

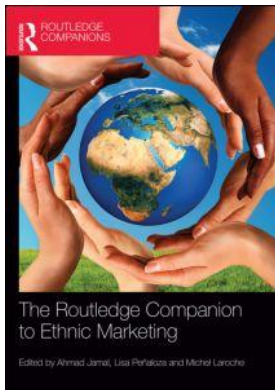
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Ahmad Jamal, Lisa Peñaloza, Michel Laroche

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Lisa Peñaloza

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Ethnic marketing

Public policy issues

Lisa Peñaloza

Introduction

Ethnicity is a global phenomenon, augmented by births, identity- and religious-based social movements, immigration and acculturation. We have chosen ethnic marketing as the topic for this book because it is a major source of social and economic dynamism and conflict in nations, cities, neighbourhoods, work spaces and marketplaces across the planet. In this volume the authors write from diverse perspectives and use distinct methodological orientations in directing attention to the dimensions and processes characterizing the complex, interwoven relations between ethnicity and marketing. In this concluding essay I continue the discussion in focusing on public policy. I begin by highlighting key differences between business and government because it is important to maintain a sense of their different mission and activities, and then turn to key topics in marketing and organizational ethics forming the backbone for public policy. While my focus is on the US, I also direct some attention to global public policy concerns.

These are tough times to work in public policy. Contemporary political debates, talk shows, online postings, editorial columns and journalist reports are polarized and highly charged, with battles played out on the terrain of public policy. On one side critics charge ‘Starve the beast’, depicting bloated bureaucracy and striving to cut taxes and to have citizens think of the government spending less of ‘my money’, to the point that former candidate Sarah Palin could say with conviction during her 2008 U.S. Vice-Presidential campaign, ‘Paying taxes is unpatriotic’. In his opinion-editorial column, Friedman (2008) responded, provocatively querying Ms. Palin as to how she imagined paying for her preferred policies. On the other side, critics charge that public policy doesn’t go far enough in addressing such social problems and injustices as unequal opportunity and treatment of racial/ethnic groups, unemployment and under-employment, and skewed distribution of wealth. Here political solutions are promised for what economists term ‘externalities’. What the two political platforms share are concerted attempts to satisfy diverse constituents’ demands for services to be provided at lower cost and greater efficiency.

It was not always this way. January 20, 1961 President John F. Kennedy put forth a challenge in his inaugural address to the nation, daring citizens to ‘Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country’. It is difficult to imagine any sitting President or candidate saying this today. Kennedy’s words resonated deeply with the American public of his time, invoking an *esprit de corps*, a unity and a desire to contribute to a greater good that ran

counter to the increasingly individualist, stratified, materialist trends that gained momentum with the affluence that swept the nation in the period after the Second World War. Relatively less damaged than the other industrial powers of Europe and Japan, the US had attained exemplary status and unprecedented popularity for its way of life, optimism and social mobility. Its chief cultural export at the time was consumer culture – music, film and consumer products (Kroen 2006) – that manifest in fairly general forms in comparison to their diversity today. During the 1970s ‘runaway’ inflation, the oil embargo and the international relocation of manufacturing jobs tempered U.S. economic growth. Offering a diagnosis, the Grace Commission formed under the Reagan Administration in 1980 compared government services to those of business and found the former lacking. The focus then on business as a model for government only recognized part of the picture, neglecting to mention that most new products fail, as do many companies. Nor did this influential report acknowledge their very different mandates and changing constituents. Public policy is grounded in general public enfranchisement and held to serve all citizens and to oversee business and social conduct, while business serves those who can pay and readily distinguish their consumers by demographic characteristics, identity and tastes, including those related to ethnicity, in order to serve them better. Yet as we will see, these strict bifurcations belie much more complex, diverse and nuanced realities.

While business is increasingly service oriented, and thus converges with the service dimensions of government, there are key differences between the two domains in policy. Matters of sovereignty, representation and justness in public policy are not equivalent to the profit goal of business, although the two spheres share cost and accountability controls, and somewhat similar notions of fairness and equal treatment. Their overlap is likely to increase in the future with pressing consumer demands for social and environmental responsibility. Furthermore, there is much interplay and cross-fertilization between the two social domains (Bevir and Trentmann 2004) as government attempts to serve and regulate business activity across the globe, as much for monetary and political support for candidates and policies as to stimulate jobs while guarding public health and attending to overall well-being.

In the field of marketing, ethnic marketing traditionally has meant the targeting of ethnic minority consumers by people outside the group, often in large firms, with ethnic marketing public policy charged with monitoring and overseeing such targeting (Pires and Stanton 2015). This chapter broadens the scope of discussion in taking into account developments in ethnic theory recognizing that everyone has ethnicity (Peñaloza 2007), and in recognizing the importance of ethnic entrepreneurs in developing ethnic communities and in contributing to the national economy (Peñaloza 2005). Thus, in this essay ethnic marketing deals with marketing activity that relates to ethnic groups. In turn, ethnic marketing public policy deals with the monitoring and oversight of ethnic marketing activity, to include the reception of marketing campaigns as well as their impact on ethnic identity, community and social relations among groups. What matters in ethnic marketing is who targets whom, who is targeted by whom, with what symbolic and material content and forms, and what social and economic interests, agenda and effects. For ethnic marketing public policy, added considerations are who formulates policy, who participates in the policy process, for what benefits, for whom and on behalf of whom, and with what resulting social, economic and community impacts. These broad characterizations are useful to keep in mind in appreciating the complex interests and diverse stakes that come into play in the development and implementation of ethnic marketing public policy.

In concluding this introduction, I offer a few personal acknowledgements. First, I want to acknowledge my respect and appreciation for public policy workers. My father, a career civil servant, retired from the U.S Veterans Administration where he worked in its hospitals in Kerrville and Waco, Texas, as a social worker. Like many government agencies, the VA system

has undergone many changes over the years; key among them are cuts in resources for the medical benefits of armed forces personnel that parallel the budget cuts impacting the provision of health care for non-military residents in the US. As Harvey (2007) noted, pay-as-you-go market solutions are but part of the privatization characterizing the contemporary neoliberal turn worldwide. Distinct mandates and priorities, together with budget challenges, must be taken into account in considerations of ethnic marketing public policy.

Ethnic marketing

In addressing ethnic marketing public policy, it is important to situate ethnic and ethnic marketing phenomena in their social as well as market contexts. While the marketplace has been the main focus in this book, all of its essays necessarily touch upon the social sites of the nation, as well as neighbourhoods, cities and business organizations where ethnic people of multiple cultural orientations and experiences and marketing activities converge.

Immigration has been a touch point for ethnicity, yet the latter is much broader in scope, to include mainstream as well as minority peoples. Attention to the mainstream pushes the bounds of ethnic marketing public policy, in directing attention to the inherent inter-relations between mainstream and minority cultural genealogies, sensibilities and experiences, and in noting privilege as well as subordination and deprivation (Peñaloza 2007; Delgado and Stefancic 1997). Importantly, because wealth is diffused unevenly among racial/ethnic groups in U.S. society (Lui *et al.* 2006), a major concern in public policy is to ensure equal and just treatment. Furthermore, when we recognize the increasing heterogeneity in societies globally, it is necessary to broaden considerations of ethnic marketing phenomena beyond domestic relations between minority and mainstream groups to feature in policy important quality of life issues as people of multiple, mixed, pan, transnational and cosmopolitan ethnicities and experiences come together and apart in families, education, religion and neighbourhoods, as well as in the marketplace (Visconti *et al.* 2014).

As Williams (1975) and more recently Jenkins (1997) have noted, the term ethnicity historically referred to non-Christians. It was brought into the field of marketing in the 1970s in reference to the increasing trends of firms segmenting markets and targeting minority groups (Bouchet 1995). Today, largely due to the legacy of Civil Rights social movements, greater government inclusion and more common business targeting, the trend of multiculturalism has brought greater awareness and sensitivity of ethnicity as a valid part of society and not just a matter of private life. This change has not been without tension, both within and between ethnic groups, in the form of contested identity and cultural expressions.

In ethnic marketing public policy it is important to recognize the way marketing activity draws from and reconfigures ethnicity (Bouchet 1995; Peñaloza and Gilly 1999). Bêcheur and Toulouse (2012) build upon this work in emphasizing the role of marketing activity in producing ethnicity. Indeed, the reproduction of ethnic identity and culture in the marketplace is but a particular form of the more general social accommodation of different people etching their lives in terms of what is important to them (Slater and Tonkiss 2002). Marketing, thus, is a central part of social life and not apart from it. The scholarship in marketing that takes the perspective of marketers most often consider ethnic people as consumers, and yet, as Mehmood *et al.* (this volume), Light and Gold (2000) and Peñaloza (2005) remind us in their work on ethnic entrepreneurship, ethnic people are also producers who support and enable ethnic communities.

At the same time, it is important to recognize a simultaneous trend blurring the conventional divisions between producers and consumers, as 'working consumers' animate brands and

integrate them in daily life (Cova and Dalli 2009). Ethnic consumers are thus not only the targets of marketing efforts, the subjects of marketing research (Bjerrisgaard and Kjeldgaard 2012) and even the ‘products’ in data mining operations (Zwick and Dholakia 2012); they also are active product/service collaborators (Abela and Murphy 2008) who re/produce culture, community and nation.

Gibson-Graham (1996) advocate specific, empirically grounded and socially situated formulations of marketplace activities and circumstances to replace the abstract, generalized and uncritical studies that mystify and reify markets. These methodological and analytic maneuvers are just as vital to the purpose of this essay in deriving public policy insights.

To illustrate the interweaving of social and market dynamics in public policy, I revisit earlier work documenting how Mexican immigrants adapt to the consumption environment in the US (Peñaloza 1994), and conversely, how their presence is welcomed, even competed for by marketers (Peñaloza and Gilly 1999). As part of this project I reviewed the long, convoluted history of immigration in the U.S. Southwest, beginning with immigrants fleeing U.S. recession to live Mexico in 1820 and continuing in counter waves of recruitment, deportation and legalization of Mexican immigrant workers in the US from the 1940s to the present (Peñaloza 1995). I noted that the contributions of Mexican immigrants to U.S. society and economy are obscured in negative, stereotypical depictions of taking jobs from U.S. workers and illegally using social services. Notably, while market targeting legitimizes Mexican immigrants as consumers, such market inclusion does not necessarily extend to social inclusion and enfranchisement. Recommendations encouraged public policy workers to sift through conflicting information, hyperbole and scapegoating, and acknowledge consumption and community contributions as well as those of labour to better comprehend the impact of Mexican immigration in U.S. society. I further encouraged the use of humanistic terms and the development of literacy programs attuned to legal requirements in policy and in marketing, the provision of multilingual sales staff and the translation of business and credit terms. Much has changed since then; people are much more conscious of the political dimensions of consumption and organize for group interests and viability, putting pressure on public policy to balance group treatment. In the next section I turn to organizational and marketing ethics in setting a foundation for ethnic marketing public policy.

Marketing ethics

Carter *et al.* (2007) identify organizations as important sites constituting ethical judgements and practices. In marketing, Ferrell (2005) emphasizes individual ethical decision making, highlighting the importance of individual moral development and of individual responsibility for ethical transgressions, while acknowledging organizational responsibilities and accountability. He further emphasizes the powerful influence of monetary incentives and pressures stemming from people’s dependence on work in earning their livelihood. This view applies to all marketing activities, including advertising, pricing, product development, research, selling and distribution channels in developing an ethical marketing organization (Murphy *et al.* 2004).

Individual and organizational contexts are important in ethnic marketing public policy. Yet we must go further to consider cultural differences and group interests as well as individual moral judgements and codes of behaviour regarding what is right and wrong in business organizations and to weigh the financial and political pressures impinging upon public policy. Pires and Stanton, this volume, converge with more general studies of marketing ethics in asserting fairness and equal opportunity for all – regardless of ethnicity. Such guidelines provide an important baseline for ethnic marketing public policy. Of particular relevance is monitoring

market activity for discriminatory pricing and other unequal treatment. Cultural sensitivity is required to distinguish negative from positive stereotypes, as their more positive uses convey valuable cultural meanings, albeit in somewhat exaggerated forms. These authors are particularly concerned with online ethnic marketing ethics, noting how firms' use of social media impacts ethnic groups in offering members greater abilities as consumers to self-select in and out of markets. While working to promote online technologies that enable access to family and other social and business networks globally, public policy efforts can help bridge digital divisions between mainstream and marginalized ethnic peoples.

Increasing cultural heterogeneity and the accompanying demands for inclusion and acknowledgement by interest groups are dramatically altering the complex terrain of marketing ethics in contemporary societies (Peñaloza 2012). Gustaffson (2005) draws upon the work of gender scholars Benhabib and Young in bringing to the fore the power asymmetries that pertain to the social categories that come into play in organizations. Specifically, Benhabib (1992) directs attention to the limited ability of universal conceptions of the individual to encompass pluralized communicative activities, and suggests dialogic, diverse forms address and exchange to update the social contract to better apply in heterogeneous societies.

Young (1997) stresses that empathizing with others on the basis that they be like oneself has supported humanistic, universalized conceptualizations of ethical judgements and conduct, and that such complementarity often is undermined in multicultural social domains. In adapting organizational ethics to these insights, Gustaffson emphasizes the need to acknowledge social difference and related asymmetries of position and power. Indeed, many studies have documented that social differences are hierarchically organized, such that some differences matter more than others, and that power is detectable in the specific ways in which these differences matter (Delgado and Stefancic 1997; Peñaloza 2007).

In order to acknowledge cultural and power differences Gustaffson counsels organization members to suspend seemingly well-intended presumptions of being capable of ever truly 'knowing' others within and external to the organization. Without these presumptions, organizational members are obliged to interact with others via more open dialogue, presence, and active listening and learning, rather than striving to minimize or erase extant social difference in carrying out idealized forms of 'equal' treatment. Taken together, Gustaffson's (2005) application of Benhabib's (1992) and Young's (1997) work on social plurality and difference offers valuable insights relevant in more adeptly developing public policy regarding ethnic marketing. Explicitly dealing with differences of power related to race/ethnicity, nationality, language, religion, social class and gender in this way allows for different forms of address and communication styles in delivering public services.

In building upon this work, I provide additional philosophical bases for more inclusive and agile ethnic marketing public policy. Among the relevant philosophical insights is Taylor's (1991) work on authenticity. He traces its historical roots to the modernist tendency for individual self-fulfillment. Yet, rather than join the chorus lamenting the disruptive aspects of individuals' search for meaning and the coterminous forms of liberal economy and consumption for destroying common values and communal social forms, Taylor emphasizes the potentially positive implications of relational determinants of authenticity. In order to be authentic, he explains, one must be successfully recognized in this quest by others.

Such mutual recognition is vital in effectively carrying out policy, and yet it is thwarted by reductive characterizations of ethnic/racial peoples. Rhodes and Westwood (2007) assert that the 'foreign' is misrepresented when reduced to Western terms, and they thus challenge the essentialized, exoticized and denigrated representation of foreign others that reduces whole cultures to their 'typical' characteristic(s). While the authors give national examples such as the

Chinese reduced to Confucianism, Germans to authoritarians, British as aristocrats and African managers as primitive, such reductive treatment also occurs for ethnic groups.

Rhodes and Westwood draw upon the work of Lithuanian philosopher Emmanuel Levinas in re-conceptualizing self-other relations as fundamental to advancing our understandings of ethics. Levinas, who lived from 1906 to 1995, was a student of Edmund Husserl and drew upon his work and that of Martin Heidegger to explain how the self exists in relation to others. For Levinas (1998), the self is fundamentally misunderstood as a ‘knower’ of another because this act of knowing reduces the other to a creation of the self. Such creation is philosophically and practically untenable, because it tends to produce the other as an inferior projection, while constituting the authoring self as an eminently evident, superior being. Extending from Levinas (1998), Rhodes and Westwood (2007) assail historical misrepresentations that justified slavery. Their formula for more ethical treatment of others is based on the mutual recognition and inter-determinacy of social agents. For the self, then, to exist is to be recognized by others. In turn, this existence, as a social manner of being, demands an ethical response to the others who make it possible via their recognition. The self is thus inherently and inexorably connected to others; and because of these interconnections, the self is ethically responsible to others.

By extension, in multicultural society, marketing activity is not limited to economic transactions, nor is it narrowly bound to one ethnic group, but rather necessarily includes the ongoing social exchanges among multiple ethnic groups that precede and follow discrete, *quid pro quo* economic transactions among people who are increasingly mobile (Bauman 2012). The relational underpinnings of authenticity can be used to strengthen and enrich ethnic marketing public policy regarding the incorporation and reproduction of ethnic difference in ethnic marketing campaigns and, in turn, in the use of – and even reliance on – products and advertising representations by ethnic groups and consumers in forging identity and social relations can be used to strengthen and enrich ethnic marketing public policy. When explicitly recognized in firms, the relationality between a company and its consumers raises the stakes of attaining ‘accurate’ ethnic representations and practices; just as recognizing the authenticity and legitimacy that such campaigns provide ethnic groups and consumers for identity and community projects raises their stakes in appropriating market-based artifacts and activities. In the remainder of this essay I bring these insights to bear in specific aspects of public policy.

Identity

The incorporation of ethnic identity into consumption and market activity presents challenges and opportunities for public policy. Of particular interest in the market incorporation of ethnic identity is an intricate interweaving of social and market dynamics emphasizing individual choice and cultural freedom of expression (Baudrillard 1988; Bouchet 1995). Scholars have criticized market activity for commoditizing and aestheticizing cultural forms (Gabriel 1994), and for advocating ethnic and racial tolerance and inclusion, while enhancing and institutionalizing cultural divisions and inequalities in opportunity and access to resources (San Juan Jr. 2002).

A major point of contention is that marketing campaigns privilege some forms of identity at the expense of others, and that the forms of identity that marketers incorporate into these campaigns obtain some validation and legitimacy for the group (Bécheur and Toulouse 2012; Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; Peñaloza 2004). It is this social validation of minority ethnic identity as an artifact of market incorporation that some mainstream agents contest, because it challenges their central position within the respective shared social domain, as in the case of the nation. An example in the US is the backlash against Spanish speakers that followed a 2014 Coca-Cola advertisement aired during the Super Bowl football game that featured the

U.S. national anthem sung in multiple languages. An example in France is the mobilization of the National Front political party against the Quick hamburger chain for providing halal burgers (Crumley 2010). Ethnic group members contest target marketing campaigns as well. Congresswoman Lucille Roybal-Allard and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus protested the Tecate beer campaign, 'Finally a Cold Latina', for using humour that depended upon negative stereotyping of Latina women as sexy (Roybal-Allard 2004). As Weibe (1975) noted, the cohesion of separate sub-groups is one of the strengths of the US as a nation. In public policy, acknowledging of ethnic differences in dialogic forms of communication can foster national unity, provided the respective groups are addressed conjointly in mutual recognition.

Chávez, this volume, explains some of the potentially troubling aspects of ethnic identity in advertising agencies. In interrogating the market incorporation of *Latindad*, Latino/a identity, his work builds upon that of Dávila (2001), whose work in advertising agencies highlighted the cultural distance and misrecognition on the part of Cubans working to target advert campaigns to a predominantly Mexican American clientele. Chávez explains further how media specialization and industry concentration drove the formation of *Latindad* through the 1990s. He emphasizes how a few large organizations consolidated advertising globally by buying out 'specialty' firms targeting ethnic segments and by merging with global partners, and how they together leveraged the growth rate and numbers of Latinos/as in the US and beyond in Central and South America into an ever larger market. He notes with some irony how Latino/a executives in the agencies tend to discount their value added (i.e. cultural knowledge of clients) in seeking more general work with the larger mainstream to avoid being relegated to the 'margin' of the Latino/a market; while clients whose advertising instincts align with the general population contribute to the devaluation of Latino/a executives' cultural knowledge by holding onto myopic dreams that Latinos/as aspire to the mainstream and eventually will assimilate.

The trend over the past three decades in ethnic scholarship has been to challenge and move beyond essentialized treatments of ethnic identity to recognize its performative and situational qualities (Deshpandé and Hoyer 1986; Visconti *et al.* forthcoming). And yet such performative and situational advances in the study of ethnic identity should not eclipse persistent asymmetries. Asymmetrical relations between mainstream and Latino/a consumers and advertising executives are present in the advertising scenario Chávez describes. Implications for ethnic marketing public policy in applying Gustaffson's (2005) work are to acknowledge rather than erase these asymmetries, and from there recognize and validate the distinct, yet interrelational cultural skills and knowledge of Latino/a advert executives and their mainstream minded clients as distinct contributions to the advert agency in their own right, thus validating the integrity and place of Latino/a consumers in U.S. society.

Community

Internal, within-group notions of similarity, bounded by external, out-group distinctions are key markers of community (Barth 1969). There is much work to be done to advance understandings of the collective ethnic community forged in consumption and in markets in processes of internal identity and cohesion and of boundary distinction and maintenance. Regarding the study of ethnic community in marketing, some marketing scholarship remains focused on distinguishing and comparing ethnic group characteristics. Nakata (2009) provides a rich review and critique of the characteristic-based approaches that build upon the work of Geert Hofstede (2001; 1980). While useful in mapping and comparing ethnic communities, the characteristic approach must be supplemented with concerted attention to social relations in carrying out adept ethnic marketing public policy.

In his consideration of space, Visconti, this volume, demonstrates how ethnic groups come together and apart in the city. By applying insights from Taylor (1991) and Rhodes and Westwood (2007), we can develop public policy insights that facilitate the mutual recognition and co-creation of multiple cultural selves in specific places. Harboring the presence of multiple ethnic communities is vital in developing an overall sense of civic society. As Visconti notes, dissecting the workings of space – physically, socio-culturally, ideologically and commercially – enables deeper and more tangible appreciation of social relations. By extending beyond the narrow terms of economic transactions, spatial considerations offer great potential to invigorate ethnic marketing public policy.

Elliot, Cherian and Casakin, this volume, discuss how cultural groups support each other at a localized community festival in Chicago. Here artists bring forth cultural symbols and motifs to consumers who welcome the art and who are increasingly attuned to their role in recognizing and fostering a dynamic and diverse city. The production and exchange of cultural artifacts and processes offer a sound base for the economic advancement of ethnic communities, as Canclini (1995) noted, in providing rich, valuable consumption content for non-members that contributes to positive civic development.

There are potential drawbacks to community in the marketization of ethnicity, however, which Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) address using the terms *ethnicity*, *incorporated*. Drawing from decades of in-depth ethnographic work, these scholars direct attention to differences of power within cultural groups as well as the pressures and capital extractions from market consultants and others external to the group. Whose culture is represented, how such production and marketing activities are organized and carried out, who consume, and for whose benefit are key considerations in ethnic marketing public policy.

Legacies of colonization

While perhaps seldom thought of as such, market activities retain remnants of former colonial relations in language, customs and trade patterns between former colonizers and colonies (Tigar and Levy 1977), as well as flows of people in both directions. Early forms of market development entailed the extraction of resources and the development of industry by leveraging labour and materials that cost less than at home. At present these forms of market activity are compounded by transnational flows of people, capital and material in the form of products and services, including remittances sent to families by members working in other nations (Peñaloza and Cavazos Arroyo 2011) and energetic international brand communities (Cova 1997; Cova *et al.* 2007) that converge in markets (Peñaloza and Venkatesh 2006).

Ethnicity represents the simultaneous trends of cultural consolidation and differentiation in society and in the marketplace, as ethnic and racial diaspora disseminate and settle across regions and nations with specific multicultural histories and political relations. Public policies may benefit from the integration of Young's (1997) insights that universal conceptualizations of the citizen may be undermined in multicultural society, by acknowledging ethnic difference, not as an end in itself, but rather as a timely and expedient route to uniting peoples within the domain of interest, be it nation, city, neighbourhood or private/public organization.

Ruvalcaba and Venkatesh, this volume, begin with income and education disparities between Whites and Latinos/as, and then discuss how Latino/a entrepreneurs advance their businesses by incorporating social media technologies. There is much to be done in public policy to create wider access and cultural integration of technology by stimulating jobs by and for ethnic community members. And yet such policy may be crippled by cultural misrepresentations similar to those critiqued by Rhodes and Westwood (2007). Cultural misrepresentations that follow from

the legacy of colonization may be seen in ethnic mainstream views of their superiority and a corresponding view among ethnic minorities of their inferiority and of business as something done to them by community outsiders and by insider *vendidas* who have ‘sold-out’, seeking private gain over community benefit (Peñaloza 2005). In policy, this post-colonial view can manifest in paternalistic mainstream posturing, un/conscious attempts to maintain their superiority, and well intentioned but short-sighted policies to aid ‘vulnerable’ minorities that stem from unquestioned and un-self-reflexive mainstream cultural sensibilities and practices. The view among ethnic minority community members that business is the purview of the ethnic mainstream is just as limiting, and while somewhat grounded in historical experience, this myopic view contributes to the misguided notion that business is apart from the community, privileges labouring members of community and ostracizes ethnic entrepreneurs.

Public policy can foster greater understanding that business is a key aspect of community development, and thus help encourage ethnic/racial group members to make a place for ethnic entrepreneurs within their community. However, those promoting business in policy must be able to distinguish community enabling activities, and extend such evaluations to financial activities as well, including micro-lending. As community members, ethnic entrepreneurs have a responsibility to contribute to those they do business with, by providing jobs and market offerings at reasonable prices, as consistent with contemporary consumers’ demands for social responsibility and ethics globally. Indeed, there is a long, sordid history of high prices charged by firms doing business in ‘higher risk’ ethnic communities (Andreasen 1975), including ethnic communities (Peñaloza and Gilly 1999), which is only partly due to higher insurance costs and lower volume. With growing recognition that business is vital to community development, non-government and non-profit agencies and sustainably oriented firms have stepped in with financial education, counselling and low-cost services. This growth sector in many nations, including developing one’s merits both increased validation and scrutiny in policy.

Additional possibilities exist in building upon current public policies that attempt to rectify persistent socio-economic differences in income and opportunity by including ‘minority’ owned businesses in government bids. By considering consumption, policies may be better integrated to value the efforts of firms that hire ethnic workers in proportions greater than their representation in the population overall and those that encourage production of products and services that advance ethnic cultural development. Critics charging ethnic favouritism are parried somewhat by emphasizing in policy the redress for disproportional unemployment or other income and educational disparities affecting all members of ethnic/racial community/ies, and not just racial/ethnic minorities as those with lower income and education in ethnic/racial mainstream groups merit inclusion and advancement as well.

Social movements

Social movements have made and continue to make important contributions towards the growth and development of contemporary ethnic formations. Their mix of spontaneous activity and formal organization is evident in demonstrations and meetings, some of which later become national and regional holidays celebrated within the larger social domain. Key historical incidents and events in the Black, Chicano, women’s and Gay/Lesbian movements – to name a few, etched in the writings, speeches, and pop cultural products of activists, artists, scholars and educational, religious and political leaders become internalized in the collective memory of the community (Hampton 1985; Scagliotti 1985). The widespread activism through the 1960s and ’70s across the globe challenged ethnic as well as racial and gender hierarchies and lopsided participation in socio-economic activity and distributions of wealth.

Indeed, the Civil Rights legislation that followed also must be credited to host of activists, organizations and public policy.

For Latinos/as in the US specifically, the GI Forum initially mobilized to bury Mexican American soldiers killed during WWII yet denied access to White-only cemeteries (Acuña 1988), while the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) strove to register voters and desegregate public swimming pools through the 1950s among its other social functions including balls and dances. The 1980 U.S. Census inclusion is another landmark event for the Latino/a community in the US. In it we can see the tremendous impact of ethnic marketing public policy and how it is situated at the nexus of social and economic development. This official count of the number of Latinos/as in the US provided credible support for what later would become advertisers' and marketers' 'discovery' of the U.S. Latino/a market (Chávez, this volume), consolidating and legitimizing a common identity and community from a heterogeneous social group totalling over 500 million persons worldwide, roughly ten times greater than the colonizing nation, Spain, with just under 50 million people.

Social movements formed in the 1960s and '70s privileged labour and often denigrated consumption through the 1980s and '90s (Peñaloza 2004). While labour is still important, contemporary movement leaders are realizing the benefits of incorporating consumption dynamics in ways that foster its impact, as consumption is the site of much contemporary ethnic group activity. Indeed, how to channel the energy in ethnic group consumption, such that it translates to cultural awareness, skill building and jobs, is a valuable path to the continued viability of the movement and the larger communities within which they reside.

Izberk-Bilgin (this volume) examines ethnic and religious social movements in people's consumption and connections to brands, with attention to the simultaneous trends towards and away from religion in consumption and markets. Her findings are particularly significant in public policy, given the ever-larger numbers of migrant workers, tourists, expatriates, refugees and students who cross borders and, in the process of doing so, encounter and mobilize against what they perceive to be cultural threats from the 'religiously other'. More specifically, her insights at the intersection of religion, identity and social relations are potentially valuable to policy makers in better understanding how consumption, markets and governments come into play in people's pursuit of personal meaning and spiritual transcendence.

Contemporary social movements play an important role in the lives of ethnic peoples and communities in challenging and reinforcing social, political and economic traditions and institutions, with important public policy implications. The Arab Spring is one of the most dramatic in a long line of movement activity, giving hope to many even as others use its accompanying developments to inculcate fear, with implications affecting ethnic peoples and intergroup relations worldwide. Sadly, the prevalence of guns and violence in media and in popular cultural representations of ethnic groups have normalized these means of addressing cultural differences while contributing to the misguided equation of ethnic groups with terrorism, exacerbating stereotypes and accelerating conflict.

Public policy can help provide solutions. How a movement forms often reflects a crystallization of group identity and interests (Toch 1965), and so movement leaders are challenged to unite the group while addressing particular issues affecting its substrata. For public policy workers, social movement leaders represent access to the ethnic community, and yet addressing their concerns must be undertaken with a concerted eye towards external group differences within the relevant social domain. It is important that public policies reinforce human rights and principles of freedom, and safeguard those rights and freedoms up to the point when they impinge upon the rights and freedom of others. The integrating aspects of policy are of the utmost concern in helping channel movement activity towards appreciation and cohabitation with others and away from divisiveness and destruction.

Acculturation

It is rare today in social discourse, except among the most conservative groups, to see the sole focus on assimilation. Much more common is discussion of the retention of cultural values and traditions and awareness of multicultural, hybrid cultural expressions. Academic scholarship parallels these social developments. Begun as studies of assimilation, latter developments focus on adaptation (Peñaloza 1994), culture swapping (Oswald 1999), identity (Askegaard *et al.* 2005) and social relations (Luedicke 2011). Much more work is needed to better understand how people living in multicultural societies interact and change, and how consumption serves as the terrain for cultural adaption, identity development, community formation and the forging of social relationships. Further work is also called for examining how consumption and market actors find opportunity in all aspects of acculturation, including cultural assimilation, retention, the hybrid display of cultural traditions, and the consolidation, integration and separation of ethnic cultural groups.

Acculturation poses tremendous opportunities and challenges for public policy. On one hand people are increasingly obliged to express a unique and authentic identity in consumption (Campbell 2004), and one of the areas where acculturation is visible and measured is in market and consumption activity. On the other hand, distinction from the cultural mainstream is increasingly commoditized by marketers and expressed by people in consumption (Heath and Potter 2010). Such obligations and expressions converge in the reduction of ethnicity to a personal choice (Roosens 1989) and an economic expedient that can eclipse the complexities of acculturation and slight the support of identity and community in ethnic entrepreneurship (Mehmood, this volume; Light and Gold 2000).

Increasing mobility has become a valid topic for ethnic marketing public policy, as the mobility of ethnic groups colludes with and impinges upon their assimilation, resistance and hybrid negotiations, raising internal challenges of co-existence and cohesion and affecting external, between-group relations. Immigration particularly continues to test public policy, as evident in ongoing and heated debates and even poses that assemble at the U.S.–Mexican border to control immigration, most recently including youth from Latin America unaccompanied by their parents or adult guardians (Navarette Jr. 2014). Balancing constituents' concerns for border security, family unification and labour demands on one hand with concerns for humane treatment, domestic jobs and group fairness is vital in contemporary ethnic marketing public policy.

Segmentation

In the introductory essay to their classic work, *Marketing in a Multicultural World*, Janeen Costa and Gary Bamossey (1995) pondered the growing prevalence and impact of cultural groups in markets as impacted by the dramatic growth of emerging nations, trade blocks, tribal and national conflicts, migratory movements, and remittance payments, together with global corporate diffusion and product, service and capital flows. In various ways a host of scholars in the field of marketing build upon this work in acknowledging two general, simultaneous, and seemingly contradictory trends, homogeneity and heterogeneity, as cultural subjects and groups engage with, and resist marketization. The attention to the lived experiences of consumers and markers in consumer cultural studies (Belk *et al.* 2013; Ekstrom and Brembeck 2004; Joy and Li 2012) and in transformative consumer research (Visconti *et al.* 2014), specifically, provides valuable insights into ethnic marketing public policy.

Lindridge, this volume, situates market segmentation as an artifact of its time, following the ethnic, racial and gender social movements of the 1960s and 1970s mobilizing for recognition

and fair and equal treatment before the law and in public policy. Indeed, market segmentation offers advantages to firms; in mapping micro-segments, they are able to better understand and develop markets. However, because it divides people into groups based on different characteristics and customs, market segmentation works in ways quite distinct and even somewhat opposed to the unifying concerns of public policy. The attention to lived experiences of market activity characterizing consumer cultural studies (Belk *et al.* 2013; Ekström and Brembeck 2004; Joy and Li 2012) and transformative consumer research (Visconti *et al.* 2014) provides valuable insights. Public policy development and implementation can benefit from mapping cultural group differences in sensibilities and traditions and incorporating them in manners of address that accomplish greater social inclusion and representation. Further, by operating at the level of shared values and experiences enabling convergence among distinct ethnic groups, policy makers can facilitate the reconstitution and reaffirmation of the shared, cohabited multi-ethnic social domain, be it neighbourhood, city, or nation.

Targeting

Developing distinct products and services, advertising/promotions, prices and distribution tailored specifically to group differences, including ethnic differences, has been one of the hallmarks of modern marketing. Indeed, as corporate efforts target ethnic/racial groups, their market incorporation can work with or against the interests and internal workings of ethnic/racial subcultures.

Regarding ethnic marketing public policy, one area that consistently receives criticism is the targeting of alcohol and cigarettes to Latino/a and Black minority consumers and their communities (Maxwell and Jacobson 1989; Moore *et al.* 1996). And yet, while less controversial, as problematic is the targeting of high sugar, salt and fat content foods, such as soft drinks, candy and fried foods to Latinos/as and Blacks, given their higher rates of obesity and diabetes. Public policy warnings that feature dialogic forms of address on labels and announcements for moderation in consumption are welcome in all of these areas.

As importantly, public policy can help realign social divisions by incorporating cultural group differences in sensibilities and traditions in service delivery in order to accomplish the goals of more equal economic opportunity and participation. Nationalist cultural identities and ideals housed in an ethnic/racial mainstream can pose a challenge when not welcoming ethnic/racial minorities in specific social domains. Thus, reaffirming the mainstream while explicitly recognizing the value and importance of ethnic/racial minorities is essential in carrying out unifying public policy that serves the national mandates of fair and equal treatment.

A pedagogy of ethnic consumption

In public policy, ethnic/racial differences are but one of many axes of relevant social difference to monitor and address, together with religion, age, gender, education and income. Public policies positioning ethnic groups, and not just individual members, as valuable entities in their own right, worthy of recognition, address and treatment as equal participants in society and in the marketplace, offer much potential to advance citizen discourses and practices rejuvenating national unity and sovereignty.

However, we have a long way to go to get there. Market discourses tend to emphasize the economic gains of a few over those of the many, and thus it is important to sift through their overlaps with, and divergences from, the concerns of public policy. Indeed, the democratic ideals of inclusion, equal representation and opportunity, and fraternity have served as key

ideological constraints on the social hierarchies fostered in capitalist market systems, especially capital over labour and the privilege determined by socio-economic endowment rather than merit, even as people hold market organizations to ever higher standards of social responsibility and environmental sustainability.

The future of nations depends on the vitality of their people and their natural resources. Still, many nations are characterized by uneven economic development and political difference set against the backdrop of post-colonial social relations, the continued struggles for the enfranchisement of indigenous and minority peoples, and the nationalistic demands of the ethnic/racial mainstream (Figueiredo *et al.* forthcoming). In both public policy and research, ethnicity presents valuable opportunities and challenges to advance and document novel forms of market and consumer culture that accomplish multicultural, collective, democratic ideals.

A key obstacle limiting public policy workers' and marketing researchers' ability to comprehend the social implications of ethnic consumption is its bifurcation from labour. And yet public policy workers and marketing academics join educators as border crossers (Giroux 1992) who can help realign their separate treatment in policy and research. With further research and policy development and implementation it is possible to recognize ethnic consumer buying power as a national resource to foster in addition to capital and labour. Indeed, consumption is a powerful socio-economic force that validates and legitimizes ethnic groups, and yet it can be divisive as the means of expressing and structuring status distinctions and cultural difference and in eclipsing labour and production considerations. Adept ethnic marketing public policy that reunites consumption, labour, and capital can help translate market inclusion into social inclusion that will benefit our nations, cities and neighborhoods.

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