

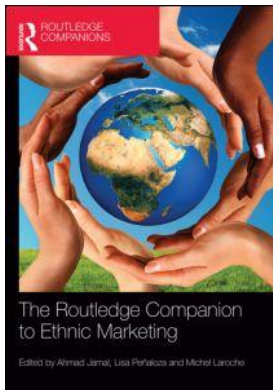
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## The Routledge Companion to Ethnic Marketing

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### Emplaced ethnicity

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**Part III**  
**Identity, space and ethnic  
entrepreneurship**

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# Emplaced ethnicity

## The role of space(s) in ethnic marketing

*Luca M. Visconti*

### Emplacing ethnicity

In his article on the racialization of space and the spatialization of race, George Lipsitz (2007) captures the conceptual, experiential and economic porosity between space and ethnicity. As he writes (2007, p. 12):

The lived experience of race has a spatial dimension, and the lived experience of space has a racial dimension. People of different races in the United States are relegated to different physical locations by housing and lending discrimination, by school district boundaries, by policing practices, by zoning regulations, and by the design of transit systems. The racial demography of the places where people live, work, play, shop, and travel exposes them to a socially shared system of exclusion and inclusion. Race serves as a key variable in determining who has the ability to own homes that appreciate in value and can be passed down to subsequent generations; in deciding which children have access to education by experienced and credentialed teachers in safe buildings with adequate equipment; and in shaping differential exposure to polluted air, water, food, and land.

Ethnicity and space are thus intertwined: space visualizes social representations of ethnicity (Lipsitz 1998; Peñaloza 2000; Peñaloza 2001; Visconti and de Cordova 2012); dwellers' ethnicities contribute to construct and modify the identity of the spaces in which they live, work, shop, consume and establish social and market interactions (Peñaloza and Gilly 1999; Üstüner and Holt 2007). In brief, construction of ethnicity entails at least three types of identities: (1) migrants'/ethnic minorities' identity (the term 'minority' here is used to signify 'disempowered ethnic groups'), (2) mainstream's (ethnic) identity, and (3) space identity, in which minorities' and mainstream's confrontation is emplaced. By space, I mean a large variety of spaces, ranging from the macro (e.g., nationscape, regionscape, cityscape; Paasi 2001) to the meso (e.g., marketplace, neighbourhood; Peñaloza 2004; Peñaloza 2007) to the micro level (e.g., servicescape, workplace, home; Jamal 2003; Üstüner and Thompson 2012; Veresiu *et al.* 2012; Visconti and de Cordova 2012; Visconti and Premazzi 2012). More importantly, in this chapter I classify space through its function in the construction of ethnicity and thus distinguish among physical, cultural, social, ideological, political and commercial space.

Discussion on emplaced ethnicity is overdue (Ping Hung Li and Figueiredo 2012). A recent special issue of *Landscape Journal* (2007) addresses the role of the built environment in the construction of race/ethnicity in the United States. The invited editor Dianne Harris (2007, p. 2) raises some thought-provoking questions:

Why study race and space? What can the built environment tell us about the construction and maintenance of racial identities, or about the production of racism in the United States that we don't already know? . . . Can space really tell us anything new about this topic?

My answer is affirmative. I contend that by investigating the role of space in the construction of ethnicity, two main contributions unfold. First, such investigation advances current consumer and marketing literature on ethnicity – and its making, transformation or maintenance through market exchanges and consumption – as the following paragraph illustrates in further detail. Second, by addressing attention to space, we can better determine how ‘minoritization’, or the way certain ethnic groups are kept at the margins of society and the market, occurs. In doing so, forms of ‘underground’ – that is ‘unspoken’ – racism (Harris 2007) surface and can be more easily tackled.

The chapter comprises three main parts: first, I discuss different notions of space relevant to ethnicity and tie them together; second, from these notions of space, I draw implications for ethnic marketing strategy and practice; third, I question the commercial and social effects that space (im)permeability, or the extent to which different ethnic groups are equally entitled to use a given space, may determine.

### **Ethnicity and space(s)**

Within ethnic marketing studies, ethnicity has been mostly addressed with reference to migration and ethnic minorities. Yet ethnicity does not concern just border-crossing people, nor does it exclude the mainstream (Lipsitz 1998; Peñaloza 2004; Peñaloza 2007). Thus, this chapter questions the role of space in the construction of ethnicity and ethnic identity for both migrant and non-migrant people as well as for ethnic minorities and the mainstream. In doing so, I rely on multidisciplinary contributions, in which research on consumer acculturation, cultural geography and urban studies are prominent.

With reference to the ethnic marketing literature, to date research on ethnicity has addressed the role of space either marginally or one-sidedly. Regany *et al.* (2012) comment on the marginality of space within consumer acculturation research. They contend that space has been mentioned in terms of, among others, ‘boundary’ (Oswald 1999; Peñaloza 1994), ‘border’ (Lindridge *et al.* 2004) and, more often, ‘country of origin/destination’ without being fully problematized. Featherstone *et al.* (2007, p. 383) also insist that research on ethnicity has repeatedly used ‘spatial metaphors’, which are elusive since they address space without really inspecting its mundane effects on ‘everyday human experiences’.

When not treating it marginally, other ethnic marketing researchers have approached space in relation to ethnicity one-sidedly, by focusing on specific types of space. For example, Jamal (2003, p. 1) illustrates the role of the retailing-scape in the visualization of ethnic diversity and in promoting ‘co-existence, tolerance and freedom of lifestyles among consumers of different ethnic backgrounds’. Peñaloza (2004; 2007) documents how the cityscape embeds consumption, labour and capital positions on which Latinos/as and the American mainstream build respective power positions. Similarly, Üstüner and Holt (2007) unveil how spatial segregation in a city leads to forms of dominated acculturation, and Üstüner and Thompson (2012)

demonstrate the empowering role of a servicescape – namely, hair-saloons – in supporting the social promotion of underclass service workers in Turkey. Therefore, former contributions either treat space as a taken-for-granted concept or focus on circumscribed, specific spaces and their impact on ethnicity.

This chapter aims to (1) problematize space in ethnic marketing research and (2) provide a bigger picture, in which different types of space are included and tied together. Elaborating on Proshansky (1978, p. 150), Visconti and de Cordova (2012, p. 128) contend that any physical space is contextually a cultural, social, psychological, political and ideological space. Hereinafter and beyond any attempt of exhaustiveness, I discuss these key types of space and comment on their role in ethnic minorities' and mainstream's (market) confrontation around respective ethnic identities.

### ***Physical and geopolitical space***

Foundational to any discourse on space is physical space. Featherstone *et al.* (2007) suggest not conceptualizing physical space as a 'fixed container' but rather as a 'set of flows and networks' established across various physical spaces, which today may also be expanded to forms of 'cybermarket' (Venkatesh 1998). The authors examine physical space from a macro perspective and elaborate the notion of 'spatialities', defined as 'the diverse ongoing connections and networks that bind different parts of the world together and that are constituted through (and in fact constitute) particular sites and places' (pp. 383–4).

Despite Featherstone *et al.*'s (2007) invitation, political studies, geography and economic works on migration, and the majority of ethnic marketing studies have mostly interpreted physical space restrictively as a synonym of geopolitical space. There, physical space stands in lieu of the nation-state. Yet physical space is much more articulated. Scholars have proved that ethnic minorities and the mainstream use a large array of 'spatial scales' (Paasi 2001; Pierre 2000) to define the space they inhabit. Together with the national level, they use local, regional and supranational articulations of the physical space, which they intertwine so as to create more nuanced and richer ethnic identities. As Harris (2007, p. 2) observes, ethnic minorities and the mainstream interact within 'streets, freeways and the spaces they enclose, urban squares and antebellum public space, university campus landscapes, private estates, public parks, and housing developments'. Thus, a person's ethnic identity is at the same time an expression of the neighbourhood, the city, the region, the nation and the supranational level with which he or she identifies.

Last, sometimes the physical space is loaded with religious meanings, such as when religious groups choose real or metaphorical physical spaces as places to claim ethnic appurtenance and mark identification (e.g., the Promised Land for Jews, the Vatican for Catholics, the Mecca for Muslims; Bowen 2004), beyond nationality and the spaces they currently inhabit. In paraphrasing Appadurai (1990), in these situations the physical space becomes a 'religious-scape'.

### ***Cultural space***

Physical space – either meant restrictively, as the nation, or more extensively, as suggested previously – always subtends a cultural space. By cultural space, I mean the complex of articulated meanings embedded in the physical space, which reflect the ways ethnic minorities and the mainstream think of personal and respective ethnic identity. I contend that the cultural space grants two substantive functions in relation to ethnicity: (1) it helps visualize how each ethnic group conceives of its ethnic identity and that of other ethnic groups and (2) it reflects power positions based on ethnic appurtenance.

First, both anthropologists (e.g. Douglas and Isherwood 1979; McCracken 2005) and consumer researchers (e.g. Ahuvia 2005; Belk 1988; Belk 2013) have long documented how physical objects 'extend' the personal and the collective self. So does the physical space, to express either one's ethnicity or that of others. Typically, a person's home more fully reflects his or her ethnic identity. Research on Latinos (Peñaloza 1994) and Haitians (Oswald 1999) in the United States, Italians in Canada (Joy *et al.* 1995), South Asians in the United Kingdom (Lindridge *et al.* 2004), Greenlanders in Denmark (Askegaard *et al.* 2005) and Egyptians in Italy (Visconti 2008) has extensively documented how people adapt their dwellings to reflect their ethnic identity. Other times, the physical space mirrors the way a group sees another group's ethnic identity and thus incorporates stereotyping and prejudices about 'ethnic otherness' (what Oktem [2005] defines as an 'ethnocracy').

Commercial spaces may be the same, when others' ethnicity is staged to be 'sold' to both members and non-members of a given ethnic group (e.g., ethnic assortments in supermarkets, 'ethnic' restaurants and gift stores). Peñaloza and Gilly (1999) document how American shoppers adapt their stores to fit Mexican American ethnicity in cities or neighbourhoods densely populated by Latinos/as, Jamal (2003) highlights how the retailing-scape reflects the (presumed) market culture of multiple ethnic groups and Peñaloza (2000; 2001) illustrates how rodeo shows can stage the American West culture for both dwellers and tourists. The same happens with the cityscape more broadly. As Park and Burgess (1925/1984) contend, before being physical spaces cities are first and foremost spaces of mental imaginary. With reference to New York, Zukin (2010) unveils how flows of Black and White cultures in Harlem have left traces in the physical space, which make the city a multi-layered ethnic text to read. For more evidence on the ties between urban space and ethnicity, the anthology *Urban Culture*, edited by Chris Jenks (2004), proves insightful.

Second, the cultural dimension of the physical space also accounts for power positions different ethnic groups hold. The physical space then reveals and helps maintain ethnic inequalities and power imbalances. As Harris (2007, p. 3) states:

For whom are most sites designed? Who is the presumed public that designers imagine? Where are designed landscapes situated and who has access to them? How are messages about access, belonging, and exclusion manifested in built form? How is the funding for public projects apportioned?

Similarly, other researchers have observed that, too often, the physical space inhabited complies with White privileges (Burton 2009; Lipsitz 1998). As Harris (2007, p. 4) remarks:

White privilege literally hides in plain sight (invisible especially to those who enjoy the privileges), a situation that is exacerbated by the fact that landscapes are particularly well-suited to masking such constructions because they appear to be completely natural, God-given, and neutral.

Hise (2007) also demonstrates that the language urban planning adopts often reproduces situations of ethnic and social inequality and segregation. For example, he describes how embellished expressions, such as 'urban renewal', may actually dissimulate phenomena of marginalization and gentrification that often harm ethnic minorities. In conclusion, the cultural space directs attention to the use of the physical space to communicate ethnic groups' identity as well as to confirm or challenge established positions of ethnic privilege.

### **Social space**

Physical space – in all its declinations (private, public and commercial) – provides ground for social encounters; it provides a social space. Notably, by temporarily or steadily sharing a physical space, different ethnic groups can engage in social interactions, compare respective ethnic identities and reinforce/modify ethnic stereotypes that others impose on them. Social interactions also help confront different ‘spatial imaginaries’ (Lipsitz 2007) – that is, different interpretations of the space these groups share in terms of how space can be appropriated, allocated and used. Therefore, social exchanges use physical space as a theatre in which to represent different ethnic identities as well as an object of dispute per se (i.e., who owns/can use this space). As Kostof (1992) notes, public space reflects purposes and ideas about the rituals and interactions it hosts.

When addressing the social space, two cautions are due. First, even when one ethnic group dominates the others, social exchanges remain bi-directional (Berry 1980; Padilla 1980). Thus, if ethnic minorities acculturate to the mainstream’s cultural norms and social practices (Featherstone *et al.* 2007; Paasi 2001), the dominating ethnic group may also change through enduring interactions with the dominated ethnic groups. To date, ethnic marketing research has vastly accounted for ethnic minorities’ (market) acculturation but has remained elusive on interethnic crossover effects (Grier *et al.* 2006), despite economic and cultural relevance of the phenomenon. Second, sometimes ethnic groups maintain relevant social exchanges with countries other than their country of residency. For example, Morosanu (2013) documents young Romanians’ trying experiences in London due to stable socialization between their ‘here’ and ‘there’. Research on ‘transmigrants’, or migrants steadily moving back and forth between their country of origin and destination (Üçok Hughes and Kjeldgaard 2006; Voigt-Graf 2004), and ‘diasporic families’ (Appadurai 1996) further illuminates the point. As a result, conceptualization of the social space must reflect the comprehensiveness of the relevant social exchanges in which different ethnic groups are engaged. This may transcend the boundaries of the nation in which these groups live.

With specific reference to migration in/outflows, both aspects/cautions can be visualized through the transformation of migrants’ cities of origin and destination due to the maintenance of social relations with the hosting population as well as their community of origin. On the one hand, migrants transform the cities they inhabit (Zukin 2010) as they act as ‘urban scale-makers’ (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009, p. 177). On the other hand, they transform the cities they leave behind (Çağlar 2007). Depopulation and urban depletion go hand in hand with migrants’ remittances, which sustain urban refurbishment and development (Üçok Hughes and Kjeldgaard 2006).

Ethnic marketing research shows that the social space may prove either beneficial to or detrimental for the construction of a sound, dynamic ethnic identity. On the positive side, the social space can reinforce ethnic identities (Peñaloza and Gilly 1999, p. 84), sustain ethnic groups’ self-esteem and collective identity (Morosanu 2013), and increase opportunities to access the market (Visconti 2008). Prior research also documents the active processes of aesthetic adaptation that migrants/ethnic minorities frequently perform to beautify their neighbourhoods and reconnect with their homeland (Hadjiyanni 2009). Plastic manipulation of the residential space is a means to ritually appropriate the space (McCracken 1986). It is also a means to transmit culture down to the new generations (i.e. a form of ‘performative memory’; Connerton 1989), a way to reproduce distinction (Bourdieu 1984) from other ethnic groups and a form of affiliation with one’s ethnic community (Hadjiyanni 2009).

On the negative side, the social space may foster maintenance of ethnic stereotypes, over-emphasize the relevance of ethnic identity in people’s lives and, ultimately, favour ethnic



segregation. For example, in their critical enquiry on multiculturalism in major Canadian cities, Goonewardena and Kipfer (2005) explain that social exchanges in Canada can reproduce discourses on whiteness/non-whiteness. As they observe, the apparently innocent question ‘Where are you from?’ when meeting a foreigner underlies the persistence of ethno-racial interpretive schema used to locate the ‘other’, ethnically and socially. The space in which migrants inhabit also is typically the initial factor of environmental stress (Yan-chi Kwok and Ku 2008), since space design affects the mental, emotional and physical health among displaced people (Hadjiyanni 2009).

### ***Ideological and political space***

As noted, physical space conveys cultural interpretations of ethnicity and hosts social exchanges among different ethnic groups, which in turn construct ethnic identities as well as reflect power positions depending on ethnicity. The ideological dimension of space captures the transformative intentions that stand behind such meanings and social dynamics. As Sherry (1998, p. 6) writes, the physical space can include intentions, attitudes and purposes; thus, it has a normative content (Bowen 2004). When ideologies are used to derive implications for action (e.g., for behaviour, policy, marketing practice), the ideological space becomes a political space (Peñaloza 1995). Among others, sociologist Saskia Sassen (2006) identifies the role of global cities in improving migrants’/ethnic minorities’ visibility and purposeful participation in social life. With reference to commerce, Maclaran and Brown (2005) comment on the Utopian marketplace and Kozinets (2002) provides evidence on emplaced ideologies of market resistance.

I contend that the physical space reflects ideologies of how different ethnic groups are entitled to be part of a nation, use the welfare system, contribute to the cultural life and access and play in the market. This can be true for ideologies that either empower or repress ethnic minorities. Taking an urban Marxist and antiracist feminist position, Goonewardena and Kipfer (2005, p. 671) also show that ‘multiculturalism [is] an urban policy’. More often, physical space (re)produces ideologies of ethnic domination and/or segregation – that is, a whiteness discourse. I select here Oktem’s (2005) study of Mardin, a multi-ethnic and multi-religious city located in southeast Turkey, to illustrate the point. The author performs a deep analysis of the ideological and political role of space and geography in the construction, hierarchical ordering and confrontation of ethnic groups. He comments on the use of the city in order to modify and negotiate power positions across different ethnic groups, and forges the notion of ‘ethnocracy’ as encapsulating the political and ideological tensions ethnicity fosters. According to him (2005, p. 243), ethnocracy appears any time ethnicity, instead of citizenship, ‘determines the allocations of rights and privileges, despite several democratic features . . . A dominant “charter” ethnic group appropriates the state apparatus, determines most public policies, and segregates itself from other groups.’

Oktem (2005) describes how the political use of space (physical, cultural and social) in order to create an ‘ethno-nation’ – that is, a nation where one ethnic group rules over other ethnic minorities – is reflected into the social construction of ‘ethno-classes’ – that is, the establishment of social privileges, distinction (Bourdieu 1984) and separation due to ethnic difference. In doing so, he ties the political and the social spheres together and reveals the use of space as a means to upgrade/downgrade ethnically different groups beyond territorial citizenship, income and/or personal merits.

The strategic use of the physical space to emplace, communicate and reinvigorate ethnic ideologies is almost universal. First, this strategy characterizes several cities around the globe (Jenks 2004; Schein 2007). Second, both empowering and repressive ethnic ideologies tend to use space to accomplish their ideological aims. Third, all ethnic groups tend to use space to prevail

over others. In the case of Mardin, Oktem (2005) unveils strategically similar but politically rival attempts that public administrations, private media and human rights organizations pursue in the reconfiguration of space and ethnicity in that city. Thus, the ideological use of space occurs regardless of geography, ideological purposes and ethnic appurtenance.

## Implications for ethnic marketing: the commercial space

The former discussion on space(s) and ethnicity is not only conceptually engaging but also managerially relevant. It grounds implications about using space to improve companies' ethnic marketing competitiveness as well as ethnic groups' empowerment, self-esteem and self-efficacy. Indeed, consumers' ethnic identity stimulates a broad range of needs (utilitarian, emotional, ideological and symbolic) that commercial space design helps satisfy.

Table 5.1 summarizes ethnic marketing implications meant to be illustrative more than exhaustive. First, by critically considering the definition of physical space, marketing managers can improve the quality of their ethnic marketing decisions on an international scale. To date, international market segmentation predominantly relies on national/supranational criteria that

Table 5.1 Types of space and their implications for marketing

<i>Types of space</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Marketing implications</i>
Physical and geopolitical space	The physical environment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Macro level: nationscape, regionscape, cityscape</li> <li>– Meso level: marketplace, neighbourhood</li> <li>– Micro level: servicescape, workplace, home</li> </ul>	For cross-cultural and international marketing decisions, remember that: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Notion of nation is dynamic</li> <li>– Notion of nation is constructed</li> <li>– Geopolitical spaces are interconnected</li> <li>– Physical spaces beyond the nation matter</li> </ul>
Cultural space	The meanings embedded in the physical space, which visualize: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– How ethnic groups conceive of their/others' ethnic identity</li> <li>– Power positions based on ethnic appurtenance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Use of artifacts to visualize customers' ethnic identity</li> <li>– Check for how space design reflects ethnic stereotypes</li> <li>– Check for how space design supports ethnic folklore</li> <li>– Use of space design to control/empower ethnic groups</li> </ul>
Social space	Social interactions allowed by shared space, which reflect: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Different ideas on the use of physical space</li> <li>– Social segregation and rivalry about space consumption</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Use of space design to cope with ethnic groups' entitlement on space use</li> <li>– Targeting decisions</li> <li>– Exploitation of consumption crossover</li> </ul>
Ideological and political space	The transformative intentions that are pursued through space: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Space design</li> <li>– Space attribution</li> <li>– Space use</li> </ul>	Attention for the implicit/explicit ideological intentions in marketing decisions such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Geomarketing decisions</li> <li>– Store layout decisions</li> <li>– Category management decisions</li> </ul>

reflect a geopolitical acceptance of space. As the former discussion indicates, nation borders have become porous. The geopolitical spaces consumers use to define themselves can be interconnected and change at consumers' pace, regardless of geopolitical transformations (Featherstone *et al.* 2007). In addition, together with globalization, an increasing nostalgia for the local space (Emontspool and Kjeldgaard 2012) and the fragmentation of the global (Geertz 1983) have spread. As such, ethnic marketing decisions, including criteria to segment international markets, should reflect consumers' subjective interpretation of physical spaces that are deemed relevant to reflect their ethnic identity instead of using marketing managers' a priori geopolitical criteria (i.e., consumers' nationality/supranationality).

Second, when a company serves multi-ethnic markets, knowing that physical space is also a cultural space proves essential to take sound ethnic marketing decisions. In particular, this understanding should dictate how a company designs its commercial spaces (e.g. space for the service encounter, stores, experiential settings, corporate offices). Not only are commercial spaces places to exchange and shop, but they are also spaces in which established ideas of ethnic domination/subordination/empowerment can be conveyed through space design (Peñaloza and Gilly 1999; Visconti and Premazzi 2012). For example, Visconti and Üçok Hughes (2011) document banks (e.g. Banco de la Gente in the United States, Agenzia Tu in Italy, HSBC worldwide) that have used servicescape design to challenge shared ideas about migrants'/ethnic minorities' market irrelevance, dangerousness and subordination. Instead, their branches built environments that reflect positive images of migrants/ethnic minorities as diverse but integrated, successful and empowered citizens.

Third, space supports social exchanges (Tombs and McColl-Kennedy 2003), which may improve/diminish quality of interethnic confrontations and personal/collective ethnic self-esteem (Morosanu 2013). When targeting different ethnic groups, companies can decide either to serve their customers in separate spaces according to consumer ethnicity (e.g. 'ethnic stores' versus 'mainstream stores') or to welcome them within the same commercial space. In doing so, they can (de)emphasize ethnic difference and increase/limit ethnic segregation, respectively. They can also stimulate/limit social interactions across different ethnic groups within the commercial space. In addition, companies can decide the extent to which their personnel should mirror the ethnic diversity of their target markets.

Among other companies, IKEA has often employed a sales force as ethnically diverse as possible (Visconti 2007) to facilitate customers' identification and sentiment of inclusion during shopping. Social space also invites consideration of commercial opportunities stemming from consumption crossover (Grier *et al.* 2006), which to date have been scantily explored. Marketing managers usually follow common understanding that cultural adaptation occurs only on the side of ethnic minorities that get accustomed to the mainstream's market culture. Yet the mainstream also adapts to ethnic minorities' market cultures (e.g., 'ethnic' food, 'ethnic' design and 'ethnic' music) and modifies its consumption accordingly. Ethnic marketing managers able to escape such a biased, closed-minded interpretation of interethnic market acculturation will profit from consumption crossover opportunities.

Fourth, intentionally or subconsciously, commercial space can embed ideological discourses (Borghini *et al.* 2009; Maclaran and Brown 2005), including ethnic ideologies. Geomarketing decisions, about localization of a company's stores, respond to commercial as well as ideological criteria. Which types of customers does a company deem worthy? Ethnic minorities often live in separated city neighbourhoods, where high-quality commercial offerings may be scant. In the United States, 'food deserts' – areas in which the population has limited access to supermarkets or large grocery stores (Dutko *et al.* 2012) – arouse increasing preoccupation and often concern ethnic minorities. Category management decisions also reflect ideological motives. Think of

supermarkets' organization of the 'ethnic' offering. Should 'ethnic' products be part of the respective product categories (e.g., pasta, sauces, drinks), or should they be included in a specific 'ethnic food' category (e.g., Mexican food assortment, Italian food)? The more a supermarket keeps ethnic minorities' 'typical' products separate from the main assortment, the more it helps 'folklorize' these groups by stressing their supposed diversity and market extraneousness.

In the following paragraphs, I contextualize ethnic marketing implications at two important levels: (1) the marketplace, in which economic exchanges occur within a space a plethora of economic agents has determined, and (2) the servicescape, in which consumers interact with the physical space a single company has designed.

### ***The marketplace***

Defining the marketplace is all but straightforward. This term may abstractedly stand as a synonym of the market or allude to the emplacement of the market and therefore refer to the physical space in which commercial exchanges occur. It can be a space for commerce but also a space for ideologies (Arnould and Thompson 2005, p. 871) and representations of the individual/collective self (Giesler 2008). It can be used as a metaphor for the Western capitalist market ideology or include any form of economic ideology (for non-Western market systems, see Part I in Peñaloza *et al.* 2011). Here, the marketplace indicates the physical space buyers, retailers and producers of different ethnicities, and across geographies, shared for their economic exchanges.

The marketplace serves a variety of purposes. First, it is a space for commerce. Migrants/ethnic minorities may act as shoppers as well as producers/retailers. When playing a consumer role, they navigate the marketplace looking for convenience, utility, entertainment, or involvement with products and brands, as any consumer does (Costa and Bamossy 1995). They also 'shop for identity' (Halter 2000) and try to improve their social and economic ethnic legitimation. Ethnic marketing research extensively illustrates the use of consumer goods in order to fulfil migrants'/ethnic minorities' identity projects, ranging from complete acculturation/assimilation to the local culture, to forms of rejection of the mainstream culture, to intermediate positions of cultural swapping (e.g. Askegaard *et al.* 2005; Oswald 1999; Visconti 2008). Thus, availability of ethnic products on the market fosters migrants'/ethnic minorities' economic legitimation – by being treated as an economically appealing segment (Visconti and Üçok Hughes 2011) – and attenuates their social invisibility (Jamal, 2003).

Second, when playing a producer/retailer role, migrants/ethnic minorities primarily look for business opportunities as any other entrepreneur. When native sellers do not serve the ethnic market, ethnic minorities may step in to offer products not available otherwise (Chaudhry and Crick 2005). This has been the case for halal or kosher butchery shops, internet and phone centres, ethnic grocery stores, ethnic media and more. In doing so, 'ethnic' companies/retailers act as 'cultural change agents' (Peñaloza and Gilly 1999, p. 101), which support ethnic minorities' market and social power, boost the local economy and even revitalize neglected areas of the cities they inhabit (Eroglu 2002).

### ***The servicescape***

If the marketplace notion is controversial, the definition of servicescape is relatively consensual and grounded on the foundational contribution of Canadian geographer Edward Relph (1976). Bitner (1992) is the first marketing scholar to define the servicescape as the built environment in which the service provision takes place. Her work directs attention to the 'language of the

objects' (Bitner 1992, p. 62), which comprise: (1) ambient conditions, (2) spatial layout and (3) material artifacts. Taking an anthropological perspective, consumer researcher John Sherry (1998) expands the definition further by including: (4) the social interactions allowed by the space consumers and sellers share and (5) the emotional involvement (i.e. 'place attachment') that people can develop when spaces become special to them.

Notably, if all companies and consumers confront a similar marketplace, each company can design its own servicescape to develop relationships with specific consumers – including specific ethnic groups – and convey a distinctive ideology of what a servicescape is meant for. In doing so, the servicescape a company conceives can reflect, alter and even overturn ideologies and meanings the broader marketplace conveys. For example, by evoking a rural world, a historical heritage and an anticonsumerist ideology, Camper shoes stores create a disjuncture with the surrounding marketplace ideology (Dalli and Romani 2011). L'Occitane en Provence stores similarly cocoon shoppers within a commercial space that rejects the industrial society and reconnects with a lost (and hyper-real) preindustrial world (Visconti 2010). As Chin (1998, p. 612) observes:

Shoppers are not anonymous, historyless individuals when they walk in the door, and stores are not monolithic spaces that affect all who enter in uniform and predictable ways. . . . In the confrontation between historically situated people and socially constructed spaces, people are repeatedly reconstructed as particular people in that place.

Ethnic marketing research has begun documenting the role of the servicescape in relation to ethnicity. In their ethnographic enquiry of the American Girl flagship store in Chicago, Borghini *et al.* (2009) discuss the company's choice of displaying historical doll models that comprise native 'American' women, which contests common understanding of American history as purely post-colonial. With reference to Turkish hair saloons, Üstüner and Thompson (2012) comment on hairdressers' progressive acquisition of cultural and aesthetic skills through ongoing interactions with customers from the upper classes. Thus, hair saloons facilitate realignment of social and ethnic disparities. Similarly, Veresiu and Giesler (2012, p. 126) report how Roma entrepreneurs in Toronto, Berlin and Pisa use the servicescape 'to leverage their ethnicity and expand their economic and social possibilities'. Visconti and de Cordova (2012) show how the design of health care servicescapes in Milan helps maintain situations of ethnic marginality, foster ethnic stereotyping or, conversely, stimulate migrants'/ethnic minorities' empowerment and self-esteem.

Each servicescape can thus work as a spatially situated 'factory of ethnicity'. Within a servicescape, different ethnic groups – in their multiple roles of producers, sellers and shoppers – can compare dominating meanings and ideologies about respective ethnic identities present in the general marketplace with the more specifically situated meanings and ideologies embedded in a given servicescape. Beginning in the eighties, Benetton stores and their multicultural ideology – recapped in the slogan 'United Colors of Benetton' – have served as spaces for commerce as well as spaces in which ethnic minorities could feel protected, recognized and empowered. Wal-Mart has invested massively to conquer the U.S. multi-ethnic market through, among others, in-store communication that reflects a multicultural credo. Starbucks has systematically designed its stores to reflect the local community in which each store is located.

### Space (im)permeability

So far, I have identified four main types of space relevant to ethnic marketing. Then, by manipulating the physical, cultural, social and ideological aspects of commercial space, I have

derived implications for ethnic marketing that deepen understanding of how commercial space design can affect the preferences and lives of a company's multi-ethnic customers. In this section, I examine the extent to which these spaces are appropriable by – and thus permeable to – different ethnic groups and comment on the effects of space impermeability. When targeting different ethnic groups, one of the key decisions marketing managers must consider is how much emphasis to put on the (presumed) ethnic diversity of their customers. This decision affects the rate of offer differentiation, the level of adaptation in communications directed to different ethnic markets and the extent to which a commercial space should include one or more ethnic groups. Thus, anticipating the positive/negative effects that may result from commercial space (im)permeability is essential to such ethnic marketing decisions.

I illustrate two forms of space impermeability: (1) space segregation and (2) lack of space accommodation. First, space segregation unfolds when given ethnic groups have limited access to a space. At an urban level, residential segregation implies the physical encapsulation of ethnic minorities within degraded neighbourhoods (for an updated overview, see Leal 2012). At a market level, the impermeability of a company's commercial space may result from: (1) the establishment of physical barriers (e.g., due to its positioning, bank Agenzia Tu in Italy is precluded to Italian customers); (2) the use of cultural and/or linguistic barriers that limit *de facto* the access to a commercial space for given ethnic groups (Visconti and de Cordova 2012); and (3) the creation of social and ideological barriers, when certain ethnic groups do not feel at ease or secured in a commercial space due to the store's brand ideology and/or the people shopping there (e.g., in 2013, Oprah Winfrey was denied the right to buy a luxury bag in a Swiss shop for the simple fact of being 'Black').

Second, an ethnic group can access a space but not be allowed to accommodate this space so as to express its ethnic identity. This is particularly true at an urban level, when ethnic minorities cannot adapt the inhabited space because of multiple factors 'including: spatiality, religious beliefs, regulations, income limitations, construction norms and availability of objects to purchase' (Hadjiyanni 2009, p. 541). By (not) providing desired goods necessary for homemaking, companies also affect the extent to which ethnic groups can accommodate space.

Effects of space impermeability can be both positive and negative. On the positive side, (commercial) spaces impermeable to other ethnic groups help preserve the historical and cultural heritage of the people entitled to those spaces (Oktem 2005). Notably, this can occur with both ethnic minorities and the mainstream, and even among ethnic minorities in countries characterized by high ethnic fragmentation (Noussia and Lyons 2009). For example, in a study on middle class Blacks in the United States, Lacy (2004) shows that many Black informants, living or working in White districts, preferred to maintain space segmentation in order to 'share in' (Belk 2010) their life with other middle class Blacks. Space impermeability can also foster commerce. Among others, the 'Chinatown' model represents one of the most recurrent and successful examples of space impermeability, from which Chinese entrepreneurs benefit through the preservation of ethnic homogeneity within their commercial space (Hatziprokopiou and Montagna 2012). On the negative side, (commercial) space impermeability boosts forms of 'privileged geography', 'environmental racism' (Lipsitz 2007) and 'White' domination (Lipsitz 1998) and thus puts at risk social mobility, intercultural exchanges and market citizenship.

To conclude, the profound cultural, religious, ideological, and political entailments of ethnicity – which space helps visualize and (de)emphasize – make ethnic marketing a particularly delicate field. As described, a differentiated marketing approach, which also implies granting secured and customized commercial spaces, can have positive returns for both consumers and the company (e.g., higher customization, market legitimation, maintenance of ethnic heritage) and negative effects (e.g., market ghettoization, over-'ethnicization').

To optimize marketing returns, a company should: (1) assess the extent to which a given ethnic group is willing to emphasize its diversity, (2) understand the extent to which the company's/brand's identity is consistent with the market endorsement of this ethnic group, (3) be aware that decisions about space design may reflect ideological and political meanings and (4) consider the indirect effect of this decision on other ethnic groups the company might be already targeting. A company should also consider forms of participatory space planning, thus involving its target customers in its decisions, as suggested by recent studies in urbanism (Yan-chi Kwok and Ku 2008), health management (Ozanne and Anderson 2010) and sociology (Lipsitz 2007). Only by attending to the role of commercial space can companies not only improve their competitiveness when targeting different ethnic groups but also limit the risk of using commercial space harmfully. As Harris (2007, p. 2) notes, 'The primary terms of racism – segregation, seclusion, marginalization, incarceration, hierarchy – are all spatial phenomena or have a spatial corollary'. Space is all but neutral when ethnicity is taken into consideration, within and beyond ethnic marketing decisions.

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