Research paper

6th PLATE 2025 Conference Aalborg, Denmark, 2-4 July 2025



Exploring spirituality's location in sustainable clothing consumption through "Black Swan" narratives

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Keywords: clothing; spirituality; sustainability; consumption practice.

Abstract: "Black swan" events (e.g., pandemics, natural disasters, war) often prompt individuals to clarify their self-concept and boost self-esteem with consumptive activities when their mortality is threatened. Research about the Covid-19 pandemic's effects on clothing consumption indicates that some consumers shifted toward more conscious clothing consumption habits, which may be associated with a desire for self-transcendence (e.g., spirituality). The purpose of this study was to locate spirituality's role in consumption practice that strengthens clothing's longevity. Narrative inquiry methodology was used to engage individuals who reported a spiritual experience relevant to their consumption during the pandemic. The study explores the nature of narrators' spiritual experiences, insights, and the clothing consumption practices and ideals that are informed by each narrator's spiritual framework, which is idiosyncratic and deeply personal. The pandemic is described by narrators in this study as an opportunity for personal growth and insight into the value of time and relationships. Narrators describe an increased spiritual consciousness, leading to a sense of interconnectedness and responsibility, beyond their own survival. Their empathy for others expands. Materiality is reevaluated in their spiritual sense of what makes a "good life." Most importantly, narrators squarely negotiate their identity through contemplative spiritual practices and reduce their need for external approval. This allows them to deepen their commitment to reduce or restrain their clothing consumption habits. The narrators illustrate how sustainable clothing consumption is itself a spiritual practice that results in greater freedom of expression and a more meaningful and satisfying experience with clothing.

Introduction

"Black swan" events like the Covid-19 pandemic often prompt individuals to clarify their self-concept and boost self-esteem with consumptive activities when one's mortality is threatened (Pyszczynski et al., 2021). Surprisingly, studies show that this event prompted some consumers to adopt more conscious clothing habits (see Degli Esposti et al. 2021; Vladimirova, et al., 2022), focusing on simplicity (Penz & Drewes, 2022) and even spirituality (Iran et al., 2022). Chakraborty and Sadachar (2023) demonstrated that amid pandemic stress, people turned to selftranscendence and developed positive attitudes towards slow fashion principles.

As fashion consumption drives climate change and diminishes human well-being (Coscieme et al., 2022), there is a critical need for consumers to be more conscious of their habits. Joyner Armstrong (2020) argues that spiritual motivations have the potential to transform clothing consumption and promote

sustainability. Spirituality has been linked to advanced levels of consciousness and is recognized as an important factor in human development and attitudes (Combs & Krippner, 2003; Stillman, et al., 2012). However, the role of spirituality in disrupting unsustainable consumerism is still being explored.

While some research suggests that spiritual motivations play a role in simplifying lifestyles and transforming identities (Cherrier & Murray, 2007; Sandlin & Walther, 2009), few have fully explored the relationship between spirituality and consumption, particularly in the context of clothing. Clothing is one of the most common products used to express identity (Kaiser, 1997), making it a relevant product to examine from a spiritual perspective due to its impact on personal and planetary well-being.

The purpose of this study was to locate spirituality's role in consumption practice that strengthens clothing's longevity. A primary research question guided inquiry: How



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do individuals integrate their spirituality into sustainable clothing consumption in real practice? Narrative inquiry methodology was conducted with seven individuals who reported having a spiritual experience during the pandemic that was relevant to their clothing consumption. This inquiry was conducted towards the conclusion of the global pandemic, an ideal period to observe spirituality's activation for coping, allowing clear descriptions from storytellers.

Background

Spirituality, an internal search

Transpersonal psychology studies the impact of spirituality on identity and behavior, acknowledging that human development goes beyond the body or ego to increase awareness and decrease selfish tendencies (Davis 2003; Walsh & Vaughan, 2018). Previous research has shown that voluntary simplifiers detach consumption from their sense of self by finding inner fulfillment (Cherrier & Murray, 2002; Elgin, 1977; Zavestoski, 2002). Spiritual experiences can shift perspective, leading to more realistic views of identity (Grof & Grof, 1989; Sinclair, 2016). This transformation is often triggered by a turning point or awakening when current consumption habits become undesirable (Sandlin & Walther, 2009; Uggla, 2019). Changiz (2024) argues that because spiritual transformation diminishes the egoic self, when the freedom to individuate decreased during the onset of COVID-19, a process of spiritual individuation was made more possible.

Fashion, an external identification

Clothing users play a crucial role in the fashion industry's externalities by deciding what to buy, use, and discard at what pace (Klepp et al. 2020). Their awareness and agency are key in pursuing sustainable consumption. Clothing fulfills basic needs like warmth, but it especially satisfies socio-psychological needs like identity expression. The latter markedly sustainable consumption efforts (McNeill & Venter, 2018). Immersion in consumerist culture replaces one's true self with a consumer-based ego over time (Kaza, 2000). Alternatively, spirituality shifts this focus from ego satisfaction towards greater sensitivity about the consequences of one's consumption (Ulvoas-Moal, 2010; Walsh & Vaughan, 2018). This study examines this potential.

Methods

Narrative inquiry methodology is particularly attentive to the rich context that surrounds experiences, including one's personal history (e.g., temporality), personal relationships (e.g., social interaction), and their situatedness in a place (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Rather than reducing the data, storytelling is used to capture nuance to reveal the outer bounds of phenomena (Clandinin & Murphy, 2009). This approach permitted the characterization of the complex interplay between spiritual experience and consumptive ideals and practices to fully locate spirituality within clothing consumption.

This study received exempt status from the university's institutional review board. A mass email was sent to 5,000 faculty, staff, and students across three campuses of a large U.S. university to recruit for the study. The call sought participants who had a spiritual experience during the pandemic and found it relevant to their consumption. A screening survey was used to collect demographic data (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity) and contained two open-ended questions asking the respondent to briefly describe their spiritual experience that occurred during the pandemic that they found relevant to sustainable consumption practices regarding clothing. As this study required a large time commitment and the revealing of intimate details of one's life, seven narrators agreed to participate.

A semi-structured conversation guide was used to prompt narrators to share several types of stories: their circumstances and spiritual encounters during the Covid-19 pandemic, consumptive history, and a spiritual biography. Occasional follow-up prompts were used by the researcher to ensure these stories were complete and helped identity the spiritual levers being engaged in consumptive lifestyle choices. The narrators provided their verbal consent and a preferred pseudonym during the interviews. Fourteen in-depth individual interviews were conducted with seven narrators over two separate meetings of 1.5 - 2 hours in length. Upon the conclusion of their final interview, narrators were provided a \$25 cash incentive. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed for analysis. Data collection was concluded within 12 months.

Analysis began during data collection. Field texts were co-created with narrators during the interviews. After transcription, the researcher



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worked with large sections of the narratives, grouping them first by the intensity of the spiritual experience, and then by the impact of spiritual experience on consumption. Short stories were developed to characterize each narrator's experiences, including how identity was being negotiated. Special attention was paid to synergies and divergences to develop a detailed research text that captured unique perspectives and experiences around identity. Additional content analysis was conducted to categorize each narrator's spiritual identity, the nature of their spiritual experiences, spiritual insights, and clothing consumption practices that were spiritually motivated. The narrators provided feedback about the researcher's characterizations and interpretations during two instances of member checking, one including review of the researcher's short stories.

Findings

The narrators, aged 32-68, mostly identified as White females, with two exceptions (see Table 1). Most worked or studied from home during the pandemic, most experiencing ample social isolation. Two participants experienced spiritual crises during this time, one a near-death experience and another a "traumatic emotional event". Though most narrators began their spiritual or religious understanding in a Christian tradition (e.g., Southern Baptist, Methodist), most were now drawing upon diverse spiritual or religious frameworks to unique spiritual identities "believer," not ritualistic; Soka Gakkai Buddhist; anarchist) (see Table 2).

Narrator pseudonym	Gender identity	Ethnicity	Age
Ellen	Female	White	68
Rosa Maria	Female	White	59
Faye	Female	White	37
Leah	Female	White	34
Jeannette	Female	White	44
Epicurus	Male	Prefer	32
		not to	
		answer	
Maya	Female	Asian or	Prefer
		Pacific	not to
		Islander	answer

Table 1. Narrator attributes.

The narrators provided vivid details about their commitment to sustainable clothing consumption habits and the deeply personal, idiosyncratic spiritual underpinnings of their

practice. According to narrators, enacting new or continuing to live more sustainably is a spiritual way of being in the material world that is punctuated by highly varied spiritual practices that are inherently contemplative (e.g., prayer, exercise, chanting, gratitude, journaling, bird watching). Narrators describe feeling the emotional "pull" of the marketplace and engaging spiritual reflexivity to weigh the potential spiritual consequences of various consumption choices. These choices fortify the spiritual self.

Table 2 highlights each narrator's spiritual identity, the nature of their spiritual experience during the pandemic, their spiritual insights, and their clothing consumption practices and ideals to make relationships more visible.

The accounts noticeably nuanced, though some important commonalities are discernible. All narrators describe some form of heightened spiritual consciousness to others and the planet, conjuring а feelina of interconnectedness that strengthened sense of responsibility, beyond their own survival or happiness. Most narrators discuss awakening to a better understanding and acceptance of others' experiences perspectives that increases their empathy and compassion. Intense emotional responses are evident, including grief, gratitude, awe, anger, loneliness. Narrators view the pandemic as an opportunity to deepen their understanding about themselves, others, and the world. Most describe insights that include clarity about the value of time and relationships. They become attuned to what is most meaningful and satisfying in life. They seek to spiritually intuit how much materiality is required for a "good life" through reflexive practice.

Devoting a spiritual reflexivity about the potential harm of consumptive choices enriches their spiritual growth and deepens the meaning they attribute to their choices. The narrators describe a breadth of practices and ideals for their clothing consumption practice that spans all clothing consumption phases, including acquisition, use, and disposal (indicated in Table 2 as "A", "U", "D"). These practices are idiosyncratic to each narrator, though they share some common intentions. Most narrators emphasize restraint and purchasing, not purchasing new, acquiring only secondhand, imposing definitive constraints





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acquisition generally. All of the narrators describe their use practice (e.g., wearing, caring, repairing clothes) to be focused by an exploration of their personal style and expression, which requires negotiation of external influences, approval, or reference points; influences on the appearance they have become aware of. Most describe a significant reduction in preening behaviors, wearing less being more accepting compassionate about aging or the appearance of it (e.g., skin changes, graying hair) or the body's natural condition or shape. Most narrators actively engage in practices that reduce disposal to landfill by donating; some thoughtfully considering how their underutilized items could find joyful use among others. Notably, choices are perceived to have spiritual consequences.

Importantly, narrators describe their identity negotiation as a contemplative practice during which they regularly explore how their self becomes enmeshed with others' perceptions and evaluations. Spirituality pushes them beyond the body to recognize their ego's involvement in potentially fruitless consumptive activity, and they are more able to cultivate a sense of authentic sufficiency. They experience great freedom of expression and have satisfying experiences with clothing. Their consumption practice is made more durable over time because the practice is deeply rooted in their spiritual values.

Discussion and Conclusion

Each narrator's experience provides a richly nuanced view of how the Covid-19 pandemic activated a spiritual experience that catalysed significant clothing consumption changes for some and deepened the consumptive practices and ideals of others. Previous authors have highlighted how resolute one must be to simplify one's lifestyle. It requires more than a desire for happiness and more leisure time: both motivation and discipline are requisite to sustain such a path (Alexander & Ussher, 2012: Etzioni, 1998). These narratives depict the complexity of the motivational foundation for sustainable consumption, emphasizing why spirituality and spiritual practice should be considered as key contextual variables in lifestyles. sustainable Integrated under supportive conditions and a willingness to endure the discomfort associated with personal growth, these transpersonal experiences

provide powerful and long-lasting motivation for sustainable consumption.

Narrators describe the process of making wiser consumptive choices as a spiritual experience itself; choices that verify the self. Sustainable is, therefore, spiritual consumption а experience and a host of practices with spiritual consequences. The narrators approached their spiritual emergence as a learning experience, an opportunity to see things another way, even themselves. Intense emotional responses are evident in these cases, including grief, gratitude, awe, anger, loneliness; all of which spark spiritual introspection that propel the narrators toward deeper commitments to reduce or restrain their clothing consumption habits.

Sinclair (2016) argues that as individuals often embark on the spiritual search for the real self, transformational ideas about identity realistically emerge. Consumption considered a channel to transcend and selfactualize, to attain one's ideal self (Hunting & Conroy, 2018), so it is easy to understand why consumption of clothing can move into excess as one changes and grows over time. Alternatively, these narrators were inclined to consider the potential harm of their choices for others, to focus on their own sufficiency, being more intentional about how much clothing was needed to achieve their desired expression. The narrators highlight how transpersonal processes often move the personal identity or the ego, to fewer selfish impulses, to wholeness, to higher awareness (Davis 2003; Walsh & Vaughan, 2018). These experiences demonstrate another way to be with clothing, a material tool that is often used to portray an identity; here, the process of clothing consumption is itself a spiritual experience.

These narratives are instructive, showing a far more holistic and complex view of the motivational foundation for deep and sustained commitment to sustainable consumption.



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Narrator Pseudonym & spiritual identity	Nature of spiritual experience	Spiritual insights	Clothing consumption practices & ideals
Faye Spiritual, a "believer," not ritualistic	Near-death experience Navigates ambivalence about God with prayer Grief from other Covid deaths Observes influence of others' approval Desire to make world better	Recognizes stress level Reflects on life satisfaction Galvanizes sense of belief in and feeling of connection to something bigger Perceives others' spirituality as having something to offer Increased comfort/acceptance of uncertainty Clearer sense of purpose Prioritizes quality of relationships Reduced concern of others' judgment about appearance; body acceptance Feeling of freedom comes with decluttering Household decluttering is method to connect with others Meaning of material things changes	Declutters entire household; 75% reduction in wardrobe Needs-focused shopping A Conducts research on large corporations A Buys locally, secondhand, fair-trade A Supports small businesses A Acquire nothing brand new A Gratitude of what she has U Dress for what makes you feel good (e.g., self-love focused styling) U Explores/develops unique personal style; become more brazen in expression U Reduced preening; less makeup; less hair care U Routine closet maintenance (e.g., 6-month wear rule; satisfaction-focused) U Careful wear to preserve U Clothing life extension (e.g., fixed shirt, owns sewing machine) U Clothing swaps with friends (e.g., let someone else enjoy what you have) D Donates "where it matters"; give to friends who will enjoy D
Epicurus "Anarchist"; free from any system of belief	"Traumatic emotional event"; isolation Pandemic triggers memories of war and ISIS Confronts Islamic ideas and faith Experiences "unified" sense of "soul and mind" Releases belief system	Human suffering occurs in every culture = competition; desire for competition is "illusion of ego" Alignment of "soul and mind" Perceives divine as manifest in all Discovers anarchy; abandons good-and-evil system of belief Seeks spiritual meaning inwardly, rather than outwardly Desire to moderate consumption via reduced competition and social comparison that influences appearance Increased meaning assigned to consumption (e.g., focus on experiences, using money to help others) Clarity in dress and consumptive ideals —what is truly meaningful in life Seeks wisdom in consumptive decision-making Fosters contentment	Deepening of existing consumptive ideals; no decluttering; newfound contentment More "realistic" or "reasonable" consumption; reflexive about materiality required for life A Renounces excess without asceticism A Needs-focused shopping, not just on what's available A Increased value placed on material U Explores personal style; what brings comfort and peace; dress for myself; comfort in who I am U Dressing "more classical," "less modern" (e.g., stylish, flashy); new reference points for dress U Less use of appearance to compete with others (e.g., dressing for ego); dress for environment I'm in; less worrying about the symbolism (trendiness) associated with clothing U Self-confidence in appearance U Less impulsive, ego-induced acquisition means no need to declutter D



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Rosa Maria Non- denomination al Christian	Search to understand what is to be learn from this crisis; Loving God is a way to learn Search for self- trust Values clarification Observes burdens of pandemic shouldered by society's most vulnerable	Pandemic as growth opportunity; not "crappy deck of cards" Attunement to and concern for others' experiences during pandemic "Values clarification" Shift in the meaning of work, family, relationships, and things Release of others' judgement Increase desire to work in the service of others Longing for and prioritization of community	Declutters entire household; 50% reduction in wardrobe Needs-focused shopping A Defines cap on amount of clothing to own A Stopped buying new; thrifting more (higher quality) A Focused on buying less A Focused on using more U Explores/develops personal style that yields self-confidence U Preference for comfort and neutral colors U Comfort in/with body/age and clothing choices U Reduced concern for others' opinions/approval U Shops own closet U Reworks old clothing to new needs/roles U Values/considers material quality of wardrobe; finds beauty in garment itself U Stopped dry-cleaning U Regular sorting/organizing of wardrobe to maintain prescribed quantity U
Jeannette Episcopal, seeking more ritual	Pandemic = spiritual learning opportunity Search for role in greater good Sense of God as "protective blanket" Deepens commitment to spiritual/religi ous ritual	Pandemic viewed as "next human rotation" Contemplates personal responsibility for global challenges Attunement to others' needs Appreciation and acceptance of others' experiences and perspectives Increased comfort/acceptance of uncertainty Crystallization of personal values	Deepening of existing consumptive ideals; no decluttering Acquires/buys primarily secondhand A Considers potential garment use and longevity, impact post-life, and production A No new pants, despite pandemic weight gain A Conducts research about material makeup of clothing A Focuses on utilization U Reduced preening; cuts her own hair; allows hair to gray; less make-up U Comfort in own skin/appearance, even with pandemic weigh gain U Explores/develops personal style that yields self-confidence and comfort (e.g., feel my best); autonomy in appearance (e.g., Doc Martins go with anything); less concern for "matchiness" U Reworks old clothing to new needs/roles U Anticipates life changes, clothing need changes (e.g., retirement) U Hand dries clothing U Refuses to declutter D



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Ellon	Criof for	Ingranged compared compared is	Dooponing of oxisting consumpting ideals
Ellen Quaker	Grief for fragility of planet	Increased sense of connection to herself, others Explores unseen powerful force	Deepening of existing consumptive ideals; "ruthless" household decluttering; continuation of small wardrobe
quano.	Insomnia	or spirit that endures through	Only buys second-hand, except for under
	Feeling	life's complicated and deeply	garments or white clothes ^A
	abandoned	troubled nature	Considers potential for clothing waste;
	by God	Realization of beauty in world,	considers end-of-life ^A
	Awe	despite devastation	Prioritizes utility over fashion ^A
	Sense of interconnecte	Finding action, the "gesture", beyond the self	Focus on utilization; reduce waste in wardrobe ^U
	dness	beyond the sen	Willingness to wear damaged clothing
	Empathy		(e.g., missing button) ^U
	. ,		Works to extend garment lifespan; repairs
			garments and shoes with professional help; ^U
			Appreciates clothing as art rather than trend ^U
			Attentive to bright color preference ^U
			Donates to secondhand; donate more than
			I purchase ^D
Leah	Sense of love for the land;	Views and accepts pandemic; "all things have a reason and	Begins to declutter; plans for future decluttering
Christian	being in	a season"	Needs-focused shopping; consistent
	relationship	Reconsiders the value of time	reevaluation of needs A
	to Earth .	Becomes closer to nature	Reduced acquisition ^A
	Cultivation of	Turns inward	Replaces damaged items ^A
	faith	Enhanced faith in something	Increased secondhand; develops
	Sense of	larger than oneself	preference for used (e.g., clothes for
	gratitude	Transformation in meaning of	new baby) A
	Learning what	things, quantity of things, a	Buys for quality and longevity A
	pandemic will	good life	Considers utilization level of purchases A
	show us	Reflexivity of others' influence	Preserves items for future; organization,
	Search to be of service	in appearance expands	careful storage, making clothes last; keep clothes out of landfill ^U
	361 VICE		Retain clothes until they look bad or
			damaged ^U
			Works to resolve waste around spouse's
			clothing use/damage [∪]
			Organizes closet ^U
			Donates unused items; do not throw away
			what others will find joy in ^D
Maya	A planted seed	View of pandemic as "message	Deepening of existing consumptive ideals;
0-1 0 11 1	finds fruition	from nature"	no decluttering
Soka Gakkai	Expansion of	Connection to a source/mystery	Buys for quality, sustainability; consider
International	personal	that is unknowable as source	environmental impact ^A
(SGI)Buddhis t	universe Sense of	of hope Expansion of personal universe	Buys only items washable; no dry-cleaning
	interconnecte	"Connected the dots" between	Informed consumer; reads about brands,
	dness	Hinduism, Buddhism,	garment care; research about styles ^A
	Gratitude	science, and philosophy	Spends ample time during acquisition
	Experiences	Acknowledgement of wisdom of	process ^A
	mystical faith	limits	Prioritizes utility over fashion ^A
	Curiosity,		Less accumulation A
	inquisitivenes s; engages		Explores personal style; dressing for mood
	with mystery		Regular sorting/organizing of wardrobe ^U
	with his story		regular sorting/organizing or wardrobe





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	High levels of reuse; use clothes to their limit U
	Preserve clothing by limiting washing ^U
	Air dry items to refresh [∪]
	Line dries clothes U
	No buying means no donating ^D
A= acquisition-related U= use-related D= disposal-related	

Table 2. Characterizations of narrator spiritual experiences, insights, and consumptive outcomes.

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