



**Temporal dynamism in country-of-origin effect: the malleability of Italians' perceptions regarding the British sixties**

Journal:	<i>International Marketing Review</i>
Manuscript ID	IMR-08-2016-0165.R4
Manuscript Type:	Original Article
Keywords:	Country-of-Origin, Fashion, Music, Heritage Branding, Temporality

SCHOLARONE™  
Manuscripts

1  
2  
3 **Temporal dynamism in country-of-origin effect: the malleability of Italians' perceptions**  
4  
5  
6 **regarding the British sixties**  
7  
8

9 **Abstract**

10 **Purpose** – This paper aims to enrich Country of Origin (COO) effect in international  
11 marketing theory by adding the understanding of temporal dynamism into COO research.  
12

13 **Design/methodology/approach** – Utilizing a qualitative and interdisciplinary  
14 phenomenological approach, this paper analyses historical and contemporary sources  
15 triangulated with contemporary primary interview data. The example of how perceptions of  
16 Italians about the values typical of the British Sixties varied over time periods is presented.  
17 **Findings** – COO perceptions are both malleable and in evolution. Results show that values  
18 from earlier peak periods of appeal can be combined and recombined differently over time  
19 due to the varying historical and contemporary resonances of COO values.  
20

21 **Research limitations/implications** – This study focuses on COO applied to two product  
22 areas, fashion and music, over a limited time-period, in a two-country study and so the  
23 findings are not fully generalizable, but rather are transferable to similar contexts.  
24

25 **Practical implications** – The fact that COO is neither static nor atemporal facilitates a  
26 segmented approach for international marketing managers to review and renew international  
27 brands. This enriched COO theory provides a rich and variable resource for developing and  
28 revitalizing brands.  
29

30 **Originality/value** – The major contribution of this paper is that temporal dynamism, never  
31 before discussed in international marketing theory, renders COO theory more timeless; this  
32 addresses some critiques recently made about its relevance and practicality. The second  
33 contribution is the original research design that models interdisciplinary scholarship, enabling  
34 a thorough historical look at international marketing.  
35

36 **Keywords** Country of Origin, Fashion, Music, Heritage Branding, Temporality.  
37

38 **Paper type** Research paper.  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## 1. Introduction

Country-of-origin (hereafter COO) effect is derived from consumer perceptions of a country's identity, which means that products and brands, from their mere association with a specific country, gain benefits and equally accrue critique from a priori assumptions about, for example, high or low quality and stylish or poor design, merely from being recognized worldwide as typical for that country (Al Sulaiti and Baker, 1998; Cattin *et al.*, 1982; Häubl, 1996). It has been acknowledged that this results from that country's culture, tradition, and heritage (e.g., Johansson, 1989). In other words, COO theory is implicitly based upon the past. However, this drawing upon the past has not before included an overtly historical approach to international marketing theory. Indeed, international marketing might benefit from adopting an overtly temporal and historical approach to COO theory.

This paper applies and develops Balmer's insight from the branding literature that "heritage subsists in temporal strata, that is, in multiple time stratum" (2011, p. 1386). Balmer *et al.* (2016) focused on temporality from a historical approach – a look to the past – that they developed into a heritage approach – look to the past with a look to the future – and termed "omni-temporality" (p. 5). We theorize that COO requires developing from its reliance upon a homogenous, unvaried, atemporal view of past values by focusing on whether and how a country's COO values associated with one specific historical period may evolve differently over time and into the future. We therefore present a novel interdisciplinary study to focus on the possible relevance of "omni-temporality". The questions at the heart of this study are therefore drawn from this unquestioned reliance in the literature upon a static atemporal understanding of how the past operates into the present.

The two research questions are how temporal dynamism functions in COO perceptions, and whether "omni-temporality" as a concept from the heritage branding literature is applicable to international marketing theory. To answer these two questions, the present study

1  
2  
3 combines historical skills with international marketing knowledge. Specifically, this research  
4  
5 develops international marketing theory by adding temporal dynamism into COO theory,  
6  
7 thereby providing valuable relevant future guidance for international marketing managers. In  
8  
9 order to research how temporal dynamism functions in COO perceptions, this study provides  
10  
11 an in-depth analysis of how COO values typical of a country in a specific period are first  
12  
13 culturally constructed and then perceived in following periods in a foreign country. To collect  
14  
15 the data to answer these questions we analyse how the British “Swinging Sixties” have  
16  
17 impacted Italian consumers differently over time.  
18  
19

20  
21 Recently, the relevance and practical usefulness of COO theory has been questioned  
22  
23 (Samiee, 2010; Usunier, 2011) and defended (Magnusson *et al.*, 2011). To address concerns  
24  
25 and build on the confirmation offered by earlier studies (Roth and Diamontopoulos, 2009;  
26  
27 Magnusson *et al.*, 2011) we draw on “omni-temporality” from the heritage branding literature  
28  
29 (Balmer, 2011) to develop understanding of temporal dynamism, thereby moving COO  
30  
31 theory on from its previously unquestioned assumption of atemporality. As a team of  
32  
33 historians and marketers reflecting upon the critiques being made of COO in the international  
34  
35 marketing literature, we noted that COO values are often regarded as immutable and almost  
36  
37 atemporal inasmuch as they are not perceived to be anchored in any given time period, but  
38  
39 endure as expressions of a deeply rooted identity (Hooley *et al.*, 1988). The implicit  
40  
41 assumption has been that the values accrue homogenously over time, such that temporality  
42  
43 does not have to be taken into account whenever perceptions are measured (Roth and  
44  
45 Diamontopoulos, 2009). Therefore, this paper makes a valuable contribution to international  
46  
47 marketing theory by adding temporal dynamism to it. This dynamism makes the COO effect  
48  
49 malleable and a rich resource of relevance to future strategy development by international  
50  
51 marketing managers.  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 In the case of Britain, for example, one historical narrative weaves together monarchy,  
4 formality, manners, country pursuits, elegance, the “stiff upper lip” and the timeless style of  
5 the English gentleman. A second set of COO perceptions, however, are those related to very  
6 specific periods that nonetheless continue to exercise influence long after the historical era is  
7 over, accruing meaning and significance. The Britain of the “Swinging Sixties”, for instance,  
8 the era of mini-skirts, Carnaby Street, The Beatles and The Rolling Stones, laid the  
9 foundations for a second, very different, narrative of Britain as a generator of youthful and  
10 irreverent popular culture that continues to endure today. Therefore, it appears clear that  
11 national historical narratives may be subject to change over time.  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23

24 “Omni-temporality” (Balmer, 2011, 2016; Balmer and Burghausen, 2015) is the term  
25 we use to theorize and demonstrate the relevance of factoring in such changes over time into  
26 international marketing theory and practice. This paper demonstrates how to gain historical  
27 and contemporary perspectives to offer ideas about how COO values and myths associated  
28 with a past “golden age” might influence perceptions and behaviors in a different country  
29 over time. Specifically, we do this by focusing on one context: an investigation into the  
30 impact of the British “Swinging Sixties” in Italy, through analysis of the Italian fashion and  
31 music industry at that time and in subsequent decades.  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41

42 This article, therefore, employs an interdisciplinary approach to developing COO  
43 theory into an even more rich resource for international marketing. We combine qualitative  
44 marketing research methods (in-depth interviews) and historical research on primary data  
45 (magazines) to investigate one particular context – the ways in which the “Swinging Sixties”  
46 shaped perceptions of “Made-in-Britain” COO values in Italy between 1965 and 1985 –  
47 demonstrating the relevance of temporal dynamism. More specifically, we focus on the  
48 influence of British fashion styles and music in the Italian marketplace through collection and  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 content analysis of both secondary and primary data, using both historical and contemporary  
4 sources to further empirically underpin the literature and practice in this area.  
5  
6

7  
8 Whereas there has been a wealth of publications investigating the use of the “Made-in-  
9 Italy” label as a marketing strategy and the meanings that this has generated in international  
10 markets (e.g., Bertoli and Resciniti, 2012; Fortis, 2005), there has been very little systematic  
11 study of the representations and reception of brands presented as “Made-in-Britain”. When  
12 the global reputation of British goods was at its height in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries,  
13 trademarking was employed as the principal strategy through which firms sought to secure  
14 the added value embodied in their products (Da Silva Lopes and Casson, 2012; Mercer,  
15 2010). This paper, however, analyses COO narratives of the UK in the post-Second World  
16 War era by when Britain’s international profile had become more problematic (Moore and  
17 Reid, 2008).  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29

30  
31 This research fosters reflection on how and to what extent contemporary businesses  
32 seeking to develop their brands in international markets might leverage the COO values  
33 associated with their past when marketing their brands internationally. It indicates that  
34 companies need a good understanding of the general and strongest, or most authentic, current  
35 values characterizing their COO and, additionally, supports recent theorizing in *International*  
36 *Marketing Review* that connects brand to COO (Martín Martín and Cerviño, 2011). More  
37 broadly, the literature, data and consequent discussions all enrich understanding of the roles  
38 of history and authenticity in branding, building on the concepts of temporality and “omni-  
39 temporality”. Theorists now have a stimulus to look at the past to understand how the main  
40 elements associated with a country have evolved over decades in the international scenario.  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
60 This will enable them to discern the potential for further evolution, to suggest routes for  
selecting qualities of distinctiveness in succeeding periods, and understand the resonance of  
those qualities for contemporary audiences. For COO theory, under scrutiny in the

1  
2  
3 international marketing literature, to retain relevance, we propose that more attention needs to  
4 be paid to the key issue of time/temporality and to how this enriches the international  
5 marketer's resources in terms of international brand management.  
6  
7  
8  
9

## 10 11 12 **2. Challenges to COO emerging from the current literature**

### 13 14 15 *2.1 Time/temporality*

16  
17 In some senses, COO is a well-established element within international marketing theory.  
18  
19 Indeed, it was established as a topic within international marketing over thirty years ago (see  
20 Bilkey and Nes, 1982; Hooley *et al.*, 1988). Then in 2008 the *International Marketing Review*  
21 produced a whole special issue on the topic (Samiee, 2010); the *Journal of Business Research*  
22 published Roth and Diamontopoulos' claim to have advanced the country image construct  
23 (2009) and a commentary on this claim (Samiee, 2010). The key critique made by Samiee  
24 (2010) is that the field of COO research has not, despite detailed attention to many elements  
25 of the COO topic, adequately addressed practical relevance. In 2017 the *International*  
26 *Marketing Review* produced a second special issue on COO, acknowledging the lively debate  
27 around claims about its atheoretical nature and the questions raised and partially answered  
28 over a number of papers regarding its practical relevance (Ko *et al.*, 2017). In addressing the  
29 extant COO literature, this special issue included work on brands and COO, confirming the  
30 latter's relevance (Kim *et al.*, 2017; Moon and Oh, 2017), rather than having brand origin  
31 (hereafter BO) completely replace COO as Usunier (2011) proposed. Indeed, the use of BO  
32 alongside COO was proposed as early as 1996 by Thakor who called for research that  
33 married actual customer responsiveness to brand equity with their understanding of COO.  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52

53  
54 In the present study, we try to capture consumer perceptions over time, using historical  
55 data, rather than manipulate responses in the laboratory, as has been the case for many COO  
56 studies (Thakor, 1996). We also capture the dynamism missing from research using only  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 cross-sectional data (Moon and Oh, 2017). This study, therefore, represents a valuable  
4  
5 contribution to international marketing theory by giving COO a historical and temporal  
6  
7 texture – indeed “omni-temporal” textures.  
8  
9

10 In the international marketing literature, COO is generally defined as an extrinsic cue  
11  
12 used by customers in their product evaluations and purchase decisions (Bilkey and Nes, 1982;  
13  
14 Peterson and Jolibert, 1995; Smith, 1993). However, the work of Hooley *et al.* (1988) only  
15  
16 considered current consumer perceptions of COO. In particular, there is no overt temporal  
17  
18 element to the study; only a tacit inclusion of the cumulative nature of perceptions. In taking  
19  
20 this approach those authors set the scope of all future COO and BO studies. Stasis, and  
21  
22 therefore, arguably, later and increasing irrelevance, has in fact unwittingly been built into  
23  
24 studies on COO. The idea that companies often leverage COO values as a marketing tool to  
25  
26 boost acceptance of their products in international markets is driven by the idea that  
27  
28 consumers use COO as a product quality cue (Khachaturian and Morganosky, 1990;  
29  
30 Maronick, 1995). For example, Spanish fashion companies, conscious they lacked an  
31  
32 appropriate country of origin image, created Italian-sounding brands – Zara, Massimo Dutti –  
33  
34 in order to harness the value of the COO effect (Miranda, 2017).  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39

40 Meanwhile, since it is now easier to link a brand to one particular country (where the  
41  
42 organization has its headquarters, for example) than the product (itself the sum of many  
43  
44 elements assembled in stages from globally sourced inputs) (Samiee, 2011), brand equity has  
45  
46 come to the fore, as suggested was needed for international marketing theory by Thakor in his  
47  
48 discussion of BO (1996). Indeed, the BO discourse has now effectively incorporated COO.  
49  
50 As Styles and Ambler (1994) added the relationship paradigm to the export literature to  
51  
52 enrich understandings of export performance, so in this paper we develop the international  
53  
54 marketing literature further from an external source: in this case the corporate heritage  
55  
56 branding literature (Balmer, 2013).  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3           Importantly, Balmer *et al.* (2016) interpreted heritage through an overtly historical  
4  
5 (retrospective) lens: “This is an approach that reflects the well-established historical  
6  
7 method as found in business history” (p. 5). They, in turn, then developed the concept of  
8  
9 “omni-temporality” that builds on this look to the past with a look to the future and  
10  
11 “accommodates perspectives of the past, present and prospective future” (p. 5). It is this  
12  
13 nuanced, informed trajectory into the future that gives “omni-temporality” traction as a useful  
14  
15 addition to COO theory and to international marketing managers seeking to develop or  
16  
17 revitalize brands. It provides a sure foundation for the development of the BO discourse that,  
18  
19 as discussed above, has to a large extent subsumed COO discussion (Thakor, 1996; Usunier,  
20  
21 2011). This BO discourse, to be combined with a theoretical dimension that moves it from  
22  
23 stasis and immutability due to its heretofore unquestioned assumption of atemporality,  
24  
25 enables COO to continue to be relevant to international marketing theory whilst  
26  
27 acknowledging Samiee’s declaration (2011) that COO has lost its validity as a concept.  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34

## 35 *2.2 Authenticity and heritage*

36  
37 Temporality as a dimension is also an underpinning concept for a discussion of authenticity,  
38  
39 which is an increasingly salient issue for consumers (Alexander, 2009). Indeed, consumers  
40  
41 are becoming more sensitive to authenticity (Gilmore and Pine, 2007), as one of the values  
42  
43 that may strengthen the COO perception and a country’s international image (Thompson *et*  
44  
45 *al.*, 2006). The COO argument was that when companies have to market their offerings into  
46  
47 new international markets, COO values express a typicality associated with a country’s  
48  
49 identity, which, in turn, results from that country’s culture, tradition and heritage, thus  
50  
51 conferring a sense of inherent authenticity upon the product (Cattin *et al.*, 1982; Johansson,  
52  
53 1989). The focus on cultural heritage, understood as being expressed through a set of  
54  
55 immutable or timeless values, led to the concept of singular, unambiguous “authenticity”,  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 playing a central role in developing international marketing strategies. It has been used to  
4  
5 reassure consumers of the genuineness of the product, able to differentiate it from less unique  
6  
7 and more recently constructed competitors' brand stories – this presupposes one timeless  
8  
9 image (Rose and Wood, 2005).  
10  
11

12  
13 However, as discussed in the Introduction, while there may be unchanging timeless  
14  
15 stereotypes about countries, there is, importantly, a surface patina of specific, temporal  
16  
17 understandings that appeal at certain times, to certain consumers in certain contexts which  
18  
19 become etched onto the other myths without necessarily clashing with them. Hence both  
20  
21 heritage and authenticity are more malleable constructs, capable of carrying multiple  
22  
23 interpretations, as the concept of omni-temporality recognizes.  
24  
25

26  
27 An additional area of complexity to be borne in mind when discussing COO is that  
28  
29 consumer perceptions of other countries will transcend brand meaning and product quality  
30  
31 clues. As Beverland (2005, pp. 1025, 1005) notes, “brand management is an interactive  
32  
33 process that occurs within a wider institutional environment” and authentic images “represent  
34  
35 the interplay between creators, commercial interests, critics, competitors, and consumers.”  
36  
37 This interplay takes place in the consumer mind and so the issue becomes a question of  
38  
39 consumer perceptions: brand meaning is not the property of the organization any longer but is  
40  
41 created and re-created in the mind of the consumer/user (Halliday, 2016).  
42  
43

44  
45 Holt (1998) noted that consumers with different levels of cultural capital search for  
46  
47 different cues to signal authenticity, thus emphasizing how the interpretation and the meaning  
48  
49 of authenticity may differ on the basis of the country or of the historical period. Incorrect  
50  
51 understandings of the originating country do not matter, it is customer perceptions that matter  
52  
53 as Thakor (1996) pointed out. Magnusson *et al.* (2011) provided a review in *IMR* that  
54  
55 concludes that even where consumers are wrong about the originating country (very often in  
56  
57 fact) this is not a reason to discount COO as a managerially-irrelevant topic. This has been  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 disputed, especially by Samiee (2011), but this emphasis on meaning being in the mind of the  
4  
5 consumer can also shed light on authenticity and how it interacts with heritage.  
6  
7

8 For heritage is a similarly complex cultural construct. There is a fundamental  
9  
10 disciplinary distinction between the study of history – all that has happened in the past – and  
11  
12 heritage – the multiple ways that the present interacts with the past (Lowenthal, 1985).  
13  
14 Heritage therefore is constituted in the present, through a dialogue that is mediated by  
15  
16 heritage cultural products and professionals of various descriptions (including international  
17  
18 marketing managers), but is ultimately dependent upon understandings manufactured in  
19  
20 minds of individual consumers/users of the past in the broadest sense. Hudson and Balmer  
21  
22 (2013) recognized the implications of this for corporate heritage brands when they sought to  
23  
24 distinguish the range of ways in which heritage claims could be advanced. They highlighted,  
25  
26 in particular, the division between propositions founded on innate heritage constructed  
27  
28 around the history of the brand (thereby conferring an indexical authenticity) and projected  
29  
30 heritage, encouraging consumers to project their own historical associations onto the brand  
31  
32 (thereby endowing it with iconic authenticity achieved through verisimilitude to a consumer  
33  
34 perceived ideal type). Ultimately, Balmer (2013, p. 304) suggests that heritage is a cultural  
35  
36 construct that can be manipulated and defined “in any way is deemed to be fit”.  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41

42 This malleability links the two issues we have identified, (1) time/temporality and (2)  
43  
44 authenticity and heritage, as necessary to introduce real world dynamics into the international  
45  
46 marketing theory around COO effect. Notions of temporality, authenticity and heritage  
47  
48 emphasize the importance of understanding a country’s COO perceptions by considering  
49  
50 different periods’ and markets’ perspectives. Hence, our interdisciplinary research design  
51  
52 aimed to address the questions of to what extent COO perceptions are rooted in a specific  
53  
54 time period, and whether they evolve over time; in short to examine whether the heritage  
55  
56 branding concept of “omni-temporality” could usefully enrich international marketing theory.  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 The context for this examination of theoretical development was the British “Swinging  
4  
5 Sixties” in a different market (Italy) and in both contemporary and later periods.  
6  
7  
8  
9

### 10 **3. Methodology**

11  
12 We integrated the discipline and methodologies of historical analysis with that of  
13  
14 international marketing research. The core of the analytical historian’s approach is that of  
15  
16 situating critical readings of a broad variety of primary source materials (understood as those  
17  
18 produced during the period under investigation) within the context of the societal structures  
19  
20 and tendencies as identified within secondary, historiographical literature, to develop  
21  
22 explanations of period specific outcomes (Dobson and Ziemann, 2008; Vella, 2008).  
23  
24 Introducing the techniques of historical research enables us to engage effectively with the  
25  
26 temporal dimensions of our investigation of the applications of the concept of omni-  
27  
28 temporality for international marketing.  
29  
30  
31  
32

33 We operated a multi-stage data collection and analysis combining qualitative methods  
34  
35 in marketing research (in-depth interviews) and historical research into primary sources  
36  
37 (magazines), analysing these within the contexts of Italy and Britain within the 1965-1985  
38  
39 period (see Table I for details), drawing from secondary historiographical literature (e.g.,  
40  
41 Ginsborg, 1990; Sandbrook, 2006). We enhanced the robustness of our data in two different  
42  
43 ways: first we sought to triangulate both data sources and data collection, using interviews  
44  
45 with “expert subjects” and analyzing historical sources checking for the emic validity of  
46  
47 interviews’ themes; second, we controlled for cross-researcher consistency by using three  
48  
49 different coders for interviews’ analysis (Altheide and Johnson, 1994) and conducted our  
50  
51 research into the historical sources in two different phases, involving different researchers  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56 (Spiggle, 1994).  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

Insert Table I here

### *3.1. In-depth interviews*

First we conducted in-depth interviews with a total of seven people: 4 journalists who work or worked in relevant positions for the state national broadcaster, RAI, and ANSA, Italy's premier press agency, and 3 fashion experts. Using a semi-structured framework, the interviewees were asked for their understanding of "Swinging Sixties", trends and innovations that developed during those years in Britain, how these impacted Italian fashion and music sectors and, finally, their personal experiences and reflections upon the era. Some of the experts interviewed lived in Britain during the Sixties, effectively working as cultural transmitters and mediators of the British scene to Italian audiences. They were expected to provide first-hand perceptions of the key trends characterizing those years and their effects on Italy. Others currently work in Britain and provided both their personal opinion about the British Sixties as well as about how those years are considered by today's Britons and Italians.

The interviews lasted around 1 hour each and were recorded and then transcribed to be coded. Standard techniques for qualitative consumer market research were then applied to the analysis of the interviews as suggested by Spiggle (1994) and by Miles and Huberman (1984). To ensure consistency of analysis, each interview transcript was vertically and horizontally coded by three different researchers: the interviewer, who added also personal notes on non-verbal communication within the vertical reading, and the two other Italian researchers who co-authored this work. All interviews were first vertically read, assigning a code whenever each of the topics under investigation was mentioned or discussed by the interviewee. A sign of relevance for each topic has been assigned according to the

researcher's interpretation of the text and side references have been added whenever any specific context was mentioned.

### 3.2. Fashion and music magazines

The close reading and analysis of magazines' content was conducted in two phases. Firstly, we analyzed the most influential magazines in the fashion and music sectors. For fashion we examined all 284 issues of *Vogue Italia* (hereafter, *Vogue*) from its foundation in 1964 to 1985. *Vogue*, whose parent publisher was the American Condé Nast, functioned as a "class magazine" that focused on the luxury fashion sector. It targeted the affluent upper class, thereby becoming a highly effective advertising channel that was powerful enough to "influence developments in new styles as well as report on them" (Cox and Mowatt, 2012, p. 76). British-related content (covers, articles and advertisements) in *Vogue* was found in 17 of the 284 issues analyzed, of which 11 were published in the 1960s, with 9 appearing in the years 1967 and 1968. We also accessed 10 issues of *Annabella*, a woman's magazine with a focus on fashion, between 1965 and 1967. Three issues contained content related to Britain.

For popular music we analyzed issues of two new magazines founded in the 1960s, *Ciao Amici*, published between 1965 and 1968, and *Giovani*, first published in 1966 and that changed its name to *Qui Giovani* in 1970. Both targeted a new audience of adolescents, providing them with news and gossip about the new Italian singers, known as "Urlatori" (the Screamers), and foreign "beat" artists. Two out of the 30 sampled issues of *Ciao Amici* and 9 out of 24 copies of *Giovani/Qui Giovani* contained items related to Britain.

In the second phase, we focused on publications targeting a more mainstream audience. We were kindly given access to the Mondadori Magazine and Photographic Archive in Segrate, Milan, where we manually scanned several issues of the magazines *Grazia*, *Epoca* and *TV Sorrisi e Canzoni* for relevant content. *Grazia*, founded in 1938, was (and still is) the

1  
2  
3 Italian woman's magazine with the highest circulation in this era, and was known for its  
4 conservative outlook. *Epoca* was a leading news and current affairs publication, similar to  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

Italian woman's magazine with the highest circulation in this era, and was known for its conservative outlook. *Epoca* was a leading news and current affairs publication, similar to *Time Magazine*. It had a predominantly male, well-educated, middle-aged readership, and gives us an insight into coverage of Britain beyond the fashion and music sectors. *TV Sorrisi e Canzoni* was the first, and by far the leading, TV listing magazine, but also covered music and cinema. Television ownership rose from 20% of households in 1960 to 82% in 1971, but even at the beginning of the decade television was widely viewed in public spaces such as bars and social clubs (Foot, 1999). The magazine sources were analyzed by identifying the topics, dispositions and meanings contained within the articles and agglomerating, weighting and structuring these into themes reflecting the overall content and balance of the data set (Hermes, 1995).

The analysis of fashion and music magazines begun by using themes that emerged from the interview coding, The aim here was to check out for resonances – and therefore emic validity – of what had been captured and coded within interviews' analysis about "Swinging Sixties" in relation to music and fashion. The magazine contents provided snapshots of the presentation and perception of the British Sixties at singular points in time, while the interviews allowed for the benefit of hindsight to illustrate the ways in which the impact of the Swinging Sixties had become structured into long-term narratives of the influence of British values upon Italy. Magazines can be a rich source for understanding particular social and cultural groupings, as well as society and culture more broadly, due to the very diversity of subject matter and the close connection that magazines have to a community of readers (e.g., Le Masurier and Johnke, 2014). Magazine analysis followed suggestions that Vella (2008) made with regards to newspaper – and more generally periodicals – analysis: we first took into account the institutional structure and the social context of the magazines (in particular the political orientations of the editor and the targeted readerships), their format

1  
2  
3 (textual context) and contents (texts). Please see Figure 1 for a detailed view of the multi-step  
4  
5 procedure applied for the analysis of fashion and music magazines.  
6  
7  
8  
9

10 Insert Figure 1 here  
11  
12  
13  
14

15 To avoid some of the most common biases in qualitative research, such as selectivity  
16 and extrapolation of the rate of instances in the general population from a specific sample  
17 (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015), we conducted a second phase of magazine research, where we  
18 focused on publications targeting a more mainstream audience. This second phase was useful  
19 to construct a general context for the reception of the instances related to the British Sixties in  
20 Italy and to avoid the risk of elitism by concentrating only on interviews with people with  
21 privileged lifestyles (interviewees) and on primary sources with a too specific target audience  
22 (i.e. *Vogue* and *Qui Giovani*). The magazine sources were analyzed by identifying the topics,  
23 dispositions and meanings contained within the articles and agglomerating, weighting and  
24 structuring them into themes reflecting the overall content and balance of the data set (e.g.  
25 Hermes, 1995). We followed Dobson and Ziemann's (2008) guide on reading and  
26 interpreting primary sources from 20<sup>th</sup> century and, therefore, we first checked for key  
27 concepts expressed within the sources and their connotations (positive, negative, ambivalent).  
28 Then, we identified – by means of employing different researchers – imbalanced binary  
29 distinctions (Koselleck, 2004) with references to specific social groups or social behaviors of  
30 the time, the use of metaphors and their functions for the topic of the text, the presence of the  
31 narrator/journalist within the text (i.e. personal/ subjective: I; impersonal/ objective: it; direct  
32 reference to the relationship with the reader: we), and the narrative with which the  
33 argumentation is introduced in the text or its “emplotment” (White, 1973) checking for moral  
34 judgements and conclusions.  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3 As Dobson and Ziemann (2008) reported, “concepts, binary distinctions, metaphors, the  
4 position of the narrator and the mode of emplotment are key features of any given text, and  
5 they can all be analysed in their own right. In the end, they all contribute to the reality effect  
6 of a particular source genre” (p. 29-30). Therefore, by “reality effect” we refer to the  
7 relationship of a text and its “genre” with the existing discourses, thus we tried to understand  
8 the coherence of the analysed magazines articles and advertisings on music and fashion with  
9 a broader reality, introducing into our analysis magazines and newspapers not related to these  
10 two topics, on one side, and secondary research, which provided also an overview of the  
11 material circumstances in which texts were produced and the more general historical context.  
12 Please see Figure 2 for a detailed view of the multi-step procedure applied for the analysis of  
13 mainstream magazines.  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34

35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
Insert Figure 2 here

## 4. Findings

### *4.1 Identifying key words of change*

We interviewed 4 journalists, 2 academics expert in fashion and one fashion company representative. The journalists we interviewed emphasized that the British revolution of the Sixties was not political, but cultural: a contrast with the upheavals in the US, France, Germany and, eventually, Italy itself. In particular, Antonio Caprarica, an Italian journalist who moved to Britain in 1965 and worked for many years as London correspondent of RAI (the state broadcaster), highlighted that the youth-driven cultural transformation of a Britain that in the early ‘60s was still struggling to recover from the effects of the Second World War was one of the inspirational drivers of the changes that took place in Italy at the end of the decade.

1  
2  
3 In an attempt to offer a systematic analysis of the content of our interviews, we  
4 identified some key words that summarize the way our respondents conceive the influence of  
5 British Sixties in Italy. One very recurrent Italian word is *cambiamento* (i.e. change). This  
6 was understood not just in relation to specific trends, but as a more fundamental change in  
7 terms of prevailing social codes, perceptions of class, and personal freedom. British youth's  
8 challenge to conventional norms of behavior found resonance in a country, such as Italy at  
9 that time, in which the conservative morality of the Church still dictated the character of  
10 public life. Interestingly, Alessandro Logroscino, long-time London correspondent of the  
11 Italian press agency ANSA, emphasized that "change is possible" was the message that  
12 Italians took from the British Sixties at the time, and that this remains the case today.  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

26 Other key words that, according to our interviewees, represent fundamental reasons for  
27 the appeal of the British Sixties to Italians were the *simplicity* and *communicability* of the  
28 ideas and styles that the era incorporated. These were exemplified by Mary Quant's short  
29 dresses and mini-skirts, and by the "yé-yé" (yeah, yeah) music, named after the simple  
30 choruses of many of the British "beat" songs. For young Italians, the stylistic values  
31 associated with the British Sixties were not those of timeless aristocratic elegance, but those  
32 of working class trendiness, that could be simply reproduced by wearing a short skirt, or  
33 having a Beatles-style haircut. Indeed, according to Vincenzo Mollica, an Italian well-known  
34 RAI cultural commentator, "in Italy the 1960s were a cover version of the Sixties in Britain."  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46

47 *London* is the last keyword that needs to be highlighted. The creative industry and  
48 cultural imagery associated with the capital were vital to the meanings of the British  
49 Swinging Sixties in Italy. Importantly, Alda Fendi, one of five sisters working during the  
50 1960s at the eponymous fashion label, emphasized the importance of London in terms of the  
51 influence it had on Italian designers:  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 In the '60s, being able to latch onto customers' needs and future fashion trends  
4 before the others, was very important for all Italian brands. Always looking at  
5 what was sold in London and what Londoners (especially the young generation)  
6 were buying and wearing was fundamental. Anticipating competitors and being  
7 inspired by the trends coming from other countries and cities, in particular  
8 London and Paris, was very important.  
9

10 Interestingly, all our interviewees suggested that the way through which most Italians had  
11 formed their impressions of the city was through the 1966 movie "Blow-Up". Although it  
12 was an English-language production, it was a stylized film made by an Italian creative team  
13 led by the Italian director Michelangelo Antonioni, the writer Tonino Guerra, the producer  
14 Carlo Ponti and the cinematographer Carlo Di Palma. Their representation of "Swinging  
15 London" gained notoriety in Italy after it was briefly seized by the Italian censors who were  
16 concerned about its inclusion of nudity and depiction of casual sex and drug use. This  
17 probably enhanced the appeal of the British Sixties as a permissive "lay" society among  
18 Italians who chafed at the Catholic moral conservatism that was still prevalent within Italian  
19 "official" culture.  
20

21 Our expert interviewees concurred on the important enduring influence of the British  
22 Sixties upon Italy, and were able to highlight key instances of this. This is evidence of a  
23 warmth towards resonances from the "Swinging London" in contemporary Italy. They were,  
24 of course, speaking from the benefit of hindsight and when we triangulate this data with  
25 historical analysis of contemporary records it is noteworthy that although there are large areas  
26 of overlap, there are also indications that these positive associations were further  
27 strengthened after the period itself.  
28

29 In particular, the analysis of different types of magazines provided insights into  
30 perceptions of Britain across a broad segment of the Italian population. Indeed, the two  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 streams of analysis of contemporary magazines enabled us to capture how being British has  
4 been perceived over time in Italy and if and how influence of the British Sixties evolved over  
5 time in Italy. Key themes that emerge from our magazine analysis are the contrasts in the  
6 ways that the British Swinging Sixties were vicariously experienced between genders,  
7 generations and categories of Italian consumers. We also note the contrasts in these patterns  
8 when viewed through the prisms of fashion and music respectively. A summary of the key  
9 themes identified by the study are summarized in Figure 3.  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21

22 Insert Figure 3 here  
23  
24  
25

#### 26 *4.2 History: Constraints, continuities and change*

27  
28 Our methodology employs the analytical techniques of historians to add depth to our  
29 investigation of the value of the concept of “omni-temporality” to international marketing  
30 theory. Whereas social scientists start from the premise of identifying reproducible  
31 phenomena within human society that can provide the basis for theoretical development and  
32 models of action, historians operate on the premise that any given phenomenon in the past is  
33 a unique outcome of a particular conjunction of factors within a temporal era that can only be  
34 understood “on its own terms”. Analysis, therefore, rests upon a deep understanding of  
35 context, developed through the integration of research from multiple sources, both primary  
36 and secondary, to generate overarching interpretations.  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48

49 Adopting that practice, we can make use of our findings in the fields of fashion and  
50 music to identify important structural and contextual factors conditioning Italian consumers’  
51 understandings of the British Sixties. These include the fragmented nature of the distribution  
52 system upon the transmission of fashion and the barriers to access to the consumer market for  
53 popular music of foreign origins. Cultural products, such as music and film, were subject to  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 strict censorship, reflecting the values of the Catholic Church. The state broadcaster RAI,  
4 controlled by nominees of the ruling Christian Democrat party, exercised a market monopoly  
5 over radio and television (Forgacs and Gundle, 2008).  
6  
7  
8  
9

10 The so-called Economic Miracle of the late 1950s and early 1960s, during which Italy  
11 was rapidly transformed from the still predominantly agrarian society of the immediate post-  
12 war era, into an urban, industrial economy, underpinned a boom in consumerism that lasted  
13 from the mid-1960s up until 1973. The arrival of an era of mass consumption challenged  
14 many traditional Italian social, cultural and political values. By the end of the '60s the  
15 dissonance between the rapid socio-economic modernization of the country and a lack of  
16 political and cultural reform on the part of the state exploded in a series of violent conflicts  
17 that started with the protest movements of the late '60s, and transmogrified into the domestic  
18 terrorism of the 1970s: the so-called "years of lead" (Crainz, 1998; Ginsborg, 1990).  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29

30 These tensions were evident in the emergence of a distinctive youth culture, centered  
31 upon fashion and music, which was sustained by the affluence generated during the 1960s.  
32 Initial reporting in the Italian media was hostile to this. Many of the journalists writing during  
33 the first half of the 1960s had grown up during the inter-war era, experiencing the austerity of  
34 Fascism, followed by the outright deprivations of the Second World War. They were  
35 suspicious of luxury, waste, individualism and non-conformism: stances shared, albeit on  
36 very different premises, by the Catholic and Communist sub-cultures that dominated the post-  
37 war state. It was only after the mid-1960s, once a younger generation of journalists emerged,  
38 that articles about teenage lifestyles become less overtly judgmental. Inevitably this impacted  
39 upon the ways that the British Sixties were reported, received and remembered within the  
40 Italian media, and consequently the understandings of these among consumers themselves.  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53

54 Examining the interplay between elements of continuity and change enables historians  
55 to engage with their key concern of understanding temporal dynamics. Employing such  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 techniques enables us to observe temporal changes in the appeal and meanings of the  
4  
5 “Swinging Sixties”, which we confirmed by extending our analysis of the perceptions of  
6  
7 Britain into the 1980s. Our results demonstrate the effective functioning of “omni-  
8  
9 temporality”, employing a specific historical example, allowing us to consider its relevance  
10  
11 for international marketing theorists and practitioners.  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16

#### 17 *4.3 Summary of findings*

18  
19 One key finding that has emerged from our analysis is the contrasting ways the British Sixties  
20  
21 were experienced between genders, generations and categories of Italian consumers. We also  
22  
23 note the contrasts in these patterns when viewed through the prisms of fashion and music.  
24  
25 Secondly, in line with Magnusson *et al.* (2011, p. 455), our results demonstrate that “the  
26  
27 focus in COO research should be shifted away from the objective accuracy of consumers’  
28  
29 brand origin knowledge to the relevance of consumers’ perceived COO associations”.  
30  
31 Thirdly, and importantly, the role of change was understood not just in relation to specific  
32  
33 trends, such as those related to fashion or music, but as a more fundamental determinant of  
34  
35 dynamism and evolution, in terms of prevailing social codes, perceptions of class, and  
36  
37 personal freedom. “Change is possible” was the message that Italians took from the British  
38  
39 Sixties at the time, and this remains the case today. The notion that “change is possible”  
40  
41 represents an interesting opportunity for international export managers both to position new  
42  
43 British brands in Italy and to revitalize older British brands, in cases where new and old  
44  
45 brands draw upon COO. Necessarily, though, “change” will resonate differently with every  
46  
47 new generation and possibly every new market segment.  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56

### 57 **5. Answers to the research questions**

1  
2  
3 The careful analysis of the findings outlined above provides answers to the two research  
4 questions of how temporal dynamism functions in COO perceptions, and the applicability of  
5 “omni-temporality” as a concept from the heritage branding literature for international  
6 marketing theory.  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14

### 15 *5.1 How temporal dynamism functions in COO perceptions of the British Sixties in Italy*

16 Building on our findings we can now move to analysing the temporal functioning of the  
17 influence, impact and image of the British Sixties in Italy. We divide these into three main  
18 phases, demonstrating the elements of continuity and change in Italian perceptions of Britain,  
19 and locating these in relation to shifts in the underlying structures of Italian markets, and the  
20 ways that local cultural contexts shaped the meanings created around British goods.  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27

28 The popular music market provides a clear demonstration of this. As a result of the  
29 structures of the Fascist corporative economy and the post-war monopoly of the state  
30 broadcaster RAI, a protected “autarchic” market for popular music had been created that  
31 could only be accessed via an agreement with local producers. Italian impresarios found it  
32 more profitable to promote local artists singing Italian cover versions of foreign hits.  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39

40 Analysis of the popular music charts published by the magazines between 1965 and  
41 1985 demonstrates the ways in which the structuring of the industry, and in particular access  
42 to the market, influenced consumer behavior. As Table II shows, in the three five-year  
43 periods between 1965 and 1979, Italian music topped the charts for over 80% of the time, yet  
44 this proportion fell to under 40% in the six-year period 1980-1985 reflecting the gradual  
45 opening of the airwaves to foreign content initiated by first pirate, then private radio and  
46 television stations from the late 1970s. As we will see, however, this did not negate the  
47 importance of popular music, along with fashion, in changing Italian conceptions of Britain  
48 as a result of the Swinging Sixties.  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

Insert Table II here

*5.1.1 From before the Sixties – the English gentleman.* The market for fashion in post-war Italy was very restricted. Italian couture was relaunched in the 1950s, but ateliers and department stores were confined to the major cities. In the vast majority of the country, clothing was still acquired from small, independent, shops, and most frequently made up by seamstresses, local tailors or in the home. Women’s magazines published diagrams and instructions to enable their readers to reproduce the items of clothing featured in them (Morris, 2003).

There was little differentiation between the styles of clothing worn by different generations (Merlo and Perugini, 2017). Men and boys wore the same sorts of suits and sportswear – the most notable difference being that very young boys wore short trousers. Women from the age of 14 to well over 40 wore the same below-the-knee skirts, blouses or knitwear, in the same colors. Understated colors and sober styles reflected traditional cultural values.

The Italian concept of British “style” was exclusively masculine, referencing the tailored elegance of the English Gentleman, the original British COO narrative. Aquascutum and Burberry were among the first British clothing brands to gain a following in Italy with exclusive department stores boasting of stocking their male-orientated garments: in 1919, for example, West End House of Turin announced that they stocked Burberry “the indispensable overcoat for the motorist, the sportsman, the military officer and the man of means [1].” Traditional British menswear brands continued to use these forms of messaging throughout our era: in the October 1967 edition of *Vogue*, for example, an advertisement for Dunhill



1  
2  
3 fragrances included copy written in English containing the words “gentleman”, “refinement”  
4  
5 and “style”.  
6  
7

8 Italian brands were not afraid to borrow the stereotype in order to augment their own  
9  
10 claims to authenticity: an advertisement for the Lord shoe polish brand in *Grazia* in 1966 was  
11  
12 illustrated by a photo of the classic City gentleman dressed in a suit, wearing a bowler hat,  
13  
14 smoking a pipe, and carrying an umbrella – only the side of the tin revealed the product was  
15  
16 actually made by the Sutter company in its factory in Genoa [2].  
17  
18

19 British womenswear brands tried to draw on the myth of immutable masculine British  
20  
21 “style” when promoting their products in Italy. For example, the first Italian issue of *Vogue*  
22  
23 of October 1964 contained an advertisement for the British fashion brand DAKS. Alongside a  
24  
25 line drawing of a woman in a knee-length check skirt and matching hat, the copy read “Right  
26  
27 around the world women enjoy DAKS skirts. So English, so Elegant”. The entirety of the  
28  
29 copy was in English, while the line drawing also bore the caption Simpson London Tailored –  
30  
31 a reference to the origins of the brand in the well-known tailors Simpsons of Piccadilly. Such  
32  
33 masculine narratives of stylish elegance and London tailoring were frequently the frames  
34  
35 upon which British womenswear was launched into the Italian market. It was only with the  
36  
37 advent of the Swinging Sixties that the image of British fashion acquired a distinctly feminine  
38  
39 dimension.  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46

47 *5.1.2 From the Swinging Sixties – miniskirts and Beatles.* The term *swinging* itself was first  
48  
49 used by the weekly American magazine “Time” in the cover of the issue published on April  
50  
51 15<sup>th</sup>, 1966 titled: “London: the Swinging City”. It referred to the youth-driven revolution in  
52  
53 popular culture across many fields from music and fashion, for instance with aesthetics  
54  
55 embodied by the model known as Twiggy (Conekin, 2012), through to sexual practices and  
56  
57 politics (Clark, 1996; Jameson, 1984; Sandbrook, 2006).  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 In Italy, the Economic Miracle, and in particular the consumer boom of the mid-1960s  
4 that followed it, had generated the conditions for the emergence of markets segmented by  
5 age. In 1964, pages designed for adolescents appeared within women's magazines featuring  
6 bright colors, jeans and short hair styles modeled on those of the early beat musicians [3]. In  
7 1966-67 Italian fashion magazines started publishing in full color, the skirts they featured  
8 became a lot shorter, and teenagers started to be treated as a separate consumer segment.  
9 Retailing changed too with Elio Fiorucci becoming the first Italian to open a fashion boutique  
10 specifically targeting the youth market in 1967 in Milan. He stocked it with trendy items from  
11 Swinging London, bringing the British Sixties directly into Italy's biggest city (Butazzi and  
12 Mottola Molfino, 1986).  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

26 Prominent among these were the miniskirts and short dresses that became symbolic  
27 expressions of younger Italian women's desire to escape from conventional gender  
28 stereotypes. They also constituted a rejection of the dominance of France, and specifically  
29 Paris, as the traditional reference point for women's fashion, evidenced in the fact that Italian  
30 advertisements always evoked a French context when connecting products with feminine  
31 beauty, elegance and sophistication. By contrast, the mini skirt was an identifiably British  
32 item, the informal uniform for a new, uninhibited generation of young women embodied by  
33 the icon of Swinging London, such as Twiggy. Miniskirts were very successful during the  
34 Italian summers in the late '60s, their spread was assisted by a growth in ready-to-wear, and  
35 they were portrayed by Italian magazines as a very "seductive" item to be combined with  
36 high heels or sandals.  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50

51 This triumph for British Sixties fashion was far from straight-forward, however. The  
52 power of Paris was such that it was only when the French couture houses began showing  
53 mini-skirts in 1966, two years after Mary Quant had launched them in London, that they  
54 started to feature in Italian fashion coverage. Thereafter *Vogue* was highly positive in its  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 coverage of the innovative fashion products emerging from London, direct access to which  
4 was still largely confined to the well-off cosmopolitan elite who comprised the magazine's  
5 target audience. Twiggy featured on the cover of the May 1967, and a two-page spread of  
6 shots of her wearing miniskirts appeared in May 1969 with text underlining that she liked  
7 being "provocative".  
8  
9

10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15 *Annabella*, in tune with its somewhat older, more traditional, readership, was more  
16 suspicious of the "Swinging Sixties" and the potential pitfalls of personal freedom. In May  
17 1966 and June 1967, it carried articles by the journalist Lietta Tornabuoni that focused on the  
18 moral issues associated with wearing miniskirts in Italy. She reported that men from the  
19 lower classes regarded miniskirts as vulgar, whereas those from more educated backgrounds  
20 believed Italians should be more accepting of them. *Annabella* featured Twiggy on the cover  
21 more frequently than *Vogue*; however, this seems to have been part of its mission to mediate  
22 modern fashion to more mature consumers as one cover story caption "The Twiggy Style for  
23 Every Woman of Any Age" indicated.  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34

35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

Other publications confirm that disapproval of the miniskirt was widespread among many sections of Italian society in the second half of '60s. *Epoca*, the current affairs magazine, reported that miniskirts were regarded as immoral garments, worn to discotheques as a seductive tool. In July 1967, the national newspaper *La Stampa* published an article by the famous (male) journalist Nicola Adelfi arguing that the miniskirt was detrimental to the rights of women as it made them mere objects of men's sexual attraction. *Grazia*, the women's magazine that attempted to appeal across the age groups, presented miniskirts neutrally on the fashion pages, but wrote about them from a conservative perspective in its social commentaries. The meaning of the miniskirt therefore was very much a contested one – indeed this was a significant element of its appeal to its wearers.

1  
2  
3 The Italian popular music market continued to be dominated by domestic product  
4 during the latter 1960s as a consequence of prevailing structures within the Italian  
5 entertainment industry, as Table II indicates. Our sampling of *Giovani/Qui Giovani* and *Ciao*  
6 *Amici* found that over 75% of their covers featured Italian artists while just under 25% of  
7 them featured foreign ones. The vast majority of these were British, however, testimony to  
8 the country's importance for the Italian scene.  
9

10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17 "Beat" music became a significant youth phenomenon as Italian acts joined the ranks of  
18 the 'urlatori' (screamers) either covering British originals or modelling their own output  
19 upon these. The "Piper Club" in Rome, which opened in 1965, is often identified as the first  
20 place where Italians could regularly hear the new musical trends originating in the Swinging  
21 London. The first act to perform there were The Rokes, a beat band made up of four  
22 expatriate Englishmen who sang their songs (virtually all of which were cover versions) in  
23 Italian. This blending of authenticity with accessibility led to them being voted the second  
24 most popular act in Italy in 1966.  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34

35 Analysis of the mainstream media confirms this significance. The Beatles and The  
36 Rolling Stones frequently appeared on the pages of general magazines and newspapers.  
37  
38 *Epoca*, for example, introduced The Rolling Stones as the "anti-Beatles" in 1966, while the  
39 Turin newspaper *La Stampa* and *Stampa Sera* contained over 1,500 references to The Beatles  
40 from 1963 to 1970, ranging from concert reports and pictures through to small ads selling an  
41 electric guitar with a Beatles style wig [4]. The Beatles were seen as a model for youth  
42 emancipation, demonstrating how forming groups with others from a similar social and  
43 generational background could create a distinctive self-identity (Di Scianni, 2011). In that  
44 sense they embodied the message of "change is possible" that our interviewees identified as  
45 the key legacy of the Swinging Sixties for Italians.  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 5.1.3 *From after the Sixties – the beat goes on.* By the late 1960s, British fashion had  
4 assumed a new position of prominence within Italy as an article entitled “The neo-English  
5 fashion” in the May 1968 issue of *Vogue* confirmed. It suggested that a new direction in  
6 British fashion trends was emerging. Having long been known for its unchanging  
7 traditionalism, recent British fashion had been characterized by its fast-moving, exuberant  
8 individualism. Now, *Vogue* noted, it was taking a new, more romantic turn, illustrating this  
9 with images of British models such as Jean Shrimpton and Celia Hammond wearing designs  
10 by Mary Quant and Biba. While most of the outfits still featured short hemlines, there was  
11 also at least one that evoked, according to the text, the England of Jane Austen.

12  
13 Similarly the 1969 N. 4 issue of *L’Uomo Vogue* noted that British menswear was  
14 gradually blending the exuberance of the Swinging Sixties with the elegance of the traditional  
15 tailored style to produce a look that was both “dandy and elegant”. This was exemplified in  
16 the creations of Michael Fish, creator of the Kipper tie, floral shirts and the polo neck sweater  
17 look, whose boutique *Mr Fish* was featured in issue 6 of 1969.

18  
19 These trends marked the transition from the original “beat” look inspired by British  
20 music and fashion in the mid-1960s to a more eclectic and exuberant “bohemian” style that  
21 subsequently became incorporated into the transatlantic “hippy” counter-culture that  
22 integrated music and fashion with political protest. Britain played an important role in  
23 introducing elements of American street fashion, especially denim, into Europe. Fiorucci, for  
24 example, which became known for jeans, began by importing them from the UK.

25  
26 This left a void in other segments of the fashion market, however, allowing Paris to  
27 regain its dominance as the leading city for haute couture. In Italy, as ready-to-wear clothing  
28 took over from the traditional tailors and dressmakers, prêt-à-porter designers such as Armani  
29 and Versace exploited the new manufacturing techniques and distribution channels to  
30 establish “Made-in-Italy” as the new powerful label within the international fashion sector  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 (Merlo, 2011). This was retro-fitted into a COO framing myth concerning supposed Italian  
4 values of aesthetics, craft and culture connected to the Renaissance (Belfanti, 2015).  
5  
6

7  
8 However, according to our expert fashion interviewees – Professors Benjamin Malhotra  
9 (Polimoda, Florence) and Bill Webb (London College of Fashion, London) – the British  
10 Sixties played an important role in the rise of Italian style. This was manifest in the use of  
11 bright colors, in the rise of “de-structured” items in contrast to formal tailoring, and the ways  
12 that this fed into the development of softer lines among Italian designer brands in the 1970s  
13 and 1980s.  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20

21 Conversely, music of foreign origin, including that from Britain, became notably more  
22 successful after the 1960s. Tables II and III demonstrate that a larger proportion of artists  
23 from non-Italian backgrounds were topping the charts from the later 1970s, with the  
24 proportion of domestic produced hits dropping dramatically to under 40% in the six-year  
25 period 1980-1985 reflecting the opening of the airwaves. Measured in terms of volume,  
26 therefore, British popular music became more popular in Italy from the second half of the  
27 1970s, even though the ratio of British to other foreign number one hits was at its lowest in  
28 1980-85: 33% if measured by number of weeks at number one; just 25% if measured by the  
29 proportion of hits. Seen in this light, what is striking about the role of British music in Italy is  
30 that the Swinging Sixties can be seen as breaking down ethnocentrism within Italian  
31 consumers, and thereby facilitating the explosion in consumption of popular music of foreign  
32 origins once market restraints were removed.  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50

51 Insert Table III here  
52  
53  
54  
55

56 An early demonstration of this was that, although The Beatles had disbanded in 1970,  
57 their retrospective influence continued to grow, with many commentators stressing their  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 symbolic importance in the transformation of Italian society. In June 1973, Massimo Villa in  
4 *Qui Giovani* highlighted that The Beatles assigned a central role to fun as a fundamental  
5  
6 *Qui Giovani* highlighted that The Beatles assigned a central role to fun as a fundamental  
7  
8 component of everyday life. In January 1975, *Vogue* published an article about The Beatles  
9  
10 and the possibility of their re-forming, demonstrating the way that their influence had crossed  
11  
12 into the world of fashion. Interestingly, the article presented the music of The Beatles as  
13  
14 having appealed to all segments of society, crossing class, educational, and, most  
15  
16 importantly, generational barriers. The group was hailed as having bridged the gap between  
17  
18 the experimental avant-garde youth culture music and mainstream popular music. This  
19  
20 interpretation, with its echoes of nostalgia for a simpler, more harmonious era, needs to read  
21  
22 in the context of an Italy torn apart by the “Years of Lead”.

23  
24  
25  
26 A second economic boom in Italy during the early 1980s saw a younger generation that  
27  
28 had become disillusioned with politics increasingly turning to consumption experiences and  
29  
30 branded goods to construct their identity. A 1960s revival took place with miniskirts and  
31  
32 skinny or “cigarette” pants replacing the long hippy skirts and flared trousers of the 1970s.  
33  
34 This retro-fashion in part reflected the fact that those who were teenagers in the ‘60s were  
35  
36 now among the most affluent members of society. Music too saw many echoes of the earlier  
37  
38 period as cover versions of ‘60s hits were released by both “New Wave” and traditional pop  
39  
40 artists (Schindler and Holbrook, 2003).

41  
42  
43  
44 Youth subcultures such as the *paninari* who stressed ostentatious style over substance,  
45  
46 combined brands from many different origins, but in many ways echoed the British mod style  
47  
48 of the 1960s. Puffer jackets topped shirts and sweaters from “British-sounding” Italian brands  
49  
50 such as Stone Island and Best Company, while Burlington Socks, made by a British company  
51  
52 using a “traditional Argyle pattern”, were artfully displayed in the gap between the wearers’  
53  
54 American Timberland shoes and rolled up Levi 501 Jeans (Forgacs, 1996). Many of the  
55  
56 “coolest” music artists of this period were once more British: *paninari* favorites included  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 Spandau Ballet and Duran Duran while the Pet Shop Boys released a track entitled *Paninaro*  
4  
5 – a tribute to the subculture – in 1986. It is indicative of the complexity of authenticity within  
6  
7 this transnational revival that the favourite hangout of the *paninari* was Burghy, one of the  
8  
9 first Italian fast food chains modelled on McDonalds, not unlike the Wimpy bars in the UK  
10  
11 which were, of course, a favoured meeting place of the Mods in the early '60s.  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16

17 *5.2 Is “omni-temporality” applicable as a concept from the heritage branding literature for*  
18  
19 *international marketing theory?*  
20

21 Our findings clearly demonstrate the ways that perceptions of Swinging Britain varied over  
22  
23 time in Italy during the '60s and thereafter; this is how the passing of time (temporality)  
24  
25 becomes “omni-temporality” as different resonances are audible reverberating to different  
26  
27 depths and different audiences in each period.  
28  
29

30  
31 We observed these variations through a whole variety of readings. While the immediate  
32  
33 impact of the British Sixties was most felt in the world of fashion, its longevity and legacy  
34  
35 was more pronounced in the sphere of popular music. In terms of gender, we noted how the  
36  
37 notion of British style as exclusively masculine was reversed during the Swinging Sixties as  
38  
39 womenswear, notably miniskirts, redefined perceptions of Britain. Subsequently these were  
40  
41 bought together in the notion of British bohemianism.  
42  
43

44  
45 The importance of consumer understandings of heritage and authenticity can be  
46  
47 highlighted across all three of the periods we identified. Lord shoe polish was presented as  
48  
49 part of the style of a British gentleman despite being made in Genoa. The Rokes exploited  
50  
51 their Englishness in order to further their careers in Italy. The *paninari* simply appropriated  
52  
53 brands that fitted their overall vision, with little thought to their indexical authenticity.  
54  
55

56  
57 Generational differences were key to the understandings of the Swinging Sixties. Much  
58  
59 of the miniskirts appeal lay precisely in its challenge to the conventions of a traditional  
60



1  
2  
3 Catholic society, yet by the '70s the Beatles were already being praised for their capacity to  
4  
5 bridge societal divides during a period of internal terrorism that reflected deeply entrenched  
6  
7 cultural and political divisions within Italy. Consumer perceptions and reception of country  
8  
9 image are therefore as much reflective of local temporal contexts as of the character of the  
10  
11 country itself – a key implication of omni-temporality for international marketing theory.  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16

## 17 **6. Conclusions**

18  
19 The concept of omni-temporality as a necessary aspect of COO theory has been clearly  
20  
21 shown to be a valuable addition to international marketing theory. A historical perspective to  
22  
23 the study of “made-in” perceptions in international settings has been introduced, whereby we  
24  
25 analyzed how the “made-in” values that characterize one country might evolve in the  
26  
27 perception of foreign consumers. By showing how temporal dynamism functions we have  
28  
29 demonstrated the applicability of the omni-temporality concept from the branding literature.  
30  
31 The study questioned the typical assumption within COO theory, theory that has been found  
32  
33 to be in some ways insubstantial, whereby “made-in” values are necessarily stable and tend  
34  
35 not to change over time. We have ensured the ongoing, even timeless relevance of COO  
36  
37 theory by demonstrating that “made-in” values might be period-specific in origin, but that  
38  
39 they might be perceived differently across subsequent periods of time.  
40  
41  
42  
43

44  
45 Strengthening the foundations of the COO effect, the paper contributes to international  
46  
47 brand theory building by introducing and applying the latest brand thinking to the  
48  
49 international marketing literature. It also provides a foundation for a dynamic management  
50  
51 capability of interacting with fluid, malleable consumer perceptions, rather than, perhaps,  
52  
53 working sub-optimally by falling victim to passive misunderstanding of COO issues by  
54  
55 consumers (Samiee, 2011). Our study therefore equips international marketing managers to  
56  
57 develop, review and if necessary, to renew, their brands.  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 So, implications from our case study of the British Sixties in Italy lay in the fact that  
4  
5 our demonstration of how “omni-temporality” functions can now inform theory and practice  
6  
7 around COO as a relevant element in international marketing. While some “made-in” values  
8  
9 are quite stable over time, as they generally characterize countries over decades, others are  
10  
11 malleable, meaning that they can represent a country’s culture in one era better than in other  
12  
13 eras. Omni-temporality linked to malleable values means that one or more periods of the past  
14  
15 can be combined within a COO that is neither static nor timeless.  
16  
17

18  
19 Up until the mid-1960s, the only meaning of “Made-in-Britain” for Italians was that of  
20  
21 the classy, rather cold, elegance and gentlemanliness of the English gentry. Then a new  
22  
23 narrative appeared, known in Italy as “Ye-Ye”, a second myth of trendy, rule-breaking  
24  
25 youthful novelty bordering on the rebellious, in the Britain of the Swinging Sixties. Above  
26  
27 all, this myth contained the message that “change is possible”.  
28  
29

30  
31 As soon as both narratives were present in the Italian discourse, international marketers  
32  
33 in Britain began to use them in conjunction with each other. In 1967, British European  
34  
35 Airways (BEA) adverts in *Epoca* featured a picture of a military drummer mounted on a  
36  
37 horse, next to one of a beat group with a drum kit emblazoned with the Union Jack flag. The  
38  
39 copy read: “Two different worlds await you this year in London...As you admire the charm  
40  
41 of the sumptuous parades of Royal London, it’s enough to turn a corner to hear...the  
42  
43 uninhibited rhythms of the new English tradition” [5].  
44  
45

46  
47 Our analysis of magazines during the 1965-1985 period shows that British companies  
48  
49 advertised their products in Italy through campaigns that mixed specific elements, such as  
50  
51 elegance, craftsmanship, exclusivity, youthfulness, London, modernity, novelty, trend-  
52  
53 setting, and internationalization. Authenticity was crafted from elements of the two co-  
54  
55 existing myths regarding “Made-in-Britain”. This is a clear empirical demonstration of  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 Balmer's (2013) insight that any elements from the historical past can be re-ordered to create  
4  
5 a novel heritage.  
6

7  
8 These results confirm Holt's prediction in 1998 that what is seen as authentic, and the  
9  
10 appeal that such an authenticity has, will depend on the social cultural capital of the  
11  
12 consumer. Symbols of British Sixties' fashion and music, such as the mini-skirt and the  
13  
14 Beatles, have become meaningful to Italians. When thinking about the British Sixties, today's  
15  
16 Italians, similar to the youngest generations of the '60s, are struck by the idea that any change  
17  
18 is possible. Authenticity is a value for millennials (Halliday and Astafyeva 2014), providing  
19  
20 an opportunity for the theory of COO, enriched by "omni-temporality", to provide ways  
21  
22 forward for "Made-in-Britain" brands to appeal to a new generation.  
23  
24  
25

26  
27 Our demonstration of temporal segmentation in practice makes a contribution to the  
28  
29 COO literature in underlining this important element of how to make the topic managerially  
30  
31 relevant (Samiee, 2010). Our findings offer value to international marketing theory and to its  
32  
33 development as brands take over from products in the consumers' minds and become the  
34  
35 focus for marketing effort (Thakor, 1996; Usunier, 2011). Indeed, they triangulate very  
36  
37 usefully with Martín Martín and Cerviño's findings and reinforce the advice they gave to  
38  
39 international marketing managers:  
40  
41

42  
43 Managers would benefit from considering product category and country aspects of  
44  
45 their most valuable brands. Policy makers should encourage firms to promote a clear  
46  
47 association between brands and countries (when these countries have a positive  
48  
49 image) and discriminate between high and low involvement product categories.  
50

51  
52 Martín and Cerviño (2011, p. 530)

53  
54 In our study, the values associated with the British Sixties made them more appealing to a  
55  
56 certain segment of Italian customers, at certain periods in time. Such resonances are  
57  
58 important indicators of the omni-temporality of the Swinging Sixties as a point of reference  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 and cultural understanding that can still have contemporary purchase. Such resonances can be  
4  
5 seen in the Italian menswear brand Boggi's repeated use of the word "Gentleman" in the  
6  
7 copy accompanying its advertisements for its tailored suits and country pursuit wear, and the  
8  
9 way that the *Corriere della Sera* archive uses a demonstration based upon an Italian man in  
10  
11 (presumably) his '60s, searching for reports of a Beatle's concert in Milan.  
12  
13

14  
15 The notion that "change is possible" has lots of potential for international export  
16  
17 managers to utilize with new brands or revitalize brands drawing upon COO. Necessarily,  
18  
19 "change" will resonate differently according to specific contexts, across generations and  
20  
21 between market segments. British companies operating in Italy might foster a brand image  
22  
23 that is clearly related to the most relevant values contained within all or any of the "Made-in-  
24  
25 Britain" myths, and aimed at reaching specific Italian consumers.  
26  
27

28  
29 Further research might extend our analysis by identifying the omni-temporal elements  
30  
31 within present-day COO perceptions, and their particular meanings for consumers in a range  
32  
33 of contexts. This would uncover particular meanings for consumers in a range of contexts,  
34  
35 presenting a possible range of suitable heritage sources, so as to deepen and tailor the  
36  
37 discussion and practice of international branding. We have demonstrated that it would be  
38  
39 interesting to note in further research on omni-temporality for COO effect any generational  
40  
41 differences in responsiveness to key historical changes, such as the British Swinging Sixties,  
42  
43 and to later periods of particular revival of iconic past times. We acknowledge the pluralist  
44  
45 nature of cultural narratives and the travels undertaken by individual elements within national  
46  
47 and ethnic myths (Dávila, 2012; Kitwana, 2005). We now wish to alert future international  
48  
49 marketing researchers to the importance of considering of temporal dynamics in such  
50  
51 analyses, while pointing out to international marketing managers the opportunities offered by  
52  
53 omni-temporality for generating period-specific COO narratives that are sensitive to the  
54  
55 needs and wants of local contexts and specific consumer segments. For different appeals to  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 different consumer segments can be identified from the rich resource of COO values that  
4  
5 inform “Made-in-Britain” perceptions in Italy.  
6  
7

8 As for the limitations of this work, the analysis has been conducted solely in relation to  
9  
10 “made-in” values associated with one country (Britain) and one particular, though important,  
11  
12 historical period (the ‘60s). Furthermore, it has only considered how such “made-in” values  
13  
14 have been perceived by consumers in one single different country (Italy) and two,  
15  
16 interconnected market sectors (fashion and music). Historians would, of course, argue that  
17  
18 this constitutes a unique, unrepeatable, case. It is precisely this sensitivity to temporal  
19  
20 specificities that characterizes the concept of omni-temporality, however, and which  
21  
22 reinforces the importance of incorporating a temporal dimension into our understanding of  
23  
24 the continuing relevance of COO to international marketing.  
25  
26  
27

### 28 Notes

- 29 1. Il Burberry, *La Stampa*, 1 February 1919, p. 3.
- 30 2. Lord, *Grazia*, 25 September 1966.
- 31 3. See *Grazia*, nr. 1243, 1964 pp. 150-151; *Grazia*, nr. 1339, 1966, pp. 136-137; *Grazia*, nr. 1340,  
32 1966, pp.128-129; *Grazia*, nr.1343, 1966; *Epoca*, nr. 1968, 938 pp. 36-40.
- 33 4. ‘Annunci Vari’, *Stampa Sera*, Turin, 9 May 1966, p.16.
- 34 5. *Epoca*, 5 March 1967, p. 6.
- 35  
36  
37

### 38 References

- 39 Al-Sulaiti, K.I. and Baker, M.J. (1998), “Country of origin effects: a literature review”,  
40  
41 *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, Vol. 16 No. 3, pp. 150-199.  
42  
43
- 44 Alexander, N. (2009), “Brand authentication: Creating and maintaining brand  
45  
46 auras”, *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 43 No. 3/4, pp. 551-562.  
47  
48
- 49 Altheide, D.L. and Johnson, J.M. (1994), “Criteria for assessing interpretive validity in  
50  
51 qualitative research”, in Denzin, N.K and Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative*  
52  
53 *research*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 485-499.  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

- 1  
2  
3 Balmer, J.M., Abratt, R. and Kleyn, N. (2016), "Corporate brands and corporate marketing:  
4 Emerging trends in the big five eco-system", *Journal of Brand Management*, Vol. 23  
5  
6 No. 1, pp. 3-7.  
7  
8  
9
- 10 Balmer, J.M. (2013), "Corporate heritage, corporate heritage marketing, and total corporate  
11 heritage communications: What are they? What of them?", *Corporate*  
12  
13 *Communications: An International Journal*, Vol. 18 No. 3, pp. 290-326.  
14  
15  
16
- 17 Balmer, J.M. and Burghausen, M. (2015), "Explicating corporate heritage, corporate heritage  
18 brands and organisational heritage", *Journal of Brand Management*, Vol. 22 No. 5, pp.  
19  
20 364-384.  
21  
22  
23
- 24 Balmer, J.M.T. (2011), "Corporate heritage identities, corporate heritage brands and the  
25 multiple heritage identities of the British Monarchy", *European Journal of Marketing*,  
26  
27 Vol. 45 No. 9/10, pp. 1380-1398.  
28  
29  
30
- 31 Belfanti, M. (2015), "History as an intangible asset for the Italian fashion business", *Journal*  
32  
33 *of Historical Research in Marketing*, Vol. 7 No. 1, pp. 74-90.  
34  
35  
36
- 37 Bertoli, G. and Rescinti, R. (2012), *International Marketing and the Country of Origin Effect.*  
38  
39 *The Global Impact of 'Made in Italy'*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK.
- 40 Beverland, M. (2005), "Crafting brand authenticity: the case of luxury wines", *Journal of*  
41  
42 *Management Studies*, Vol. 42 No. 5, pp. 1003-1029.  
43  
44  
45
- 46 Bilkey, W.J. and Nes, E. (1982), "Country-of-origin effects on product evaluations", *Journal*  
47  
48 *of International Business Studies*, Vol. 13 No. 1, pp. 89-100.
- 49 Butazzi, G. and Mottola Molino, A. (1986), *La Moda Italiana: Dall'Antimoda allo Stilismo*,  
50  
51 Edizioni Electa, Milan.  
52  
53
- 54 Cattin, P., Jolibert, A. and Lohnes, C. (1982), "A cross-cultural study of "made in" concepts",  
55  
56 *Journal of International Business Studies*, Vol. 13 No. 3, pp. 131-141.  
57  
58
- 59 Clark, P. (1996), *Hope and Glory. Britain 1900-1990*, Penguin, London.  
60

- 1  
2  
3 Conekin, B.E. (2012), “Fashioning Mod Twiggy and the moped in ‘swinging’ London”,  
4  
5 *History and Technology*, Vol. 28 No. 2, pp. 209-215.  
6  
7  
8 Cox, H. and Mowatt, S. (2012), “Vogue in Britain: Authenticity and the creation of  
9  
10 competitive advantage in the UK magazine industry”, *Business History*, Vol. 54 No. 1,  
11  
12 pp. 67-87.  
13  
14  
15 Crainz, G. (1996), *Storia del Miracolo Italiano*, Donizelli, Rome.  
16  
17 Da Silva Lopes, T. and Casson, M. (2012), “Brand Protection and the Globalization of British  
18  
19 Business”. *Business History Review*, Vol. 86 No. 2, pp. 287-310.  
20  
21  
22 Dávila, A.M. (2012), *Latinos, Inc: The Marketing and Making of a People*, University of  
23  
24 California Press, Los Angeles.  
25  
26 Di Scianni, L. (2011), “Capelloni, moda, Inghilterra e Beatles: I simboli della contestazione  
27  
28 giovanile nell’Italia degli anni Sessanta”, *Storia e Futuro* n. 26, <http://storiaefuturo.eu>  
29  
30  
31 Dobson, M. and Ziemann, B. (2008), *Reading Primary Sources: the Interpretations of Texts*  
32  
33 *from 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century history*, Routledge, London.  
34  
35  
36 Foot, J. (1999), “Television and the city: The impact of television in Milan, 1954-60”,  
37  
38 *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 8, No 3, pp. 379-394.  
39  
40  
41 Forgacs, D.A. (1996), “Paninari”, in Forgacs, D. and Lumley, R. (Eds), *Italian Cultural*  
42  
43 *Studies. An Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 344-346.  
44  
45  
46 Forgacs, D.A. and Gundle. S. (2008), *Mass Culture and Italian Society from Fascism to the*  
47  
48 *Cold War*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington.  
49  
50  
51 Fortis, M. (2005), *Le Due Sfide del Made in Italy: Globalizzazione e Innovazione*, Il Mulino,  
52  
53 Bologna.  
54  
55  
56 Gilmore, J.H. and Pine, B.J. (2007), *Authenticity: What Consumers Really Want*, Harvard  
57  
58  
59  
60 Business Review Press, Harvard.

- 1  
2  
3 Ginsborg, P. (1990), *A History of Contemporary Italy. Society and Politics, 1943-1988*,  
4  
5 Penguin, London.  
6  
7  
8 Halliday, S.V. (2016), "User-generated content about brands: Understanding its creators and  
9  
10 consumers", *Journal of Business Research*, Vol. 69 No. 1, pp. 137-144.  
11  
12 Halliday, S.V. and Astafyeva, A. (2014), "Millennial cultural consumers: co-creating value  
13  
14 through brand communities", *Arts Marketing: An International Journal*, Vol. 4 No. 1/2,  
15  
16 pp. 119-135.  
17  
18  
19 Häubl, G. (1996), "A cross-national investigation of the effects of country of origin and brand  
20  
21 name on the evaluation of a new car", *International Marketing Review*, Vol. 13 No. 5,  
22  
23 pp. 76-97.  
24  
25  
26 Hermes, J. (1995), *Reading Women's Magazines: An Analysis of Everyday Media Use*, Polity  
27  
28 Press, Cambridge.  
29  
30  
31 Holt, D.B. (1998), "Does cultural capital structure American consumption?", *Journal of*  
32  
33 *Consumer Research*, Vol. 25 No. 1, pp. 1-25.  
34  
35  
36 Hooley, G.J., Shipley, D. and Krieger, N. (1988), "A method for modelling consumer  
37  
38 perceptions of country of origin", *International Marketing Review*, Vol. 5 No. 3, pp. 67-  
39  
40 76.  
41  
42  
43 Hudson, B.T. and Balmer, J.M.T. (2013), "Corporate heritage brands: Mead's theory of the  
44  
45 past", *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, Vol. 18 No. 3, pp. 347-361.  
46  
47  
48 Jameson, F. (1984), "Periodizing the 60s", *Social Text*, No. 9/10, pp. 178-209.  
49  
50  
51 Johansson, J.K. (1989), "Determinants and effects of the use of 'made in' labels",  
52  
53 *International Marketing Review*, Vol. 6 No. 1, pp. 47-58.  
54  
55  
56 Khachaturian, J.L. and Morganosky, M.A. (1990), "Quality perceptions by country of  
57  
58 origin", *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management*, Vol. 18 No. 5, pp.  
59  
60 21-30.



- 1  
2  
3 Kim N., Chun, E. and Ko, E. (2017), "Country of origin effects on brand image, brand  
4 evaluation and purchase intention", *International Marketing Review*, Vol. 34 No. 2, pp.  
5 254-271.  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10 Kitwana, B. (2005), *Why White Kids Love Hip-Hop: Wankstas, Wiggers, Wannabes, and the*  
11 *New Reality of Race in America*, Basic Books, New York.  
12  
13  
14 Ko, E., Moon, B.J. and Magnusson, P. (2017), "Country of origin research revisited: seeking  
15 new methods and variables", *International Marketing Review*, Vol. 34 No. 2, pp. 162-165.  
16  
17  
18  
19 Koselleck, R. (2004), "The Historical-Political Semantics of Asymmetric Counterconcepts",  
20 in Koselleck, R. (Eds.), *Futures Past. On the Semantics of Historical Time*, Columbia  
21 University Press, New York, pp. 155-191.  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26 Le Masurier, M. and Johnke, R. (2014), "Magazine studies: pedagogy and practice in a  
27 nascent field", *TEXT*, Vol. 18 No. 25, pp. 1-16.  
28  
29  
30  
31 Lowenthal, D. (1985), *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge University Press,  
32 Cambridge.  
33  
34  
35  
36 Magnusson, P., Westjohn, S.A. and Zdravkovic, S. (2011), "What? I thought Samsung was  
37 Japanese: accurate or not, perceived country of origin matters", *International Marketing*  
38 *Review*, Vol. 28 No. 5, pp. 454-472.  
39  
40  
41  
42 Maronick, T.J. (1995), "An empirical investigation of consumer perceptions of 'made in  
43 USA' claims", *International Marketing Review*, Vol. 12 No. 3, pp. 15-30.  
44  
45  
46  
47 Martín Martín, O. and Cerviño, J. (2011), "Towards an integrative framework of brand  
48 country of origin recognition determinants: A cross-classified hierarchical model",  
49 *International Marketing Review*, Vol. 28 No. 6, pp. 530-558.  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54 Mercer, J. (2010), "A mark of distinction: Branding and trade mark law in the UK from the  
55 1860s", *Business History*, Vol. 52 No. 1, pp. 17-42.  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

- 1  
2  
3 Merlo, E. (2011), "Italian fashion business: Achievements and challenges (1970s–2000s)",  
4  
5 *Business History*, Vol. 53 No. 3, pp. 344-362.  
6  
7  
8 Merlo, E. and Perugini, M. (2017), "Making Italian fashion global: Brand building and  
9  
10 management at Gruppo Finanziario Tessile (1950s–1990s)", *Business History*, DOI:  
11  
12 10.1080/00076791.2017.1329299.  
13  
14  
15 Merriam, S.B. and Tisdell, E.J. (2015), *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and*  
16  
17 *Implementation*, John Wiley & Sons.  
18  
19 Miles, M.B. and Huberman, A. M. (1984), "Drawing valid meaning from qualitative data:  
20  
21 Toward a shared craft", *Educational Researcher*, Vol. 13 No. 5, pp. 20-30.  
22  
23  
24 Miranda, J.A. (2017), "The country-of-origin effect and the international expansion of  
25  
26 Spanish fashion companies, 1975–2015", *Business History*, DOI:  
27  
28 10.1080/00076791.2017.1374370.  
29  
30  
31 Moon, B.J. and Oh, H.M. (2017), "Country of origin effects in international marketing  
32  
33 channels", *International Marketing Review*, Vol. 34 No. 2, pp. 224-238.  
34  
35  
36 Moore, K. and Reid, S. (2008), "The birth of brand: 4000 years of branding", *Business*  
37  
38 *History*, Vol. 50 No. 4, pp. 419-432.  
39  
40  
41 Morris, J. (2003), "Le Vettrine della Moda" in Belfanti, C.M. and Giusberti, F. (Eds), *Storia*  
42  
43 *d'Italia. Annali 19. La Moda*, Einaudi, Turin, pp. 835-867.  
44  
45  
46 Peterson, R. and Jolibert, A.J. (1995), "A meta-analysis of Country-of-Origin effects",  
47  
48 *Journal of International Business Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 4, pp. 883-900.  
49  
50  
51 Rose, R.L. and Wood, S.L. (2005), "Paradox and the consumption of authenticity through  
52  
53 reality television", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 32, No 2, pp. 284-296.  
54  
55  
56 Roth, K. and Diamantopoulos, A. (2009), "Advancing the country image construct", *Journal*  
57  
58 *of Business Research*, Vol. 62 No. 7, pp. 726-740.  
59  
60

- 1  
2  
3 Samiee, S. (2010), “Advancing the country image construct—a commentary essay”, *Journal*  
4  
5 *of Business Research*, Vol. 63 No. 4, pp. 442-445.  
6  
7  
8 Samiee, S. (2011), “Resolving the impasse regarding research on the origins of products and  
9  
10 brands”, *International Marketing Review*, Vol. 28 No. 5, pp. 473-485.  
11  
12 Sandbrook, D. (2006), *White Heat. A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties*, Abacus,  
13  
14 London.  
15  
16  
17 Schindler, R.M. and Holbrook, M. B. (2003), “Nostalgia for early experience as a  
18  
19 determinant of consumer preferences”, *Psychology & Marketing*, Vol. 20 No. 4, pp.  
20  
21 275-302.  
22  
23  
24 Smith, W.R. (1993), “Country-of-origin bias: a regional labelling solution”, *International*  
25  
26 *Marketing Review*, Vol. 10 No. 6, pp. 4-12.  
27  
28  
29 Spiggle, S. (1994), “Analysis and interpretation of qualitative data in consumer research”,  
30  
31 *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 21 No. 3, pp. 491-503.  
32  
33  
34 Styles, C. and Ambler, T. (1994), “Successful Export Practice: The UK Experience”,  
35  
36 *International Marketing Review*, Vol. 11 No. 6, pp. 23-47.  
37  
38 Thakor, M.V. (1996), “Brand origin: conceptualization and review”, *Journal of Consumer*  
39  
40 *Marketing*, Vol. 13 No. 3, pp. 27-42.  
41  
42  
43 Thompson, C.J., Rindfleisch, A. and Arsel, Z. (2006), “Emotional branding and the strategic  
44  
45 value of the doppelgänger brand image”, *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 70 No. 1, pp. 50-  
46  
47 64.  
48  
49 Usunier, J.C. (2011), “The shift from manufacturing to brand origin: suggestions for  
50  
51 improving COO relevance”, *International Marketing Review*, Vol. 28 No. 5, pp. 486-  
52  
53 496.  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 Vella, S. (2008), "Newspapers" in Dobson, M. and Ziemann, B. (Eds), *Reading Primary*  
4  
5 *Sources: the Interpretations of Texts from 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century history*, Routledge,  
6  
7 London.  
8  
9

10 White, H. (1973), "Interpretation in history", *New Literary History*, Vol. 4 No. 2, pp. 281-  
11  
12 314.  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

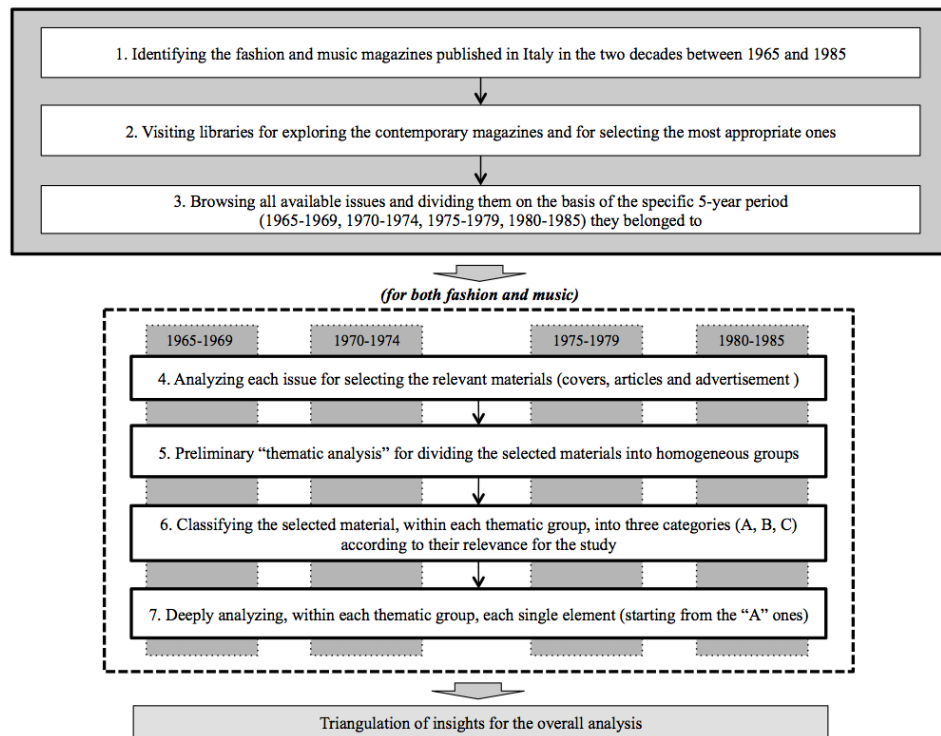


Figure 1.  
Procedure for the fashion and music magazine analysis (first phase)

371x277mm (72 x 72 DPI)

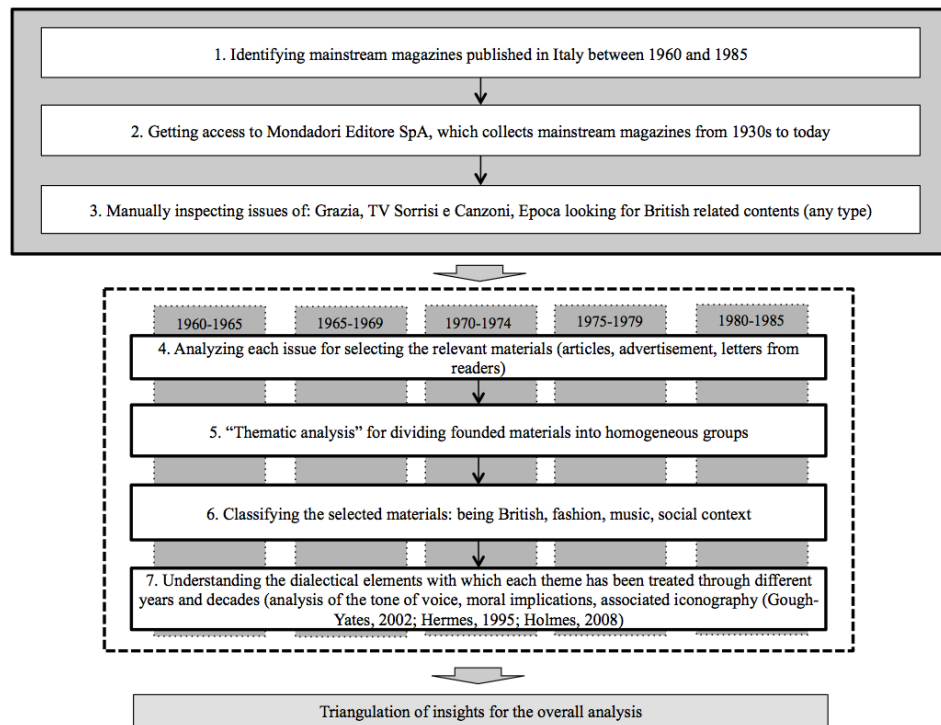


Figure 2.  
Procedure for the mainstream magazine analysis (second phase)

383x288mm (72 x 72 DPI)

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

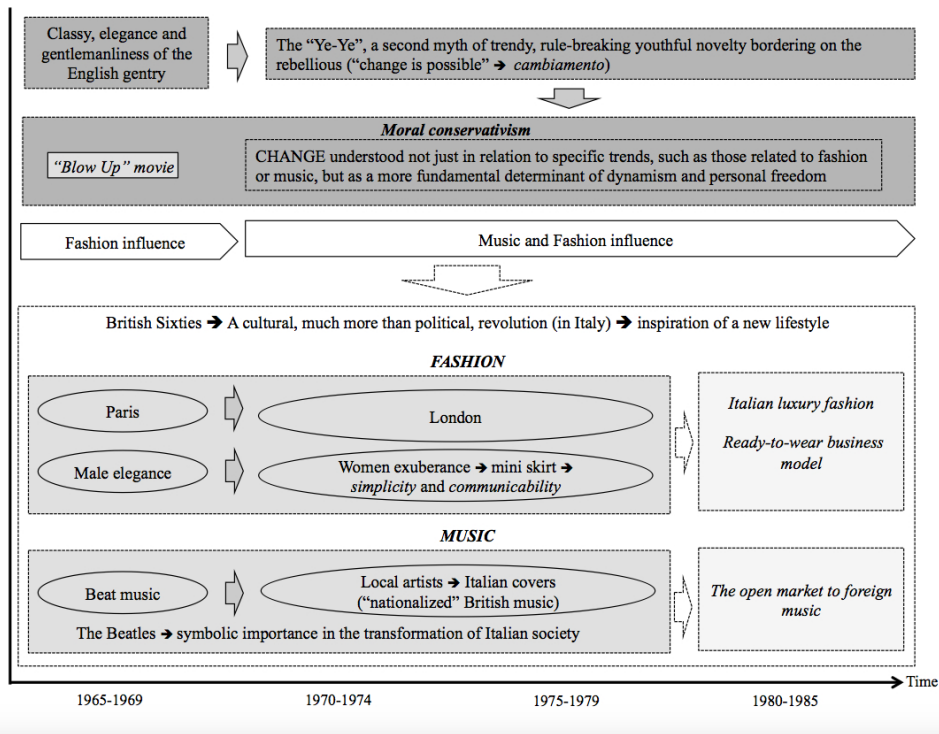


Figure 3.  
Summary of key themes  
398x299mm (72 x 72 DPI)

**Table I.**  
Summary of dataset

<i>In-depth interviews</i>			
7 in-depth interviews	Mr. Antonio Caprarica	Writer and former journalist at RAI	
	Ms. Alda Fendi	Fendi s.p.a.	
	Mr. Alessandro Logroscino	Journalist at ANSA	
	Prof. Benjamin Malhotra	Polimoda (Florence)	
	Mr. Vincenzo Mollica	Journalist at RAI	
	Mr. Marco Varvello	Journalist at RAI	
	Prof. Bill Webb	London College of Fashion	
<i>Sample Analysis of fashion and music magazines (list of issues cited)</i>			
Italian Magazines (as described in the paper)		October 1964	
		April 1967	
		May 1967	
		June 1967	
		October 1967	
		December 1967	
		January 1968	
		April 1968	
		May 1968	
		June 1968	
		May 1969	
		November 1970	
		January 1975	
		March 1978	
		February 1980	
		February 1985	
		March 1985	
		<i>Vogue Italy for Men</i> (fashion)	n. 4, 1969 n. 6, 1969
		<i>Annabella</i> (fashion)	May 1965 May 1966 June 1967
		<i>Giovani and Qui-Giovani</i> (music)	August 1966 November 1966 August 1967 September 1967 December 1970 July 1971 August 1971 April 1973 June 1973
	<i>Ciao Amici</i> (music)	December 1964 August 1967	
	<i>Grazia</i> (fashion)	1960: 985-1030 1964: 1237-1245 1965: 1246-1254	



	1966: 1333-1349
	1971: 1594-1602
	1975: 1268-1773
	1979: 2022-2028
	1960: 483-495
	1966: 843-848
<i>Epoca (general)</i>	1967: 849-861
	1968: 928-940
	1971: 1084-1096
<i>TV Sorrisi e Canzoni (music)</i>	1980: Jan to March Issues
	1982: Jan to March Issues
<i>La Stampa /Stampa Sera</i> (Turin newspaper)	Searchable Archive <a href="http://www.archiviolaStampa.it">www.archiviolaStampa.it</a>

**Table II.**  
Number of weeks with Italian versus British number-one hits

Time frame	Weeks with Italian number-one hits	Weeks with neither Italian nor number-one British hits	Weeks with British number-one hits
1965-1969	186	20	23
1970-1974	190	18	9
1975-1979	209	18	23
1980-1985	120	127	63

**Table III.**  
Number of Italian versus British number-one hits

Time frame	Italian number-one hits	Neither British nor Italian number-one hits	British number-one hits
1965-1969	68	6	6
1970-1974	48	6	3
1975-1979	41	12	7
1980-1985	39	30	10