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The Future of Bricolage and the Bricoleur of the Future Franz Liebl

"The Unidentified Theory Objects, so-called UTO's, are accidental clusters in the theoretical field. ...UTO's are crystal balls in which the vaguely discernible light of an as yet non-existing theorem appears."

This was written in 1993 by Amsterdam's Bilwet Foundation, which had as its goal the advancement of illegal science. At first sight, the term "illegal science" may sound provocative, but nevertheless it refers to a real phenomenon in the field of science. You only have to read the science sections of [German] national daily newspapers to see that even the media pay attention to it. Especially the science section of the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" which has set itself up as the guardian of virtue or as the scientific "taste-police" in order to prevent the beginnings. Roughly every six months the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" chooses one area of science as illegal. In the second half of the year 2000, so-called trend research was chosen. It aims at identifying and describing cultural change.

Therefore, trend research possesses a not inconsiderable degree of similarity with the Cultural Studies discussed in this lecture. And precisely these cultural studies won the "illegal science prize" of the FAZ for the first half of 2001. In other words, from the perspective of a number of established disciplines Cultural Studies still possess the smell of illegality. But what else should anyone think about a science whose representatives understand it as "anti-disciplinary"? As Stuart Hall once said: *"What we discovered was that serious interdisciplinary work does not mean... that one has a kind of coalition of colleagues from different departments... . Serious interdisciplinary work involves the intellectual risk of saying to professional sociologists that what they say sociology is, is not what it is. ...a kind of sociology that would be of service to people studying culture... we could not get from self-designated sociologists."* The field of Cultural Studies therefore requires people to disregard again and again the established rules of the discipline and research rites which were never really eradicated from the cosy ideology of that scientific barndance known as interdisciplinary co-operation.

In comparison, it is astonishing how completely natural and comfortable non-scientists are with the idea of overcoming the boundaries between disciplines. That applies particularly to the handyman, or in French: the bricoleur, and his passion: the do-it-yourself, the DIY, the bricolage.



The bricoleur often operates with amazing virtuosity and skill in various areas of handwork and as a faithful practitioner of bricolage he unites the abilities of plumber, carpenter, electrician, painter, ... you name it.

This 42nd part in my series of lectures entitled "Unidentified Theory Objects of Trend Research" is dedicated to the bricoleur. Today, I would like to concentrate on the frame of reference which this conceptual figure also constitutes for science, in this case particularly the relationship between marketing and Cultural Studies. First, I would like to describe how hesitant marketing has been about taking everyday, popular culture as an essential parameter in seriously explaining the buying habits of consumers. Then I would like to focus on the practical contributions Cultural Studies and the concept of the bricoleur can make to marketing issues. In the third part of my lecture I would like to develop some thoughts on the future of bricolage and on the bricoleur of the future and illustrate this by means of a case study.

On the difficult relationship between marketing and consumer culture

For quite some time classical marketing has been helpless to deal with a phenomenon which is now occurring in a more and more worrying form: Gabriel and Lang called it "the unmanageable consumer" that expresses itself in "multi-optionality", "split purchase patterns", "pluralisation", or even "(hyper-) fragmentation of markets", in the terms used by current diagnoses of consumer goods markets. Reduced customer brand loyalty despite a high degree of product satisfaction is becoming pervasive. The "Jaguar driver who shops at the thrift store" has become a much-used example. Bargain hunting and co-shopping on the internet have become a sport for the "better off's", who drive vast distances to save a penny on a litre of gasoline; or think of those who acquire their designer clothes in factory outlets in the suburbs, instead of fashion boutiques in the city centre. However, this doesn't mean that brands have lost their importance. Children and teenagers of lower social classes are increasingly putting their parents under "brand stress" by demanding high-priced trainers or sweat tops produced by certain trendy manufacturers. The "Style Wars" in school playgrounds are in full swing. They also rage in the metropolitan nightclubs where H&M clothes are combined with accessories from Prada or Gucci, governed by strict but hardly verbalisable rules. As a countermove people deliberately combine designer-outfits with second-hand articles, because, in the words of a trend scout: "To fit yourself out in Prada from head to toe, any idiot can do that". Slavoj Žižek puts it like this: *"To be really in, you must break the rules in a specific way; if you're only in, you're out."*

So it's becoming more and more difficult to detect clear-cut patterns of consumption amongst consumers. While increasing individualisation is the order of the day, society is dissolving itself into an army of average deviants – this seems to make the "target groups", in the sense of statistically determined customer profiles, obsolete (Fuchs 1993). Therefore it is not surprising that the Consumer Analysis of 1999 states that conventional market research has striking weaknesses in its definition of target groups; that means, the segmentation variables such as age, sex or household size used traditionally in market research, are less and less suitable as criteria for the description of homogeneous market segments. So the situation is becoming critical. Where the conventional forms of market segmentation based on socio-demographic and psychographic variables suddenly do not allow any reliable conclusions on the buying behaviour and where consequently an inability to forecast the demand becomes the normal case, market risks of considerable extent prevail. Although "strong brands" and the beneficial power of "spectacular marketing events" are touted as panaceas, nevertheless there are bad surprises. The fantasy worlds and purchase decisions of consumers turn out more frequently than hoped to be expressions of "unruly practices".

This has been successfully tackled by researchers in the field of Cultural Studies. For if one wants to earn money with unpredictable consumers and their unruly practices, the following observation made by Cultural Studies can help. Christoph Gurk states in the Cultural Studies book "Mainstream of the Minorities", *"the values of the sixties-counterculture, formerly combat terms against the establishment, ... have advanced to the basis for business in the entertainment industry"*. Therefore, the conclusion seems reasonable that criticism in particular embodies a powerful variety of trend research. Geert Lovink of the Bilwet Foundation summarises the logic of such a critical theory as follows: *"Criticism as trend research is ... popular in the glass-concrete-buildings of sense-searching entrepreneurs. As long as constructive criticism anticipates with vision the next state of affairs, they are quite willing to invest high sums for the bifurcations of the maverick thinkers. ... Cultural Studies of the net is obligatory in the development of internet shopping malls. Youth culture becomes indistinguishable from corporate culture as long as its catchment area can extend far into the underdeveloped zones. ... It belongs to the good practice of sceptic hedonism to trust in the creativity of subcultures."* In other words, dissident potentials are also always market potentials; this has also been shown by the million-sellers by Naomi Klein and Frédéric Beigbeder. Thus, the function of Cultural Studies with their focus on everyday, popular culture and subculture is essentially outlined.

This leads me to the centre point of my talk, the bricoleur. One of the main recurring themes of Cultural Studies is the insight, that consumption must be understood as production, that it is only in use that the – practical and

symbolic – interpretation of the respective product occurs. The frequently bitter experiences of manufacturers consist in the fact that consumers use things often in ways entirely different from the instructions in the manual. The creative abuse, the reinterpretation of a product, is a common strategy of the users in order to deal with the adversities of everyday life and the lack of imagination of manufacturers. In the end, customers operate like a bricoleur who has to work creatively with his limited possibilities.

Bricolage also expresses itself in the fact that products are acquired and used by completely different groups than they were intended for originally. For example, right from the start, the Mercedes A-class was far more successful with seniors than with the actual "target group" of young families, whom the brand wanted to offer an inexpensive entrance model. Many customers at the advanced age possessed only little motivation to cram themselves into flat coupés and saw the model as a welcomed opportunity to continue driving a Mercedes. Television programmes supply a related and equally striking example. According to empirical tests, almost always a different target group sits in front of the television set than was defined beforehand. For example, some youth shows are preferably consumed by over-sixty-years-olds, who want to know what to give their grandchildren as a present for Christmas. Thus, old age does not prevent from misuse or use for other purposes. And finally, bricolage expresses itself in the fact that, on the one hand, companies try to emotionally charge their products and brands with arbitrary meaning, but on the other hand, consumers themselves re-interpret these immediately with just the same arbitrariness.

Under the conditions of advanced individualisation bricolage has turned into a universal principle and includes varieties such as biographical patch-working, bricolage of existence, sense tinkering, identity sampling, or difference surfing. Hence, Jan Engelmann writes in his Cultural Studies reader, under the heading "In the DIY store of existence" the following: *"Identity was regarded by Cultural Studies as the result of a bricolage process, for which the culture supplies a whole arsenal of symbols, rituals, and practices, from which the individual can draw. Culture is ordinary and unusual at the same time, secular in its penetration of everyday life, and transcending in its potential for invention spirit and improvisation."*

Those who calculate and consider the contexts, and processes of social and cultural self-organisation, discover the connecting points for new products and service offerings, their communication to the customers and the required business models.

Should we therefore simply replace the subject marketing with Cultural Studies? Certainly, quite a lot would be gained by doing that, but it would only be a temporary solution.



Because bricolage is also subject to trends and tendencies, which lead to fundamental shifts and new tonalities. I would like to deal with this complex in the next part of my lecture, which covers the metamorphosis of the

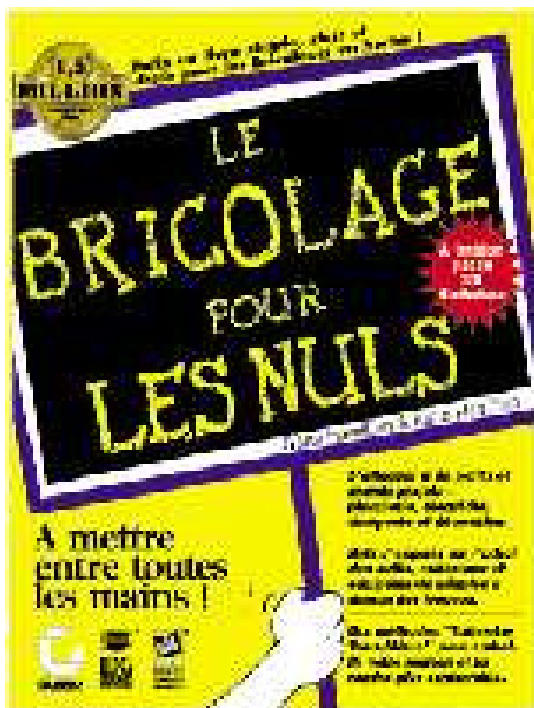
bricoleur and the cultural change in the concept of bricolage.

The future of bricolage, step 1: From the bricoleur to the artist-DJ

The application of the bricoleur as the guiding concept for trend research was our fundamental motivation for using Cultural Studies for marketing purposes. As it is proper for a genuine interface, it should be permeable in both directions. Thus, let us now turn the perspective around and ask ourselves: What has trend research to say about the future of bricolage and the bricoleur of the future? And what follows from this for Cultural Studies?

Here are the results of my research. From numerous markets we know that a systematic segmentation takes place in these, which in general becomes noticeable as the "disappearance of the middle". That is, the original quantitatively dominating middle segment – both regarding quality and regarding price – breaks away and leads to a splitting. On the one hand a low-priced segment develops, which generally offers a level of quality that is sufficient for the minimum requirements of low-involved consumers. This is contrasted with the emergence of a highly-priced and qualitatively highly-cultivated market section in which the offers meet all conceivable requirements. The DIY market shows strong signs of this development as well. In other words, this situation of "one size fits all" or "bricolage pour tous" will probably soon be a thing of the past.

On the one hand a so-called "low involvement segment" is emerging which regards bricolage exclusively as a necessary evil and carries out only the most necessary things, which cannot be mastered otherwise in an economically reasonable way or have to be repaired at short notice as an emergency. This requires less elaborate abilities and the simplest type of equipment. Following the title of a bestseller, this lower, unambitious segment of bricoleurs can be called "Bricolage pour les nuls".



According to our content analysis, a turn to the high-tech sector can be found in the upper segment. This is the so-called artist-DJ segment. There are numerous indications for this. Years ago, Dick Hebdige(1996) used the DJ metaphor and stated the following: "For me, "Cut'n'Mix" is ... viable, look at the language of the Internet etc., although everything became faster and stranger of course. It's about an anti-essentialist cultural production emerging from the mixing desk." Although right to some extent, Hebdige obviously still assumes a pure assembly model, which has been made obsolete by recent technological developments. Because the new electronic devices are universal machines, which subvert the original philosophy of bricolage – that is, to have to act with the modest means which one has to hand. Additionally, this is accompanied by the fact that such advanced technology is available in the meantime at prices which make a massive access to it possible – a fact which of course drives forward once more the disappearance of the middle segment.

The digital environment is now making procedures and cultural techniques possible which go far beyond the conventional assembly and combination forms, as Thomas Meinecke (1998b) stresses: *"In sampling there is a simultaneity of different elements. Several layers are possible. By assembly I understand more a set of analog successive cut-ups."* Therefore, the digital sampling technology and its extensions such as time-stretching made this Cut'n'Mix in a radicalised form possible, which in particular the work of Kodwo Eshun (1998) about "Unidentified Audio-Objects" brings up for discussion. Thus, it's not surprising that Kodwo Eshun is critical of Cultural Studies still being fixated on "bricolage pour tous".

Obviously, Cultural Studies do not only have unsuitable tools in their toolbox, but also use false techniques of working. They tinker with critical theory, ethnography and French postmodernism – too sluggishly and not dynamically enough for the new conditions, as Kodwo Eshun points out. The result of this mismatching, according to Kodwo Eshun, is boredom. He would rather see Cultural Studies replaced by Remixology, and criticism by afro-futurism and concept bombing. In an interview with the magazine de:Bug the self-appointed concept-engineer expressed the following: *"I am simply bored by the idea of ,identity politics' in traditional Cultural Studies: the new approach emerged out of the extreme inertia of the old. I grew up with Cultural Studies and have followed them for a long time, but at the beginning of the nineties many of their ideas became sluggish and static. ... At such a point concepts turn into ,concept toxins'. They turn into poisonous concepts, they literally have effects on the brain and the body..."*

In Eshun's remix-o-logy the bricoleur identity is finally continued as artistic DJ-politics. From this Tom Holert (1999) concludes as follows: *"...so the cosy Cultural Studies model of bricolage can be exchanged for more snappy high-tech conceptions of ribofunk and cubase materialism."* With the convergence to the theoretically versed artist-DJ, the original picture of the bricoleur, which was strongly shaped by the production side, shifts ever more deeply into the field of consumption. Because for the artist-DJ, who according to Boris Groys becomes more and more the avant-garde of economics, can be characterized as follows:

- He is less a producer, rather an exclusive, exemplary consumer of things already circulating.
- He focuses on new attitudes, consuming patterns, and desires.
- His work consists in the consumption of things – including their transformation – in a particularly interesting way.
- His central functions are collecting, selection, taste design.

Let me summarise this first line of development. As we all know, Claude Lévi-Strauss wrote: *"Le bricoleur reste celui qui œuvre des ses mains, en utilisant des moyens détournés par comparaison avec ceux de l'homme de l'art."* However, where universal Turing machines as "the power for the rest" become ubiquitously available and by this lead to a parity in weapons with the professionals, the difference between the bricoleur and the man of art melts away – and so the figure of the artist-DJ is about to replace the bricoleur as role model.

The future of Bricolage, step 2: Le Bricoleur New Look

Concerning the future of the bricoleur and his bricolage, I would like to speak now about a second, related development. Thomas Düllo writes in his Anthology of Cultural Studies very correctly: *"A lot of Hebdige's observations are no longer accurate today, the concept of bricolage however is more valid than ever."* In comparison to what has just been said, this means only an apparent contradiction, which resolves itself very fast. Translated into the categories of trend research, Düllo's statement means: there is a trend towards bricolage and DIY. Bricolage is no longer regarded as a driver or a source of trends, but embodies itself the trend. A set of unambiguous empirical evidence exists for this.



The Parisian newspaper Libération presented in a trend column from March 2001 a detailed study about the trend towards DIY in France. This is very instructive for us in so far as the mother country of bricolage surely possesses a certain forerunner position here and thereby permits us a look into the future. What we can see there has no longer much to do with the traditional "tinkering mentality" of the last century. From the interviews for this study follows that the trend towards DIY in the global cities of the 21st century does not only have as its reason the customising of the own furnishing or in savings motives. And in contrast to the past, "le bricoleur new look", as the Libération calls it affectionately, recruits itself no longer only from men. 77% of all women surveyed indicate that they do DIY work at least occasionally.



The study reports of unmarried women, elegant and emancipated bricoleuses such as e.g. Valentine, 30 years, who stands in front of drills and screws and says: *"If you don't have a tinkering lover, you have to do it with your own hands. I create my furniture and decoration on my own. And I invest in the tools: I possess a drilling machine and also a milling cutter."* This attitude continues in partnerships. Quotation: *"Even in relationships women do not submit themselves any longer to the dictate of their husband, they are masters of their own work"*, confirms Patrice Monjean, director of marketing at Bost, a company which specialises in home improvement equipment. Altogether, the trend segment of the feminine handyman results in a substantial market expansion by products, which are more lightweight, more ergonomical and more aesthetic in design and packaging. And in the end it generates product innovations such as glue which does not stick to the fingers, or adhesive tablets which can fasten kilo-weighting things, so that drilling becomes unnecessary.

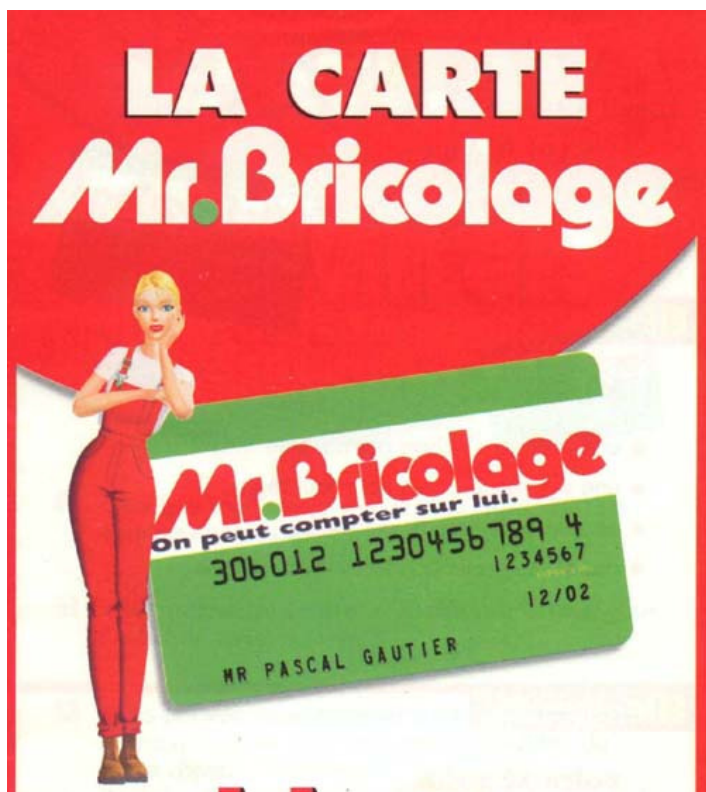
Likewise it is remarkable that in younger age-groups we find a market penetration which equals those of the so far strongest group, i.e. the over-45-years-old. In numbers: 20% of the under-35-years-old spend annually more than 5000 Francs on the purchase of home improvement equipment.

If in the age of advanced individualisation an extensive community-building based on aesthetic motivations is

taking place, this is of course also true for the post-traditional, trendy bricoleur. For instance, the Parisian department store BHV, Le Bazar de l'Hôtel de Ville on the rue de Rivoli, whose basement is home to the largest downtown DIY superstore in the world selling more than 60.000 drilling machines per year, is operating a website named www.cyberbricoleur.com.



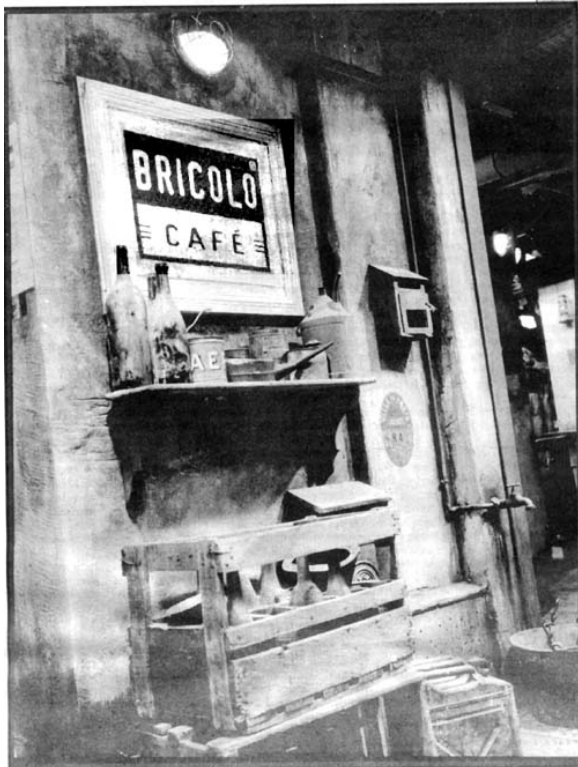
The site has a chatroom and registers up to 60.000 connections daily – and is yet only *one* of innumerable E-Bricolage-offerings. Further DIY-communities sprout from the soil: For example, the customers club of the biggest DIY store chain in France, Mr. Bricolage, is operating with the model of the IKEA-family.



As I have pointed out elsewhere, post-traditional communities need their own specific stagings and events for self-assuring and thereby reproducing and stabilising. Also for this numerous examples exist in the new

Bricolage community.

In particular, the meanwhile already famous "Bricolo-Café" must be mentioned which was opened in January of this year in the BHV Rivoli.



La photo ci-dessus est une reproduction du Bricolo Café du BHV: reproduction d'un vieux atelier avec fausse poussière sur fond d'acid jazz.

Its interior equipment must be regarded as ultra-sophisticated. It is an excessively precise prepared reproduction of an old workshop, with false dust and false rust on a background of Acid Jazz as well as tools clinging to the wall. They are loved by the young nostalgic people. A theme park of the Bricolo-Chic. The Disneyisation of bricolage is hinted at by the American model with authentic inauthenticity at the cultivated longing for old values: simplicity, nature, refusal of mass consumption. The Libération comments on this as follows: *"The message goes down well, no matter whether you are a bricoleur or not."* The enthusiastic statement by Christophe, 33 years, underlines this: *"I am not even able to repair a broken bicycle tire. And I haven't been in the BHV for already 20 years now, except perhaps in order to buy underwear. But this Bricolo-Café, it's so wonderfully picturesque!"*

Reasons enough to continue the theming of bricolage and to give the hyper-reality of bricolage a trade-mark. This is now to be established as an umbrella-brand named *"Bricolo"* in order to transfer the concept and the brand-world to other business fields. The owners of the *"Bricolo-Café"* are planning a *"Bricolo-Shop"* where accessories are to be sold. Then, a T.V. broadcast named *"Bricolo-Show"* is supposed to follow, and perhaps a so-called *"Bricolo-Express"* as service for smaller repairs at home. But for the moment they are focussing their efforts in particular on the *"Bricolo-Factory"*, which according to their statement is *"a kind of fitness-club for handymen where people will go in order to drill and to hammer by subscription."*

The future of Bricolage, step 3: From Cultural Studies to Cultural Hacking

In the last part of my lecture I want to recapitulate the central statements on the newly presented developments of cultural change, to interpret them with regard to future developments and to underpin them with empirical evidence of their general validity.

Firstly: Bricolage is changing more and more from a model of production to a model of consumption – as it were a reversal of de Certeau's "art of acting". And, *secondly*, in doing so it concerns no longer so much the bricolage as such, but the focussing on bricolage and the theme worlds of bricolage which are consumed. Bricolage is no longer a *means* to a lifestyle, but the *enactment* of lifestyle. *Thirdly:* The focussing on bricolage is gaining ground, and also other locations than the DIY superstore are becoming theme parks and theme worlds of bricolage. No wonder therefore, that in 2001 the media, as I want to show now, are full of motives of DIY – all

over Europe.

DIY- 2K: the year we did it for ourselves.

In *January, 2001* the British magazine *The Face* proclaimed the previous year as the year of Do-It-Yourself, as DIY-2K, not least on account of the renaissance of the genuine subculture of bricolage, namely the punk culture which experienced a revival as a theme world. This culminated in products such as T-shirts for self-tearing-up which were supplied right away in a set including the necessary scissors and safety-pins.



For some time, the French avant-garde fashion magazine *Jalouse* has been equipped with a monthly column named "Je me l'fais", in which it demonstrates how to imitate actual designer wear. The instructions for DIY stretch from asymmetric Jeremy Scott-pants over the cut Gaultier-T-shirt up to the Yves-Saint-Laurent-dress or the Louis-Vuitton-gloves, as shown here.

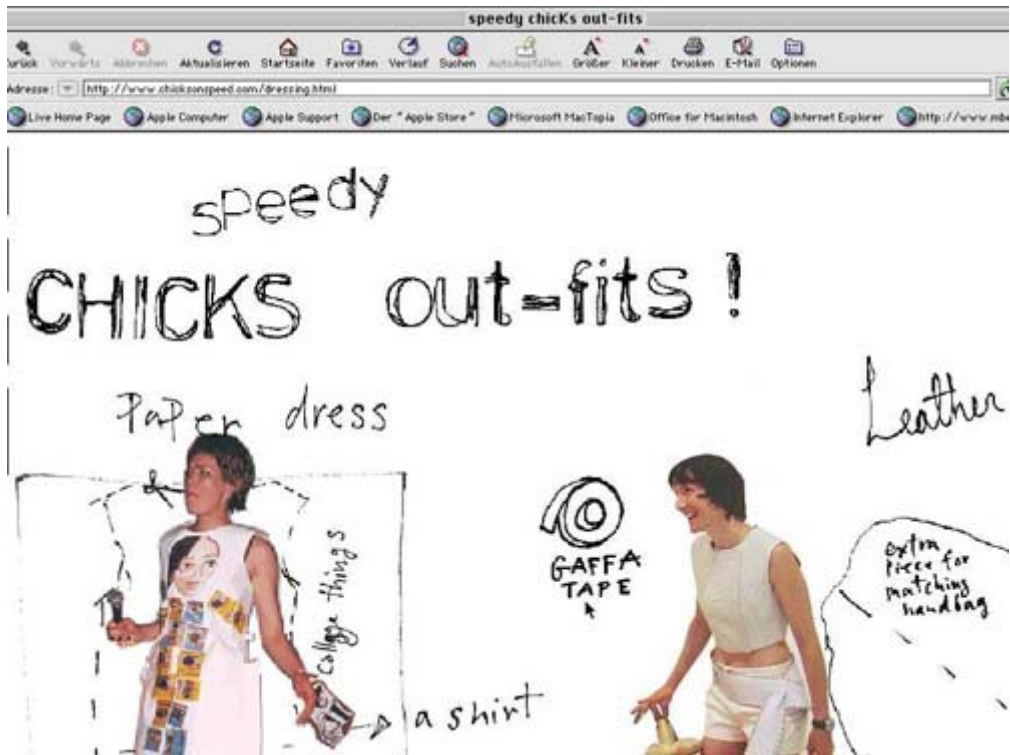


But there is even more. In *March, 2001* for instance, *Jalouse* staged a collier by Jean-Paul Gaultier hidden in the context of DIY equipment. Did you recognise it straight away?



In May, 2001 the London music- and lifestyle-magazine Sleaze Nation presented the fashion line for the new deconstructive label "Indigo People" under the title "DIY Is So Background". As we can see, the model stands thereby in the middle of a hobbyist's tool kit.

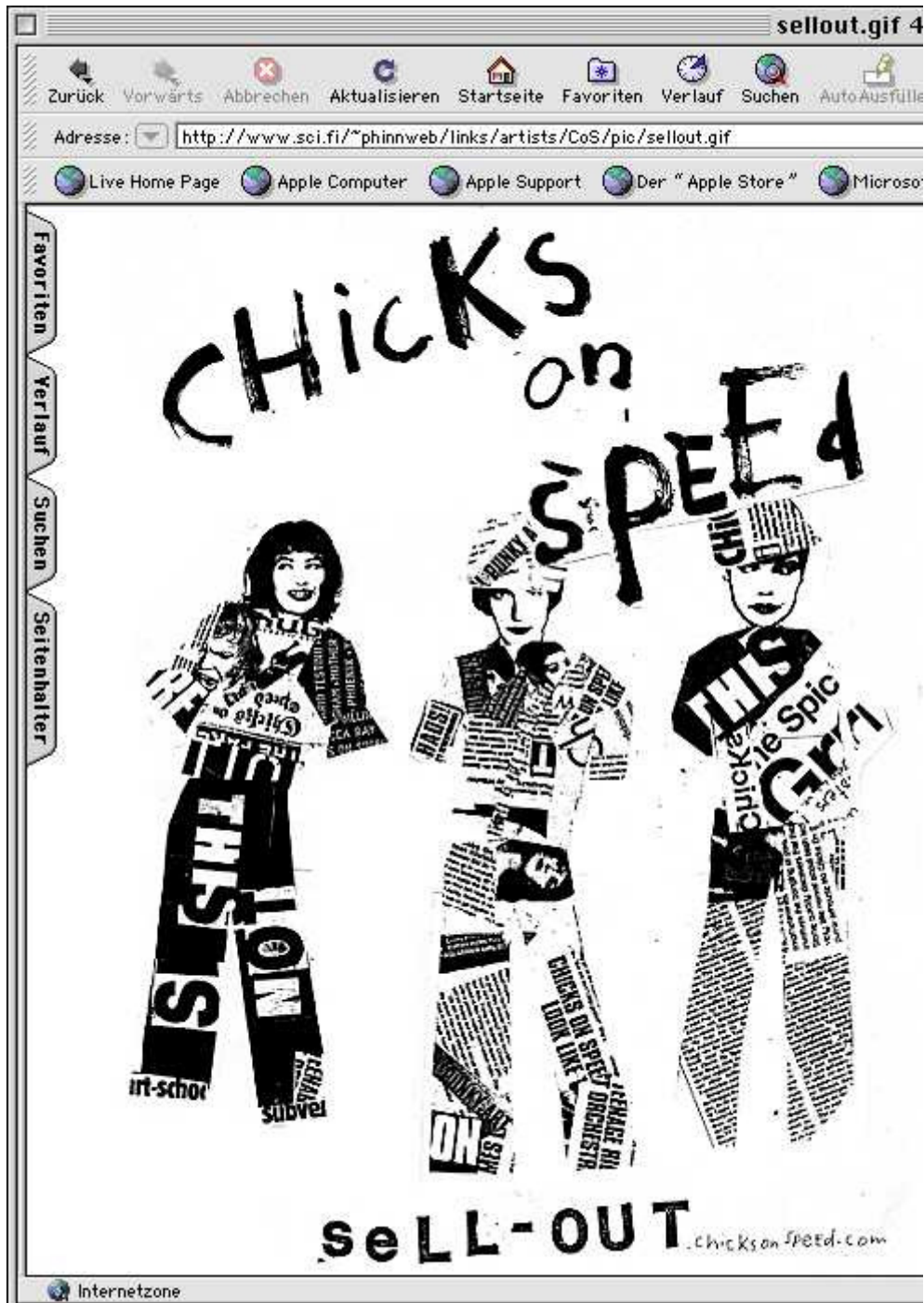
But now to my favourite example: Until now, the focussing on bricolage and its translation into a theme world was most consistently pursued by a trio of women operating mainly in the areas of fashion, art and music. True to the demand by Kodwo Esthun to conceptualise culture more snappily and to speed up cultural change they call themselves *Chicks on Speed*. Their new interpretation of the subversive tinkering punk attitude runs through their whole work, which may also be conceived as a product range.



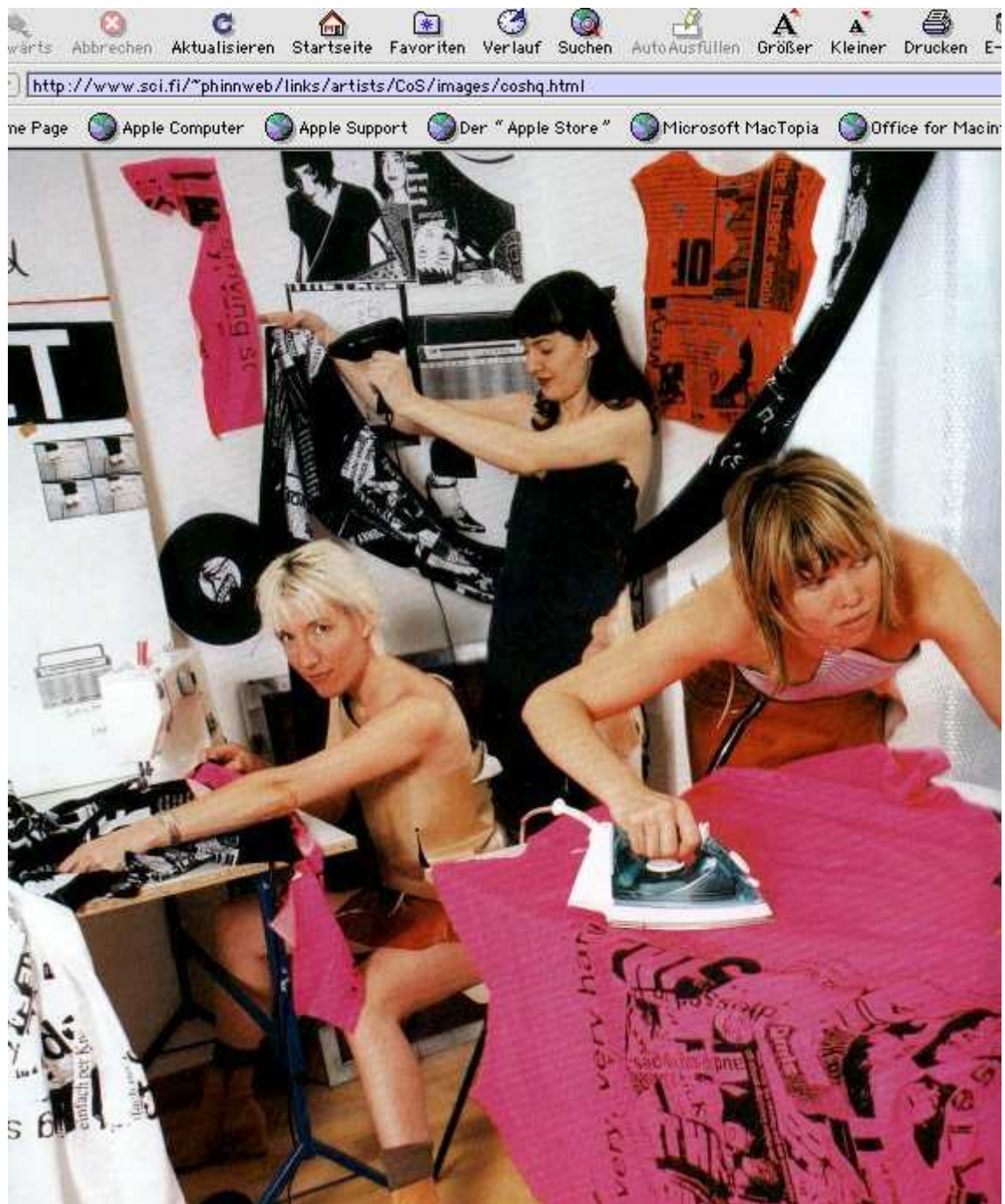
Chicks on Speed have a website whose structural sophistication is hidden in an outfit of bricolage with a children's typography. In the beginnings, this website offered mainly instructions for DIY paper clothes, as one can see here.



The tinkering attitude was continued then in numerous self-stagings with designs from their own production. The focus of the staging was thereby mainly to advertise the name Chicks on Speed, to supply it with the improvised flair of bricolage, and to get it deeply into the head of the public by notorious repetitions.



Finally, and for the time being the most ambitious project of Chicks on Speed brings the subcultural metaphor of sellout back into the economic sphere and promotes it smoothly further into the artistic one. This new type of sellout – the so-called "Checks-on-Speed-Sellout" – is functioning at the same time as a web-shop and as an installation, where something is produced and sold live and in realtime – thus a powerful bricolage based on online and offline elements of business models.



The picture, which you can see here, reveals the preparing work, which had to be done before rolling out the concept. With this business model Chicks on Speed are completely up to date. They formulate the hybrid commerce concept of "Sellout", which was implemented as consequently as nowhere else in the New Economy as follows: *"Sellout is the idea of bringing together the virtual web shop, the real shopping experience and the idea of work, together in one room and through the live stream web cast. All will be mixed up together to create a market place of ideas, a trading place of goods. A lot of hard work, not perfect products, the boundaries between production and consumption become blurred into a frenzy of activity."*

This anarchic but all the same extremely advanced DIY-theme world has turned out to be really promising. This may be concluded from the fact, that one year ago the media coverage had left the underground within shortest time. Since then, the attention value of Chicks on Speed is reaching far into the international general public press. See, for example, the october issue of Vogue UK.

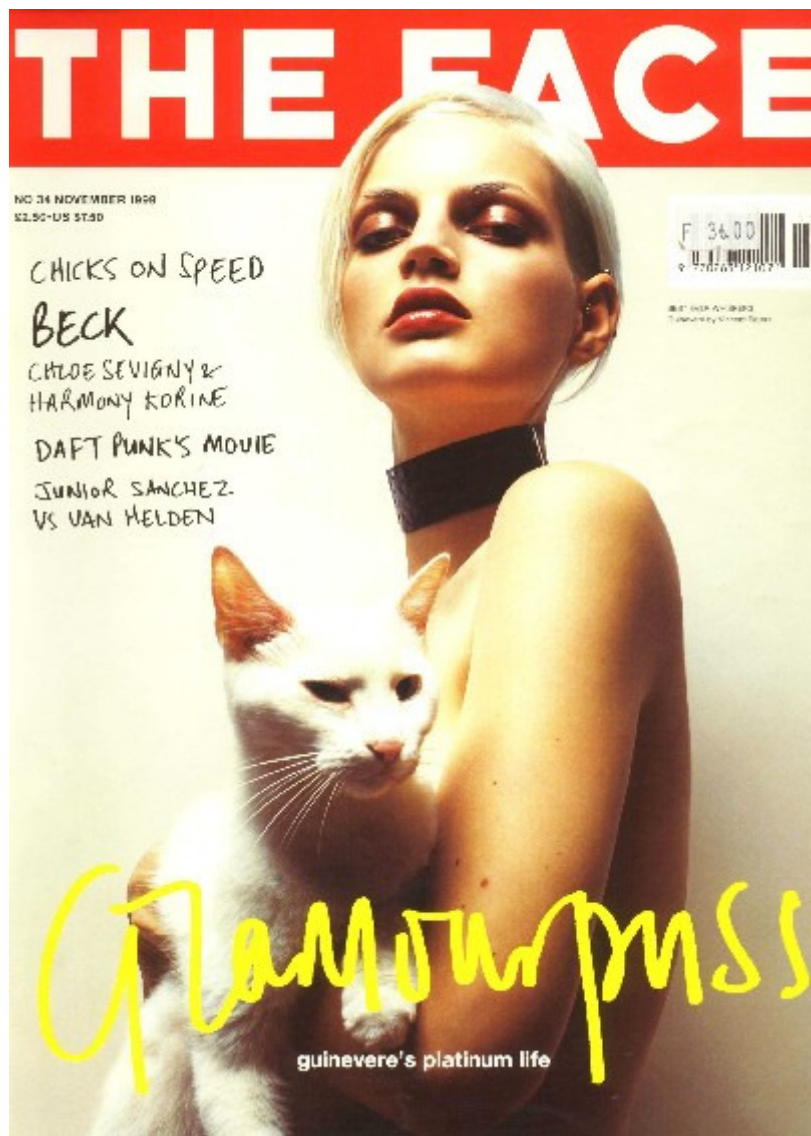


Also, they have obtained brand status long ago. When scanning the advanced fashion and lifestyle magazines such as *Jalouse* (Saillard 2000), *Crash* or *Sleaze Nation*, one is more and more confronted with sequences of the type: Prada, Gucci, Chicks on Speed... "*We are definitely a marketable product!*", Chicks on Speed once visionarily stated in an interview with the *New Musical Express* (Wells 2000).

If I thus stated above that Cultural Studies represent for marketing the solution of the problems of individualised consumption, then I have to add now it is not the only one. Even though criticism may represent a capitalistic optimisation function, it is only just one among several possible forms of optimisation. And it is one which is also wearing out itself after a certain time, as Norbert Bolz shows in his book "*The conformists of being different*".

What is practised by Chicks on Speed as a cleverly calculated "*bricolage sauvage*" are no longer business models which obey the bricolage paradigm of Cultural Studies, but instead embody a veritable cultural hacking. The paradigm of hacking seems to me so particularly obvious, much closer to practice and more operational than Kodwo Eshun's remixologic fictions, because it includes, in direct adoption of the world of computers and data networks, the following four components:

- firstly the subversion of established structures of exclusion;
- secondly the application of high-tech and of low-tech, both in their state of misuse and in their original function;
- thirdly the development of post-traditional communities;
- fourthly the existence and the dissemination of viruses.



Melissa Logan from Chicks on Speed has formulated in an interview with the magazine Spex a convincing example reflecting this catalogue of characteristics: *"Piers Martin from the "Face" told us that our CD-covers are lying there directly next to the monitors of the graphic designers. And one month later, the children's typography used by Chicks on Speed appears on the cover of the "Face". ... What one produces is twisted and changed. You can only leave traces which are then spread everywhere, like a virus."*

Accordingly, hacking also contains, at a most considerable degree, the idea of the gift economy, of sharing, of anti-copyright. The Finnish philosopher Pekka Himanen, now a fellow in Berkeley, even goes as far as to declare the "hacker attitude" the model of society of the post-industrial era. It is thus not limited to a small elite without any other occupation than to program open-source code. In his recently published book *"The Hacker Ethic and the Spirit of the Information Age"* Himanen shows how hacking is pushing forward little by little in all spheres of life; from artists and scientists, who have since ever certain elements of this in their working method, up to the fields of handicrafts.

A further characteristic moment is the merger of work and play. In her article titled *"Between Creativity and Control: Hacking as Play"* Christina Garsten from the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Stockholm draws the parallel as follows: *"In the experience of taking pleasure in the working process itself, hacking bears similarities to craftwork... The pleasures of work merge with the pleasures of creating."* Nevertheless, she sees the hacker already closer to the artist than to the craftsman, since the playing elements gain massively on importance. Garsten continues: *"Even so, we may think of hacking as being closer to playful art than to handicraft. In craft, it is often understood that the craftsman skillfully creates according to previously accepted designs and routines, whereas in playful art, the artists is freer to expand the creative undertaking beyond tradition and routine. The hacker strives to use the skills and designs learnt as an engineer to find new*

and playful solutions in his or her work."

Thus, there exists a direct line of relationship between the hacker, the artist-DJ and the bricoleur. The change of perspective expressed by the metaphor of hacking has – so my hypothesis – not only cognitive power, but also a considerable potential for purposes of marketing, which begins slowly but surely to perceive the homo ludens as the relevant conception of man. But all this is a new subject into which, with respect to time, I can not go into here in more detail.

Conclusion

But let me at the end of my lecture recapitulate again briefly: Under the conditions of advanced individualisation even more advanced instruments of marketing are becoming blunt. In the 1990's, recurring on the results of research in Cultural Studies and criticism was a first step for marketing in order to find answers and solutions. Similarly as IT-departments are using the services of hackers in order to identify security gaps in their own system, in the next step marketing has to make use of the Cultural Hacking in order to reveal the cultural connecting points and to raise the feasible on a new level. To become aware of the current state of the art, we are now going to watch together the innovative theme-world of bricolage by Pattex France, which has already completely taken leave of nails and screws in the tool box.