The Postmodern Explained To Managers: Implications For Marketing

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Recent aspects of Western life in general and of consumption in particular have reflected the existence of a major current, the postmodern, that has lately run strong as we stumble toward the coming fin de siècle and the dawn of the new millennium. Today our culture is post-modern, our manufacturers are post-Fordist, our economies post-industrial, our gender relations post-feminist, our literature post-narrative, our politics post-Marxist, and our physics post-Big Bang. The old models are seemingly melting into air; the new ones define themselves in terms of rejecting what has gone before rather than posing a positive alternative. It all boils down to a crisis that has paramount impact on management. "Crazy times call for crazy organizations," claims Tom Peters on the opening page of his new book.

The postmodern pulls together the new models of our fading century into a generic perspective on life and the human condition. The postmodern has become a concept to be wrestled with, and such a battleground of conflicting opinions that it can no longer be ignored by managers. There are worthwhile insights to be gained from the debate on the postmodern conditions and its consequences on consumption and marketing.

The Postmodern Is Not Just A Meaningless French Fad

Many managers believe the postmodern is an invention of a French philosopher, a meaningless intellectual fad, the latest fashion flown in from Paris. In fact, most discussions of the postmodern are bent in the direction of French abstractness and sound very odd to the ears of managers. For many, the most inaccessible aspect of postmodernism derives from the work of several prominent post-structuralist thinkers, principally Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Jean-François Lyotard (others include Lacan, Barthes, Kristeva, Deleuze, and Guattari), as well as from the writings of situationists such as Guy Debord or Raoul Vaneigen. The same managers also find it arduous and exacting to pore over books written by major French sociologists—Jean Baudrillard, Gilles Lipovetsky, Michel Maffesoli, or Edgar Morin—that analyze and discuss the characteristics of postmodernity.

But as James Ogilvy, a North American consultant, said, "The postmodern is too important to be left to French philosophers alone." Why? Because, despite its idiosyncrasies and Gallic esotericism, it is a first attempt to articulate the outlines of the new philosophical and social condition of the coming millennium. Diverse and often conflicting references to postmodernism and postmodernity can be found in a growing number of disciplinary fields and across an increasingly broad range of discourses.

Consequently, a number of difficulties are encountered in the analysis of modern and postmodern. Notable among them are a constellation of related terms, a lack of specificity associated
with the concepts employed, particularly in relation to their historical referents or periods; and numerous conceptual distinctions between positive and negative manifestations of respectively modern and postmodern forms. However, the philosophical and social changes characterized by the label “postmodern” are considered major challenges of our times by a growing number of European and North American marketing experts. A recent handbook on Marketing Theory and Practice, edited by the distinguished Professor Michael J. Baker from Strathclyde University, even has a chapter on marketing in a postmodern era.

To clarify matters, managers must accept that to speak of postmodernism is to refer to a specific philosophical perspective replete with epistemological assumptions and methodological preferences. Postmodernism proposes a complete rethinking of the principles of science in general and of marketing theory in particular. Managers must also accept that to speak of postmodernism is to suggest an epochal shift or break from modernity involving the emergence of a new social condition with its own distinct organization principles. Postmodernism addresses completely new challenges to marketing management.

The term “postmodernism” was first used in architecture to emphasize the break in the 1960s with modern functional and rational thinking. Over the last two decades it has spread across all domains of science and knowledge. Fragmentation, indeterminacy, and intense distrust of all universal or totalizing discourses are the hallmark of postmodernist thought. In particular, it haunts science today. In a number of respects, some plausible and some preposterous, the postmodern approach disputes the underlying assumptions of science and its findings over the past three decades. The challenges seem endless. It rejects epistemological assumptions, refutes methodological conventions, resists knowledge claims, and overall contrasts the modernist idea of one single reality. Thus, the appearance of postmodernism in science signals more than another novel academic paradigm. Rather, it has a radically new and different cultural movement coalescing in a broadly gauged reconceptualization of how we experience and explain the world around us.

Modernity is the social model that emerged in the affluent countries during the course of the seventeenth century and took its final shape during the 1800s. It essentially signifies the following conditions: (1) the rule of reason and the establishment of rational order; and (2) the emergence of the freed subject. Modernity entered history as a progressive force promising to liberate human kind from ignorance and irrationality, but we can readily question today whether that promise has been met. Postmodernity recognizes that the goals originally set by modernity will never be reached.

The term “postmodernity” accurately renders the defining traits of the social condition that has emerged in the same part of the world in the course of the twentieth century, and that has progressively taken its present shape in the second half of this century. Attention is drawn to continuity and discontinuity as two sides of the intricate relationship between the present social condition and the formation it preceded and gestated. The intimate, genetic bond that ties the new, postmodern social condition to modernity is brought into relief.

Postmodernity stands as a transition phase in the history of our Western societies; it is an era without a dominant ideology or utopia but with a plurality of currents and styles. Opposing and disconnected juxtapositions are found increasingly in contemporary culture. As a consequence, the major feature of postmodernity is commonly said to be the juxtaposition of contradictory emotions and cognitions regarding perspectives, commitments, ideas and things in general, and consumption in particular, to wit: heterogeneity with uniformity, passive consumption with active customization, individualism with tribalism, fragmentation with globalization, and so on. The following paragraphs will investigate two major juxtapositions of contradictions in postmodernity and their repercussions on consumption.

**Postmodernity = The Age Of The Image + The Age Of Experience**

One of the most discussed conditions of postmodernity among marketing scholars and practitioners is hyper-reality. It is said that reality has collapsed and has become exclusively image, illusion, or simulation. The model is more real than the reality it supposedly represents. The hyper-real is that which is already reproduced. It is a model of “a real” without origin or reality.

Many contemporary examples of the hyperreal are grounded in consumption experiences. Witness the simulations offered to tourists at Disney World and Universal Studios. Or consider the numbers of tourists who visit the IMAX theater as they visit the Grand Canyon—to “really experience the Canyon.” Observe the consumption of simulacra as ersatz crafts, invented traditions, living “history” spectacles, tourist “villages,” and the like. And of course, hyper-reality is now equally evident in the cyberspace created by the Internet and the World Wide Web. Moreover, the dramatic intensification of image production in global media erases the boundary between the real and the image and participates in the global “Disney-fication” of the world.

Hyper-reality, as exemplified by the fantasy worlds of theme parks, virtual reality, and computer games, involves the loss of a sense of au-
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thenticity and the becoming "real" of what was originally a simulation. Indeed, there is a tendency and willingness on the part of postmodern consumers to prefer the hype or the simulation to the "real" itself. As the argument goes, all substance and depth beneath the surface has collapsed; nothing is hidden behind or beneath the façade; all is represented on the surface (appearance) and the interior or substance (essence) is dead. Seeking meaning hidden behind what is reflected is a futile modern quest. The image is the substance. Represented through the planned interplay of a multitude of signs, the image reflects on the surface and becomes the essence the consumer seeks in adopting a product. The image does not represent the product, but the product represents the image.

Consumers, it is suggested, no longer merely consume products. They also—or even instead—consume the symbolic meaning of those products: the image. That the object actually does some useful things—take us from A to B, mash potatoes, or keep us warm—is taken for granted.

Technological innovation, the hallmark of modernism, is gradually being substituted by aesthetic innovation. The functional dimension disappears behind the aesthetic dimension; technology is just there to favor the creation of images. A process of fictionalization of reality within the social life-world takes place through which the atomized individual becomes an imitator of styles of existence prefabricated by the marketing system. In the extreme case, postmodern individuals are supposed to prefer simulation to reality and to choose to live all their consumption activities in a virtual manner.

This view must be juxtaposed with one of the key manifestations of postmodernity—antitotalitarianism, the rejection of all totalizing ideas and a resistance to images imposed by the marketing system. Postmodern individuals reject the dominant values and everything that is normal (or is in the process of becoming normal), and desire to "do their own thing." In postmodernity we are witnessing the emergence of the customizing consumer—the consumer who takes elements of market offerings and crafts a customized consumption experience out of them. The postmodern consumer attempts to restructure his identity in the face of the totalizing logic—the hegemony—of the market. In modernity, consumers were increasingly divorced from their
ability to control the objects or their lives; they ended up as stooges. In postmodernity, the consumer may be finding the potential to become a protagonist in the customization of his world.

Postmodern consumers lack commitment to grand projects and universal images and seek different and local experiences. They want to become a part of processes and experience immersion in thematic settings rather than merely encounter finished products and images. That is why, in its new framework, marketing has to include the consumer not as a target for products but as a producer of experiences. The essence of postmodern experience is participation; without participation, the consumer is merely entertained and does not experience.

A symbol: the rave subculture in England, this heady swirl of psychedelic workouts for under-25s. Everyone has some idea of what a rave involves—tabloid tales of drug-crazed kids biting off pigeons’ heads being the most extreme—but few are aware of the importance of the rave subculture. It has touched the lives of more under-25s than all the previous youth cults put together and has changed the way they think about life, the universe, and pretty much everything—including advertising. We are not talking about 20,000 punks; rave subculture involves millions of young people in the U.K. For obvious reasons it is impossible to quantify the exact number attending illegal raves, but it is suggested that a million people a week go to legal rave parties and that more than a third of under-25s have experienced a rave of some sort. In the case of this subculture, the scene’s accent on accessibility and participation has led young people to reject icon, hype, and image-based or passive advertising.

Thus, to participate in postmodern experiences, consumers rebel against planned functions and images of products. They interpret products differently, add meaning to them, divert them from their original purpose. Postmodernist insights alert us to the fact that products are only arbitrarily linked to their original functions, and thus are infinitely open to subversion and divergence through the extraordinary experiences of everyday life. So the images and uses of products cannot be controlled entirely by the producer. The consumer exercises the freedom to create new meanings for goods through his own experience of everyday life. This freedom can be used for collective and individual resistance against the imposed meanings of marketing, particularly by using diversion tactics. Consequently, the consumer is potentially liberating in the sense that to escape dominant meanings is to construct one’s own subjectivity.

An important consideration in postmodernity is the ability of individuals to twist or divert consumption-based meanings to achieve congruence with self-image. Consumers renegotiate intended meanings subjectively according to their own self-constrasts. They reshape, adapt, pervert, resurmount, and otherwise modify the meanings of the manufacturing industry. Hence, the postmodern condition emphasizes the ability of consumers to resignify commodity signs in personalized, unintended directions. This means that we must not study the consumer as someone seeking to satisfy an end (needs), but as someone seeking to construct (experience) symbols.

In postmodernity, an object, whether industrial or craft, can be moved by and in a societal dynamic to surpass—or even counter—the intentions of its creator. The creator, like the magician’s apprentice of the legend, creates something that escapes him. Objects can be magically appropriated, stolen by individuals or groups, and made to carry secret meanings—meanings that express, in code, a form of resistance by the customer.

**Postmodernity = The Time Of The Individual + The Time Of The Tribes**

Postmodernity is often characterized by individualism, the logical conclusion of the modern quest for liberation from social bonds. The right to liberty—unbounded in theory but limited in modernity to the economic, political, and intellectual field—affects all aspects of daily life. Gaining ground is the idea of a postmodern condition in which individuals, freed of the constraints of collective ideals in matters of education, the family, and sex, are operating a process of personalization as a way of managing behavior. They do this not through the tyranny of details, but with as few constraints and as many choices as possible. It has been said that we have now entered the time of the ordinary individual, an age in which anyone can—and must—take personal action so as to produce and show one’s own existence, one’s own difference.

The fragmentation of society, made possible and fostered by the developments of industry and commerce, is among the most visible consequences of this postmodern individualism. Products and services have progressively freed people from all alienating tasks left behind by tradition, even shopping itself. From one’s own home, and without the necessity of a physical social interaction, one can obtain almost anything one desires. All the technology offered thus increases one’s isolation while permitting one to be in virtual
touch with the whole world—fax, TV, telephone, Internet. The process of narcissism, induced by the development and widespread use of computers in all aspects of human existence, characterizes postmodern daily life.

Postmodernity can therefore be understood as a period of severe social dissolution and extreme individualism. But attempts at social re-composition can also be glimpsed: people who have finally managed to liberate themselves from social constraints are embarking on a reverse movement to recompose their social universe on the basis of an emotional free choice. Less than differentiation, it is “de-differentiation” that seems to be guiding individual action. Postmodernity, then, does not crown the triumph of individualism but rather heralds the beginning of its end. With postmodernity we can speak of the emergence of a reverse movement: a desperate search for the social link. In this view, individualism corresponds solely to a brief transition period: late modernity rather than postmodernity.

It is sometimes claimed that the social dynamics characteristic of our postmodern era are made up of a multiplicity of experiences, representations, and daily-experienced emotions that are very often not properly understood. Although most of the time such dynamics are explained by individualism, we can stress the tribalism that is developing more and more.

The word “tribe” refers to the re-emergence of quasi-archaic values: a local sense of identification, religiosity, syncretism, group narcissism, and so on. The common denominator is the community. Tribes attempt to revive the community archetype of the village or the district, but these communities are not solely definable in spatial terms; some use the latest high-tech means of communication (microcomputers, Internet, fax) in forming virtual tribes. Face-to-face encounters and co-physical presence are no longer compulsory. In this view, postmodernity appears not to be the time of the individual, but the time of the tribes.

These postmodern communities are inherently unstable, small-scale, affective, and not fixed by any of the established parameters of modern society. Instead, they can be held together through shared emotions, styles of life, new moral beliefs, and consumption practices. They exist in no other form but the symbolically and ritually manifested commitment of their members. They cannot rely on executive power to coerce their constituency into submission to tribal rules—seldom do they have clearly codified rules to which submission could be demanded. Nor can they count on the strength of neighborly bonds or the intensity of reciprocal exchange. Postmodern tribes are constantly in flux, brought ever again into being by the repetitive symbolic ritual of the members but persisting no longer than the power of attraction of these rituals.

Modern society was conceived as an ensemble of social groups: socio-professional categories, social classes, and so on. Postmodern society, in contrast, resembles a network of societal micro-groups in which people share strong emotional links, a common subculture, a vision of life. In our times, ethnic diasporas, occupational communities such as those of computer engineers or ballet dancers, and style-conscious youths such as rastas or skinheads develop their own complexes of meanings and symbols and form more or less stable tribes that are invisible to the categories of modern sociology.

Each postmodern individual belongs to several tribes, in each of which he might play a different role and wear a specific mask; this means that the modern tools of sociological analysis cannot classify him. And belonging to these tribes has become, for that individual, more important than belonging to a modern social class or segment. This makes every attempt at classification impossible. The social status—that is, the static position of an individual in one of the social classes of modernity—is progressively replaced by the societal configuration: the dynamic and flexible positioning of the individual within and between his postmodern tribes.

**Postmodern Marketing = Image Marketing + Experience Marketing**

Functional differences between products or services are shrinking, and consumers make their buying decisions according to the images of these products. Image appears as a nontechnological source of advantage—not by the absence of technology but by reducing its role—and the image of a product is becoming its predominant function in a society saturated with goods.

Images are supported by ads. Ads work constantly on the surface, conferring meaning onto products by transferring them from established referent systems. Advertising is such a powerful mechanism of meaning transfer that virtually any product can be made to take virtually any meaning. In postmodernity, then, advertising is a means of delivering meaning from the culturally constituted world to the product. This means any kind of meaning, not just status meaning as used...
in modernity for the purpose of status competition. Image marketing is the conscious and planned practice of signification and representation.

In this view, the job of postmodern marketing is to identify the cultural meanings and images that are intended for the product. What sort of gender, status, age, lifestyle, time, and place meanings are sought for the product? What values and orientations? The marketing team must decide what it wishes the product "to say." Once this choice has been made, the creative team takes over. It must select the symbolic elements by which the meanings may be communicated. It is not enough to dump these elements into the advertisement; the advertiser must portray the elements and the product with consummate care and skill. The ad allows the consumer to see the essential similarity between the elements and the product. It enables the consumer to see that the meanings contained in the people, objects, and contexts of the ad are also contained in the product.

Image marketing and branding—or brand management—are closely related. Branding is of critical importance in postmodern marketing. Through branding, manufacturers add value to their products, building advantages over competitors through images. Branding endows a product with a specific and more distinctive identity. For example, consumers perceive that the mix of values represented by the Levi's jeans brand is uniquely attractive and different from anything else in the market. This differentiation is not achieved through tangible aspects of the product, such as its feel or its price, but through intangible factors such as packaging, name, presentation, and brand personality—a kind of simulacrum-mix of intangible elements rather than the four Ps. Customers form an image of the brand from their symbolic and functional use of its products and services. Every message they receive from the manufacturer helps fill in the details of this picture and reinforce the meaning of the brand.

Most of the analyses of image marketing or branding are concerned with the images and products produced by the marketing system on the one hand, and the modes of consumer behavior adapting to these images and products on the other hand. However, these analyses do not take into account what the consumer makes or does during the process of consumption. We can observe a silent, nonviolent resistance in the domain of postmodern consumption. Like the indigenous natives of South America under Span-
Postmodern Marketing = One-to-One Marketing + Tribal Marketing

A feature common to the many marketing approaches trying to adapt to postmodern individualism is the search for proximity to the consumer. Be it one-to-one marketing, micro-marketing, database-marketing, new-marketing, mass-marketing, after-marketing, or the all-important relationship-marketing, the principal aim seems to be to build, develop, and maintain a relationship with the customer as an individual, rather than bombard a market made up of an anonymous mass broken up into homogeneous segments.

To do this, it is generally recommended to give up mass marketing in favor of direct marketing with the help of a database of clients and known prospects. As stated by Rapp and Collins (1990), the credo of marketing practice adapted to the age of the individual may therefore be the following: *a very personal form of marketing that recognizes, acknowledges, appreciates, and serves the interests and needs of consumers whose individual identities and marketing profiles are or become known to the advertiser.*

These approaches are justified by the following arguments:

- If the market can no longer be cut up into homogeneous and stable segments, the only alternative is to pin down the consumer individually with the help of computerized information systems. This allows the possibility of forming, *a posteriori*, small groups of consumers to facilitate marketing action.

- If the consumer is unpredictable, it is not so important to predict his behavior as to be able to react immediately to his new aspirations by maintaining a continuous relation.

- If the consumer is individualistic, he seeks everything that will permit him to maintain and develop his liberty—a relationship of trust with a supplier that guarantees the zero defect or total quality of the material aspects of life.

- If the consumer wishes to differentiate himself, he asks for personalized products and services that only a continuous, close, and interactive relationship can ensure.

Some managers, however, hypothesize that in an increasingly individualistic and atomized society, the lack of community must be compensated for by the consumption of images and symbols that reassure people of their identity and give meaning to their lives while offering the illusion of belonging to a virtual community of consumers. Starting with the observation that the market has become central in our societies while all other institutions and forms of mediation (state, class, school, family, and so on) have lost a large part of their legitimacy, they consider that postmodern individuals take meaning for their lives through consumption, and that marketing may already be the major postmodern institution. So they think the marketing system plays a primordial role in constructing the identity of postmodern individuals through the transfer of meanings.

Contrary to this view, which perceives marketing as a system that makes it possible to fill the postmodern vacuum caused by the lack of community, we can offer a view of marketing as a vector of the community link. In other words, we can observe that the postmodern person values the goods and services that, through their linking value, permit and support social interaction of the communal type. Ephemeral tribes that need to consolidate and affirm their union are, in fact, on the lookout for anything that can facilitate and support the communion: a site, an emblem, the support of a ritual of integration, or of recognition. Thus, to satisfy their desire for communities, postmoderns seek products and services less for their use value than for their linking value. This view, then, sees marketing as the activity of designing and launching products and services destined to facilitate the co-presence and the communal gathering of individuals in the time of the tribes: a kind of communal or “tribal marketing.”

In this alternative view, one-to-one marketing and other individualistic marketing panaceas can be criticized on two fronts:

1. They are not completely in step with postmodern times in their attempt to be the closest to known customers, without sharing any emotion with them. They confuse proximity and intimacy, and base everything on customer service. In fact, postmoderns do not want to be only the object of an individualized service in terms of customization of functions; they also wish a personalized link.

2. They are shortsighted in how they look at what they call the “relation.” Whereas the individualistic approach to relationship marketing aims at creating and developing a relation between the brand or the firm (even a member of the firm) and a customer, the tribal approach prefers to recreate and support the relation between customers. Products, physical supports, and employees are dedicated to supporting the communal link, not substituting for it—an often unfeasible and counterproductive task.

Thus, the credo of tribal marketing is that postmodern people are looking for products and services that not only enable them to be freer, but can also link them to others, to a community, to a tribe: products and services that not only

"Postmoderns seek products and services less for their use value than for their linking value."
have a use value but also have a linking value. In the extreme case, if the hypothesis of "tribalism + linking value" comes up against that of "individualism + use value," there could be a two-speed consumption: a rise in the consumption of basic products (but with no defects) sold in places such as hard discounters, combined with a rise in the consumption of cult objects sold in cult places. Between the two, all products and services too burdensome for their use value (functional or symbolic) and with no linking value would see sales decline progressively.

**Postmodern Marketing As A Juxtaposition Of Opposites**

In an era of plurality and paradoxes such as postmodernity, there are many ways to do marketing. However, they all revolve around the fact that, in postmodernity, personal identity and community are no longer given but must be constructed on an everyday basis by the consumer. The consumer is suspended between two poles:

- a quest for self versus a quest for community;
- given meanings (images) versus constructed meanings (experiences).

We believe that marketing in postmodernity must recognize the need to support the social link—tribes—through experiences that favor the co-creation of meanings and not only serve individuals with images through the transfer of meanings (see the **Figure**).

Today, the symbolic (re)construction or (re)possession of meanings through shared experiences is the most potent form of maintaining communal identity. This process occurs by taking two constituent elements of the marketing system, the product and its meaning, and relocating or repossessing them to defy marketing forces, oppose the dominant semiotic system, and maintain subcultural identity. Because these newly appropriated signs are common only to the tribe, their apparent secrecy lends added identity to the subcultural group. In fact, the tribal identity derives from both the creation and maintenance of these re-appropriated, re-signified sociological meanings.

Tribes or subcultures of consumption provide opportunities for marketers to engage in symbiotic relationships with consumers. Marketers who understand the structure and ethos of a subculture of consumption—through ethnography—can profit from serving its needs. In addition to providing necessary objects for the functioning of the subculture, marketers may also assist in the socialization of new members, facilitate communications within the subculture, and sponsor events and other experiences that provide havens for the activities of the subculture. And marketers may involve themselves in shared experiences with members of the subculture—hot-rodders, ravers, rafters, bikers—and not limit themselves to being nonparticipant observers.

Participation is the essence of postmodernity, and it needs the involvement of the marketer. Postmodern methodologies, based on participation with consumers, resemble an anthropology of consumption. Some define this range of methods as market-oriented ethnography, or ethnomarketing. These methods enable observation of how the meaning resident in objects is transferred from the object to the consumer, or how it is altered, diverted, and twisted. The meaning ascribed to products and services is often related to experiences, and rituals are one of the best collective opportunities to affirm, evoke, assign, or revise these meanings. So the objective of ethnomarketing is to pin down elements of an intangible nature that are imperceptible taken one by one, but can be discerned in experiences taking place in an atmosphere of trust established over a period of time between marketers and consumers.

Harley-Davidson marketers have maintained just such a relationship with HOG (Harley Owners Group) and diverse subgroups—or tribes—of Harley-Davidson devotees. By understanding the process of self-transformation individuals undergo within the HOG subculture of consumption, these marketers can take an active role in socializing new members and cultivating the commitment of current ones. Harley-Davidson marketing culti-
vates consumer commitment by providing a full range of clothing, accessories, and services that function as involvement-enhancing side bets and exit barriers.

A remarkable benefit that accrues to marketers from subcultures of consumption is the phenomenon of grassroots R&D that occurs as highly involved customers develop stylistic and technological advancements for existing goods and services. Such consumer-initiated innovation has generated many of the design ideas in Harley-Davidson clothing and accessories. The same phenomenon lies also at the heart of industries such as audio for cars. Custom audio for cars is a well-known North American subculture. Meetings of the competitive car audio fraternity are held to judge entrants for sound quality and installation innovation. Competition has its own rules and regulatory bodies and provides a forum in which enthusiasts, manufacturers, retailers, installers, and the specialist press can engage. These activities have had a major influence on the car industry by providing inspiration and ideas; they represent a model of participatory design. The best thing about these groups of devotees or enthusiasts is that they don’t want to be invited to participate, as proposed by Regis McKenna. They just get on with it anyway!

Postmodern marketing may be, according to a dominant view of postmodernity, a very personal form of marketing that recognizes, acknowledges, appreciates, and serves known customers through conscious and planned practices of transfer of meaning. But postmodern marketing may also be, according to an alternative view of postmodernity, a very communal form of marketing that recognizes, acknowledges, appreciates, and serves known tribes of customers through interactive and emotional experiences of joint creation of meaning.

References


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