Mapping the Geographies of Luxury; a reflection on Place and Conspicuous Products in the age of globalization and networked economy

Federica Carlotto
Regent's University London, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London, NW1 4NS, UK.
carlottof@regents.ac.uk

Abstract: The paper unfolds around the concept of 'place' in its business understanding. From an operational perspective, place refers to the location(s) where the production value chain is organised. For marketeers, place serves as a powerful tool for creating and managing brand equity and, within the final market, place is one of the product cues driving consumers' evaluations and preferences. For post-modern marketing scholars (Maffesoli, 1996; Morace et al, 2003), place is considered as the spatial condition connecting people and their talents for the conduction of entrepreneurial projects. Taking into account the substantial changes fostered by networked globalization and digitalization within the spatial scenarios of production and consumption on the one hand, and the rich scholarly debate on place branding on the other, the paper aims to assess online individuals' perceptual maps about luxury products. More specifically, the paper reports on a 6-month netnographic fieldwork spent on dedicated question and answer websites, forum groups and blogs. The analysis conducted on posts and threads confirms that place seems to have lost its 'spirit'. By considering luxury as a 'project for excellence', online users are now concerned on how a luxury product is manufactured, rather than where the production has taken place.

Keywords: Luxury; Genius Loci; Country of Origin; Netnography; Globalization; Network.

Lieu devient lien
(location becomes connection)
Michel Maffesoli, The Time of the Tribes

Word count: 8,801.

1. "All over the place": The World of the Luxury Industry

Over the past decades, globalization and the development of the Information Communication Technologies (ITCs) have both expanded and compressed the time-space dimensions, triggering the integrated delocalisation of many enterprises' operations (Miller, 2013; Tonkiss, 2006; Barney, 2004). The resulting geographic agility in the ideation, sourcing, and manufacturing of products has created discontinuities among their 'countryness indicators'. The unitary coherence of the CoO (Country of Origin) notion has been segmented into conceptual chunks – Country of Origin of Brand (COB); Country of Design (CoD); Country of Parts (CoP); Country of Assembly (CoA); Country of Manufacture (CoM). Similarly, the congruity of other related indicators – Brand Origin (BO); Product Image (PI); Country Image (CI) – has blurred.

ITCs' contribution, however, has stretched beyond its instrumental role of technical driver for the networked economy, by creating the Internet as an additional spatial reality. Enhanced by the mobile technologies, the digital environment offers now corporate players specific marketing and retail channels, but it also requires them to tailor a dedicated web presence, and to manage it in interaction with the online customers.

In the above scenario, the luxury industry appears to be "all over the place" (Solca, 2015). The major luxury operators have been lured by the cost-saving possibilities offered by multi-locational sourcing, thus leaving solely their brands to account for a certain premium price. This process, however, has mainly involved the entry-level segment of their products' range (Ilari, 2012; MacKinnon, 2014), and it has been generally managed with the utmost discretion (Tsui, 2012).

A relevant attempt to confront with delocalization is that of Miuccia Prada. She plainly dismissed the whole issue in 2010: "Made in Italy? Who cares!" (Tokatli, 2014:1). Still, in promoting its worldly manufactured items (Visconti and Di Giuli, 2014), the company elaborated a gradual transparency strategy: as a "temporary remedy", Prada stressed first the sourcing link with Peru and Scotland, before admitting that with China (Tokatli, 2014:8).

The 'clandestine exodus' to China is currently being counterbalanced by migration waves towards the luxury traditional manufacturing poles. Escaping from the tarnishing reputation of 'Made in China' and in search of skilful know-how, Chinese luxury fashion companies land to Italy (MacKinnon, 2014). In 2014, the American watchmaker Fossil established a design-and-development centre in Switzerland: with 'Swiss made' as a premium option available, Fossil is very likely to widen the portfolio of its luxury licensors.

Meanwhile, Britain and USA are undergoing a revival. British mill houses are renovating and expanding their technical infrastructure in order to re-carve their niche and to gain back the deluxe domestic sourcing (Chesters, 2014; Leitch, 2014). For the American manufacturers, the challenge is to capitalize on the 'made in the US' cachet, which has recently stretched to embrace "even luxury" (Williams, 2012; Cheng, 2013).

While the emergence of Chinese luxury fashion brands accounts for the reputational upgrade of China from 'producing hand' to 'creative mind', other locations, such as Portugal and India are likely to appear soon on the globalized map of luxury.

As opposed to the 'made-in' diaspora, a stable geographic imagery is treasured by the major luxury players as one of the most distinctive traits of their brands' personality – for instance, the British-ness of Burberry on its Google snippet, the Sicilian visual repertoire in Dolce & Gabbana's collections, the Swiss roots of Audemars Piguet and Vacheron Constantin digital storytelling, up to Dior "Secret Garden" film series shot in Versailles.

This trend is substantiated also by the most recent 'Country of Origin' (CoO) stream of research. Facing a scenario characterized by products with multi-country segmentation and multi-cue evaluations,

scholars acknowledge that 'made in' has lost its epistemological centrality. They are looking now for conceptual alternates, such as Country of Origin of Brand (Phau & Prendergast, 2000) or Country Image, "a multidimensional attitudinal construct consisting of cognitive, affective, and conative components and aligning with the country to which a global brand has historical or developmental ties" (Pharr, 2005:41).

Pharr's definition suggests that researchers have also increasingly turned their attention to the perceptual dimension of place in relation to objects. Individuals' geographic constructs and imagery associations have been operationalized both in their emergence (Roth and Diamantopulos, 2008; Wang et al, 2012) and in their role (Han, 1989; Magnusson and Westjohn, 2011; Balabanis and Diamantopulos, 2008). In a number of studies, findings suggest that a positive or a negative image about the origin of a certain brand or product overtake the actual manufacturing/assembling location (Thakor and Kohli, 1996; Pharr, 2005; Phau and Prendergast, 2000).

Within the CoO body of knowledge specifically addressing the luxury industry, countryness dimensions have been considered against this specific business milieu, where the commercial trust commanding a product's premium price is primarily based on intangible assets: the brand name and brand imagery (Agrawal and Kamakura, 1999; Godey et al, 2012; Paciolla and Mai, 2011; Jung et al, 2014). Therefore, in their interaction with other attributes – brand identifiability, product price and design – place-related abstractions and associations have proved to offer a remarkable contribution to the high "magnitude of equity" of the luxury brands (Shukla, 2011; Piron, 2000; Keller, 2009; Phau and Prendergast, 2000; Aiello et al, 2009).

Despite the apparent supremacy of place imagery over the actual production location, however, country of manufacturing still shows certain resilience. Recent studies conducted online have recorded customers' discomfort towards luxury products whose 'made in' is associated with low quality production sites, concluding that the strength of the brand name cannot always make up for the poor reputation of the making country (Yu, 2013). This is also empirically confirmed by business data. 78% of the luxury consumers are reported to actually check a luxury product's origin; when only emerging markets are considered, the percentage raises up to 87% (Bernstein Research, 2014: 8)

The cyberspace is the ultimate territory annexed to the luxury dominion. For a long time, brands and operators have been quite reluctant to explore this opportunity, and in general they have been struggling to adjust to its habitat (Dall'Olmo-Reiley and Lacroix, 2003; Okonkwo, 2009; Okonkwo, 2010). By granting unlimited temporal and spatial accessibility, the on-line environment favours undifferentiated consumption, comparative purchasing practices, and empowerment of online users as co-authors of brands' storytelling. This deeply challenges the luxury semantics of dream and desire (Dubois and Paternault, 1995; Keller, 2009; Kapferer and Bastien, 2009; Ortved, 2011). Still, the Internet has been acknowledged as a crucial area for the luxury sector growth: the online digital market for luxury is expected to expand from the current 6% to 18% by 2025, and to become the third largest market after China and the U.S. (Remy et al, 2015).

The challenge for the luxury companies, here, is to effectively manage the relationship with the e-users, to enlarge their social reach, and to increase the buzz volume. In the verified influence – direct and indirect – of digital performance on luxury sales and profit, a report from McKinsey & Co. (Dauriz et al, 2013) includes social media and online mentions among the four key indicators of digital performance. On the same note, the Boston Consulting Group (Achille and Branchini, 2015) estimates 25% of the luxury brands to be at risk of losing exclusivity based on consumers' declarations.

Online/offline integration, production diaspora and evocative geographic imagery: the world of the luxury industry is certainly "all over the place". In this context, it becomes of relevance turning to the consumption side, and profiling the perceptual maps individuals use to navigate this fragmented − and yet integrated − world.

2. Talking places on the internet: The e-fieldwork
A netnographic research was undertaken between December 2014 and June 2015. The aim of the study was to explore perceptions, themes, and narratives about places in relation to luxury products as circulating within a specific, but ubiquitous, place: the Internet.

The nature of the study required the Internet to be considered as a proper social space, populated by aggregations of individuals on specific digital platforms –the 'online communities' (Kozinets, 1998). In approaching online sociability, however, we didn't apply the conventional understanding of community as "a set of people who all have things in common…" (Miller, 2013:196), with social affiliation generated from spatial proximity (Cavanagh, 2007; Rheingold, 2000). Rather than focusing on this gemeinschaft form of sociability, we have considered online sociability as networked. The concept of network, which underlies the globalised economic system and practices, serves also as the "key image of modern sociability" (Cavanagh, 2013; Castells, 2001). In a networked society, it is not contiguity that creates sociability; rather, it is connectivity that creates spatiality (Hine, 2000): Computer-mediated communication is, in essence, socially produced space… predicated on knowledge and information… (Jones, 1995:17-19).

Therefore, our e-fieldwork consisted of a patchwork of textually created spaces, emergent from the interaction between networked online individuals. Within it, the research focused on communicative and interactional artifacts – posts, comments, threads – around luxury products and countryness indicators. Differently from many ethnographic accounts, where the textual data is analyzed with the ultimate purpose to retrace the structure of a digital community and the practices or agency issues characterizing its social life, we considered textual data as having epistemological existence and meaning per se.

Nevertheless, we had to identify the digital platforms where the relationship between luxury products and countryness was more likely to be explored and discussed. The purposive selection comprised:
- Open knowledge exchange (Q&A) websites
- Forum Groups (FG)
- Bloggers (both 'specialized/thematic' and 'lifestyle')
- Others (online news comments)

In order to obtain a set of search keywords, we conducted a secondary research on the luxury business current affairs, together with a further review on the CoO literature. The elicited list (Figure 1) of luxury sectors, operators, brands, related countries, and countryness indicators was operationalized through online visual and textual search engines: Soovle.com; Spezify.com; Google.com.

Sectors	Haute couture & High-end Fashion
	Leather goods & Accessories
	Leather goods & Accessories
	Timepieces & Jewellery
	Cars
Brands	**Haute couture & High-end Fashion:** Armani/Emporio Armani; Prada; Burberry; Versace; D&G; Ralph Lauren; YSL; Marc Jacobs; Lacoste
	Leather goods & Accessories: Chanel; Gucci; Coach; LV; Prada; Burberry; Fendi; Longchamp; Hermes; Mulberry
	Timepieces & Jewellery: Tag Heuer; Rolex; Tiffany; Omega; Movado; Cartier; Infiniti; Bulgari; Vacheron Constantin; Tissot; Jaeger Le Coultre; Cartier; Rado
	Cars: Rolls-Royce; Aston Martin; Maserati; Mercedes Benz; Porsche; BMW; Lexus; Ferrari; Lamborghini; Acura; Bentley; Lotus; Bugatti; Jaguar; Porsche
Countries	**Switzerland; Italy; France; Germany; Britain; USA; China; Japan**

Countryness Indicators	**Country of Origin (CoO);** the country in which corporate headquarters of the company marketing the brand is located, regardless of the place in which the brand in question is produced (Balabanis and Diamantopulos, 2008).
	Country of Manufacturing, Assembling etc. (CoM; CoA); the country where a brand is actually manufactured or assembled (Agrawal and Kamakura, 1999).
	Brand Origin (BO); the place, region or country to which the brand is perceived to belong by its target customers. This may differ from the location where products carrying the brand name are manufactured, or are perceived by the consumers to be manufactured (Thakor and Kohli, 1996).
	Product Image (PI); general perceptions that consumers have of a particular country's product, or the total beliefs consumers have regarding products of a given country. Individuals often have stereotypical beliefs for particular attributes associated with the product image of certain given countries. (Wang et al, 2012).
	Country Image (CI); mental representation of a country and its people, including cognitive believes of the country's economic and technological development stages, as well as the affective evaluations of its social and political systems or standpoints. Although the image of a country can be partially formed through prior experience of using a product from that country (the two are related), a country's general image is however somewhat distinct from products associated with a particular country (Pharr, 2005).
	Foreign branding; the approach of spelling or pronouncing a brand name in a foreign language, especially used for fashion and hedonic products (Thakor and Lavack, 2003).
	Ethnocentrism; normative-based beliefs that buying domestic products is somehow good for the country, whereas purchasing non-domestic products is deleterious to the economy the country and the fellow citizen (Balabanis and Diamantopulos, 2008).

Figure 1: Suitable search keywords identified through the literature review.

The choice to focus on luxury products predetermined the exclusion of 'experiential luxury' items/services – cruises, safaris, jets, yachts, spas, hotels. Although 'experiential' in nature as yachts and jets, in view of their dimensions and use, automobiles were included within the products' category. As for the product categories, those were decided in alignment with both academic and business sources (Chevalier and Mazzalovo, 2012: 51-52; Abtan et al, 2014) and further refined in the course of the research.

A review on the CoO literature provided us with the conceptual and semantic dimensions of place in relation to products: the 'countryness indicators'. Although serving as the 'umbrella term' for all the place-related effects, CoO currently defines the headquarters site of a product's company/brand, while the manufacturing indicators are being segmented according to the different production operations (CoD, CoM, CoA). As mentioned above, the perceptual trend followed by many CoO researchers has lead to a distinction between actual locations and imagined ones, such in CoO and BO. Two CoO-related phenomena have been also included: foreign branding and ethnocentrism.

In addition to the 'countryness indicators', it was also necessary to identify the countries associated to the luxury products. The selection followed the criteria indicated below (Chevalier and Mazzalovo, 2012):
- countries where the companies leaders in a specific luxury sector or in the production of a certain luxury items have their headquarters or host the most important part/the majority of the production process

- countries where the three big luxury conglomerates – Kering, LVMH, Richemont – have their own headquarters
- countries where the brands leaders in a certain luxury sector or for the production a certain luxury item are associated to
- countries a specific luxury sector or product is traditionally associated to
- countries perceived as the countries of luxury production and consumption

As a result, France, Italy, Britain, Switzerland, Germany, U.S.A appeared as the strongest players in the luxury sector. In view of the specific relationship developed with the luxury industry, Japan and China were also taken into account: Japan has been for decades the main gateway to the luxury Asian markets, and despite the slow recovery from the recessionary period, it is still considered the 'litmus test' for many luxury companies' performance in Asia. In addition, Japan is a producer of luxury items and home to élite brands within the fashion and automobiles sectors. China, on the other hand, has been experiencing for a long time a paradoxical situation: although representing a very attractive marketplace, it has been suffering from a poor manufacturing reputation due to luxury counterfeiting and mass production.

After orienting the search, we entered our e-fieldwork. Firstly, we observed the sampled digital aggregates (Q&A websites; FGs). This was to assess the online natural existence of the scoped phenomenon, or to monitor its spontaneous appearance.

In a subsequent stage, the e-fieldwork took the form of participant observation, with the researcher fully disclosing her identity and research purpose, posting a question/starting a thread, and managing the unfolding conversation. Bloggers were also engaged in structured/semi-structured interviews: these were conducted through electronic correspondence or inter-device telecommunication software.

When elaborating the opening posts for the FGs or the questions for the interviews, we worked on a double level: we made use of the conceptual and factual themes emerging from the e-fieldwork, while at the same time conducting a review on specialized press, corporate webpages, business academic journals, in search for the latest factual events related to those themes. This operation led us to create 'questions pools', groups of related questions of different level of specialty or touching different aspects of one specific theme. Questions pools allowed us to effectively adjust to the natural differences existing among the digital aggregates considered and their individual members. As a general principle, we have tried to keep questions very simple – sometimes even candid, in order to prompt some reactions (Do you think that luxury is only European?). Most of the time we were allowed the opportunity to engage in a friendlier way (Hi guys! I need your help for a research I am doing about…).

The observant participation phase registered a low response rate, perhaps due to the disclosure of our 'research-oriented' web presence. Similarly, bloggers' response rate was 1 out of 5. This was counterbalanced, however, by the high-relevance of the posts acquired during the observation phase and by the active contribution offered by our respondents. We thus ensured the collection of a 'rich' qualitative data set, both in terms of spontaneity and depth.

After reaching the theoretical saturation point, the posts, threads, and other textual items were collectively reviewed and further filtered. Undercover advertising, factual information without any personal comment, statements without any explanation ('yes', 'no', 'real', 'fake'), trolls' attacks and out-of-topic comments were excluded. These criteria were suspended whenever the textual items had some relevance in the wider context of the communication flow.

At the end of the e-fieldwork and the filtering process, our data set consisted of 3,237 posts on luxury products, shared between 2005 and 2015. Among those, 1,905 had specific reference to countryness (Figure 2).

SITE TYPOLOGY	OBSERVATION	PARTICIPATION	INTERVIEW	INTERPRETATION
Questions & Answers	Q&A-I			271
	Q&A-II			28
	Q&A-III			272
	Q&A-IV			78
	Q&A-V			1180
Forum Groups	FGL-I	FGI-I		534+1
	FGL-II	FGI-II		172+2
	FGL-III	FGI-III		15+1
	FGL-IV	FGI-IV		120+19
	FGL-V	FGI-V		66+4
	FGL-VI	FGI-VI		95+26
	FGL-VII	FGI-VII		169+3
		FGI-VIII		39
Bloggers			B-I	15
			B-II	5
			B-III	10
			B-IV	5
			B-V	5
			B-VI	5
			B-VII	5
			B-VIII	4
Others	O-I			41
	O-II			38
	O-III			6
TOTAL				3,237
Key examples: FGL-I: 20,2 (Forum Groups, lurking, file 1, question 20, reply 2); B-I:3 (Blogger 1, reply 3)				

Figure 2: Primary data set developed through the e-fieldwork.
To maintain confidentiality, the actual sample directly quoted been codified numerically.

3. Luxury Maps and the Genius Loci

In their social activity on the digital platforms, online users draw very specific maps of 'luxury sites' - continents, countries, and cities. As frequently mentioned in many threads, these maps are shaped along the users' direct experience of travellers or expats, friends and relatives' accounts, media sources, corporate information - gathered through the brands' official websites or interaction with the sales force.

It is unquestioned that the nucleus of the luxury industry is to be considered Europe and, within the European countries, France. France is home to luxury products of all types (Q&A-V: 44,1), up to the point where everything made in France has an instant price mark up or association with luxury teams...from fashion to culunery arts (FGI-VI:17).

A more accurate distinction occurs when referring to single sectors and sub-sectors. Bloggers associate fashion to both Italy and France (B-VII:3; BI-V:3; B-III:3), with Italy representing specifically leather goods and accessories. UK is mentioned for wool and the outerwear production: its sweaters, shoes, tweed clothing are defined unsurpassed in quality (B-VII:4; FGL-VII:4,8). At a city level, luxury fashion has different excellence hubs: Milan is the centre of style for both men and women, London remains the home of luxury menswear - made to measure, just like Paris, home of womens glamour and luxury (Q&A-V:73,3).

The sites of luxury are generally identified by the number and the magnitude of the operators originated or headquartered there. France is the country of perfumes because of the legendary perfume houses and noses (FGI-VI, 3), and it is also the most fashionable nation for its long list of luxury fashion historical houses (Q&A-V:38,1), especially within the haute couture where, of the current 11 official members, 10.5 are French; Ungaro's parents are Italian but they moved to France (hence the 0.5) (FGL-VII:2,1). The link between Italy and fashion emerges considering that just about every famous designer is from Italy (Q&A-V:112,2). The reputation of UK as one pole of the European luxury is often defended by numbering related brands and operators (Q&A-I:46,7; Q&A-V:228,3). Time also exerts a legitimizing influence on space: fashion has always been a part of the French culture and continues to manifest itself through every person you see walking on the Parisian streets (Q&A-IV:10,3); Savile Row counts on 250 years of heritage (Q&A-V:73,3), and the city of Grasse on many generations of master perfumers concentrated here (FGI-VI:3).

The contribution of breakthrough innovations from single individuals is often cited, such as Chanel and Dior for Paris (Q&A-V:3,1), Thomas Burberry and Alexander McQueen for London (Q&A-IV:11,1). In addition, the spatial presence of renowned brands – Rolex for Switzerland, Chanel in France and Prada in Italy – is deemed crucial in drawing a wider luxurious aura around neighbor companies within the same sector and, ultimately, to the country hosting them (Q&A-I:28,1).

The osmotic relationship between places and sectorial luxury, however, is somehow deeper, and it is generally described by online individuals in cultural terms. By virtue of geographic proximity and daily interaction, people come to share certain traits, which are then conceptually stretched to become 'national attributes'. France is characterized by well groomed people, stunning cities and sexy language (FGI-VI:15; Q&A-IV:15,2): as recounted in one post, when I went there, I was in awe of the shear "chicness" of the French (Q&A-V:38-2). Italians are head-turningly stylish (Q&A-IV:12,1) due to the indigenous penchant towards la bella figura (Q&A-IV:12,2), i.e. looking nice independently from what one wears (Q&A-IV: 12,2; Q&A-V:117,1): the point, for Italy's peacocks, seems to have been to look as good as they could - to look better than their status should allow them (FGL-IV:6,6).

This eventually provides the humus for the development of specific productive talents: style, design, and art are the cultural premises underlying the Italian leadership in the fashion and automotive industries; the expertise in… rain favored English in producing the top of the range trench coats (O-I: 22); mechanical engineering appears as the natural extension of the German culture, with its quest for excellence, efficiency and reliability (Q&A-I: 43,3; Q&A-V: 114-2,4,6). It is also acknowledged the Japanese extreme sense of aesthetics applied to all products, grand and small (Q&A-I, 43,3).

Populated by human beings who, through proximity and continuous interaction, are able to refine their talents and to channel them in productive activities, place ends up retaining a certain 'spirit'. We can thus define the 'spirit of the place' (genius loci) as the spatial condition enabling the synergic interaction between people, and nurturing their distinct know-hows.

Although having religious connotation in ancient Roman times, the concept of genius loci has been recently approached from quite a different perspective. Morace et al (2003) have placed genius loci at the core of a specific post-modern business model. This is based on 4 main pillars (the 4 P's: People, Places, Purposes, Projects), which are coordinated through specific practices (the 6 R's): Relevance of the customer experience; market Resonance; Respect towards the stakeholders; Responsibility towards the value proposition; Reciprocity between the enterprise and the customers; Recognition of the products as "everyday partner" (Morace et al, 2003: 19). The genius loci is therefore the arena where the 4 P's and 6R's can find valuable and original expression.

Further developing from Morace et al, luxury production can be considered as a Project of (and for) excellence (Ricca and Robins, 2012; Zecchi, 2015). This requires the utmost care in the choice of People, Places, and Purposes, as well as integrity and accountability in the management of the 6R's. This 'thick' understanding of luxury provides a sound rationale for online users to justify the "European-

ness" of luxury genius loci: It is quite reasonable to expect better standards from European producers and makers because they do have a tradition, a certain cultural vision of their products (FGL-IV: 7,10).

As for non-European countries, USA is generally acknowledged as another pole of luxury, although with some reserve. This can be inferred by a few posts questioning the existence of an 'American luxury': the answer seems to be positive, considering the achievements of some individuals and operators in the automotive and fashion fields. Still, a blogger points out that its representatives lie below the [European] greats (B-V: 4; B-VII:4; B-III:4).

The reason commonly advanced for this gap in the fashion field, for instance, is that USA lacks the prestige offered by a sound tradition (Q&A-V:121,1): America's tradition of top-quality clothing pales in comparison to that of Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, France, and Scotland (FGL-VII:4,2). Neither did USA acquire it by influencing the sector, like France did by determining the origins of haute couture and the emergence of luxury goods (B-II:4). In addition, US sartorial workmanship might have been severely affected in its development by the lack of the aristocratic class, which in Europe triggered the refinement of artisanal skills (FGI-IV:4). When luxury is considered in terms of consumption, on the other hand, New York is included with full rights in the luxury map together with Paris, Milan, and London, and USA is acknowledged as a fundamental market for the Italian and British luxury bespoke suit brands (FGL-IV:5,2).

In the luxury maps drawn by online users, we find also an 'anticenter' of luxury: China. China is related to luxury in negative terms for different reasons. Firstly, it is the country where items are cheaply and massively produced at the expense of good quality (FGL-VII: 7,10). In addition, China is also associated with the practice of counterfeiting: counterfeited handbags normally say made in china somewhere. This negative perception extends to other Asian countries: an item bought at Takashimaya (a Japanese luxury department store) in Singapore makes a luxury item look suspicious (Q&A-V: 16,4), as it does the Burberry bag brought as a present from Japan (Q&A-V:183). In addition, Asian countries are regarded as new entrants in the field of luxury production. As such, they do not have the necessary hundreds of years of tradition... or the ancestors willing to teach new generations in the ways of top quality (FGL-VII: 7,10). In other words, luxury production is not something they can buy or learn from a book (FGL-VII: 7,10).

Amongst the Asian countries, however, Japan seems to have gained a different reputation: the evolution of Japan from cheap supplier of electronics to producer of deluxe cars – Acura, Lexus, Infiniti – is a classic example mentioned by users to demonstrate the possibility of creating luxury from scratch instead of inheriting it.

Still, in comparing Japanese and German luxury cars, users underline the lack of soul of the first ones: Japanese producers have trouble injecting the little thing into them where people must have one. Sometimes when something is too perfect, it lacks soul (Q&A-V:149,2; Q&A-V:238,1). More importantly, when approaching Japanese brands, one term looms large: cheap. Japanese luxury cars are labeled econoboxes (Q&A-V:149,3): SO there you have it, Japanese cheap luxury???? (Q&A-V:238,1). Exceptions seem just to prove the rule: for one user Lexus cars can actually beat the Europeans, instead of just being cheaper (Q&A-V:147,1). Similarly, Japanese luxury watchmaking is believed to have developed as an attempt to improve Swiss design at a lower cost: as a result, posters feel that Japanese watches are boring, as they lack most of the myth, mystery, intrigue, and history (FGL-I:6-10,37; FGL-I:1,25).

4. Sectorial Landscapes

In mapping the online geography of luxury, another important element to consider is the multi-sectorial nature of the industry. By breaking down the data according to the products' categories here considered, and comparing the topics and the geographies characterizing the respective textual interactions online, it is possible to profile different product-based 'landscapes', with different scales of hierarchy between a different number of places involved (Figure 3).
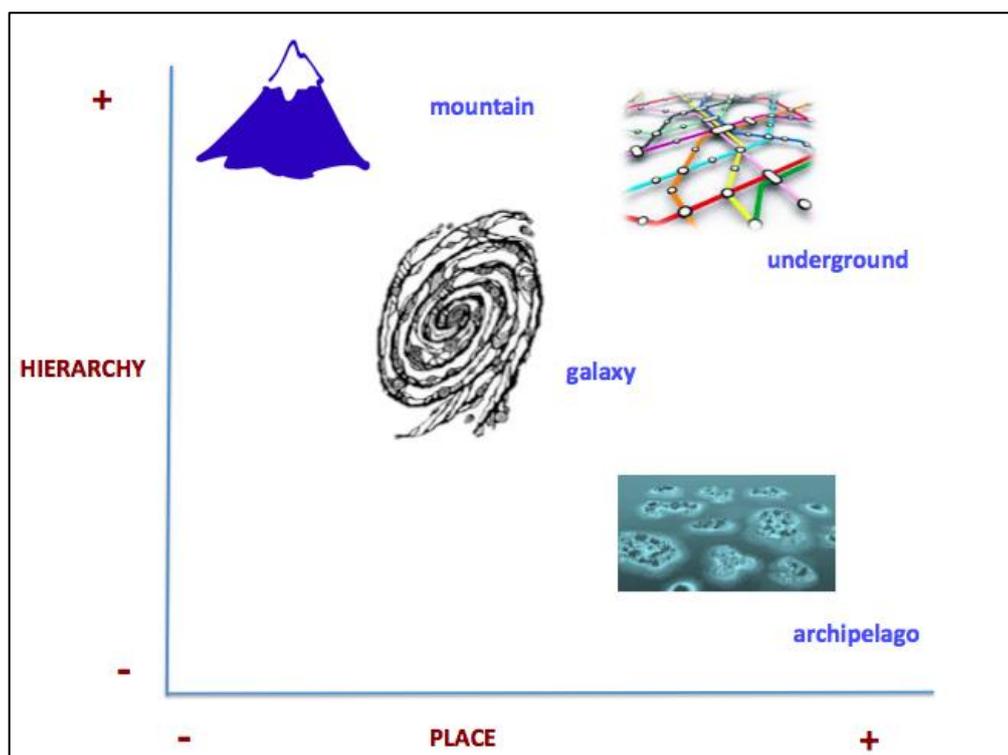
Figure 3: Landscapes developed based on hierarchy and place.

Among the relevant categories observed, the landscape of haute horologerie can be defined as a 'mountain'. The number and the content of the posts and conversation threads clearly show that watchmaking has one acknowledged site of excellence: Switzerland.

Over the centuries, Switzerland (Place) has been hosting generations of watchmaking families (People), all working towards specific Purposes: innovation, design excellence, and quality. The indigenous genius loci has also naturally oriented the production along the Responsibility for the value proposition and Recognition of the products: as recalled by one of the interviewed bloggers, the Swiss craftsmanship is characterized by a very strong sense of personal investment, and pride in the work output.

These are the elements that enabled Switzerland to emerge over England and France – which are considered the countries of lost opportunity in watchmaking. Even when considering the German competition, and the appearance of Asian fine watchmakers, Swiss market Resonance is still prominent, due to its strict technical standards and the Swiss-made certification.

Despite being oftentimes scaled down as marketing mystique, the 'Swiss-made brand' seems to hold its economic and reputational value: quite a few posters potentially accept the luxury fashion brands' extension to timepieces, provided that the mechanical parts were made in Switzerland – as it happens for Burberry or Hugo Boss.

Quite on the opposite side, the fragrance landscape appears as an 'archipelago',   where luxury perception is fluidly distributed in a variety of settings. Certainly, France may appear as the home of luxury perfumery (both niche and 'branded'), due to centuries of Purposes around perfumes production, noses' training and raw-material purveying network. In dedicated Forum Groups, however, online users are open to re-draw their mental maps and include the places of origin of the juices, the spatial associations of nuances and smells, and the countries of bottling and distribution. As a consequence, their geography of luxury perfumery includes countries such as the Middle East (FGL-II:12-4,7,8) for oud scent, but also China and Asia because of their herbs, flowers and leaves (FGL-II:12,4).

The evocative power of perfumes in combining natural ingredients, landscapes and emotions stimulates online users in looking for the richness and the variety of different Places, especially when it comes to niche perfumery: There's no flag perfume anymore and it's all for the best! (FGI-VIII: 6,1)

Quite close to an 'archipelago' is also the geographic landscape of the bespoke man suits, with different areas of excellence allocated for textiles, items, fitting styles, tailoring. Similarly to perfumes, posters seem to enjoy geographic variety as a way to show their ability (or economic possibility) in combining the best of the best of specific genius loci: My jackets and trousers are tailored in the USA, but the fabric comes from Holland & Sherry, Zegna, Harris Tweed, etc. Similarly, my shirts are tailored in the USA and Asia (Malaysia, I believe), but the shirtings are Italian and Japanese - Thomas Mason, Albini, Canclini, etc. (FGI-IV:1,10).

Between 'mountains' and 'archipelagos', there are 'galaxies'. 'Galaxy' is the typical landscape of fashion brands and leather goods - mainly bags. It is characterized by one or more recognized centres, with others gravitating around. Hermès is almost unanimously set as the brand following an authentic Project for excellence, with bags manufactured in France (Place) by skilled artisans (People) combining exquisite materials with refined techniques.

Online users, however, seems to have accommodated to the diasporic nature of fashion and leather items' production. Most of the posts and threads on these sectors focus mainly on 'made-in' issues, especially in order to detect fakes. This makes them discuss and interiorise a complex map with different countries of offshoring brands, models/styles of the items considered. They are certainly able to establish ranking between sites of delocalisation (a Spanish Louis Vuitton purse is certainly less appealing than a 'Made-in-France' one). This reality, however, makes them relying on the brand's reputation and their specific Project of excellence.

Spatial perceptions about luxury cars have instead a 'tube' structure, i.e. many relevant centres at the same level. Italy, Germany, USA are the productive poles of luxury automotive, with Japan at the inclusion threshold. Here, posters dwell on the genius loci, and nationalise the feature of the products: American cars' Project for excellence generally aims at performance, European cars at pleasure to drive, Japanese cars at endurance.

5. Genius Loci and Globalised Luxury
In dealing with the global reality of luxury, online users adopt a double approach.

If we consider luxury as a Project of excellence, this is by its own nature linked to several genii loci throughout time and space. As such, online users highlight several sites of excellence in every specific sector spread all around the world – such as cashmere and silk production in Asia. The identification of luxury as European, therefore, is just a geographic remnant of cultural colonialism (Q&A-I:27,1; Q&A-I:28,4).

From this standpoint, posters claim that 'non-European luxuries' should be acknowledged in their specific characteristics. US luxury, for instance, cannot be evaluated against the same features - aristocratic or baroque - (FGI-IV:7) of the European one. Rather, it is necessary to find other descriptive terms for it: if British, French and Italian luxury items could be defined by this sense of craftsmanship and tradition…, American luxury items tend to be innovative and with a sense of practicality (B-III:5) Similarly, fashion bloggers group the works of Japanese designers – Comme des Garcon, Junya Watanabe, Issey Miyake – as avant-garde luxury. They also acknowledge the stylistic cross-pollination between Asia and the West, with Rei Kawakubo and Kenzo being active in Paris, and Armani and Antonio Marras (B-IV, 4) drawing inspiration from Asian motives.

Similarly, the general identification of China as the oxymoron of luxury (O-II:1,26) for some users is just sort of simplistic 'me-too' China- bashing exercise" (FGL II:3,16). As a matter of fact, China was renowned in the past for the superior quality in the production of ceramics and silk, and its bad reputation is just a recent element (FGL-VI: 2,11). Even nowadays, China can count on the presence of proficient craftsmen (FGL-V:4,9), as the collaboration with the brands of luxury shows. Furthermore,

by manufacturing luxury products for the Western markets, Chinese have actually improved in their workmanship (FGL-VII:1,19). This could pave the way to the development of a Project for 'Chinese luxury' in the near future (B-IV:5; B-III:5; FGL-VII:1,40).

Together with embracing the theoretically universal reach of luxury, online users reflect in their threads on the more recent phenomenon of the luxury production's offshoring. By creating a geographic as well as a cultural disjunction between the place of origin (in terms of corporate headquartering or cultural origin) and the place of manufacturing, delocalization seems to tear the genius loci rich cultural layers apart. Despite many posts account for the individuals' dissatisfaction towards the situation and the utopian desire of a French designer [made in] France, shoes from Italy (FGL-VI: 2,37), or a British owned Jaguar (Q&A I: 38, 2), offshoring is acknowledged as the reality of a world-embracing economy.

As a matter of fact, in this networked reality of production, it is the Project of excellence that matters: in other words, the coordination between the People, their Purposes, and the Places where the ideation takes place. Within the threads dedicated to Burberry delocalisation, some posters remind that the Burberry Project for excellence is British at its very core. Christopher Bailey gets inspired by British music, history, art, sport and film (O-I:40), and the British-ness is then passed down to marketing and financing operations (Q&A-V: 189,2).

A few descriptive posts offers quite a vivid portrait of the global reality of luxury production: the haute horologerie industry is a real combination of efforts of people from different cultures (B-I:5); the typical French noses of high-end perfumery usually works for multinational companies, and create geographically undistinguished fragrances (FGL-II:6,3); Japanese designers rely on Italian fabrics (B-II:4); the iconic brands of British and American automotives are made of imported parts or by foreign owned companies (Q&A-V:218,7).

What actually concerns the online users is the ultimate purpose justifying the delocalization. In their eyes, this is just a cost-cutting manoeuvre (FGL-VII: 1,17), in order for companies to have it both ways (O-I:12): the seal of luxury as utmost perfection together with profit maximization through cost reduction (FGL-VII: 6,39; FGL-VII:1,17). In other words, delocalisation adds to the aforementioned 4 P's a further one: Price. Price, however, does not align with the other P's: as a matter of fact, it neutralise all of them.

Firstly, Price is conflicting with the Place. Some posters point out that luxury enterprises operate with large enough margins of profit… that enable them to confortably manufacture domestically (FGL-VII: 1,35), and thus to encourage talent in their own country (FGL-VII:1,24). Besides, with luxury items, the place of origin has historical meaning [that] is more important than saving money (FGL-I: 13,27).

If the quest underneath delocalisation were about quality, companies would simply farm out their production to countries manufacturing renowned, such as Italy or England (FGL-VII:1,28). This is for instance the explanation provided by a poster to a question on the reason for Louis Vuitton glasses to be made in Italy by Luxottica: Luxottica provides that specific sectorial know-how and technical expertise coupled with the craftsmanship for the frames (Q&A-V:31,1) which is akin to the standards seek by LV in the leather goods' production. Similarly, it is quite acceptable to have a 'non-made in France' Dior bag, if it's made in Italy (B-V:1-2), or a Prada item made of British wool (B-V:2).

The delocalisation weave, instead, has flown towards Asian countries -particularly China. While many underline the poor reputation of China in terms of quality manufacture, others stress that poor quality is not just the natural outcome of a lack of workmanship, but can be also a planned requirement. From this standpoint, Chinese suppliers not always do what they can, but what they are requested to (FGL-VII:1,36-37).

This concern applies also when it is the ownership of a company to be delocalised. Discussing about the acquisition of Jaguar by the Indian automaker Tata, online posters seem to be sceptical that a company working on low budget bad quality cars (Q&A-V: 225-1) or that do not have any experience

in developing or handling such brands (Q&A-V: 224,1) can actually fully engage with such a Project of excellence, unless they maintain the workers and the design in loco (Q&A-V: 229; Q&A-V: 225,2).

Price also overrules People. Quite a large number of posts accuse the conglomerates of luxury to turn a blind eye upon the appalling condition of their purveyors' workplace or they way the work (FGL-VII:1,5; FGL-II:1,14; FGL-VI:2,51), or even to happily exploit the loose regulatory norms on health and safety of the supplying countries (FGL-I:17,9; FGL-I:4,11). Furthermore, this also means giving up on People in the long-term. While Workmen at John lobb or Louis Vuitton are better trained and chosen for their excellence rather than their labour costs (FGL-IV: 7,21), when the offshoring is cost-oriented companies do not invest in the development of any know-how or skill (FGL-IV:7,21). Craftsmanship, defined by Sennet (2008:9) as an "enduring, basic human impulse, the desire to do a job well for its own sake", is thus replaced by the short-term Purposes of quick and 'efficient' (FGL-IV:7,28).

Overall, it is the same Project for excellence to be put in jeopardy. Facing products of dubious qualitative standards, and a void rhetoric on the place of origin, companies are giving up on Respect towards the stakeholders, Responsibility towards the value proposition, Recognition of the products: I have a particular problem with Burberry - they market their entire aesthetic on an image of Britishness. Yet they pursue a strategy of closing their manufacturing plants in the UK in favour of exporting it to "cheaper" countries such as China. This effectively means that the core values of the brand are meaningless. It's smart business - but at heart, it's not deeply luxe. It's a bit of a fraud. (FGL-VI:2,63)

6. From where to how: Genius Loci in a globalised and networked reality
Digital platforms are considered by online users as 'free' spaces to assess products' quality and to unmask the corporate 'secrets' about luxury (FGL-IV:7,28). In a more proactive way, they see them as a an influential instrument for corporate change (FGL-IV:7,26).

The interpretation of the data conducted through the analytical lens of the genius loci highlights that online users' place-associations transcend the actual location of the luxury production to embrace other non-geographic attributes – People, Purposes, Projects – as well as the way to relate these elements together – the 6R's.

Bottega Veneta is a virtuous example of a business model based on genius loci as naturally emergent from people's spatial proximity and temporal reiteration of excellence: its craftsmen staff is trans-generational; furthermore, they are all gathered in a small cluster in the North-Eastern part of Italy, which enables a quick know-how transfer and innovation incubation (Sanderson, 2013).

Many other luxury companies and conglomerates, however, have to deal with a more globalised production scenario, possibly with a fragmented and yet integrated network of offshored locations.

Online users certainly acknowledge the necessity for the luxury industry to move globally, but they expect this to be done in a very specific way. I suppose all the "made in" have lost part of their appeal due to several factors. What it is really making the difference it is the REAL quality of the goods and the fact they are produced following all the international laws about health care and rights of the workers (FGL-VII: 6-22).

As we mentioned before, this highly modifies the value of the space. Recalling what has been previously mentioned, in a networked reality it is connection making up the place. In other words, place as a given dimension has almost imploded. While for Maffesoli location favours connection, nowadays it is connection creating the space. This connectivity will create the space for luxury, a space emerging from specific business and operational practices. The focus, in other words, seems to have switched from where to how.

This entails for luxury operators to preserve the integrity of their Project of excellence and to choose the best of the options available, regardless the Price considerations: this may not be practical economically, but it should be something for them to strive for (O-III:6). In addition, when delocalizing

their production or acquiring foreign luxury enterprises, companies are expected to respect, and possibly nourish, the local genius loci.

Firstly, luxury corporations should embrace the full meaning of craftsmanship in connection with People: this is framed by online users not only [as] a question or quality. It's a question of humanity. People want to pay for exclusivity, they want to fell that the products was made with care (FGL-VI:1,14). On the other hand, People (at all corporate levels and roles) need to feel passionate about their activities, taking pride in their crafts and interest in the success of the company (FGL-IV:7,10; FGL-VI:2,9; FGL-IV:1,7; FGL-VII:4,2; FGL-IV:7-15,16).

Secondly, keep hold on Purposes even when the production operation is segmented. This is usually possible through a rigorous quality control process: Guerlain, Chanel and Hermès are believed to maintain a strict supervision in the manufacturing of their perfumes, even when this is not done in house (FGL-VI: 2,24). This allows companies to maintain the Recognition of the product as everyday partners, as indicated by Morace et al.

Lastly, another element luxury companies need to re-define is the Reciprocity between the enterprise and the customers through a transparent communication policy. Although the same concept of luxury includes a blurred area available for individual dream creation by consumers, the data gathered suggest that the dream area has been replenished by corporations with unclarity and ambiguity. This is particularly evident for the manufacturing of fashion items and timepieces (FGL-V:3,3; FGL-I:13,14): Secrecy is the enemy, secrecy is the killer: every single day people get upset towards the brands because they are secretive (BI:14). On this note, transparency seems to be very much appreciated by online users, in that as a corporate practice it reveals honesty, upfront-ness, integrity (FGL-I:3,34; FGL-I:1,15 FGL-I:16,14 FGL-V:4,7 FGL-I:18,25), and respect for the consumer: You pay the price therefore you do have the right to know everything about the way it has been made (FGL-IV:7-16).

This attitude is indirectly confirmed by the positive sales performance of those brands which are preserving and nurturing their own manufacturing excellence and also transparency– Hermès, Bottega Veneta, Chanel, Brunello Cuccinelli:

Most Chinese and Japanese luxury consumers still associate the Made in Europe label with superior quality but increasingly feel the prices need to be justified not just on the basis of 200 years of history but also the transparency of the supply chain (Chauvet in Sanderson, 2013).

The shift from where to how opens up different operational options also for SMEs and start-ups in the field of luxury - also from luxury-unrelated countries. They still can rediscover and capitalise on their local genius loci, but they can also assemble talents and know-hows according to their own Projects, as Norlha Textiles did by working the yak wool in the Tibetan Plateau according to the techniques coming from China, Tibet, Nepal, Cambodia, India.

In setting out for the luxury navigation route between online and offline dimensions, production (dis) location, and geographic imagery, companies have still their compass: provide people with the tangible excellence of their products, resulting from responsible and honest business practices.

References

Abtan, O., Achille, A., Bellaiche, J.M., Kim, Y., Lui, V., Mall, A., Mei- Pochtler, A. and Willersdorf, S. (2014), Shock of the New Chic: Dealing with New Complexity in the Business of Luxury, 30 January. https://www.bcgperspectives.com/content/articles/consumer_products_retail_shock_n ew_chic_dealing_with_new_complexity_business_luxury/

Achille, A. and Branchini, A. (2015), True Luxury: Global Consumer Insight. Talk Presented at Consumer and Retail Insight Event, 22 January 2015.

Aiello, G., Donvito, R., Godey, B., Wiedman, K.P., Hennigs, N., Siebels, A., Chan, P., Tsuchiya, J., Rabino, S., Skorobogatykh, I.I., Weitz, B., Oh, H. and Singh, R. (2009), An International Perspective on Luxury Brand and Country-of-Origin Effect. Brand Management, 16 (5/6): 323-337.

Agrawal, J. and Kamakura, W.A. (1999), Country of Origin: a Competitive Advantage? International Journal of Research in Marketing, 16: 255-267.

Balabanis, G. and Diamantopoulos, A. (2008), Brand Origin Identification by Consumers: a Classification Perspective, Journal of International Marketing, 16 (1): 39-71.

Barney, D. (2004), The Network Society, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bernstein Research (2014), European Luxury Goods: True Luxury Global Consumer Insight. http://eds.b.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=9178f029-7c68-424c-b646-ca16c720c665%40sessionmgr198&hid=104&bdata=JkF1dGhUeXBlPWlwLGNvb2tpZSxhdGhlbnMmc2l0ZT1lZHMtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=94987072&db=bth

Castells, M. (2001), The Internet Galaxy: Reflections on the Internet, Business, and Society, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cavanagh, A. (2007), Sociology in the Age of the Internet. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Cavanagh, A. (2013), Imagining Networks: The Sociology of Connection in the Digital Age. In K. Orton-Johnson, and N. Prior (eds.) Digital Sociology: Critical Perspectives, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 169-185.

Cheng, A. (2013), Made in America Gains Fashion with Luxury Brands, MarketWatch, 18 January. http://www.marketwatch.com/story/made-in-america-gains-fashion-with-luxury-brands-2013-01-18

Chesters, L. (2014), A 'Made in Britain' Fashion Revival - For Those Who Can Afford It, The Independent, 3 January. http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/fashion/news/a-made-in-britain-fashion-revival-for-those-who-can-afford-it-9038011.html

Chevalier, M. and Mazzalovo, G. (2012), Luxury Brand Management: a World of Privilege. Singapore: John Wiley & Sons.

Dall'Olmo-Riley, F. and Lacroix, C. (2003), Luxury Branding on the Internet: Lost Opportunity or Impossibility? Marketing Intelligence & Planning, 21 (2): 96-104.

Dauriz, L., Michetti, A., Sandri, N. and Zocchi, A. (2013), Digital Luxury Experience 2013: Keeping up with Changing Customers. https://www.mckinseyonmarketingandsales.com/sites/default/files/pdf/Digital_Luxury_Experience_2013.pdf

Dubois, B. and Paternault, C. (1995), Understanding the World of International Luxury Brands: the 'Dream Formula'. Journal of Advertising Research Jul/Aug: 69-76.

Godey, B., Pederzoli, D., Aiello, G., Donvito, R., Chan, P., Oh, H., Singh, R., Skorobogatykh, I.I., Tsuchiya, J. and Weitz, B. (2012), Brand and Country-of-Origin Effect on Consumers' Decision to Purchase Luxury Product. Journal of Business Research, 65: 1461-1470.

Han, C.M. (1989), Country Image: Halo or Summary Construct? Journal of Marketing Research, 26: 222-229.

Hine, C. (2003), Virtual Ethnography. London: Sage.

Jones, S.G. (1995), Cybersociety: Computer-mediated Communication and Community, London: Sage.

Jung, H., Lee, Y., Kim, H.J. and Yang, H. (2014), Impacts of Country Images on Luxury Fashion Brand: Facilitating with the Brand Resonance Model. Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management, 18(2): 187-205.

Ilari, A. (2012), Made in Italy Tag Lures EM Consumers, Financial Times, 20 September. https://next.ft.com/content/f9083c5a-0326-11e2-a284-00144feabdc0

Kapferer, J. and Bastien, V. (2009), The Specificity of Luxury Management: Turning Marketing Upside Down. Brand Management, 16: 311-322.

Keller, K.L. (2009), Managing the Growth Trade Off: Challenges and Opportunities in Luxury Branding. Brand Management, 15 (5/6): 290-301.

Kozinets, R. (1998), On Netnography: Intial Reflections on Consumer Research Investigations of Cyberculture. Advances in Consumer Research, 25: 366- 371.

Leitch, L. (2015), Brit-ish or British? The Telegraph Luxury, 3 February, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/luxury/mens-style/36939/brit-ish-or-british.html

Mackinnon, A. (2014), Fashion Made-in-China: Fine for Everyone but the Chinese, 28 September. http://www.rappler.com/life-and-style/fashion/70424-fashion-china-miuccia-prada

Maffesoli, M. (1996), The Time of the Tribes: The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society. London: Sage.

Magnusson, P. and Westjohn, S.A. (2011), Is There a Country-of-Origin Theory? In: Jain, S. and Griffith, D.A. (eds.), Handbook of Research in International Marketing, UK and USA: Edward Elgar pp.292-316.

Miller, V. (2013), Understanding Digital Culture, London: Sage.

Morace, F., Ventrelli, V. and Ferrarini, P. (2003), Estetiche Italiane-Italian Ways. Milan: Libri Scheiwiller.

Okonkwo, U. (2009), Sustaining the Luxury Brand on the Internet. Brand Management. 16: 302-310.

Okonkwo, U. (2010), Luxury Online: Styles, Systems, Strategies. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ortved, J. (2011), Is Digital Killing the Luxury Brand? Adweek, 12 September. http://www.adweek.com/news/advertising-branding/digital-killing-luxury-brand-134773

Paciolla, R. and Mai, L. (2011), The Impact of Italianate on UK Consumers' Brand Perceptions of Luxury Brands. European Advances in Consumer Research, 9: 360-366.

Pharr, J.M. (2005), Synthesizing Country-of-Origin Research from the Last Decade: is the Concept Still Salient in an Era of Global Brands? Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice, 13 (4): 34-45.

Phau, I. and Prendergast, G. (2000), Conceptualizing the Country of Origin of Brand. Journal of Marketing Communication, 6:159-170.

Piron, F. (2000), Consumers' Perception of the Country of Origin Effect on Purchasing Intentions of (In)Conspicuous Products. The Journal of Consumer Marketing, 17 (4): 308-321.

Remy, N., Catena, M. and Durand-Servoingt, B. (2015), Digital Inside: Get Wired For The Ultimate Luxury Experience. https://www.mckinsey.de/sites/mck_files/.../dle-2015-global-report.pdf

Rheingold, H. (2000), The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier, Cambridge (MA): MIT Press.

Ricca, M. and Robins, R. (2012), Meta-Luxury: Brands and the Culture of Excellence. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

Roth, K.P. and Diamantopulos, A. (2009), Advancing the Country Image Construct. Journal of Business Research, 62:726-740.

Sennet, R. (2008), The Crafstman. London: Penguin Books.

Sanderson, R. (2013), Manufacturing: Consumers Push Big Luxury Names to Account for Supply Chains. Financial Times, 2 June. https://next.ft.com/content/f2498d08-be45-11e2-9b27-00144feab7de

Shukla, P. (2011), Impact of Interpersonal Influences, Brand Origin and Brand Image on Luxury Purchase Intentions: Measuring Interfunctional Interactions and a Cross- National Comparison. Journal of World Business, 46: 242-252.

Simmel, G. (1998), Sociologia, Turin: Edizioni di Comunità.

Solca, L. (2015), The 'Made in' Dilemma: To Label, or Not To Label. Business of Fashion, 14 June. http://www.businessoffashion.com/community/voices/discussions/does-made-in-matter/the-made-in-dilemma-to-label-or-not-to-label

Thakor, M.V. and Kohli, C.S. (1996), Brand Origin: Conceptualization and Review. Journal of Consumer Marketing, 13 (3): 27-42.

Tokatli, N. (2014), 'Made in Italy? Who cares!' Prada New Economic Geography. Geoforum, 54:1-9.

Tonkiss, F. (2006), Contemporary Economic Sociology: Globalisation, Production, Inequality, London: Routledge.

Tsui, E. (2012), The Luxury that Dare Not Speak Its Name. Financial Times, 3 October. https://next.ft.com/content/b88b4a38-0d57-11e2-97a1-00144feabdc03

Visconti, L.M., and Di Giuli A. (2014). Principles and Levels of Mediterranean Connectivity: Evidence from Prada's 'Made in Worlds' Brand Strategy. Journal of Consumer Behaviour, 13: 164-175.

Wang, C.L., Li, D., Barnes B.R. and Ahn, J. (2012), Country Image, Product Image and Consumer Purchase Intention: Evidence from an Emerging Economy. International Business Review. 21:1041-1051.

Williams, A. (2012), A Label That Has Regained Its Luster. The New York Times, 14 September. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/16/fashion/made-in-the-usa-has-a-new-meaning.html?_r=0

Yu, C., Lin, P. and Chen, C. (2013), How Brand Image, Country of Origin, and Self- Congruity Influence Internet Users' Purchase Intention. Social Behaviour and Personality, 4 (4): 99-612.

Zecchi, S. (2015), Il Lusso: Eterno Desiderio Di Voluttà E Bellezza. Milan: Mondadori.