



THE ROLE OF MARKETING LABOUR IN VALUE CREATION: LEVERAGING CUSTOMER DATABASES AND CO-CREATIVE DIGITAL INTERACTIONS

DEĞER YARATIMINDA PAZARLAMA EMEĞİNİN ROLÜ: MÜŞTERİ VERİTABANLARI VE ORTAK YARATIMA DAYALI DİJİTAL ETKİLEŞİMLERİN KULLANIMI

Yeşim AKMERANER
KÖKAT¹



ORCID: Y.A.K. 0000-0002-6260-2811

Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:

¹ Yeşim Akmeraner-Kökät

Istanbul University, Türkiye

E-mail/E-posta:
yesim.akmeraner@istanbul.edu.tr

Received/Geliş tarihi: 06.01.2026

Benzerlik Oranı/Similarity Ratio: %7

Revision Requested/Revizyon talebi:

06.02.2026

Last revision received/Son revizyon teslimi:

11.02.2026

Accepted/Kabul tarihi: 27.03.2026

Etik Kurul İzni/ Ethics Committee Permission:

There is no element in the study that requires ethics committee approval. / Çalışmada etik kurul onayı gerektiren bir unsur bulunmamaktadır.

Citation/Atf: Akmeraner Kökät, Y. (2026). The Role Of Marketing Labour In Value Creation: Leveraging Customer Databases And Co-Creative Digital Interactions. The Turkish Online Journal of Design Art and Communication, 16 (2), 699-712. <https://doi.org/10.7456/tojdac.1857159>

Abstract

This paper examines the role of marketing labour in value creation by drawing on analyses of the post-Fordisation of labour. It argues that value generated from customer databases depends not only on the analytical work of disassembling and reassembling consumers as data points, but also on the informatisation of creative production, which increasingly requires the convergence of analytical and creative labour. The paper further suggests that value co-creation relies on the virtuosic (performative) labour of marketing practitioners who collaboratively design the creative and technical arrangements that enable co-creative interactions on digital networks. Virtuosic labour refers to a form of labour whose outcome is not a tangible product but a performative and relational process inseparable from the worker's own enactment. Conceptualising contemporary communication practices as forms of work, the paper theorises this process as an asymmetrical interdependence between the labour of consumers and that of marketing practitioners. It contends that this interdependence produces value along the increasingly blurred boundaries between production and consumption, thereby illuminating how post-Fordist labour shapes contemporary marketing practices. The paper contributes to the literature on value creation that examines the production of consumers as commodities through databases and the co-creation of value.

Keywords: Co-Creation, Database Marketing, Creative Work, Marketing Labour, Post-Fordism.

Öz

Bu makale, emeğin post-Fordist dönüşümüne ilişkin kuramsal tartışmalardan hareketle pazarlama emeğinin iki temel değer yaratma sürecindeki rolünü incelemektedir: müşteri veritabanlarından elde edilen değer ve değer ortak yaratımı. Çalışma, müşteri veritabanlarından üretilen değer, tüketicilerin veri noktaları olarak oluşturulmasına dayanan veri analitiği faaliyetlerinin yanı sıra, yaratıcı üretimin enformatikleşmesine de bağlı olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Bu dönüşümün, yaratıcı ve analitik emeğin giderek yakınsamasını beraberinde getirdiğine işaret edilmektedir. Bunun yanında, değer ortak yaratımının, dijital ağlarda gerçekleşen etkileşimleri mümkün kılan yaratıcı ve teknik düzenlemeleri kolektif biçimde tasarlayan pazarlama profesyonellerinin virtüöz emeğine dayandığı ortaya konmaktadır. Virtüöz emek, sonucu somut bir ürüne değil, üreticinin icrasından ayrılmayan performatif ve ilişkisel bir sürece dayanan emek biçimini ifade eder. Güncel iletişim biçimlerinin birer çalışma ilişkisi olarak ele alınmasıyla, söz konusu süreç tüketici emeği ile pazarlama emeği arasındaki asimetric bir karşılıklı bağımlılık şeklinde kavramsallaştırılmakta ve bu ilişkinin, çağdaş pazarlama pratiklerini karakterize eden üretim ile tüketim arasındaki giderek bulanıklaşan sınırlar boyunca değer ürettiği ileri sürülmektedir. Çalışma, tüketicilerin veritabanları aracılığıyla birer meta olarak üretilmesini ve değer ortak yaratımını inceleyen değer yaratımı literatürüne katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Değerin Ortak Yaratımı, Veritabanı Pazarlaması, Yaratıcı Emek, Pazarlama Emeği, Post-Fordizm.



INTRODUCTION

The concept of labour has been central in many production contexts. Labour that produces immaterial goods such as services, signs, or images plays an important role in an information-based economy. A wide range of everyday marketing practices rely on this form of labour, which generates images, information, and emotional attachment, and thereby contributes to brand value creation. This paper examines the role and characteristics of marketing labour that are significant for value creation in everyday marketing practices. To do so, it engages with extant marketing research on marketing work and value creation through the conceptual framework of post-Fordist labour. It draws on Andrew Sayer's critical realist method, which requires analysing the relations and underlying mechanisms of social phenomena through critical reasoning. Because labour relations are difficult to grasp solely through empirical observation, the paper employs the concept of post-Fordist labour to critically examine the marketer's role in value creation, a phenomenon extensively studied in marketing scholarship but with limited attention to labour.

Important research examined how marketers create value by producing consumers from databases as target audiences, profiles and fetishised objects of desire (Ariztia, 2015; Arnould & Cayla, 2015; Zwick & Denegri Knott, 2009; Zwick & Dholakia, 2004a). This line of research delineated various marketing work including creating consumer profiles, customer databases and targeting practices, which creates value for the client companies. A key area focused on the productive role of consumers in the co-creation of value (Arvidsson, 2005; Cova & Dalli, 2009; Cova et al., 2011; Zwick et al., 2008). These studies demonstrate the role of consumer labour in co-creating value for brands. For example, consumers actively participate in online and offline activities that create value for brands such as joining in contests, taking part in digital games, voluntarily creating content and granting consent for zero party data for brands.

Another stream of research, known as service-dominant (S-D) logic, examines value creation processes by focusing on the service or value propositions of the firms that realise outside company context. S-D scholarship has theorised co-creation as a fair collaboration between producers and consumers (Prahalad, 2004; Ramaswamy & Ozcan, 2016; Vargo & Lusch, 2004; Vargo et al., 2008). According to this perspective, companies or marketers do not create value; rather, they create the conditions or opportunities through which value is realised by consumers and other actors.

On one hand, critical work on consumer co-creation - drawing on post-Marxist traditions - has mainly focused on the unpaid work of consumers and the exploitation of consumer labour (Arvidsson, 2005; Cova et al., 2011; Zwick et al., 2008), showing little interest in the labour of marketing practitioners (Cluley, 2025). On the other hand, S-D scholarship looks at the productive role of multiple actors; however, it does not focus on labour and theorises value creation as mutually beneficial for all actors. This stream has theorised co-creation as a fair collaboration between producers and consumers, not focusing on the asymmetrical relations underlying market exchanges.

In this way, both lines of research have not theorised the important role of marketing labour in value creation. This paper aims to address the important yet understudied role of marketing labour in value creation by employing a critical realist method of abstraction grounded in post-Fordist labour theory. Post-Fordist labour is the form of labour that produces knowledge, affects, symbols and interactions in contemporary capitalism (Hardt & Negri, 2004; Lazzarato, 1996; Virno, 2004). Paolo Virno defines such labour as virtuosic (performative) that relies on the presence of others and producing an interaction (1996, p. 192). For example, marketing practitioners' efforts to keep consumers engaged in digital games or contests, as well as real-time interactive campaigns in which practitioners interact with consumers and use the content they produce, can be understood as forms of virtuosic or performative labour. In other words, the labour of marketers relies on, and is organised around, the labour of consumers.

The paper adopts Sayer's critical realist approach since such theorisation requires conceptualising the mechanisms underlying labour relations with a critical approach and a level of abstraction, as detailed in method section. As for the level of abstraction, it uses the post-Fordist labour as a means to abstract and critically examine the marketer's role in value creation. By doing so, it differs from the existing



literature in two ways. First, it sheds more light on the marketer's role through the concept of virtuosic labour. In this way, it contributes to the critical marketing literature that focus on consumer labour (Cova et al., 2011; Zwick & Denegri Knott, 2009). It adds to this line of research by conceptualising marketers' labour that relies on the convergence of analytical and creative labour. It argues that value creation from customer databases depends not only on the analytical work of disassembling and reassembling consumers as data points, but also on the informatisation of the creative production. Second, it differs from mainstream S-D scholarship (Ramaswamy & Ozcan, 2016; Vargo & Lusch, 2004) that assume mutual benefit among different actors that participate in value creation. On the contrary, the paper highlights the asymmetrical relationship between multiple actors of value creation by focusing on labour aspect. By using virtuosic labour as a level of abstraction, it foregrounds the work marketing professionals perform to design the creative and technical arrangements that enable co-creative interactions.

In this way, the paper adds to the prior studies that have examined marketing work but have not sufficiently elaborated it as a form of labour. The paper argues that value creation in marketing relies on virtuosic labour of marketers. In value creation process, marketer's virtuosic labour acts on consumer labour. As in the example of interactive marketing campaigns, consumers' active participation becomes an object upon which marketing labour operates. The paper theorises such process as an asymmetrical interdependence between consumers' and marketing practitioners' labour, creating value along the blurred division between production and consumption. This process requires the convergence of both analytical and creative marketing labour. Thus, the paper broadly defines the scope of marketing labour as an umbrella concept for various types of marketing work. While strategists, business analysts and customer management teams mobilise their analytical labour, copywriters, art and motion designers mobilise their creative labour.

The paper is organised as follows: first, it outlines the post-Fordisation of labour, informatisation of production processes and virtuosic labour. It then reviews the existing literature on value creation through customer databases and consumer co-creation. Finally, it discusses the implications of the post-Fordisation of labour for value creation in marketing and concludes with insights for future research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To examine the role of marketing labour in value creation, the paper engages with two bodies of literature: theoretical accounts of post-Fordist transformations in labour, and marketing studies that analyse data-driven and co-creative marketing practices, each discussed in turn.

Post-Fordisation of labour and the expanding scope of value creation

Following the crisis of the Fordist regime of capital accumulation, activities that produce communication, symbols, and information have become productive forms of collective labour, reflecting a broader shift from a material goods-based to an immaterial goods-based economy (Hardt & Negri, 2004; Lazzarato, 2014; Marazzi, 2008; Virno, 2004). Drawing on the post-Fordist transformation of production, marketing scholars have identified a shift in marketing from a product-oriented to a market-oriented logic, marked by marketing practices towards lifestyles, brand images, symbolic activities and services (Dholakia et al., 2021; Fuat Firat & Shultz, 1997; Slater, 2011; Tadajewski & Jones, 2020). Within this framework, significant research examined the role of consumers as a form of immaterial labour involved in the production of immaterial goods such as brands, lifestyles, and consumption norms (Arvidsson, 2005; Charitsis, 2018; Cova et al., 2011; Zwick et al., 2008). Post-Fordist labour can also be used to understand the role of marketing labour in value creation.

Maurizio Lazzarato defines immaterial labour as the hegemonic form of post-Fordist labour with two different aspects. On the one hand, it refers to the becoming productive of "*a series of activities that are not normally recognised as "work"- in other words, the kinds of activities involved in defining and fixing cultural and artistic standards, fashions, tastes, consumer norms, and, more strategically, public opinion*" (1996, p. 132)- which is extensively debated as consumer labour in critical studies of co-creation. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2004, p. 108) detail this aspect of immaterial labour, which relies both on analytical and symbolic skills that produce ideas, codes, texts, and images, and on affective



capacities that generate states of being, such as satisfaction or excitement.

On the other hand, immaterial labour refers to the informatisation of production processes. “*It refers directly to the changes taking place in workers' labour processes in big companies in the industrial and tertiary sectors, where the skills involved in direct labour are increasingly skills involving cybernetics and computer control*” (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 132). This process does not simply unfold as the integration of computers into work processes, but rather as information technologies’ transforming traditional production practices (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 115). Christian Marazzi (1994) discusses the informatisation of the production process as a response to the crisis of production and mass consumption in the 1970s, driven by the oil crisis, social and cultural resistance, and volatile consumer behaviour. In this way, market-oriented marketing became instrumental in organising production based on demand-side information, reversing the traditional relationship between production and consumption through technologies that “*fluidify and accelerate the circulation of information*” (1994, p. 17).

As a result, the need to fluidify and speed up the circulation of information coming from the demand side transforms the wage labour in post-Fordist production. In turn, post-Fordist labour needs to have “a high degree of adaptability to changes in pace and task” and to be “a polyvalent labour force” that can read information flows (Marazzi, 1994, p. 18). The informatisation of the production process enables wage labour to catch up with fast-paced communication flows and volatile consumer behaviour. In doing so, wage labour begins to align with collective labour in its interaction with communication flows, which brings the second concept the paper employs: virtuosic labour.

Virno (1996) extends this aspect of post-Fordist labour -collective labour’s transforming wage labour- with the concept of virtuosic labour. Virno argues that the “activity-without-a-finished-work” becomes “the prototype of waged general labour in general” (1996, p. 192). This form of labour relies on virtuosic performance- akin to the performance of a virtuoso- which acts on the existence of others and produces an interaction as a product that cannot be separated from its producers. In such an activity, “the presence of others is both the instrument and object of labour” (Virno, 2004, p. 192). In this way, virtuosic labour blurs the boundaries between production and consumption, work and non-work time, increasing the flexibility and adaptability of labour, and requiring the performance of multiple tasks (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 66).

Post-Fordist labour encompasses a number of practices that create immaterial goods such as affects, relations, interactions, symbols and images. It represents the hegemonic form of the labour that produces an information-based economy. This theoretical framework enables the study to examine the role of post-Fordist labour in value creation in marketing. In the findings, the paper discusses this role by revisiting the existing literature through the concepts of the *informatisation of production processes* and *virtuosic labour*. Before turning to this discussion, the next section reviews the literature on value creation in marketing.

Value creation in marketing through databases and co-creation

A growing body of research examined how marketing work changes to manage complex value-creation processes distributed across multiple actors through platforms and market devices (Beauvisage et al., 2023; Cluley et al., 2020; Quinn et al., 2016; Ryan et al., 2023; Shah & Murthi, 2021). Important research focused on the role of the ‘analytical work’ of marketers in gaining value from consumer data. Zwick and Denegri Knott (2009) and Zwick and Dholakia (2004a, 2004b) argue that big volumes of consumer data, computational power and analytical skills have allowed marketers to produce consumers from databases by disassembling and reassembling them as target group simulations to be sold to clients. Similarly, Mallard posits that the plurality of knowledge that customer relationship management (CRM) systems produce shapes the interplay between technology, employees, practices and consumer expectations. While Arsel et al. (2024) show how content creators, brands and third-party agencies undertake ‘knowledge work’ to mitigate ambiguities over the value of the sponsored content, Cluley (2022) delineates the ‘interpretive work’ marketers perform to gain value from one domain to another by requalifying the facial coding data that quantifies consumer emotions. In contrast, Zeng and Glaister (2017) argue that the analytical work is not enough to create value from big volumes of data and



indicated the need for creating stories and emotional connections with the customers.

A key area focused on the creative work of marketers in extracting value from consumer data (Ariztia, 2015, 2017; Arnould & Cayla, 2015; Jacobi et al., 2015; Slater, 2002). For example, Arnould and Cayla (2015) show how the figure of consumers is produced as objects of desire in organisations through the use of certain technologies and objects and personification of narratives. While Ariztia (2014) contends that marketing professionals create new consumer segments through creative ideation and manufacturing novel lifestyles, Jacobi et al. (2015) show how a market gap is produced for suitable consumer profiles. Although these studies have explored the role of marketers in creating value from databases through market research, CRM and test metrics data, as well as creative insights and strategic planning, they have said less about the labour processes that shape different forms of value creation.

The role of labour has been extensively discussed in co-creation studies that focused on the productive role of consumers. Broadly, value co-creation refers to the expansion of value-generating activities beyond firms and professional marketers. This debate is largely shaped by research within the service-dominant (S-D) logic framework, which conceptualises co-creation as the outcome of collaborative interactions among various actors and proposes a shift in marketing thought by positioning value as emerging outside the firm (Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2000 ; Prahalad, 2004; Vargo & Lusch, 2004, 2008; Vargo et al., 2008). A key area has focused on how customers co-create value by participating in the design and production of goods and services, or by sharing experiences across brick-and-mortar stores, digital channels, and platforms (Brouard, 2024; Hung et al., 2024; Prahalad, 2000; Ramaswamy & Ozcan, 2016; Schau et al., 2009). Scaraboto and Figueiredo (2021) show how consumers create value for sharing economy platforms through a series of actions that build trust and harmony, helping to overcome obstacles to the platform. Kelleher et al. (2019) look at collective consumption contexts where consumers and service personnel coordinate with each other, which mitigates the constraining elements of value creation. Similarly, Ramaswamy and Ozcan (2016) discuss that co-creational experiences generate value not only for customers but also for firm employees, such as analysts and designers, as a result of the dialogue enabled by engagement platforms. Although this line of research has acknowledged the power asymmetries between co-creative consumers and firms, it has primarily focused on the beneficiary relationships among stakeholders, with limited attention to the underlying labour processes in marketing and the asymmetrical relations between different actors.

S-D logic-oriented literature examines the collaboration between multiple actors involving but not limited to firms. In this sense, it demonstrates the collaborative character of value creation. However, this perspective does not focus on the underlying mechanisms that involve asymmetrical relationship between different actors. In particular, marketing practitioners working in firms' marketing departments or in marketing agencies are often treated as analytically equivalent to the companies they work for. In contrast, this paper differentiates between the two by foregrounding the role of marketing labour through critical abstraction via the concept of virtuosic labour.

An important body of work has developed a critical understanding of value co-creation, evaluating this practice as a form of consumer labour that relies on the exploitation of creative, communicative and affective capacities of consumers (Arvidsson, 2005; Cova et al., 2011; Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010; Zwick et al., 2008; Zwick & Bradshaw, 2016). Zwick et al. (2008) argue that co-creation is a management technique that responds to the post-Fordist fragmentation of demand, and that companies not only exploit unpaid consumer labour but also shape consumer behaviour. Similarly, Cova and Dalli (2009) emphasise the exploitative nature of co-creation based on the social construction of markets by the creative and affective activities of the immaterial labour of consumers. However, Humphreys and Grayson (2008), drawing on Marx's core labour theory, distinguish between co-creation that creates exchange value and co-creation that creates only use value. In this context, co-creation creates exchange value when the products of consumer activity can be appropriated by firms and exchanged on the market, such as Lego ideas, whereas it creates only use value when co-creative activity is directed towards satisfying one's own needs through one's own labour, such as serving oneself in a restaurant. In contrast, Charitsis et al. (2018) show how the production of forms of life, directed towards satisfying one's own needs, creates exchange value when captured and commodified by firms through self-tracking devices.



Although these studies have explored the significance of consumer labour in value co-creation, they have said less about the role of marketing practitioners' labour in this relationship.

To address this gap, the next section discusses the role of post-Fordisation labour in value creation in marketing by drawing on the concepts of 'informatisation of production processes' and 'virtuosic labour'.

METHOD

This paper adopts a critical realist method of theoretical abstraction to examine the role of marketing labour in value creation. Following Andrew Sayer (2000, 2003), this method treats abstraction as a means of identifying the underlying relations and causal mechanisms that cannot be grasped through empirical observation alone. This approach is particularly appropriate for analysing labour, since labour relations are shaped by structural conditions, power dynamics, and forms of value production that cannot be fully apprehended at the empirical level alone. By employing abstraction to move analytically from these observable expressions to their constitutive mechanisms, the critical realist method provides a robust foundation for explaining how marketing labour contributes to value creation in contemporary capitalism.

Theoretical abstraction relies on the existing literature in labour studies that problematises the underlying mechanisms in production contexts. The objects that are subjected to critical abstraction in this study are the existing literature on marketing practices and the empirical realm they demonstrate. In order to employ Sayer's theoretical abstraction, the paper shows the level of the empirical realm that prior studies have explored. It then introduces the concept of virtuosic labour as a means of abstraction that helps to explain the underlying mechanisms of value creation in marketing, in order to examine the role of marketing labour. These underlying mechanisms are identified as the informatisation of production processes and the convergence of analytical and creative labour. The validity of these mechanisms relies on previous academic literature on the post-Fordisation of the economy, which has already demonstrated the role of labour in value creation. The paper follows a line of reasoning that treats marketing practice as part of general economic relations, and correspondingly labour relations. Following this reasoning, it employs a post-Fordist labour framework in engaging with existing marketing scholarship on value creation and marketing work. As stated by Sayer:

Realism does not require some kind of denial of 'subjective' influences or standpoints and researchers' social context. On the contrary, it requires us to examine those standpoints so as to guard against forms of projection and selection which misrepresent our objects. Realist social science requires reflexivity. We are always in some position or other in relation to our objects; the important thing is to consider whether that influence is benign or malign (Sayer, 2000, p. 53).

In line with the critical realist approach, the authors acknowledge that they engage with social phenomena through their own theoretical equipment and social background, including the choice of subject of inquiry, method and theoretical framework. The self-reflexivity of the authors is expected to help to build a critical realist analysis. The paper seeks to mitigate the risk of over-interpretation or subjective deductions by drawing on the extensive body of literature, both on the theoretical framework and on marketing scholarship. In this sense, the paper applies insights from post-Fordisation studies to marketing scholarship by following a critical realist line of reasoning.

FINDINGS

Following the critical realist method of theoretical abstraction, this section examines the deeper mechanisms and structural tendencies that underpin contemporary marketing work. Accordingly, the section addresses two interconnected themes: the informatisation of production processes and the resulting convergence of analytical and creative labour; and the virtuosic, interaction-oriented, nature of marketing practitioners' labour in value creation.

The Informatisation of Production Processes: The Convergence of Analytical and Creative Labour

The analytical work of value creation from customer databases has been explored in the literature (Zwick & Denegri Knott, 2009), yet the informatisation of creative production is a significant part of database marketing practices. The analytical work of producing target audiences from databases and the creative work of producing marketing messages based on data points are part of the same work process.

The informatisation of the creative production process varies depending on the type of data used in database marketing practices. When the brief draws on relatively shallow data- such as CRM databases that typically include demographics, past purchases, professional information, and income (Mallard, 2017), or advertising platform data like Facebook's audience segments based on demographics, location, and interests (Beauvisage et al., 2023)- the creative production often requires engaging with producing content and design in collaboration with the data team. Zwick and Denegri-Knott (2009) demonstrate that data analysts disassemble the bulk of consumer data by cleaning, finding correlations and patterns, and reassemble it by creating meaningful categories and patterns. However, database marketing practice is not finalised with the analytical work of data analysts. After data experts reassemble the data points as target audiences, the production process is taken up by art directors and copywriters, who produce creative content and design based on the data simulations. As CRM messages are typically personalised in terms of content, such as offers and target audiences, but not in design or tone of voice, the marketing creative's ability to adapt the concept, content, and design to data simulations becomes crucial for valorising databases. As companies accumulate more data, the challenge of distinguishing their messages amid the saturation of commercial content intensifies. In this way, a data-literate (Marazzi, 1994) creative workforce, with its flexible and polyvalent qualities, becomes critical in valorising customer databases by enabling attention-grabbing CRM communications. Marketing creatives' ability to craft personalised content and design from broad-brush CRM data helps valorise the database by enhancing the degree of personalisation. This practice requires a flexible 'creative workforce' that can adapt creative production to the fluid circulation of demand-side information captured through data technologies.

On the other hand, the informatisation of creative production unfolds differently when marketing practices are based on more granular data such as psychographic or narrowed-down lifestyle data (Charitsis et al., 2018), usually based on a project rather than routine CRM and social media communications. In this practice, the creative production process becomes more embedded in deeper data and even specific data points. When demand-side information informs creative production through deep data, it requires creatives to adapt the creative idea, content, and design accordingly. Marketing creatives' ability to respond to data points and their flexibility in producing data-informed personas and content contribute to valorising data that has been collected, cleaned, and reassembled through correlations and patterns, and sold to companies. As a result, unlike traditional creative workflows where data serves creative ideation and insight generation (Jonathan Hardy, 2018; McFall, 2004), creative work is organised to align with demand-side information flows, either by dedicating digital creatives to collaborate with data teams or by informing creative tasks with deep data. This process requires the convergence of the analytical labour of data analysts and the creative labour of marketing creatives, as producing target groups from data points demands creative skill, while generating marketing content calls for a certain understanding of data.

Given increasingly volatile consumer behaviour, siloed or compartmentalised competences and work processes struggles to meet the demands of extracting value from rapidly expanding and shifting consumer data. As Ariztia (2015, 2016) shows, creating target audiences from databases is not a linear or fixed analytical process; rather, the material requirements of creating value from consumer data encompass both analytical and creative processes, necessitating the convergence of these skill sets. In addition, Zeng and Glaister (2017) demonstrated that the analytical work of data analysts is not enough to create value from big volumes of data and indicated the need for creating stories and emotional connections with the customers. It indicates the role of post-Fordisation of labour through the convergence of different forms of labour (Virno, 2004, p. 41). While marketing creatives are increasingly engaging with data and learning to interpret it, data analysts- who have traditionally worked



in ‘non-creative’ sectors such as pharmaceuticals, telecoms, and banking- are expected to adopt creative approaches when adapting data to meet marketing needs. Data analysts reassemble target groups by applying different perspectives and interpretive approaches to the same database, depending on client needs (Zwick & Denegri Knott, 2009). This type of tasks requires data analysts to exercise creativity in identifying patterns and correlations among data points and constructing consumer simulations accordingly. Likewise, the presentation of these reassembled target audiences relies on specific visualisation tools, which also call for creative competencies. For instance, data analysts disassemble consumers into data points by extracting, cleaning, and sorting large volumes of information. This reassembling process increasingly demands creative input, as analysts are required to configure the data in ways that align with diverse and evolving client needs.

On the other hand, convergence is not a one-way process in which analysts move closer to creative work. Marketing creatives are also expected to engage more with analytical tasks when producing data-informed personas and content. Thus, leveraging on consumer data necessitates a polyvalent workforce- one that combines creative and analytical competences and collaborates through shared communication practices. As Lee and Lau (2018; 2019) shows, the expectation to be polyvalent- to adapt content and design to the demands of data simulations and to collaborate with data departments in producing more creative and tailored CRM communications- strengthens the work pressure on creatives. As a result, value creation through the informatisation of creative production not only results in the convergence of analytical and creative labour but also intensifies the precarity of digital creatives by shifting their role from originators of creative ideas to implementers (Lee & Lau, 2019). The literature has showed the creative and analytical skills that marketers mobilise in various forms of marketing practices from advertising, digital branding to interactive marketing campaigns. The following section conceptualises marketers’ mobilisation of such skills as virtuosic labour by drawing on post-Fordist labour theory.

Marketing Practitioners’ Virtuosic Labour in Value Creation

In the previous section, the paper delineated how the informatisation of the creative production process contributes to the activities that create value from customer databases by producing data-informed content and design and converging analytical and creative labour. In this section, it turns to another understudied aspect of post-Fordist labour which contributes to the co-creation of value: virtuosic labour in marketing. It suggests that the virtuosic labour of marketing practitioners contributes to the co-creation of value by acting upon the presence of consumers through the creative and technical arrangements they construct for co-creative interactions. In this practice, marketing labour takes on qualities of consumer labour, such as being mobile on networks, flexible, constantly alert in the flux, and reliant on cooperation. This feature of marketing labour forms the basis of value co-creation.

Before moving to the role of marketing labour in co-creation, it would be useful to define the co-creative relationship between consumers and brands. Such relationship relies on a series of technical and creative arrangements made possible through the cooperation of various professional groups within the agency. Such collaborative work in the context of a digital interactive campaign typically involves real-time interaction with consumers through digital channels such as WhatsApp, smart TVs and social media platforms. Although marketing and advertising professionals have traditionally collaborated with other professional groups- such as directors, photographers, or designers- on a project basis (McFall, 2004), this type of work focuses on the production of finalised outputs, such as advertisements and other marketing messages. Unlike this form of collaboration, value co-creation requires performances orchestrated on the part of the agency, the outcome of which is not a finalised creative output that is separable from marketing creatives, but an ephemeral interaction shaped through ongoing engagement on digital networks. The practices of marketing professionals who plan, design, and manage interactive campaigns on social media platforms- such as Instagram Stories- that encourage audience participation demonstrate a form of virtuosic labour. In this sense, the outcome of this marketing practice is an immaterial product: an interaction that cannot be objectified in a tangible form. It rather relies on a state of performance which requires being constantly alert and responsive to communication flows.

This form of production corresponds to the performative character of virtuosic labour, which responds to the collective mobilisation of affective and communicative capacities, or general intellect, on



networks (Lazzarato, 1996; Virno, 2004). As the co-creation of value depends on the existence of others, and one end is the “working consumers” (Cova & Dalli, 2009), the other end of co-creative production is the form of labour performed to “put consumers to work” for brands (Zwick et al., 2008). Thus, consumer co-creation is a production process in which the presence of consumers is both the instrument and object of practitioner labour, and vice versa. Different from the existing exploitative working conditions that are characteristic of creative industries such as precarious employment and long hours of project-based creative production (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010), the co-creation of value demands that marketing professionals be ready for virtuosic performances that respond to the fast-paced communicative and creative activity of collective labour on digital networks. It indicates that the co-creation of value in marketing exploits not only consumer subjectivities but also those of practitioners, who are pushed to reproduce themselves, to a certain extent, as tech-savvies. The performative nature of co-creation, which relies on the presence and activity of others (Virno, 2004), requires practitioners to remain constantly responsive to communicative flows on social networks. For example, brands constantly follow audience activity on social media platforms in order to interact with them in line with their branding strategies. Since the agenda or hot topic changes very quickly on social media, marketing practitioners extend their working time through WhatsApp groups where brand representatives and agency workers follow social listening and generate immediate responses to audience agency. Such proactive activities correspond to the performative character of virtuosic labour, which acts on the presence of others and the collective mobilisation of communicative capacities, and produces an interaction that cannot be separated from its producer, but can be turned into data points that are appropriated by companies.

While the demand for consumer data and data-driven marketing practices increases the strategic importance of creating interactions on digital platforms as a means of data collection, the creative work required for creating such interactions differs from the typical creative work (Hearn & McCutcheon, 2020; Hesmondhalgh, 2011) that produces outputs such as CRM messages, social media ads, commercials or billboards. It rather relies on a state of performance which requires being continuously alert and responsive to communication flows.

Therefore, the co-creation of value relies on a wide range of material arrangements and a diverse set of skills, requiring the cooperation of multiple professional groups to produce co-creative campaigns. Active participation of consumers is an outcome of the collaborative work between different professional groups with different skill sets. Such technical and creative arrangements that enable consumer co-creation are built by the co-creative work of several professional groups. This, in turn, requires marketing labour to be more performative, beyond the production of marketing outputs, in active collaboration with data and technical teams.

CONCLUSION

This paper aims to address the question of what role marketing labour plays in value creation in marketing. This question arises from two streams of research. On the one hand, it draws on the extant research that shows value creation processes in marketing. On the other hand, it leans on the studies that look at the role of post-Fordisation of labour in general flows of production. This paper seeks to understand the role of marketers in value creation as part of broader economic relations. Since the paper aims to understand this role as labour, it requires a level of abstraction that enables to critically grasp the underlying labour relations in everyday marketing practices that create value for companies. Thus, the paper mobilises the concept of virtuosic labour to reinterpret marketing practices examined in the existing literature and to uncover their underlying mechanisms.

The paper found out two main characteristics of marketing labour that enable value creation in marketing. First, it suggests that the penetration of information technologies in the production of marketing services has required the closer collaboration of analytical and creative side of marketing practice- in other words- the “right and left-brain”. The paper conceptualised this phenomenon as the convergence of analytical and creative labour that mobilise different forms of skills. Such convergence or the close collaboration of analytical and creative skills plays an important role in value creation in marketing.



Second, the paper argues that the labour of marketers mobilised in everyday practices such as CRM, customer relations, strategic communication, advertising and creative production can be defined as virtuosic labour. Virtuosic labour produces immaterial goods that cannot be objectified or separated from their producers, much like the artistic performance of a virtuoso (Virno, 2004). It produces relations, affects and interactions. The paper suggests that virtuosic marketing labour, which manages relationships with both clients and consumers and creates interactions through digital platforms, plays an important role in value creation in contemporary marketing practices.

It contributes to the existing literature by conceptualising marketing work through the lens of labour. In doing so, it both builds on findings examined in prior research and differentiates itself in important ways. For example, previous research has explored how marketers generate value from consumer data (Arnould & Cayla, 2015; Cluley, 2022; Zeng & Glaister, 2017; Zwick & Denegri Knott, 2009) and how consumers co-create value through active participation (Cova et al., 2011; Prahalad, 2004; Ramaswamy & Ozcan, 2016; Schau et al., 2009; Vargo et al., 2008). This paper builds on these insights, yet suggests that less is known about the role of post-Fordisation of marketing labour in value creation practices. To fill this gap, it draws on the analyses of post-Fordisation of labour and examines how marketing labour shapes value creation by focusing on the contemporary forms of communication as a work process. First, it posits that the informatisation of creative production contributes to value creation from databases by producing data-informed content and design, thus completing the analytical work of disassembling and reassembling consumers as data points and target groups. Second, it argues that value co-creation relies on the virtuosic labour of marketing practitioners, who construct the creative and technical arrangements that enable interaction.

The paper, first, contributes to the prior research that examined how marketers create value from customer databases (Ariztia, 2015; Arnould & Cayla, 2015; Zwick & Denegri Knott, 2009; Zwick & Dholakia, 2004b). Zwick and Denegri Knott (2009) argued that marketers produce consumer simulations as commodities to be sold to clients through the disassembling and reassembling of data points. Similarly, Arnould and Cayla (2015) showed that consumers are produced in organisations as fetishes, objects of desire and value, that structure market sensemaking through the creation and animation of personas. The paper contributed to this this line of research by discussing how value creation from databases relies on the informatisation of creative production and the convergence of analytical and creative labour. It examined the existing research through the analyses of post-Fordisation of labour and argued that communication and information technologies transform traditional production practices by blurring divisions of labour, making them more fluid, flexible, and polyvalent to respond to fast-paced, demand-side information flows. It argued that marketing creatives' adaptability to create content and design according to the type of data (such as CRM or social media data), and their flexibility in cooperating with data departments contribute to the practices that leverage consumer data. Moreover, it underlined that the need for a flexible, cooperative and data-literate workforce for database marketing practices.

The paper, secondly, contributes to the literature on value co-creation by conceptualising the virtuosic labour of marketing practitioners who construct the technical and creative arrangements that enable co-creative interactions. S-D logic-oriented literature argued that value is co-created by consumers who become partners of companies (Prahalad, 2004; Ramaswamy & Ozcan, 2016; Vargo & Lusch, 2004; Vargo et al., 2008). In contrast, critical research suggested that co-creation relies on companies putting consumers to work and exploiting their free labour (Arvidsson, 2005; Cova et al., 2011; Zwick et al., 2008). This paper extended this debate by exploring value co-creation as a work process cutting across the marketing practitioner and consumer labour. The notion of virtuosic labour allowed the study to show the other end of co-creative interactions, the practitioner labour, who act upon the presence of consumers through the creative and technical arrangements they construct for co-creative interactions. The paper suggested that the co-creation of value in marketing in this way exploits not only the subjectivities of consumers but also those of marketing creatives. It theorised this process as an asymmetrical interdependence between consumer labour and practitioner labour, which actively creates value across the increasingly blurred boundaries of production and consumption.



Finally, examining the role of marketer in value creation in the context of labour suggests important insights for communication, advertising and labour studies. Most of the marketing practices play out as contemporary forms of communication. For example, consumers participate in the interactive games on digital platforms or mobile phones to communicate or interact with their peers. However, these performances that are designed by the analytical and creative labour of marketers generate value for brands. This study highlights the overlap between contemporary forms of communication and contemporary forms of value creation in marketing. Similarly, virtuosic (performative) labour encompasses advertising practitioners who increasingly work with interactive analytical tools and interactive digital platforms. Last but not least, labour studies have examined various forms of work in the field of communication, such as journalistic work, art-based creative work, and media production. However, marketing and advertising have received comparatively less attention, largely due to their ideological role as critiqued within labour studies. By conceptualising the labour of marketers, this study extends the scope of labour studies into the field of marketing. The paper has certain limitations that future research may further explore. First, it does not follow the marketing work and labour distributed across the interorganisational context. Future research will benefit from exploring the broader value chain of marketing as a work process, including multiple actors such as influencer agencies, social media listening companies, data management and advertising platforms. In particular, there is a need to examine the value chain of marketing that is constituted by a complex network of actors and organisations from a labour perspective. Because marketing labour cuts across multiple organisations, it is particularly challenging to trace how it affects value creation. As a result, while the existing literature offers valuable snapshots of labour conditions in marketing production, it lacks a holistic picture. Future research could address this gap by examining different forms of marketing work in continuity- such as data management practitioners, audience planners in media agencies, creatives in advertising and strategists- as part of the same labour process through which value is created.

Secondly, this study does not discuss new forms of value creation arising from the interaction between marketing practitioners and generative artificial intelligence tools, which merits further research. Future research could examine the impact of generative AI on marketing labour in the context of ongoing digitalisation. To the extent that generative AI tools take over the agency previously associated with human labour, they may reshape the degree of control that marketers are able to maintain over marketing processes. Generative AI tools increase efficiency in both analytical and creative tasks. This, in turn, may affect the competences expected of marketing professionals, rendering some obsolete while requiring new ones.

REFERENCES

- Ariztia, T. (2015). Unpacking insight: How consumers are qualified by advertising agencies. *Journal of consumer culture*, 15(2), 143-162. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540513493204>
- Ariztia, T. (2016). Bringing the world into the creative studio: The ‘reference’ as an advertising device In A. W. Ignacio Farias (Ed.), *Studio studies: operations, topologies & displacements* (pp. 40-55). Routledge.
- Ariztia, T. (2017). Manufacturing the consumer’s truth: The uses of consumer research in advertising inquiry. In *Markets and the Arts of Attachment* (pp. 38-54). Routledge.
- Ariztia, T. (2014). Housing Markets Performing Class: Middle-Class Cultures and Market Professionals in Chile. *The Sociological Review*, 62(2), 400-420. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12144>
- Arnould, E. J., & Cayla, J. (2015). Consumer Fetish: Commercial Ethnography and the Sovereign Consumer. *Organization Studies*, 36(10), 1361-1386. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840615580012>
- Arsel, Z., Zanette, M. C., & da Rocha Melo, C. (2024). Sponsored Content as an Epistemic Market Object: How Platformization of Brand–Creator Partnerships Disrupts Valuation, Coproduction, and the Relationship Between Market Actors. *Journal of Marketing*, 00222429241296459. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00222429241296459>
- Arvidsson, A. (2005). Brands:A critical perspective. *Journal of consumer culture*, 5(2), 235-258. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540505053093>
- Beauvisage, T., Beuscart, J.-S., Coavoux, S., & Mellet, K. (2023). How online advertising targets consumers: The uses of categories and algorithmic tools by audience planners. *New Media & Society*, 0(0), 14614448221146174. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448221146174>
- Brierley, S., Hardy, J., MacRury, I., & Powell, H. (Eds.). (2018). *The Advertising Handbook* (4th ed.). Routledge.
- Brouard, M. (2024). Setting sail in a tokenized world: An exploration of the Bored Ape Yacht Club and the co-created consumer experience. *International Journal of Research in Marketing*. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijresmar.2024.03.002>
- Charitsis, V., Yngfalk, A. F., & Skälén, P. (2018). ‘Made to run’: Biopolitical marketing and the making of the self-quantified runner. *Marketing theory*, 19(3), 347-366. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470593118799794>
- Charitsis, V., Zwick, D., Bradshaw, A. (2018). Creating Worlds that Create Audiences: Theorising Personal Data Markets in the Age of Communicative Capitalism. *tripleC* (16(2)), 820-834. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v16i2.1041>
- Cluley, R. (2022). Interesting numbers: An ethnographic account of quantification, marketing analytics and facial coding data. *Marketing theory*, 22(1), 3-20. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14705931211039001>
- Cluley, R. (2025). Marketing Work and Labour. In K. M. Susi Geiger, Neil Pollock, Philip Roscoe, Annmarie Ryan, Stefan Schwarzkopf, & P. Trompette (Eds.), *Market Studies: Mapping, Theorizing and Impacting Market Action* (pp. 416-427). Cambridge University Press
- Cluley, R., Green, W., & Owen, R. (2020). The changing role of the marketing researcher in the age of digital technology: Practitioner perspectives on the digitization of marketing research. *International Journal of Market Research*, 62(1), 27-42. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470785319865129>
- Cova, B., & Dalli, D. (2009). Working consumers: the next step in marketing theory? *Marketing theory*, 9(3), 315-339. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470593109338144>
- Cova, B., Dalli, D., & Zwick, D. (2011). Critical perspectives on consumers’ role as ‘producers’: Broadening the debate on value co-creation in marketing processes. *Marketing theory*, 11(3), 231-241.
- Dholakia, N., Ozgun, A., & Atik, D. (2021). The unwitting corruption of broadening of marketing into neoliberalism: a beast unleashed? *European Journal of Marketing*, 55(3), 868-893. <https://doi.org/10.1108/EJM-10-2018-0688>
- Fuat Firat, A., & Shultz, C. J. (1997). From segmentation to fragmentation. *European Journal of Marketing*, 31(3/4), 183-207. <https://doi.org/10.1108/EUM0000000004321>
- Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2004). *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*. The Penguin Press.



- Hearn, G., & McCutcheon, M. (2020). The creative economy: the rise and risks of intangible capital and the future of creative work. In *The future of creative work* (pp. 14-33). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Hesmondhalgh, D., & Baker, S. (2010). ‘A very complicated version of freedom’: Conditions and experiences of creative labour in three cultural industries. *Poetics*, 38(1), 4-20.
- Hesmondhalgh, D., Baker, S. (2011). *Creative Labour: Media Work in Three Cultural Industries*. Routledge.
- Humphreys, A., & Grayson, K. (2008). The Intersecting Roles of Consumer and Producer: A Critical Perspective on Co-production, Co-creation and Prosumption. *Sociology Compass*, 2/3, 963–980. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2008.00112.x>
- Hung, H.-Y., Kumar, A., Kumar, V., Lin, C.-C., & Tan, K. H. (2024). Exploring player cocreation dynamics on the gaming platform: Interplay of goal fulfillments, orchestration actions, and platform affordances. *International Journal of Research in Marketing*. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijresmar.2024.12.003>
- Jacobi, E. S., Freund, J., & Araujo, L. (2015). ‘Is there a gap in the market, and is there a market in the gap?’ How advertising planning performs markets. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(1-2), 37-61. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0267257X.2014.943675>
- Kelleher, C., N. Wilson, H., Macdonald, E. K., & Peppard, J. (2019). The Score Is Not the Music: Integrating Experience and Practice Perspectives on Value Co-Creation in Collective Consumption Contexts. *Journal of Service Research*, 22(2), 120-138. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1094670519827384>
- Lazzarato, M. (1996). Immaterial Labor. In M. H. Paolo Virno (Ed.), *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics* (pp. 133-150). University of Minnesota Press.
- Lazzarato, M. (2014). *Signs and Machines: Capitalism and the Production of Subjectivity*. Semiotext(e).
- Lee, P. Y., & Lau, K. W. (2018). A new triadic creative role for advertising industry: a study of creatives’ role identity in the rise of social media advertising. *Creative Industries Journal*, 11(2), 137-157. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17510694.2018.1434362>
- Lee, P. Y., & Lau, K. W. (2019). From an “idea generator” to a “solution facilitator”: A study of the changing roles of advertising professionals in the social media marketing era Available *Career Development International*(24 (1)), 2–17. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1108/CDI-03-2018-0080>
- Mallard, A. (2017). ‘You are a Star customer, please hold the line...’: CRM and the sociotechnical inscriptions of market attachment In F. Cochoy, Deville, Joe, McFall, Liz. (Ed.), *Markets and the Arts of Attachment*. Routledge.
- Marazzi, C. (1994). *Il posto dei calzini: La svolta linguistica dell’economia e i suoi effetti nella politica*. Edizioni Casagrande.
- Marazzi, C. (2008). *Capital and Language: From the New Economy to the War Economy*. Semiotext(e).
- McFall, L. (2004). *Advertising: a cultural economy*. Sage.
- Prahalad, C. K., & Ramaswamy, V. (2000). Co-opting customer competence. *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 78 No. 1, 79-90.
- Prahalad, C. K., Ramaswamy, Venkat. (2004). Cocreation Experiences: The Next Practice in Value Creation. *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, 18 (3), 5–14.
- Prahalad, C. K., Ramaswamy, Venkatram. (2000). Marketing Co-opting Customer Competence. Retrieved 27.12.2024, from <https://hbr.org/2000/01/co-opting-customer-competence>
- Quinn, L., Dibb, S., Simkin, L., Canhoto, A., & Analogbei, M. (2016). Troubled waters: the transformation of marketing in a digital world. *European Journal of Marketing*, 50(12), 2103-2133. <https://doi.org/10.1108/EJM-08-2015-0537>
- Ramaswamy, V., & Ozcan, K. (2016). Brand value co-creation in a digitalized world: An integrative framework and research implications. *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, 33(1), 93-106. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijresmar.2015.07.001>
- Ritzer, G., & Jurgenson, N. (2010). Production, Consumption, Prosumption: The nature of capitalism in the age of the digital ‘prosumer’. *Journal of consumer culture*, 10(1), 13-36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540509354673>
- Ryan, A., Stigzelius, I., Mejri, O., Hopkinson, G., & Hussien, F. (2023). Agencing the digitalised marketer: Exploring the boundary workers at the cross-road of (e)merging markets. *Marketing*



- theory*, 23(3), 463-487. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14705931231153194>
- Sayer, A. (2000). *Realism and Social Science*. SAGE.
- Sayer, A. (2003). *Method in Social Science: A realist approach*. Routledge.
- Scaraboto, D., & Figueiredo, B. (2021). How Consumer Orchestration Work Creates Value in the Sharing Economy. *Journal of Marketing*, 86(2), 29-47. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00222429211027777>
- Schau, H. J., Muñiz, A. M., & Arnould, E. J. (2009). How Brand Community Practices Create Value. *Journal of Marketing*, 73(5), 30-51. <https://doi.org/10.1509/jmkg.73.5.30>
- Shah, D., & Murthi, B. P. S. (2021). Marketing in a data-driven digital world: Implications for the role and scope of marketing. *Journal of Business Research*, 125, 772-779. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2020.06.062>
- Slater, D. (2002). Capturing markets from the economists. In P. Du Gay, Pryke, M. (Ed.), *Cultural Economy: Cultural Analysis and Commercial Life* (pp. 59-77). Sage.
- Slater, D. (2011). Marketing as a Monstrosity: The Impossible Place between Culture and Economy. In D. Zwick & C. Julien (Eds.), *Inside Marketing* (pp. 23-41). Oxford University Press.
- Tadajewski, M., & Jones, D. G. B. (2020). From goods-dominant logic to service-dominant logic? Service, service capitalism and service socialism. *Marketing theory*, 21(1), 113-134. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470593120966768>
- Vargo, S. L., & Lusch, R. F. (2004). Evolving to a New Dominant Logic for Marketing. *Journal of Marketing*, 68(1), 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1509/jmkg.68.1.1.24036>
- Vargo, S. L., & Lusch, R. F. (2008). Service-dominant logic: continuing the evolution. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 36(1), 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11747-007-0069-6>
- Vargo, S. L., Maglio, P. P., & Akaka, M. A. (2008). On value and value co-creation: A service systems and service logic perspective. *European Management Journal*, 26(3), 145-152. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emj.2008.04.003>
- Virno, P. (1996). *Virtuosity and Revolution: The Political Theory of Exodus* (C. C. Maurizia Boscagli, Paul Colilli, Ed Emory, Michael Hardt, and Michael Turits, Trans.). In M. H. Paolo Virno (Ed.), *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics* (pp. 189-209). University of Minnesota Press.
- Virno, P. (2004). *A Grammar of Multitude: For an Analysis of Contemporary Forms of Life*. Semiotext(e).
- Zeng, J., & Glaister, K. W. (2017). Value creation from big data: Looking inside the black box. *Strategic Organization*, 16(2), 105-140. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1476127017697510>
- Zwick, D., Bonsu, S. K., & Darmody, A. (2008). Putting Consumers to Work: Co-creation and new marketing govern-mentality. *Journal of consumer culture*, 8(2), 163-196.
- Zwick, D., & Bradshaw, A. (2016). Biopolitical Marketing and Social Media Brand Communities. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 33(5), 91-115. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276415625333>
- Zwick, D., & Denegri Knott, J. (2009). Manufacturing Customers: The database as new means of production. *Journal of consumer culture*, 9(2), 221-247. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540509104375>
- Zwick, D., & Dholakia, N. (2004a). Consumer subjectivity in the Age of Internet: the radical concept of marketing control through customer relationship management. *Information and Organization*, 14(3), 211-236. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.infoandorg.2004.01.002>
- Zwick, D., & Dholakia, N. (2004b). Whose Identity Is It Anyway? Consumer Representation in the Age of Database Marketing. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 24(1), 31-43. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0276146704263920>

