

The Brand as a Communicational Matrix at the Heart of Semiotic Management

La marca como matriz comunicacional en el corazón del management semiótico
A marca como matriz comunicacional no centro do management semiótico

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RESUMEN

El artículo propone un enfoque comunicacional del marketing, fruto de una experiencia cruzada como profesional y luego como investigador. La marca se concibe aquí como una matriz comunicacional: una entidad semiótica a la vez económica y simbólica, cuya gestión estratégica de los signos busca producir sentido y valor. El análisis articula una perspectiva cultural y socioeconómica, apoyándose en el análisis del discurso y la semiología, enriquecidas por la observación de las prácticas y discursos profesionales. El objetivo es desnaturalizar los dispositivos de marketing situándolos en su contexto social e histórico. La marca se aborda así como una «criatura» construida, que oculta el trabajo de mediación de los profesionales de agencias o de las empresas anunciantes que moldean su identidad (su logotipo, su «ADN», sus manuales de marca). Este *management* semiótico articula signos internos y externos a partir de referencias culturales seleccionadas. El modelo funciona de manera centrípeta, mediante la interpretación de los signos sociales, y centrífuga, mediante la difusión hacia los públicos. Más allá de la publicidad, las marcas invierten en todo tipo de espacios donde pueden desplegarse, en particular espacios culturales, siguiendo una lógica de «despublicitarización» que difumina las fronteras entre comercio y cultura. Los enfoques comunicacionales permiten revelar las lógicas de poder y de legitimación presentes en las prácticas de marca. El modelo de marca, inicialmente comercial, se difunde ahora hacia instituciones no mercantiles, contribuyendo a una expansión generalizada de la ideología mercantil en el espacio público.

Palabras clave: marcas, comunicación, *management* semiótico, capital simbólico

RESUMO

O artigo propõe uma abordagem comunicacional do marketing, fruto de uma experiência cruzada como profissional e depois como pesquisador. A marca é concebida aqui como uma matriz comunicacional: uma entidade semiótica ao mesmo tempo econômica e simbólica, cuja gestão estratégica dos signos visa produzir sentido e valor. A análise articula uma perspectiva cultural e socioeconômica, apoiando-se na análise do discurso e na semiologia, enriquecidas pela observação das práticas e discursos profissionais. O objetivo é desnaturalizar os dispositivos de marketing, recolocando-os no seu contexto social e histórico. A marca é assim abordada como uma «criatura» construída, que oculta o trabalho de mediação dos profissionais de agências ou das empresas anunciantes que moldam a sua identidade (o seu logótipo, o seu «ADN», os seus manuais de marca). Este *management* semiótico articula signos internos e externos a partir de referências culturais selecionadas. O modelo funciona de forma

centrípeta, através da interpretação dos signos sociais, e centrífuga, através da difusão para os públicos. Para além da publicidade, as marcas investem em todo o tipo de espaços onde se podem desdobrar, nomeadamente espaços culturais, segundo uma lógica de «despublicitarização», esbatendo as fronteiras entre comércio e cultura. As abordagens comunicacionais permitem revelar as lógicas de poder e de legitimação presentes nas práticas de marca. O modelo de marca, inicialmente comercial, difunde-se agora para instituições não mercantis, contribuindo para uma expansão generalizada da ideologia mercantil no espaço público.

Palavras-chave: marcas, comunicação, management semiótico, capital simbólico

ABSTRACT

This article proposes a communicational approach to marketing, drawing on a cross-disciplinary experience as both a practitioner and, later, a researcher. The brand is approached here as a communicational matrix: a semiotic entity that is at once economic and symbolic, whose strategic management of signs aims to produce meaning and value. The analysis combines a cultural and socio-economic perspective, drawing on discourse analysis and semiology, enriched by the observation of professional practices and discourses. The aim is to denaturalise marketing dispositifs by resituating them within their social and historical context. The brand is thus approached as a constructed "creature", one that conceals the mediating work of agency professionals and advertiser companies who shape its identity (its logo, its "DNA", its brand guidelines). This semiotic management articulates internal and external signs drawn from selected cultural references. The model operates in a centripetal manner, through the interpretation of social signs, and in a centrifugal manner, through their dissemination towards audiences. Beyond advertising, brands invest in all kinds of spaces where they can deploy themselves, notably cultural spaces, following a logic of "unadvertising" that blurs the boundaries between commerce and culture. Communicational approaches make it possible to reveal the logics of power and legitimation at work in brand practices. The brand model, originally commercial, is now spreading to non-market institutions, contributing to a generalised expansion of commercial ideology within the public sphere.

Keywords: brands, communication, semiotic management, symbolic capital

1. Introduction

How might marketing practices and consumption issues be approached from a communicational perspective? Drawing on many years of research, this text sets out one possible path — a way of questioning marketing, of looking at it, and of framing it through the lens of communication. The ambition pursued here is only partly singular, as this work has been developed at the crossroads of readings, exchanges, scientific discussions, and personal reinterpretations enriched by participation in a collective community: that of the humanities and social sciences in general, and of Information and Communication Sciences in particular, both in France and internationally, notably through the “related” works of Spanish, Italian, and Brazilian colleagues. My approach is

the outcome of an academic experience focused on commercial and advertising issues, through the supervision of professional Master's programs dedicated to communication in this field, through teaching and research focused on professional practices and imaginaries, and through occasional analyses of consumer discourses.

This academic focus was preceded by an experience as a marketing practitioner, which enabled me to collect, without being fully aware of it at the time, empirical material through immersion and acculturation into a professional culture: its jargon, knowledge systems, representations, and practices. These elements could only later be questioned and critically distanced.

The role of researchers is therefore to observe and question these professional practices as phenomena that appear natural, while simultaneously being, within the commercial context, highly performative and spectacular. They consist of sets and sequences of signs that are never neutral, designed to attract, target, orientate, and induce action. These phenomena are approached as communicational "processes". The term process is sufficiently broad to encompass heterogeneous productions that can legitimately be analysed together because they share common characteristics, purposes, dynamics, and underlying principles. It refers to complex, transformative, and action-oriented informational and communicational productions.

These communicational processes are not linear, nor are they immediately expressible. However, tracing a logical pathway, based on elements considered decisive, makes it possible to shed light on these phenomena. The perspective adopted here aims to emphasise the entanglement of brand communication practices within society, considering their objectives, modalities, and effects. This article argues that the brand constitutes a communicational matrix whose management relies on the strategic administration of signs and their social value, a process I define as "semiotic management".

2. Analysing Marketing's Communicational Practices

Understanding communicational dynamics within commercial mediations means shedding light on market life by analysing the relationships between markets and cultural and social life.

Marketing participates in a social logic and encompasses practices that seek to orient and discipline consumers through communication. It consists of a set of rules, representational mechanisms, and dispositifs designed to optimise the valorisation of product and service offerings within markets and to generate economic benefits, such as market shares, turnover, or profit margins. As a practice, marketing addresses consumers through multiple configurations. Shaped by rhetorical and semiolinguistic choices, relational dispositifs aim to produce credibility, create legitimacy, and generate desire and trust.

To illuminate communicational dynamics, the preferred approach is resolutely cultural. However, combining it with a socio-economic perspective is useful for understanding the environment and grasping the strategic intentions of actors. This makes it possible to analyse mediations and dispositifs while avoiding interpretations disconnected from the conditions of production of those actors. The analysis of communication therefore requires consideration of strategic issues within competitive contexts, but also an understanding of circulating social concerns and discourses. Professionals in commercial communication engage with contemporary concerns in various ways — relaying, feeding into, embracing, or ignoring them — but they always take a position in relation

to them. In doing so, they act as hermeneuts of the social world: interpreting and synthesising current issues so as to act on their environment, taking up themes and producing categories. (for instance, Alyette Defrance's analysis of the construction of the category of "seniors", Defrance, 2004). Commercial discourses engage in dialogue with these concerns, with alignment with the spirit of the times becoming a privileged trigger for their statements. Expressive choices follow the same logic, caught between adopting current norms in order to avoid risks and making non-consensual, and therefore daring, choices in order to differentiate themselves. Historical perspectives on forms of enunciation are therefore particularly valuable for deeply understanding intellectual lineages and grasping, in their full complexity, the dialogues between social actors and the transformations of their contexts of expression. The objective is to understand not only the evolution of contemporary communication but also the transformations of commerce, consumption, and society over time. Marketing figures, such as that of the "housewife", illustrate this point. Although women as purchasing decision-makers remain central figures for marketers, their representations have considerably evolved and now integrate awareness of the risks of stigmatisation denounced by a large part of society.

The analysis of commercial enunciations therefore requires moving beyond the commercial context itself in order to approach dispositifs through their imaginaries. This macro perspective, which encompasses the social context to understand commercial dispositifs, is complemented by a micro perspective focusing on signs and forms, as well as their dispersion and circulation within the social fabric. Commercial actors operate at the interface between society and these signs: they select them and activate them around the brands they manage

3. Brands as Creatures and Creations: Economic and Cultural Entities at the Heart of Commercial Exchanges

Reflecting on commercial mediations leads us to consider consumption as a symbolic space of encounter and adjustment between marketers' imaginaries and consumers' representations and practices, around a symbolic purpose: the creation of meaning and value.

At the heart of marketing, brands are mediating entities, operators of semantisation whose function is to qualify offerings. Brand communication always consists of qualifying an offer, intended to connote products or services. Transformation is the ordinary mode of this operation, and everyone can recall the most famous advertising campaigns across sectors in order to grasp its mechanisms: metaphors, subtle or spectacular transfers, and symbolic displacements designed to leave a lasting impression. Examples include "Red Bull gives you wings", IKEA celebrating family through furniture assembly, or Intermarché's wolf campaign, which invites personal improvement as a way of integrating into the collective.

The nature of brands is semiotic; their function is twofold: symbolic and economic. They are managed in order to optimise their symbolic efficiency. They are the mediating entities of industrialised commerce and of marketing communication strategies, yet they obscure the fact that they are themselves the outcome of mediation, as Péninou (1972) reminds us: a brand speaks or is spoken about, but is never itself the true subject of enunciation. In a context where the relationships proposed to consumers by marketing dispositifs are requalified and connoted

through social or emotional references (for example, consumers are described as members or participants when they become customers, and loyalty cards are framed as “fidelity” programs), the brand is treated as analogous to a person. It is thus represented in the social sphere as a creature, making us forget its creation by professionals through the successive mediations of companies and various agencies (branding agencies, communication agencies, media agencies, etc.). The brand is consequently presented as a subject.

Metaphors of living organisms are widely mobilised to reinforce this anthropomorphisation: marketing actors use expressions such as “share of voice” in relation to the purchase of media space, the brand’s genetic code, or its “DNA”. Regarding this latter concept, which has been highly popular for many years, interviews conducted with communication departments nevertheless clearly demonstrate the highly constructed nature of the process through which corporate “DNA” and “brand identities” are revealed. These processes rely extensively on working groups and external consultants who select, from the company’s history and positioning, the key elements to retain and enhance (Montety, 2008). Like a magician who skilfully places the object to be observed under the spotlight, while the other hand prepares and manipulates the mechanism of the trick in the shadows, marketers master both the art of concealment and disclosure. Their role is to make brands appear as creatures and to manage their identities.

It would be simplistic to reduce this representation of the brand as a creature to mere artifice or deception, because it is also a strategic device: for the company managing it, the brand helps resolve multiple and often contradictory demands. It must generate returns for shareholders, ensure long-term sustainability, embody socially appropriate and respectable behaviours (regarding material sourcing, treatment of employees and suppliers), while simultaneously offering attractive products at reasonable costs for consumers within a competitive environment.

The brand therefore aims to respond to these constraints by consolidating the “positioning” of goods and services, organising a coherent image capable of differentiating and enhancing offerings, while also maintaining the company’s social and relational “front stage” (Goffman, 1959), all while concealing other, sometimes problematic, mediations between the company and its environment. The ultimate purpose remains economic: the imperative of differentiation within an industrialised market. The brand is the instrument that makes it possible to homogenise and give visibility to forms of expression compatible with managerial objectives centred on efficiency and resource optimisation (Boussard, 2008). Offers of goods and services thus become articulated with social dynamics through the brand as a communicational matrix, within a dialectic between the positioning of offerings and social embeddedness. However, understanding this mediating function requires examining the semiotic mechanisms that make this articulation between economy and culture possible.

4. Approaching Brand Dispositifs and Mediations through “Semiotics”

Brands therefore possess a dual economic and symbolic function due to their semiotic nature, and their multiple processes of semiotisation bear the traces of this duality. Consequently, managerial objectives extend to brand expression, allowing us to speak of a “semiotic management” adapted to each brand according to its positioning. Before developing the question of “semiotic management”, however, it is necessary to clarify several points concerning the semiological

approach to brands. To understand the modalities of market and consumer domination strategies in their richness and intensity, expressive, linguistic, and iconic choices are essential and never innocent. In this sense, they are “frank”, as Barthes suggested in his famous analysis of advertising (Barthes, 1963). The Barthesian gesture of denaturalisation constitutes a powerful inspiration for distancing ourselves from ordinary advertising and marketing practices, which provide particularly fertile ground for observing semiotic actions that are deliberately far from innocent. Although this analytical lineage is strongly influenced by Barthes within French Information and Communication Sciences and justifies the use of the term semiology, the term semiotics is also frequently used because it is better suited to incorporating the pragmatic dimension and emphasising interpretation and enunciation.

Both approaches share an interest in imaginaries and symbolic charges, a decisive dimension in marketing where economic value is conceived by actors as proportional to symbolic value (the luxury sector being emblematic of this principle), and where the industrialisation of offerings and images is massive. Communication in this environment is always intended eventually to be reproduced and embedded within one or several dispositifs aimed at broad audiences, even though, at its origin, its production process remains artisanal and the question of meaning remains both central and delicate. The preference for combining socio-economic analysis, discourse analysis (particularly analysis of enunciation), and semiotic analysis does not exclude the use of interviews or ethnographic approaches. All these methods can contribute to “sculpting” an analytical approach in order to illuminate research fields according to their specific characteristics and issues. Such combinations are particularly necessary for understanding transformations, which are by definition mobile and complex because they occur at the intersection of multiple dynamics. Their legitimacy depends on their explicit articulation and justification. These marketing dispositifs extend beyond the traditionally studied field of advertising. Indeed, the creation of brand names, logos, olfactory and acoustic arrangements within stores, targeted information flows outside advertising circuits, and the creation of events and media dispositifs all exceed the boundaries of advertising while remaining entirely worthy of study. They are also dispositifs serving brand valorisation, carrying visibility and ensuring presence within the public sphere. This visibility and process of signification contribute to the construction of brand identity, that is, to their essentialisation within social space. Because without communication, there is no existence... Without signs representing them, brands have little substance, and their semiotisation constitutes the condition of their social existence.

5. The Deployment of Semiotic Management

Semiotic management is the oxymoronic expression I have chosen to designate a strategy of investment in and activation of signs, understood as carriers of symbolic potentialities, whose value is neither fixed nor intrinsic, but rather operational, evolving, and contextualised. It refers to the processes through which discursive dispositifs select, organise, and actualise these signs according to differentiated social, cultural, and historical logics, in order to produce oriented effects of meaning. These signs are used as rhetorical triggers, selected according to their symbolic effectiveness in order to enhance the symbolic capital of brands. This management rests on the notion that signs carry differential value within social life — echoing a point made earlier: the

value of an offering is proportional to its symbolic value.. From this perspective, expressive choices, rhetorical strategies, and power relations are considered together, following the intellectual lineage of L. Marin, J. Davallon, and Y. Jeanneret. The latter highlights the ways in which various social actors produce power and value through communication, particularly through what he calls *triviality*: the appropriation and circulation of signs, formats, and dispositifs (Jeanneret, 2014). The meaning conveyed by signs unfolds through mediations that are decided upon and managed by their administrators in order to qualify and control meaning. Concretely, semiotic management consists in combining elements inherent to the brand — its name, its visual identity system (emblems, graphic guidelines, etc.), its choices of patterns and materials, certain elements of its history, and its attributes — with exogenous elements selected according to the social effectiveness attributed to them (Marti, 2020, p. 186). Apple, for example, invests its logo with signs of emancipation associated with Californian culture, positioning itself as an alternative to IBM's values (Floch, 2010). The IKEA retail brand has developed internationally by embracing aspects of Nordic culture and offering them globally. Loewe, the Spanish brand belonging to the LVMH group, invests in the theme and motif of leather (its monogram is, for instance, said to be inspired by the branding irons historically used to mark livestock and leather). Let us consider the example of Hermès. The company originated from a saddlery business, complemented by a range of high-end products dedicated to horse riders, such as harness accessories and saddles. Over the years, the company expanded its offering with products no longer directly related to equestrian practices: watches, leather bags, scarves, and equestrian motifs representing horses, bridles, bits, and reins. Despite this extension and diversification, Hermès continues to invest in the equestrian universe in order to deploy its communication. This is reflected in its famous carriage logo, introduced in the 1950s, events such as the Saut Hermès at the Grand Palais, and perfumes such as Calèche or Amazone, all of which testify to the brand's desire to recall its historical origins. From this dominant sign, the brand develops investments in other congruent signs: leather, a relationship with nature, references to animals, earth, and vegetation, all associated with products presented as examples of luxury craftsmanship respectful of traditions and expertise. This symbolic investment is not the only one. The orange colour, central to the brand's identity guidelines since the 1960s, provides another example. It was originally chosen because it was the only available option during the Second World War due to pigment shortages. It has since become a fetish attribute for the brand's packaging, many products, and advertising campaigns. From the Greek mythological origin of its name, Hermès has primarily retained the theme of movement associated with Zeus's messenger, represented by the winged helmet and sandals. The brand thus remains a symbol of prosperity for an elite audience. The management of signs described here is particularly visible in certain dispositifs, especially in the brand's "out-of-home" and experiential initiatives. In 2021, a fitness room equipped with orange elements was opened to the public for coaching activities. In 2022, the brand's semi-annual magazine *Le Monde d'Hermès*, which has existed since 1973, initiated the travelling format of a dedicated kiosk designed to promote the universe of the Maison, one of the brand's diversification branches. After Prague, Barcelona, and Singapore, the kiosk travelled to the French Riviera and then Tokyo in 2024. This orange kiosk, open to the public, evokes the brand universe through its magazine, widely distributed on these occasions. This semiotic management appears to follow a highly structural vision, since the combinatory model tends to conceal the density of texts, confrontations between enunciative

positions, and the circulation of representations. In this sense, this vision reflects particular conceptions of semiotics and communication present within marketing discourses: namely, a conception of semiotics as an instrument serving the efficiency of representations, a quest for effectiveness inherent to managerial rationality. This management of signs operates according to a dual perspective. It refers both to a claim and to a professional competence among those involved (strategists, creatives): that of presenting themselves and understanding themselves as hermeneuts of the social world. By hermeneutics, I refer here to Foucault's definition: "the set of forms of knowledge and techniques that allow signs to speak and reveal their meaning" (Foucault, 1966, p. 44). Seeking to identify decisive transformations and dynamics, these professionals also aim to adapt communication to the cultural contexts of their target audiences, with the constant objective of producing value in their eyes. The brand model is therefore simultaneously centripetal, in order to reinforce positioning, and centrifugal, in order to express and share a promise with targeted audiences. Conceived as centripetal, the brand is associated with the interpretation of signs from social life by brand managers through various forms of research and through the identification of "insights". The search for meaning leads communication professionals to examine society, reinterpret it, and identify its dynamics and "trends". Social signs and discourses are captured and analysed in order to be reinterpreted through the lens of the brand universe being promoted, with the aim of achieving symbolic congruence. In a second stage, the brand becomes "centrifugal", producing signs intended for audiences and designed according to the expectation of favourable audience reinterpretation. The example of brand guidelines (or "brand bibles") illustrates this conception. These documents reveal the investment made in certain signs rather than others, as well as the desire for systematic organisation of signs, which underlies the "identity-based" conception of brands, understood as a guarantee of image memorisation. This work on visual identity constitutes the upstream stage of the dissemination of fundamental signs through advertising and promotional creations organised around the logo. Brand bibles resemble internal regulations established in the name of the brand and provide authorisations to create meaning. In this respect, brands as communicational matrices appear as management tools designed to distribute the capacity to manage signs, selected according to their symbolic effectiveness and social efficiency. They provide frameworks within which choices can be made, while simultaneously imposing constraints: they establish a policy of signs. They define authorship and regulate the authorisations to signify.

6. Appropriations, Triviality and the Diffusion of Commercial Ideology

This semiotic management extends beyond brand identity systems, names, logos, and emblems, as well as chromatic and typographic choices. It also encompasses the media and supports employed, the causes supported, and the relational modalities that brands authorise themselves to use in their interactions with audiences, reflecting the growing expansion of their presence across various social fields. If we do not restrict our observation to the field of advertising — historically regarded with suspicion — but instead consider the full range of brand productions, the analysis of cultural mediations offered to audiences by brands reveals how economic actors seek to appropriate the symbolic effectiveness of archetypal cultural forms by producing brand

books, brand exhibitions, brand museums, and similar initiatives. Although such initiatives have existed in principle for a long time, many economic actors are now massively disseminating their logos and images through initiatives and partnerships within numerous cultural and social spaces that were previously largely separate from commercial logic. Grouped together under the term “unadvertising” (*dépublicitarisation*) because of their shared mode of enunciation and common ambition (Marti de Montety, 2013), these cultural initiatives distinguish themselves from the overly explicit regime of advertising while nevertheless continuing to promote brands “without appearing to do so”, producing a very different social impact both on urban landscapes and on cultural offerings. The Loewe Foundation Craft Prize provides an illustration of this phenomenon. Created in 2016, this international prize celebrates contemporary craftsmanship through a selection of works subsequently presented in an annual exhibition of the Loewe Foundation Craft Prize in a major international capital. This sacralisation of craftsmanship, which takes the form of philanthropy, represents a way of distinguishing oneself within the social sphere and investing in a legitimate and valorised cultural form. It constitutes a means of restoring and strengthening the aura of brands. This increasing porosity between commercial logics and cultural spaces, far from remaining limited to economic actors alone, anticipates an even broader diffusion of the brand model into institutions that were previously distant from such logics.

These productions aim to manage relationships with consumers by adopting the archetypal framework of audience relations and rely on a strong belief in the virtues of cultural mediation as a means of serving consumer relationships, alongside the traditional mechanisms of commerce and transaction (Marti, 2019). They also require audience acceptance and forms of authorisation and negotiation with media and cultural institutions. These cultural mediations, appropriated and gathered by brands, aim to construct legitimacy and power: an authority that can be activated and mobilised among audiences in order to shape their imaginaries and create social value, while multiplying opportunities for diverse interactions. The triviality inherent to brand life, and the constant renewal of semiotic management practices, illuminate the connections between consumption, marketing practices, and cultural and social life. They make it possible to understand marketing as a field undergoing continuous reconfiguration. Singular productions and partnerships are expanding; the dissemination of brand logos and identity systems throughout social space is intensifying. This contributes to a process of “hyper-advertisement” of the world, generating new possibilities of connotation and continuously weaving new hybridisations and collaborations with dedicated cultural spaces. The study of audience representations regarding these initiatives reveals heterogeneous and often ambivalent perspectives, depending on individual interpretative frameworks: ideological positions, perceptions of the legitimacy or illegitimacy of economic actors within social space, definitions of culture, and acceptance or rejection of transformations in its boundaries (Marti & Rondot, 2025).

7. Conclusion

The role of communicational approaches appears essential in contributing to the denaturalisation of commercial practices and in uncovering the dynamics at work within a permanent process of reconfiguration involving markets, culture, and public spaces. The relationships between economy and culture therefore offer an immense field for further investigation. This chapter has highlighted

several aspects of the articulation between brands and society: an articulation that is intrinsic to brands, understood as semiotic entities constructed within their economic, symbolic, and social contexts, and as entities constantly seeking alignment and expansion within social fields, particularly within cultural life. Within this specific context, although the aura of certain brands is undeniable, brands possess a socially contested value. Yet despite the criticism they may face and despite a certain ambivalence towards them, their communicational value remains widely recognised. Whether appreciated or rejected, brands are perceived as effective and powerful actors, capable of circulating within social space and carrying messages. They are essentialised and considered efficient, as demonstrated throughout this analysis. This recognition of a specific form of effectiveness can be observed in the widespread enthusiasm for the brand model, including among entities disconnected from commercial purposes. Universities, political parties, and cultural institutions, which were historically less permeable to marketing dynamics, now use branding strategies to shape their image and optimise their visibility. Managed increasingly like brands, these actors of social life integrate branding logics into their practices. This extension of managerial principles into different social fields contributes to the proliferation of commercial dynamics within public space: from commercial actors to cultural and institutional actors, and sometimes even to individuals themselves, whenever they position themselves as providers of an offer competing with others. The adoption of the brand model as a communicational matrix transforms modes of communication within media environments through a generalised participation in the production and circulation of signs, texts, and images. The entire system contributes to configuring audiences as actors within commercial ideology.

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