "Oh my God, I have a few extra pounds" and... It's just... it's, I mean, it is what it is and I got plenty of sleep but that's because I... I just... I knew that, I told my... I mean, there are just some things that you have to tell yourself, like: "I don't wanna put up with this, even if she's two months old and doesn't do it on purpose but then you just have to do something about it. And then, I mean, there's just too much: "Well, I guess that's just how it... Oh, she won't eat, well, what is it now" and...

R: You felt that this is something negative...? I mean, negative about um... how stressful it is...?

C: Yeah, I think so. And I think that... You know, before... it's like... it's not... you don't have a baby and then you take on this whole baby project, so... all of the mums from my circle of mums... or mothers group... before they had their babies they all bought different things that they thought that they would need. So, they have one crib for the living room. They have the crib for the bedroom. Then they have crib you can hang from the ceiling when they won't sleep and there's this one that plays this melody and then there's this one that plays another and in my I mean, I didn't buy anything. In my opinion, if the baby needs to sleep, she needs some matrass and something to put over her, that's, that's all she needs. And I think that the more you buy and then also clothes, I mean, the more you just, you make up problems for yourself and you make up this, sort of, non-existent situations of "I'll do it myself, I can handle it myself but it's just that.... I mean, the child doesn't need something... fancy to wear.

K: Do you think this, like, information overload is because of the advertisement or...?

C: I, it's because of social media, they are so important to... to represent, you know, certain image... Yeah and, you know, I'm drawn to it myself, I can tell that the people that I look at, I think: "Oh, wow, what an amazing. You have this .. full of fresh flowers and fresh coffee and... But, I mean, that's not really the truth.

R: So do you think they paint a false picture?

C: Yeah, I think that.

R: But do you think it has something to do with the culture then, um, that like, there is this pressure on you to buy all these different kind of stuff, or...? Where do you think it comes from? Is it the social media?

C: Yeah, and I think it's because the people are older when they have babies, so it's, eh... To me, I haven't cut off a whole era of my life. The mums that I know, they're maybe 30, 35, they have a career and everything and suddenly, you know... it's whole shift in their whole life, so I just think that they... you know, they just go all in, whereas it's not really that different, I mean, I didn't do too much before, I was a... student, I had plenty of time on my hands, I didn't have any obligations or it's not really that big a difference to me and... Also, I don't have the means, so I don't really take on the whole...new world and...

R: Do you think that there is a difference in between, for instance, how our parents' generation, how it was back then and then how it is now?

C: I think there's a huge difference. I mean, babies today are spoiled and... well, here you go (laughing) I think that they... overcomplicate it, I think that babies today don't get any peace from their... I don't think that mums should drag their babies to cafés every day and meet with friends because "I'm so bored and unfulfilled because I have to stay at home" I think that's...eh... I think that mums, a lot of mums, they are very selfish and... yeah, I actually think that, I think about a lot of mums that are very selfish and... Because, obviously, you can't go out as much and you can't do as much as before but you know, you gotta, you have a... a whole life ahead to make sure that you sort of sculpt in the best possible way for your baby and I think that... when I go... for example, if I'm out and she's in the stroller or something, I see mums eh... you know, sitting like this, jumping the baby around because she's a little... you know, I mean, she's (baby crying) And then, you know, with their cell phone in the other hand eh... you know, because they have to talk to someone, obviously, very important and listen to them or whatever ... and I just, when I'm on maternity, I don't even need my Facebook app because I just don't wanna be...you know, this mum, sitting like this. I mean, you have to say: "Well, okay, I decided to have a baby, now I'll focus on that."

(Long pause, the interviewers talking, the interviewee taking care of the baby)

K: Is there any recommendation you want to to give us, maybe? Not that we are pregnant but just, you know, for the future? Do you have anything to say?

C: Yes. When you have a baby, just, you know, take...just...you know, your initial or your style should be that it's...it's not your job to do everything for her, you have to help her to find out how... I mean, how to do things. So, for example, a lot of babies, they don't like to have their diapers changed because it's a new situation but you just have to... A lot of the mums in my mother's group, they couldn't change them without having the vacuum on or the...for drying your hair on, they had to make a sound before their babies would calm down and I can't help but thinking: Your baby did not pop out saying: "I do not wanna be on this table if you don't put this on." So I just think that you have to be very calm and say: "Okay, she doesn't like that, I'll just teach her how to like it" because I mean, you have to be able to change your baby, I mean, that's the...and...

K: I've never thought about it. Like, about this, you know...

C: I think they just... you know, I think that they can do anything, it's just to sort of help them realize it. And then – don't buy stuff, you don't need stuff, just... you know, all she needs really, is just...

R: But this stuff when don't buy stuff people ... do you think that people buy a lot of stuff they do not need?

C: Yeah, don't buy a special crib because you automatically assume that your baby won't sleep. I mean, of course your baby will sleep.

R: But do you think people do that because they think they will be better mothers or why do you they do that?

C: I think they do it because they think that their baby needs it. I think they need... "My baby needs this that can swing because then she will sleep." But your baby will sleep - if you teach her to sleep in the bed, then she will sleep in the bed. And... if you... eh... you know, a lot of people from my mums group, they have some devices for them that... in order to teach them how to stay on their tummy because you have to keep the babies on their stomach to make them stronger and then... Then they say: "My baby won't be on its stomach." And I say: "Why won't it be on its stomach?" "Oh, it starts crying." And then, when they're together, they can go "Woo" and the mum's like "Oh no!"

R: Are they worried or...?

C: I mean, of course, you'll say "Woo", because it's hard but it's, what are you gonna do, are you gonna lay her on her back and then she won't be able to hold her own head? That doesn't work. And then... For example, now, they had to learn how to go from their back to their stomach, you know, you can help them, you know... entice them with a toy and when I did that, the mums, they were like: "Oh, so, what did you do ... something.?" "I showed her the toy and then put it over and I helped her" and she's like: "Oh but I bought this one and it spins around and then you can put it in a different angle and that will show the baby and..." Well.

R: Do you think that's it's because you're younger that you did it like that or do you think it's just...?

C: but I'd say like 100% that it is so. And I don't think that because you get a child you're 10 years older than me, you can be... I just think that... the mothers, they've been waiting and waiting and waiting for this baby and then, I mean, they just...of course they, it's a blessing when they come and then they wanna do everything so right and I think that sometimes, you'll do everything right without, you know, a lot of stuff... You just... don't need a lot of stuff. Don't buy that, that's my... (laughing)

R: Do you have anything ... about what you want to tell us about the baby clothes, do you think something specific, like anything

C: Um... not really, I think that's... no, no other that I think that it's crazy how much of it people are buying and... and how... No, I think the crazy part is how much, how many places that are selling it and running, you know. I mean, I could make a proper business, you know, opening another web shop??... (laughing)

R: if you go to like the organic place??? or things like that, is that something you think about...?

C: Yeah, I think a little bit. But I think more about the... how I wash it, you know, sort of stuff like that. But I don't think it hurts to buy organic stuff. But I also think a lot of people survive wearing non-organic stuff. I mean, this is not organic.

K: Thank you very much!

## INTERVIEW WITH JOSEFINE

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Interview with Josefine

Child: Oscar, nearly 2 years

Location: In the mother's apartment in Østerbro.

Interviewers: Kate and Rebecca

J: Josefine

K: Kate

R: Rebecca

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R: This interview is anonymous – Do not be afraid of saying anything. We are doing research for our master thesis about baby clothes. We are researching how first time mothers in CPH see the baby clothes, how do you feel about it, how do you use it and so on. We have prepared some questions but we wanted to be more like conversation so you do not feel stressed. This is (papers with questions) more like guidance for us.

J: I feel that it is a subject I feel pretty comfortable to talk about.

R: Maybe you can start telling us shortly how do you think the motherhood change you?

J: It is a big question. I think first of all you get different view on your life and on your priorities and before you get children everything is about yourself and now everything is planned. I think you become new version of yourself. I need to think about these things as well

R: Were you very spontaneous before?

J: No very. I always like to plan things to know to what I should but definitely more than I am now and I think I like the idea of knowing could do what ever I want. Boyfriend and I could just do that or stay home. Now it is like if you are going out I we called it "sofa vækning" if you need to be home when the other one is going out it is just it takes some romance out of the relationships. There are opportunities to be together everything is planned and you need to be like now we going to do that and the child is going to be watched by grandparents

R: So it is more like scheduled?

J: It is very scheduled.

R: What do you think as a person? Have you changed?

J: I think I changed in the way I am much more appreciative the life, my life the parents and everything. You see your family and yourself in new way. I also got surprised. I thought I was very you know patient and everything I am not. Not when it comes to my child. I thought I would be very patient mother. But I am not.

R: Can you give an example?

J: This morning I put his jacket on his shoes and anything. I thought I would be very understanding and down to Earth and talk to him but I am getting very annoyed. (laughing) and it is much yeah... But I think it is every day and all the time during the day so I think sometimes if you do not get that much sleep that today you are not that patience

R: That is understandable.

J: We talk a lot of about it because that's also how you change as a person when become mother I try to work with it :D

K: Do you feel more stressed or anxious

J: I think no. no actually. I think a lot about the future and I can get little stressed about that. Now I am a student and I do not have job a side, but I think a lot about next year when I done with CBS and going to get full time job and yeah. That could be stressful

K: We are stressed about it now

J: I think about he will have some long days in day care who is going to pick him up. I love that I have the opportunity now to took him early and the freedom when I am a student.

R: Yes that is a good think. Now you have talked briefly how do you see yourself as a mother but can you elaborate how do you see yourself as a mother?

J: [Sights] despite the fact I think I am not that patience, everybody else thinks that I am patience. They tell me that I am good to explaining to him why he has to do something and why are we doing it in certain way and I actually feel very calm and in the role of being mother.

R: There was not a big shock or shift for you?

J: I think that is difficult because in some way there was but I think it is in your mind when you are pregnant and when you want a child it is ... you think that everything is going to be perfect and just have this little baby and you and your boyfriend is going to make this beautiful creating and it is not like that at all beautiful. It is not like that at all. It is a hard job most of the time. Especially on the beginning. It is much easier right now I think I like the role of being a mother better at the age he has now than when he was little.

K: How old is he?

J: Now he is turning 2 in July

K: Is it because you can communicate with him? Or why it is easier?

J: Actually it is the freedom it is also the way how I can be with him. At the beginning the couple of moths you are just in this bubble and you do not get what is going on but then it is the same. you are breastfeeding, you are home, you are up all night. It is ... I like it much better when he become the normal part of the family where he also do something and he is going to Day care. We have the weekend together. I think I am better mother when I pick him up after some hours I have been at home studying and he have been some hours in Daycare. I had maternity leave in 14 moths and it was too long. I think if it would be 10 or 11 months I was ready try something else.

R: I can imagine in the end you... Do you have friends who are/Were at maternity leave as well?



J: Yeah I had one friend who was at maternity leave at the same time as me and then one who got to maternity leave I think couple of mothers before me.

R: Did you like then see each other?

J: Yeah a lot. I was ... I try to focus a lot on doing something so I could you know get a normal day but also the fact it was my is my needs and not my child. Most of all who wishes to be with me so most of the days we have been relaxing and yeah that's what they need when they are little. So you put yourself a side a lot and it can be different when it is all the time. Also in the night.

R: So we could now talk about the baby clothes. In the beginning how did you know what you need to buy?

J: Some of the things I searched on the internet so maybe the baby gear not the baby clothes. Then I talked to some friends and family and call friends who have children if they have some good things I need it to ...

R: What things have you asked them for advice?

J: Yeah for advice if they have something ... there was just broadly, important to get. I think with clothes and everything I just bough what I thought I need it.

R: So you have not find it confusing or it was pretty easy?

J: I think you thought about if you have all the things you need before the baby arrives and but when I gave birth to him I just though we have what we need it if we going to miss anything we have to buy it. So I think it is under the time until you getting a birth but you think a lot about it. Then you know better.

R: So you bought various things before? Also baby clothes?

J: I bought I did

R: We talked to some and they did not want to have it in the house ...

J: Yeah we did. We were in NY 4 moths before I was getting birth and there we bought our stroller and we got it before and just put it in the room I knew the superstition but I did not care about it. I did not care it matters

I think it was nice to have the things around you and I did not want to you know think about picking it up at my as

K: Why did you buy the stroller in NY?

J: Just because it was a lot of cheaper. We bought "Bugaboo" It Is very expensive and we have just some friends living outside NY so we just asked them to buy it and took it home from them. The only thing is that it is something is wrong with it. you have to contact the "Bugaboo" deliver in Denmark to ask where they can deliver it. If you buy it in store you can just deliver it there.

R: What about the clothes did you buy them, like was most of it new or you had some used clothes?

J: Most of them they were actually used but we also have my sister-in-law has 2 boys as well so we get a lot of stuff from them.

K: Sort of inherit it also

J: Yes but I was also lot critical (toward the clothes) At the beginning I was just picking what I wanted it and gave it away but or I am much more that *"you need so much stuff and you buy it all the time"* SO. I am bit more realize it now.

K: At the beginning what did you pick? Was it design you pick or?

J: No I think it was more if I like it, the style, if it was soft, easy to wear. Underwear because I did not know what I needed to use so I think it was nice to have a lot of things to chose from and buy other stuff.

R: So, what are the things you are going for?

J: Actually, I think a lot about if it is soft, I think it is very important tht it is easy for him to wear them he is running and crawling and then it should not be tight, no button, it is impossible to tight it with buttons. So it is easy to get up and good to go. But also If I like the design and sometimes I fall for something more expensive we bought some pretty expensive winter shoes/boots and jacket because that it is something important I want it to be good. Good for his feet, warm clean and also the jackets and also the woollen inner bodies I also like to buy something that is good quality.

R: Do you remember what are the brands?

J: Mostly Joha or also I have a lot from Hust Claire and also something from Føtex brand X08 or what it is called but you know .The inner thinks and the outer things, I think, are the most important what he has sweater it is not that important and it is not super good quality.

R: you said you really like some of the styles? Can you explain maybe explain the style you like?

J: I go for the more softer colours and then I like some prints but not these wow prints all different colours and shapes everything. More like stipes, dots. I wanted to look like he is a boy him to look like boy, but I am not dressing him in black sorry blue or green

R: Mot like a red or so?

J: I think he has a one red sweater but it is a dark red, it is called dark vine colour. Dark blue light blue. Yeah grey. And those

R: Which colours would you never put on him?

J: I think I would never put purple on him or brown. Maybe we had some. His winter boots have been brow

R: Any reason for that

J: No not

K: Is it because you do not wear purple or these colours?

J: Not really. Not that I do not like it. I just wont chose it.

K: Perfectly fine with me

R: Do you think the clothes you put on him represent your own style?

J: Yeah a bit I think it does. It is my stile. I do not dress in super shiny clothes. I do no think I dress boring. I don't think I do either. But he is wearing sweat pants. It is easy.

K: what about occasions. Do you dress him up differently?

J: yeah a bit. Party this Saturday. He was wearing regular pants. You know that are very soft but the looks like they are normal pants and then we had as shirt but just you know very soft one. I think this is most I dress him up. Maybe Christmas

K: do you take picture of him and sharing it with your family?

J: yes I do. Not on social media. But private. Not when I dress him up. Just normal picture.

K: I think they appreciate him.

R: When you dress him do you think how other look at him?

J: Normally I would say no, but at back of your head you always think. If I dress myself something hideous I would think that someone else would think that. But I think it is more that I care it is clean and it is the right size. I hate it is very judgmental but I see it children wearing blouse which is dirty and it is morning and I do not think it is ok. They chose what they want, but I like when I deliver him in morning clean clothes that is most important.

R: When do you see kids with dirt? Do you think something about the parents?

J: I think it is bit sloppy. Maybe they are stressful and I hate that I put clean clothes on him and he is eating breakfast and he has something on him. It is very annoying change it again but I think I would change my shirt if I still breakfast. I don't think he should go around. That's why I think the parents should change the clothes. They would not go to work in dirty shirt

K: are you the only one who dress him? Or also your boyfriend

J: Also my boyfriend?

K: Do you think he puts his style on?

J: I do not think it does not matter to him which pants to on him, but I don't think he puts something on which is completely of. But if he could chose the clothes all the time he would put more nice and dress him more. He likes the shirts he is business men. He would dress him more than sweat pants. But he does not care.

R: Do people comment on his wearings?

J: Not really? Maybe some friends. Not really

R: What about if you like ... What otherwise if you go around do you notice what other babies are wearing?

J: Yeah I do actually, more for inspiration. I think first time mother you use most of the time to use the right gloves or the right hat for the winter time so he does not get cold if you see something else you think good. I look for it.

R: Do you then ask about it?

J: I actually I asked one time for hat because we could not fit one which fits right way. I asked where they go it. But otherwise no.

K: Do you read magazines about babies or follow Instagram?

J: Instagram I do. I follow some shops or persons who posts about baby clothes. Some web-shops. I think it is called little columbine and maybe ... Some web-shops I use for buying or have used, but I am not doing it that much too. In my opinion at the beginning you think a lot about what your kids are wearing. I had a friend now He is 5 months and when she speaks about it it is totally like hearing myself in position. Now I am thinking he can wear them only 4 weeks or he shits in them and it has brown stains and it has to be thrown away. What are the cost. 300DKK and I think you change and you become less. Now it is more the outwear I care about. Now we are going to buy some new shoes and I want to buy something good even if it is expensive. I know it is good. I know he will wear them for couple of months. Then they eat tomato soup in day-care and they just don't come off and it is just too sad if you put something very expensive in morning and he comes home with them. And you just have to throw it out

K: Do you separate clothes he has in kindergarten. Or for weekend?

J: Not that much. In H&M they have very basic sweater and pants and I just buy some extra and put it to day care. So he has also always some things to wear if he is get wet.

R: Where do you buy the clothes?

J: In Zara. A lot of in H&M. That's all for the basic but I also buy a lot on sale I buy some this I think I bought something very expensive but I got it same price as Zara

R: Where did you buy it?

J: I bought pants in MiniROUTINE and brand called Emily Edida or something like that and some sweaters.

R: Would you say you prefer branded clothes over non-branded? Or it does not matter?

J: I think it is mix actually. I think it must be very odd if I have only very high-end clothes in his closet because I do not have it myself. I think it is too expensive and you have to buy it all the time. So I would also get bit sick/short of money I spend. So I think it is mix also buy expensive sweater once in while but I also like I can go to Zara and buy 8 items for him for 500dk.

R: What is expensive for you? What is the line? For Baby clothes I mean?

J: I think for couple of pants I would pay like 100 – 200 dk I think that would be ok. I think in Zara it is 100 -120. It is same in H&M. I think it is around that. I think it is over 200 it is expensive. Not like super expensive. But expensive enough that it makes me think about it

R: What about from supermarket?

J: He has a lot of woollen pyjamas from Føtex from the line. It is very good. So I think he has like 4 or so.

R: What about present? Do you get a clothes for him as a presents?

J: I think when he was born, at birthdays, Christmas maybe something from my parents. My parents when to Hawaii and they bought a lot of nice stuff. It is also very cheap there. To buy these branded clothes

R: Do you like the styles?

J: Yeah the one they actually brought I like the style. I think besides my friends a lot of parents or people older people buy these more colourful baby stuff. But I think my parents know now. They can see what he is wearing and what we are wearing now.

K: Is there something what would you never put on your son? Or even if you get it as a present

J: A dress

K: We actually got some pants. Instead of going strait down they are just going (big around the legs). Baggy at the bottom. Also elastic. I hate those pants. I actually got a lot of them. Most of it it is so unpractical to wear. Al those stuff around the food it is like we would wear these "peak" trousers all the time. I would hate it.

R: So it is about being practical.

J: I also hate how they look but most of it it is difficult for him to wear. We never bought them.

R: What about brand wise? Is there any brand, which you would never put on him?

J: No I would say no. I did not see any brand where I thought I would never ever put something like that on him. If it feels nice and fit it nice.

K: is there anybody who you consider as baby clothes expert? Or webpage?

J: I am just thinking I often ask one of my friends and my cousin got a child 2 weeks after me. Not so much about the brand or the style. She got something. Then I have some webpages when I need to find certain style?

K: Are you part of the mother group?

J: not that much anymore but when the maternity leave was over we make this deal that we will see each other one Sunday in month. Sometimes someone cant. It is the overall

K: Do you talk about the clothing?

J: A lot. We also have a group on FB where people write about. When someone finds some good winter boots. Yeah for advice. I also use it a lot. One of the girls just written where we bought pants because she did not got good pants. We used it a lot.

R: In the beginning when you enter the mother group have you thought about what was your son wearing?

J: I think I did because in the beginning I thought about it a lot. I don't know if it is because if it is big deal. I do not think you can control. It can be very important for 1<sup>st</sup> time mother. And why you care so much about it? There are so many things that you can't control. Foreseen. But you can also control what you put on him and what he is wearing. But not because I would think what the other mothers babies are wearing, that it was ugly.

R: Have you noticed what the others are wearing?

J: Yeah, not to judge. Actually, so it is a bit judgmental. Actually when you meet the mother group you meet the mothers. I could see through the babies what kind of mother was behind this child. When I saw some of the children wearing the same kind of clothes as my boy it .. I could also see that the mother is dressed like me and we have some interest we share.

R: you thought you might be more connected with them?

J: Actually yes and it actually fits. There were 2 mothers who were dressing their kids in very colourful pants and yeah we did not have much in common

R: Do you remember what you thought about them? You said the clothes kinda represent the mother

J: I did not though anything bad. I just thought that they have other interest than me. Not that I stay that it is wrong to dress the child. I just say that I style my child in the way that it suits the overall children fashion. I think it is the soft colours and stripes and dots and these very colourful items are not popular in my opinion and on social media

K: maybe it's less trendy

J: Maybe but I did not though about it. I just thought maybe the mother didn't dress that modern either. Maybe it is something I like to focus on.

K: do you think it might be age different between the mothers? I just try to picture the mom

J: I do not know. I know mothers who are my age under 30 that is like me and also some who aren't and I also know some older. I can't say that. Not in my experience

K: Is it about following the trends?

J: maybe also because we and some other mothers follow on the social media and maybe get inspiration from that and maybe some of the other mothers go just to the store and pick what they like. Maybe that is the difference. I do not know

R: Do you think the others did that? That they look at Oscar and think maybe she is like this like a mother?

J: I think that the mothers like me though about that. I think the other 2 mothers that aren't. I do not think that they recognise it what the child were wearing

R: Special brands?

J: No it was more I like the style

K: Is there a piece of clothes that you would never throw away?

J: only the clots he was wearing from the hospital

K: Will you keep it forever?

J: yeah I will.

R: do you remember how it look like it?

J: yeah it was this blue and white body from Joha or and pants was grey and blue. Body You just open it at the bottom. I bought it because it was easy to open it.

R: Have you bought it yourself?

J: Yeah I bought it myself. And it was actually very important to me. My boyfriend and I bought it together.

R: So you really though about it

J: Yeah but we just though that the body. Not the pants. It was too warm that he did not even wear

R: How come it was so important to you the specific clothes for you?

J: I think it was just. I think when you are preparing yourself to be a mother it is a big deal to buy something you know you will put your own child in

R: Is it the first item which you bought for him?

J: No it wasn't. I bought other clothes. I think it was 2 moths before I got him. We did not know how big he is going to be and also we weighted him.

K: Was he big boy?

J: He was 3,9kg but still the small size it could not even fit. So he was still too big. And 2 weeks later he could not fit in. It cost like 250kr.

K: I am sure it was worth the moment

J: Yeah exactly. And I would spend a lot of more. It was just soft and easy. It was perfect for him to wear

K: Do you normally sell the clothes he cannot fit in?

J: I normally sort it out. I go to flee market on Saturday and sold a lot of it and we store it in boxes the things we wanted to keep. Both because we do not want to throw it away and we want to have more children so it will be easier to throw everything out. There are also a lot of it... we bought these bodies

with long sleeve and neck and with the bottoms out. And it is difficult to get over his head and he hated it and I did not think of it when I buy it and all of it we will just sell for other child. So maybe 50 50.

R: You also learn in the process what to buy and not to buy

J: Yeah a lot!

R: Are there other things you notice that you bought in the beginning and you would not buy them now?

J: I would not used... I know I bought the breast-feeding pillow and I have never used it. Not even once. I think there are more. I just cannot remember. I think there are lot of thing. I believe that there are more things what seems good at the moment, but I would not have bough it for other child. It was not that ... important

K: So have you bought more stuff than you needed or you have been missing some?

J: I knew I will buy this very soft lift you can put inside the stroller Bugaboo because the stroller is not that big. Is not that big one. But you can buy.. These soft ones. If he is sleeping you can just take that and you do not have to take whole upper part. ... I definitely buy that. Maybe the toys. We have too much toys. He also got too much clothes for that age. I've bought a lot in H&M and so ... it is sad that you bought it and he did not wear it.

R: is there a brand you would like to buy but you haven't? That you really like

J: I really like the brand Joha. I think they have really nice these woollen bodies, pyjamas it is very soft. I would buy myself. We used it a lot more when he was smaller. We have now some pyjamas or bodies. I do not think it is that expensive. But you can get nice pyjamas in Føtex as such.

K: What about these organic clothing? Does it matter for you if it is organic or ecological?

J: I like to know that it is that. But it is not I only buy that. I tried to only buy it. I like the idea. H&M have this line ...

K: It is not criteria when searching for clothes?

J: No it is not

R: You said you inherited the clothes. And you said you chose what about like. It was based on the style?

J: Yeah. Also of course there was really expensive these Ralph Lauren shirts. And I am not Ralph Lauren shirt kind person and I did not escape it in my way. I kept them. Maybe if he wants wear them and I sell them afterwards.

J: Why is it?

J: I think it is bit show off. (laughing) I do not like the brand

K: Is it because of the logo?

J: Yeah. It is not the logos. It is this type. Polo shirt. This kind of business dude who is not that much business dude but he wants to be. Also when I went to high schools people wear them. I think it was



too much. I also my boyfriend has these demin shirt but I do not think my child should wear Ralph Lauren shirt at the age of one.

R: So you think there are values attached to it?

J: yeah but not the kind of value I would like to be associate with.

R: What kind of values do you think there are associate it with.

J: I think it is bit snobbish. You know just... I actually think if you want to put your child in something very expensive or high quality branded clothes I think it is much more stylish if you cannot see the brand.

R: You do think the one who's brands all over ...

J: Yeah I think it is too much. My parents bought very nice vest in Hawaii and it has this very small Calvin Klein logo. That is ok. It is very small. I do not think it is show off. They have also bough Tommy Hilfiger and when I saw I do not hope it is a Calvin Klein brand. It was only that. I just think it is odd that the children are wearing these show of brands

R: So when you see small the child in top to toe in these brand what do you think about the mother?

J: I actually think the parent should care about something else (laughing). I just think: "Why? Why should your boy at this age... Why should they at this age show some kind of personality or style? So soon

K: I guess it is a more personality of their parents than the child

J: yeah. I think it is not appropriate that a small child is getting this kind of person through the style. I think it is perfectly ok to use all the money you want for baby clothes. I do not think your child needs to flash all these brands. Maybe you can do it sometimes but not so much

R: What are the values you have as a mother?

J: How do I want to be as a mother? How do I want other to ... ?

R: Both actually

K: is there a difference?

J: Yeah. I have tons of values I think of how I want to be as a mother. But when other sees me and my son I just want them to think that we are loving caring parents and that we take care of him in actually the way of being clean and acting well and like that. I think at home I think all the time how I want to be as a mother. Yeah. It is a big question

R: That's fine. Do you think that people will assign special value to his clothes what he is wearing?

J: I actually get some comments... we have a fine economy. My boyfriend is director at [company] so we do not miss anything. So actually they ask why I buy all the stuff at Zara and H&M and like they expect me to buy all of this stuff from more expensive brands because we can

K: Sorry... Who ask you?

J: Friends and also in the mother group or others. We just both a house. We've bought a house, we gonna move in couple of months and the way we live you do not need to know people that well to see what kinda of economy they have.

K: Maybe it is the are here

J: Yeah maybe

R: So they are like thinking that you can afford to buy a house that you should then...

J: Yeah I think they are a curious why and also that I have this friend who has a boy 5 months and she showed me some pants. I was like aaaa. for like 300DKK. She is like why are you like that you can buy that. But I would never bought 500 DKK pants for him

R: What did they answer when they ask you?

J: I think I just answer that if you want to stay ... If you want to stay healthy economy you will not spent that and I would not spend it for myself. Yeah Also I just say it is none of their business what do we spend money on. Yeah because I just also small pair of pants I just cannot get myself to pay that much. I would like to pay if I got what it is worth. It is not worth it.

K: Do you associate higher place with better quality?

J: Yeah for some brands. Actually this Joha ,Host and Claire I know they you these organic nice woollen materials so there it is defiantly what you paying for and I also do that if I think it is worth it. I think also there is many brands where I think you are just paying for the names.

R: Have you experience that there are some brands which are more trendy? More prestige ...

J: I think that Minirudiny and Soft gallery and brand Bobo ... something I think it is French brand. Wheat maybe.

R: How did you experience it?

J: I think these smaller web shops or shops they have these items all these brands. And also Social media you can see that they are posting. Maybe there are some brands... You know they have these tutorials or bloggers. You know the ads. I think it is from that. Also it is just in my head

K: If your mom or gram mom would dress up or rise your son would it be different?

J: How he is dressed?

K: Also maybe raised. I was wondering if you think there is generation difference?

J: I think there is. But I think the things my parents are buying. For my son what he likes. But they like to see him Those are bit different. It is not that I don't like it. and buy more these vest and shirts. You know these knitted sweaters with buttons where I think they think I dress him much more casually. I do not know if it is the generation or if it is the fashion. I remember when I was child. I also wear the same print on my pants and shirt and when my sister was born. I think that was the style. I would never put the same outfit we always had the same thing on. That's like in 4 years

R: Are you annoyed with it?

J: It is just when I see the pictures I think it is stupid. Why do you need to wear the same things?

R: When they buy present for him... do sometimes you feel they put his style on him?

J: My parents? I think about when they giving him something that he wears when they see him. Not to like please them. Because they think he would look very cute and I want him to see him. So I think about that.

R: What about the clothes you inherited it? Have you experience that you put the style of your cousin on your son?

J: I thought about it. I could see certain style. It is not same style. I think I chose the items I think what matched the style or items I could style it.

R: So you mixed it up?

J: Yeah. I think we also got some pants I would never buy and we like it now. There are much... I think they are cute. Easy for him to wear

R: Have you done something with the clothes?

J: I just washed it. It was in basement. I also wash everything I buy before he wears him. I just like that they are washed before. If we inherited it if it is dirty I have not kept it. If it is his dirt I do not care, but I do not like it if it is other children.

K: Ah ok, I see.

J: Oh, I'm so sorry but I have to pick up Oscar now.

R: No, worries, I think this is very fine. Thank you so much for your time.

## INTERVIEW WITH BENEDIKTE

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Interview with Benedikte

Child: Elias, 7 Month

Location: Mother's apartment, Nørrebro

Interviewers: Kate and Rebecca

B: Benedikte

K: Kate

R: Rebecca

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R: Ok, so we want this to be kind of a conversation so it's not so stiff (Everyone laughs)

B: Yeah, yeah...ok

R: But we have prepared some questions

B: That's fine

R: So, eh, we can start talking just a little bit, just shortly how you think it has changed you to be a mother.

B: Wow...It's a really big question (laugh)

R: Just shortly

K: Briefly

B: Yeah, well, eh, I think both like, it changed me a lot and then also just didn't change me very much, I think I imagined that becoming a parent would become this totally different, new, person and a mother would immerge and then you'd be someone else, and that didn't happen. I'm pretty much still the same, I have the same interests, and I just have a little new person in my life.(Laughing) And that's, and I think that surprised me, that that was how it was, it was so like, ok so now there's a baby. It wasn't like magic or anything. I don't know why I imagined that (that she would be a new person once her baby was born), but I did. Because I think that having a child would change you forever, and it does, but in a different way than I imagined. I think it's easier than I thought, actually.

K: That's good to know! (Laughing)

B: I had friends who had babies that had, what's it called, colic? So...

R: They have a hard time.

B: They had a very hard time...

R: [About the baby, that is present in the scene] And he just slept all the way?... and like now that you have him, how do you then, can you tell us how you would think you are as a mother?

B: Um... I'm quite, I think I'm very present with him, like I try to communicate with him a lot and I think that both me and my husband value that both of us are quite engaged with his upbringing, and... I also think I'm, like ever since he was little I've had like one day a week where I go out with friends alone without him, so we also priorities, just for Tobias [husband's name], to be alone with him, and then for me to have some, to do something else...

R: That's a really good idea...

B: Yeah because it's, some people they get so absorbed with motherhood and that amazing but... it's not everything that's amazing you still need you know to go to a concert or to do something, so...so I think, I think that's pretty much sums up what type of mother I am...

K: Do you think that differs for your, when your mum had you, or you know...Oh yeah it did [assumed nodding from Benedikte]...

B: My mum did *everything* [emphasized], like, my parents are kind of old hippies but in theory, my dad, no, my mom did the upbringing, he would like be the disciplinary, like if we did something wrong, he would be like...

K: Yeah, yeah I know...

B: But like, and also he is South African my dad so he's, eh, they have cultural differences, in how they thought that children should be brought up... ehm ... So, I think that my mum was just like "*ok I'll do it...*". (Laughing) But I think now as adults he's very engaged in our lives, and I just think that he was just a bit scared of babies and small children.

K: Yeah that could be... he was scared (Laughing)

R: Talking about, like, not knowing and things like that, in the beginning if we now talk about baby clothes, how did you know what to buy and...?

B: I just, I've seen my friends and I thought what I'd seen was that if it was a girl everything was pink and if it was a boy everything was blue... (Laughing) I'm saying this being aware that (baby's name) is wearing blue from top to toe, (More laughs)... but, ehm... when I started like going in to like children's shops there was just, they would always ask me if it was a boy or a girl, and there was pink and ... it was just so boring...like...

K: Already in the shop? (Laughing)

B: So we were quite aware that we wanted like more, like, unisex colors and ... and try to ask for people to just not give him blue, because he would get just like so much blue clothes and we were just like, a bit of red(?) (Laughing)... So that a bit about clothing that was what we thought most about... then I also thought a lot about that new clothes, a lot of clothes have ehm ... have been chemically washed so, I was like really encouraged to buy used clothes because it's been washed so many times that the chemicals were washed out... And that's something that I actually prioritize. And I bought ... quite a lot of organic clothes from a special clothing brand in Sweden.

R: What is the name of the brand?

B: It's called Duns Sweden?

R: Duns Sweden? Ok...

B: That's what the website is called, they have such cute clothes...

R: So you buy a lot from them?

B: Some... I think compared to a lot of other mothers, probably not that much but... but, I think, yeah, for my husband he think it was... "enough", but yeah... So some new and some used, and then we got a lot in presents...

R: And when you got it used, did you then buy it used or inherited it...?

B: Both. Both. Mødrehjælpen [Mother help organization]. We used that quite a lot because it goes to a good cause, which I really appreciate, that the money they make from it is often for single mothers, and I really like that so..., we bought some and there and a lot online as well, because I am quite particular with, very particular with, I didn't want anything chemically washed, so ...

R: Do you think now that there is a difference between how you thought you were going to like...with what cloth you were going to buy, and what you do (now)?

(Laughing)

B: Yeah! Definitely... Now it's like ok, I go to HM and there's like 3 bodies for like a DKK 100, and I'm like "*I'll do that*" ...I don't think I did that, that much before... (Laughing) I was more... I don't know ... I think because he was so small and fragile, and I didn't have him yet I was just very aware of not giving him anything chemical. And I think now I am more balanced...there's some, some of his clothes that's new and not too "great" on that side but...most of his clothes are organic or used before...

K: But if you buy it from HM do you do something because, you are saying that these clothes have the chemicals, do you get rid, to you wash it or...?

B: I always wash it and then I try to buy, they have a brand called *Conscious*, so I try to buy that as well, it should be better...

R: like more organic?

B: Yeah, I think it's like better treatment for the workers... they don't do children's workers, and ... I think... I think that the chemicals, they don't use the same chemicals...I am not quite sure, since before I had him I had a lot of time to read a lot, now it's not... (Laughing)

R: What about in regards to brands, are there like anyone, now you talk about Duns, but are there anyone you prefer compared to others and...?

B: Yeah, *Luck*... my husband he likes shopping way more than I do (laughing). So he thinks that I use a lot of clothes because it's expensive organic clothes... but he likes how stuff looks, so he likes something called *Ej Sikke lej*. Yeah which we bought, I think this is Ej Sikke Lej that he [the baby] is wearing right now.

R: What type of, is it like patterns and...?

B: Yeah...It has like sweet, really cute pants and... and....so I think that's another like brand... like that's more my husband that goes for that... I like a lot of like home-knitted stuff and homemade stuff and... What else...? But I think Duns Sweden is definitely what we bought most and then *Ej Sikke Lej*.

K: Is there a material that you prefer...?

B: Marino Wool, I like a lot...and 100% cotton, I don't want to use like 100% polyester, or...  
...I normally don't say this out loud to other mothers (laughter) because I hate when people are like "*oh it has to be like a 100% organic and everything*" but... I must admit like, ok these [pointing at the son's pantyhose] there are something in it... that's not like pure... because that was just what was there. So I do buy it once in a while but...if I can avoid it I do...

R: Also now you said about other mothers...just to like to know that we are doing this anonymous, so you should feel like 100 % free to talk.

B: Yeah, yeah... because it's also like a I think new mothers, especially when it's your first child your very sensitive to say "*oh no I don't do this*" but it's so ... I try not to say "*oh now only this or that*".

R: What about if you get it in a present and you can see that it is like mixed...

B: Then I give it to them and it's fine, I bought these because it was the only ones there, it's not like that I'm religious about it, it's just I prefer, if I have a choice I just prefer the more clean materials.

R: So what will you say is the most important when you look for baby clothes, is it then the material or is the ... colour or...?

B: It's definitely material, yeah... first the material and then colour... Like I... I don't buy bright pink stuff for him...(Laughter), I've... *Dummies* I bought for him because it was no other left, then I don't buy too much .... (*inaudible because of baby screaming*)I bought these because they were there but...we get presents, often blue and then I'm like ok, well get green instead of yellow...

R: And that's because you think it's boring that everyone just...

B: Yeah!! (laughing) blue for boys is just like "aaah"... I just want a bit of variety..

R: yeah, definitely... Different...What about like, which baby clothes you bought the last month if you bought any...?

B: I did because we were going traveling, in Thailand for a month...

K: Oh, nice...

B: Yeah!

R: Lovely!

B: So, we actually just went to H&M, talking about bodies free from ... but that's what we did, because we just needed a lot of summer clothes ...and then...I look for something used but it's not close to summer, so it's not even out yet, so now I'm just going to stores looking for stuff...Yeah... Like I like, it's very expensive, but for sale, *Pure Baby* I like a lot, it's just I think it's also a combination of price, because I don't... I also get a bit, I don't want to like pay DKK 300 for a body for a baby that he can wear for like 2 months... So ... I do look for sales as well...yeah...

[Talking about how it is to travel with babies]

R: So normally when you buy the baby clothes ... is there like eh... do you get inspired by anything or ... or how is the process?

B: Yeah, like in my maternity crew, in Nørrebro, we do kind of like, if someone has something really nice it's like "*oh where did you get that?*" Like, I have a wool "flyverdrag" ....eh....

R: Like a whole body... when it's cold

[Rebecca explaining for Kate what a "Flyverdrag" is]

B: I saw someone had that, in Nørrebro... the brand Joha, they have a lot of clean wool.

R: What about do you search online, follow any blogs or?

B: I stopped following blogs but I do search a lot, research online, *Forbrugerådets* [Consumers' Advisory Council]... they have a lot of testing, especially on children's clothes and creams, and stuff...I use them a lot, quite a lot... And then also just like, I do like, online research... And I do actually use some blogs, for checking out... ok "*what type of clothes is better*" what people prefer...so I actually do use blogs for that...Or like online forums...I think there's something called *mamma net* I just Googled it.

K: Probably there is

(all are laughing intensely)

B: *Vores Børn* there's also something called...

R: So you talk about like baby clothes with your mother group... and who else, if there are any?...

B: I think I ask my mother, but she's like "I can't remember (laughing)

K: Yeah things changed so...

B: Yeah! My friends who have kids, I do inherit some....

K: Do you talk to your husband? We don't talk about it that much he just buys it ..

R: Does he asks for your opinion...?

B: He's way more into clothing and stuff than I am...Like if were going out...He's very, ... he has a very outgoing job so, in a way, so he likes to present himself nicely. I also have a very outgoing job but in a very different way...

R: What is your job? Sorry we didn't ask.

B: I'm a, what's the word in English, "Fagrådgivere"? Like a consultant on refugees and the integration at the Red Cross, I work at the head office and do,... yeah... I do consultant work on which programs, ... eh, ... projects we need to do for newly arrived refugees.... Trauma treatment and, family support systems and stuff like that.

R: So you kind of help developing them...?

B: Yeah, so we do...



R+K: That's really "cool"!

B: We do like educations...eh, different municipalities, a lot of stuff...

R: That sounds really interesting.

B: Yeah, I like it a lot, I mean, it's gonna be interesting to see how it works with a child... I used to work like 50 hours a week and now I can't do that so yeah...

[Benedikte checks to the baby]

R: Is there any like specific kind of cloth that Elias [the son] has that you feel like really connected to so...

B: Not really, because, we haven't inherited so, a lot of old stuff, that has value to me... like my old cloth, were, really shit, it was falling apart... (Laughter) Ehm, but I think that the clothes that he wore when he was very new, I feel like connected to, specially one body, it's green and it has like, daisies on, small daisies, it's from Duns Sweden. And I just remember him as a baby and I think it was actually the first thing that he wore when he came out, (laughter)... I'm very connected to that... and some stuff that my sister made, she knitted.... She knitted a lot of stuff for him, I'm very connected to that as well. Because she just put in a lot of effort to make it for him... so yeah...

R: So she did ... did she know that maybe you didn't like blue, and made it another colour and try to personalise it?

B: Yeah! She also made blue just to tease me a bit, but she also made like, ehm, different colours, she made purple, .... And yeah... Different things.

R: Now it sounds a bit rude maybe, but these that you are more attached to, would you think about like selling them or give it to others or?

B: I think that I will always keep, I will never give, get rid of it...I think a lot of this clothes actually, and also, yeah, because we want more children... but a lot of his clothes it's like "it's *his* clothes" (A lot of laughter)...I don't wanna give it away, so I'm more attached to it than I think I am...so... yeah (Laughter).

K: Is there actually any, can you think of any brand you wear, and you would wear if it's like, if it's like you said H&M, and you would buy the same thing for the baby, like is there any brand which would do women clothes and also baby clothes?

B: Ehm I know, I wear for instance "name" (Sofie Schnoor), which I like a lot... and I know she has a line for babies, but it's mostly for girls, and also I like, I'm not very into the clothing because it very like, very like... I don't know also very unpractical for a baby, very like... I don't know it's, it's I didn't like it that much, it's too much "*small shoes for babies*", he doesn't need small shoes .. or... I'm sorry but these things around the head, (laughter from all), like at least for small bald children, he wasn't bald, but they just looked like small drag-queens (massive laughter from all). so eh... yeah.. so well I think H&M is probably the only place where I could buy clothes, and for him as well.. I actually don't like... like... I don't wanna be like a replica of him, poor guy (laughter)...Mommy and son outfit...

R: But do you think that like the.... The clothes you put on him represent you as a mother? In a way?

B: I think for a lot of parents they don't wanna say that it does but it does , because you show up in your mothers group, and people look at obviously your baby to get to know you.. also look at... what clothes does your baby wear, so... And I think it's quite nice that also ...I actually didn't want to dress him up to much too nice clothes because I was like..., I don't want to put a very high standard... but.... The first time we see each other, everybody's like: "oh nice clothes, because... Reah that's a thing....

K: So when your in the group everybody watch like, is it like I don't know, I cant imagine it really (laughter)

B: It's kind of, oh gosh, just you wait, if you want to have children (massive laughter from all), it's a whole thing....Ehm.. so for instance the first time we had our meeting, the nurse she said, who puts the kids together, she said.... Be aware "*don't make homemade bread or anything*", because then you put the standard to high, and that is the pressure for a lot of new mothers. So the first place we went she did actually bake, a lot of cakes and bread and... and then it was my turn and I was like "*no way, I'm not gonna, you know we are stressed out, it's our first child*". So I just bought, "Citronmâne" [Danish cake] (laughter)... Because I wanted to put the barrier very low... But everybody else makes homemade so I'm the only one who....And it a little bit the same with the clothing like I didn't want to...Especially because we have like students in our maternity group and I think it's a bit...like for some of us we can afford to go out and... buy what we want for our children and some can't so... it's just a bit...I don't know,

R: So you think about what others would think about (inaudible)

B: Yeah it's more that I don't want it to be a pressure for anybody that we go and, dressing Marino Wool from top to toe, everything organic, and like...(inaudible sentence)

R: Have you experienced, do you notice if some of the other mothers in the group, like, do that?....

B: Yeah, a little bit, I mean we have, it's a good, variety in our group, I mean there's 2 students, ....can you hear if I?..... (gets something for baby).... So we have 2 students.... And 2 doctors, and..... one who's, just gonna stay at home, she's muslim, she's gonna stay at home with her child....And... I think, definitely for one of the students, her husband is an artist so they really don't have a lot of, I think for her it's been a lot of pressure. ....

R: She wants to do like, show that she's doing it well?

B: Yeah it's like when we come over she makes like, home made chocolates, she wants to... It's just really, like unnecessary, you can just feel that there's a bit of a pressure I think.

R: Is it something you talk about in the mother group?

B: No, it's quite sensitive I think to talk about.... She apologises a lot for where she lives, like: "*oh we are looking for something else*" or... so it's yeah... Not so... but there are differences, so it's just very difficult to .... To make it go away...

R: But, like, now you talk about how, you dress Elias [son], so the barrier should not be like, the pressure should not be like high, but....Would you say that there is any difference between how you dress him normally or when you are in the house and when you go out?

B: Yeah, I think for instance now, he has porridge on his clothes, if I was going to my mother group I would change this clothes, if I was home it's like ok, But if I go out I wouldn't..

R: is it because you think they would think something...

B: yeah, you like a mother with porridge o your baby's cloth, people can sometimes be like HMM! (making a sound to emphasize peoples reaction). (laughter) I think it's probably more in my head than actually but... (laughter)... Yeah.....and also it's fun also to dress them up for the holidays So if we have like I dont know how many days, then we dress him up, ....in little suites and stuff (laughter from all "oh that's cute etc").

K: Do you like take pictures and share it online or?

B: Yeah actually we do, on Instagram... I'm not, I really try to be aware to not spam people with baby photos but yeah... I do..

R: Are there some brands you said, you never buy ... do you think there are some brands that this is just not you?

B: I cant think of specific names of brands, but there are quite a lot of childrens stuff, that I could buy something in there, but I just wont....it's especially those where it's very pink, and blue ... and if you ask for anything neutral they go (sound of confusion)...

There I prefer not to buy cloths, also if it's extremely expensive, and it's not because that I buy, that I buy clothes that are good for my child (the expensive ones), it still has a lot of chemicals in there and it's still expensive at the same time, I just don't buy there.

I don't want it

R: Some of these luxury, like Dior or something?

B: Yeah, I'm like, fine if they make a conscious mind, that's what my money went for and people got OK salary's and they don't use child labor then yes, ....

But when they do extremely expensive clothing and they still don't have ethical production.... Principles, then it's not ....

K: How do you check if they have ethical production or not? Is it because you worked in the Red Cross or no? Or is it like....(inaudible murmur)

B: Well no, because we don't do anything too much with those issues but, but I have friends who work in that area, and so, I always have good sources and so... information, what's really going on

Yeah I have quite a lot of friends who work within "blabla business - inaudible) and also abroad... and work for different companies and do, and do ethical lines of production, so ... it's through them, I don't know much myself I always ask them, I mean most companies they do really...

K: I was just wondering if there any like certification or something, for eh, if you can find them in the shop?

B: Yeah, ... like for, for food, it's fair-trade is one kind, but for clothing....there's really like, I think, and for creams and stuff there is but for clothing, I don't know very much about what kind of, so I just buy what I know it's....

R: No it's not really, like you said, for fairtrade you can see it, organic, but with cloth, I haven't heard there is like.....

B: Yeah it's really too bad, there's eco label for other stuff but not.. theres eco tecs, but eco tecs is a very ... the problem is that eco-test is not, for organic, it's just that it does not have a number of very bad chemicals in there, so it can still have chemicals in there, that might cause cancer, but it's just the worth that they ruled out, so that doesn't really help much...  
So I just buy from brands that I know I like..

R: What about the food? Is it also organic that you buy?

B: Yeah I buy, not everything, but we try to have most of our food organic... all his food is organic (the baby's) And (inaudible) if you're a single parent, then, it's not possible, because financially we can do it, but I didn't when I was studying... but now we can so it's nice, to prioritise... but for beauty products I don't (laughing)

K: So do you have any, I don't know budget or something, you spend on clothes per months or something?

B: No we just buy what we need, and want....

R: Yeah, have you experienced if it's like any brands right now, that are more trendy, like you watch around and you see that everyone is wearing this or `?

B: I think those "knitted hats" with fur, have you seen those?

R: Like a fur ball?

B: Yeah! I think those are quite popular... and I know that "inaudible brand -yoho body?", I have a lot of people (inaudible) as well (inaudible) ...

R: do you think there's more prestige in having these? Or?

B: I think, it's very much,.... there's like two different strings I think, that's one that's like so, the one that I am more into about, doing all stuff organic I think that's a prestige thing as well...like wanting to do what's best for your child ... but I think there's also another string that's, new good looking clothes... nice brands,...I think that's there as well ...

R: do you experience that in the mother group, are there someone who has like that style?

B: yeah, there's like one who I think is very much into, fashion for her child as well, ....  
I don't think it's all, like I'm not very fashion conscious, but I think if you are as a parent you might, it might also be important that your child is....Like it's more important, for my husband as well (laughter from all), ...

K: in the beginning you said, something about that you look for sales... but, does it matter if , it's like branded clothes, or non-branded? Like not branded by, I mean the ones from the supermarket.... Do you look for all of these or is there a difference

B: I would say definitely there's a difference, like I'm more, in the supermarket I'm always, always check the label, to see what's it made of, I also do other brands, but there are just some brands where you feel more secure.. they haven't put stuff in there that babies are not supposed to ....I definitely have a trust issue with supermarkets, ....I don't like to think I would ever buy my own clothes in the supermarket, I ..... no I don't think I , maybe...I don't think I would because I just don't trust, like... and

there is no reason for me not to trust a supermarket less than any other, but it's just, I think it's just.....(inaudible)

R: Have you been in a situation where , I don't know, that someone has looked upon, that this is like, this will be good, like you're kind of a good mother if you have this one, and not a good if you like...

B: Yeah... I think that's also why I get a little bit stubborn sometimes... about.. I have especially, friends of friends,... who practice something called "attachment parenting".. you heard about that? you sleep with the baby for (forever, for a year, something like that ?) you breast feed it...And, for some of those people it's very, like organic, everything has to be organic.... And then I get a bit of like, ... (inaudible + laughing from all)

It's too much!... But I think that for some people it's been a little bit about the fact that we ask not to have too much new clothes, or I would get, for instance, we have a person come here to clean our house and she always comments on... like he, sometimes he has blue sometimes he has red, like she said "you can never see if he's a boy or a girl" (laughter from all). So we do get some ornaments, like a pink "dummy", in the mothers group, especially one of the other mothers, she always comments on like, you have very (inaudible) girls like poor little guy??? So we have more of those kinds...

R: Do you take it to you or..?

B: No.

K: Do you laugh it off or..?

B: I always use to say we don't believe in boys' and girls' colours.

K: It's so true.

B: Yeah, but I, I think some people think that just...even just dressing him in red is like crazy like and...

K: But that's...isn't it strange, I mean in my eyes it's strange because I mean, why wouldn't guys...couldn't wear red like I mean if they are adults they do it! (inaudible) assume they are like 5 months old like

R: But when you said...I actually have a colleague she told me that...you know... like she always believed that she would like put anything on her son but then when she got him like no she couldn't put red on him (laughter from all)

B: Yeah I think, I think it's a thing like... I also thought that I would easily dress him in pink from top to toe, but I haven't, I mean

K: Yeah ok

B: And I think that's a...this thing about...I don't know but I think it's like subconsciously like I think parents are afraid which I have a big problem with, that "Oh if we dress him like, give him a pink dummy or something he will turn out gay" and like well, then I'll be the only woman in his life that's perfect (all laugh)

K: That's so sweet

R: Maybe everyone should do that!

(Inaudible, agreement)

B: That's so it's so silly

R: It is

B: I don't get it I really don't

K: And it's like also somebody who told me with hair length like if it's a boy he must have the shorter hair not longer and I'm like "*ok, so stupid*"

B: It's very stereotype, I mean we're not gonna cut his hair for the first couple of years and I think (inaudible)

K: Well I imagine sometimes can be also a problem because if they play with something it's getting stuck in the hair

B: It's interesting because it's the same problem for girls but for girls they will never say cut his...cut her hair, boys they say it all the time

K: I wonder if we became mothers do we become stereotypes?  
(All laugh)

R: It's interesting to see how it turns out

(All laugh, - oh god)

B: But my mom she actually says like "*Ah when you were a child, we, you know, nobody cared about...clothing was just something (inaudible)*" and and today she's like "*your generation is so conservative*" (all laugh) but I think I am more than her actually.

(All laugh)

R: Yeah? But do you think it's because of something or that you believe does she have a like a theory that it's because of something?

B: Well I think it's also like when my parents had us, not my sister cause she's nine years younger than me, but when they had me and my brother.... you know they were students, they didn't have the same financial means and then... there wasn't like a pressure dressing your child a certain way, today there is more, I think

R: Where do you think that pressure comes from? Is just that everyone does it or...?

B: I think that...I think that the urban industry or...is more advanced now the way that it regulates people's behaviours in different ways. It's been quite effective and...

K: Do you think advertising has anything to do with it?

B: Oh yeah, totally, you see sitcoms, product placement or like secret commercials and like oh yes so much I think...I really do think that we're influenced in different ways

K: Have you ever bought something which you saw on TV or these kind of things and then bought it later like for...regarding babies or...?

B: I think not so much TV but I think more online (inaudible) "Oh that's nice"

K: Are there also, I mean I've never opened it, but I mean, if you know there are these magazines for women when they dress up a model and they say you can buy this jacket in H&M and this one in Zara is there anything like this for babies?

B: For babies? Yeah I think

K: Like they would take picture that say where did you buy...

B: Yeah I think there's a magazines called...maybe it's also called "Vores Børn" I think I have it here somewhere. They have commercials like that they also have tests...and they...and these like best in tests when they test different things like, and I think I definitely look for that...

But I think I'm, I think I'm a quite critical buyer so if someone says you know organic cream for your child I always, always do like a "Forbrugerådstest" [Consumers' Advisory Council's test] because I don't trust...yeah...

R: Have you tried to, like I asked you before a little bit, but have you tried where you got something, and then.... Like you would never have bought it yourself but you still like, give it on Elias, like put it on Elias, because you wanted to do them happy [the gift-givers]

B: Yeah, yeah, quite a lot...His great grandmother, she buys all this stuff, why do you do that? It's just ... yeah... and she buy, a teddy, and I know that it has like, bad chemicals in it, I can see it on the net, and I wash it and I'm like "*I take it away after like she leaves*". Cause it's a "something" that you can, what companies are allowed to put on the market, but you know its, dangerous for your health...It's ruining credibility (inaudible) relations.. especially for children, so ... I don't care with myself, I use all kinds of stuff, but for him, it's something different.

R: also when they are so small they get, (inaudible) more, I believe..

B: Yeah it's really, and even something that's like Svane Mærket [eco-label]...they can still have (inaudible, I think a kind of chemical) and stuff...So yeah... that's scary...

R: Have you ever sold any of Elias's clothes?

B: Yeah I use an app that's called Reshopper, actually don't sell clothes, maybe only things.... I sold like, different things, but actually not clothes... no not clothes...

R: what about the things, do you then just sell it or do you wash it

B: yeah I wash it then I sell it ...

And I think for clothes it's mostly because we want more children, so I'm like, ok, well keep it, Maybe when we have got two children, then maybe Ill sell it, but I still think Ill have an attachment to it...

K: do you buy the clothes before he was born or you waited after?

B: I bought some of the clothes before, and I left the tags ....because I'm a but superstitious.. I come from a family that is really superstitious (agreement and laughs from all)

K: I heard in Denmark, you are pretty (superstitious), because I heard this story that you cannot buy the pram and bring it home.... You wait until ... and I'm like "what", that's like, why? For me it's absolutely like, you have the crib, and that thing must be ready, like ...In the house before ... I also heard in Denmark, even in the shop you buy it, you buy it and then you leave it there...

R: Yeah and then you wait and you pick it up on the way home from the hospital...

B: We had it home a bit before he was born, you know you have to, but you know I was quite superstitious...

R: In which way?

B: Like, I didn't wanna take the tags off... well it's also in my family it's like, a tradition, all the children you don't take the tags off... so officially it's yours, but it's not really yours, it's like still .... Yeah.... So... my cousins they actually left their stuff at the parents home or they kept it in the shop, for a .... But eh ... yeah it's just if something goes wrong, you don't want to jinx it ...  
Yeah I think it's a thing as well, probably but... (all laughing) yeah there is like a, my dads side of the family are from Lithuania, originally, then moved to south Africa, and very like,... when moving in here, we had to have, like bread in our cupboards, and salt with the bread, all these superstitions.. (all laughing)

K: But they are cute sometimes! (laughing from all)

B: Yeah, it's with your baby so you just do it... (laughing from all).  
Yeah just to be sure (all laughs)

K: Yeah, why not! (Laughing)

B: Yeah...

K: I had a question but now I forgot it (laughing) Oh yeah, actually, how do you know what size to buy? Like before he's born? I was like, because a friend of mine, had, you know... her boyfriends sister had a baby, and she bought a dress, but the girl has it as a t-shirt (all laughing).... She was so big! So I don't know how, yeah do you, do they tell you in the hospital? Or?

B: Well they actually felt my stomach and they said, he's gonna be 4 kilos +... luckily he was only 4 kilos. Not too much plus... So I knew, and also, like my parents, the three of us, were three siblings, and we were all quite big, so I was like ok, I mean, I knew not to buy the small size, and I thought like OK, I just buy a little bit bigger size and then, if it's too big then it's "too big". But.. it was perfect...

K: Oh, perfect!

R: Do you remember what was the first you bought for him...?

B: 56...

R: No, I mean what kind of clothes.



B: Oh, I think it was from Dun Sweden, the green body with the white daisies.. yeah...It was so cute, and I thin my sister she actually, she was the first one, she started knitting stuff... I think she was the first one to, I was like three months pregnant and she knitted something (laugh from all), she went crazy, but eh.... It was pretty sweet, so yeah, we just, we would hide it away, and she was like (whispering) "I didn't really make this but I did..." (all laughing)

R: Because of the superstition? (laughing)

B: Yeah! (laughing)...And she's way cooler than me, and she's more easy going than I am, I'm more... I think I'm more, I mean I think like, everything in order, and she's waaay more easy going and... but she still (inaudible) (laughing from all)

[Talking about the name of the son, what it means and why he got it]

R: Ah, yeah I have a question...When you see people, do you have any like, I don't know, kind of thinking that they are certain types of moms if they are dressing their children in a certain way or....

B: Yeah, I don't wanna say that I do but I do... like for instance if you see, .... If you see someone where the child is wearing design clothes from top to toe you do kind of think, maybe not so much what kind of mother they are but more what kind of values they have in their life. And of course if you have... see children that you know, is just not dressed warm enough for the weather or then you also do make assumptions about...

R:(Inaudible) They say that clothes kind of represents you as a mother?

B: To a certain extent, yeah...

R: Is something you think about when you dress up Elias as well? What others would think?

B: Maybe, not so much what others would think, but more... but just more that I dress him more like the way that I think...according to my values, I would say...  
And I think a lot of uys, we think that clothing, we don't really care about clothing, and clothing doesn't matter, but it does, it does

R: In which way?

B: In the way that it represents our value systems... so I wouldn't for instance buy a Gucci body for him... except if it was on sale and it had a "conscious" line or something... I would not do it because of the brand (inaudible) it looks nice but...but yeah

R: do you think that brands kind of represent the value and then if you buy a certain brand, it is because you stand for and you kind of want to represent this value...?

B: I think it's definitely when you don't know each other, so when you see people on the street, that's the first impression... also we like look at each others clothes, so ... how you're dressed what does that, why are you... when you get to know people it doesn't care, like I have one of my best friends, ... she only dressed her baby in very, very expensive designer clothes, we known each other forever, had I seen her on the street, I would be like (inaudible – something judgmental) (laughing) but she's like one of my *best* friends, so when you get to know people it really doesn't matter, but it's the first you ... impression...

R: It's the same like with adult people, you can see what they wear...

B: Yeah, and we actually inherited a lot of clothes from her, she has twin boys, so he did end up having a lot of blue.... Very expensive clothes (all laughing), that's what she dressed her boys in, when we inherited it, so people were like... *"WOA, you have Paul Smith pants on your baby"*, and I'm like *"but I inherited it!"* (All laughing)

R: Do you think that, when you inherit clothes, do you think that you put other peoples personalities on your child?

B: Ehm, well we mix it up with your own stuff... But a little bit sometimes I think... I mean I wouldn't normally...I wouldn't normally buy Paul Smith pants for Elias, but... I have them because she gave them to me... if she wants to spend all that money, then... but it's fine, like I don't really, it's not to the extent that I wont, wont put them because it's a brand...

[Talking about how he looks like her sister]

R: What about, now we talked about your own personality but, what about Elias's personality, do you...(inaudible from all) No but sometimes you like, some child are more wild, or some are more....

B: I think he has a very... he's like very... he has a very calm personality... I think he is very calm in a way, he is stable... like ... if theres something he wants, and he doesn't get it, hell be very vocal about it... (laughing from all)But otherwise if he's happy then he's just so easy going... he's not very worrisome ... just very... very, very pleasant, he's really amazing.... I think he's a good mix between me and my husband...

R: In which way, like the personality?

B: Yeah like my husbands very... he's very... disciplined, with his work ethics, which I am also but... but then he's very easy going ... he doesn't worry about stuff that's, he's very calm... VERY calm... and... and I think I'm more energetic, and I worry more about stuff, and ehm.... But I'm also very grounded in, not very insecure... so I think.. I think he's a good mix of both of us ... But who know, when he will be like when gets a little older [agreement from all]. His dads, works at the university, he's a researcher, he's very like, he can sit for hours and be very fascinated by something and ... and like they would read books... these baby books, and he can sit for like 50 minutes and look in the book (now talking about the baby again)

R: Oh that's a long time ...

B: So I think he has a bit more patience than I have...

[Talking about the baby and laughing] ... [Talking about the dads work]

R: Do you think, does it have something to do, also maybe, like unconsciously, that, you don't want to dress him in like, blue and pink?

B: I think actually that comes more from me than his father, because he... his father picked out this clothes for instance, like he's very like.... If it was up to (fathers name), he would just dress him in blue... so I think not really, it's more.. I think it's more me than him actually ...

[Talking about English and Danish]

## INTERVIEW WITH IDA

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Interview with Ida

Child: Frederik, 6 Month – was sleeping during the interview

Location: In the mother's apartment in Nørrebro.

Interviewers: Kate and Rebecca

I: Ida

K: Kate

R: Rebecca

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(Chatting about difference between Copenhagen Business School and Roskilde University)

(Hearing the baby alarm on the smartphone)

K: What kind of baby alarm is it?

I: It's like a baby alarm called Nabby. It's Danish actually

R: Ahh, it's a really smart one.

K: I just wonder, because I never seen it before.

I: Yeah it's really good, you can check the temperature and for how long he has been a sleep.

K: So there is some device in the pram? It is by Bluetooth?

I: Yeah. It is really smart cause you always have your iphone with you and then you only need the small device.

K: It's cool, I like it.

R: Yeah it's more practical than the old ones

I: Yeah, unless the iphone runs out of battery (laughing)

R: Have you tried that?

I: To run out of battery? Yeah (laughing). But people always tend to have an iphone charger.

(Kate is talking about her Samsung mobile phone and charger)

K: That is how it works today with technology.

I: Yeah I know, it is crazy. It was my boyfriend. He got the job to find the baby alarm. So he was like which one is best? But he likes all the technology.

R: So he likes the technology?

I: Yeah the lights are also connected with the iPhone, so you can turn it up and down and change colours (laughing)

R: Wow, that is cool.

I: (Laughing) Yeah it is like stuff, you didn't know you needed, right?

R: Yeah exactly...Ok, so I wrote you a little bit what we are writing about, but I will just explain you a little. So we are writing about how first time mothers here in Copenhagen from the Generation Y. How they use and look upon and think about baby clothes brands. And how you experience it...yeah things like that...I also I will need to remember to say that it is anonymous, so don't be afraid of say anything, feel free to be honest (laughing). So yeah, we prepared some small questions, but we also want it to be like a conversation, so not so stiff. But yeah, we can start by asking you, if you can explain just really shortly how it has changed you to become a mother? If you think it has?

I: Yeah in some ways, definitely. I have to wake up a lot earlier (laughing) and sleep a lot less. And that changes you, I think. But I definitely become more aware of small stuff, what is really important. For instance, yeah family and be there. I think a lot about where I should put my time. So maybe that is something that has changed. Because I used to do a lot of volunteer work, because I started a new company together with my friend, but there are no money in it, and then I had my job next to it and also the studying. So right now, I'm thinking "*wow, this is way too much*", because when do I have the time for my family? I didn't think about that so much before. So now I have to cut down on some the things in order to get more time. So maybe that is something that has changed. But I still try to...I love to travel. And I still want to do that.

R: Have you done it?

I: Yeah, we went to the States, when he was 2 months. We went there for 3 weeks, and did a road trip and people were like "*Are you insane, you can't do that with a baby*", but it was actually really easy, because he just slept.

K: Yeah, then it was perfect, that he likes the car rides, because I know some babies that don't like to drive and becomes sick (laughing)

I: Yeah, he wasn't so found of it at night. He cried a lot at nights (laughing). But yeah it was fine. I we are going to Turkey in April. I really want to travel, so I try to stay the same if you can do that. But sometimes it is hard.

(Talking about prices for flight tickets for babies)

I: I don't know if it changed me? I think that I had a really hard time getting use to the stamp mother (laughing). People were saying "*Oh Ida-mom*" (laughing). And I was like "*Don't call me that!*". I'm not just a mom, I'm still me. So in that way I became more aware.

R: So did you see it as a negative thing when they?

I: Hmm no not a negative. I just didn't wanted it to be just mom. Yeah you know? Cause yeah when I'm with him of course I'm a mom, but when I'm out with my friends I'm not, I'm still Ida (laughing). So I just had to get used to it. It's much better now, but in the beginning - I mean the first 4 months, it was really really hard for me to be named that.

R: Do you think that people reacted differently to you after you became a mom? Like your friends?

I: Hmm..., it is definitely the topic every time we meet. Yeah that's what we talk about. And I really want to hear what is happening outside (laughing). Tell me how it is in the outside world, what is going on with you. And they are like how is it like with the baby. I think it is maybe because I'm the first one. Because I'm the first of all my friends, so they are really interested in hearing. I don't know, but I imagine that if everyone had a baby. It would of course be a topic as well, but it would be in a different way. And people they really want to help a lot, which is really nice! And I take advantage of it as well (laughing). Of course, I mean when they have kids, they won't have the time to help (laughing). But...in some way it has changed me yeah.

R: what about, now we are talking about just being a mom, but how do you think it is? How do you see yourself as a mom, or like what kind of mom do you think you are?

I: Yeah, I've been thinking about that a lot as well, because we have all this like ecological mind thinking, like being sustainable and everything. Which I have been punked into thinking from CBS and everywhere else and friends. You know "*think about sustainability*", and it is really important. I mean, when he has to wear clothes for instance, I go and buy ecological. If I can choose between buying ecological and non, I would buy ecological. But I don't...I'm not the kind of mom, who is like only that kind of stuff. And with vegetables, of course I want to feed him well. Is it called ecological?

R: Organic

I: Organic, organic. I buy organic vegetables. But I'm not, if there isn't any organic, then I would buy the other ones. And we talked a lot about...I have this group of mothers, where we meet. From the beginning we talked a lot about how important it is that the home doesn't need to be all clean for us. And you don't have to like dress up or anything like that. We just need to be very chilled about everything, and that suits me very well.

K: Are you more stressed? Or like. You said you were timed pressured. You said that you need to organise more your time, but do you feel more stressed or something?

I: Actually, I've always been a non-stressful person. I've always liked to be very chilled and in some ways I keep that. I think I'm not that stress, because I think a lot about it. I think a lot that I don't want to be like this stressful mom. So maybe I think more about these things than I did before. I just wasn't very stressed. But in some ways, I don't know. Of course you get more stressed when you don't sleep a lot. You know, that tricks your mind. So in some ways yes, but as a person I wouldn't say that. No, I'm not stressed.

K: That's good.

I: Yeah I try to take one day at a time. I don't plan to much. I always make open plans.

R: So you can rearrange them?

I: Yeah exactly. Yeah so I don't feel like that I need to be there. And people understand it. But I'm really privileged that I don't have to go to work in a few months. Because if I had to go, then I think I would be more stressed.

R: Yeah, cause some only have like 6 months of maternity leave.

I: Yeah exactly, cause now I'm like "*yeah I'm not doing anything until September, so when do you want to meet? I don't have any plans*" (laughing). From now till September. So to have that thought it makes me more relaxed.

K: So in September you start school, when the semester starts.

I: Yeah, I start to work in August or July, but I get money from the government until the end of July.

R: When is he from?

I: He is from 31<sup>st</sup> of August. So that is very nice. And maybe also... I don't know if I should mention it, but Thomas my boyfriend, he is a drummer. He plays drums professional, so he is home a lot. Like during Monday to Thursday and Sunday as well. He only works in the weekends, sometimes and sometimes he practice during the days. But I think that helps a lot. Cause then we are two in it. Because I know a lot of people where the husbands or boyfriends go to work from 7:30 and come home like 17:30. And I couldn't imagine doing that. So I'm really lucky that he is home. I think maybe that is also why Im...

R: I'm always thinking, that sometimes it must be boring to sit alone in the end. Like not have anyone else.

I: Yeah, but then there are so many groups, where you can meet with other moms.

R: Ah that is true.

I: But yeah definitely. I would be really lonely, I think. But it is actually also really good that I am young, I think. Because all my friends are either studying or, I don't know, have more energy (laughing). They don't have kids, so they have time to meet during the day. If I was older and we all had a full time job, nobody could meet. So that is also something that is really really good.

K: It's nice cause it seems like you can balance life and life as mom.

I: Yeah. You know before I used to go out Fridays. And I just talked to a friend yesterday, and she was asking me if I wanted to go to this gallery opening, but I just made plans with my mom, staying home and watch X-factor (laughing). So I was like "*No, I'm way to tired to do that*". So it has changed me like that. You know, I used to be really fresh until midnight and now I am tired at 20.00 (laughing)

K: It is understandable

R: Yeah if you are awake at night as well. And regarding like baby clothes, how did you know in the beginning what to buy and did you think about it?

I: How did I know? I actually started...I think that the first that I bought was from Føtex, actually. They have this line, which is kind of popular, also organic. I can't actually remember the name. And I bought

it from there, so I was like *"of course you can buy clothes from Føtex"*. I'm not a shamed of that. And Kvickly also has a good line, it is called Friends, I think. It is really popular as well. But I think that I got my inspiration from Instagram. I use a lot of Instagram, checking out these things.

R: Are there then some specific persons that you are following then?

I: Yeah, there is one called Kidsworld DK. They have a lot of different lines and make it nice. Sometimes I follow women, who have kids, but they are more like from abroad. So you can't really buy the clothes here.

R: But maybe you can see something similar and get inspiration

I: Exactly and then I also got some clothes from my cousins. They also had some boys. So I was really lucky to get a lot of clothes from them. But what was the question again?

R: I asked in the beginning how did you know what you needed what to buy?

I: Then I also asked a lot and I googled a lot. Like *"What do babies need?"*. It is really simply like that (Laughing). You ask Google so many stupid questions (laughing). Like *"What do my baby need"* and then there was a long list, like 10 bodies and 5 pairs of trousers.

K: But how did you know, because you didn't know the size? So you bought it bigger?

I: I bought different sizes.

R: Did you buy a lot before he got born.

I: No, not a lot. I don't think so. I maybe had like 10 bodies and some in different sizes. But it was like size 56 I think. I bought mostly that size. Because I new he was coming out at the time. And I was really big, when I was born, and my brother was really big and Thomas was really big, so I knew it wasn't a small baby. And some of the clothes, that I bought, he couldn't fit. He was way to big.

K: How big was he, when he got born?

I: He was 4,2 kg and he was really, really long. He still is. He is one of the biggest babies from my mothers group (laughing). I just weighted him and he was like 9 kg right now. And he just turned 6 months.

K: Wow

R: So he's a big boy.

I: Yeah he's a big boy. But I did buy some clothes. I wouldn't say a lot of clothes. Cause I also think that it is weird to buy clothes for someone who is not there

K: Yeah I see.

I: There is this kind of a superstition. Like *"You can't buy stroller, you can't buy stuff for your baby before, because that will bring bad luck"*.

K: So did you leave it at the shop?

I: No, actually my mom got some of it. And then I was like "*no that is stupid*", but sometimes it gets in my head, but other times.

K: Yeah cause you wouldn't want to jinx it, right?

I: Yeah, but actually clothes, I was like "*yeah you can buy clothes*" (laughing). I only thought it was big things.

R: I think it is a very Danish tradition, at least with the stroller.

K: Yeah cause I never heard about it.

R: I was actually bought a month before, so my parents hadn't bought anything at all (laughing).

I: That is the same with my friend. They gave birth like 5 weeks before, so in the weekend they needed to go out and buy everything.

R: Yeah, that was the same with my parents. The hospital actually said, that they would take care of me, so that my parents could go out and buy things.

I: Really, yeah that is good.

R: Yeah, but that was back then.

I: Yeah, but I really wanted to have a lot of the things ready. I think it would be really stressful for be not to have the basic things ready. But then again I mean, you manage, right? I think sometimes you buy. You know I have this knowledge, that I never thought I would know. I know all the brands of the strollers and what they can and can't do (laughing). Before he was born even. And we checked out so many things, and it was like "*oh you also need this one, oh you also need that one and you also need that one*" and you basically don't need it so yeah.

R: Do you think like that there are a lot of things that you maybe don't need, but because of commercial, you think you need it?

I: I wouldn't say commercials. I would more say what other people say and suggest. Yeah mouth-to-mouth. I think that is what affects me the most. And maybe people want to make sense of it, that they bought something really expensive that they maybe didn't use (laughing). Like "*oh this is the best thing, you cannot live without it, we've used it SO much*". And sometimes I'm like "*did you really?*", but then again I do want the best for my kid, right? You always have that in mind even though you know that in other countries, they still manage without all of these crazy stuff.

K: So did you buy some things you don't need now?

I: Actually this one (pointing at a hanging cradle). I actually borrowed that one. I'm glad I didn't buy it, cause I think it is like 1.700 DKK. But we didn't use it that much. It was nice to have but we just borrowed it from someone. But I don't know if I bought anything. I buy at Reshopper, I used that a lot. I basically almost buy almost everything there. Not clothes, but anything else I buy at Reshopper.



R: Do you buy used clothes?

I: Yes, at Mødrehjælpen. I use these shops a lot. I really like them because it is really nice, it's all washed. There are these different shops around the city, and they always have nice stuff. And it is really, really cheap. And I know now, that the baby wears the clothes for like 4 weeks (laughing). And they have a lot of clothes, so they don't get to wear them more than maybe 5 times. So it is not that used. Of course I don't like to buy the clothes, where you can see that it has been used a lot. But I know for a fact now, that they don't wear it that much. So I would definitely buy more used clothes for the baby than for myself.

K: Do you sell some of it later, like when he grow up?

I: Like the clothes? I'm actually not so sure if I want to sell the clothes. I am selling the other things – or some of it. I do want more kids, but I don't know when, so I'm not sure how smart it will be to keep things. Cause it might have changed when I'm having the second one (laughing)

K: And it might be a girl

I: Yeah it might be a girl, but

R: But you don't want to sell the clothes, you said?

I: No, I like to either give it or like give it to other people, or borrow it and they can give it back.

R: Do you think it is because you feel more attached to the clothes than the things?

I: Yeah probably. And some of the clothes, I definitely want to keep for myself. I'm gonna pick out some of it. I definitely want to keep some of it. Like I have it like *"oh this one reminds me of this"*. I actually attach a lot of stories to the clothes – and also for myself. Almost everything I have for me, I know where I bought it and who I was buying it with. So there is always.

R: So it reminds you of special things? Also the clothes you have?

I: Yeah, yeah. And I actually just got a sweater – a really, really nice one. Made by his grandmother, my boyfriend's mom. And I put it in the washing machine and it shrank, and I was just so sad, I was like *"Nooo, that was my favourite sweater"*. So I do put a lot of thoughts into it.

K: So you really think about what he is gonna wear or things like that? You put a lot of attention to it

I: Yeah, cause I don't know. It sounds really stupid. Because he doesn't know what he is wearing. He doesn't care if he is wearing pink (laughing). But you know, you look at him all the time, so you do want him, or I do want him to look nice and sweet. And you can do that with clothes.

R: Yeah. Do you dress him differently when you go out than you do when you are at home?

I: Hmm...Sometimes, I mean that depends. I do have some things, that I have bought new in the stores, and I tend to take care of it more, and I tend to put it on him when we are doing some thing important, for instance a birthday party. Then he is dressed more nicely, so I do think about it actually. So I do have some special patterns.

K: Do you take photo of it in order to remember what he was wearing at certain birthday parties?

I: Hmm..No, I do, actually when I take pictures. Now I'm really honest, right?( Laughing). When I'm taking pictures, I do actually think a lot of what he is wearing. I could maybe if he looks really cute in something, and I know I want take a picture of him, then I 'm gonna put it on him (laughing). And then he maybe didn't wore it like two hours ago. So I just put up (on Facebook and Instagram) this *blue outfit*. And I just wanted to try this hat on him, so I was like *"it looks really cute, it will look cute with the blue"* and then I put it on and took a picture of it. So I do yeah... dress him (Laughing).

R: Do you think you then unconsciously maybe, think about what other people will think?

I: Yeah, definitely. Because you do it for yourself, but when you go out, or you show a picture. You also do it for other people, in some way, right? I mean...I know that people will think he looks cute either way, if he wears a grey, green, or blue sweater. But I think in some way yeah, you do it not to please others, but you know they are gonna watch, so you think about it.

R: Do you think that when they see Frederik in a really sweet outfit, then they also something about you as a mother? Do you think they make the connection about what he is wearing and how you are as a mother?

I: I think that...yeah because sometimes you see kids that are dressed in like hippie sweaters and overalls, and then you think *"oh that's a mother, that is hippy-ish"* (laughing). Because you do think that when you see a kid, that is like in jeans, a blazer and a shirt. Then I'm like *"ok, that is a mom, that is maybe like a business mom, that wants to dress him up like that"*. So you do like...it does affect. If I see kids I do think like that, so maybe people will think like this as well, when they see my kid. I think that, I'm not sure if I dress him, to get other people to see how I am. It is not like that. And I know now some of the brands, baby clothes brands. And I didn't before. I mean it is something you know when you become a mom, and it changes your interests. And I didn't thought about it before, when I wasn't a mom, I didn't like looked at other kids and thinking *"Oh he is wearing that kind of brand and oh he is only wearing H&M"*. I didn't thought about it at all. But now I know, so I can see some of the brands, like *"oh he is wearing a branded shirt, so it must be a rich mom. I don't know if it is new, but it is kind of expensive baby clothes"*. So now I become more aware of the brands of baby clothes.

R: Also what you put on Frederik, or?

I: Hmm...yeah...I don't know. I don't know, actually. Because I have a lot of things from Føtex and I buy a lot of things from the thrift stores. But of course I notice, when I put some nice on with a brand name in his neck or in front of it. I'm not sure if I notice like, if I think about it that much.

R: Do you prefer to buy branded clothes compared to non-branded clothes?

I: Hmm...I do, because I believe that some of the designs are also nicer. And some of the fabrics are softer and something like that. And of course, I don't know...I used to work in different branded shops. I used to work at Burberry, and in Acne Store and in Wood Wood, so I've always been interested in it. So that maybe also affects me. But then again from there and to go out and shop these kind of news things. I don't do that, because I do think that the prices...for me, maybe it is because I don't have that much money. I don't know.. Hmm.. I'm a student. And it is really, really expensive, so... I thought about actually. That is also another thing, right now from now, like from when he was born and until I don't know 1 year, he grows so fast. It is insane, so I've become really cheap.

K: Yeah maybe it is also practical in a certain way?

I: Yeah, I don't want to spend that much on clothes, because I know he is only going to wear it like 5-6 times, and then he grows out of it. So I thought about if I wanted to buy clothes that is really nice and maybe more expensive, then I will wait until he is actually ready to walk. Because now he is like laying down. It is stupid, because he is growing out of it in no time. So I definitely think about that when he gets able to walk around, I think I will think even more about what he is wearing.

K: Can you also tell us, what is the normal process when you buy clothes? Where do you look at or where do you go shopping or things like this?

I: Actually clothes, I shop mostly at Mødrehjælpen. And this is definitely one of my favourite shops to go to, because you can also find branded clothes.

K: Is it a store or online?

I: It's a store. I go to the store. When I go online I never buy anything online. I do it for inspiration. I actually spend a lot of time going to all these websites. It is actually so stupid (laughing).

R: What kind of websites are they?

I: Especially that one, Kidsworld. But it is just for the clothes, that I look at. It is not inspirational pictures. It is just basic clothes.

R: And it is all different kind of brands?

I: Yeah they have all different kinds of brands. Hmm.. And then I get inspiration, but I never buy anything, and I also go a lot actually to H&M. I go to their websites, because I think. And Zara as well. Cause I think they have a lot of sweet and cool clothes. It is not cheap. I still don't think it is cheap, actually. I think it is quite. I don't know if it is expensive, but it is not cheap. So I go there and if I really find something and think "*Oh my god this is really, really cute*", then I'm gonna go and buy it. But I don't buy it online, I go to the store. And then of course I get inspiration when I go down to Mødrehjælpen, and sometimes I buy something, if I see it and I like it. And sometimes I don't, because yeah.

K: Yeah, but do you look what it is made of, or quality or?

I: I always, I always look at what it is made of. Always! I actually wouldn't buy anything with polyester in it. I'm really aware of that it is either wool or cotton. I think a lot about that. I do!

R: So when you are searching or looking for baby clothes, what is the most important? What are you most looking at?

I: I mostly look at what it is made of. For me it is important that it is made of cotton. And then I look at the design.

K: Do you like special colours or patterns? Are there something you like very much or something you don't like at all?

I: Hmm... I don't like if it has too many colours in it (laughing). I think it is probably the Northern thing, I don't know. The Nordic style.

K: But colours you buy anything, from pink to grey?

I: I don't think I would buy pink. But we do have this duvet cover, which Thomas' mom made for us. And it is like with all different kind of colours. She loves colours, she really loves them! And there was like a lot, a lot, a lot of pink in it, but also green and blue - but a lot of pink. And I was like "*he can't sleep in that*". It is way to girlish! And then I think. Maybe, actually that is also something I think; that if I put that out, and we walk on the street, and then people will keep asking like "*oh is it a girl or is it a boy*", because people ask that. Because I know that if I dress him in all blue, then people will know that he is a boy. So it is easier. So actually, that is also something I think about.

R: Do you tend to dress him a lot in blue?

I: Yeah I do. Cause right now he has an orange hat on. And I know if he is going to wear it outside, people don't know whether if it is a boy or a girl. But I also have a blue one, and if I put that on, and I also have a blue pacifier, people will know it is a boy (laughing). So yeah actually I do think about the colours. Green and blue and white and grey, yeah.

K: Yeah, what about red? Is it more for girls?

I: No, I actually like red, but I don't think they make that many red things for boys. I do have a red sweater and also an orange one. And I actually like red for boys, I always loved red for boys. But it is hard to find, because then you might have to actually go and buy the expensive ones. Because if you want to buy at H&M, all the red and pink are almost for girls - like dresses and these stuff. And again, at Mødrehjælpen, you don't know what is in it, cause it is used clothes, so you never know what you gonna get, right? And they don't have a lot of the same stuff.

R: Are there some brands that you think you would never buy? Because that's really not you?

I: Yeah...I don't know. I notice because I went to Ilum, when there was sales in the beginning of January. Because I thought, maybe I can get some nice designer clothes for kids really cheap. It wasn't cheap even though it was on sales (laughing) but then I was like "*oh there is a Burberry jacket for kids*"- I would never buy that! I think that is insane. I could never like spend that much money on it.

R: Is that mainly because it is too expensive or is it what it stands for?

I: Yeah, maybe also what it stands for. But then again, I do have a Ralph Lauren T-Shirt I bought in the states, so...

K: There it is much cheaper than here, isn't it?

I: Yeah, definitely. But then again, it also stands for the same thing. Burberry and Ralph Lauren isn't that different. I don't know. Yeah it is the design that tricks me. There is a brand that makes a lot of colours and a lot of different things. And if I find like a shirt or anything that looks nice, I would buy it, maybe. But in total the design doesn't suit my style, if you can say that? Yeah I think your own style affects a lot of what you put on your kid. Yeah.

R: How would you describe your own style?

I: Hmm...I would say that...I don't know, it is difficult... Casual and (laughing). I don't know really. I like to buy stuff that last long and spend a little more money on that, for instance jeans and so. But then I also like trends. Yeah, maybe I'm a just like, yeah a really trend person, cause I do read a lot of magazines, and I do. So when I buy trends, I buy them cheaper, I buy them from H&M or from Zara,

and then you can, when you get tired of it, you can just put it away. So yeah, maybe a do get affected a lot of trends.

K: But you say, that you would never buy polyester to your baby, but to you?

I: I used to actually, but now I become more aware for myself, not to buy polyester. But then again, I know cause I worked at a shop, so I know that when you have a little polyester in it, it will last better in the washing machine. So there is actually something good with polyester. I know that polyester is like a bad word (laughing). People don't like the word and what it stands for, but I know for a fact, that it is actually good for some clothes. But I would never buy 100 % polyester now before like some years ago, I didn't even look inside. But now I do, I'm more aware what I wear myself. But I would wear polyester, yeah. And probably when he gets a little bit older, he could wear some polyester as well. But now I'm like...I've heard that within the first year, it's really important what you put into your kid and what they wear. I also don't wear that much perfume that I did before, because I know that he would be really affected by it.

R: Where did you hear all of this from?

I: Hmm...basically the Internet. Like all these Internet pages, where you can go, and forums. Yeah all these crazy stuff (laughing). And then I'm like *"yeah, I haven't thought about that"* and then something like 20 other people thought the same thing as me.

R: Do you then write in these forums?

I: No, I never write, yeah because there is always someone who have asked it before me. But I would never write in it actually. And then you get from Sundhedsplejerske, she also comes with a lot of brochures that you can read. The government has some webpages, where they write down what is good for your kid, and how much they...like how many vegetables should they eat a week and like what is good and what is not good. And there is also like *"don't wear to much perfume"* or *"wash in perfume free"*. So you get a lot of that from anywhere basically, I think. In the States it was really different. Because here also with medicine and everything, people are like *"don't put medicine into your kid, if you can do it without"*. And then we went to the States and he had this stomach problem, and I noticed that people were like *"yeah, just give him some pills"* and I was just like *"No you can't do that, he is just a small baby"* (laughing). So they have a different view on it. And when they washed clothes, they would just be like *"oh it smells so nice"* and I'm just like *"It's not supposed to smell and there is perfume in it"* (laughing). So they don't care about this. So I noticed a difference.

K: Definitely!

I: And I also got a lot of clothes to him from France, because I got some friends. And then they went to France, and there is a lot of polyester in it and I was like *"I would never put like a night suit on him in 100 % polyester, because I now you can't really breath in it"*.

R: And did you get that as a present?

I: I got that as a present, but I never used it (laughing). I haven't told her, I wouldn't tell her.

R: Have you got any other presents where you didn't liked it, or you think it was something that you wouldn't put on him, but you did it anyway?

I: (Laughing) Yeah I actually do. Like a week ago my mom bought some pants for him, and I didn't thought it was that nice. And then I was going visiting her (laughing) and I know that she would love for him to have it on, so I put it on, and she was really happy (laughing), and then when we got home, I took them of (laughing). So yeah!

R: Was it because you didn't like the style?

I: yeah, yeah. I don't like when it is too baggy (Laughing). And it was really baggy and had all these different patches on (laughing). But people tend to buy a lot of clothes for you as presents. So I got a lot of clothes for him as presents.

K: But have you told people like don't buy any polyester, or?

I: No, I actually didn't. I don't know, maybe I should. But it was actually only one person, who got it. I think everyone else gave me 100 % cotton. Yeah, because you don't find a lot of it in the Danish brands. I don't think you can find a lot of things with polyester. It is almost only 100 % cotton and wool. Yeah.

K: What about toys? I was just wondering if it is more wooden things than plastic?

I: Yeah definitely. There is this Brio, which is very popular with all these wood things. I definitely like the wood things better, because I know that it is better for him not to have all these chemicals. But I think that in Denmark it is hard to find, because we have a very strict policy about that. So I think that it is hard to find things that are bad for your kid.

K: Even though it is plastic?

I: Yeah, even though it is plastic.

K: I'm just thinking that if it is plastic, then it is better to wash?

I: Definitely. I also put some of the toys in the machine once. And they like plastic better. The thing is actually, that they like colours. If babies could chose, they would chose colours all over, I think (laughing). So I think that if they could choose between wood and plastic things with colours. They would chose the plastic ones.

R: It looks more fun I guess

I: Yeah it does (laughing).

R: What about like do you talk with others about baby clothes?

I: Hmm...no actually not. But I don't know if it is because my friends don't have any kids.

R: Yeah that could be.

I: I might talk with them if they had kids, probably. You know, we have this mother group, but I don't think about. No, we never talked about clothes. But that is also because that we from the beginning, the first time we met, we were really like, as I said before, that we really wanted to be very much about that it doesn't need to be all perfect and everything, and we shouldn't like brag about "*look what we just bought,*" "*or look how good he is, because he can do like this*". We actually talked about not doing

that, because some of the moms would maybe be a little sad if they couldn't do it or if they couldn't afford it. So we never talked about it. But maybe it is because we from the beginning said that we shouldn't talk about it. Having special brands.

K: In your mother group, are you all students, or is it mixed?

I: Yeah, here in Nørrebro, you get mothers just around the corner, basically - if you are lucky. Yeah because here in Nørrebro there are soooo many moms, and they are all like first times, yeah. And you only get in groups with other moms who have their first kid. But actually in my group they are all students.

R: Oh that is nice!

I: Yeah, because my cousin, she is 31 and she lives at Frederiksberg. And she is with a lot of lawyers, and they are so different to her. Because I know she has more money, because she has a full time job. But in ours we don't have that much money. Actually we all live in a 2-room apartment, like this apartment. Yeah almost all of every one of us have the same amount of money, I think. We haven't talked about it, but

R: Yeah if you are all students, you all get the same amount in SU, I believe.

I: Yeah, and we are from. The ages are from 23 up till 31.

R: Yeah, so you are all quite young. What about. Now, I'm just skipping, just because I look at some of the questions, we have here. Are there a specific piece of clothes that you feel really connected with?

I: Hmm... Like what do you mean?

R: Like, more than any other, you really like specifically that piece.

I: I would say that if I did go out and buy some pants that was expensive or branded, I tend to like it better, because I put more money in to it (laughing). And I put my own thought into it. Because if you go out to buy in a shop, there are so many different styles and you can chose whatever you want. So you definitely chose the one you find very cute or very nice and you tend to put it on him more, than if you just go to a thrift store and buy whatever is there. Because there you cannot choose, you can only chose between what is there. So I would say yeah. I do have some favourite things. And also, actually, some of the clothes that his grandmother made for him, because that is something I know that she put a lot of effort into it. But she makes some really nice stuff and some not so nice stuff (laughing).

R: Do you think she puts her style in it?

I: Definitely. But I actually, because I was actually really afraid that she would make so many things that I didn't like, and that would be really a shame! Because she did put a lot of time into it and money as well. So I actually told her before he was born. I tried to be really sneaky like *"I really like when it is simple, but with some colours in it"* or *"I like stripes not with too many colours"*. I tried to tell her, what I liked and she listened to it. So she made some things that I really, really, really liked. And then again, she did like, make her own things with some of the stuff. But I did actually tell her, what I liked in a very sweet way.

R: So it is more your style?

I: Yeah, because I think that it is too bad to get it and just put it on the shelves.

R: Yeah, one thing is when you buy it, that's a shame too, but when she really puts an effort into it.

I: Yeah of course. But I find it hard to tell people that buys stuff, that I don't like it.

R: Are there any brands that you like better than others, if we talk about brands.

I: Yeah, there is this Danish brand called Høst, which is really nice. But I actually, have a hard time remembering all the brands' name. There is also something called Papfar, I think. And I don't have anything from it, but I follow them on Instagram and I really like all the clothes. But it is still new for me. I think it is a really bit too expensive. But I really like all the styles they pick. But from there and then to buy it. But I might when he has his 1 year birthday, I might write all the things down, like which brands I like, and then say that I want clothes from these kinds of brands.

K: There is actually some kind of app, where you can literally put the links to the piece of clothes you want and put it in some kind of cloud that other people can see.

I: I think it is actually PostDanmark, who made it

R: Yeah Ønskeskyen.

I: Yeah my cousin, she used that. She used it, it is really, really smart. She used it, when she had her child to give to people, and then they can go in and check it out, and then you can go in as another guest, you can go in and see like *"oh somebody already bought that"*.

K: I think it is not a bad idea.

I: But I think, yeah it is good, but sometimes I think it is a bit a shame because

K: If it is too expensive, or?

I: Yeah also because you know exactly what you gonna get. There is no surprise in it and I like to be surprised.

K: Aah..that is true.

R: And also like, sometimes it is just my personal opinion, but sometimes when I get a whole list of all these very expensive things people ask for, it feels almost like a begging list (laughing). Maybe that is just my point of view.

I: No, I agree.

R: Not with things that people can afford, but sometimes they just wish for these expensive things. And I know they probably think *"oh you can group a lot of people together and buy it"*

I: Yeah, but I think that it is also because you do tend to put maybe the more expensive things on, because you cannot afford it, and then just hope that you will get it. But yeah I don't know.



R: What about... You said you in heritage some of the clothes. Do you just take all of it or do you then chose?

I: No, I chose. Yeah sometimes, because the brands are really different in the shapes, and like with you, you have something that fits you very well and it is exactly the same with baby brands. And some of them are like really short and wide and some of them are tall. Some of the clothes that I in heritage was not very well fitted for Frederik. My cousins they have kids both of them, and they have very different styles for their kids. It is really, really. You can really see *"ok, this one, comes from one family and this one comes from the other"*. So I tend to mix it actually, because I think I'm a little bit in between.

K: So you are creating your own style.

I: Yeah, yeah. Because some of them are really like, too baby-ish I think, and some of the are way too boy-ish. I don't know (laughing). So I definitely choose. I don't use like everything. And also when I got the bag, she was also like *"just take whatever you want and if you don't like some of it, then just give it to other people or throw it out"*.

R: Do you do something with it before you put it on Frederik? Like the things you get. Does it sometimes feel like you are putting another person's style on him?

I: The thing is that when I can smell their smell, you know? Because all people have different kind of smells. So there is some pants that I just put on him yesterday. I just put down a bag, that I forgot that I had, because I had so much. And I was like *"Oh there is these pants. Oh they are his size right now"*. And I thought that they looked so nice, but I could smell my cousin's smell and it reminded me so much of her, so it actually felt like that I put her son's pants on my son.

K: But if you wash it the smell stays?

I: I think you have to wash it a couple of times.

R: Did you then wash it before you gave them on him?

I: No, I didn't wash them actually. Because I know that she washed it. But if I buy it in a thrift stores or if I buy new stuff, then I always wash it first. But yeah...I don't know. Sometimes I feel that I put their style on him.

R: Yeah?

I: Yeah, because you can really see the different styles. Definitely! There was this outfit when we were going to the States. We needed to have some clothes that were a little bit light, cause it was warm out there. And there was this clothes, it was like a shorts-suit with a shirt and a vest and a small hat. And I was like, this is really cute, but it is definitely not my style! And Thomas he really liked it, and I really didn't. So I didn't take it with us. I would never put it on.

R: Yo you have different styles?

I: With some of it yes.

R: Or is it mainly you who chooses the clothes?

I: Yeah, it is definitely me who buy all of the clothes. I don't think. Actually he never bought anything. But a lot of times he put on the clothes.

K: So he makes his own style?

I: Yeah and actually to be really honest (laughing). When I went to these group of mothers, And I've been up really early and doing all stuff and I've been maybe a little stressed in the morning. And then I've said "*Oh Thomas, can you please put some clothes on him*" and if I don't like what he put together and I don't have time to change it. I will still go out, but then I would say to the other moms "*oh it is his dad who put the clothes on today*" (laughing). So I do actually think about it. Like (laughing) "*it is not me who put the clothes on*". I he is really good at it. Normally he thinks a lot about styles as well himself. So I think he thinks about it as well, maybe not as much as me, but yeah.

K: When you went to the U.S have you been to the shops there to search for baby clothes?

I: Yeah I did.

K: Is there something that are not here? I mean not concerning brands but more like piece of clothes that you've never seen here?

I: I think you can see that you are in. We were in San Diego and LA and I think that there was definitely more baseball clothes. It is an American style, you can see that in the clothes as well. And here you can see that it is the Northern Scandinavian style, You can see that. It is more simple and you know, not too many colours with some of the brands. But yeah you could see a difference. And we did actually buy a baseball shirt, because it reminds me of the States and out trip. So I will definitely keep some of that, because you can see that it from the States.

K: No, and you can probably not buy baseballs shirt here.

I: No, and football shirts and all of these things. I like college style. There is a lot of college style over there, for babies as well.

K: Do you also have the T-shirts, where it is written like My dad is...

I: I do have some of the shirts. Yeah, like "*this one is made out of love*" (laughing). And there is another one with "*My mom rocks*" (laughing). I do have some shirts, yeah.

K: Do you do it yourself? Because some of them, you can design yourself.

I: No, I've bought it. Actually I received two of them and bought one myself. But I never made it.

R: Have you ever made any piece of clothes for him?

I: No, but actually. I'm started to. Because I'm not really good at knitting, but my mother-in-law, she tries to teach me how to do it. But I didn't come very far (laughing). I've already made mistakes.

R: This is actually one of my goals, when I finish studying. I want to learn how to knit.

I: I know, I thought that as well. I thought "*Im' gonna have so much time*", but then, when you have don't have anything to do, you just want to sleep (laughing). I would love to be able to do that, but yeah I already made some mistakes

(Showing the piece of clothes, that she has started knitting).

I: And she (mother-in-law) was so sweet to buy me all of this (pointing at the garn)

K: Oh such a good colour!

I: Because I also told her, when we go out "*Oh I like that colour*" (laughing). But yeah it is really nice. And she really cares about what kind of wool it is and it is half silk I think. Look how far I got and I already made mistakes. So I need to get people to help me.

R: I'm sure it will be good.

I: It will be ready in like 1,5 year or so (laughing).

R: So you just need to make it extra large.

I: I know, right?

K: Or it is for the second baby.

I: But yeah, that is the only thing I made.

K: I was actually wondering. Do you know that there is a service where you can rent baby clothes?

I: No

K: I heard about it, that it is somewhere here. It is online and you can rent it for a month or something, because babies are growing so much.

I: It sounds really good. Is it like new clothes you buy or is it like?

K: No, actually it is used.

R: I think...I don't know which one you are talking about, but we've been trying to search a little for it and there is also one where they send you a package with the size for the child now and then they send you five pieces of clothes, and then when you cannot use it anymore you send it back and they send you another package.

I: The thing is that he is really big, so he is way ahead of time. That would be a problem, if they send what fits.

R: Probably you write which size he uses. But what would you think about that? That someone else send it to you?

I: I don't think I would use it. I like to be in charge of what he is wearing. So to be honest, I don't think I would use it. Because I do think a lot about what he is wearing.

K: I see the solution if you can pick the clothes before and then they send it.

I: Yeah that would be a good idea.

K: But I'm not sure how it works exactly.

I: Yeah I know they do it with different products, like with make-up. They use that a lot for instance in France. Where you get a surprise bag every month. But I don't know if it would work with baby clothes, because I do think that moms are aware of what they put on. They want to choose it themselves. And you know with the renting? I think that maybe it is a good idea, but the thing is that it is so cheap to go and buy used clothes. It cost 10 DKK for a body, so it has to be really cheap.

R: Yeah almost so the porto is almost more expensive.

I: Exactly because you get just sell it again maybe.

K: Or I imagine that it could work if you had really expensive baby clothes. Like with Burberry. Maybe that would work. But I can't see for instance H&M (laughing)

I: Yeah, that is right.

R: Have you ever bought anything on a flea market?

I: Yeah, I actually bought a lot. Actually I bought a lot of clothes before he was born, maybe I didn't think about it. It was good that you said it. Because we did buy. You know because he was born in the end of August. So we had all these flea markets during the summer. So we did buy some clothes, me and my mom especially. We went to a lot of flea markets and bought some stuff. And I'm gonna do it again now in spring and the summer. I am definitely gonna do it.

K: Can I ask you what kind of baby clothes you have bought the last month, if you remember?

I: I've bought. What do you mean? What kind of brands or what kind of styles?

K: What kind of piece of clothes and maybe brands, if you remember.

I: I basically buy everything every month, because he grows so fast. So yeah bodies, and bodies with long sleeves, shirts, T-shirts, long-sleeved T-shirts.

K: Do you remember where you bought it?

I: The bodies I bought in H&M and in Kvickly. Actually, I tend to buy the simple bodies in one colour. I buy it in the supermarkets. So the cheap ones. Or in H&M. And the shirts, I buy them in Mødrehjælpen. Because then you can actually get some of the brands way cheaper and also the pants, I buy it in Mødrehjælpen.

R: Would you buy some of the sweaters, the ones you have on top. Would you buy them in Kvickly or Føtex?

I: Hmm...

K: Or have you bought it?

I: No, I have actually never bought any sweaters. My mom have bought some for me. Oh she loves to buys stuff (laughing). I actually stopped her because she bought way too much. I had so much that it couldn't fit into the drawers. So I actually had to stop her. And I bought the pyjamas thing for him.

K: And have you give any of the clothes away? Cause you said that you never sold it. Did you give it to somebody else.

I: No, it is actually still there. Cause I don't know who to give it to (laughing). I could give it to Mødrehjælpen, but I feel that I want to save it for my friends. I did buy some presents, I went to Illum and bought a branded clothes. But yeah .

R: I think we are good.

K: Yeah we got everything. Thank you very much.

R: Ah is there any brands that you experienced that are more popular?

I: I would definitely say the brand called Wheet. It is really popular, I think.

R: Does it give kind of a status to wear?

I: Hmm...I think that it will show that the mothers care what the child is wearing. In the sense that they. Because I know that almost all baby clothes is organic and 100 % cotton. So it is not that, which stands out. But it is more that you have money and you chose to buy nice clothes for your kid. So maybe it shows that. Yeah, but I'm not sure.

K: But have you seen it in your mother group first and then you bought it? Or were you the first who bought it?

I: No, I just. You know, again Instagram, definitely. And you scroll down pictures of other babies and then you see it a lot. And people were like "*Oh I'm so happy for that*" (laughing) and "*our kids love it*". And then it gets into your head and then you are like "*Maybe I'll like it as well*" and then you go out and buy these brands.

K: Where do you meet with your mother group? Is it in your apartments or do you go to a café? Or how does it work?

I: Mostly apartments

K: And then you prepare food or something?

I: Yeah, yeah. We tend to make rye bread sandwiches and small snacks, so people can make themselves. And sometimes we went to a café. We also went to swimming bath. We been doing different stuff.

K: Ahh, so you are making different activities? Is it the swimming class where you swim together?

I: Yeah, yeah.

K: Oh it is so nice!

I: Yeah it is really nice and we went to this church. The churches have been used a lot for baby singing. I never knew that before.

K: Ah. What is that?

R: Yeah can babies sing? (laughing)

I: No, they can't sing. But we sing baby songs together for them. And you are together a lot of people in a group. It sounds crazy right?

K: No

I: And then we also use these soap bubbles, and we blow and they look at it. And there is like a piano where they play songs and they hear all the sounds. Yeah. And it is for free. Because sometimes you pay a lot for private things but in all the churches.

R: Ah it sounds really nice. Have you used it?

I: Yeah, I've used it. Every Wednesday in the morning.

K: Cool.

R: Yeah, I think that now it is good.

K: Thank you!

## INTERVIEW WITH ISABELLA

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Interview with Isabella

Child: Lucas, 13 months

Location: Mothers workplace in Hellerup

Residence: Amager (Copenhagen S)

Interviewers: Rebecca

I: Isabella

R: Rebecca

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R: I don't know if we should just start?

I: Yeah

R: Ok, so I can start by telling a little what we are writing about, but we are basically writing about how first time mothers here in Copenhagen, how you see and use and experience baby clothes and what you think about it. Just how you use it in general or if you notice something specifically. But we have made some questions, but we also want it to be like a conversation, so I will probably ask some questions that are not here [pointing at the interview guide]. So yeah, just feel free to interrupt and give your opinion and everything. Hmmm...and also it is anonymous so just feel free to say anything (laughing)

I: Anything I want (laughing)

R: Yeah exactly. But maybe you can just start by shortly explain if you think it changed you to become a mother?

I: It was...I actually became a different mother that I expected to be.

R: Ah, yeah? In which way?

I: It is just because it is more, it is more emotional. You get some feelings that you don't know, that you haven't experienced them before. And then you feel unconditional love to that little child, so yeah it is amazing and yeah I also got another child what I might expect to get. Cause I thought I was going to get a child where you could just give him to everyone, but we quickly noticed that it wasn't something for him. He couldn't handle going from arm to arm, but yeah...It's been a nice experience, I would recommend it to anyone (laughing).

R: (Laughing) that is good to know for the future... So you said it was not like you expected it to be?

I: Yeah it was just more, it was different. Way more different, and I became a mother with big M, really. I'm putting my own needs, it is his needs first and then my needs doesn't really matter. And I didn't thought it would be like that. It is much like... before he went to day care, he wasn't taken care of by others. Because I haven't had the need to go out, I didn't have a need to go out to a café with my friends or I thought I might had that need, but I didn't. I just wanted to spend time with him.

R: And before, did you go out a lot with your friends?

I: Yeah, I often went out and often trained, and I haven't really. I just wanted to stay together with him, so (laughing). So that it is total other life, but he might want to be together with me for five years and then he wants to go out and play with his friends, so yeah. Five years is not that long time, so I'll just enjoy it.

R: Yeah exactly. So you touched a little upon it, but how would you say that you are as a mother?

I: I might be a little bit. On some parts I think that I might be a little over protective by you know, if he doesn't want to be held by this person, he shouldn't. But with the more physical stuff, I don't think that I'm that protective, I just think like *"ok, crawl up and fall and hit yourself and figure out"*. Hmm... I'm not really into that, what is it called? Eco-stuff. I don't really think about it (laughing). So sometimes I feel like a bad mother, when you hear about others talking about it (laughing). Buy yeah, I feel like I'm over protecting with the more *"if he doesn't want to do it, he shouldn't do it"*. I don't want to force him into anything. But on the physical stuff, in that way he can just do whatever he wants.

R: Now you said that you are not into these ecological things, that you say you might be a bad mother (laughing). I don't think you are! But like, why is there a pressure you think of being into this ecological?

I: Not in my, not in the group of friends that I'm in. It is just when you hear about other people talking. In the society there is a way like your child should only eat organic food and have organic clothes on and stuff like that. I don't really think so much about it. I mean, sometimes, he eats cucumbers, and then I would choose an organic one, but it is not because I'm not choosing it, but it's not that I say like *"I only want organic"*, I just take what is there, I don't really think about it. Maybe sometimes there is. I don't feel the pressure, but sometimes when you here people talk about it, then you sometimes think *"ok, maybe it would be a good idea to think a little bit more about it"*, but...

R: But is there this talk about that when you buy organic then you are a "better" mother? I mean not with your friends but in general?

I: I just think general in society there is a trend going on, that you should buy organic otherwise...You know to create a better world and to be a better person. But it's not like that it's bad if you don't buy it. It's more like that you are a better person if you do (laughing)

R: So what about in regards to for instance baby clothes? If we talk about that, what are you searching for?

I: Right now, really just what looks good. Clothes he can move around in and also clothes that last longer. Because he starts to be in the same clothes for longer time. In the beginning it was more like *"ok, what is cheap"*, or I might be buying something that said "eco" or stuff like that on or wool or whatever, but I did not really think about it, actually.

R: So it was more about the design?

I: Yeah or if it was cheap. And sometimes it was like *"ok this look nice, I will buy it"* and sometimes he would need some bodies and you can get ten for 100 and it was both used and new, so yeah..

R: How old is he now?

I: He is 13 months. And I have a new one on the way to July so yeah (laughing)



R: So they will have a good use of each other, that is nice. But you say there is a difference between how you buy clothes to him now and when he was younger?

I: Yeah in the beginning, I might, it is just because my husband is allergic to a lot of stuff; grass and animals and whatever, so I was thinking more about, you know, trying to chose allergic friendly pillows and stuff like that. Not so much clothes I think. But also in the way that I was thinking about you know, I don't want to force the allergies on my kid, so if I could buy something that would not provoke it.

R: What would that be then?

I: I have no idea, but just like if it is said, like you know if I was buying a pillow, that it said "allergy friendly".

R: Ok.

I: But now I think like. It will also be good for him to be transposed to a lot of stuff.

R: Yeah. What about in the beginning, how did you actually know what you should buy to him?

I: I didn't (laughing). It was just like hearing friends, what do you need. And then I... I don't know if you heard about Vigga? [a company that rents baby clothes]

R: Yeah. Ah so you subscribed it? So you got these packages?

I: Yeah, exactly. I didn't get the first package, but the next one.

R: Ok., and how does it work? Cause I've read a little about it. So did you choose the clothes or did she choose the clothes?

I: I choose, there are two, for each gender, there are two packages you can choose from. There is package 1 and package 2 and then you can choose which one. But it is fixed, you know. There is this amount, so if you choose this, it is exactly that clothes that is it in. And then you have it. And then they say ok, next delivery will be in 2 months or whatever, and then you just pack, when the new delivery comes, you just take the old clothes and but it in the bag and return it.

R: Ah ok, and what about the sizes? Do you write which size he needed?

I: Yeah there is new born and then there is 56 and 62 and so you jump from each, and then if your child grows faster or slower, then you just write "*I don't need*" or "*I would need it before, because my child is growing*". But I stopped after, I think 68 was the last size I had, because I thought that the last times, I didn't like the design so much, and there were a lot of stuff in it that I didn't use. So...but it was really nice clothes, the pants and the bodies, it was really nice quality and also because I got. He is not that chubby my child (laughing), he is kind of not skinny but a slimmer size, and it [the clothes] were elastic, so it would fit him. A lot of the things you buy in cotton it was too big for him. So, but it was really good.

R: Have you heard other that used it or how did you get introduced to it?

I: I actually, I went to APA. That's when you are pregnant and stuff like that, they have a school for pregnant woman and when you have given birth, kind of like a mother group in a way and where you learn how to stimulate the kids and stuff like that. And they had a poster and she was out telling, and then there was one, from the team I was on, that used it. And she said that she was happy with it, so I thought, yeah why not, try to be a better person and recycle the clothes (laughing), but it was actually really, really good.

R: Hmm... what about before he was born, did you buy anything to him?

I: Yeah, I bought some stuff. Not I think that we, no I. Did we inherent some clothes? I think we inherent some clothes and then we bought some bodies and a sweater and stuff like that, but it wasn't that much. Because I didn't really know what he needed (laughing).

R: No, exactly, that is also difficult with the sizes.

I: Yeah exactly.

R: So when you bought it before, like I heard some people didn't want to cut of the labels, because that would bring bad luck.

I: Oh, I did that. When I bought some thing, I washed it, so it was all ready to be used, but some of it I haven't even used (laughing). Because you know, the size was wrong, so he could fit a warm sweater in June, he was born in February, but I just bought it, but you don't know the sizes and stuff like that, so yeah (laughing).

R: So you asked your friends also in the beginning, you said?

I: Yeah, what do I need, and some were just going to a shop, and then you see a tiny body or pants and then just bought it.

R: What about, is there difference between how you thought you were going to dress him and how you are actually doing it?

I: Not really, I don't really care, I mean of course I want him to look ok, but I don't really care about it that much.

R: So what is it actually, that you are looking for when you are buying clothes? You said that it was lasting longer and?

I: Yeah, hopefully and that it is comfortable for him, because he is all over the place. And I know, that when I was a kid, I hated having jeans on, because I thought that they limited my ability to move, so sometimes he gets jeans on but otherwise it is jogging pants and stuff like that, and it does not always match because, then he spills on his pants anyway and he would get an extra pair, and he doesn't care how he looks like, right? (laughing)

R: (laughing) yeah exactly. But what about or can you recall where you bought last time clothes for him?

I: I think it was Zara.

R: Are there some shops where you buy more clothes than other?

I: I think it is H&M cause it is close by and cheap, but I actually like Zara, I think the design is better.

R: Ah ok, and what about normally when you buy clothes, is it something you plan or is it more impulsive?

I: It is different, sometimes it is like he really needs some pants or he really needs a sweatshirt, then it is like, you know I plan. I don't plan exactly, I need to buy this, it is more like I need to go to H&M or whatever to buy a shirt or something.

R: Hmm...Is it mostly you or is it also your husband that buys?

I: No, he doesn't really care. I think that if I told him to buy, he would do it, but he...I think yeah...

R: I think that is normal (Both laughing)

I: But then sometimes when I'm out shopping and I see "oh there is a nice shirt" then I just buy it. So...

R: What about, do you seek inspiration somewhere?

I: No, it is more coincidence if I see a poster or a magazine, but again, I don't really care too much about it, so it is more like whatever is on the mannequin in H&M or whatever.

R: But do you see like advertisement for baby clothes?

I: No, again it is by coincidence. If it is in a magazine or on the television, it is not something that I seek to look at.

R: No, but do you think it impacts you?

I: I think it could be, if I think "oh this looks smart or this looks great".

R: I have seen some, but can you describe if you see an advertisement, how do they try to expose the clothes for the baby? Do they put the moms on as well or do you think that these advertisement may say something like "*how it appeals to you*". I don't know if you thought about it?

I: No, I haven't really thought about it really (laughing). I think more about it when it is design for the kids room, then I look more into that. And I follow some people on Instagram, but it is more like bloggers, you know. I think that is much more exciting than for the clothes for him. So I don't really think about the advertisement for the child's clothes, not yet anyway (laughing).

R: So you are not follow anyone on Instagram for clothes? Is it just for furniture?

I: Yeah.

R: What about, do you sometimes hear other, like if you have some friends, do you then talk about which brands you should buy is it something you talk about?

I: No, not really, not really. It is more like, what do they need. Like ok, it is winter, what should they wear? Should they wear jump suit or whatever? And then sometimes it is just like, "ok there is this nice one". But it is more like, what type of clothes they need.

R: So it is not about brands?

I: No, it's not really.

R: Have you experienced that people have a lot of opinions about it?

I: No, but I can see that some you know. I know a lot of brands, so I can tell if it is expensive or not, so I can see some people care about it, but it is not something we really talk about. It is not like "*oh your kids is having H&M clothes on or used clothes*". It is more like, you can just see that they always buy the good brands or the expensive brands and that is what the kids is wearing.

R: Do you think it says something about them as mother if they only buy these?

I: Not really. Not really.

R: No. What about for instance are there anyone you talk with baby clothes?

I: No, again, not really, it is more about, or sometimes it is like "*Oh I got this really, I really think this fits my kid really well, and he is a slim kid, so*". Just like Zara, they are more slim in it and it fits him. It is more on the, yeah how it fits him and stuff like that.

R: Yeah, do you still see you mother group?

I: No, but I didn't really use them so much, but I have a lot of friends who gave birth around the same time.

R: Ah, ok so you kind of made your own mother group?

I: Yeah exactly, exactly.

R: Would you say that you dress your son differently when you are alone than when you take him out?

I: Sometimes, I think about ok, now we are going to a party, and then I might find some clothes that fit more together, and maybe chose the good pants with not so many spots on and stuff like that (laughing). Yeah I think I do that, not always but most of the times.

R: How do you think it can be?

I: I just think that when I go I would dress like, not wearing my old jeans. I think it is more like that. In the way you just always want your kid to look good (laughing).

R: Have you ever experienced that people would comment on what he was wearing or?

I: No, not really.

R: No. I will just see if I have something here [looking in the interview guide]. Also, it is not here, but I'm just thinking, have you also bought some used clothes?

I: Yeah, a lot.

R: Where do you buy it from?

I: Usually I use the app reshopper, cause that is in the area. So I bought just before he was born and after I have bought a lot of used stuff.

R: Yeah. Why did you buy it used?

I: It is just that it is cheaper, and sometimes you get, again the good or the more expensive brands at a reasonable price. And when they are so small, they haven't really had the time to use it anyway, so (laughing).

R: What about, have you been in a situation, where you thought about what other children, what they were wearing?

I: I always look at what other children are wearing, just to get inspiration. Not to judge or anything, just to think "*like ok, that looks nice*". Also because I'm not so good to design and stuff like that, so I really need some inspiration if I should buy some cool clothes to my kid. So it is more in that way. Just to get inspired.

R: Do you then sometimes ask the parents where they have bought it?

I: I think that I have asked sometimes, few times, where they got it from?

R: What about, like do you think, or like, if you see a child that is dressed only in specific high-end brands, do you think something about the mother then?

I: No, in the way I just think "*why would you use so much money on clothes?*" but then again, if they have the money, why not use it on the kid? So it is more like "*ok, you must have a lot of money*", but not that she is a bad or good mom, it is more their economic situation.

R: Yeah and what about on the other side, if you see a child that is wearing clothes from the supermarket?

I: I don't really think about it actually.

R: Have you bought clothes in the supermarket?

I: Yeah, I have, both in Lidl and Kvikly, because they have some good clothes, and again they were it sometimes five times, and then it is done, right, so. So for me it is ok.

R: Yeah exactly. Do you think your own style is kind of represented in what you put on him?

I: Yeah, I think so.

R: In which way?

I: I think that I won't dress him in anything that I think is ugly. Like then he gets a sweater from his grandmother, and I just think it is really ugly and I would never buy that, and then he is only wearing it, when there is not any other clean sweaters, cause you know (laughing) I don't really like it. So in that way. I think it is more that you want to look at something you like, but also now he isn't that old, so he can tell me what to wear, so maybe that will change if he is old enough to tell me; *"I want to this and this"*. But right now, it is more or less what I think is ok.

R: Is there any clothes, that you would never put on him?

I: No, I don't think so. Too stiff pants (laughing)

R: What about with colours? There has been a lot with like *"girls should wear pink, and boys should wear blue"*.

I: I think that my child can wear red, he has red, but maybe not baby pink or pink. He wouldn't care, but I wouldn't like to put him in baby pink clothes. He has red pants and red sweatshirt.

R: Is it important for you, like now he is so big that people can see that he's a boy, but when he was younger, was it then important for you that people could see that he was a boy?

I: No, I wasn't really thinking about it. I also think it is because I was really boyish when I was a little, so if I had got a girl, I wouldn't necessarily dress her in pink as well, it might be in dark blue or grey. And then people would say *"oh that's a nice boy"*, but again, I don't really care, the child doesn't care and I could tell it's a boy and then people would say *"ah ok it's a boy"*. So no, I don't really think about it. And it wasn't that, no I didn't think about it.

R: What about regarding brands, are there some brands, where you think this is just not you, like *"I don't like the style"* or *"I don't like their values"*?

I: No, nothing that I really thought about. Not really.

R: Are there then some brands on the contrary, where you think *"I really, really, really like this brand"*?

I: Again Zara, because I tried their clothes, and they really fit Lucas. And I think so of the design is ok, but it is not that I think that like H&M has something as well and I haven't really tried that many brands, so no not really.

R: No, and what about, you said something that you got some presents that you wouldn't have chosen yourself. Have you gotten any like more presents, where you were thinking like *"this was not representing you"*?

I: Yeah I got a lot of clothes, especially from his grandmother, and then I was like *"I don't like that"* and then he hasn't used it, because then he has a lot of other stuff that I could put him in. But it wasn't that I definitely didn't wanted to put it on him. Like if we didn't have any more clothes he would get it on, but... And sometimes I have exchanged the clothes if it is doable. But yeah it is not like it doesn't represent me, it is more like, that I don't like it.

R: Yeah, I see.

I: So it could be the same pair of pants that he already has, but if it is a colour that I don't like or whatever, then it could be that I would change them.

R: Are there any colours that you don't like?

I: Baby blue and baby pink (laughing). Again, yeah it is more like...

R: Why don't you like them?

I: I think they are too sweet. And too baby... yeah. I think that is the reason.

R: What do you then do?

I: I try to avoid them.

R: What about, have you ever bought anything in second hand shops?

I: No, I don't think that I have been in a shop buying, no it has only been in private.

R: like Reshopper?

I: Yeah.

R: Why not actually?

I: I just haven't been into any. It is not on my way.

R: So it needs to be more convenient or flexible for you when you go and shop?

I: No, it is just that I don't shop that much, so when I shop it is more in a shopping mall and there is not any second hand shop there, so it is more like that. The places where I go shop, there aren't any.

R: Ah ok, what about online?

I: I have bought stuff online as well, and it is way too easy (laughing)

R: (laughing) yeah "*click, click, click*"

I: Yeah, exactly (laughing). So yeah I have bought online, yeah.

R: From which shops?

I: I can't remember, I think one was called Balajka, but I bought from different stores.

R: Is it important or do you like that you can buy online also?

I: Yeah, because it is easier to do it when you are at home in front of your computer, and then it is delivered to your door. It is easy.

R: What about in regards to time?

I: Yeah shopping online is not time consuming.

R: Is that a reason for why you also shop online?

I: It could be yeah. It is just because when I'm off work, I want to go home to be with my kid, not go to a store running around after clothes, so it is easier to do it when he sleeps at night... And then I also sometimes do it... if I for instance find a sweater that I really like in a shop and I can just feel that the quality is also really nice, but then I think it is too expensive or if they don't have it in his size...so then I sometimes go home online to see if I can find it cheaper or if I can find the clothes in the size he needs.

R: Yeah, I understand. Hmm what about, have you sold any of his clothes?

I: No, not yet, but it is also because we knew that we wanted to get number two. Hopefully. But I have lend it to a lot of friends. So my sister has a kid who is four months younger than my kid, so he has borrowed some stuff, and then I have a friend, that has a baby who is three months now. So I haven't sold it, but I have lend a lot. But I'm actually planning on selling it after next, but it was also because we knew that we are gonna to need it. And then I was like, ok, if we are gonna have a girl, then a lot of the stuff that we have is dark blue and grey, so we would be able to use it again. So it is more due to that, it is not that I don't want to sell.

R: Hmm... Are there any piece of clothes where you feel more attached to it, that you didn't want to sell it?

I: I actually don't think so, but I can't really remember if there is anything (laughing). No, I don't think so.

R: So you would just sell anything?

I: Yeah.

R: Yeah, also when you then for instance lend the clothes, do you then do anything to it before you lend it?

I: No, I have washed it before, it is always washed before, and then I just say "*you can use it, wash it if you want to*". But no, I haven't done anything about it.

R: Ok, what about the clothes that you have either inherited or the used clothes?

I: I wash it once, just to make sure that it is clean.

R: What about the clothes that you inherited, did you then choose all or did you pick out the things you liked?

I: We didn't inherit that much, so I think, and we got a lot of basic clothes, so I think, that we took all.

R: Ah ok, and did that style from that clothes, does it fit with yours?

I: Yeah and then again, it was a lot of basic, so it was like white bodies, so it was really basic.



R: That's nice...Hmm... So you say that you shop in shopping malls, why is that?

I: That is because there is one near where I live.

R: What about. I'm just thinking, because when we buy clothes for our self, then we can try it on and see if it fits, is that something you think about when you buy clothes to him?

I: Not really, because the sizes are usually. Like now I know that H&M are a little small in their sizes and Zara is fine in the sizes, and stuff like that. So I know more or less what to buy. So it is not that hard. I have found out that a lot of the child or baby clothes is actually pretty, like, they follow the sizes more or less, but then of course there are some brands that are wider than others and some that are slimmer than others. But it is actually pretty simple (laughing). So it almost fits, and you know, they just need to have clothes on, they can move in. The fit factor isn't that important.

R: No, I see. What about how it feels.

I: Yeah, that is important. So when I buy stuff online for example, I try to buy only 100% cotton, because you know. Cotton is cotton, but then again, otherwise I can just return it.

R: Hmm. Yeah I see...and I just have a statement here, so I just want to hear what you think of this statement.

I: Yeah?

R: It is that our generation is financial responsible in regards to shopping. What do you think about that?

I: What do you mean?

R: That we think about that it maybe not cost too much, or that it last longer or.

I: I think it depends on the person. I know some people who really think of the quality and that it shouldn't cost too much and where it is produced, and then I know people who just buy if it is a god brand or they just buy they don't think about anything. So I think that it is more person depended than generation.

R: Ah ok, yeah. Now it is maybe very personal, but how is it for you, when you shop?

I: I think it depends, like in the beginning of the month, I don't really care about it (laughing) and then by the end of the month I might think more about it (laughing). You know. I don't think about where it is produced or stuff like that, it is more like does the price compare to the quality?

R: Yeah, would you say that branded clothes are more important for you than non-branded clothes?

I: No, not really, not really! Sometimes it is nice to be able to get branded clothes, because sometimes the quality. More often it is that you get what you pay for and often it is branded clothes, then it is more expensive, but the quality is also better. Not necessarily that the price difference, that it is that much better, but yeah...

R: Is there a specific clothes that you feel really connected with?

I: No, not really.

R: No, ok. I will just look them through [the interview guide]. Sometimes when you buy for instance a piece of clothes, that you really like or that you got it or something, would you take a photo of it and share it?

I: No, not really. It should be when and if I got a new shirt for my kid and he is wearing it. Then I would take a photo of him and send it to the person that I got it from. But not something to share on Facebook or Instagram, it is more to say *"oh, now he is wearing what you gave him and he looks so cute in it"*.

R: Are there any brands that you would like to buy but you didn't buy it.

I: No, not really. I mean, sometimes I thought about buying a Nice Soft Gallery body for my kid, but now I think he is too big for the bodies, so maybe it would be for the next one, because he has a lot of bodies, so he doesn't really need more and stuff like that. But yeah...It is not like I just haven't bought it because it is too expensive, it is just like, or in a way it was too expensive, but it is more like *"ok, he has enough, so I don't need to buy anymore"*

R: Yeah, I see. What about, have you actually experienced if there are any brands, which is more like, kind of trendy?

I: It is difficult to say when you are a first time mom, because I don't know if the brands are just trendy now or if they always have been. But there are some brands that are only for babies and small children, that I have never heard about before I became a mother. So I don't know if they are trendy now.

R: But maybe more if they are trendy for others, not for you, but that you can see that a lot of people are wearing these kind of brands?

I: Yeah, I think these brands like Joha, Mamma and Soft Gallery and KamKam.

R: How have you experienced that?

I: It is just seeing what other kids are wearing (laughing)

R: Yeah, I see. Would you say that these brands give kind of a higher status?

I: No, not really.

R: No, do you actually think, because now I'm just thinking, because we've done a lot of interviews now and I can see a pattern that actually brands are not that important, which it was before some years ago. Like brands were really important. Do you think that it is in general that we don't care as much about brands or that it does not give the same kind of status as it maybe once did, or?

I: Yeah. Maybe yeah, it could be. Maybe it is more like people are resting in themselves, and that you do not need brands to show of. Also I see that there is a tendency going from buying the big brands to buying smaller, Danish brands. That are not that big, it is not Burberry, Louis Vuitton or Addidas or whatever, it is more small Danish brands.

R: Do you think that the fact that it comes from Denmark is important for people?

I: Maybe because it has a Nordic design, it could be Sweden or Norway as well, but a Scandinavian design.

R: Ok, great, I think we went through all...the things I had...Do you have something you want to add? Something you think I, "need to know" before I go?

I: No, I don't believe so, it's been fun...

R: Thank you so much!

## INTERVIEW WITH JUDITH

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Interview with Judith

Child: Emma, 2 Years

Location: Four-room apartment at Østerbro

Interviewers: Kate and Rebecca

J: Judith

K: Kate

R: Rebecca

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R: This interview is anonymous – Do not be afraid of saying anything. We are doing research for our master thesis about baby clothes. We are researching how first time mothers in Cph see the baby clothes, how do you feel about it, how do you use it and so on. We have prepared some questions but we wanted to be more like conversation so you do not feel stressed. This is (papers with questions) more like guidance for us.

R: Maybe you can start telling us briefly how do you think the motherhood change you?

J: It change me in many ways. It's changed me in the way of freedom. I think if I see from perspective I would say that life is mostly about her. About my daughter. It has changed the way that thing has to be organised and done and there are many things we took for granted before that we could just get home late and make food late and cleaning and washing doing laundry. It was easier. We have to do this common thing but there is also a little person who needs out attention so it takes much longer. We want to spend most time with her as possible. So time is very valuable and we are being very tired parents.

K: How old is your daughter?

J: She is 2 years and 2 months old. She was born 24<sup>th</sup> Dec. 2013. It is very "hyggeligt" (nice) because we celebrate her birthday for family and friends and most people are home and people are off. They prepare the food before the ones who celebrate Christmas and then we have full house. Everyone. 25 people put this small room. It is so nice.

R: How would you say you are as mother?

J: Nervous sometimes. Always worrying about how is she developing in right way. Is her language good enough? Can she do all this stuff the 2-year-old should do?

R: Do you told with some about it?

J: Mostly my mother because she is like a mother and friend so. I also like to spend time on decorating her room and making hobbies for her like sewing blankets and stuff like that. I always have a projects what I want to make for her. It keeps me busy.

R: have you always done these creating things?

J: Yeah but now it is mostly costumers. It was like I forgot about it and I just went to shop and bought some fabrics and made a drawing for the costume and make it sitting late.

R: what was she then?

J: She was Masha from Masha and bear. She has so much energy and the bear is the parent figure and she is naughty girl. It is worth seeing it also for parents. It is actually Russian. She (daughter) understands she is a naughty girl so that is the challenging and very funny. She was very happy about it and people who knew who it was just recognise what it was recognise the figure.

R: Do you sew normal clothes to her?

J: No. it takes so long and it is not so cheap. It is quite expensive to buy this fabric. Even if you go the big stores. The work time effort and the price it is not worth it. It is only for costumes and so on.

J: I show you a picture of her. She is very energetic so it is hard to take picture of her

K: Very Cute. I can recognise her ( meaning the character)

R: So sweet. What about when you say you do not sew do you go out and buy the clothes?

J: Yes. When I was on maternity leave I bough just little bit of clothes because she would not get so dirty. Zero to one year it is not so messy. I was actually surprised. It wasn't that bad I did not have to change her clothes every day because it was not necessary. But when she started in kindergarten OMG I am changing her clothes lot of the time. Sometimes she uses 2 sets of clothes. They have to change it in kindergarten or in the "vuggestue" (kindergarden). And I have extra clothes so I have to have extra clothes in kindergarten and then I need dress her every morning so it takes lot of clothes and I buy mostly in H&M for the kindergarten. I like it. Buy it on sale because she gets so dirty by painting and food it wont come off. So she has wardrobe for kindergarten and she has the nice wardrobe. And that's for weekends and days off and holidays and vacations and I can control it. I am little bit controlling in that area. I think. I think I am holding her little bit back. She can explore more in the kindergarten. It is not like she is not crazy here but then I would take her blouse off or give her "forklæde" – apron with sleeves.

K: That's smart

J: then I can make sure it wont make a marks or stinks on her clothes. But then I buy the cloths which are for weekends. I am buying it on the internet. Actually the spring just arrive. It is from brand Pomp de lux.

R: is it the one you buy for weekends?

K: it sounds French

J: yes, it is 2 Danish women who are designers who were inspired by France and made this brand. They do not have shops. Sometimes they make some popup shops but it is based on home sale. I have a shop advisor in Hellerup and I go to her and I see the collection. There is just one size of the items and then I can go online and make my shopping.

R: How did you know about the brand?

J: It was actually funny I was searching for pullovers and I needed something warm and it was last year in spring and I just google it and then I found my way to Pomp de Lux and I read about the concepts and it is little bit cheaper than ordinary brands than I buy "Miniature" or "Small" All these brands I knew but it is very expensive but you do not have the middle men – retailer so that's why the price is not so high. It is little bit higher than H&M and the quality is much better. I tempt to it is fair the price I pay for the quality and it is very beautiful and sweet and the colours can be mixed so they make sure that the whole collection – I would be able to mix the colours. It is not used but it is coats and "flyverdrag" (jacket) and I tempt to buy soft shell "drag" (suite). It is for spring and sometimes in summer if it is cold and if it is cold we also used some pants some blouse some dresses and tights. Like everything. Shoes I prefer only to buy only very good and I think it is very important I only buy Ecco. It is really expensive because

K: how much are the shoes for kids there? Can you tell me the price?

J: I usually use between 500 to 600kr.

K: it is kind of like the adult shoes. It is half of the material

J: maybe it is more difficult and very expensive. She also has some "tamle boots" Do you know what it is?

R: No

J: it is like boots but with some soft wool inside. It is very important that she has these kind of shoes when she is in kindergarten because when she is outside she wants to hop in to the pool. Her very expensive shoes have been wet inside and I was oh no! Sad. So frustrating which we have to buy these shoes and it was in December it was difficult to buy pair of her size. Finally, I found some on the internet and It was on sale and it was black. I was ok. I just bought it and now she is wearing it everyday in kindergarten. You never know when it is raining. It works very well.

[Talk about kindergartens difference in Denmark and Czech Republic]

J: actually this "Flyverdrag" I do not buy in Pompde lux. It is expensive I think because it cost like 600. She needs 2 per winter. Maybe 3 when I need to wash them. It cannot go to the dryer. It takes couple of days to dry. I just bought for the next winter. I though she can fit in the next winter and I bough them on sale I got them for 250. And I bough 2. Sometimes you just have to buy something on the internet she can fit in next year and buy it cheaper. It is very expensive before I had her I had many people to say to me that all that is so expensive and you going to spend all your money on dippers and I don't think it is the dippers but the clothes it is so expensive.

R: What about the Pomp de lux what is it specially you like about?

J: I like the colours. The whole pairs. It is very girly. I have a catalogue if you want to see it.

K: yes. It would be great. These are very pastel colours.

J: Yes these are the spring colours. It is very girlish. It was darker for the winter colours. They only make 2 collections per year. They have the spring, autumn and winter. I use these in spring and summer –overall – and I want to buy this one because it is waterproof – overall.

K: smart

J: Here they show how to match (the items in catalogue)

R: How do you know about the sizes?

J: yes, that is the problem. I don't. They have some measure tables on the end (of the catalogue) if she wants to stand still. I can measure her. Sometimes when I buy it, I found out I have to return it but they pay for the shipping and then I just return it and change it to other item or to other size and it won't cost me anything. But if I regards I have to pay for shipping.

K: but If it is too big you can just keep it for later

J: I just have one. they (don't) have some belts into it so I could adjust it to her because she is very skinny and she is not small in high so she cannot fit if it is too short. But then it is too big around the stomach then it is falling down. So I have to return it. Then I have to look for something else. And it is new problem. So many. I thought 2 pairs of pants but she is not into the mood for pants and had not been in for long time. So she wants to wear dresses all the time so I am thinking maybe it is the best so she can have more dresses instead. So, good concept. It is very easy because I do not have to spend time to go to shops. I consider to look at this in catalogue and on the internet when she sleeps and yeah

R: Did the shop advisor give you advice which clothes to buy? Does she help you?

J: only about the size. Sometimes she points out this is very nice or something but she knows I like the clothes so it is not problem

R: Do you talk about the clothes with others?

J: not so much. Little bit in kindergarten. When I see some parents who bought the Pomp de lux I say: o we also have little bit.

R: What about just in general?

J: Mostly with my mother. She is supporting or grand parents. My husband parents but not in general.

R: Do you buy sometimes used clothes?

J: yes. Little bit. I am not so good at it, but I actually from my shop advisors she had a blouses some basic one and I thought it would be very nice and I thought it would be nice to have more for kindergarten and pay 10kr per blouse and it is very cheap and it was in some dark colours like grey and black so if it is get dirty in kindergarten I do not care. I am very good in buying used toys like Lego or Brio or furniture, but clothes not so much. I like it is new.

K: Have you inherited any clothes?

J: no. I am the oldest and first one to have children. Maybe my sister will be very lucky and my cousins. But

K: are you willing to give it to them?

J: maybe. I am not sure?

K: will you keep it or?

J: some of it. But it also depends. I would like to have one more sibling for my daughter. First

I want to keep it because it cost so much money and if I lend it to someone like I knew very well I would you know demands: I want my clothes to be wash in perfumed free and if I demand something like that I cannot be sure maybe I cannot demand these kind rules yeah. Some pomp de lux clothes I would take some payment for it because spend a lot of money and it is very nice and most of it does not look very used because I take so good care of it. SO yeah. Maybe I will. Sell it. When I have a 2<sup>nd</sup> child I will even if it is for the family even if it is very.

K: what if it is a boy?

J: that would be problem. She has a lot of clothes. It is some big problems. They have very nice clothes for boys but it will be very expensive so my husband and I hope to have other girl. He agrees totally. He also gets a thrills. it is his little daughter. When she is wearing fine dress or skirts she tends to dance around. And he melts completely. So It is a trick from the mother and the girl to *(laugh)*

R: so you ask her to dance...? *(laugh)*

J: and then we can have more money for clothes *(laugh)*

K: it is win win situation

J: it is like you know a little doll. She loves it. She is like It does not stop her in playing and so on. You know she is like a damage. She is not posing or something she does not care.

R: Do you sometimes take pictures and shares them, if she is wearing something cute?

J: yeah of course. She looks like mess from kindergarten. It is not that taking a picture. Today mothers tend to plan too much. And I am doing the same so when she is wearing Pomp de lux I want to keep the moment on the picture. Also because it is very cute and real adorable so my latest. I show you the latest. I made. and put it on FB because it was so cute. I had so many comments from people that were writing "Ooh she was so cute" *(showing a photo on the smartphone)*

R: she looks like princess

K: I love the skirt

R: SO Sweet

J: She loves it. Exactly.

J: so and these colours *(still showing the photo)* I buy the mostly the clothes in these colours.

K: so it is purple and pinkish right?

J: yeah and also some yellow for summer

R: would you say that the clothes you buy for her does it represent your style?

J: I will say that



R: What about your personality? Can you say that?

J: I think so. Or maybe it is more the personality I would like to have but I can live it up through her.

R: to be princess again?

J: Exactly (laugh)

K: living the dream for some

J: through her. But It is gonna end some day. She will make me stop

K: Does she have favourite piece to clothes like she would tell you I want this this and this

J: No, no. not yet. but she tells me if she wants dress or skirt. That's the only things that she got to. It think it is the point. She says I want to have a dress. Wear dress. I had to bough her night dress because also when she sleeps, I only bought them in Supermarket or Bilka because it is night and it does not have to cost so a anything. I prefer to buy it on sale because it is very very cheap. Then I had several night dresses because she really wants dresses. So I have to stop buying so many pants for moment but she is also wearing body stockings. All babies are wearing those until they get rid of dipper and for me it is very important in winter time it is made of wool outside and in cotton in the inside and it has needs to has long sleeves and I prefer it is not ecologic but environment friendly.

Some cloths has the label.

K: can you buy these in H&M?

J: some of it they have. Pomp de lux basic leggings and blouse are made of this fabric and also in the supermarket but it is only few item. But mostly it is the basic they are wearing to the skin. In Summer times I change only to cotton and I have to change it every half a year. Body stocking, I always buy them in supermarket otherwise it is too expensive and there is no need for they using so much money

R: what about Before you gave birth to her have you bought some clothes to her?

J: yes. Many people told me that is the bad luck and I was like: what should I do when I am standing with this baby and I do not have any clothes and maybe it has to be washed. I was very concern about that it has to be washed before she is wearing it and that time it has. I though every item has to be ecologic/ organic but when she turned one year it sort of changes.

R: so there it is different between how you dress her now or what you look for in clothes before?

J: yeah. Big change I think. Also before when they are from zero to one they are very absorb much more. It is very important that you care about what kind of fabric you put on to your baby and I always wash the new clothes before she wearing it. It is very important to me.

K: you said you are the first in your family or friends who had the baby and how did you know what to buy or where did you look for inspiration

J: It was quite difficult. I went mostly to H&M and baby stores like: Babysam and I think it was too commercial but I didn't go to small shoes in the area I did it afterwards. I bough a lot of Joha cloths like

body stocking and wool suites but it is very very expensive. So like buying 8 body stocking from Joha was like 1000kr and it is very expensive. So we bough some body stocking and jump suite from cotton and wool suit because she was born in winter time and coat.

R: but So you went to the big shops in the beginning? You said?

J: It was also easy because we had to buy you know the trolley/ pram?

R: did they then help you what to buy?

J: no not so much. I did not ask. I just look around for myself I was having some help for the pram and stuff like that

K: when buying the pram have you had it deliver home before she was born?

J: No. All of the stores keep it. You pay deposit and they make sure it is a ready. It is not an issue. It could stay in basement. It is also what you prefer because you can buy many second hand at Reshoper.dk It is fantastic app and I use it very much. I think I use it for selling clothes but I do not think if you buy second hand pram you cannot have known wheel is bad and many time when you buy a pram that it is used it wont be so good and yeah I have a friend who also have a girl who is 4 years younger than my girl and it was very small and she had to buy a new one and the wheel was falling off. And these this just have to work because if you are outside it is a big effort to just get outside with this child and than it is just outside. It was very expensive but I bought very big brand and very large one and she could fit in for long time.

K: do you remember the brand od the pram?

J: it is called Odder. That's like limousine. Odder and ... is like the limousines and EJ is little bit cheaper.

R: was it important to you the brand when you buy it?

J: yes. Because of the quality and I wanted her to sleep very good in the pram and then I so could sway. I heard and I was in maternity group and some said we talk about each others prams how they were and one said it is ok but every time I lock it and he is asleep and I unlock it he will wake up. I didn't like that one. It is not cheap because every pram is expensive but not as much as mine and I tough I would use it at least for 2 children and I would sell it. I want some money for it because I take good care of it and keeping it in basement where it is standing dry and nice. I am very concern about to keep it clean and nice. The stroller is more like, now she is bigger and sitting and eating in it and you cannot avoid to mess. I tough I could before but it is not possible. It is messier and it was not as messy as a pram. I spend as much money as for that one. But I will sell it one day

But it is expensive. I will both keep it for the second child. And my husband actually got trolley for his birthday so we have both used that one, but you know it is hard to control and I have to both hands on the handle and

[Talking about roller-skating]

J: I use my pram very much. When I was on maternity leave. I would every day walk four five hours. It was good exercise and she was sleeping and walking to city and at the harbour

K: that is long walk isn't it?

J: it was also nice

R: Do you still see you mother group?

J: no. It was one and half a year. And I was in the mother group that was put on by the nurse and it was not working for me. It was like some of the mother quickly found each other and then we were some standing little bit outside and when it was my turn to invite them everyone except one just cancelled.

K: that s terrible

J: so it did not meant much for me. So then I went to another group and it was working very fine for me and stay there instead and it was nicer

K: that's good. Do you seek some advice from them? I mean the mother group

J: we still have group on FB where we can write each other and sometimes someone is writing. There is not so much now because we are back to studies and work. I don't have time for it. But I heard many people that meet their mother group like 25 years or something but it is matter of chance if you just meet with people with whom you have a chemistry with then it would be something else.

K. Yeah

R: do you have been in situation where do you think what other children are wearing sometimes?

J: yes kindergarten. I was worrying in beginning what are they wearing a lot of the expensive clothes or is it H&M and supermarket clothes. And I found that I think it is a mixture and then I was thinking it does not matter what is she wearing because no one is like pays attention and yeah.

R: but have you been looking because you want to see how it is and how you should dress her then or?

J: yes because I want her to fit in to the other children and do not want her to feel that she is not good enough or something like that but I quickly find out that it is not any issue. At the beginning when she started we have been much in the kindergarten and she was wearing pomp de lux and I quickly find out that it wasn't necessary and so I actually until she was 1,5 she was wearing brands like Noa and noa. I went to shops and bought clothes for her and until I would our about the Pomp de lux I also sometimes used baby gear and web shop that it is called KIDsworld. They have lot of these big brands like Moeller and so on.

R. Would you say that you prefer branded clothes rather than non branded?

J: it depends what it is used for, because in the kindergarten I do not care about brands because she is going to be so dirty. I it only when we are going out in the weekends so yeah.

K: is there any brand which you would never buy?

J: no I do not think so.

K: I mean

J: there is one brand what it is called it is like competitor to H&M. I cannot remember the name but you find there Moells

K: why would you not buy it?

J: because there were some clothes which have been called back for children because there was dangerous chemistry and I thought I cannot trust this brand so my mother in law was like: Why did not you want me to buy anything from that store?

K: what about these luxury brands which have also products for kids? Have you bought something there?

J: like

K: Like Dior

J: no it is out of mine ... it is too expensive I think that is insane actually. I do not buy Gucci for myself so I would not buy it for the child

K: would you say there is a limit?

J: yes I am on SU

R: What if you are somewhere and the child wears only Gucci of instance. Would you then unconsciously think about the child or the mother?

J: I think I would be little bit prejudiced. I would think that's a rich baby mother who would... yeah. Too much

R: would you think there is a value attached to the clothes

J: I think to buy some normal brands that just look cute I think it is alright but if you buy only very expensive design I think that what would you do when the child is teenager. The demands do not get easier. Even in some schools they demand that you have an IPAD or PC so it is I think you are not doing your child favour if you take it so much

R: What if we go to the other extreme and the child only wears the cloths from supermarket?

J: I would think it is a little particular for the child not like it is not good enough but I do not think maybe it is not. I think there is some families I have seen who have not that much money who has to buy in supermarket. I think it is ok quality and it looks nice like H&M but it is not like ... I do not think the child would have missed anything. It is up to every parent be. I do not think it is a problem and if you make it a problem what it is the world. This is only me having a living doll but if I haven't had the money I would have to buy it only in supermarket and it is not like it is ugly or not good because they also have this organic concerns and I am also buying some of her clothes from supermarket so I do not think it is... If I though it would be wrong for other people to do it I would think it is vicious though. Also there is children who get clothes second hand and that also good for our environment education for the children because than they learn that it is important to recycle not just buy and throw it away.

K: What if someone would give you a present like the Gucci jacket or if they give you from the brand you do not like?

J: like my mother in law. Sometimes maybe and sometimes I would sell it.

K: had it happened?

J: the item she bough in that shop. I think I do not know exactly. I give it to her. Because there were problems with some marks blouses and it was leggings and I though I would wash it but she only bough this once. It is like Veromoda or something

R: what about any other items piece of cloths where you though this I would never put on her.

J: I have some clothes that I wasn't that found of. It wasn't that girlish and good looing but I used it for the kindergarten. : D so if I get some clothes that it is not so nice we can use it there

K: Does you husband dress her? Or you are the only one?

J: I am the one. and if I am out of the door before him I put the clothes ready for him

K: Is it because he does not like to do it?

J: it is my area (laugh)

K: I see

J: He is not into this separating (the clothes). Also he has problem with her hair. [Talking about hair]

R: Does he buy clothes for her?

J: Yes, he actually does. When we got out of the hospital he got her the fist item. It was wool suit with sleeves and flakes it was from Joha and it was on sale it was in local shop here and it is small nice shop where she has little toy and lot of books and it is very expensive brands there. And I think he did very well. It was purple and yeah. It was very good and sometimes I am sending him to H&M if she need some blouses or leggings for the kindergarten and he is good at it.

R K: that's actually good

J: He can also sometimes do it without of me saying it. It is not too often. ... I have never been disappointed

R: Do you have something to what you feel really attached?

J: some of her dresses from pomp de lux. I do not think I will sell anything. Maybe I have to keep one dress or maybe 10 and keep it until I have grand children because there some items that are very very cute.it is not like there are not so expensive they cost around 180kr to 200 the most expensive dress I bought in Pomp de lux and I think it is fair price because my sister in law bought a dress in Moeller and I found out that she paid 400kr for dress and matching leggings and it was 200 and I was like she spend 600 on this set. I think it was too much and this is not price in Pomp de lux and it was very cute and very nice but I think I could get more money from Pomp de lux . I kept it, because it was something she wanted to give us

R: and what about the thing you really like you wanted to keep is it because it just looks cute or why do you want to keep just these?

J: Because it is cute and girlish made of Tutu and fabric like a cotton underneath and it has a

And I just think it is so cute and neat

K: Have she wear it to some occasion? Or regularly?

J: yes it is more for occasion for her birthday party and holidays. It is very cute.

R: do you think about what others think when you dress her? Like not in the kindergarten but regularly?

J: yeah well now we are going to my aunt and uncle and they will think it she is so cute putting the dress on her and I think it will work I must say. It would be strange not to think about these things because she has I think and many people says me she has wonderful personality and this just improves it in some way I think so and she likes it. If she did not like it I wouldn't. you know put so much effort into it but I could see she feels good about it. So that is also important.

R: so you think it also matches her personality?

J: yeah I think so. It just makes it whole.

R: are there some brands which you experience more trendy or prestigious to wear?

J: yes I am living at Østerbro you know like Miniature Moeller, wheat brands like this. Noa and Noa. I think there are many. There are many brands I do not know. I think I see other children and I am like wow that's expensive. My neighbour underneath they have son he is 8 months younger than Emma my daughter and he has jacket from Miniature and last jacket I wanted to buy this jacket second hand for my daughter but it did not succeed because I could not find it in her size and the price I wanted to because this jacket as it is new it cost between 600 to 800 and then the one who is selling it wanted 400 I understand why because it was so expensive and it did not look so new and it look quite used and then I did not bother to do it. And I thought it is too expensive.

R: are there other brands you would like to buy but you haven't bought it?

J: just miniature. It is just too expensive. ... I was thinking about buying the jacket from store but 600 was just too much. She is not going to use it. It is going to be different is she going to be a teenager. She is not growing and she stays in one size. Because it is like every half year I have to change clothes because

K: but it is everything right?

J: it is everything from jackets and shoes and it goes so fast but when he was wearing this jacket I was wow they can afford that? I am your neighbour and I cannot. That's ok.

K: maybe it was second hand too.

J: I know she is using Reshoper too so maybe. But it is ok. Emma has so many nice things so I cannot be jealous about that.

R: do people sometimes comment on what is she wearing?

J: often. When it is weekend and she is wearing these nice things yes. Actually my mother in law was sure she wasn't allowed to wear these dresses with talk so she was surprise. She told my mother she looks so cute and was bit surprise because she knew I do not gave it to her. I think our misunderstanding lies where she would buy it in Bilka and I would buy it in Pomp de lux. It is also cute from the supermarket but this is cuter. I chose to little better quality. I don't think it is so much difference in those skirts rather than in normal cotton products. I think there is bigger difference.

R: But it is mainly the design you like?

J: I was actually thinking about it and I think it is the whole concept it is the design and the good fabric and the colours what matches if I go to the supermarket then it would not match in the color and I think it is one thing next to other and I think it is good wise from them the designers I think they keep the customers and get us to buy from them.

R: Do you know that there are other who buy in the kindergarten?

J: I know there are 2 who also buys Pomp de lux and that I just found out that this week that other mother was holding pomp de lux balloon and I said I also buying Pomp de lux and (other woman) I just found out my neighbour is the shop advisor. Is her name this? And is it on this road? Yes (laugh) and that she moved half a year ago to other house and she didn't know she lives next to the so it was funny.

R: and she also buys nearly everything from there? Do you know?

J: that I do not know. I know that there is other mother that was new in kindergarten little bit before my daughter started. we talked a lot at the beginning and also now. We talked a lot at the beginning because we haven't known a lot of people in kindergarten and we were new and she is very tall beautiful black lady and I am small dark hair women and we both think all the other mothers we have difficulty pointing them out who is who because they are all high tall and blond with blue eyes and who are you and which child is yours? It is kind of. We find each other. We talk about clothes and pomp de lux and the Noa and Noa and that was very funny. How long is the order. It was first time she is ordering. I said it is quite long. It took couple of days maybe week so yeah that was how we got talk to each other about it. It is a smart concept and you get tempted.

R: Thank you very much for your time. We have no more questions.

## INTERVIEW WITH JULIE

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Interview with Julie

Child: Marie, 2 Years

Location: Mother's apartment, Nørrebro

Interviewers: Kate and Rebecca

This interview has been translated from Danish to English. It was conducted in Danish, since Julie felt more comfortable talking in Danish.

J: Julie

K: Kate

R: Rebecca

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J: You can just shoot with questions.

R: We have prepared some questions, but we also have probably a lot like just questions that we will ask...so we want it to be like a conversation, so it shouldn't be like a job interview. Just like a conversation.

J: Yeah yeah.

R: Maybe he can start by asking you, if you can just shortly describe how it has or if it has change you to become a mother.

J: Yeah... like it has been to become a mother?

R: Yeah like how it has change you... if you feel it has changed you?

J: Yeah it has and it hasn't ... I think that eh... There are some things, which I cannot do, which I did before, naturally. That has changed me a bit... But also thoughts about how I grew up, and how I want Marie to grow up... That has also changed...ehh...yeah...how have I changed?

R: How is that? Like, this how you thought you were going to raise Marie, and then it is not, how you do? Or are there some things, which you thought like *"I was raised this way, and this I want to pass on to Marie or I don't want to pass this on to Marie"*?

J: Yeah it's much like that. There are some things that I got taught, like to sing a lot. That I would love to pass on to her...or take care of the environment by recycling...Yeah things like that. And I haven't really thought about that it meant so much to me – for instance with the environment and recycling. I think it is important.

R: So it is not something, which you have practiced before?

J: Yes I have, but I have just not thought about how important it was for me. So that is new, that I have become more aware of my values. So that has changed

R: So it is not because you have changed your way of living?



J: No, no I actually not think so. Maybe I'm using less perfumes and smells in the products I use. That has changed, yes,

R: Is it something you heard about? That this is better?

J: Yes it is.

R: Where did you hear about it?

J: Yeah were did I hear about it? Magazines, books and from other mothers.

R: Ahh, yeah. Is it something you talk about?

J: Well, yeaah.. I think so, maybe not in the mothers group, but more mother to mother, yeah yeah.

R: And what about you as a person?

J: Ehh...well I also thought about perfumes and things like that. That all of a sudden means a lot, because she (Marie) should live on and should have a nice life. So I think that we need to take care of the environment and take care of the body and her body and in that way I've might think about it more than I did in the past. Yeah.

R: And what about in regards to baby clothes?

J: Yeah, but here I have used a lot of reused clothes or rotation.

R: What does it mean?

J: Well, rotation? It means that we rotates with the clothes. Actually I've been a member of some groups in Facebook, where they have had some clothes, and then you rotates it and pass it on. Like *"Hey, I have a bag filled with clothes with this size – e.g. 74 for boys. Are there someone who would like to get it?"*

R: Yeah...mmmm. That is smart

J: Yeah. And then it rotates on. And this is actually something that my parents and their generation did a lot. They rotated a lot. So I have been used to that. But now you just do it in another way. Through network on Facebook.

R: Do you then chose all the clothes, or are there something which you pick out?

J: I chose the things, which can be used and what fits her. It does not need to have a certain brand in the neck. But I can see that there are some items, that last longer than others. And this makes good sense, cause it costs more, right?

R: Yeah. What about the organic brands?

J: Yeah I thought that I wanted to use them further on. But now we received so many present when she got born. So it is almost not until now, that I have started buying a little. Because she just received so much and they grow very fast, yeah.

R: What about when you received present, has there been times where you thought *"This doesn't fit with me or to Marie"*

J: Yeah, I have thought *"I wouldn't buy this myself"*, but they bought it with the best intentions. It's a present, so I don't think I could throw it away. Of course you can change it to something else, but well...I think that Marie doesn't care at all and for me it does not mean so much. As long as she is wearing something warm clothes that are dry. I think this is the most important for me. And of course, then I also think it is good to reuse, because they use it for such a short time. So therefore I do not think that there is need for...Of course it could be that some of the new things are very pretty, but I also think that there is something nice with and that it is good thought to reuse.

R: Have you bought any new clothes to her?

J: Yes I actually have. I think it was just from H&M. But we just received so insane much clothes.

R: Who did you receive it from?

J: From family and friends.

R: Has it then been new clothes?

J: Yes, everything has been new.

R: Yeah...And if you should chose yourself, what kind of style do you like Marie to wear?

J: Well these body stocking, I think are the most comfortable for them to wear. Cause it must be very uncomfortable to have something that tighten the belly, for instance if they wear jeans. And then I don't like loud colours. And I think there are a lot of them for children. These gaudy colours or a lot with pink to girls. If I should buy myself, I would try not to buy too much pink. And I can see that a lot of the presents we received are pink (laughing).

R: And why would you not buy pink?

J: Because, well. Pink is nice, but there are a lot of other pretty colours; orange, green, yellow and blue. And I don't think that girls need to wear pink.

R: Do you maybe feel that there is some kind of pressure that girls should wear pink and boys blue?

J: Hmmm...no, not really. But the selection is very much like that. It is either blue or pink, right? It is very divided.

R: Do you think about what she is wearing when you are going out? Is there any difference what she wears when you are at home and outside?

J: Yeah, I guess there is. Without me really thinking about it. But I am probably thinking about it, like *"now she should wear a dress"* or something else instead of just a body and leggings. That I believe, that I think about. But more on an uncertain level not as such certain – or I don't know. Because in some way it is on a conscious level, because you know, that you are going out somewhere or to the mothers group. Or yeah.

R: How can it be, do you think?

J: Yeah, why do we do it? Well, I can't stop laughing, when others do it, and then it is a little the same as myself. Well, I can't stop thinking that a lot of children are small dolls for us mothers and wife. That we can chose exactly how they should be dressed. And I can't argue it, because they should just do, what we say. But yeah, it is your own little doll you dress.

R: Do you then feel that it is your own style you chose? Now you received a lot.

J: Well, when I should choose in the future, then I think it is very natural that you try to buy your own style. But it is difficult to say. But there are for certain, something you like more than others.

R: Is it something you talk about?

J: Like brands?

R: Yeah...

J: Yes, I believe so. But it is very difficult. There are some people you want to discuss more with than others. Cause there are some people who are very stuck in the way that it needs to be a certain brands, and that is the only thing that works. I consider using something...I don't know if you know this brand Vigga?

R: Yes

J: But I didn't come to use it, well I can still use it. But I just think that it is a good idea.

R: There have also been some different initiatives, where you can rent clothes, is this also something that you have considered?

J: I haven't considered renting...or with Vigga? No here you are paying a subscription fee and then they send packages. That I have considered, but then because there was this rotation, I thought "*this doesn't cost me anything at all*". And this I also pass on to someone else, and then I have also gave some things to Mødrehjælpen or bought some things there. Once I got 15 pieces of clothes for the same price as one piece of clothes. And all of it was made of wool. Then I didn't really care what the brands were. But that is a matter of opinion of course. It is extremely individual. And it is also because I'm a believer of recycling.

R: Hmm... Do you also buy used clothes for yourself?

J: That was what I was going to say...I actually don't do that (Laughing). Only if there is something specific I can't resist. I can't help to see if there is anything for me, but I primarily buy new clothes for myself.

R: Yeah...What are you actually looking for in general when you search for clothes to Marie?

J: Something, that fit her well. And I suppose that I also look after colours. That not everything need to be pink, just because she is a girl. Hmmm what more? Comfort and colours (laughing). Isn't it very normal? I don't know if it is normal. It would also be nice it is a good brand, because then it has higher quality. It last longer time, but at the same time, they are not wearing it for such a long time.

R: Are there any brands that you prefer?

J: Nooo, well I can see because she is a slim baby, then there are some brands, which fit her better than others. For instance Nameit, they have some fit models, whereas Katvig, is there anything called that?

R: Yes.

J: Yeah, that is more wide for more fat babies. She cannot fit them.

R: Are there any brands you could never imagine yourself dressing her in or buying?

J: No, there are not. It only deals about the price, I guess....This brand (pointing at the clothes that Marie wears) is something called Comci Comca and it is size 1-3 months and she is 6 months old and....ok it is a little tight. But it is also a very good idea that they have...It was from Finders Keepers, if you know that?

R: No, what is it?

J: Well that is like for upcomings like stylists, clothes and artwork. And here the genius thing was that they make bottoms on the arms and legs, so that you can fold it up. And then it has like a soft quality.

R: Do you actually think about what other babies are wearing?

J: Yes, that I do. Well, I think sometimes *"Woow it looks really good!"* and like *"wow silver glitter shoes"* and *"everything matches"*. That I can think with a lot of children. Like how do the mothers have time or do they always look like that? I think...or is it just because they are out? And sometimes I think that it would be nice if Marie looked like that, but that is not what is the most important for me. There are also a lot of other things. Then I think it is more important that she is happy and...she will probably also be it, even though she was dressed in some pretty clothes, right?

R: Do you then also think something about how they are as mothers, if they dress their children in a certain way?

J: I think a little, that it could be that they have a lot of time. Cause I don't feel that I have so much time. I could of course take me the time – for instance in the night time I could buy something fancy. But yeah...I think how do they otherwise feel beside that the children should have some nice clothes on...And maybe that there is some kind of prestigious to wear the right brand or clothes.

R: Have you experience that there are some brands that are more prestigious than others?

J: Yeah...I have..

R: Do you remember which ones?

J: Petit-Bateau...you probably know better what it is called. This brand I feel could be more prestigious.

R: How have you experienced it?

J: It was actually because we got a suit when Marie was recent born from this brand and my friend who bought it, her sister...because it was bought in France the suit. Then the sister asked if she could buy some additional clothes to her...or a specific raincoat, I think. And then I just thought *"God, do you really have time for that?"*.

R: What about in the beginning, how did you know what to buy for her?

J: I didn't know...I really didn't.

R: What did you then do?

J: Then I tried to read a little online and ask friends and family. Especially how much clothes you needed to buy. I think that was hard to know. So I just tried and then I thought "*it is not worse that I can always buy some things in the shops if I miss something*".

R: Had you purchased anything before she was born?

J: I got some clothes from the rotation and then I bought...did I buy something? No I don't think that I had bought anything...

R: No... Did you do anything with the clothes before she was using it?

J: Yes, we washed all the clothes. That we had heard or read that you should preferably do that.. And it is also therefore I think that a reused clothes is genius, because it has been washed a lot of times. And all the chemicals are out of the clothes. So therefore I also think that it is good. So then I can't stop thinking if it is then just as good looking as the new clothes. But then I think it might be better she is not wearing anything that will make her sick.

R: So that would be some values, that you have?

J: Yes, it must be, actually. That I focus more on that than how it looks like.

R: Have you experienced that people have commented on what she was wearing?

J: No, never...

R: Or that she looked cute in something?

J: Yes, that I have. Well like "*oh she looks cute*", but it hasn't been anything like...or well we had these pantyhose, where the feet are ballerinas... and then they are purple and then the ballerinas are black. And a lot of people think that it is funny and cute. It is very pretty. But otherwise, well.. Yeah, then they feel that she is cute, but it is not always because she is wearing something specific. No, I actually don't think so,

R: What about with the rotation, or when you get the clothes. Do you sometimes feel that you take another person's or parent's personality on? Or do you then choose what fit with yours?

J: I probably chose the things. So I think, this I would love to use, this I wouldn't.

R: And this is mainly based on the design or?

J: Yes, but also how it fits her. Because she is such a slim girl, so there are some clothes, which easily becomes too big. And then it doesn't fit her so well.

R: What about the mothers group. Was there anything in the beginning, where you thought that would dress her nicer?

J: Hmm I don't know if I thought that she should be dressed nice, but I definitely thought about what she was going to wear. So maybe I thought, because also Marie is the only girl, so she should have a dress

on (laughing). So that I thought was funny to dress her in. But it was just as much as if we were going to some other arrangement. Then I think it is nice to give her a dress on, a little feminine without it needs to be pink. Even though actually a lot of her dresses are pink.

R: If she is wearing something really cute, do you then take pictures of it?

J: Yeah I do. But it is just as well because I think she looks cute and not just because of the clothes. I gave her a costume on looking as a smurf once, and then I took a picture of her. But well, it wasn't because it was pretty clothes, it was because she was dressed out, right? But it is just as well, if she sits funny or do something funny with the head. It is not so much the clothes.

R: Are you the one responsible for choosing the clothes or is your boyfriend also doing it?

J: Yes, well...it is not because we agreed it, but it kind of just became this way. I just fix it. And he mostly agrees, like "*oh this looks nice*". He is not so critical, even though he is it with his own clothes. Here he prefers to have branded clothes. He just thinks she looks cute no matter what she is wearing.

R: She is also very cute (laughing)...Oh yeah...do you have anywhere where you seek inspiration for the baby clothes?

J: Just in shops, I think. Well, in windows and I look at what other children are wearing.

R: Do you then ask, where they got the clothes from?

J: No, I actually don't. But sometimes I look at Instagram because others take photos of the children, and then you can see it. And sometimes they write what kind of brands, they are wearing. So I think that is how I get to know these brands.

R: Would you say that you prefer branded to non-branded clothes?

J: In general it is not so important with brands for me. But at the same time I can see the benefits in regards to the quality, it lasts longer time – but when they are so small, especially when they are less than 6 months, then they are wearing it for such a short amount of time. So I can see that from now and the older they get, then it is better that the clothes last longer time...and they start crawling and tear the knees and get more messy with porridge. So in this way I think it can be important to buy some branded clothes, right? But I cannot really stop going down to the second hand shop, because here you can find a lot of branded clothes and it costs a little more than the other, but it is still way below the normal price.

R: But with whom do you otherwise talk about baby clothes with, in general?

J: Well, others who also got small children.

R: What do you talk about?

J: Ehm... we talk about...where they bought it, how much it cost and discounts and not discounts. Because clothes can be expensive, so I have several friends who go to inventory-clearance sales. Now she is not so big, but I hear that they can save a lot of money. Where you sometimes must take a risk regarding the clothes or the size. Well, ok, in a year she needs a winter jacket and then I can buy it now. And then take the risk that she will be able to fit it and that she has grown. Yeah...I think it is a very good idea. I might do it with Marie. But otherwise, we don't really need so much yet. Not yet...but it will come.

R: Do you also think that you talk in general about brands, like saying "*this is a good brand*"?

J: Yeah, yes. Or you hear "*this brand is good*", but you can also see it. Or I don't know. I can't help notice, that for instance a lot of children are wearing Wheat for instance. There are more who are wearing these jackets. Then it is written on the back or in the hood. And then I can't help thinking "*hmm it must be a good brand, since there are so many who have it*", right? But we also talk about it. But I also have friends where...now I haven't bought any jackets for her yet because she is packed in duvet and in the pram...but she...We definitely talk about brands, for sure. Now I don't know how big children...well that you are talking with the mothers?

R: Up until 2 years

J: Until 2 years...Yeah, cause when they still...I think...are so small, then there are a lot of things we cannot buy. Like we can't buy shoes for them yet and jacket. Or of course we can buy it, but it does not really make sense... at least not for me...cause they are wrapped in, when they are in the pram.

R: Do you think there is a difference between how you dress her now and then maybe in a year?

J: Yeah, I think so. I actually think so.

R: In which way?

J: Hmmm...And then again...cause I still think that I will think about how it fits her and if she is feeling comfortable, if it is warm enough...Like I do now. But it can be that I'll think even more about that it should look pretty or like that. But I think it is more important...how to say...that it fits her well and that it is warm. Like for instance in the winter and in the summer...that it also fit her well and that she is not feeling uncomfortable...or that she needs to wear a dress even though she don't like it, or if she falls in the dress. I don't know, stuff like that, you know?

R: Mmm...yeah...

J: Then I don't think it makes any sense to dress her like that.

R: No it should be more practical ?

J: Yeah also...

R: What about...are there some brands you would like to buy, but you haven't bought it?

J: Yeah, there are several, I think. Well, know I cannot remember them. But I think that there are some brands, like for instance Noa Noa I think is really nice. But I also believe it is a lot of money to spend. Or...yeah this Petit where I cannot remember the end of the name...but yeah I also think that it is a nice brand.

R: And it is nice, you say, because of the design or?

J: Yes, it is. It looks cute. Well, there are also some brands in Babysam, where I think, they are so nice and good style, but I just think it is a lot of money – even though it is for your treasure and you love her most in the world. That I still do. Even though she is not wearing the most beautiful and new clothes. Cause for her it doesn't matter. She doesn't notice it. Cause I can't stop thinking that it will be like to display them. That, you also do a lot on the social media and stuff like that.

R: Do you have pictures of her on the social media?

J: No, no I haven't actually.

(Boyfriend enters the apartment, greets and takes the child)

R: What about when you got or bought the clothes before she got born – did you then have it at home?

J: Yes, that we had. Do you think about the superstition?

R: Yes exactly

J: Yeah, I don't believe it. Cause what are you supposed to do when you get child nr 2 or 3? So then they use, what the older children wore. So...the clothes was here and also the pram. I mean it was in the basement, but still...

R: Yeah. Are there actually any clothes where you feel that you are attached to it?

J: Yeah, for instance if someone made it themselves. Like knitted clothes. My mother or some friends who made it themselves.

R: Do you have a lot of homemade clothes?

J: I have some, not much. Some jerseys and a lot of socks. There are a lot of knitted socks here for the winter. And also some vests I think.

R: Have you also made some?

J: hmmm...No,no.

R: So when they knitted it, did they then make it based on their own fantasy or what they liked or did they ask you?

J: They actually made it themselves, and chose the colours themselves. But I like it. It is not too pink more purple. And that is fine, I like it.

R: Could you imagine selling it or give it to someone?

J: No, no.

R: Are there other pieces you could not imagine reselling or passing on?

J: Yes, presents. Well, again it has value. Someone has thought about us and on Marie. So, I won't sell it. Even though she might not be able to fit it again or if she is not getting a sister, then they cannot really use it. But I would think that it would be weird to sell.

R: So you still feel attach to it?

J: Yes



R: Talking in general about clothes. Do you think or feel, like you or in general...that you can say how mothers are based on the clothes? If your personality is being reflected? Or others personalities and values?

J: Like out in the clothes?

R: Yes

J: Yes, most definitely. In general, like that someone chose or buy the most expensive or the best. That they might also do to themselves. Well, I don't know why they do it, but I think it could be.

R: Is it something you think about when you dress Marie. That others believe you are a specific kind of mom based on how you dress Marie?

J: No, I don't think about it.

R: How do you then think it represent your personality? Is it then, that it should be without chemistry or and that it is used, that represent your personality, or?

J: I don't think that my personally is reflected in her clothes. But of course it probably does, when you reflect upon it on a higher level. But I don't think about it. It is just because I think it makes the most sense for all. That it doesn't cost, as much and that it is best to avoid chemicals. With my own clothes I don't do it. Well, yeah...I actually don't know why it is not like that. But I just don't.

R: Ah. Yeah. Is there some thoughts that you had before regarding how you would like to dress Marie or your baby, cause you didn't know it was Marie, in comparison with how you do it now?

J: No, cause I also believe that before I got children, I also thought that I did not want to spend so much money. And it is not because we can't afford it, but I just think we want to spend our money on other things. Because I think that baby clothes is very expensive...And when you need a lot of clothes...Or you don't need that much. But well, you need something to change with, because they can poop on it, so it is important to have something to change with. Then I think it is more important to spend the money on some other things. Also because they grow so fast. And I also had this opinion before she came. It was not that she needed to have certain brands on. But I have some friends who think that – but I also have other friends who thinks the opposite. So I never really discuss it with them, because it becomes like this dangerous field sometimes. Because we do not really agree.

R: Is it because you feel that you can start discussing about it?

J: No, not a discussion, but at least not agreeing. And there is nothing wrong with that, you should not agree on everything, but... “you want to spend a lot of money on it, I don't – that is fine”.

R: Talking about agreeing and not agreeing...and you say that you rather not talk with them about it.

J: No, cause we don't agree, so I don't see why we should do it.

R: Because you talked about it once, and then you figured out that you were disagreeing and then...

J: No, I just think that you are allowed to buy the really expensive clothes or spending a lot of money on it, I just think it is stupid. But I cannot and will not try to change their opinion. Or maybe I can. I haven't tried...But I can't help thinking, what they then are thinking about me. But I can't...I do it my way anyway.

R: You also talked about that your parents also did the rotation. Do you think it is something you got from them?

J: Yeah...but they didn't tell me about it until after I got Marie. So it is actually not that they said you should do this or you could do this.

R: And when they did it, was it then also in order to be environmentally friendly. Do you know?

J: I actually don't. I just think you did it a lot in the 80ies. And then they got children at the same time and then the same bag of clothes was sent around to all of the children – and then they used the same clothes.

R: Yeah, it is smart.

J: Yes it is. And again, also because they grow out of the clothes so fast. But it is actually nothing that I really talked with them about.

R: Are there other things where you think, *"This is very different from how it was back then and how it is now"*?

J: Regarding?

R: Regarding upbringing, baby clothes and things like that.

J: I experience that it is more important with the brands now than in the 80'ies. I don't even know if we had some branded clothes. And I also believe that more clothes were homemade. I don't know. But we don't do it as much today. But I think we are more environmentally conscious today and also that it needs to be organic. I actually don't know how clothes can be organic. Maybe you know what it implies?

R: I think, for instance if you have cotton, that it is organic and without chemistry.

J: Yeah cause I have actually thought about, what it implies that the clothes is organic. Is it then the textile, maybe.

R: I think it is because for instance that the cotton field has not been polluted with chemistry and that the colours are more natural.

J: Yeah it's right that could be.

R: Yeah...Do you have anything, which you find important, that we take away with us?

J: Well, what you are writing about precisely is brands?

R: Yes, how first time mothers here in Copenhagen use baby clothes and brands as a mother.

J: Well...I don't know, and also because I don't care that much about brands. I know which ones are more known brands than others. But otherwise I don't know. No, I don't really know.

R: Are there some brands, where you think that they have some specific values, which you can either connect yourself with or absolutely not.

J: Then it is only...I don't even know if you can get it, but Louis Vuitton. Can you get it?

R: Yes.

J: I would never give it to my child. It is because I think it is ugly and then because of the price (laughing). It is insane, I can imagine. These brands, I think...I don't know. And also because I imagine that the ones using Louis Vuitton or these expensive brands, they have...I don't know. But I don't use it myself.

R: But what kind of values do think that the parents, who give their children these kind of brands have?

J: I think they are a bit superficial, because you are giving them a label and a piece of clothes. It doesn't really say anything about how they are as human beings. But then again, you can also maybe also discuss that I do, when I don't buy these expensive brands. But I think it becomes superficial, because why is it important that they should wear a piece of clothes that cost 800 DKK instead of 200 DKK, or...Well... As long as she is comfortable and warm and not get a cold. And then I also think something more practical. I don't know if all first time mothers do that today in regards to earlier?

R: I don't know I think it is very individual.

J: But I have a feeling that it is very important with the brands. Yes, because I have experienced both kinds of mothers.

R: And how have you experienced the mothers who care about the brands. What do they say?

J: It is more that it needs to be these certain brands. There is no discussion about that.

R: And that is because they just really like these brands?

J: Yes, but they also often chose to buy it on inventory-clearance sale, so they can get discount. And then it does make sense. But then I can't stop thinking about the environment. We keep buying more and more clothes, but who is thinking about the environment. You do not really think about the future of your child, if you keep buying, I think. Cause for who's sake is it then you buy these nice clothes? It is not for the children. It is more for us, because we think they look cute. I also think so, but then I can't stop thinking, they can look just as cute in used clothes. As long as it is cleaned and washed and it is not disgusting or with a lot of wholes. But again, it is because these are my values. But I don't need to discuss it with them, because we will not agree.

R: Now you say that you think that mothers who give their children Louis Vuitton are very superficial. What about people, who give their children clothes from the supermarkets. What do you think about it?

J: As long as they feel well. Then it does not bother me. Again, as long as it is warm and dry. Then it is ok, that it is from a supermarket. And I think that the supermarkets make a lot of woollen clothes and organic. So I can't really say something bad about it. I actually don't know if the clothes from Louis Vuitton or these expensive brands also are organic. But I don't really think about it. I just think that they prioritize differently. But then you can also say, do I also do that? Cause I buy used clothes – but that is also in order to think about the environment.

R: How do you actually see yourself as a mother? If you have made some thoughts about it.

J: I think that I'm a good mother and I think about the future of my child. And I don't need to teach her, that it is most important to have Louis Vuitton instead of clothes from the supermarket. You are not a better person because of that. And I want to teach her that. These are some good values to give to her, I think. And I also know that Simon agrees. Because of course we want to look nice, that I want, that he wants and she probably also wants, but there are some other values, which are more important. It is more important to feel well inside the body and the heart.

R: I think that is it. Thank you very much.

## INTERVIEW WITH MICHELLE

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Interview with Michelle

Child: Noah, 2 Years

Location: Mother's apartment, Nørrebro

Interviewers: Kate and Rebecca

M: Michelle

K: Kate

R: Rebecca

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All talking about how the interview is going to be in structure and that it's anonymous.

R: It's a semi structured interview, but also with questions we are curious about and come to talk about.

M: For me it all goes back too what my background is – so what are you able to spend when you choose clothes, cause obviously when you don't have a lot of money, and being a parent that are studying, my financials have changed. So, coming from Charlottenlund where we both have fulltime jobs we could have afford any brand we would have wanted for Noah... But I was actually quite... I think... hm... worried about, what would I buy, also they grow so fast in the beginning so I bought so much nice clothes in size 56 and he grow out of it 3 weeks after...(laughing). So I decided, ok I just spend so much money buying him nice clothes, then he fit it for 3 weeks, some of it he never tried on.

K: Oohh (laughing).

M: And so I actually just said we'll find... I'll start to look into... Hmm, some of it we would go and buy, and typically we'll go to Magasin and wait for the sales to go on, and go for the nice brands on sales and say okay so how big is he going to be in half a year's time or even a year's time.

R: Yeah.

M: And then get it in a low cost, and that would be hmm... oh... the nice brands like Molo or...we can go and look in the store and there is like Molo ( whispering something) and ehm... oh maybe we should just (laughing).

R: I heard about Molo before.

K: Yeah, yeah me too.

[Michelle goes to get the clothes]

M: I just took clothes to see (All laughing)

M: Petit Patou and all of these nice things but I would never pay full price for it, cause Wheat is also a very nice brand, ehm... And... Milli Bi.

R: Milli bi... Milli bi?

M: This one [shows the clothes].

R: Oh.

M: We got H&M, Norlich, hmm I got Logged which is H&M as well. I got something called IdaT by DK, which I don't remember buying but (all laughing) but fair enough (all laughing) Name it.

K: Oh yeah Name it, I know that.

M: Hmm... There's Baby Gap, Hummel...hm... Bluesew, which is like a cheap brand but hm... but Patonal and Lecal again.

M: So for me, for me it's about getting nice clothes that I think fit in the colors.

R: Yes, ok.

M: And something that I think... That I think... it... it's nice quality... And I think some of the clothes right now, because obviously he's, he's almost 2...But he's playing around like he's putting like... and he's eating, like of course there's going to be ketchup on his... like that.

K and R: Yeah

M: And that's fine, he eats quite nicely but there's always going to be some food and...

K: Of course

M: And... I want clothes that he can actually wear, clothes that he can play in and it's okay if it gets ruined. Like he's a child and he should be allowed to do what he does...

R: Yeah

M: Hmmm... so, so I'm quite eh... I think a little bit preventative to and I don't mind him getting second hand clothes if it's nice brands. If I can get Wheat pants that usually cost 250 kr. And I go to a home where I can actually see, okay it looks nice, they kept it nicely, and you can't actually see that it's been used I don't mind buying that from them... And then saving that much money that's how I bought his flying jacket which was eh... was that a Wheat or what was that? ... They usually cost DKK 1.600 and I bought it for 300 and you couldn't even see that it's been used after it was washed.

K and R: Mmm.

M: So, so I would do that but I do care about to some extent that I think it's nice that he has nice clothes...

K and R: Mmm.

R: So would you say that you prefer to buy branded clothes compared with the not branded?

M: Yeah... hmm... but If you just need something quick I don't mind getting an H&M body, but I also know that once I've washed it 3 times they're not in shape anymore.

R: Mmm..

M: And if I buy a nice brand they actually keep their shape.

R: So is it's mainly because of the quality?

M: It is also because of the quality ehm... when he goes too nursery school it doesn't matter too much, but if we're going out I think it's nice that he has nice clothes on. And I think for the area that we used to live in, Charlottenlund, it matters a quite a lot more what the kids are wearing..

K and R: Mm...

M: And even if you look at, at what they have hanging in the kinder garden you can see that it's, it's more, it's more wealthy parents that buys for their children compared to... sometimes I help out with my friends child who goes to kinder garden at Valby, ehm and it's different. Different clothes and... the same kids same issues but different outfit's, and for me it's not... it has to practical but I do have preference for nice clothes. But I refuse to pay 3500 for ... I think that's ridiculous... like there is a level, say okay ( all laughing)

R: it's too much.

M: That's ridiculous.

K: What do you look for in the clothes when you go buy them?

M: Colours... But I think it matches the rest of his wardrobe

K: Colours...

K and R: Mm

M: Hmm, and if this is something he's needing, but is there a need for it.. ehm sometimes I go on a sale and I fall over something... oh, this is nice, and so it be colour, quality and do I think that, that actually suit's him, do I..

K: What about some organic clothes or what materials it's made of?

M: No I don't care... I think some moms care about that...

K: Yeah we heard that some...

M: yeah. I, I, don't care... Maybe I should care but I don't. (all laughing)

K: No... okay

R: I think...(inaudible)

R: Are there some colours or styles you like more than others?

M: Hmm. Well obviously because he's a boy, I like grey and blue and white and it's of course black, I don't think it's a colour I have a big preference for but it just matches the rest of it. But I will never put him in pink... that's about... pink and red I don't put him in.

R: Mm...

M: He looks like a boy. But...

(All laughing)

M: I don't think it's boy clothes... yeah..

R: What about the brands, are there some that you would never buy to Noah?

M: Is there some brands I would never buy ehm? I do... I do have... like... Is there something... If it's like super cheap brands... I, I usually just avoid that, which is a bit ridiculous, when I say I'm price sensitive but I don't go and look at it, but If I buy a bunch of clothes second hand it, it doesn't matter if that's a part of it but I wouldn't seek like... We have that Blue Sew which was something we were given, but I would never look at that.

R: Hmm...

M: So the super low ehm...

R: Is it like a supermarket or H&M or...

M: No hmm Blue Sew I don't know but, But that's were you usually find it on ehm. It's even lower than H&M... Which one is... Blue Sew... this one [pointing at some pants from the pile of clothes].. So it's stupid because I think that's actually a nice piece of...

R: Yeah I think so.

M: Yeah and it looks nice, and if it was called from Ground Floor One... it would have been something... But I would avoid that because I think that it's I like... that is super, super cheap.

R: Hmm...

M: Pretty sure it's a Blue Sew... but, I , I , he's wearing that he looks nice in it. But like... these supermarket clothes or... I would never buy that... so I think H&M is my lower... like the rest is... I don't want him in supermarket clothes.

R: Yeah... is there a special reason for that?

M: I just don't think it's nice... I would never buy supermarket clothes for myself... like I would never go into Bilka and buy something unless it's socks or something...

(all laughing)



M: But I would never buy anything else than socks too... so why would I put my child... so it has something to do with my personal preferences... like wouldn't mind buying second hand clothes from a friend if I knew that she would take good care of it... so I think I buy for Noah what I do for myself.

R: Yeah... do you think... the... like the clothes you choose for him represent you as a kind of mother?

M: Hmm... I think that I... a little bit... In the same sense that I can get quite annoyed with his dad sometimes, when he put clothes on him that doesn't match.

(All Laughing)

M: He's like... "*oh you put it upside down*" ... and I'm like "*look at the child*"... so I think he's somehow... whatever I do with my clothes... the way I dress myself... hmm... that I also try to do coordination, so he's probably a little... hmm... copy of me (laughing).

R: I think that's normal you put on what you like, cause he, he cant choose it.

M: Exactly, he doesn't care... if it was up to Noah he would just run around in a diaper..

(All laughing)

R: Are there some brands you really like... you think that's just you?

M: Wheat... I think it's so cute... hmm... I think there is like very expensive wealth (inaudible word) clothes for kids that's super nice, but I would never buy them I Denmark... I think there's also at upper bound where I think, things become too expensive ...I wouldn't pay DKK 800 for a nice shirt for a boy that is two years of age I think that's ridiculous.

R: Hmm.

M: But some moms would probably do that because it matters in the... When I used to live in Charlottenlund in the mothers group there was only... There was a mom who would only buy this super, super expensive brand... oh... what is it called... ehm... give me second... I will... maybe you remember it's super, super expensive.

[Michelle is trying to remember the name of the expensive brand]

R: Tierre?

M: Yeah... ehm. Not Patear, it's ehm... Fateer? Beteer? I think so... yeah (Petit) Bateau... she would only but her child in (Petit) Bateau... and that's... I think that's there (Petit) Bateau, where she paid DKK 3.500 for a (Flyverdragt) Jacket and the bodies' cost like DKK 400 and DKK 500... and I think that's ridiculous.

R: Yeah.

M: I... so there is an upper bound... so I have a lower bound... I wont go to supermarkets... but there's also a point where I think it's stupid.

R: Hmm... is it just because of the price that you wouldn't like pay so much solely, or is it also something to do with the values... they like... in that specific clothes and age of the extremes?

M: I think it's to do with the price that I don't feel like, it might be very cute and it might be really nice quality... but I think it's too much pricing for such a little person, cause he doesn't care.. it's, it's about me putting clothes on him..

R: Yeah.

M: Rather than him caring about the clothes... and I much rather want to say fine... Rather than spending x amount of money on a month... I rather want to do a saving... and I think in 10 or 15 years time he will care about his clothes... I think it's nicer for him to have some sort of savings so he has money to go out and spend it on nice clothes, rather than now where he actually doesn't care, so what I did in the first year... it's like every time I bought a second hand... I put the value and estimated from what I would cost if I bought I new and put the money in to his account... so the difference I did as savings...

R: Yeah.

M: So I actually saved up.. I think 5000 or 6000 for him... because I saved so much money... I think that's a much better return of investment... rather than having him looking good for the first year where he doesn't care.

R: Oh yeah... I see

M: Hmm...

R: What about for the lower limit... like where you say you don't want to do it for a supermarket, because you wouldn't buy it for yourself?

M: I would be ashamed of him walking around in supermarket clothes...

R: Hmm...

M: So I think I have such a... to say, this is the range... I'm probably like here [showing with her hands] like where it becomes like... I would be so ashamed if somebody said: *"Oh he's wearing a nice shirt"*... and it's not logical... *"...and if they ask where is it from and I would have to say.. I bought it Bilka"*... it's the same sense if I was wearing something... and people said... *"oh that's a nice shirt"*... I, I would never say if I bought it in a supermarket.

R: No.

M: Which I would never do but...

R: No.

M: But that's why... no I would not. Hmm... so that's not... that's probably not very logical... given my other argument...

K: It doesn't have to be logical... (all laughing)

R: Yeah... we all have feelings towards like... and some people really don't mind and some people do mind and...

M: Yeah.

K: Do you still meet up with your mother group or?

M: Yeah we do.... So we meet up every. I think every 2<sup>nd</sup> month.

K: Ok.

M: So obviously when they were little we meet up every week, but people start working, and some of them go pregnant or you know having their 2<sup>nd</sup> child... so it's nice.

K: Does it influence you, to be you know with them..? Do they influence you in any way.. I don't know...

M: Hmm... I think I has... well when you sit there and they talk about all these things because I don't care about their child... I just don't... this isn't were I need to be in the conversation, but you do get some sort of influence from the people that you are surrounded with.. Especially when you sit with these moms who are talking about this and the other and what they bought for their children...Where I'm so... well I just go with the other... like I think it's... like that.. I don't say anything if they all agree... but if they sit like 4 people and agreeing I just don't participate

K: But you say it does have some sort of influence?

R: Do you think like the way you dress Noa in these meetings are different compared to normally?

M: Yeah I think, I think about it more... I don't let his dad dress him (laughing) Like... he... he doesn't care... it's so funny.. he doesn't participate in the mother groups himself... so I think that's why maybe ...But he doesn't care what clothes he is wearing [son], so it's it's.. like. I know him... so I just make sure it's... of course... It's usually me who puts clothes on him... 95 % of the time.

R: Hmm.

K: But maybe... do you like... would you say... hmm. You think about it more... you think about it so he's more... I don't want him to represent that... like with clothes... he has like... nicee clothes for himself or in which way you think about it if you... like so it matches better or... I don't know.

M: I think it matches better because they always... but maybe it's in... a some.. like a... but like... that we always assume that we look at each others children and it becomes like a competition... and I, I don't know if they sit in with the same... or everybody else's children are dressed nicely, so we need to dress them nicely, ehm but they are always just nicely dressed so we always do that in the same way... Maybe it's also if I go out and I need to do something I would always also put a bit of makeup on... put nice clothes... and I think that I do the same for him so I think the child is some how also reflecting the parent... like me...

K: Yeah I see.

R: Do you think about, what like other children are wearing?

M: Ehm... no... but if they wear like really bad clothes with holes in, and it's, it's not matching... I think about that but I don't think about what brands they are wearing... like I wouldn't care if somebody had used clothes... but I would notice if it looked like really washed out and dirty... then I would definitely notice... but I don't like... I don't care about that

R: Yeah.

M: It's like... I don't care to much about others... but I, I care about my own.

R: Yeah

K: Yeah

R: Do you think that when people see how Noah is dressed, that they also like, because you think about how he is dressed, do you then think that they also kind of, not judge you as a mother... but like reflect upon how you are as mother?

M: I think I... hm. Do people reflect... I never actually thought about that... I think people do that... yes... but they... they only do that if... if you would look... ehm... if you would look like... ehm.. I don't know... "beskidt"... if you would look dirty... ehm... if you would look... I think... or of you had like long hair... and ehm... "usoigneret"... I don't know if it's confusing.

R: Like if you're not really washed...

M: Yeah, yeah, yeah... but I think for the majority for the children... as long as they just look like they are washes... and has... like this is just my perception with their clothes.. but I know that in mother groups like in Charlottenlund... people care about that. Like I don't care about all the children but I know some parent care about that.

R: Mm.

M: I'm not saying that these are parents that I would actually associate with or people that I think is cool... but I just know that they look at that..

R: hmm...

M: which is a hole other discussion... but that can also annoy me some times

K: Do you think they are like stereotypes or something? When you go to your mother group or..

M: I think in my mothers group are really, really nice girls. But, but they care quite a lot... and some of them are really, really wealthy ...so they don't care about money... at all... ehm... so it's, it's just also to say my, my background... sorta' where I moved from... it matters also... about... if I grew up with people... with the equals.. Kinda' where I am now. I would have been a different matter... but when you come from such an area... and like background, and what is the level of income... then suddenly clothing your children start to matter for... I think you get a sort of... OK... you need to be up there.

But again I wouldn't buy (inaudible)... I think that's stupid

(All laughing)

R: Would you say that... for them... that... like buying a certain level of brands kind of equals them... that you are a better mother?

M: mm... I don't know if people... for me I wouldn't matter.. I think it's about the child... it not about what brand you put on them.. I think some parents would have that perception ...that okay. We need to show love that way... but I think it's the wrong way to show love... ehm... but I think some parents probably would... but not me.

R: how would you say actually that you are as a mother.. just shortly.

M: Ah... I care quite a lot for my child. I love my child... but I'm probably a very busy mom... like I'm not... I'm not a... I'm not one those strict moms. That sit's and bake. And, and put him to kindergarden at 10 and then I can leave at 3. Ehm. But I give him a lot of care... and a lot of stimulation and ehm... we do quite a lot of things... but I'm not like some of those like "over-fussed" moms... like I'm perfectly fine with him. Also when he was a little baby that people took him, where some of the other moms that was at least in the mother group they wouldn't let anyone else hold their babies.

K: Oh, Ok.

M: Like it was only them sitting with them and some of them are even breast feeding until the day today... and for me I was also perfectly fine with also other people holding Noah and giving him and today he's with his father and I miss him but I know he's in good hands so I don't worry... where some mothers wouldn't be able to cope with that... and they would worry all the time and text and call all the time... like I know he's with his father... and I know his father loves him as much as I do, so I'm perfectly fine with that..

R: Mm yeah.

K: He's in good hands yeah...

R: Mm... that makes sense

R: And what about... ehm... when you do shopping for Noah.. Do you get inspiration from anywhere or do you just go and buy it or?

M: I... I do... sometimes I just go on the iInternet and look on different websites, or just "Google" it and say okay is there any good sales on or if I've seen some sort of style on another child and I thought: Oh that looked good, like a nice a ehm. What do you call these... vests...

R: Yeah...

M: that looks so cute with the... ehm... shirt on... and ehm... that definitely shoes... shoes are the thing I spend the most on, because shoes is so important for his feet ...so I'm so horrified for when I need to buy shoes, because shoes are like 6-700 like 800 kr. For a pair of shoes and I'm just dying (laughing) then I would go and just and see what have people been writing about shoes, because that matters. A pair of pants are just a pair of pants... they just need to be comfortable. Ehm... so that I definitely go and look into ehm... but just on the internet

K: is there like a favorite blog or page you go on?

M: no... I just go and Google, and then go specifically and Google my way into a specific brand or have some moms test it, and then there are all of these websites for children,, they have like a various... it's not like a specific website I go to.. I think for... when he was up to the first year I read every single week. What is happening in his development, what should you do... which guide should you get... very inform... extremely in form... I think... when I gave birth to Noah, like I knew everything that had to be done... like I knew everything that was happening through the week, and I think as time flies by ...you start... I... of course I care about his development but I don't go in there every week. Maybe every month that I go in and check something... but I think you start to relax much more...

K: But like is it... do you think it's better... or was better when you've been more informed then no information at all... do you feel relaxed?

M: It, it just becomes to much because there's all of these expectations about when you become a mom... what should you do... like being a supermom and all of this: oh it's so easy to be a mom... it's not easy to be a parent... it's not easy to be mom... it's not with all the expectations and everything you need to do... it's bloody tough but the reward is so much larger... so luckily.

(All laughing)

M: It's okay... you haven't slept for a week.

(Laughing)

M: But it is really, really tough and what I found in all of these blogs was painting a picture about motherhood.

K: Yeah.

M: That I think was wrong... that I actually wanted to see something about... you know what... it, is tough and sometimes you feel that you're failing... that you you're doing something... it's not like it comes from a place of love and you're doing it because you care about the child, and that's why I stopped reading a lot of these blogs, because I got irritated.

R: Yeah.

K: What kind of expectations are there if you want to be a mother I Denmark?

M: Just, just all of these about... oh this is nice and dandy and we have to out on the playground and we can bake at the same time and clean the toilet and make coffee and make some..

K: So it's more like housewife?

M: Yeah... just like super... super mom... and for me... I didn't feel that I was connecting with the thought of these moms... well like... okay... I also... because I also want to work while a lot of these moms would stay at home with their children and I'm like okay fine, I need to find somebody who can say... okay it's bloody though we love our children, we do this, and sometimes it's also hard and I, I didn't feel that I was connecting with any of the moms that was current in blogging, or these bloggers were like eager to paint the right pictures of what it is to be a parent.

R: They want to paint the like nicer picture...

M: Yeah.

R: Everything is fake...

M: Yeah fake... exactly. And they do all the right thing... and they do all these... it's all the expectations which really lies with yourself, but the expectations are build up on something other people write

K: Yeah

M: And I just got fed up... and I just thought fine ...I'll do it my way... and obviously I would get guidance from my family cause I know that there's a lot of love, and sometimes I go in and Google something if I need to find it, but I, I didn't ehm... I just got more irritated and I got more stressed about it than I thought and than I should.

K: Yeah... I completely understand

R: Do you use your network a lot... like friends and family to like

M: Yeah I think I get a lot of inspiration both in terms of how should you act in certain situations, but for the clothes part I have my own opinion.. of course some times we do talk, like girlfriends, but usually I would say like 90% of the time I make my own decisions. But for a lot of things about parent, parenting and being a mom I do seek out to hear other people and then I make my own decision.

R: Mm...

R: what about inherit clothes... have you inherited any clothes?

M: No... I was the first one to have children, and I had to buy it all from scratch (laughing)

(All laughing)

M: Hmm... oh my god... they are going to be so happy if they get a boy

R: (Laughing) They can...

M: they can have so many things... but it is... eh... it's so expensive I think ...the starter kit... I mean I you have nothing... you have to spend at least 30.000 35.000 on everything... not just clothes..

K: Yeah

R: Would you consider selling some of the clothes... or have you sold some of the clothes?

M: No.... I eh... I actually eh... do you know [friends name]?

R: Yeah... or you know like a... I know who...

M: Yeah... she's having a boy in 8 weeks time... so she just got a lot of clothes... so I think she got like 6 backpacks with clothes... cause I... and she wanted to like... pay... and I'm like no.. I actually just appreciate that it's being used .

K & R: Mm.

M: I think it's... for me it was so a chock how much it costs and if I can pass it on and he's gonna grow out of it so fast... there might be a body that needs to be thrown out and some other clothes... and that's perfectly fine... but I think it's great that somebody else can use it.

R: Have you ehm... would you sell some now that you gave it away... but would you sell some of the clothes?

M: If I had time... (Laughing)... yeah... it probably... but it means you need to have time to do it... and as I said financially... I'm not sure I actually want to. My friend is gonna borrow it right now... so I didn't practically gave I away... but she's gonna use it and then return it, when she's done with it. And I'll, I probably pass it on in the family... I much rather want to do that.. Or I should pass it on to charity rather than selling it.

R: Yeah.

M: But that's just the matter of that I couldn't be bothered about sitting and taking photos of it and putting in up on the internet and having people coming by... then I much rather want to say... fine this is my way to give back to the people who has been there for Noah or give it to people who really, really needs it.

R: Have bought any... or ehm... you bought any used clothes back?

M: Yeah, yeah... I bought it from other people... so I went in but I couldn't be bothered about (laughing) it's takes a lot of time... that's true.

R: But what about when you bought the clothes... was it in like physical shops or...?

M: that would be... the second hand... that would be alliance ...I just went and sought... okay the area that we are living in.... around Charlottenlund, and Hellerup and Gentofte and just the surrounding of cities ehm... who had something that I was in need of ...and then a lot of what they do is... they just take a big bag and then you buy it for 500 kr and there is a lot of things and then 2/3 you can use and the rest you can probably toss out, but you still save a lot of money ...that's how I got a lot of really, really nice clothes for very, very few kr..

R: yeah... that's a good idea... what about ehm... (looking through papers) yeah is there any piece of clothes that you feel like you can?

M: With Noah or that I really, really like?

R: Eh... a piece of clothes that you purchased for Noah... that like... you really feel connected to this

K: You couldn't give it away

R: And you really love that piece of clothes..

K: Special memories or something



M: No ...there was always his first... when he was wearing the first eh... time we came home from... which I love to look at pictures ...but but I don't feel connected with it... is still look at the photos and I really enjoy that... but I don't..

R: No

R: What about if he's wearing a really, really cute outfit... would you for instance take a photo and ..

M: Yeah

R: And put it on Instagram or something

M: He is a very photographed kid (all laughing)

M: Yeah.. I take a lot photos of him were I'm like... personally he is ehm.. I bought him a costume for "Fastelavn" where he was a little snowman.

K: Oh...

M: And I took like 25-35 photos

R: (Laughing)

M: But I think that's where you really think: ooh... he's so cute ...so, so it is a joy when you dress them in something nicely... or if he just had a haircut... and usually I don't put anything in his hair but I put in wax this one time cause we had to go out.. it's a nightmare to get out but, so I'm not gonna do that again..

(Laughing)

M: But then it's nice to see him a bit dressed up... you think okay...

K: So for some occasions you say you dress him really, really nicely and then just share online.

M: Yeah because it's so... I'm so proud... like I'm so super proud.. I'm always proud of him... but when he's standing there and he looks chic. I might be... yeah! That's mine... I mean look at him... you get so proud as a mom , so usually when we have something... but ehm... on a regular day I don't dress him up in something... I would always make sure that it's coordinated, but I wouldn't think about... okay it has to be these... I just make sure that the colors looks nice.

K: Yeah.

M: but when I'm looking at the clothes it's mostly like ehm... you look for stripes or these kinds of fillings or patterns or...

K: yeah... I don't know if you do it I was just wandering

M: nah... now I just picked out something... I think I try to get some like basic ....like this one would be just... I like stripes... I think it's nice to have a bit of eh... "mønster". Yeah pattern. Be this I would

suddenly ehm. This one... and then I would probably ...I would like these pants and the some black ehm.. "strømpebukser"

R &K: Yeah, ok...

M: so it's like super over... but just like cool, nice... and

K: I saw some clothes where it was like animals on it or these apples... or you know these kind of patterns

M: I don't like that... like.. I don't like color... like I don't like those sorts of ehm... Disney figures. Ehm... unless he comes once and he really wants a mickey mouse shirt

R &K: (Laughing)

M: Then I would buy it for him (laughing)

K: Yeah... in some of the shops I've seen... it was a lot of... as I said... a lot of little cows, dogs... a lot of animals like these things

M: Yeah.

K: Maybe it's also for a smaller child... from what I've seen in the shops.. I don't know

M: I think Molo... Molo does that a lot... like with strong colors... and I think it can look nice... but I think as they grow older I like... well of course there's a bit of red in that ( showing a piece of clothes) but I like the colors to be a bit more subtle ..

R: Yeah... not so strong... are there a difference between how you dress him now and then when he was a little younger?

M: I think he was much more in colors when he was younger. Cause you had these, these long bodies that he was wearing ...I think I personally more... just a little more.. I don't buy these crazy... I think we have this one... but that was a tracksuit that I thought was cute... but I think that's about the most shiny... where I would buy a lot of Molo for him when he was little.

R: Yeah and Molo has a lot of strong

M: Yeah they have a lot of strong strong colors and it's nice... and I think the fabric I really, really nice... but for me I think it's.. ehm... a bit much... not always... they make things in grey colors that I like.. but it can be a bit more..

R: To pounding

M: (Laughing) it can be quite eh... shiny.. and I think that's a bit too much

R: What about.. I don't know if you remember this but.. the way your vision, before you gave birth to him.. how you where going to dress him, and the way you actually did.. is there a difference between them?

M: I think before I became a mom, I had a very different idea about what it is to be a mom.. when you're in it.. you're like.. of this I crazy.. I had like this idea... that he would only eat organic, he would never be allowed to watch television, he had to play.. like I had so many ideas.. and you become a mom.. and the you realize all of these fancy ideas ...and I thought that I would always have time to put his clothes out the day before, so it would be easy and nice.. and.. I doesn't work like that..

So my way to think that I was a mom.. I just took everything and thought that I would be fine just to survive in this... so.. I ehmm.. I had a quite different idea about being a mom.

K: And before you gave birth... did you buy certain clothes before... or you ..?

M: Yeah I bought... I started buying clothes before... the first thing I bought I think was a pair of really cute socks... blue socks... that's funny you always remember the first pair... I just started to buy... but I didn't buy any second hand... until I realized how quickly he grew ...

R: (Laughing)

M: And I had so much I 56... so if I can give like one advice to moms... do not buy everything..

(All laughing)

M: Because you need to buy so much in 62 and 68 and 74 cause they grow out of that so fast. But I bought I bought everything from new... I didn't buy anything on sale.. but the problem is.. I bought it all in 56... and he was out of that within two months.. .

R: It was confusing like in the beginning to like buy things for him..?

M: Yeah, yeah, yeah... you buy way to small... so ehm... the thing is.. that I always say to new moms.. just buy big.

K: How big was he when he was born?

M: He was 55 cm

M: So he was long and slim... so he was never a fat baby...

R: No, no...

K: Yeah.. and what about these.. so have you found out that some brands didn't fit on him because he was long and slim. Because they are more for chubby babies.. or

R: Maybe now.. is there something..

M: I think he fit's most of the clothes... but sometimes he fit's in 92... sometimes it's 98. Sometimes it's 86.. it's a bit confusing"

(All laughing)

M: Like I would buy 98 because we got so much in 92.. he's like a long slim boy ...so it's.. I think he fit's in most of the clothes... obviously some of it would be more loose on him.. but I think it's fine

R: Have you gotten a lot of clothes in presents?

M: Ah.. we did in the beginning. and now I just ask not to get anything because we have enough clothes.. and much rather want to go buy it myself.. rather than having some.. oh ehm.. thank you.. so it's just a matter of what does he actually need.. his birthday is next weekend.. and I just asked for like "legetøj".. and I just asked for stocks ...and he has like 3 times as much at his fathers.. like he doesn't need more ...so I just asked for stocks actually.. put it on his account, cause he much rather want it when he gets bigger..

K: Yeah... but have you experienced ...have there been any present that you absolutely don't like ...but you put in on him

K: No I meant in the clothing... if you received anything for him..

R: a specific style that you just didn't like

M: Ehm... no... no I think we're quite lucky ...if I received anything like.. okay I need to take a photo of him. No

R: No

M: but it could have been

R: Mm

M: I guess.. no we're lucky we didn't get anything terrible

K: Do you travel with Noah?

M: Ehm. He's been with his father... the go quite to the summer house... he's taking him to the this year and ehm... depending on my thesis I'll travel with them for either 2-3 or 4 weeks. It's probably going to be 2 weeks.. so I think we'll go somewhere where there is a swimming pool and somewhere where we can get food and juice... it's like we can read books.. and he can just play around..

K: Mm.. I was just wondering if you travel, you would look there for baby clothes if it's different or you would just buy it here?

M: No.. we ehmm.. his father went to the us and I asked him to buy a lot of clothes.. and it was 2 sizes to small.. but I was so nice clothes, because it was cheaper over there.. and ehm.. his father has good taste and I just said.. well don't go for crazy shiny colors.. then I'm usually okay with it..

R: Yeah

M: and as I say.. sometimes with children you change their shirt like 3 times and then I doesn't ...

R: so is there a difference about how you dress him at home and when you go out?

M: Yeah,. When we go out and we need to do something, I would definitely dress him nicer than.. but I think we also walk around relaxed at home.. like on a Sunday when we just have relaxed clothes on and we're going out for dinner or doing something we would always dress a bit nicer

R: Mm

M: So I think.. he's a good reflection of me actually.. when we talk about it.. I never actually thought about it..

R: Ehm.. have you been in a situation where you thought... oh she's like dressed really wrongly for this occasion ? or with this group of people?

M: no... because I don't care about other kids.. if they are nice.. and well all kids up to the age of 2 are nice kids ...ehm.. have I been in a ...no.. not even older kids if I think about it. No cause I don't care about it.. but I would imagine that some parents do. But for me it's just a matter of are they nice.. are they nice behaving are they good kids.. I don't know.. but I've never seen a kid that is dirty.. not at least with the people that we associate with.. like they always.. I think it's like if you have holes in your clothes.. I would feel sorry for them.. but none of the people that we hang around.. so I think that's also a factor where you just say... what is this all ...the background of the parents.. and I think in that sense we're kind of privileged.

K: but have you been in situations where Noah draw something or he had like dirty clothes from drawing or playing around and you would still go out with him cause you didn't have time to change it... like would you do it or do you always change him?

M: depends on what.. if we're just going to the supermarket to get a bottle of something it doesn't matter.. unless it's lie.. food everywhere (laughing) then I would like.. because I'm like... I mean... he need to take a shower...

Or if he had an accident. I always change him.. I doesn't matter where we are.. but ehm for the majority of time I'm ...like.. if it's just a little thing.. but if we're going for dinner or something then I would just change it.. for example to our mother group ...ehm. I would always have the same clothes.. unless he had something on ot.. now I'm just wondering because you know kids they always have ...well not always but they usually have something on their.. you know this part (showing) or you know if they're drawing..

K: do have some extra clothes if you go somewhere with him?

M: yeah but that has most to do if he have accidents ...if like they shit themselves. Sorry for my language but they shit themselves and you change their clothes like 2 times . I usually bring 3 extra sets of underwear with me just in case.. because I tried that to end up standing there with him like : sorry.. but we need to go home.. so.. it's not actually to do with the food.. obviously if it becomes bad I would change it.. but it's more with.. if he actually pees himself or he has an accident ...then he needs to be able to be changed..

K: of course of course

M: so I think as I mom I always have banana, juice, and 3 sets of clothes with me when we go out.. (laughing)

R: Yeah you need to be well prepared

M: you get very well prepared if you think like.. okay what happens if.. how many hours ...(laughing).. how many diapers ...so spontaneity dies.. and you just need to plan when you have children

R: do you think that as before you were a mother and how you are now like is that different..would you..

M: I think I'm much more calm now and I'm still.. (laughing).. so you could imagine how I was before.. no but it's.. ehm.. I was much more spontaneous.. I didn't use to plan so much.. I didn't use to.. ehm.. I was much more I do my own thing. Ant hen you become a mother and you start to realize there is someone who's super dependent on you. There you see.. you just cant do.. there is things that you don't foresee. Like when he gets sick I need to wipe out everything else.. and you just need to sit with him.

When he was in hospital and kept throwing up on me cause he was so sick.. which is really like.. yes I'm standing there.. you just need to put yourself aside and just care for him and you stop still caring about small things

So I think my whole life has been put in a different perspective ...since I had Noah.. and it's ...and how rewarding it is to have a child, like how much love you actually can have for a little person ...that is quite big.. so I think for me.. ehm.. I'm much more aware of who am I now ehm.. what sort of impact do I have on other people what sort of impact do I have on this little child.. my son.. so I'm much more aware of who I am and I also much more enjoy my free time when I don't have Noah.

So, so for instance this weekend. Like I was there this morning just to have some breakfast with them and say hello. Because he had a bad night, cause he's still a bit sick.. and I really enjoyed that.. and right now after having him so intensely it's nice for about 24 hours and then I miss him terribly.. then it's not fun anymore.. so it's nice to have my own time now just to do my own thing. And I'm not.. I can take a coffee and lay down and watch some TV.. but then it also just kicks in.. I really miss him..

R: Yeah

M: So I appreciate a little break from the mom time.. but I really, really all the time..

R: To be like... one day and then..

M: If I could be like a fulltime mom for 30,5 days and then have a half day of ( laughing)

R: (Laughing) yeah

M go the spa, go to the gym, take a coffee, take a nap ...no but it is fantastic to be a parent.. but as I said it is really, really though.. the toughest part is probably when you don't have time to ehm take a coffee or take a break for a half an hour.. you cant just pause him and say.. (makes noise with her mouth) okay

(All laughing)

M: And go out and.. it's not possible ...but no.. it's ahh. It's quite fantastic

K: are you going to have more kids or?

M: no

K: No

M : but that's also have to do with the relationship with.. I thought matt, or my ex was the one who should be my future husband. Obviously that's not gonna happen.. at least not right now ...and so right now I don't want anymore children. It doesn't matter. I'm 30 so ...luckily I'm quite.. if I have children in 5 years time it's not like people are going to turn around and think wow you're 35 you're so old ...but right now.. no

K: yeah

M: I want to just focus on him and his well being and he's not taking the split up very easy

K: of course of course.. and you have a lot of thing to do.. I mean.. I admire you because it's like a lot things and you had to move out and you had something between you and suddenly it's ...you know.. it's, it's a lot of things to do and..

M: it is.. it is though part of the conversation.. but it's okay.. I much rather want to be on my own happy.. if him and I cant be in the same room together.. cause that's not good for Noah

R: no it's not good for anyone

R: I think we are through with it..

K: yeah I think so

R: I'll just have quick look at it

M: I hope ...did you get all the answers that you..

R: Hopefully

M: How many interviews do you have?

K: We did 4 so fare.. and we are scheduled tomorrow 1 ...Monday one.. Tuesday 2 ...so it's every day somebody

R: Yeah

K: But it's really nice because sometimes the mothers said: oh I have a cousin or I have a friend.. you would like to.. I can send a message to them and ask ...they would like to participate.. so it's this snowball effect I think ...because sometimes you have like.. you know ...

M: If you want somebody more.. I don't know how representative the. Who do you got ...maybe it's nice to have somebody with a different background.. so i..

R: Yeah I think for right now we have a lot from Nørrebro ...like everyone we've asked.. they live in Nørrebro ...it's funny.. it would be good to have someone not from Nørrebro

K: Yeah but it doesn't matter that much

K: It's okay.. we're doing quite well. Of the amounts of interviews we've scheduled ...so we are quite happy with it

K: Like it's a lot of knowledge.. also personal knowledge if you know what I mean..

R: Yeah cause we don't have kids

M: You are going to be scared (all laughing)

K: Yeah it's ehm. It's a lot of knowledge I don't know.. and we are always amazed because they day something new and then we are like: really...?! I never thought about that.



## INTERVIEW WITH SARA

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Interview with Sara

Child: Anna, 12 Months

Location: Mother's apartment, Nørrebro

Interviewers: Kate and Rebecca

S: Sara

K: Kate

R: Rebecca

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R: This interview is anonymous – Do not be afraid of saying anything. We are doing research for our master thesis about baby clothes. We are researching how first time mothers in CPH see the baby clothes, how do you feel about it, how do you use it and so on. We have prepared some questions but we wanted to be more like conversation so you do not feel stressed. This is (papers with questions) more like guidance for us.

K: How did motherhood change you? Or did it change you?

S: Yes, it definitely changed me. I think I was ...before I got pregnant and had a baby I thought that I would be able to go on with my normal life but just for the baby as well. So I was...I always thought that it would be fine to send them off to

day-care. And I wouldn't mind that, and I would be fine to go back to the school and have a career and... cause that's very much normal in Denmark. But..And..I...just...it just changed me. I don't...I wanna see her. I have a need to see her more than I thought I would have, so most days I'll try and pick her up around 3.

R, K: Hmm. Yeah.

S: Where I was always ...before I had a baby I thought oh, people that talk about, you know, how it's bad if you pick them up after 3. They don't know what they are talking about. *(laugh)* And I know that when I get a real, a full-time job because I am a student now, I know that when I get a full-time job I won't be able to do that, and that makes me a bit upset, so that has changed me. And I think also just the general awareness of the responsibility for someone else, having to make sure that you have food, and you have clean clothes, and you have enough diapers, and all those kinds of things where before didn't matter if we shopped on Monday or Wednesday because if we didn't have anything, we would just quickly run to the store, by now it's...you have that responsibility.

R: Hmm. Be more structured.

S: A lot more. We have a calendar now. *(laugh)* We haven't changed so much so... *(laugh)* Yeah. So that has definitely changed me.

R: How would you then say you are as a mother?

S: I think I am...That's a really hard question. I think that I try to...do as little as possible in a sense that went other route for swimming lessons and gymnastics, and we were really doing much of that during

maternity because Anna, my baby, all she really needs is us. She needs to come home and play with us on the floor and just relax, especially now that she is in day-care. So I think I am very present as a mom. That's the most important thing. That's what I try to be...To be aware that when I am with her, I am not also watching TV or using my phone, even though obviously you still do that sometimes because you are human, but I try to be aware that, you know, we don't turn on the TV till she is gone to bed, unless we wanna watch the news or it's been...like unless I am really tired, and I just really need to just sit for a little bit.

R: Yeah.

S: It's changing a little bit now that she is slightly oldish, she can play on her own, so I will Hmm, yeah then...(mumbling)

K: Would you say it's different from how your parents raised you? Or how...you know.

S: I think, yeah, I think it's different in a sense that, hmm, there's more expectations from the outside now then there was back. Yeah. I think so. (K: Oh, okay). But that's my experience, I think.

R: In which way what kind of expectation?

S: Ehm...Well, I've had a lot of experiences with people having opinions on what you do and how you do it, so whether you breastfeed or not. (K+R: Oh, okay) What type of...(change of thoughts) where you buy your baby clothes, what colour your snow suit is for the baby. It's we bought a cheaper one that was pink and it's not very smart to have a light pink snow suit because it gets dirty, and I was like, well it's cheap, ought to wash it more, so, uhm, people seem to have more voice in opinion on what you do. It doesn't really They say it loud or comment or will ask and then when you reply, they all sort of have a slight of....experienced some judgemental comments, but...I don't actually think if I've done it differently, the way they think it's right, I'm not sure if it would have been any different cause everyone has an opinion.

R: Hmmm.

S: That's what I feel...There is lot of expectations on like how you are doing this job as a mom. Now where...I know that my mom never breastfed, she just...it didn't work, so she gave us a bottle, and she didn't feel bad about that. She never think twice about it.

R+K: Hmm.

S: I started day-care when I was 4 months old.

K: Oh, okay.

S: So that was just a normal thing to do, my mom was a nurse, so she was, I mean I was bottle-fed, so I could start day-care, and I became a normal person. (laugh) (K: Yeah, of course.) So I think like that has changed a lot...in that sense.

K: Why do you think it is that more judgemental now then before like...if there isn't anything particular

S: It's because for more people it's a project, so nowadays having a baby it's is a decision that you make with your partner, and you have it at the right time cause everyone...there is more birth control, and you have...and a lot more women want a career or something like that, so people plan it, and then

when they finally decide they want a baby, they want it now and has to feed and then, you know, it becomes a project. I think that's a lot of it, you want to succeed at raising a child that looks good and behaves nicely and is so sure and...all these kinds of...it's silly really, hear myself saying it because I don't even think about it unless someone comments. So we went to a party, one of my friends became a doctor like last month and we went to celebrate that, she had a big reception, and I brought Sally cause it was a ...you could bring a child, so I brought Sally along, and then two weeks ago I met up with her for a coffee and she said: Have I ever commented on how cute Sally was? And she was like happy and was so interactive and I was so proud because she said that which is silly because I was right there, and I saw her do all these things, but it wasn't until someone else said it that...It meant more, so I think it's just that sort of hyper awareness Unlike I guess you want other people to like your child and you want other people to say oh that's a nice top. Where did you get that?

R: So is it something you think about when you dress Sally? Like...

S: Yes and no. I mean...I think about it because she is our first child, so all the clothes we buy for.., that's mainly new stuff. Unless...I've tried to go to second-hand stores, but I just stand there with the clothes and it's not enough, but then I can't...I still think it's not cheap enough to not buy new clothes cause I don't buy expensive new clothes, so I think about it in a sense that when I then buy new clothes it all matches each other, like because I have to buy it anyway, so may as well buy something that matches, but I think with our second child I will reuse a lot of stuff we have and...

R: Hmm. Yes, it will be different.

S: Yeah. And I think if I...I mean we've had a few presents from people with clothes and some of it...it was just not...nice, sort of ugly.

R: And what did you do with it?

S: Some of it she never wore.

R+K: Hm, okay.

S: But that was when she was very little and..., they just...they get so much clothes at the beginning, and you don't use half of it. Sally would wear the same clothes a couple of days in a row because she was a very neat baby, she never pooped outside her diaper or anything like that that many small children do, so we don't wash much clothes, it's not till now when she is a lot older and actually playing get dirty. We have to change her clothes a lot more. So yeah, there was some stuff that I got given, that was just so ugly that...(laugh) I couldn't put it on her.

R: What is ugly like? What did you think was ugly...

S: What it's called? "Vilua" in danish

S: It's like a..

S: Yeah, it's a type of fabric. And it's uhm, it's polyesterish, so it's very.., it's not like...I like wool and I like cotton and all those types of materials, and I quite like, if I can get my hands on it, cheap bioorganic clothes, and this was like she had...like specifically there was a onesie. So one piece, with feet in it, and it had like a top, the top part was brown and the bottom part was this type of pink, and it had) something on it (laugh), it was tremendously ugly, it was really, really ugly. And I just...and it was my mom who gave it to me, so not even like someone who didn't really know me, it was (laugh) my mom. I was like 'Thanks!' (laugh) whatever, put it on her. But I think if I had no other clothes, I would just choose whatever I have. So...Or if I didn't have opportunity to buy her clothes, I would get cheaper clothes.

R: What did...What do you go for when you're like shopping clothes? Something specific...to try to find?

S: So...First of all, I look at price because we are both students, so price is important to me, hmm, lesser now because she uses the same size for a longer time. So I also look at quality. I try to make it sort of...if I think that she will wear it for a long time, I am okay with paying a little bit more. But generally it's price and then it's quality. So, hmm, I used to shop a lot in Kvickly and Føtex which is just normal discount stores because I felt they had a pretty good selection, but recently they've brought in a lot of stuff with animal prints on it, and it's a lot of colours, and I don't like that. I like simplicity. (R+K: Hmm.) So I've stopped shopping there for that reason, mainly their design. I don't like it. (K: Yeah.) The last two seasons...two times they swapped over clothes. I just haven't liked it, so I haven't bought it. But I was conscious of them as an opportunity because they are cheaper than general.

R: Yeah.

S: More recently we've bought a lot of stuff at H&M, their online store cause of convenience, and they also have some online exclusive set that don't come out in the stores, (R: Hmm, okay, yeah.) and they are little bit nicer and they have...their...a lot of their baby clothes are organic and the price range is slightly cheaper than which is like all the brands...Miniature, WadenWell, these...the Danish brands at least.

K: How did you know it's organic? Like...is it...does it say it on the label?

S: Yeah, it has a label. They have...I think a lot of their online exclusives are from the organic series, hmm, but mainly...I mean, I don't always buy organic or anything like that. But if it's organic and...I'll pay a little bit more just because I know that, and because I know that when I get it, like the quality of the clothes is markedly different.

K+R: Hmm, okay.

S: And...And it's not much more expensive. I guess that's the idea

R: Do you think there is a difference between how you thought you were going to dress Sally and then how you did it?

S: Yeah, definitely. I mean I don't have many friends that have babies or had babies before me, so I am one of the first ones in my group of sort of acquaintances and friends and I had...hmm...I think like in the beginning I bought a lot of clothes where I didn't really coordinate it. So I didn't think of...I got this piece and it will look good with that and get that, I just would buy it, either because it was cheap and I didn't know what sizes I needed, like before I had her. (R: Yes). Then once I got her I think I found out that simplicity was better. So less patterns and more sort of the same colour, or colour shades, so that I could mix and match across different brands and different styles.

R: Yeah, that's actually pretty smart.

S: (laugh) Yeah, but it took me a while. It took me about probably six months to get that, like we...we've got some stuff that I never really put on her because I thought ah, a yellow top that would be really good, but then I had nothing that matched that (R: Hmm), so it would only be when Jason dressed Sally that she would be wearing: This is like Let's not put that on her and then matching with something red. (laugh)

R: Right.

S: So he doesn't think about it at all. It's a shame it's mainly me that think about it, and I will generally put it in closet? up for an evening for the next day and stuff. Just because it seriously takes me 10 minutes to even just decide on (*laugh*), it's easier if I just do it.

K: And in the beginning when you said you didn't know what size she would be Is it like...Eh, did...Was there any problem or something like you didn't know before you had her. Of course you don't know how big she will be when she is born, if it's 3 kilos, 4 kilos, you know, the size. But did somebody help you with it later or...?

S: Hmmm.

K: Or is there any problem...do you remember?

S: Well, it's mainly that you don't know how big they are when they come out, and then once they are out, you've bought, you know, newborn size and then the size up because then you have both and even the newborn size was slightly big for Sally cause she was quite a small baby. She has never been weight She has never been fat. She has always been really long and quite skinny, so a lot of clothes just didn't really fit up because, I mean, she was too long for the small size but too skinny for the bigger one, so in the beginning that was a lot of the...issue, it wasn't really an issue cause she would just wear the bigger size, and it would be a bit flappy, and later on, I think, you just get to know the sizes, different brands are differently sized as well slightly. Yes. I know that H&M, H&M actually made quite long body stockings on the top that binds underneath bottom. They are quite long and slim which fits Sally. Ehm. But I know that other people...like French brands for example, they are quite small in their sizes, as it is for adult clothes. So you get to know the sizes a little bit and get comfortable with that. And then, yeah, I think, I think when I was first buying clothes I asked the one friend that I have that had a baby, and she was like I just had a, you know, a set for every day, so seven sets of clothes, like underwear and top wear because she just don't know how much thing gonna go through and once you get to know a baby, you know, she doesn't...like...all her poop stays in the diaper (*laugh*) or don't or.. There is always pee, so we have to change it twice a day or whatever. So I think it became easy just because of that, you got to know your baby and how dirty they are and then it change when they start eating, and it's food everywhere. (*laugh*) So it's evolving I think.

R: But did you ask like others, like you told, you said you talked with your friend about in the beginning but...was it normal that you...or is it normal that you talk about your...about baby clothes with your friends or other people?

S: I think the people that I know that have babies when I see them like if we have a play day or something, and I see...like I have one friend that has a baby that's a girl, same age as Sally. So...and we have a similar taste in clothes, so if I see her wearing something, I'll ask where it's from just because like out of curiosity, emm, so we do talk about it a lot, but I think that mainly I'll ask when something...If I like something. If I see someone, a baby wearing something that I really like or I'll ask for it from...but I might not always buy it. If it's...if I know that it's a brand that's expensive, I will think that's really nice and I will recognize it, and there is a lot of recognition you can tell, you know, the certain style that must be that or that brand.

K+R: Yeah

But I also know, like on the street or on a playground, that suit was this much and that was...because I kind of out check the price and then go, I can't really justify it, paying 200DKK for a top that I know that she won't wear for more than a month or whatever. So it's normal to talk about, and I

think...compared to my friends that I have That have small children. There's a lot more awareness on it in

R: That's actually very interesting...

S: Yeah.

K: Mh.

S: Definitely more awareness of it. (K: Hmm) Like brands and...

R: Yeah. So you are saying it's important for a lot of people...to have right kind of brands.

S: Well, that's...I mean...I can only assume that because I see a lot of brands. So...I mean...It's hard right now because it's winter, so you mainly see a snow suit. I mean, they are all reasonably expensive, but you definitely you recognize the brands over the non-branded ones. And I am not sure they are better. Like really. I don't know. Ehm...But I definitely know that's that brand.

R: But is this something you think about like when you see a child and how he or she is dressed as something you think about then, like...how can I explain it? When you see a child and it's dressing in a certain way, could I like be that It's a little dirty. Or it's really expensive. Or...something...Do you then think about it like do you think then the mother must be like this and this or..

S: Ehm,...hmm...I don't think I assume much about the parent, no, I think sometimes after Sally is out at day-care, obviously I notice the other babies as Sally is the youngest. So the other babies there are around her age but still a bit older, and not many of them wear brands that I recognize in their clothes like immediately, so there's some brands where you know they always do this type of patch of it or they have this colour shade, and not many of the children in Sally's group wear...(R: Hmmm) that Sally is actually probably the...nicest dressed there in that sense. And I've caught myself thinking not that the parents were poor or couldn't afford it, but that they were probably little bit more sensible because they have more sort of everyday clothes, clothes that if it breaks or gets dirty, it doesn't matter, you just wash it, and it's fine. Ehm. Where...I think I've had...they gain respect from me, more so than I think poor or worse of them in that sense, but that's because I think it's more sensible, cause they are small children, they can't help how they look. It is...I think it's it is parents deciding what, you know, how their children look, and I am aware that I do that with Sally as well, but I also do it because there is no reason not to buy matching clothes when I have to buy everything new, so..

R: And is there reason you don't want to buy like used clothes?

S: Yeah, I mean I've tried, when I was pregnant I would...I looked at Reshopper And so, and looked for clothes, and I went to Milibe I quite like M. for...we buy a lots of used toys and that kind of stuff, but when I actually look at the clothes, I just can't make myself buy something that's washed like this cause I don't know how it's washed. And I don't know if it's been in a house with animals, and we've got a cat, so it doesn't really matter, but what if they were smokers or ... And M. for example have a quite high standard so...I can't explain what it is that makes me not want to buy it, but I think it's...I stand there and pair of pants is 20 dkk But they are obviously worn cause they are (R: Yeah) used, and a new pair of pants on special or...on H&M might be 60 or 80, maybe even 100, but I will still pay that 80% more just to tab new pants. But I think there is also, sometimes I also think I could use these pair of pants for another baby because we are gonna have another baby at some point, hopefully it's a girl. (laugh) So I also kind of think that some of this stuff I will use again for another baby, so I don't wanna buy used now which is, I mean, I pay way more than I would if it was used, so...

K: What about inherit clothes? Have you inherit anything?

S: No, I mean, my sister is 10 years older than me. And her children, the youngest is 10 years old and a boy. And she has given me some clothes, but it's just...I don't like it, like it's not nice. It's washed and emm...And then it's stupid things like it's not the right colour.

R: What kind of colours do you like?

S: Well, I like pink, and like light blue and yellows and greens. And I really don't like purple. I have this thing with purple (*laugh*) and everything is purple at the moment. All the brands have purple styles, yeah, Føtex and Kquickly? mainly, their colours now are purple cause it's the thing to do cause it's not pink which has been a big thing for a long time, so it's a new thing it's purple, and I just don't care if other babies wear it, that's fine, but I don't want my baby to wear it. So in that sense those are limits, we are using clothes in that sense.

R: And what about like...do you think now you say you definitely don't want purple on Sally, but do you think that...it's your own kind of style that then reflects what you put on her?

S: Yeah, well, yes because she can't tell me what she wants, so it's definitely my style and, um...it's ultimately my decision, Jason doesn't care. He just, he cares if it's super-duper expensive, he is like that's ridiculous, I am not paying that much for...for clothes, so he'll comment on price, uhm, but it is ultimately it's what I like that I put on her. Definitely. So if it's something I don't like, I won't buy it or if I get it given as a present I don't like, she might wear it once out of courtesy, so if they come over I put it on her. (*laugh*)

K: And then they've seen her wear it. It's so natural. Yeah.

S+R: Yeah.

R: That's..

K: I would do the same.

R: Yeah. Me too.

S: Yeah, I think and I think it's...it's as like same as when you are an adult, and you get given something, and you don't really like it, you can't take it back, or you don't want to take it back because it would make a scene, so you kind of just accept, smile and then go on, don't put it on them. I think, yeah.

K: No, it's not.

R: No, it's really natural. It's like, yeah, when you say we forget something and we don't like it.

S: Yeah...Yeah. I mean, I think, one thing that's different is because we're...Jason is Australian. We have a lot of friends in Australia that have children, and they dress their kids very differently, so often they wear onesie, so in one piece, even when they are quite old and then we have had some sent over cause they are really nice material and you can't...It's not very common to get bigger sizes in onesies unless it's pyjamas. And these are pyjamas than actually clothes. And Sally wears them on weekends or if she is sick or, and sometimes we've discussed whether we could put it on her and send her to day-care. And I don't think we can because I think they would comment, they would be like why is she wearing pyjamas? (*laugh*)

K: Ah, okay.

R: Yeah, it's different.

S: They expect them to wear an outfit, pants and top or a dress or whatever if it's a girl. We had one experience in a day-care when it was winter and Sally has a wool suit cause she gets...we take her there in her pram, so when it was freezing outside, I would take off her pants, she still had stockings on and body stocking on top, and then I put the wool suit on and I gave her in a day-care, she was asleep and I said she is in her...uhm, sort of doing uncover with the wool suit on and uncovered her, but you need...her pants are in her cabin. She needs to wear pants after like when she gets up and take the wool suit off. And then...I thought I sort of conveyed that really well, and then in afternoon when I came in and got her, they were like...she wore the wool suit for half a day because we just couldn't understand...and it was very weird that she was wearing a wool suit, and then we unbuttoned it, but she didn't wear pants, so we couldn't take it off. It's just like why didn't you just go and get the pants out of her cabin. But they reacted quite strongly, so they really could not understand why I haven't dressed my baby adequately which is so stupid because I tried to tell them, which they...that message got...you know got lost.

R: Yeah.

S: But also just, yeah, I think they, uhm, Sally was asleep, so I didn't want to wake her up undressing her, and they just said they need to go and look for pants. They just thought it was really weird. *(laugh)* that she was wearing a onesie. So...

R: So that's maybe also influencing that you don't want to give him or give her that onesie.

S: Yeah, fairly. Or definitely cause, I mean

K: That experience, hm.

S: Yeah, so, in that sense...you sort of...there's...There are some expectations, you can't just...let them wear whatever I think, but that's mainly I think...I...It's weird because I don't need that of others, but I think I am also maybe a little different because I am not born and bred in Copenhagen and we have a lot of friends that, you know..., Australian friends, and I have some of my best friends live in Arhus and have children there, and they are different there, so there is definitely some awareness in this area by...

R: Do you think that people think a lot what other children are wearing?

S: Definitely.

K: Is it like capital city issue? *(laugh)*

S: Yeah, well, I can only compare to (Aarhus And I don't experience it being that big a deal over there as it is here. *(K: Hmm)* I think that, I mean..., you couldn't., yeah, I don't know...I think people recognize brands here. There is more talk about it. *(K+R: Hmm)* And, umh, but there is also like the reshipper with used baby stuff and clothes and all that, so that's huge here, not very huge anywhere else. Uhm, and here it's ...everything is a lot more...I try to use it in Aarhus like when I was over there, visiting a friend, and I just looked what was in the surrounding area, and there was much less, but it was also markedly cheaper, so the same brand would sell cheaper used over there than it would here.

K: Hmm.



S: See

R: They know they can put the price high.

S: So they put the price high, yeah, for say used branded baby clothes, it's almost that worth buying used because it's not that much cheaper than buying from new. So...in my opinion, from reshipper? but then I also...yeah...Once it has been washed it looks used...(R: Yeah, K: Mh.) quicker.

R: Would you consider selling some of Sally's clothes?

S: I have actually sold some of it. Some of out the stuff I bought in the beginning when I didn't know what I wanted and I bought., I went to a warehouse sale and bought some clothes and I just never, she never wore it cause I didn't like it when I actually had it, and I didn't know what to put to it, and I sold that because it was never worn. I washed it once and then never put it on her. (K: Hm) So that...But I sold it at almost the same price I bought it for. Not much of her clothes now I would sell, mainly because it's only H&M, so when that's washed a couple of times it looks quite old, and I don't think people would buy it, basically. Maybe probably because I wouldn't buy it. I haven't tried to sell it really. But there is something like she's got a skirt from Wheet which is like a twirl ballerina type skirt, and she's worn it quite a few times, she wore it at her baptism, and she wore it at..a par, like a wedding party, so it's a nice skirt. I wouldn't put it on her like on a normal day.

R: No.

S: It's a party skirt. And if we didn't have another girl, I would sell that. But I wouldn't fully charge...much for it cause it's quite used. And for her birthday we bought a dress, a really nice sort of dress for her birthday party, and she has only worn that once so far cause she has nothing to wear it for other than that.

R: So that times you sold it, you said...did you do anything with it? Or did you feel attached to it in any kind of way or not at all?

S: Not at all. I then...I think...I think I would never sell something that I felt attached to, so my mom's knitted some stuff, I would never sell that. Uhm, this, a couple of things that I've gotten from my sister that I've actually used that she said don't, don't sell it or give it away because I want my children to be able to give it to their kids which I think is (*laugh*) it's so worn, but, I mean, out of courtesy I haven't done anything to that. And yeah, some of the presents that she has gotten given that even though I didn't like it, I haven't sold it because it's a present. I think that's bad for...bad karma (K: bad karma) to do that. (S+R: Yeah) But any of the clothes I've sold I haven't cared for, and a lot of it...tags weren't even out, so I just would sell it and say it's never been worn, pay whatever you want and come and get it.

R: I had a question...

K: Is there a piece of clothes, like which you are feeling attached to it, is it like something special? I mean you said the skirt, but then you said you would sell it, so is there something which you wouldn't sell? Maybe you said the knitted clothes, (S: Yeah, hmm..) but I don't know if it's like attached because your mom made it or if it's because some special, special occasion or something happened. (Yeah).

S: Hmm....I don't think...That's really hard to say hey, because there is a lot of it where she would wear it for a certain period of time when something happened, so when she started crawling or...when she walked over the first time she wore this type of clothes a lot, but I don't think I would feel that attached to the clothes,...so everything I....I don't have an item that I am attached to in that sense. Ehm...No, I don't.

K: That's cool.

S: Yeah.

R: What kind of baby clothes have you bought like the past months?

S: (*laugh*) I bought everything in the size that she is now actually, in the past months, uhm, I have bought probably three pairs of pants and six tops and some socks and new pyjamas and a new pair of home-wear shoes and a pair of normal shoes which were actually used. Her first pair of shoes I used once, but they have never been used, but they were bought at reshopper

R: Where did you buy all these clothes?

S: Mainly H&M, and mainly it's because I don't have, actually I don't have time go out and look for clothes, and I don't enjoy it because I feel like I need...hm, a lot of the time she grows like this and she needs only clothes all at once. It's just easier to just buy it online and then just get it. (*K+R: Yeah.*) But if I wasn't able to find a couple of nice sets on H&M, I probably would go and get...I'd say we've bought a few stuff, like some stuff at magazine. But mainly, ehm, sometimes there's a toy store. and cloth store for kids which I sometimes have gone into because I needed something specific, like a pair of home-wear shoes, and I know that they have there in this brand, but then I go in there and I think, oh, I am here. I should have a look for the things, and they want to help you because that's a good service, but I just...I always sort of back out of it because I think it's slightly more expensive, and I kind of ...I don't know if I can justify the price and all that kind of stuff, and that's easy to just distrap online because then it's just my own decision. I don't have anyone trying....(*R: Don't get influenced by all this*). But if I know that like there's some things I know that I'd buy in a certain brand, like pyjamas are always the same brand because I know they fit, and they are warm and they wear nicely, so I...taking me wash tapes and they still wear nicely. Her shoes are a specific brand because I know that they are tested and good, so there's some things that I'd buy because it's the brand...I know...I recognize a brand.

R: There's some brands you have like the favourite brands?

S: Well, that's because I like wool, hmm, so Joha we use a lot. We've bought some wool this season and comparatively, they when they are washed they wear quicker, so they look worse quicker and a few of them are actually torn where the clothes that we bought that's branded Joha the wool clothes never tore, and you can't tell that it has been washed a billion times. So I quite like the brand because I can see the value in it.

R: Yeah.

S: So whereas I wanna wear, like use it again for the second wear. The stuff we got from Fotex is fine for a season, but then you can't use it again. And they have some nice hats and gloves and it's a reasonable price range. I like ehm, there's a few brands that I like because I think it's pretty. So far I had limited funds. I would buy those brands.

R: Which ones are they?

S: I like Noa n noa? Miniature? Hmm, I like...I think it's called Louis P maybe, I actually can't remember the brand, they make like big fluffy skins?? And stuff. They are very pretty.

R: Like princess like?

S: Yeah....What's the other one? enfant?. I quite like them. But I mean...

R: So would you say a style for Sally's is kind of girlish or...?

S: I think it's girlish because she is a girl. Ehm, and I think probably also...I wouldn't call it old-fashioned, but I like...hm, I don't like big bold colours and lots of patterns. I like quite simple, maybe that's there's a little bit structured but not an actual pattern or whatever. And those brands do that. I don't know what she is wearing today. She is actually wearing a Noa noa If you are here when she comes home, you can see it. I mean, but she has out of 7 or eight tops, she has one branded one, and the rest is H&M or...and she will wear that now again...I mean, she doesn't care and no one comments, so it's me, it's just me that's like ah, this would be nice today I will put that on her and that's it.

R: Do you dress her differently, like for different occasions, like if you are going out just meet some groups, you dress her in this playground or if you go to the park.

S: Hmmm, yes and no. I mean, I do if I am going to a party. If I'd wear something different, I would think about dressing her in a dress... But then I am also...It has to be comfortable as well. So...We bought her a dress for her birthday and that was a very stiff outf...(pause, moving something) I will get it. It's a very stiff dress. So it's not really for playing in it. So she wore it and in first ten minutes (*she is in distance*).

K: Aw, it's so pretty.

S: It's not a plain dress. It's a kind of thing.

K: You make pictures and then put it down.

S: Yeah, pretty much. I mean, she was fine with it. And she had hair clip in, and she gets...she's starting to understand, you know, will I look nice now? (*laugh*)

K: Aww, that's so cute.

S: And she like...put it on her head and look pretty, but then five minutes later she will be pulling at someone's hair and be horrible little brat (*laugh*) Yeah, I mean, ...yeah, the party we went to where people had come into, I...she was meant to wear a dress, but then she wasn't feeling very well in the morning, actually she was just bit grumpy, really grumpy actually. Sounds like I am not...I don't even wanna try and change her clothes because she would just get more grumpy, so we'd just leave her and the clothes that we put on her this morning. And the majority of her clothes looks nice. So...I mean...Yes, I'll think about it but if the time or her mood or whatever is it for it, I'll just leave it. (R: Hmm.) I don't care. And if it gets a lot of the time because daddy's doing breakfast, and she stills wears it to day-care because...

R: What about when you did mother group, it was like in the very beginning...(S: yeah) Is a difference there?

S: I think the very first time I thought about it a lot what she wore, and a few times after a little bit...maybe I thought about it, mainly because she...there is only two girls that were six and four boys and two girls. But not to the point where I would really do anything about it. I think I thought about it more because couple of the moms there had parents that knitted or...clothes for them, and one of the moms had this thing where she would only, he could only wear like brown and yellow and grey, like any natural colours like dirt colours. So he always looked really...we used to call him muddle baby because he always would...not because she spent a lot of money necessarily, but she...he could only buy

this one specific or have this one specific snow suit because that was (*noise*) getting in brown, the rest of the snow suits were a colour they just could not get. So like for carrying the baby, and they bought the auto model? because that was made in brown, even though it's not as good... (*noise*)

R: It's very specific.

S: Yeah, so that was I mean, I think mainly because of her I thought about it a little bit with my baby because I didn't constrict her in that sense of colour. She wore...She wears colour, just not bright colours, or this is really brown. Generally not as bright colours. So...I think...

R: So you haven't felt a pressure like from the outside?

S: Not...Not in that...my mommy group but I have...I am pretty lucky I think we had a really good group. I think other people feel a pressure, and I think that's with anything with your child. If someone comments, you get really proud, and you might make them wear that a little bit more often, but then half of time someone would comment on her and she is wearing crappy clothes on, so like okay...So it's not necessarily about the clothes, it's a...it's about other qualities. (*R mumbles into it: how she ....yeah definitely*) Yeah.

R: But have you been in a situation when you thought oh, Sally is totally warm in this context or she is like...

S: Hmmm....

R: Someone, you said someone comment on their like...their... snow suit, have you had situation where...or situations like that?

S: No, I never felt like she was dressed wrongly. I sometimes when Jason's dressed her thought I am glad we are not going anywhere today. (*laugh*) Just because...I mean...Just because it just doesn't...I mean it's better now that I buy clothes that you can't get wrong...like whatever you pick, you will sort of match. (*chuckle*) But he just...I mean he just doesn't care or he thinks that's fine she can have the sweatpants with kittens all over and then some sort of coloured flower top with it. And...

R: He really doesn't see it.

S: He just doesn't see she can't wear two pa...like and that's of course she can. She is warm. She is fine. So...I mean...If we were going anywhere, I wouldn't be coming. If we were going somewhere, I would probably change the pants.

K: Does he ever buy the clothes?

S: No.

K: No. You were the 100% or more likely buy the clothes.

S: Yes. I sometimes if it's expensive, I will talk about it mainly because it's money issue, like we have to make sure we also can buy food or whatever. (*laugh*) But generally it's me deciding what she gets and...

R: Did you get inspired by something before, buying it or...

S: No. Not really. I mean...As I said I buy most stuff online, so I'll go onto H&M's web page and then go through what they have and go...I like these things. But then I also check boot store or some...I have a few baby clothes sites that I actually quite like, they come up...I guess get it as...But they come up on my Facebook because I've liked them on Facebook.

R: Well, do you think...

There is a store called Malfe Amí (*R: Yeah.*) I think it's a mom that's just decided she really liked branded baby clothes, so she started, it's a side business to her. It's a web shop. And that comes up on...I mean that comes up on my feed, so I see it there I quite like...she has a lot of brands that I like, so in that sense I am influenced, but not so to the point where I would actually buy it.

K: Hmmm.

S: So I get an idea on...oh, these brands I like, have these colours going on, or these styles at the moment, but then I am so to see if I can find some or see more...

K: Does she...Does she blog...like have a blog or it's just a shop.

S: It's just a shop but she...if she gets an ordering, she'd generally lay out the order that she...you know, an order for a little girl, and then she would lay out the clothes...

K: Oh, yeah, yeah, okay.

S: and then I think she'll put a pair of shoes that she thinks would go well with it and a hair tie, and then she makes a photo of that and puts it on Facebook, on a group. And it comes up on my feed, so in that sense I guess I am inspired...towards some things...

R: Do you follow any blogs or anything?

S: No. I am not. No. I don't. One of the moms in my mommy group does, and she...not so much clothes but other baby stuff, she sort of knows from that. So what cream works best on red bums.

*R: laugh, Yeah.*

K: So you'd ask her if anything happens you ask her or...?

S: Yeah, well, hm...I'll ask my home mommy group (*K: yeah*) I think. We have...We have a group on Facebook, and we do still see each other, even though we are all working, probably about every two months we still see each other. And...and, we'll...ask...what did you do with this so...she would not have her teeth brushed... what did you do with that? So there is a lot of knowledge sharing in mommy groups in that sense. With clothes at all I think.

R: And who are that you talked with that about?

S: Well...clothes I don't...I think sometimes I talk to my mom about it but it that's mainly because a lot of the time she wore out of everything all at same time, and it's stressful, trying to get it all and it's expensive So I will talk to her about that how it's expensive and that's frustrating, and she will be like well you just get it used and now...I guess I could, but I don't want to. You know, she is just sensible. And other times I'd talk...like I have a good friend and she wants to have a baby, so she just listens because she thinks it's an interesting thing that I am like...but then I look here and I quite like that

brand and I think, I mean I can't justify using it you know, so I will have that...? what shall be like... or then just buy it at H&M.

R: Yeah. Are there any brands that you would never buy?

S: Yes...because I don't like their style. Hmm. What are their names? Hmmm. It's actually F...what's it called? Phillip Feline.? And there's another one that has lots of colours.

R: because they had with the colour she doesn't like?

S: There is too much colour. Too much pattern. Then other one with apples and the different colours apple...that I can't even rem...see? I can't even remember the brand names. *(laugh)* I just look at them. Ugh. She cannot wear all that colour all at once, it's too much. I can't remember the brand but generally like Hummel for example, I don't quite...I don't really like that either because it's too much...you can...it always has a big label right there, and I don't like that. I like them more subtle, sort of branding in that sense.

R: Are there some brands where you think people would then get me in a certain way if I wear these and these brands like..?

S: I think I judge people who dress their babies top-to-toe in those really colourful brands that I recognize. I can't remember the names of them right now. I judge them because I think...I think they put it on their babies to...to show the world that I've bought these clothes because it's so recognizable. It's so easy to see that's that brand. I can't remember the name, you know. *(laugh)* Anyways, they are very easy to recognize where Noa Noa and Enfant And those brands that I quite like I can recognize it because I look at their pages and like their designs, and sometimes I'll buy one or two things. But it's not classic It's not outwear. It's not...so I think that's the difference. I think I judge in that sense that...

R: that if they have like too much kind of brand...

S: Yeah, because it's very...I mean...I guess it's the same for adults. If adults wore, you know, a full outfit in Nike. You know, you would look at them and go okay so you pay what? Two and half brand for that outfit because you know that, it's inherent, and you cant ignore that. That's a brand and it cost this much where it's the same for baby clothes, those brands that you can recognize, and generally the colourful one, Hummel has a big brand on it all, or Adidas shoes or whatever.

K: Especially the one who cannot it *(laugh)*

S: Yeah, lots of them. Yeah, exactly. And they wear it. And it's not good for the baby to wear shoes, and they can't even walk that's...I mean...that's another discussion.

K: When you said you like...like simplicity...like on the clothes...Do you dress yourself like...Would you say your style is also simplicity or you would use more pattern or like...

S: No.

K: No.

S: It's definitely the same. I mean...if I am going out. If I am doing something...I have a dress that's so lot's of flowers and colours. But on an everyday basis it's, you know, one colour cardigan and another colour top and a pair of jeans. So it's probably very similar. I hate Jason says it's the same. *(laugh)* So Sally has a lot of grey because mom has a lot of grey. Yeah.

....(*Telephone is ringing*) S: Whoa. I wonder who that is. Probably Jason....

K: Did anybody who you consider like a baby clothes expert?

S: A friend or?

K: Yeah, anybody like who...I don't know if you...

S: Like if I followed a blog and I knew that they

K: You just did it that they are very interested in it or..or? They are really like oh don't buy this because it was made in China in bad working conditions, no by this because this is organic made in...handmade in Thailand.

S: Not...not someone I would go and ask for advice.

K: Okay.

S: But I know that...like I have some friends that think about whether it's organic more like that mommy mommy group that would only buy brown and so on. I know that she...if I went and asked her, she would be able to tell me...

K: Okay.

S: That you know, don't buy from H&M unless you could see there is an ink...? label because otherwise it's Cambodian children that's made all. She is very active in that sense. Ehm...I have a friend whose really good friend has to stay at home of her mom, so all she does is investigate, you know, which shoes are better to wear at this stage of development or...But I don't go looking for...I don't ask for advice in that sense on like baby clothes.

K: I wonder if there is like online forum or something like this or no...

S: There probably is, but I haven't looked for it, and I don't think...(K: Yeah) And I don't think I would conform to it really.

R: Is there one piece of clothes that Sally has that you really love?

S: Hmm...I think Jason, is mo..., my husband, is more attached to her clothes than I am (R: Yeah? *laugh*) cause he picks up certain things she wears...hmm...no, not one piece. No. There's certain sets that I...I think she looks cuter, but not to the point where I would like not sell it or always put her in that if I could...

Oh, look who is here...

(pause)

Ehm. This is, I mean, probably if I had to pick something out of her clothes right now, this top is probably my favourite. But I would still sell it.

(pause)

They have this stuff on when they come home from day-care and, I mean...

K: Are you drawing something?

K: Just the sharing online...is there any...any...hmm...well, if you like something very much on her, if she's like cute, do you like take picture of it and put it online? On your Facebook? Or sharing it with your friends or...send it to your mom? Look how cute she is today!

S: Hmm. Nooo. I mean...I am very restrictive with Facebook, I don't put many pictures up, so I would never do that. I would never say look how cute she is in this clothes. But I have friends who do that. I will send a picture to one of my friends if she is wearing something that they've given her, that I think she looks cute. But generally I send pictures to my friends because she is doing something cute (*laugh*) rather than she is wearing...that she is doing something, and then she seems to be wearing something that makes her look cute or so but...

K: Yeah, yeah.

R: not because of...

S: ...not because of what she is wearing. No. I think once, yeah, we took one for that she got like a headband with a little bow on and we put it on her, and she was like (*laugh*) what are you doing? We took a photo of that.

K: Okay.

S: We uploaded it on snap chat or something.

K: It's so cute.

S: With the caption what are you doing to me? (*laugh*) That's maybe because she reacted like that.

K: Yeah, it's not because of the....Yeah, that's ...good!...S: Yeah. K: Thank you.

S: That's okay.....



## APPENDIX 7: EXAMPLE OF CODING

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Interview with Cathrine

Child: Freja, 6 months

Location: In the mother's apartment in Østerbro

Interviewers: Kate and Rebecca

I: Ida

K: Kate

R: Rebecca

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R: First of all, this interview is anonymous... so don't be afraid of saying anything. We are doing research for our master thesis about baby clothes. We are researching how first time mothers in CPH see the baby clothes, how you feel about it, how you use it and so on. We have prepared some questions but we wanted this to be more like conversation so you would not feel stressed. This is [pointing at the interview guide] more like a guidance for us. So maybe if you can start by explaining how do you see yourself as a mum?

C: I see myself as a very back-to-basic kind of mum. Very down to earth, I hope. And it's just pretty much...learn by doing. And of course, I'd like to see myself as quite loving and caring and...calm, I would say I'm pretty calm.

R: How has it changed you to become a mother, if you think it has?

C: I'm very worried about...anything and everything. Actually...it's the hardest thing I worry about, sometimes, when I hear a track go by, I think about "*Oh my god, it's a Russian tank, we've been invaded, what can I do now*"... (laughing) But, also I feel... I don't really feel different from who I was before, it's just... I just feel like myself but now with a baby (laughing). I don't feel at all restricted or limited, I just, I guess that I accepted that things have changed and that's how things are now.

K: How did your free time change?

C: Well. At first, this baby's been, she's been very so I mean, I've had a lot of free time, I felt. But I guess what I did before, well, I don't see friends as much anymore because they have jobs and school but I see my sisters a lot and I do the same thing. I mean when she's...at night, I've been out to dinners and I visit friends "and when she's put to bed" I guess it's changes a little...Also, one of the things that changes when you have a baby, you don't remember everything that happened before (laughing) I don't remember really what I did before (laughing) But I...I guess I also have less free time because when I look at (the clock) when I go to bed it's like...nine. That's the latest "*please let me go to bed*"

R: Yeah, you become more tired so you have to sleep

C: Yeah.

R: And...Yeah, I guess that's pretty much

R: What about, like, if we're talking about...baby clothes,

[Pause, a conversation not related to the interview]

R: But if we're talking about baby clothes, what would you say you look after when you choose it?

C: I look for...affordable prices, but I also...I don't really buy too much baby clothes because my mother-in-law, she knits, and my own mum, she sews so she's making a lot...these trousers are by my mum, this sweater's by my mother-in-law and...so the things I purchase, I guess they're not the cheapest but... I don't really buy too much baby clothes.

K: What did you buy last time?

C: I bought...this pantyhose...or leggings so that's what it was.

R: Do you remember from which brand it was?

C: Yeah, they're from NP and I bought them online on a...I pretty much buy everything online because there are no shipping fees and a big store that carries all the brands, so...

R: Okay, what is that site?

C: Kids world.

C: So I bought these and they are from NP.

R: And do you then...like when you select...buy... do you find inspiration anywhere or is it because you miss something, you go in there, how is it working?

C: I look at a lot of stuff on Instagram, actually, that I wanna buy. And then I also go to the very expensive store Pure baby that's right down here and I look at all the things and go "Wow, this would be so cute" But...I mean, the thing is just that I don't think it's worth buying it because she doesn't really use that much clothes. So when I...I pretty much just know, well, what does she need, is there something broken or is she always cold on her feet, and I will buy a couple of slippers or something like that. And I actually always... I mean, it's very rare that she's wearing something that actually fits her (laughing) because I always buy it one size too big.

R: That's smart. So she can wear it for longer time.

C: Yeah. And because I do think that it's okay to spend a bit more because then it lasts longer, because she is using it, you know.

R: Would you say you would prefer branded clothes to what's non-branded clothes?

C: Yeah, I would.

R: Why?

C: For example, these...are they called pantyhose?

R: Yeah.

C: I...I've had some from H&M and the elastic band just wasn't that good, it got loose and it's annoying that it won't stay up and so I've decided to buy from this brand that I've read about that it should be the best and it costs twice as much but they're just...I don't see that they've been worn that much and they just...they're the same as when I bought them. And...So, I just decided that I'll just have one pair or two pairs instead of, you know, five different colours from H&M and then I'm happy about the quality. And I think that's money well spent.

R: What about, you said that you were looking or found inspiration in Instagram, is it like a special person you are following or...?

C: Yes. It's a couple of people. Do you want names or...?

R: If you remember?

C: There's a photographer called Maria Frank, she has two beautiful little girls and she buys them matching clothes, expensive clothes, and I look at them and I think that it's just, it looks very nice and...Then it's actually a few women from adult women's fashion that just happen to have babies. So I think one is called... Jeeny Morgensol, she works at Stine Gaaarde, she has a very cute baby. And there's a girl called Lou, that is also from Stine Gaaarde, she's just had a little baby also and she buys expensive clothes and very nice, so that's... And I, I just look at them and think "Aw, that's so nice", and then I go "Mum, can you make these?" (laughing)

R: That's a good thing about your mum being able to sew.

C: Yeah. But I don't really care too much about dressing her up, I don't...I mean, when I go to my own closet, I just want to pull out something that I know will fit and that matches, you know, everything else and it's the same thing with her, I don't care for staying there, looking in the drawer: "Ooh, my little baby will look good today ...she...sailor?" you know (laughing). I just put on, you know, one of the sweaters that my mother-in-law knitted and then, you know, she has four or something trousers, and, it comes out and it's dirty and then...I don't really change it that much.

R: Would you say that when you are home or when you go out, is there any difference in how you dress her?

C: Yeah. Always if we go visit my mum, I put on something she made (laughing) to stay with my mother and if I see my friends, yeah, I definitely have a couple of outfits that I would say "This looks...", you know, "this is something that I think she looks even better in", you know... Yes, so I definitely think about that. So in that way, I guess I dress her up.

K: Do you ever take pictures of her, of what she's wearing?

C: For the purpose of showing what she is wearing, or just...?

K: Yeah, yeah. You know, like a....

C: No. Although, I do, I think if I look at the pictures that I post...nej (Danish)...I definitely, if I take a picture and it's showing an outfit that I like, I would definitely think "Wow, she looks even better" if you've had stepped with me in my mind, yeah.

R: Do you think...maybe it's a hard question to answer...are you unconsciously thinking about how other people see her when you dress her?

C: Yes. It's not unconscious at all, actually. I mean, first, when they're little, there's the issue of kind of wanting people to recognize that it's a girl...because you...you often can't tell the first moment because it's just a soft face...

R: So do you think that it should be like girl's colours...?

C: Yeah, at least something to represent the gender.

R: Yeah.

C: But... I don't care that you can recognize the brand, I just care that it looks as if it's not dirty and worn out or doesn't really fit or...anything, so.

R: But how come that you're thinking about these stuff?

C: I don't know actually. I think because I... I look at a... I guess that I like to look at pretty stuff, I like the whole polished image that you find on Instagram, for example. I mean, I like it in the way that it's nice to look at, and don't like the whole thing that is...you know, that is, in a broader picture, what it's doing to my behaviour and society and women and... (laughing) you know. But... guess it's, I also think that if they look at her and you know, she's a little... sort of... not, I mean, not cheap-looking, I guess I think it's reflects somewhat on me and I don't want to look as if I'm not taking care of her.

K: Is there like... before, while you were pregnant, have you imagined that you'll dress her in certain way?

C: Yes.

K: Is it different from...how it is now?

C: How it is now?

K: Yes.

C: Yes. I had an idea that I'll probably use a pile of these amazing clothes that I see on Instagram and but then, I mean, I see the prices and I guess that they're a little too high for me, it's not worth it. And then, plus, you get...I mean, people, they throw clothes at you. Um, everyone. Yeah, it's just: "Ooh, you had a baby, theirs is a...thousand things..." (laughing) Um, so... I forgot what I was about to say.

K: If you imagined that you'd dress her differently before and after?

C: Um...I guess I dress her a little bit different. Just because I don't...a lot of the clothes I don't buy myself.

R: What about, when you get clothes, or when they make clothes for you, um...or maybe more when they make clothes for you, is it then their own style they're doing it in or do they ask you...?

C: No. I've done a lot of lobbying (laughing) With my own mum, it's easy to say: "Aah, really...?" and with my mother-in-law, I... I did, kind of "Ooh, look at this, it's so nice!" (laughing) And it's actually, she tends to show me something: "Oh, isn't this cute?" and then I can say: "Well... not really." But I think that they both have pretty much the same...same style as me. There have been a couple of things and I'd say "No, that's not really my...for me." And then, there was something that they made themselves and they go: "No, don't put her in that."

R: So what's the difference?

C: It's the colour, that they see, for example, in a store...my mum, she buys the fabrics at the same store and then she goes "Ah, this looks so cute" when she's there and then she comes and then: "It's totally not her colour."

R: Are there some colours you would never put on her?

C: Um...anything neon, anything that doesn't go with purple because everything is purple when Eh, no. I don't... I have very few things that have a pattern, because... I don't like patterns, I just don't know why, it confuses me a lot, I get... I don't like patterns on myself... and then I guess, I mean, she does have like that little stuff with flowers and she looks cute in it but I... I don't like... And I also don't like all the Disney characters and everything. I don't believe that, you know, there are some people that think: "Oh, it's so important that children have real children's clothes" that you could tell: "Oh, this is for a child." But I mean, when it's this size and it's obvious that it is for a child so I don't really need that whole...Okay, here is a crocodile riding a...banana boat or something.

R: What about the clothes you got as a present, is there anything that you have received that you don't want to put on her?

C: Yes. Um...yeah, there is... she got like... little Nike shoes and I guess they're cute in the store but like, she can't use them for anything and I... I don't like... I think it's... it was too, sort of, look at me, I've spend 300 kroners on a pair of shoes that won't work but it's Nike and... Then there a couple of um, some underwear, that had, like, ---- because they have short sleeves I didn't use them actually... and what else... Actually I didn't um... a lot of the stuff that I got for her she's not grown into it yet. And I also got a little, I, the first couple of months I've just borrowed a lot of clothes from my co-worker and I also... you know, she's... she's got a lot of clothes that are... inherited by my cousins and...

R: Did you then choose everything or was there something like you picked them like "This, I want the..."

C: Yeah, I picked them. And then, sometimes they bring me something, that they think: "Ooh, this is what you would like..." and then it's a pink sweater with a... it's a Burberry sweater with a Burberry bee and I don't like that (laughing)

R: Does that something to do with that it's Burberry?

C: Yes. 100%. I don't like showing...um... It's like actually a very nice sweater. It's a... you know, good quality, I guess, but I don't like... that it has a...

R: Because you don't like that it's too big a brand when/like you see it...?

K: Do you think it's like showing off?

C: Yeah. I think that if I'd put her in it, people would think: "Oh my God, there goes one of the mums and it's so important for her to show that she's bought an expensive blouse for her kid. So, actually, it's, I mean, it's a nice pink sweater but I guess it's because... you know, what it would say about me or what I would think about someone who did that

R: What if the logo was covered and you couldn't see it?

C: Fine, then it would be perfectly fine.

R: Now, you say what you would maybe think about other people if they put on logos... Can you elaborate more?

C: I think it's... it's just... if I see someone, we have one in my eh... group of mothers, and she always she has all these, all kinds of expensive baby clothes, Ralph Lauren, Burberry skirts, just anything that is high... high price. And I, I just think that it's too much, it's a... it's a dress-up, it's like the baby's a little doll and you wanna reflect some kind of perfect image via the baby, so... But I mean, I know she's gotta shitloads of money so, I mean, I get that she wants to buy it, she... it just doesn't matter for her.

R: But do you think it represents kind of the mother's values or...?

C: Yeah. I think it's... I just think it's unnecessary to... I mean, it's too much money to spend on so little fabric that they'll fit in for a month and a half. So I just, I don't see the point. And I don't really think that it's... I... I think it's... you are too materialistic person when you do that. I mean... I sound very judging. (laughing) I am very judging.

R: What about when you dress Freja, do you then think that other people judge you as well?

C: Yeah. I do.

R: Is it something that you think about?

C: Yeah, I do, actually, but I don't... I don't care that someone who buys expensive clothes thinks that: "Oh my God, she's wearing that, and it's... where did she get that, is it really home-made or is that a fault here, she's not..." I mean, I don't care that the people that I dislike dislike what I'm doing, I mean, it's obvious that you hate when they... when the people that I judge don't judge but then I feel like "Oh, such a judgmental person..." (laughing) I don't mean in terms of things that people judge me much more than they do in terms of clothes.

R: Have you ever experienced ...or is it?

C: No, I haven't, actually.

R: Never?

C: Always jealous that she has these nice home-made nips, for example, because they cost a fortune if you buy them in the store.

R: But when you then think that other think something about you, what is it that you think of?

C: What I think they think about me? Well, I worry that if they'd think that she's dressed poorly or... yeah, poorly, I don't care about if they think it's fashionable, just if they think it looks, you know, worn out, I worry that they think that I live in an apartment that I don't vacuum and I don't shower and I probably don't clean my kitchen and... Yeah, so that's that kind of things

R: Unhygienic.

C: Yeah, that's what I think. Because I... if I see a child and then I think: "Really? You couldn't have, you know, changed that sweater with the old food on it before you went out? Or you probably live in a house where your dog has hair everywhere and when you see something, you just put it on the floor and leave it or...yeah.

K: Have you ever sold or given away any of her clothes?

C: I haven't sold anything because I don't have anything that... you know, when I look at what people sell, it's not anything that people buy, they...they are particularly interested in the expensive and brands... I don't have anything of that, so. Plus, I know, we'll have a couple of more kids so there's no point selling it. I keep it, yeah. But I do buy some used clothes.

R: Yeah? Like at where ?

C: People on Instagram, they have a separate Instagram account for selling their baby's clothes. And it's...a... I mean, they have bought a ton of clothes for their babies because a lot of what they sell hasn't really been used.

R: What about when you buy clothes that have been used, do you do something to it before she's using it?

C: Um... Yeah, I just wash it.

R: Is that... Why is that, to get it clean or that it would smell or...?

C: Just because, you know, I don't know what kind of detergent they washed it in and I want it to be without perfume and everything and I don't know where they kept it or... Just, you know, it's just that. It feels more new when it's just washed.

K: Do you also wash new clothes you purchase?

C: Yes, everything. I wash everything before using it. Once, I forgot to wash some of my clothes and I got a rash. And it was underwear, so it was not good. (laughing)

R: It's always good to wash it (laughing)

R: What about when you inherit a lot of... or borrow, some of the clothes, did you think about that you were putting another child's personality on her or you chose the one you thought chose her or like...

C: Did I think about...?

R: If there's like personality attached to the clothes?

C: No, don't think about that at all. The only thing I think about is: is this... do I think that it looks... is it in an okay condition? Or does it look too...too worn out? That's the only thing. I don't ever think about who's worn it before.

R: What about, you said there were some styles that were absolutely not your kind of style. So you think that your style is kind of representative in this case?

C: Um... When I buy it or...?

R: When you buy it or when you choose it, just in general?

C: Yeah, I only buy, I would never buy anything just because she needs something to wear and then buy anything, I would always buy something that I would feel like it goes with all the other stuff and that I think it's nice and goes with the whole...well, how I'd like to see my baby. (laughing)

R: What about in the beginning, how did you know what to choose for her?

C: I didn't choose anything, I got a lot of second-hand and I borrowed a lot so it was just...I...I chose what I wanted to borrow and I just didn't know the gender at the time so I just took all whites and the greys and... Yeah, I just... she wore a lot of white and grey, actually, so...

K: So you didn't know if she's gonna be a girl or a boy?

C: No. So like, that was actually a very good idea in terms of shopping because I went to a lot of stores before she was born and you see: "Oh, this is so cute..." and then I just, and I couldn't buy it. Because, I mean, it was such a good...good thing for me.

K: I haven't thought about it this way. (laughing)

C: Because I think if I knew the gender before she was born I would've bought a lot of... a lot more, and I wouldn't have used it.

R: Did you buy something before she was born?

C: Ah yeah, I bought a couple of... what did I buy? Um... some body stockings, I think, um... And then a sleep suit. But um... but she was so big when she was born, so she couldn't fit in it (laughing).

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But it... I knew that I could borrow all the baby clothes so I didn't... I didn't buy too much.

R: But you kept it here, at home?

C: Yeah, I did. But, when... I mean, there definitely came a time when she was like a month, month and a half, that I felt like: Okay, I put her in the white, small, gender neutrals and now I need, I mean, I felt like...oh, but that was that, she was just a couple of weeks. Um... then I felt like: "Okay, she needs to own something of her own, I mean, she deserves, I mean like...I guess I got a little...

R: How come you felt that she deserved some kind of her own...?



C: Um... I think it was just because I could finally pick something that I liked and that had an... and of course that wasn't in pink.

K: Is there a piece of clothing that you feel attached to? That you would never give away? Even to your cousins or anyone? You would just keep it forever?

C: Yeah, all the...she has, um... some home-knitted sweaters that I would never do like this...that's very nice and know that my mother-in-law, she took a lot of time making them and I think they are very, very pretty. I'd never give them away.

But...um...something that I bought... I don't, I'm not sure I have any feelings really attached to it. No, I don't...

R: So it's more because they've spent a lot of time and...

C: Yeah, it's personal.

K: And...you said...before, at the beginning, you said you had a favourite shop here on the corner? Pure baby, was it called? Is it like something you wish to buy or...or...but you never bought anything from it?

C: I would buy pretty much everything. If I had unlimited means, I'd buy...

K: Why from there? Why is it special?

C: Um... Well, it's special because it has...it's all organic and... It just has the colour scheme that I like, sort of. It's um... sort of, douche, sort of, does that make...um...sort of, pastel colours and um...not too bright and materials are really like wool...for most of the things...and they have a lot of wool and also...because I just... I've heard and I've read and seen that the quality is... it's just nice, you can just tell... and she does have some things from Bilka, for example and it's alright, I mean, it fits, it's fine, but you can just tell that if you've washed it, it just turned more grey... and... loses a lot of flexibility and...

R: Who do you talk about baby clothes with? If you do talk about it.

C: I don't, actually. Not about designs or anything like that. Just um... I talk to, well, my mum and my mother-in-law about what to make next but... I don't really talk to anyone about it. Because...it's just...this whole...um...eh (a pause, Freja crying) I'll be back.

---- [pause, discussion not related to the interview

C: I think that before I gave birth I just, I read a lot about... people... that there are a lot of Instagram people that just had babies and all the comments and stuff. And you have to be super careful, I mean, you have to be so open to everything and just accept that everyone does everything different and, you know, no matter how you do it, it's just as good as Instagram. So I feel, that when it comes to everything, also baby clothes, don't step on anyone's toes because we're all rookies, and it's really, I mean, it's so difficult not to just say what you mean sometimes. Not about the clothes but about everything else. And I don't really... the only one I talk to it about is basically my boyfriend because he... I bought some stuff she didn't really use and then, it cost money too, so...he would say: "No, no, no..."

R: Does he pick clothes for her as well?

C: No. He doesn't. But he does like to...when I, if I bought something, you know, sometimes, he would say: "Ooh..." you know, I could just tell he's gonna think it's so cute, so... But for example, I wanna buy her a sunhat for the summer because she can sit in her stroller with it and it's from a... a brand called Soft gallery, I saw it on Instagram of one of the mothers and I thought it was amazing, it costs 200 kroners and you can buy one for 45 if that's what you want, or 50, or you can buy a used one. But I want this one. So...I told him about it because it's...

R: And that's because of the design...?

C: Yeah. It's very cute.

R: Do you notice what other children are wearing?

C: Um...do I no.... yeah. But only... I don't notice it and then go: "Wow, this is amazing, I want that. I guess I only... sometimes, I find myself looking for... because I know a lot of the brands and the stuff that they produce because I... I window shop a lot. And then I see, if someone's wearing it, and I go: "Oh my God, did they really spend 800 kroners on that jacket" or something... So, actually.

R: So it's more when you think something is kind of stupid then if you think that (laughing)

C: Yes. Exactly. Yeah. But... I've never looked at someone and said: "Oh, where did you buy that, I want that!" Never, no. You know, she has enough clothes, um, yeah. (Pause). But, I mean sometimes, I think about, I don't... there are, I mean, unlimited numbers of web shops, that have all the same brands, I mean, they carry the same brands pretty much everywhere and I just, I can't believe how they can all profit from, I mean, selling the same clothes as all the big department stores also do but I guess there's... a lot of people must, like, buy it, although I think it's reasonably priced... but, yeah. But, I mean, yeah, I guess just people, a lot of people buy a lot of stuff. I'm very surprised about how many outlets there are with children clothes. Just, in my neighbourhood, right here, I mean, I can... in the radius of 200 meters, there are one, two, three, four, five, six... eight stores that sell children's clothes.

R: Wow, that's a lot. Do they sell kind of the same thing?

C: A lot of the same brands, yeah. And I... I can't imagine how that works. I mean, how many babies can there really be to put clothes on? (laughing)

R: Have you actually... or, do you know if there are any brands which are more popular than others? Like, more trendy, or giving more prestige?

C: I think trendy - yeah. Um... There's the whole... The whole eco, wool, natural... There's a brand called Serendipity that a lot of people buy and Silana or Silena, I don't know, and Wheat and then there's a whole other, um, sort of more hip and fun, a lot of people buy that Mini Wutiny that has lot of fun, sort of patterns. And... then, there is... I think what a lot of people that I know that when they need something basic, they just go to Carl-Johan. Just because they have... I mean, it's... I mean, it's an okay price for what you get.

R: When you buy branded clothes, which brands do you prefer?

C: Well... I prefer the NP for all the accessories and socks and stuff. And then I prefer a brand called Small Stuff for... her body stockings because she's quite long in her upper body and they just have a better fit, a lot of bodies have a wide fit because a lot of little babies get very chubby. But she's very long so that's why. But they are actually a little bit more expensive and... but she has a couple of them and they look like they're new although she's... there's been... I mean, everything on them. So, yeah.

R: What about clothes from supermarket, do you buy that?

C: Yeah. Bilka and Føtex have their own brand in a way, they make a lot of wools as well, and it's actually a very good quality for the price so she has some stuff from there, sleep suits and body stockings? as well. But I don't go to Super brugsen and look at what they have and

R: Only Bilka and Fotex?

C: Yeah, and that's purely to buy their wool section and I don't care about any of the other stuff.

R: How come that you don't care about the other stuff?

C: Because I... she doesn't need it... I don't, I mean, she just doesn't need it.

R: Now you've said that you're judgemental of all the other parents who just put their children into any, like, flashy brands... What about if a mother only uses supermarket clothes for her child?

C: I don't, I don't actually care about that. I don't. I think there are a lot of nice designs that you can buy there but... Yeah, I don't actually mind at all. It's just all I... all I ever think about is... is the state that the clothes are in. Like, I wouldn't put something that was totally worn out on her. Yeah, I would think: "Why would I put it on her" and I guess that's stupid because she won't notice but it's for my own sake. But I actually don't know, I mean, I don't what... some clothes, you can tell: "Okay, that's from this and this brand." And I can't tell if it's from a supermarket. Because I don't know the designs. So, I don't really think about it. But I would say... in my, sort of, circle of mums, they don't buy anything... the kids' stuff... from a supermarket.

R: No?

C: No. They... it's... quite a rich area. So... and they have... I mean, one of them even has a subscription so that she gets new clothes every month... I mean (laughing)

R: Do you know where it is from? The subscription?

C: Eh... what is it called... I don't remember what it's called... You know, some of the...

R: There's one... Vigga

C: Yeah. And it's like, 300 a month or something, and then she also buys clothes, so um... and then she also complains that the child, um, support that you get is too low, eh (laughing) and you go: "Oh, you think? Maybe you should not spend all your money on the clothes..." (laughing)

K: I see.

C: Yeah.

R: It is something you talk about then when you are in your mother group

C: No. That was just that she just bought it and she had to announce it, she thought it was so amazing... So that's pretty much what we talked about. No, actually, sometimes, if there's a stock sale, um, then we talk about that. But that would also just be if there was one of the, more expensive brands and then we would go to a stock sale. But, I mean... I don't know what I would buy. She doesn't need anything. She has everything she needs.

R: You said previously, in the beginning, and of course we also know that in the beginning, when you are mother for the first time and people who you know have different ways of doing things and um, of being sensitive about it, um... And you said also, it has also something to do with the clothing... Do you think that some people, some mothers, kind of see you, okay, if you dress in one way, you are kind of a better mum then if you'd do it in the other way, is that why it's so sensitive or... Is that why it is, is that like um...?

C: Yeah, it's just...eh... I just think that it's the whole... our sort of generation, that it's just... Because there's so much that you can read about and so much you can look up and... then you can really, just sort of see how many different ways there are of doing things. And... I think that sometimes, you... There's a lot of, in my opinion, today, that is just sort of: "Oh, it's so hard to have babies. So, so, so hard, and you can't do anything, and you won't get any sleep, and you won't get any of this, and you won't get any of that, and then: "Oh my God, I have a few extra pounds" and... It's just... it's, I mean, it is what it is and I got plenty of sleep but that's because I... I just... I knew that, I told my... I mean, there are just some things that you have to tell yourself, like: "I don't wanna put up with this, even if she's two months old and doesn't do it on purpose but then you just have to do something about it. And then, I mean, there's just too much: "Well, I guess that's just how it... Oh, she won't eat, well, what is it now" and...

R: You felt that this is something negative...? I mean, negative about um... how stressful it is...?

C: Yeah, I think so. And I think that... You know, before... it's like... it's not... you don't have a baby and then you take on this whole baby project, so... all of the mums from my circle of mums... or mothers group... before they had their babies they all bought different things that they thought that they would need. So, they have one crib for the living room. They have the crib for the bedroom. Then they have crib you can hang from the ceiling when they won't sleep and there's this one that plays this melody and then there's this one that plays another and in my I mean, I didn't buy anything. In my opinion, if the baby needs to sleep, she needs some matrass and something to put over her, that's, that's all she needs. And I think that the more you buy and then also clothes, I mean, the more you just, you make up problems for yourself and you make up this, sort of, non-existent situations of "I'll do it myself, I can handle it myself but it's just that.... I mean, the child doesn't need something... fancy to wear.

K: Do you think this, like, information overload is because of the advertisement or...?

C: I, it's because of social media, they are so important to... to represent, you know, certain image... Yeah and, you know, I'm drawn to it myself, I can tell that the people that I look at, I think: "Oh, wow, what an amazing. You have this .. full of fresh flowers and fresh coffee and... But, I mean, that's not really the truth.

R: So do you think they paint a false picture?

C: Yeah, I think that.

R: But do you think it has something to do with the culture then, um, that like, there is this pressure on you to buy all these different kind of stuff, or...? Where do you think it comes from? Is it the social media?

C: Yeah, and I think it's because the people are older when they have babies, so it's, eh... To me, I haven't cut off a whole era of my life. The mums that I know, they're maybe 30, 35, they have a career and everything and suddenly, you know... it's whole shift in their whole life, so I just think that they... you know, they just go all in, whereas it's not really that different, I mean, I didn't do too much before, I was a... student, I had plenty of time on my hands, I didn't have any obligations or it's not really that big a difference to me and... Also, I don't have the means, so I don't really take on the whole...new world and...

R: Do you think that there is a difference in between, for instance, how our parents' generation, how it was back then and then how it is now?

C: I think there's a huge difference. I mean, babies today are spoiled and... well, here you go (laughing) I think that they... overcomplicate it, I think that babies today don't get any peace from their... I don't think that mums should drag their babies to cafés every day and meet with friends because "I'm so bored and unfulfilled because I have to stay at home" I think that's...eh... I think that mums, a lot of mums, they are very selfish and... yeah, I actually think that, I think about a lot of mums that are very selfish and... Because, obviously, you can't go out as much and you can't do as much as before but you know, you gotta, you have a... a whole life ahead to make sure that you sort of sculpt in the best possible way for your baby and I think that... when I go... for example, if I'm out and she's in the stroller or something, I see mums eh... you know, sitting like this, jumping the baby around because she's a little... you know, I mean, she's (baby crying) And then, you know, with their cell phone in the other hand eh... you know, because they have to talk to someone, obviously, very important and listen to them or whatever ... and I just, when I'm on maternity, I don't even need my Facebook app because I just don't wanna be...you know, this mum, sitting like this. I mean, you have to say: "Well, okay, I decided to have a baby, now I'll focus on that."

(Long pause, the interviewers talking, the interviewee taking care of the baby)

K: Is there any recommendation you want to to give us, maybe? Not that we are pregnant but just, you know, for the future? Do you have anything to say?

C: Yes. When you have a baby, just, you know, take...just...you know, your initial or your style should be that it's...it's not your job to do everything for her, you have to help her to find out how... I mean, how to do things. So, for example, a lot of babies, they don't like to have their diapers changed because it's a new situation but you just have to... A lot of the mums in my mother's group, they couldn't change them without having the vacuum on or the...for drying your hair on, they had to make a sound before their babies would calm down and I can't help but thinking: Your baby did not pop out saying: "I do not wanna be on this table if you don't put this on." So I just think that you have to be very calm and say: "Okay, she doesn't like that, I'll just teach her how to like it" because I mean, you have to be able to change your baby, I mean, that's the...and...

K: I've never thought about it. Like, about this, you know...

C: I think they just... you know, I think that they can do anything, it's just to sort of help them realize it. And then – don't buy stuff, you don't need stuff, just... you know, all she needs really, is just...

K: Well, you.

R: But this stuff when don't buy stuff people ... do you think that people buy a lot of stuff they do not need?

C: Yeah, don't buy a special crib because you automatically assume that your baby won't sleep. I mean, of course your baby will sleep.

R: But do you think people do that because they think they will be better mothers or why do you they do that?

C: I think they do it because they think that their baby needs it. I think they need... "My baby needs this that can swing because then she will sleep." But your baby will sleep - if you teach her to sleep in the bed, then she will sleep in the bed. And... if you... eh... you know, a lot of people from my mums group, they have some devices for them that... in order to teach them how to stay on their tummy because you have to keep the babies on their stomach to make them stronger and then... Then they say: "My baby won't be on its stomach." And I say: "Why won't it be on its stomach?" "Oh, it starts crying." And then, when they're together, they can go "Woo" and the mum's like "Oh no!"

R: Are they worried or...?

C: I mean, of course, you'll say "Woo", because it's hard but it's, what are you gonna do, are you gonna lay her on her back and then she won't be able to hold her own head? That doesn't work. And then... For example, now, they had to learn how to go from their back to their stomach, you know, you can help them, you know... entice them with a toy and when I did that, the mums, they were like: "Oh, so, what did you do ... something.?" "I showed her the toy and then put it over and I helped her" and she's like: "Oh but I bought this one and it spins around and then you can put it in a different angle and that will show the baby and..." Well.

R: Do you think that's it's because you're younger that you did it like that or do you think it's just...?

C: but I'd say like 100% that it is so. And I don't think that because you get a child you're 10 years older than me, you can be... I just think that... the mothers, they've been waiting and waiting and waiting for this baby and then, I mean, they just...of course they, it's a blessing when they come and then they wanna do everything so right and I think that sometimes, you'll do everything right without, you know, a lot of stuff... You just... don't need a lot of stuff. Don't buy that, that's my... (laughing)

R: Do you have anything ... about what you want to x us about the baby clothes, do you think something specific, like anything

C: Um... not really, I think that's... no, no other that I think that it's crazy how much of it people are buying and... and how... No, I think the crazy part is how much, how many places that are selling it and running, you know. I mean, I could make a proper business, you know, opening another web shop??... (laughing)

R: if you go to like the organic place??? or things like that, is that something you think about...?

C: Yeah, I think a little bit. But I think more about the... how I wash it, you know, sort of stuff like that. But I don't think it hurts to buy organic stuff. But I also think a lot of people survive wearing non-organic stuff. I mean, this is not organic.

K: Thank you very much

	Time		Organic
	Financial Responsible		Supermarket = non branded
	Hand craftet clothes		Rented clothing
	Online shopping		Generation
	Social Media		
	Physical Shops		
	Branded clothes		
	Quality		
	Dressing up		
	Presents		
	Culture		
	Representation of the mother		
	Colours		
	Reference Group		
	Chemicals		
	Divestment Ritual		
	Inherited clothes		
	First clothing		

## APPENDIX 8: JANTE LAW

Jantelovens ti bud	
1.	Du skal ikke tro at du er noget.
2.	Du skal ikke tro du er lige så meget som os.
3.	Du skal ikke tro du er klogere end os.
4.	Du skal ikke bilde dig ind at du er bedre end os.
5.	Du skal ikke tro du ved mere end os.
6.	Du skal ikke tro du er mere end os.
7.	Du skal ikke tro at <i>du</i> duer til noget.
8.	Du skal ikke le ad os.
9.	Du skal ikke tro at nogen bryder sig om <i>dig</i> .
10.	Du skal ikke tro du kan lære os noget.

Translation:

1. You're not to think *you* are anything special.
2. You're not to think *you* are as good as *we* are.
3. You're not to think *you* are smarter than *we* are.
4. You're not to convince yourself that *you* are better than *we* are.
5. You're not to think *you* know more than *we* do.
6. You're not to think *you* are more important than *we* are.
7. You're not to think *you* are good at anything.
8. You're not to laugh at *us*.
9. You're not to think anyone cares about *you*.
10. You're not to think *you* can teach *us* anything.

Source: Denstoredanske.dk, 2016

Denstoredanske.dk. (2016). Janteloven / Gyldendal - Den Store Danske. [online] Available at: [http://denstoredanske.dk/Kunst\\_og\\_kultur/Litteratur/Nyere\\_motivskikkelser/Janteloven](http://denstoredanske.dk/Kunst_og_kultur/Litteratur/Nyere_motivskikkelser/Janteloven) [Accessed 12 Apr. 2016].