

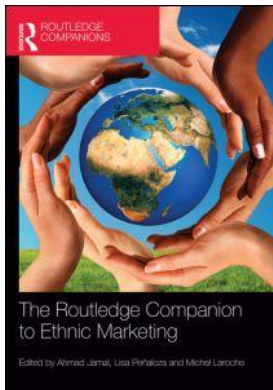
This article was downloaded by: 10.2.97.136

On: 31 Mar 2023

Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *Routledge*

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



The Routledge Companion to Ethnic Marketing

Ahmad Jamal, Lisa Peñaloza, Michel Laroche

Rethinking religion and ethnicity at the nexus of globalization and consumer culture

Publication details

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203080092.ch9>

Elif Izberk-Bilgin

Published online on: 24 Jun 2015

How to cite :- Elif Izberk-Bilgin. 24 Jun 2015, *Rethinking religion and ethnicity at the nexus of globalization and consumer culture from: The Routledge Companion to Ethnic Marketing* Routledge
Accessed on: 31 Mar 2023

<https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203080092.ch9>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT

Full terms and conditions of use: <https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms>

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Part IV

Globalization, religion and materialism

This page intentionally left blank

Rethinking religion and ethnicity at the nexus of globalization and consumer culture

Elif Izberk-Bilgin

Introduction

Religion and ethnicity are two critical topics shaping the agendas of world leaders, public policy makers and academics. Increasing ethnic and religious diversity brought about by transnational migration poses many challenges to most nation states. For example, the US alone has taken in 22 million immigrants since the 1980s (Rytina 2009), not only pressing policy makers to urgently address issues such as housing, employment and education for the newcomers, but also rendering timid encounters with the 'ethnic/religious-other' unavoidable in everyday life. More importantly, religiously and ethnically charged activism appear to be a leading source of conflict throughout the world; the recent street riots in the French banlieues and the ongoing Arab–Jew, Hindu–Muslim conflicts are only a few examples of such social conflict.

Religion and ethnicity are also intriguing topics from a scholarly view. First of all, both concepts are prominent markers of identity; our religious and ethnic background shapes our attitudes, values and lifestyles, while also informing our political views and consumption choices. Second, religion and ethnicity are complexly intertwined in the way they influence our everyday practices and social relations. Religious practices play a fundamental role in constructing a distinct ethnic identity and forming social alliances (e.g., Jews, Amish, Mormons), while ethnicity is manifested in great variations in religious practices (e.g., Muslim Shias and Sunnis). Despite the close association between the two topics, religion and ethnicity have been largely studied separately in social sciences. Perhaps due to this silo effect, modernist scholars declared the demise of religion and ethnicity decades ago (Berger 1967; Park 1950).

Yet, in a rapidly globalizing world, religion and ethnicity have become more relevant than ever. For example, the need for ethnic and religious anchors grows with increased border crossings as more migrants grapple with the anxieties related to the diaspora experience. Moreover, as the global popularity of the 'om' amulets and the 'ethno/gypsy-bohemian' look suggest, religious and ethnic identifiers have also become important tools for the non-religious and non-immigrant consumers who want to pursue an authentic identity in an increasingly sterile consumer culture. As marketers readily accommodate the demand for authenticity, ethnicity and religion become a choice that is exercised through consumption; one that can be worn like a garment and swapped as needed (Bouchet 1995; Oswald 1999). Lastly, religious and ethnic discourses have become effective ideological tools to negate the discontent with poverty and asymmetrical economic

growth brought about by globalization (Bandarage 2004). In short, globalization has created tremendous social, cultural and economic change that directly influences the role of religion and ethnicity in the contemporary era. As such, we need to reconsider our existing assumptions on these topics, with particular emphasis on how religion and ethnicity interact in complex ways to materialize in everyday life through consumption.

With this goal in mind, this chapter explores several questions at the intersection of religion, ethnicity, market, culture and politics. Drawing from the theory of prominent globalization scholar, Sassen, the following pages examine how the transnational mobility of people and capital has been informing the way religion and ethnicity interact in myriad ways within contemporary society to offer implications for the study of religion and ethnicity in consumer research. The remainder of this chapter is organized in four sections. The first section reviews the existing literature on religion and ethnicity in marketing. While this review provides a representative portrayal of extant literature, it is not exhaustive of the entire body of knowledge on these concepts in marketing. The second section briefly discusses the shortcomings of the past studies and offers an alternative theoretical lens, through which consumer researchers may study the role of religion and ethnicity in everyday life. The third section offers research implications with respect to the intriguing relationships among the rise of ethno-religious ideologies, consumer activism, the emergence of faith-based markets and the spread of capitalist ideals to the developing world. The last section offers some concluding thoughts.

Religion and ethnicity in marketing literature

Early examinations of religion in marketing focused on examining the relationship between religious affiliation and aspects of consumer behaviour such as price sensitivity and perceived risk (Delener 1990; Delener 1994; Delener and Schiffman 1988; Hirschman 1981; Hirschman 1982; Hirschman 1983), retail store evaluative criteria (McDaniel and Burnett 1990), shopping behaviour (Bailey and Sood 1993; Essoo and Dibb 2004; Sood and Nasu 1995) and lifestyle measures (Wilkes *et al.* 1986). Religiosity has also been studied in the contexts of materialism (Burrough and Rindfleisch 2002; Cleveland and Chang 2009; La Barbera and Gürhan 1997), ethical decision making (Swimberghe *et al.* 2011), as well as brand loyalty (Rindfleisch *et al.* 2005; Rindfleisch *et al.* 2010) and brand reliance (Shachar *et al.* 2011). Collectively, these quantitative studies found a significant effect of religious orientation and strength of religious affiliation on several aspects of consumer behaviour, confirming that examining religiosity is integral to marketing practice and theory.

Interpretive scholars, on the other hand, have explored how consumption can facilitate transcendent experiences. Belk *et al.*'s (1989) seminal work, which offers a comprehensive analysis of the processes through which the ordinary can be deemed sacred, has suggested that mundane objects like brands can become vehicles of transcendent experience. Building on this, a series of studies have demonstrated how iconic and lifestyle brands such as Harley Davidson, Apple, Jeep and Saab have become a sacred totem in the eyes of loyal consumers (Belk and Tumbat 2005; Kozinets 2001; Muniz and Schau 2005; Schouten and McAlexander 1995). Another group of consumer studies have examined the implications of 'secularization of religion'. As Belk *et al.* (1989) note, examples of secularization include the discontinuance of Latin in Catholic mass, decline in religious traditions such as prayer at meal and bed time, and the increasing use of TV and radio for communication of religious messages. More current examples include the growing emphasis on entertainment in religious service, particularly in mega churches (Robertson 2002) and the emergence of 'pick-and-mix' religion (Hamilton 2000) or new age spirituality. In consumer research, the commercialization, cross-cultural adoption

and changing consumer interpretations of religious holy days (e.g., Ramadan, Christmas and Passover) are examined in various studies (Belk 1987; Belk 2001; Belk 2013; Deshen 1997; Hirschman and LaBarbera 1989; Hirschman *et al.* 2011; Kimura and Belk 2005; Sandıkçı and Ömeraki 2007; Touzani and Hirschman 2008; Touzani *et al.* 2009; Sherry and McGrath 1989). Aside from religious celebrations, increasing secularization of the sacred can also be noted in the fashionable meanings consumers and marketers assign to religious symbols such as the Islamic veil and the Catholic rosary (Rinallo *et al.* 2012; Sandıkçı and Ger 2010).

A close reading of the marketing literature on religion shows that religion and modernity (and by implication consumption) have been treated as two opposing forces. This might be attributed to the influence of secularization theory (Berger 1967; Weber 1922/1978), which argued that modernization, with its emphasis on science and rationality, will bring about the demise of religion. The reflections of this theoretical perspective, which poses modernity as a rival to religion can be observed in the two main themes that emerged in consumer research: the secularization of the sacred and the sacralization of the profane. Consumer researchers have, on the one hand, demonstrated how modern ideas infiltrate the realm of the sacred, for example, in the increasing commercialization and secularization of religious traditions (Belk 1987; Belk 2001; Kimura and Belk 2005) and, on the other, have offered examples of how religious discourses and the human need for the sacred permeate the modern life (Izberk-Bilgin 2012a; Muniz and Schau 2005). Yet, a more comprehensive understanding of the complex ways in which religion operates in contemporary consumer culture, which is significantly shaped by globalization, requires us to move beyond the modernity–religion duality and the theoretical limitations it poses.

Modernization has also influenced the theoretical foundations of ethnicity research. Early ethnicity research and migration studies, particularly those of Park (1950) and Warner and Srole (1945) are guided by the assumption that modernization, more specifically urbanization, democracy and increasing equality among different social groups, would eventually erode ethnic identity markers and social conflicts, yielding to cultural assimilation to the dominant culture. These studies had a lasting effect on the early development of the consumer acculturation research in marketing. Building on the assumptions of assimilation theories, as Luedicke (2011) notes, early consumer acculturation research has been preoccupied with measuring the level of immigrant consumers' assimilation to a new cultural context. The second wave of acculturation studies notably depart from previous literature by demonstrating that immigration does not necessarily lead to assimilation (Peñaloza 1994); migrants draw from home, host and Global Consumer Cultures (GCC) as they negotiate a migrant identity (Askegaard *et al.* 2005); these identities are not fixed, but rather migrants can wear their ethnicity as a garment and can swap it as needed, moving between different identity positions (Oswald 1999); and lastly, that the process of constructing an ethnic identity is not always voluntary and, in the absence of sufficient social and economic capital, migrants cannot realize the social mobility they desire (Üstüner and Holt 2007).

While these later works were groundbreaking and stood apart from the first wave of consumer acculturation studies in terms of their phenomenological scope and methodology, they were still deeply influenced by modernist thinking and thus suffer from what Glick Schiller, Çağlar and Gulbrandsen (2006, p. 613) call 'methodological nationalism'. Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002) argue that the nation–state building processes of the eighteenth century and the subsequent immigration and integration policies developed at the time have fundamentally influenced the academic discourse on immigration such that we have come to believe that 'nation state' is the only natural social and political organization. As such, Glick Schiller *et al.* (2006, p. 613) critically observe that: 'Through an extension of the logic of methodological nationalism, migrants were, by definition, culturally and socially different because they originated in other

national territories; natives, by this same logic, became a homogeneous whole'. This confining analytical lens is reflected in many disciplines, including the consumer acculturation research in marketing, most notably in the form of dualistic home–host country notation. To move beyond this duality, Glick Schiller *et al.* (2006) recommend focusing on the processes of building and maintaining social networks and the social fields created by these networks, instead of ethnic identity or culture, which are bound to entail reductionist and dualistic perspectives. The authors argue that studying social networks and related social fields opens up possibilities to realize how these networks might transcend local/national and ethnic boundaries and thus, better account for how globalization – through new technologies, media and institutions – inform the immigrant experience. Economic, political, religious and class interests – be it at the local or global level – can cut across ethnic, racial and national ties to mobilize individuals around shared goals. Dávila (2012) shows, for example, how Hispanic advertisers in the US assembled Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Caribbean and Central American identities under the Hispanic pan-ethnic identity to convince corporate clients that Latinos make a substantive consumer group. Likewise, regardless of ethnic-racial differences and religious inclinations, increasing numbers of African Americans and Latinos are associating with the Evangelical church in pursuit of social mobility (Dias 2013). These examples remind us to leave behind our modernist conceptualization of ethnicity as confined to a particular locality and consider its dynamic nature as constructed through social interactions and global movements.

Moving beyond existing debates

The above literature review shows that marketing discipline has gained considerable theoretical ground over the years in the study of religion and ethnicity. Yet, the review also suggests that these two very important topics, which play a foundational role in consumer identity formation, have been studied separately to a great extent. Further, investigations of both religion and ethnicity have been marked by a modernist perspective; consumer research on religion is confined to accounts of sacralization of the secular or the secularization of the sacred, while modernist and nationalist thinking prevalent in ethnicity research has produced methodological and conceptual confines that overlook how ethnic identities, communities and social fields are formed transnationally through consumption. Developing a more comprehensive and dynamic understanding of religion and ethnicity in relation to consumption in today's world requires us to move beyond these theoretical and methodological limitations. Rather than focusing on modernity and its dualisms, investigating how globalization facilitates the complex ways in which religion and ethnicity interact and operate in everyday life might allow us to advance the state of research on these topics.

The economic, social, cultural and political implications of globalization have been extensively addressed usually in the form of a debate on cultural homogenization versus cultural pluralism, hypercapitalism, polycentrism and hybrid identities (Bauman 1998; Klein 2000; Korten 2001; Ritzer 2003; Scholte 2005; Sklair 2001; Oncu and Wayland 1997). Within this wide literature, Sassen's works (1988; 1991; 1998) are noteworthy for thoroughly analyzing the interrelations among globalization, transnational mobility of people and internationalization of production and deregulation of capital flows. In *The Mobility of Labor and Capital* (1988) and *The Global City* (1991), Sassen argues that developed countries' shift from manufacturing to service economies has led to the emergence of, on the one hand, global cities – new centres of economic power like New York, London and Tokyo with a rising professional class – and, on the other hand, export-processing zones with an increasing demand for low-skill, low-wage workers. Facilitating this economic restructuring has been the financial deregulation and

transnational expansion of capital; the global expansion of multinational firms and growing foreign direct investment in commercial agriculture left many rural dwellers unemployed and induced massive waves of transnational migration.

Sassen's thesis of transnational mobility of people and capital offers an interesting organizational framework to explore how globalization facilitates the multitude of ways in which religion and ethnicity work within contemporary consumer culture. More specifically, looking through this theoretical lens allows us to investigate how different parties in a market system (e.g., consumers, religious institutions, cultural interpreters and governments) are forming new interpretations of religious teachings and creating new religious practices to cope with the socio-economic transformations brought about by transnational flows of people and capital. The increasing border crossings of migrant workers, tourists, expatriates, refugees and students have profound implications on marketplace expressions of religious and ethnic identity. For example, the formation of diasporic communities in Europe and North America has significantly shaped the political, cultural and economic landscapes in these countries as exemplified in the proliferation of Muslim-friendly products in Europe (Pink 2009) and in the increasing numbers of Hispanic Americans shifting from Catholicism to Protestantism (Dias 2013). Such developments propelled by globalization have not been sufficiently explored in consumer research literature; yet they pose critical implications on our existing theories of identity, authenticity, community, ritualistic consumption and market formation. Utilizing Sassen's analytical framework of globalization, the rest of this chapter explores the interrelations between religion, ethnicity, markets, culture and politics in the context of transnational mobility of people and capital to offer some potentially interesting research implications for advancing the study of religion and ethnicity in consumer culture.

Research implications

Consumer activism and ethno-religious ideologies

Following the post-colonial era, particularly during the reconstruction period after the Second World War, many Western European countries and the US have witnessed an influx of migrants (Sassen 1988). In addition to its economic and political implications, migration has significantly stimulated discussion on the role of religion in everyday life from the public display of conspicuous religious symbols, as observed in the French law on secularity and the Swiss ban on the building of minarets, to the use of free speech, as in the case of the Danish cartoon crisis, and the attack at the *Charlie Hebdo* headquarters in France in 2015. As a result, some secular-minded locals have started to re-examine their assumptions about the relevance of religious teachings in modern life, while others have embraced their Christianity as a counter-identity, mostly in response to cultural confrontation with Muslim, Hindu and Jewish immigrants. In this tense environment, the migrants have also faced complex questions related to their religious identity and have been forced to examine what it means to belong to a minority faith. Removed from their social networks and home cultures, the migrants have encountered many cultural tensions leading to heightened consciousness of their religious 'otherness'. This increased awareness reflexively lends itself to the use of religious symbols and discourses as an important marker of identity, which, in turn, has important ramifications in the marketplace.

One example is the rise of ethno-religious discourses of activism such as Hindu nationalism, Gitano (Spanish gypsy) Evangelism, African American Islamism, Latino Pentecostalism and Sunni Wahhabism in Europe and Americas (Spohn 2003). In particular, the case of Islamic consumer activism offers a telling illustration of how consumption mediates the formation of the transnational networks and social fields that Glick Schiller *et al.* (2006) discuss. Muslims have

long quietly refrained from buying Western brands, mostly owing to religious and moral qualms such as concerns about the halal compliance of a Big Mac or the perceived indecency of Barbie. However, the recent cultural denigration of Islam through the Danish cartoons and the movie *Innocence of Muslims* has stirred up long-held ideological and historical tensions emanating from a history of colonialism and Western involvement in Middle East, which fuelled a wave of consumer activism targeting a wide range of global brands (Izberk-Bilgin 2012a; Sandıkçı and Ekici 2009). Diaspora Muslims have played a critical role in organizing and sustaining these boycotts owing to their growing size and spending power as well as to their effective utilization of new media to bring visibility to Muslim causes in the marketplace. By using web-based technologies, Islamic activists have turned local conflicts into transnational issues and, more importantly, have fostered transnational links among dispersed Muslim communities. Activist Muslims in Europe and United States can now connect virtually with like-minded Muslims in Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and elsewhere to vocalize their concerns on new platforms, using new tools. As noted in Izberk-Bilgin (2012b), diaspora-based Islamic websites, forums, blogs and Facebook pages have been instrumental in mobilizing a transnational boycott by disseminating certain fundamentalist scholars' *fatwas* (religious rulings), which declare multinational brands *haram*, developing a peculiar religious rhetoric that constructs the consumption of global brands as sinful. Likewise, Lindekilde (2010) shows that in the aftermath of the cartoon crisis Danish Muslims used email campaigns, chain text messaging and transnational media such as al-Jazeera to mobilize a multinational, pan-ethnic response that resulted in a boycott of Danish products throughout the Muslim world. As both studies suggest – in addition to activist consumers – religious scholars, governments, NGOs, media organizations and marketers are transnationally connected around shared ideological interests that cut across class, national and ethnic alliances.

While the case of Islamic consumer activism is informative in revealing interesting interactions at the nexus of migration, ethnicity, religion, markets and politics, it seems that increased academic and public interest in Islam following the tragic events of September 11 has drawn attention away from other forms of ethno-religious activism. For example, what are the implications of Hindu nationalism, Latino Pentecostalism and Jewish activism for marketers and consumers? Given how deeply the last of these is embedded in the marketplace, as exemplified in the 'Buy Israel Goods' campaign and its ties to prominent organizations like the American-Israel Chamber of Commerce, it is surprising that researchers have not sufficiently explored the marketing ramifications of this form of activism. Other interesting research questions include how the diaspora experience, in light of the global socio-political and economic context, shapes migrant consumers' interpretation of religious teachings as well as the way they perform religion. Or what are the different roles that consumers, marketers, governments, NGOs, religious scholars and other cultural intermediaries play in the way religious narratives are constructed, manipulated and disseminated? How do web-based technologies like Facebook, Twitter and blogs facilitate the way religious and ethnic identity is expressed and performed through consumption? These and many other interesting questions represent largely uncharted territory in consumer research, and thus, offer new possibilities for advancing the research on religion and ethnicity in marketing.

Emergence of faith-based markets and marketing

Transnational flows of people and capital have also significantly stimulated the emergence of faith-based markets and faith-based marketing. Two socio-cultural phenomena are driving these trends. First, the influx of migrants has been steadily diversifying the 'homogeneous' nature of national cultures, leading to increased fragmentation in consumer tastes and lifestyles. Second,

there has been a surge of interest in religion, partly due to migration and flows of ideas, as evinced in the rise of Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America, Christianity in China and Islam in Europe and Asia, while new age spirituality attracts followers throughout the world (Spohn 2003). Marketplace examples of this religious renaissance can be found in the popularity of offerings such as Kabbalah bracelets, Dolce & Gabbana rosaries, Christian rock, Buddha amulets and faith-based diet books. It is in this particular context of growing diversity of consumer tastes, the proliferation of media and the rise of interest in authentic consumption goods that faith-based markets are blooming. Astute marketing practitioners are finding that not only appealing to faith-based consumer segments is a profitable endeavor with over 2.1 billion Christians, 1.6 billion Muslims, 1 billion Hindus and 14 million Jews in the marketplace, but also that marketing activities carried out through religious networks (e.g., priests, bible study groups, religious websites and broadcasting channels) lends firms more credibility and affords them a more easily reached (as congregations routinely meet) and, presumably, more loyal audience.

One prominent example of a faith-based market is the halal industry. Halal refers to what is permissible under Islamic law, and the demand for halal products has paralleled the growth of the Muslim population worldwide (1.6 billion), particularly in diasporic lands where, unlike in many Muslim-majority countries, halal manufacturing and slaughtering standards are not mandatory. The global halal market is estimated to be worth 2.1 trillion dollars (ogilvynoor.com) and offers a wide range of products from Shariah-compliant credit cards to halal whiskey. The surge of interest in halal can be attributed to the growing spending power and increasing aptness of Muslims in engaging with GCC. Young, tech-savvy and globally travelled Muslims, while often conservative in values, are quite similar to their Western counterparts in constructing consumption-mediated identities. Particularly for middle and upper-middle class Muslims, the most convenient and prominent way of enacting their identity position is through the consumption of halal and other Muslim-friendly products (Izberk-Bilgin 2013; Pink 2009). The marketplace has been quick to accommodate this demand, as multinationals such as Nestlé, Unilever, Wal-Mart, McDonald's, KFC, Novartis, Whole Foods and HSBC have begun offering halal versions of everyday consumer goods such as toothpaste, cosmetics, over-the-counter drugs and interest-free bank accounts.

Examples of faith-based marketing are not confined to the case of halal and products manufactured according to religious standards. Advertising through faith-based networks and sponsoring religious events help ordinary businesses to access ethnic communities that are hard to reach due to cultural and communication barriers. One particular case of interest is the Latino population in the US. Despite their substantial buying power, many Latino immigrants lack access to mainstream financial services such as business loans, credit cards and mortgages, as they do not always have the necessary documents to open bank accounts. Further, unbanked Latinos have no choice but to stash savings at home and use informal channels to send remittances to their home countries, which translates into lost service opportunities for financial institutions (Bair 2003). Banks in particular are keen on establishing long-term relationships with the Latino community and are turning to partnerships with faith-based organizations and their communication initiatives to overcome the lack of trust that some Latino immigrants harbor about financial institutions. For example, Bair (2003) notes that some banks operate part-time teller windows in churches, while Kelderhouse (2002) reports that several banks have been partnering with a local church in a historic Latino neighbourhood in Chicago to offer financial literacy education, free tax preparation and help in opening new bank accounts.

While our knowledge of faith-based marketing is growing with burgeoning academic research (e.g. recent research on Islamic finance and marketing) and a few practitioner resources in this area, consumer researchers have yet to explore faith-based markets in a systematic way.

For example, how are faith-based markets formed, and what are the role of consumers and various institutions (e.g., producers, advertising agencies, governments, market research firms, religious organizations) in the formation of faith-based markets? A quick glance at the halal industry, for example, reveals the vested interests of multiple actors, from halal certifiers to national governments (Izberk-Bilgin 2013). How do these interests inform consumer demand for halal? Likewise, we might ask what kinds of cultural meanings consumers assign to faith-based products like Dolce & Gabbana rosaries (Rinallo *et al.* 2012). Consumer researchers can also make significant contributions to public policy formation by studying exemplary cases of faith-based marketing. Following in the footsteps of Peñaloza and Barnhardt (2011), researchers might investigate the consequences of financial literacy and consumer debt among the immigrant communities and the poor, as well as exploring how effective the partnerships between marketers and faith-based organizations are in providing infrastructure and support to overcome such societal problems.

Globalization, religion and capitalism

Economic globalization, as summarized in Sassen's 'transnational mobility of capital' argument, is characterized by increasing decentralization of production, surging foreign direct investment by multinational corporations and international subcontracting by industrialized nations. However, the deregulation of financial transactions and internationalization of corporations' operations represent more than global economic restructuring. The mobility of capital also indicates the spread of market ideals (e.g., capitalism, economic liberalization and privatization) to developing countries like China, Kenya and Ghana. At the same time, the strengthening of these ideals in developed countries leads to 'hypercapitalism', transforming many aspects of everyday life into 'paid-for experiences' according to Rifkin (2000). Yet little is known about how the ideological consequences of these capital flows impact the relations between the minorities and the 'locals' or about the role of religion in mediating that relationship. Research indicates that religious teachings may be used either to numb or to exacerbate ethnic and racial tensions, to mobilize social change, or to champion economic agendas (Harris 1994; Wald 1987). Given that, a series of interesting questions can be explored at the nexus of globalization, capitalism, religion and ethnicity: How do consumerist aspirations in developing countries fuel religious-ethnic tensions, particularly in locales where socio-economic status largely depends on ethnicity? Relatedly, how do consumers from different social strata make use of religious teachings and various forms of spiritualities as they cope with the economic, social and cultural transition imposed by globalization? Do they interpret religious texts literally, or form new interpretations to negotiate their lifestyles with capitalist ideals? And how do these various takes on religion play out in the marketplace? How do priests, imams, rabbis or Buddhist clergy respond to the logic of the market societies; do they appropriate religious teachings to make them suitable to the existential realities of the context? And if so, how are markets and market relationships contextualized within these appropriated accounts?

Such questions remain largely unanswered in consumer research. Studies on the rise of Pentecostalism in Ghana and Kenya by Bonsu and Belk (2010) and Dolan (2012) represent notable exceptions. Bonsu and Belk (2010) show how Pentecostalist clergy and their prosperity gospel are not only changing Ghanaian religious practice and norms, but also contributing to the economic impoverishment of the poor. Also vividly demonstrated in the authors' account is how such imported religious ideals are restructured to accommodate conditions of poverty, as in the example of religious discourse and popular songs that advocate prostitution over thievery, legitimizing prostitution as a way of utilizing God's gift to women. Dolan (2012) offers an

equally interesting account of how Pentecostalism blurs the boundaries among religion, market and the domestic sphere in Kenya by popularizing the idea that God bestows single women with marriage proposals from wealthy men in return for their generous tithes (obligatory donations), thus rendering marriage a site for spiritual and financial transformation. In short, both studies show how Pentecostalism, a peculiarly capitalist interpretation of God, can be restructured to suit various local contexts and capitalist aspirations. Building on these studies, consumer researchers might also investigate how the close encounters between different religious ideologies and ethnic groups (e.g., in the case of Ghana, Islamic influence in the north among the Sunni and Ahmadi Muslims and Pentecostalism among the Asante in the southern part of the country) inform consumer identity work and are thereby reflected in consumption choices.

While African Pentecostalism offers a nice illustration of the spread of capitalist ideologies through Christian discourses, Haenni's (2005) *Market Islam* argues that the lure of the prosperity gospel is not limited to Pentecostals and that young and upwardly mobile Muslims with neoliberalist ideals are forging an Islamic version of the 'earthly wealth' discourse. Indeed, the consumption patterns of the rising Islamic bourgeoisie class in Turkey and in Asia (Ergu 2009; O'Neill 2010) are revealing of how religious rhetoric is used to advance personal salvation. Advocating the idea that prosperity indicates divine ordination, based on selective readings of the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad's life, wealthy Turkish Islamists are splurging on plasma screens that project 24/7 live views from Mecca, gold-plated faucets adorned with Swarovski crystals, and bathroom tissues imprinted with designer logos (Ergu 2009). Additional reflections of this prosperity gospel can be found in the rhetoric developed by business associations, publications and broadcasting channels owned by the Islamist bourgeoisie (Buğra 1998). Needless to say, this interesting intermingling of capitalism, consumer culture and Islam provides fertile ground for a morality contest between Yuppie Muslims and their poorer brethren. Indeed, the earthly wealth rhetoric of the well-to-do Turkish Islamists has effectively created its own counter-culture: anti-capitalist Muslims, a group of pious activists, who recently received public attention when they collaborated with pro-secularists in the Taksim square protests against the increasingly authoritarian pro-Islamist AKP government in Turkey. As the Turkish case shows, the fragmentations within a religious movement (e.g., Islamic bourgeoisie, anti-capitalist Muslims, environmental Muslims) reflect competing interpretations of capitalism, morality, religion, consumer culture and ethnicity (e.g. Sunni-Shiite), offering consumer researchers ample opportunities for empirical investigation of the complex theoretical relationships among markets, religion, ethnicity and politics.

Conclusion

Ethnicity and religion are two topics of critical importance to marketing scholars. Yet, to a great extent, these topics have been examined separately and through modernist lenses. Until recently, this modernist view prevalent in social sciences, where key theories of ethnicity and religion originate, claimed the demise of the role of ethnicity and religion in modern life. However, such a modernist view disregards the fundamental human need for spirituality and ethnic allegiances, particularly under trying socio-economic and cultural conditions brought about by the processes of globalization. As such, past studies are not in a position to address neither how complexly intertwined ethnic and religious issues are in contemporary societies nor how globalization facilitates the way religion and ethnicity manifest in everyday life. This chapter suggests that consumer researchers can develop a more comprehensive understanding of how religion and ethnicity inform consumer identity work in contemporary society by focusing on the way globalization, through its cultural, social and economic implications, facilitates

consumers' pursuit of spirituality, appropriation of religious discourses for national, ethnic and class-based interests, as well as formation of new markets.

References

- Askegaard, S., Arnould, E. J. and Kjeldgaard, D. (2005) 'Postassimilationist ethnic consumer research: Qualifications and extensions'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 32: 160–70.
- Bailey, J. M. and Sood, J. (1993) 'The effects of religious affiliation on consumer behavior: A preliminary investigation'. *Journal of Managerial Issues*, 5: 328–52.
- Bair, S. C. (2003) 'Improving access to the U.S. banking system among recent Latin American immigrants.' *Consumer Bankers Association*. Available from: <http://idbdocs.iadb.org/wsdocs/getdocument.aspx?docnum=547516> [accessed March 20 2015].
- Bair, S. C. (2005) 'Improving the Access of Recent Latin American Migrants to the US Banking System'. In *Beyond Small Change: Making Migrant Remittances Count*, edited by D. F. Terry and S. R. Wilson. IDB, pp. 95–132.
- Bandarage, A. (2004) 'Beyond globalization and ethno-religious fundamentalism'. *Development*, 47: 35–41.
- Bauman, Z. (1998) *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Belk, R. W. (1987) 'A child's Christmas in America: Santa Claus as deity, consumption as religion'. *Journal of American Culture*, 10: 87–100.
- Belk, R. W. (2001) 'Materialism and the making of the modern American Christmas'. In *Consumption: Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences*, edited by D. Miller. New York, NY: Routledge, p. 319.
- Belk, R. W. (2013) 'The sacred in consumer culture'. In *Consumption and Spirituality*, edited by D. Rinallo, L. Scott, and P. Maclaran. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 69–81.
- Belk, R. W., Wallendorf, M. and Sherry Jr, J. F. (1989) 'The sacred and the profane in consumer behavior: Theodicy on the odyssey'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16: 1–38.
- Belk, R. W. and Tumbat, G. (2005) 'The cult of Macintosh'. *Consumption, Markets & Culture*, 8: 205–17.
- Berger, P. L. (1967) *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. New York, NY: Doubleday.
- Bonsu, S. K. and Belk, R. W. (2010) 'Marketing a new African god: Pentecostalism and material salvation in Ghana'. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 15: 305–23.
- Bouchet, D. (1995) 'Marketing and the redefinition of ethnicity'. In *Marketing in a Multicultural World*, edited by J. A. Costa and G. J. Bamossy. London: Sage Publications: pp. 68–104.
- Buğra, A. (1998) 'Class, culture, and state: An analysis of interest representation by two Turkish business associations'. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 30: 521–39.
- Burroughs, J. E. and Rindfleisch, A. (2002) 'Materialism and well-being: A conflicting values perspective'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 29: 348–70.
- Cleveland, M. and Chang, W. (2009) 'Migration and materialism: The roles of ethnic identity, religiosity, and generation'. *Journal of Business Research*, 62(10): 963–71.
- Dávila, A. (2012) *Latinos, Inc. The Marketing and Making of a People*, Second edition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Deshen, S. (1997) 'The Passover celebrations of secular Israelis'. *Megamot*, 38: 528–47.
- Delener, N. and Schiffman, L. G. (1988) 'Family decision making: The impact of religious factors'. *AMA Educators' Proceedings*, pp. 80–3.
- Delener, N. (1990) 'The effects of religious factors on perceived risk in durable goods purchase decisions'. *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 7: 27–38.
- Delener, N. (1994) 'Religious contrasts in consumer decision behaviour patterns: Their dimensions and marketing implications'. *European Journal of Marketing*, 28: 36–53.
- Días, E. (2013) 'Evangélicos!' in *Time*, April 15.
- Dolan, C. (2013) 'Economies of expectation: Men, marriage, and miracles in Kenya's religious marketplace'. In *Consumption and Spirituality*, edited by D. Rinallo, L. Scott and P. Maclaran. New York, NY: Routledge, pp.144–65.
- Ergu, E. (2009) 'İslami Burjuvanın Şatafatlı Ev Hayatı', (The Pompous Domestic Life of Islamic Bourgeoisie) in *Tempo*, April 12.
- Essoo, N. and Dibb, S. (2004) 'Religious influences on shopping behaviour: An exploratory study'. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 20: 683–712.
- Glick Schiller, N., Çağlar, A. and Guldbrandsen, T. C. (2006) 'Beyond the ethnic lens: Locality, globality, and born-again incorporation'. *American Ethnologist*, 33(4): 612–33.

- Haenni, P. (2005) *Islam De Marché: L'autre Révolution Conservatrice*. Seuil.
- Hamilton, M. (2000) 'An analysis of the festival for mind-body-spirit, London'. In *Beyond New Age: Exploring Alternative Spirituality*, edited by S. Sutcliffe and M. Bowman. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 188.
- Harris, F. C. (1994) 'Something within: Religion as a mobilizer of African American political activism'. *The Journal of Politics*, 56: 42–68.
- Hirschman, E. C. (1981) 'American Jewish ethnicity: Its relationship to some selected aspects of consumer behavior'. *The Journal of Marketing*, 45(3): 102–10.
- Hirschman, E. C. (1982) 'Ethnic variation in hedonic consumption'. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 118: 225–34.
- Hirschman, E. C. (1983). 'Cognitive structure across consumer ethnic subcultures: A comparative analysis'. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 10: 97–102.
- Hirschman, E. C. and la Barbera, P. A. (1989) 'The meaning of Christmas'. In *Interpretive Consumer Research*, edited by E. Hirschman. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, pp. 136–47.
- Hirschman, E. C., Ruvio, A. A. and Touzani, M. (2011) 'Breaking bread with Abraham's children: Christians, Jews and Muslims' holiday consumption in dominant, minority and diasporic communities'. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 39: 429–48.
- Izberk-Bilgin, E. (2012a) 'Infidel brands: Unveiling alternative meanings of global brands at the nexus of globalization, consumer culture, and Islamism'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 39: 663–87.
- Izberk-Bilgin, E. (2012b) 'Cyber-Jihad: Islamic consumer activism on the web'. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 40: 532–9.
- Izberk-Bilgin, E. (2013) 'Theology meets the marketplace'. *Consumption and Spirituality*, edited by D. Rinallo, L. M. Scott and P. Maclaren. London: Routledge, pp. 16–41.
- Kelderhouse, E. R. and Region, K. C. (2002) 'Banking Latino immigrants: A lucrative new market for progressive financial institutions'. *Federal Reserve Bank of St Louis*. Available from: <https://www.stlouisfed.org/publications/bridges/fall-2002/banking-latino-immigrants-a-lucrative-new-market-for-progressive-financial-institutions>.
- Kimura, J. and Belk, R. W. (2005) 'Christmas in Japan: Globalization versus localization'. *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 8: 325–38.
- Klein, N. (2000) *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies*. New York, NY: Picador.
- Korten, D. C. (2001) *When Corporations Rule The World*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publications.
- Kozinets, R. V. (2001) 'Utopian enterprise: Articulating the meanings of star trek's culture of consumption'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 28: 67–88.
- la Barbera, P. A. and Gürhan, Z. (1997) 'The role of materialism, religiosity, and demographics in subjective well-being'. *Psychology & Marketing*, 14: 71–97.
- Lindekilde, L. (2010) 'Soft repression and mobilization: The case of transnational activism of danish muslims during the cartoons controversy'. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 42(03): 451–69.
- Luedicke, M. (2011) 'Consumer acculturation theory: (Crossing) conceptual boundaries'. *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 14(3): 223–44.
- McDaniel, S. W. and Burnett, J. J. (1990) 'Consumer religiosity and retail store evaluative criteria'. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 18: 101–12.
- Muniz Jr, A. M. and Schau, H. J. (2005) 'Religiosity in the abandoned Apple Newton brand community'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31: 737–47.
- Ogilvynoor.com (n.d.) 'Why Islamic branding?' Ogilvynoor. Available from: <http://www.ogilvynoor.com/index.php/why-islamic-branding/>.
- O'Neill, M. 'Meet the New Muslim consumer'. October 2010, www.campaignasia.com [accessed 28 May 2015].
- Oncu, A. and Wayland, P. (1997) *Space, Culture, and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities*. London: Zed Books.
- Oswald, R. L. (1999) 'Culture swapping: Consumption and the ethnogenesis of middle-class Haitian immigrants'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25: 303–18.
- Park, R. E. (1950). *Race and Culture*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Peñaloza, L. N. (1994) 'Atravesando fronteras/border crossing: A critical ethnographic exploration of the consumer acculturation of Mexican immigrants'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21(1): 32–54.
- Peñaloza, L. and Barnhart, M. (2011) 'Living US capitalism: The normalization of credit/debt'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 38(4): 743–762.
- Pink, J. (ed) (2009) *Muslim Societies in the Age of Mass Consumption*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.
- Rifkin, J. (2000) *The Age of Access: The New Culture of Hypercapitalism Where All of Life is a Paid-For Experience*. New York, NY: Penguin Putnam.

- Rinallo, D., Borghini, S., Bamossy, G. and Kozinets, R. V. (2012) 'When sacred objects go B® a (n) d'. In *Consumption and Spirituality*, edited by D. Rinallo, L. Scott, and P. Maclaran. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 29–41.
- Rindfleisch, A., Burroughs, J. E. and Wong, N. (2005) 'Religiosity and brand commitment: A multicultural perspective'. In *Asia Pacific Advances in Consumer Research*, edited by Y. Ha and Y. Yi. Duluth, MN: Association for Consumer Research, p. 153.
- Rindfleisch, A., Wong, N. and Burroughs, J. E. (2010) 'God & Mammon: The influence of religiosity on brand connections'. In *The Connected Customer: The Changing Nature of Consumer and Business Markets*, edited by S. Wuyts, M. G. Dekimpe, E. Gijbrecchts, and R. Pieters. New York, NY: Routledge, p. 163.
- Ritzer, G. (2003) *The Globalization of Nothing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Robertson, C. K. (ed) (2002) *Religion as Entertainment*. New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Rytina, N. 2009. 'Estimates of the legal permanent resident population in 2008', Office of Immigration Statistics.
- Sandıkçı, Ö. and Ekici, A. (2009) 'Politically motivated brand rejection'. *Journal of Business Research*, 62(2): 208–17.
- Sandıkçı, Ö. and Ger, G. (2010) 'Veiling in style: How does a stigmatized practice become fashionable?' *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37: 15–36.
- Sandıkçı, Ö. and Ömeraki, S. (2007) 'Islam in the marketplace: Does Ramadan turn into Christmas?' In *Advances in Consumer Research*, edited by G. Fitzsimons and V. Morwitz. Duluth, MN: Association for Consumer Research, pp. 610–15.
- Sassen, S. (1988) *The Mobility of Labor and Capital: A Study in International Investment and Labor Flow*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Sassen, S. (1991) *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Woodstock: Princeton University Press.
- Sassen, S. (1998) *Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money*. New York, NY: The New Press.
- Shachar, R., Erdem, T., Cutright, K. M. and Fitzsimons, G. J. (2011) 'Brands: The opiate of the nonreligious masses?' *Marketing Science*, 30: 92–110.
- Scholte, J. A. (2005) *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Schouten, J. W. and McAlexander, J. H. (1995) 'Subcultures of consumption: An ethnography of the new bikers'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22: 43–61.
- Sherry Jr., J. F. and McGrath, M. A. (1989) 'Unpacking the holiday presence: A comparative ethnography of two gift stores'. In *Interpretive Consumer Research*, edited by E. C. Hirschman. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, pp. 148–67.
- Sklair, L. (2001) *Transnational Capitalist Class*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Sood, J. and Nasu, Y. (1995) 'Religiosity and nationality: An exploratory study of their effect on consumer behavior in Japan and the United States'. *Journal of Business Research*, 34: 1–9.
- Spohn, W. (2003) 'Multiple modernity, nationalism and religion: A global perspective'. *Current Sociology*, 51(34): 265–86.
- Swimberghe, K., Flurry, L. A. and Parker, J. M. (2011) 'Consumer religiosity: Consequences for consumer activism in the United States'. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 103: 453–67.
- Touzani, M. and Hirschman, E. C. (2008) 'Cultural syncretism and Ramadan observance: Consumer research visits Islam'. In *Advances in Consumer Research*, edited by A. Y. Lee and D. Soman. Duluth, MN: Association for Consumer Research, pp. 374–80.
- Touzani, M., Hirschman, E. C. and Ruvio, A. (2009) 'Looking for Christmas in a Muslim country'. In *Advances in Consumer Research*, edited by A. McGill and S. Shavitt. Duluth, MN: Association for Consumer Research, pp. 210–13.
- Üstüner, T. and Holt, D. B. (2007) 'Dominated consumer acculturation: The social construction of poor migrant women's consumer identity projects in a Turkish squatter'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34(1): 41–56.
- Wald, K. D. (1987) *Religion and Politics in the United States*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Warner, W. L. and Srole, L. (1945). *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Weber, M. (1922/1978) *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Wilkes, R. E., Burnett, J. J. and Howell, R. D. (1986) 'On the meaning and measurement of religiosity in consumer research'. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 14: 47–56.
- Wimmer, A. and Glick Schiller, N. (2002) 'Methodological nationalism and beyond: Nation–state building, migration and the social sciences'. *Global Networks*, 2(4): 301–34.