

Delocalized Production and Product Authenticity: A Firm-Level Exploratory Examination of the Importance of Origin in Supply Chains of Creative Industries[†]

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Abstract

The offshoring of both upstream and downstream activities has allowed producers and brands around the world to achieve production efficiencies and gain access to new technology and innovation. Yet the potential pitfalls extend beyond managing production quality and operational efficiency to potential shifts in perceived identity of the brand when such activities are outsourced or offshored. This is particularly the case when the identity of the product or company brand is strongly linked to the country of origin, as is often the case in cultural and creative industries. This paper provides an exploratory examination of three cases of such industries – namely Japanese animation, Italian textiles and leather goods, and Danish design furniture – to determine how firms view the importance of place and the deconstructed concept of “origin” in striking a balance between pragmatic supply chain decisions and producing a product they believe to be authentic.

Keywords: authenticity, product authenticity, brand authenticity, country of origin, production location, cultural industries

I Introduction

Location - specifically cities, regions, and countries - and perceptions of these places, is often an inherent aspect of many cultural and creative goods across various aspects of the value chain. Nations and regions become known for particular types of cuisine, styles of fashion, and design ethos and aesthetics. ‘Thai food’, ‘Italian fashion’, or ‘Scandinavian design’, for example, can be cogent descriptors of and cognitive shortcuts for the products based on consumers’ understanding of taste, style, aesthetics, and possibly quality they associate with those places (Sims 2009; Pike 2009; Clifton 2011) – regardless of whether these associations are derived from actual or vicarious experience.

Likewise, regions and towns develop reputations for growing particular produce and processing different types of foodstuffs and materials. Geographical Indications (GI) such as Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) and Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) regulations in the EU have created legal protection for regionally produced and branded agricultural and food products (e.g. *Parmigiano-Reggiano* and *Chianti Classico* from Italy, *Roquefort* and *Champagne* from France). On a national level, rules of origin in international trade have attempted to assign a single source country for manufactures through “made in” labels. Yet not all cultural industries

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benefit from natural or legislated protection, particularly if they involve labour-intensive stages of production and are bound for mass consumer markets. Offshoring - the shifting of production processes to overseas locations in order to gain cost advantages through location and scale economies (Grossman and Rossi-Hansberg 2008) has gained considerable attention in recent years. Yet does such the pressure to offshore some production processes affect production location decisions and product attributes for cultural and creative industries such as food, fashion, furniture, or even animation? If Italian fashion is no longer made in Italy, and if Danish design is no longer made in Denmark, or if Japanese animation is not made in Japan, is it still an “authentic” product?

The offshoring of different stages of production in these industries has the potential to affect the nature of the product through substantive changes in parts, produce, or workmanship. However, even without any perceptible difference in product quality, this offshoring can also influence consumers’ perceptions of the product attributes and quality, albeit independent of any actual changes, as a large body of country of origin and country image research examines in great detail (cf. Wall, Liefeld, and Heslop 1991; Pappu, Quester, and Cooksey 2007), and may also affect consumers’ perception of the product’s “authenticity”. Is the place, a prescribed process, or the purpose of production the most important factor in evaluations of authenticity? Confounding this issue is that authenticity itself tends to be a nebulous construct, conceptualised differently across domains and the perception of which is often due to consumers’ subjective evaluations based on their knowledge, taste, motives, and expectations (Leigh, Peters, and Shelton 2006; Wood, Solomon, and Munoz 2006; Napoli et al. 2014; Moulard, Raggio, and Folse 2020).

The existence of this offshoring questions the extent to which affiliations of place are important for the brand or product’s perceived authenticity. For example, how much, or what stages of production could Italian luxury fashion brands like Prada or Gucci, or storied Danish furniture makers such as Fritz Hansen or Carl Hansen offshore before they are no longer recognised as Italian or Danish respectively? This dynamic is inextricably linked not only to supply chain management and the extent to which design can be separated from production, but also to the organisational tension between manufacturers, designers, and brands, whose interests and affiliation with place is not always in harmony. Therefore, this study will investigate these firm-level and industry-level elements in an exploratory manner to gain insight into the degree to which production of cultural products can be separated from place of origin and still considered authentic.

II Theoretical Background

1. Country of Origin and Country Brand Image

The offshoring of particular parts of the value chain provide firms with opportunities to maintain competitiveness. This arises not only by reducing costs through the offshoring of assembly (Dunning 1998; Grossman and Rossi-Hansberg 2008) but also allowing locally embedded firms to effectively expand the scale of operations and source high value-added innovation (Lewin, Massini, and Peeters 2009). Conversely, potential problems occurring from offshoring has led to a slowing and even a “backshoring” or “reshoring” examined in the literature include arising task complexity (Larsen, Manning, and Pedersen 2013) and stakeholder perceptions (Robertson, Lamin, and Livanis 2010). Shifting production offshore therefore can present a challenge to a firm not only from a managerial perspective in maintaining quality, but also to managing perceptions that consumers have of those countries. As one of the most examined concepts in the literature on international marketing, country of origin (COO) research has primarily focused on perceptions of countries

of manufacture as a cue that affects consumer attitudes and intentions toward specific products. With some exceptions, the vast majority of studies on country of origin stereotypes and country brand image indicate that production location does influence consumer evaluations of product quality, suggesting that consumers will place a higher value on particular goods being produced in particular countries while regarding certain products made in other countries as inferior (Johansson, Douglas, and Nonaka 1985).

Many empirical studies of country of origin effects examine the perceptions of one country vis-a-vis another, (Johansson, Douglas and Nonaka 1985; Balabanis and Diamantopoulos 2004; Liu and Johnson 2005) while others conduct cross-national comparisons of consumer attitudes (Godey et al. 2012; Insch and McBride 2004).

These effects have been linked to various attributes of the country including on a macro scale, such as level of economic development, political climate, and belief system (Bilkey and Nes 1982), and a micro level, such as consumer attitudes to product categories from different countries (Chao 1993, 2001; Pham 2006). For example, consumers in different regions have traditionally placed higher valuations on Japan for televisions, Italy for clothes, and the US for computer products (Van Pham 2006). Ethnocentrism has been one of the most widely adopted antecedents that contribute to country of origin image or stereotypes (Sharma, Shimp, and Shin 1995; Balabanis and Diamantopoulos 2004; Chattalas, Kramer, and Takada 2008), while other research has examined the effect of overt animosity towards specific countries (Klein, Ettenson, and Morris 1998; Funk et al. 2010; Riefler 2020). While this can establish how a consumer's ethnocentrism, stereotypes, or affinity to a particular country can influence the perception of products from that country, it tells us little about how perceptions might change when production is moved to, sourced from, or licensed to a country where no such animosity exists. In particular, for cultural or creative goods linked to specific countries, offshoring certain aspects of production is not likely to find ethnocentrism as a factor (for the consumption of a foreign cultural product) but could potentially reduce the perceived authenticity of the product in question.

Importantly, as supply chains become increasingly globalised and components of a product can be sourced from and produced in several different locations, empirical research has distinguished between the location of the product's country of design (COD), assembly (COA), and parts (COP) (Chao 1993, 1998; Insch and McBride 2004), brand name (Thakor and Pacheco 1997), and brand origin (CBO) (Essoussi and Merunka 2007; Balabanis and Diamantopoulos 2011; Shukla 2011) brand ownership (Thakor and Lavack 2003), and entry mode (Fong, Lee, and Du 2013). This hybrid products approach – which through global sourcing and offshoring reflects the contemporary reality of supply chains in many sectors – questions whether a brand's choice to locate different parts of their value adding activities in disparate countries will in fact affect a consumer's perceived image of the product, and in turn, attitudes and intentions.

In examining the effects of COO stereotypes on consumers' product evaluations, studies have largely examined intentions such as willingness-to-pay (Funk et al. 2010; Koschate-Fischer, Diamantopoulos, and Oldenkotte 2012) or attitudes such as perceptions of quality (Chao 1993; Elliott and Cameron 1994; Chao 1998; Insch and McBride 2004) in line with quality dimensions of innovation, design, prestige, and workmanship established by Roth and Romero (1992). This paper suggests, however, that even as a multi-dimensional construct, quality may not capture all of consumers' desired product or brand attributes. Particularly in relation to cultural or creative goods, authenticity may be an additional dimension that consumers seek, which may in turn be affected by changes in production location.

2. Defining Authenticity

There has been significant research interest in the construct of authenticity in both academic research and branding practice over the last decade. Yet a lack of clarity and precision in the definition has hampered application and evaluation of its role in firm-level decisions and consumer perceptions. Part of the reason has been its broad applicability across wide array of realms and disciplinary fields, having been examined in tourism studies (Cohen 1988; Wang 1999; Gibson 2008; Gnoth and Wang 2015), cultural studies (Hede and Thyne 2010; Peterson 2005), food consumption (Zukin 2008; Sims 2009; Riefler 2020) consumer behaviour (Grayson et al. 2002; Leigh, Peters, and Shelton 2006; Chalmers and Price 2009) and in brand management through the concept of brand authenticity (Brown, Kozinets, and Sherry 2003; Beverland 2005; Beverland and Farrelly 2010).

Essentially authenticity refers to finding one's place through connection and relating to others, culture, time and place (Beverland and Farrelly 2010), and to determining how true and accurate interactions with products (Beverland, Lindgreen, and Vink 2008), brands (Leigh, Peters, and Shelton 2006), and experiences (Hede and Thyne 2010). Research on authenticity as a consumer concept has been defined as what is genuine, real, or (Zukin 2008; Liao and Ma 2009; Beverland and Farrelly 2010) with products being viewed as real because they represent a "true" culture rather than a mass-produced, mainstream cultural object (Koontz 2010). This can be considered an expression of personal identity, and a response to standardisation and homogenisation in the marketplace (Thompson, Rindfleisch, and Arsel 2006; Liao and Ma 2009; Beverland and Farrelly 2010).

Importantly, authenticity is socially constructed and dependent on consumers' perceptions (Lane and Waitt 2001; Beverland and Farrelly 2010; Moulard, Raggio, and Folse 2020). If authenticity is inherently reliant on perceptions and definitions of individuals then authenticity can be something different to each individual. Holt (2003) and Beverland (2005) suggests that consumers with different levels of cultural capital search for different cues to signal authenticity. In other words, our ability to accurately appraise the authenticity for a cultural good relies on our knowledge of and appreciation for the culture's ethos. For example, in the advertising and labelling of Trappist beers, Beverland, Lindgreen and Vink (2008) found that consumers look for specific iconic and indexical cues to judge the authenticity of a beer's projected Trappist origin, though not always accurately. Yet when individual consumers have insufficient knowledge, authenticity requires recognition or acclamation by the public, or a group to have value to the individual.

Grayson and Martinec (2004) see authenticity occurring as either as *indexical* (an original vs fake distinction), which requires verification of authenticity, or *iconic* (a faithful rendition of an established style), which requires knowledge to assess authenticity. Extending this through an examination of the market for country music, Peterson (2005) suggests authenticity can be achieved through either close replication of a classic established style or delivery of original and distinctive new work.

Where heritage of origin, place, or production are lacking, Koontz (2010) finds that marketers can build authenticity through five variations of 'traditionalising': (1) use of traditional production methods; (2) connecting to the physical location's history; (3) recreating historical sites; (4) constructing nostalgia, particularly around disappearing ways of life; and (5) replicating original formulas). Further, Beverland (2005) argues that brand authenticity is based on both actual and stylised versions of the truth and broadly captured in six attributes: (1) heritage and pedigree; (2) stylistic consistency; (3) quality commitments; (4) relationship to place; (5) method of production, and (6) downplaying commercial motives. Subsequent empirical research efforts to measure consumer-based brand identity pointed to dimensions of continuity, originality, reliability, and

naturalness (Bruhn et al. 2012), credibility, integrity, symbolism, and continuity (Morhart et al. 2013), and first order factors of quality commitment, sincerity, and heritage (Napoli et al. 2014).

While some scholars state that ‘the search for authenticity is one of the cornerstones of contemporary marketing’ (Brown, Kozinets and Sherry, 2003: 21), one of the biggest potential downfalls to the marketing and brand management approach is that it often suggests matching consumers’ perceived desire for (perceived) authenticity through what Peterson (2005) refers to as *authenticity works* suggesting that such efforts are ultimately fake, contrived, or as MacCannell (1973, 2008) calls it *staged authenticity*. In this respect, Gilmore and Pine (2007) proposed real/fake matrix suggesting that “fake” (eg Disneyland) can still be perceived as authentic if it is presented as such and hence allows customers to partake in a real, authentic experience. This touches on both the Beverland (2005) “downplaying commercial motives” principle and reinforces the argument that contrived authenticity is axiomatically the antithesis of real authenticity.

With regard to regulating place-related product authenticity, legal frameworks do exist: As mentioned above, Geographical Indications (GI) legislation protect produce from regions within the EU and Japan, although they have been problematic to enforce internationally. Likewise, “made in” laws are by nature specific but tend to indicate the country of highest value added. Yet while national governments – often for trade and tax purposes – may have precise legal definitions about what constitutes a “national product”, consumers and particularly consumers in other countries have a much weaker understanding of these issues and have far greater difficulty evaluating the authenticity of a cultural or creative good. This is in part due to the difficulty in defining with any precision what ‘authenticity’ means even as it related to a particular place. Further, foreign consumers may lack knowledge of the cultural norms and be unfamiliar with the ethos of cultural production relevant for those goods.

Despite consumers’ quests for authenticity, defining cultural authenticity relating to place can be problematic. As Cowen argues, cultures and the products that they produce have long evolved through trade in products, techniques, and the opening of new markets (Cowen 2002).

Given the complexity of both assessing the true authenticity of a cultural product and the variability of consumer responses to it, this research first takes a firm-level view of authenticity as it relates to place. As a working definition of place-based product authenticity is when a cultural or creative product is recognised as being true to the ethos of its cultural origins in a contemporary context. But which parts of production can be pragmatically offshored while remaining authentic?

III Methodology

1. Multiple Case Study Methodology

To determine how different actors in cultural and creative industry value chains perceive the role of origin in their authenticity, purposive selection criteria was chosen to select relevant industries and actors within them. This is likely to yield a more holistic perspective in order to pursue exploratory research as opposed to employing probability-based case selection. The cases in multiple case studies should combine to give a clearer understanding of a phenomenon (Stake 2010). This paper examines three different country/industry cases and explores how the importance of origin and production location relate to product authenticity.

One of case study methodology’s strengths is the ability to incorporate a variety of evidence, such as documents, archival records, direct observations and interviews (Eisenhardt 1989; Yin 2003) allowing for greater corroboration of a phenomena. In this research, firms’ marketing collateral, company website content

and other documentation as well as direct observation were used to complement interview transcripts. This approach allows the investigator to triangulate the results from multiple sources (Glavas and Mathews 2014).

While consumers are the ultimate judges of authenticity, there are many other intermediary arbiters and gatekeepers of authenticity that play an important role in guiding consumers' perceptions. These include brand owners, critics and reviewers, press and journalists, buyers and distributors, lead users and opinion leaders. This study focuses specifically on brand owners, manufacturers, and designers – the people assumed to be responsible for critical creative decisions in production. Their understandings of consumer insights and gatekeepers' opinions are likely to influence their choice of production and marketing strategy.

2. Case Selection

In seeking to explore both unique and generalisable aspects of the research, three disparate country/industry combinations were chosen. In selecting an internationally well-known cultural or creative sector for the respective countries, it was decided to focus on animation from Japan, textile and footwear from Italy, and furniture from Denmark. All three are internationally renowned from their high-income country of origin, yet also require extensive labour-intensive production that is often subject to offshoring due to cost pressures. In order to obtain representative data in each case, one major manufacturer or producer, independent manufacturers/studios, and a representative from an industry organisation or industry expert were chosen.

Table 1: Case Selection and Interviews

Case	Interview	Company/Subject Details	Location
<i>Case 1: Japanese animation</i>			
	1A	Major production company	Tokyo
	1B	Pioneering production company	Tokyo
	1C	Independent production company	Tokyo
	1D	Freelance Scriptwriter	Tokyo
<i>Case 2: Italian Fashion (Textile, Footwear, Apparel)</i>			
	2A	Major textile manufacturer	Veneto
	2B	Small textile manufacturer	Veneto
	2C	Apparel and footwear manufacturer	Rimini
	2D	Footwear manufacturer	Veneto
	2E	Textile Industry Association	Prato
<i>Case 3: Danish Design (furniture/interior)</i>			
	3A	Major furniture manufacturer	Copenhagen
	3B	Small design studio, owner	Copenhagen
	3C	Independent designer	Copenhagen
	3D	Head of Designers Association	Copenhagen

3. Framework and Instrument

Hybrid goods concept from the COO literature provides a framework to analyse which aspects of a product is the most important for its authenticity. Interviews conducted using semi-structured, open-ended questions to elucidate the critical aspects of the research from the perspective of each actor. As the country and sector differed for each case, and the role of the actor differed within each case, interview protocols were adapted for each interview to allow them to be relevant to each participant. Each protocol however, included aspects of authenticity and relevant questions relating to outsourcing, offshoring, and production location as outlined above.

IV Case 1: Japanese Anime

1. Background and Analysis

Japanese animation production has been typified by a high level of outsourcing to small studios mostly located around Tokyo. Cost pressures have driven many animation production companies to outsource lower value and more labour-intensive components of production outside of Japan as early as the 1970s. In examining the extent to which the concept of authenticity is relevant to Japanese animation and whether offshoring affects the authenticity of animation produced, it is necessary to discuss what makes Japanese animation authentically 'Japanese'. Here, these are considered according to product attributes and parts, production location, talent, and ownership.

A conspicuous product attribute of Japanese animation to date has been its two-dimensional hand-drawn visual style in contrast to 3D computer animation now being the norm elsewhere. Given the labour-intensive nature, Japanese firms relying on hand-drawn animation must seek low-paid labour in Japan or offshore labour-intensive work to low-cost countries, and quite often both. Hence, the very nature of Japanese animation being hand-drawn has ironically been a driving force in the dispersion of production activities offshore.

Other product attributes that effectively make up the "parts" of an animated production - including culturally specific themes, settings, and stories - may provide some level of measurable indicators of authenticity. Yet many of these are not set in Japan, the characters or their names are not always Japanese. For example, similar to US counterpart Disney, many of Studio Ghibli's animated feature films such as *Porco Rosso* and popular animated series in recent years such as *One Piece* and *Attack on Titan* feature no distinguishable Japanese characters, are set in foreign historical or fantasy worlds. In many cases, animation is based on an existing original work (*gensaku* in Japanese) (e.g. *Howl's Moving Castle* is based on a novel by British author Diana Wynne Jones). Despite this, they are still recognised as Japanese, suggesting the parts (COP) of animation can come from any country and still be re-packaged as a local product.

The scriptwriting however, is predominantly done in Japan (and by Japanese scriptwriter), indicating a problem with using a parts analogy for intangible creative goods. And in the case of animated series (as opposed to feature films) the vast majority are based on existing manga. These functions are arguably much closer to design as it comprises an important part of the production's intellectual property.

Regarding location of production (assembly), Toei Animation has been actively offshoring certain parts of their production to lower cost destinations, particularly through FDI rather than contract manufacturing. In the 1980s, Toei created joint venture with Korean partners, however with rampant inflation it became more expensive to produce in Korea than in Japan, precipitating a decision to move production again to a cheaper country. Toei Animation moved to the Philippines and has around 160 local staff in Manila where in-between

animation, composite, CG, background, and recently key animation is created. Approximately half of the animation production for its hit property One Piece is now being done in the Philippines, and between 20 and 80 percent of the work of any one Toei production is undertaken there (Tschang and Goldstein 2010). Filipino animators working on One Piece reportedly outnumber Japanese animators, especially for in-between animation, colouring, and backgrounds. Storyboards, descriptions, and continuity are sent electronically to Manila, and lead animators in Manila videoconference with a Japanese director in Tokyo.

Amid this offshoring, however smaller studios in particular are feeling competitive pressure from Korea and increasingly China, with concern expressed by animation studios and scriptwriters. Asian competitors are considered cost competitive, increasingly competent, and supported by active government policies to develop the local industry. This has created two main problems for Japanese studios: firstly, these low value-added tasks had previously been where new recruits to the industry had been trained and were able to develop their skills; and secondly, as low-cost producers increase their technical capacity and are able to do more higher value - added processes, more Japanese animation is likely to be offshored. The producers and directors acknowledged a serious challenge in finding a way to remain competitive as they struggle to re-evaluate their core competencies and find parts of the value chain that will enable them to survive.

'As animators first learn by doing in-between animation, outsourcing this and colouring as a set to studios in China prevents this training and effectively leads to a hollowing out of the industry. If we think about the future of animation, it can't continue if there aren't people who can draw, so the most crucial issue is to consider how to foster animators' talent.' (Interview 1B)

Yet despite this concern for the future of their industry, managers of Tokyo animation studios are convinced that short deadlines, the need for tacit communication, and a belief in the unique creative talents resident in Japan have slowed the trend toward offshoring animation production and have provided the local industry with a sense of security.

Japanese producers and directors remain cautious of the effects on the authenticity of their creative goods. For example, one director of a major animation production company talked openly of looking to other countries like the Philippines, China, Taiwan and India as Korean production costs become 'too expensive' while believing that:

'People from other countries can't understand the peculiarities of Japanese culture. Technical skills...in Korea and China...are improving...but they can't copy the 'heart' or 'mental' element of Japanese culture.' (Interview 1A)

However, one director of a small animation studio believed the integrity and "art for art's sake" value of animators within Japan made it more authentic than work done overseas:

'Japan is the only country where animators have the will to persevere with production despite cheap wages. Korea, China, and America are all operating on a commercial basis; many Japanese animators are doing it simply because they like it.' (Interview 1C)

This speaks to aspects of the ethos and authenticity of production process, but whether this translates to perceptible product differences is difficult to ascertain.

There is also a strong belief among industry players that growing up on a diet of manga and anime provides a worker/animation artist more of an affinity and a deep familiarity with the products that they are creating, particularly regarding the storytelling rather than simply the drawing. Others were more circumspect, arguing that regardless of unique methods and techniques, people can be trained and knowledge can be transferred.

Regarding ownership of animation, ownership has mostly been through joint-owned production committees comprised of large animation production companies, such as Toei, publishing houses, such as Shueisha and Shogakukan, and broadcasters, such as NTV, which all own the rights to the original properties. Being owned and released by Japanese companies in this aspect appears to contribute to making them “Japanese”. However, recently US-based Netflix has been acquiring and commissioning “original” remakes of Japanese animation for global distribution, but there has been little change to “production committee” system.

2. Case 1 Conclusions

While offshoring of labour-intensive assembly appears to raise little concern in the industry regarding the authenticity of the product, many industry actors expressed concerns about hollowing out and sustainability of the industry as aspiring animators lose opportunities to learn on-the-job. Talent need not be born and raised in Japan in order to complete production work (in-between, colouring, background animation) as evidenced by Toei Animation’s extensive offshoring of production to its wholly-owned subsidiary in the Philippines. Yet the vast majority of original authors, scriptwriters, directors as well as key animators are often based in Tokyo and overwhelmingly Japanese. These more design-related roles of director and scriptwriter however, appeared far more critical to imbuing the production with a particular Japanese sensibility.

V Case 2: Italian Fashion

1. Background and Analysis

Italy has long been a leading exporter of high-end fabric, and has relied on highly localised garment districts to produce ‘made in Italy’ apparel for export (Bianchi 2003; Piore and Sabel 1984). These textile, leather, and footwear industries and particularly fashion design - have built up a worldwide reputation of quality of workmanship, innovative design, and brand prestige. This has been supported empirically with COO studies (Van Pham 2006; Balabanis and Diamantopoulos 2011). These studies reflect the intangible value that is afforded products bearing the “made in Italy” brand - although these may be based on positive perceptions of very tangible product features of quality (workmanship) and design (functionality and aesthetics) as outlined in Roth and Romero (1992).

Yet recent developments in the Italian apparel and fashion design industry also illustrate how the relative importance of country of design, assembly, parts, and brand origin for a product’s authenticity can diverge between fashion houses, manufacturers, and consumers. The latter’s preference for new and in season garments often mean shorter product life cycles that place downward pressure on consumers’ willingness to pay and, in turn, on production costs. The increased quality of low-cost production locations has led consumers to accept the economic reality of the “designed in Italy, made in (lesser developed/low cost country)” phenomenon.

Here, secondary sources were complemented with interviews predominantly with locally-embedded manufacturers of leather shoes and bags, textiles, and garments in the Veneto, Emilia- Romagna, and Tuscany regions.

Consumer valuations of quality attached to the “made in Italy” label, and – according to interviews with textile, garment, and footwear manufacturers – the ability for Italian makers to deliver superior quality goods in a short timeframe, have reduced tendency for garment manufacturing to be offshored.

Facing a major crisis with the economic downturn in Europe and the US, fast fashion sector, especially

for women's ready-to-wear, has posed a major challenge to Italian fashion and apparel sectors, according to interviewees. This has seen Italian brands such as Versace collaborating with Swedish fast fashion retailer H&M, and many luxury fashion brands increasingly take pragmatic decisions on production location by expanding the offshoring of finished garments. Prada outsources the manufacture of a vast majority of its finished products, predominantly to external manufacturers in Italy with approximately 20 percent of these external manufacturers located outside of Italy in China (including Hong Kong), Vietnam, Turkey, and Romania (Prada 2013).

In terms of production volume, some observers suggested that up to 20 percent of Prada's products are made by external manufacturers in China (Passariello, 2011).

On the "parts" aspect of fashion, renowned textile manufacturers such as Veneto-based Marzotto have also expanded operations in countries such as Lithuania, particularly for mass-market fabrics, as they search for low cost but high quality and efficient locations.

'Italy's reputation in fashion is rooted in its quality fabrics and innovation in developing new mixed/blended fabrics.' (Interview 2E)

Furthermore, changes to production patterns in recent years regarding who makes the products and how or in what environment is challenging the premium attached to made in Italy product. The textile producing city of Prato in Tuscany region has gained media attention over the last decade for a massive influx of Chinese immigration, becoming home to the largest concentration of Chinese in Europe (Donadio 2010). With allegations of tax evasion, use of illegal immigrant workers from China, and of importing fabrics and partially made products from China for finishing to add a "made in Italy" label, these operators have not only provided a challenge for domestic Italian businesses but challenged the concept at the legitimacy of an authentic "made in Italy" product (Wilkinson 2008; Donadio 2010).

Some industry players also see it as potentially damaging to consumers' perceptions of made in Italy quality, particularly in key markets such as the US and emerging markets such as China. Such news reports in the US tend to conflate the production of fast fashion, which is what the Chinese manufacturers in Prato produce, with the higher end textile manufacturers for which Prato is more renowned. Yet the local industry is not too concerned about negative press within Italy or even within Europe.

'Our customers - people in the industry - know that we make high quality fabrics and that the Chinese [in Prato] are mostly making pronto moda (fast fashion) for markets in Eastern Europe. Perhaps overseas like in the US people who don't understand the situation might have a negative impression [of Prato], but people here know the situation' (Interview 2E)

Law 55/2010, known as the Reguzzoni-Versace Law, was introduced in Italy in 2010 with the stated objective to protect consumers, Italian textile, footwear, and leather sector workers, and to protect the made in Italy brand, by stipulating traceability of products and requiring at least two processes to be completed in Italy rather than simply the most value added (which could be simply stitching the brand's tag onto the item). Yet while some fabric makers don't feel the law goes far enough, the law is set to challenge EU regulations. Industry participants interviewed see this law as little more than political posturing that will ultimately be unenforceable, potentially blocked by the EU and difficult to enforce anyway. Yet many small garment, footwear, and leather manufacturers are more concerned that the economic crisis facing the industry in Italy will motivate major fashion brands to further decouple themselves from Italy as their production location, and shift from emphasizing quality of materials and production processes to innovation of design and brand recognition. While these moves

risk alienating customers who value the authenticity of Italian branded products designed and made completely in Italy, an increase in offshoring appears to have done little to slow sales, which is likely to only have been dampened by economic downturn in the US and Europe.

'Big industries specialise in streamlining operations. It destroys the passion and the ability for people to create - makers don't get to see their part fits into the whole story' (Interview 2C)

Further, these small manufactures see large luxury brands constantly squeezing them to reduce their price to a point where they have to refuse.

'The brands say "it should be an honour to make this for us" but in the end I still have a business and I need to keep it running' (Interview 2D)

Being locally embedded, these manufacturers naturally have more of a vested interest in local production than do the brands. Some have responded by launching their own brands to secure more of the profits; other niche textile manufacturers create "boutique" fabrics in what it calls its "slow factory" using antique Japanese looms in order to take a definitive step away from cost competition with other countries and towards the roots of Italian fabric production.

'We are not interested in "Just in Time" or productivity at all costs. Quality fabric that excites you takes time to make. So we have sought out old-fashioned technologies and remain respectful to materials' (Interview 2B)

Other entrepreneurs have sought out specific markets that place a premium on high quality made in Italy clothes and accessories.

'We design our items specifically for the Japanese market and currently only sell them there. By seeing how fashion is trending I can read the trends before they emerge and have the pieces made in Italy by craftsmen who I know care deeply about production and materials' (Interview 2C)

The major textile manufacturer interviewed, while expanding production into lower cost destinations such as Lithuania and Tunisia through wholly-owned subsidiaries, continues producing their high-end textiles at their original factory – albeit with modern machines. On the design front, one of their most valuable resources is their archives – folders filled with samples from every collection sold that year. This allows a textile designer to go back to specific years to seek inspiration not just from fashion trends but from the company's heritage and history.

2. Case 2 Conclusions

In Italy as some major apparel brands tended towards delocalizing production away from their local Italian bases, locally embedded manufacturers began adopting strategies to stay alive by focusing on quality of materials and craftsmanship and creating their own brands to increase their visibility, take more control of their production, and to showcase their competencies to potential B2B clients. Textile manufacturers have looked both to innovation and also to history and heritage to maintain a sense of authenticity.

VI Case 3: Danish Design

1. Background and Analysis

Danish design, specifically Danish furniture design came to the fore from 1930 to 1970 during a period and style that became known as 'Danish modern' (Hansen 2006) whose style and aesthetic saw a boom in the 1960s and has seen a revival in recent decades. Danish furniture design has often been characterised by clean pure

lines, a high quality of workmanship, a respect for materials, and the ability to strike a balance between form and function (Danish Design Center 2012). Designers from the early Danish modern period such as Arne Jacobsen, Hans Wegner, Poul Kjaerholm, and Poul Henningsen are household names in Denmark and their works have had a lasting impact on design aesthetics during the 1960s and continue to be recognisable today. Though renowned for a wide range of furnishings and household/office objects, the product most synonymous with Danish (modern) design is the chair, leading promotional material to ask the question ‘why are Danes so obsessed with chairs?’ (Danish Design Center 2012) and some interviewed industry participants to ask ‘does the world need another chair?’. Yet in 2012 Fritz Hansen caused concern amongst some Danes by announcing they were ceasing production at their plant in Denmark and shifting this to a factory in Poland, citing tough global competition, costs, and taxes (The Copenhagen Post 2012). While this may be a pragmatic move, it indicates that for Fritz Hansen, pieces do not need to be made in Denmark to be Danish Design.

An important aspect of the production and characteristic of the value chain of furniture design has been the separation between designer and manufacturer. Independent designers or small design studios may bring prototype designs to manufacturers; alternatively, manufacturers may commission specific designers to produce a piece for them (Interview 3A). As the reputation of both the manufacturer and the designer increase, the likelihood for the latter - commissioned works - appears to increase.

Large Manufacturer (3A) produces most of its pieces through commissioning work to designers. Pieces are generally co-branded with the designer’s name, with the designer’s name often taking precedence in the public sphere over the manufacturer. This split between design and production functions means that designers can work on a range of products for different brands and manufacturers. It also naturally makes designers far less dependent on production location than Italian manufacturers of shoes and textiles.

Does production need to be carried out in Denmark for it to be considered a product of ‘Danish design’? According to some large manufacturers, precisely where it is made is not as important as finding a place to manufacture their products - or rather a manufacturer - that can solve their specific design problems. For example, for a recent piece designed by a renowned Danish designer, production was completed in the UK by a British manufacturer as ‘they were the only ones who could carry out the blown plastic process and achieve the quality and durability that we required’ (Interview 3A). In fact, prior to this announcement they had produced many chairs in factories outside of Denmark, provided the factory could meet their design and quality specifications. Their customers appear to rely on the company’s guarantee of production quality rather than concern over the “made in” label on the product to deliver the essence of “Danish design.”

‘Of course if you ask them directly, production location matters but we never receive questions from overseas customers on where a product is made. Only Danes complain about production moving outside of Denmark’ (Interview 3A)

Other Danish brands have been doing the same for their labour-intensive production processes. As a designer remarked:

‘Georg Jensen, Royal Copenhagen, they all have started producing in China. In one sense you could say they are playing with fire, but I couldn’t care less about where they are produced - it’s not the most important thing’ (Interview 3D)

The offshoring of production or assembly of products appeared to represent little issue with designers regarding the authenticity of the product.

'Of course it can be designed in a "Danish way" and produced in China. So long as manufacturers can guarantee production quality, there is no reason why producing in China makes it less "Danish" (Interview 3C)

Likewise, the aforementioned long-term offshoring and short-term global outsourcing decisions of Fritz Hansen indicates that manufacturing of final products need not be done within Denmark.

With a long heritage of using Danish designers, the nationality of the designer might appear to play an important part in the Danish authenticity for large manufacturers such as Fritz Hansen. Yet their portfolio also includes works commissioned to non-Danish designers. A 2011 piece - the 'FAVN' sofa for example, was designed by Spaniard Jaime Hayon. Yet as one interviewee commented,

'aesthetically, Hayon's 2011 Favn looks perfectly at home with a [1958] Egg Chair by Arne Jacobsen' (Interview 3A)

Examination of other furniture manufacturers (such as Frederica, Carl Hansen, Getama, PP Mobler) reveals a small number of commissions to designers from around the world beyond an often-shared pool of Danish designers.

Thus, with their choice of non-Danish designers for some of their pieces, nationality of designers does not appear to be a crucial factor either. Rather, the manufacturer has taken on "Danish Design" to be part of their DNA, and focused on not compromising on quality or aesthetics, and striking a balance between form and function whilst creating pieces that sit within their existing portfolio of products.

This approach strikes a chord with some designers who see their own national brand (i.e. being a Danish designer) as useful but not critical as of itself.

'Being Danish or Scandinavian even is not really that important at all, and it should never be forced. Of course, it is always there in the background in your DNA, the way you've been educated from childhood up, what's important to you and what you have around you in your home. You need to take that and reinterpret and reinvent it.' (Interview 3B)

Just as Prada might seek to be beyond "Italy", furniture brands also appear to be moving towards a close but independent relationship with the Denmark brand through a long history of building its own brand identity and reputation.

While all interviewees mentioned the importance of a narrative in guiding the authenticity of the product, emphasis was placed on the product and the materials above the story:

'The product needs to talk for itself, it can't be all invented 'story' as this can end up just being marketing hype (Interview 3B)

Thus, storytelling based on the reality of the brand and on the production and supply chain decisions appears crucial for authenticity. Can an authentic narrative communicate to consumers that a change in production location is not simply commercial cost cutting or profit-maximising notion?

'I don't often think "is this authentic?" but it is there in the background as a key point in our design process. We want materials to speak their own language and solve our design problem.' (Interview 3B)

2. Case 3 Conclusions

Despite considerable offshoring of production, many furniture manufacturers remain based in Denmark.

Further, there appears to be a pragmatic approach to seek undertake manufacturing where it strikes a balance between the technical, cost, and quality needs rather than an overriding driver to manufacture domestically. Designers share this pragmatic approach to being less concerned about production location and more about materials. The only caveat was the potential lack of craftsmen to create prototypes during design phase, should excessive offshoring lead to a hollowing out of skilled woodworkers. Another consideration that arose was not just the country brand and the brand of the manufacturer but the brand of the designer, who are able to lend their design sense to brands around the world.

VII Discussion

This paper set out to explore the extent the which production of cultural and creative goods can be separated from place and still perceived as authentic. As these products become “hybrid goods” with components and talent coming from various countries, it approach the analysis of the authenticity of these products according to origin of parts, assembly, talent, brand origin, and ownership.

While various contending definitions of authenticity exist, this paper focuses on whether a cultural product stays true and recognisable to its ethos or essence amid offshoring of production. While foods, fabrics, and materials may be traceable to specific regions and legislated so that products are labelled accordingly, the authenticity of the resultant hybrid creative goods can be open to interpretation. Importantly, which processes are most critical in determining this authenticity and which actors are the arbiters of a product’s authenticity are still subject to debate.

Across three case studies of Japanese animation, Italian fashion (textile, apparel, footwear) and Danish design, evidence suggests that among all three, assembly and manufacture of final goods, or lower value-added and labour-intensive work can be offshored with little concern at a firm level for a reduced perception of authenticity so long as quality is maintained and the product stays true to the brand ethos. Design related aspects of production however, appear more critical to maintaining the cultural authenticity of a product, using the experience of local talent (case 1), the heritage of the firm (case 2), or a specific approach to design and treatment of materials (case 3).

There is also a trend for fashion and design brands to use their own brand equity as assurance against and potential negative country of origin stereotypes that might exist, but importantly the country of brand origin still plays an important role in the product identity and appeal to authenticity. The nationality of the designer (or the original author in animation’s case) likewise does not appear to be the deciding factor in an authentic country brand image perception.

The importance of a narrative has emerged as being crucial particularly in the design industry, and in regards to fashion, with any choices to relocate or delocalize production by offshoring certain processes. Critically, these decisions should not be based simply on cost cutting concerns, but an overall product/brand story. Conversely, the complete fabrication of a story for marketing purposes alone was seen as puffery and the antithesis of establishing authenticity.

Findings from this firm-based interview research indicate that authenticity could be a useful construct in determining when, and to what extent, place matters in a world where consumers are accustomed to globalised value chains. Importantly however, what is meant by ‘authentic’ differs according to the actor in the value chain, and the relative importance of localised production, materials and design, ethos. As small sample size

exploratory studies are limited in their explanatory power, further examination would benefit from directly analysing consumer perceptions. Such empirical analysis of consumer preferences would add important evidence to whether ‘authenticity’ as it relates to place can indeed be effectively operationalised for quantitative research.

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