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Ethnic marketing practice and research at the intersection of market and social development: A macro study of the past and present, with a look to the future

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ABSTRACT

This paper utilizes historical and ethnographic research methods in formulating a framework that tracks ethnic minority marketing pertaining to Latinos/as in the U.S. as it has developed in response to changing social relations over time. Discussion then develops a series of propositions regarding the distinct effects in ethnic marketing in enabling and validating ethnic minority consumers' production of identity and community, decentering and destabilizing ethnic majority people, and contributing to social fragmentation and multiculturalization. Theoretical contributions update the definitions of ethnic marketing and ethnic marketing research to be consistent with the framework. The paper closes with recommendations for practitioners, limitations of the present work, and suggestions for future research. By situating ethnic minority marketing in relation to changing social relations, practitioners and researchers are better able to develop effective strategy and enhance firms' relations to ethnic minority and majority consumers.

> "As long as one's sense of self or well-being is identified with an external object, individual or group, one is vulnerable to the forces associated with it/them for self and well-being."
>
> Brugh Joy, *Avalanche* (1990, p. 39)

1. Introduction

Since its inception, the discourse of ethnic marketing has advanced the benefits to firms of segmenting markets and targeting ethnic minority groups in advancing business activity (Cui, 2001). Pires and Stanton (2015) adapted the definition of marketing from the American Marketing Association (2013) in defining ethnic marketing as "the activity, set of institutions, and processes for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offerings that have value for *ethnic identified* customers, clients, partners and communities, and for society at large" (p. 9, italics added). Importantly, Pires and Stanton's definition emphasizes the importance of ethnic identification and community habitus and is in synch with the trend in the field of marketing to consider the value of marketing activity to society at large. Much recent work falls within the scope of this definition in seeking to leverage elements of minority ethnicity in developing markets while benefiting ethnic minority people and societies (Jamal, Peñaloza, & Laroche, 2015).

This research is part of an emerging stream that seeks to broaden the field by taking a macro perspective and considering social changes in ethnicity over time. Despandé described researchers advancing this stream (in Pires & Stanton, 2015, 348) as having a 'nose for problems at the group level, rather than at the individual level.' As examples, Visconti et al. (2014) directed attention to contemporary multiple ethnic identification, and Luedicke (2011) studied ethnic majority people, with both works calling for conceptual clarity and attention to social context, including minority-majority ethnic social relations.

In synch with this emerging stream, this paper employs historical and ethnographic research methods in developing a framework tracing ethnic marketing activity as it has resulted from and changed social relations over time. The paper then develops propositions regarding the effects of ethnic marketing on ethnic minorities, ethnic majorities, and on society, and offers updated definitions of ethnic marketing practice and research that more comprehensively encompass the ethnic minority marketing evolution forming the framework. The paper closes with recommendations for practitioners, limitations of the present work, and suggestions for future research.

2. Methods

This research employs historical and ethnographic methods in tracking firm efforts targeting Latinos/as in the U.S., with some

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comparisons to ethnic majority Whites and to ethnic minority African Americans there. As the largest ethnic minority in the U.S. and with a dramatic transition from market exclusion to inclusion, Latinos/as provide a living laboratory for ethnic minority marketing research. Historical methods (Bevir & Trentmann, 2004) highlight retailing and advertising activities as the means by which firms contact and address Latino/a consumers. Ethnographic methods feature introspection, an increasingly valued marketing research technique that employs a first person writing style in presenting personal experience as the means of generating theoretical insights (Gould, 2012).

I begin by situating myself as author and then relay a few personal experiences that preview key themes developed in this study. A baby boomer with light brown hair and green eyes who grew up in one of three Mexican American families in a small Texas town, my first cultural memory was in 1968, when my two sisters came home crying because the neighborhood girls refused play with them because we were Mexican. In the mid-1970s, at the home of a high school friend after we both had applied for summer jobs in a federal government program, her father discouraged this 'waste of time' because "everyone knows that only Mexicans and Niggers get those jobs." I turned away, embarrassed, as my friend stumbled over the words, "Daddy, Lisa's Mexican." His response was quick, "You're different." In the middle 1980s, I received an affirmative action scholarship for ethnic/racial minorities to study for a Ph.D. at the University of California, Irvine, and completed a thesis on the consumer acculturation of Mexican immigrants in the U.S. (Peñaloza, 1994). At this time large firms were 'discovering' the Latino/a market in the nation, even as politicians and voters were legislating English as the official language in many of its states. In the mid1990s, as faculty at the University of Colorado, Boulder, I was told by two colleagues that I'd only gotten the job because I was a minority. Not having seen this on my contract, I asked our associate Dean of Faculty and learned that mine was a regular position. These incidents and others that I dealt with as chair of the diversity committee for CU's College of Business, have informed my work on diversity challenges in organizations. For this paper such introspective data previews the dynamic and contested social significance of ethnicity so relevant to ethnic marketing.

3. Findings: a framework for ethnic marketing as social-market co-development

Read from left to right, the upper part of the framework begins with the earliest forms of ethnic minority marketing in small, localized Latino/a owned businesses and continues with their growth and that of ethnic minority media and advertising agencies as they reach national scale. See Fig. 1. The framework proceeds with the 'discovery' of the Latino market by large, ethnic majority White-owned businesses and continues with the aggregation of diasporic ethnic market segments globally by multinational firms that are fueled by government neoliberal market policies and that compete with the small businesses.

In turn, from left to right, the bottom of the figure begins with segregation in periods of colonization and continues with ethnic community growth following emancipation. An economizing sensibility characterizes early ethnic minority consumption, which later is joined by hedonic leisure and entertainment as buying power evolves with economic growth. At the bottom middle of the figure governmental designations of personhood with emancipation, Civil Rights, and desegregation laws are featured in shaping ethnic community, as are immigration and birth rates, postwar middle class growth, social movement activism, and the suburban flight of ethnic majority White people. Social development culminates at the bottom far right of the figure with the present emergence of pan-ethnic diaspora as the result of neoliberal market expansion and technological diffusion.

Horizontally, the middle of the figure lists norms structuring ethnic minority marketing activities over time. It proceeds from early segregation and emancipation, to assimilation and ethnic activism, to desegregation, fragmentation, and affirmative action, and to contemporary multicultural integration and resistance backlashes.

3.1. Segregated ethnic marketing in apartheid societies

Early market exclusions in the U.S. can be traced to Medieval European sumptuary laws strictly regulating commerce with the effect of preserving social hierarchies (Hunt, 1996). As an example, Scott (2005) details the disdain of upper class White women directed to ethnic minority immigrant and resident working class women for using cosmetics.

The segregation characterizing the early period through the 19th century in the U.S. was brought about by a complex web of socio-economic conditions and activities including colonization, slavery, immigration and settlement. As examples, White people bought and sold African and African-American slaves as property (Hirschman & Hill, 1999); considered Native Americans to be savages and an inconvenience to their God-given rights to Manifest Destiny (Churchill, 1994); and shifted land ownership from 2/3 Mexican-owned to 2/3 Anglo-owned in the aftermath of the Mexican American war via a combination of violence and local government taxes (Acuña, 1988).

Historical work in the U.S. traces the roots of marketing to mainstream distribution providing basic foodstuffs, clothing, housing and furnishings (Bartels, 1965). Although strict norms and laws prohibited inter-racial marriage through the 1800s–mid1900s, ethnic minority consumers made some contact with ethnic majority persons in commercial urban centers (Garza-Falcón, 1998) and rural mercantile stores and cantines (Limerick, 1987).

Formed partly in response to segregation, small Latino/a owned businesses and media were an integral part of early Latino/a communities (Boyle, 2000). Wilson and Gutiérrez (1985) documented over 200 Spanish language newspapers at the turn of the 19th century in the Southwest U.S., some of which dated to Spanish colonization and Mexican territory. By the late 19th century print technology also is important in allowing ethnic minority consumers to sidestep segregation in ethnic majority White-owned stores. An example is the Sears and Roebuck catalogue that initially circulated in 1888 with jewelry and expanded to sewing machines, bicycles and clothing (http://www.searsarchives.com/catalogs/chronology.htm).

3.2. Ethnic markets flourish with ethnic community growth and activism

From the early 20th century through the 1960s ethnic minority businesses and media grow in tandem with their communities. In an interview journalist Amparo Ortiz dates the first Spanish language radio show in San Antonio, Texas, to the 1940s and its first Spanish language television station to the 1950s (Peñaloza, 2006). Post WWII birth and immigration rates fueled the growth of the Latino/a community at this time. Similarly, African American media expanded, supporting a growing cadre Black models (Brown, 2011).

Glazer and Moynihan's (1963) work mapping immigrant assimilation and social mobility deals largely with this period. While their research focused on immigrants, as has much ethnic marketing scholarship to date, over time resident ethnic/racial minorities tend to surpass the number of immigrants in their respective communities and they tend to evidence lower rates of entrepreneurship (Light & Gold, 2000).

By the 20th century novelty and department stores and catalogs offer a growing range of low priced, manufactured products to the expanding urban working classes, including ethnic minority consumers. Decorative store windows and displays in U.S. cities combine with price discounting in slowly shifting consumption from the predominant economizing sensibility of provisioning to include an ethic of leisure and entertainment (Leach, 1993). However, despite formal governmental decrees of emancipation decades earlier, ethnic/racial separation continues in businesses. As an example, Sister Maria Elena Vasquez tearfully recalled a humiliating episode in the 1940s in being refused an

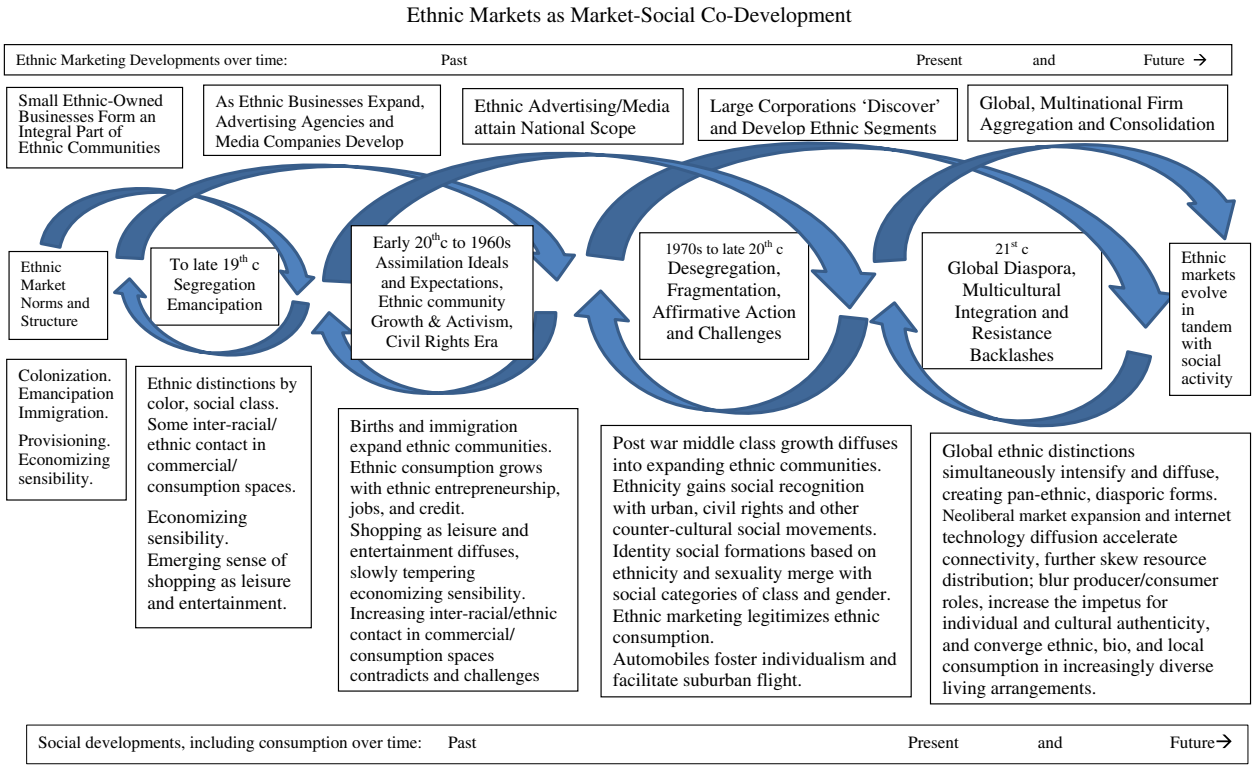

Fig. 1. Ethnic markets as market-social co-development.

ice cream on her tenth birthday. The proprietor of the soda shop walked her and her mother outside to show them the sign by the door stating, "No dogs, No Negroes, No Mexicans allowed" (Peñaloza, 2006).

Ethnic community growth and expansion continues through the middle 20th century, somewhat apart from the ethnic majority in segregated neighborhoods in small towns and urban enclaves. Despite segregation, some inter-racial and ethnic contact continues in urban department stores and rural shops. Historians McGovern (2006) and Cohen (2003) have detailed U.S. postwar discourse and policy equating mainstream consumption with national achievement and citizenship at this time. For ethnic minorities, market visibility was an important means of social legitimacy as well, measured in consumption (Brown, 2011); and military service expressed national allegiance. Acuña (1988) attributes early Mexican American activism in the late 1940s to WWII veterans' refusal to accept segregated cemeteries. Their reasoning was that Mexican American soldiers who had fought and died for their country should be buried alongside their White counterparts.

Segregation continues through the 1950s and 60s. An example is the Black and White Ball organized in San Antonio for young minority women not allowed in the Whites-only cotillion. In the early 1950s my mother, Lydia Villarreal, was crowned runner up at this event and photographed in graceful curtsy wearing the dress her mother made. In our interview years later (Peñaloza, 2006) she recalled working with other members of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) to desegregate the public swimming pool where Mexican and African Americans were only allowed to swim the day before operators cleaned the pool.

In their attempts to garner civil rights, ethnic minority activist-consumers repeatedly invoked U.S. national values and principles of equal access and treatment. For our purposes the market settings of lunch counters, stores, and advertising representations are noteworthy, although the public settings of city buses, schools, and drinking fountains are more widely renowned. Legislation extending civil rights to all persons passed in the U.S. in 1965.

3.3. Ethnic marketing contributes to diverse, fragmented societies

Ethnic minority marketing gains currency in the late 1980s after the Civil Rights movements and subsequent U.S. Census inclusion (Ruvalcaba, 2015). To elaborate, federal government agencies were required to count ethnic/racial minorities in the U.S. Census following Civil Rights legislation. Armed with these official numbers, advertisers and media companies (Spanish U.S.A., 1981) were better able to convince potential clients—consumer products companies, especially—to target these segments. Further, ethnic minority media played a crucial role at this time in aggregating Latino/a consumers for ethnic majority White-owned firms, fostering their view of ethnic minority consumers as profitable markets. Thus, marketers' 'wake-up call' to the Latino/a market is only *partly* attributable to demographic growth. Also important was Civil Rights activism and the work of a few advertising agencies (Chavez, 2015) and scholars (Ramirez, 1986; Segal & Sosa, 1983) arguing for its market viability, just as Edwards (1932) did earlier for African Americans (cited in Cui, 2001).

Another factor was the counter-cultural waves that filtered into the marketplace. Hippies with anti-materialist and anti-war values and rejection of authority emerged at this time, as did social movements for women's rights and those of gays and lesbians. The legendary Coca Cola campaign developed by McCann Erickson in the 1970s is a good example incorporating these counter-cultural sentiments. The ad featured diverse people joined together on a hillside, bottle of cola in hand, singing Billy Davis' song, "I'd like to teach the world to sing" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ib-Qiyklq-Q).

Social harmony was far from widespread at the time. By the mid1970s, government instituted desegregation and busing, together with corporate ethnic/racial minority diversity programs, triggered mainstream challenges. As racial/ethnic consumers gained market validation, the accompanying social legitimacy threatened some White majority persons in an ethnic version of Bell's (1976) account of how market activity can disrupt social traditions. The lower middle right of the figure lists a number of factors: post war ethnic minority middle

class expansion, expanding ethnic/racial minority recognition, countercultural social movements, and suburban ethnic majority White flight made possible by the automobile.

3.4. Ethnic marketing in relation to multicultural ideals and backlashes

The early 21st century marks another key turning point in ethnic minority marketing in the continued validation of ethnic minority identity and community, and in the increasing intensity of corresponding ethnic majority White backlashes. At the top, far right, the figure depicts continued aggregation and consolidation as multinational firms target ethnic minority groups globally, raising the level of competition for ethnic minority-owned firms. At the bottom, far right, the figure depicts emerging trends of pan-ethnic diasporic flows and residence patterns that are both the result and reaction to the expansion of neoliberal, market organizational structures depicted at the top of the figure. Also listed is technology diffusion in accelerating connectivity, further skewing resource distribution, blurring producer and consumer roles, and encouraging individual and cultural authenticity in ways that favor bio and local sourcing and stimulate ethnic majority consumption of ethnic minority artifacts and traditions (Elliott, Cherian, & Casakin, 2015). It is noteworthy that some aspects of minority and majority ethnic consumption run counter to the urbanization, individualism, and anonymity that characterize neoliberal market systems (Harvey, 2005) in fostering collective community building and asset sharing, and in strengthening interpersonal ties within and between ethnic groups (Peñaloza, 2007a, 2007b; Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2003).

4. Propositions

In elaborating the way ethnic marketing responds to social relations and changes them, as intimated in the section above, the propositions below specify the effects of ethnic marketing on ethnic minority and majority persons and on society.

4.1. The effects of ethnic marketing on ethnic minority groups

4.1.1. Enabling ethnic minority identity and community production

Ethnic marketing researchers long have examined how ethnic minority consumers express identity using products and services (Jamal et al., 2015). I extrapolate from Campbell's (2004) work explaining how persons discover and manifest identity in witnessing and enacting their consumption desires, in offering the following proposition regarding the importance of ethnic marketing materials in ethnic consumers' production of identity.

Proposition 1a. *In providing the materials that consumers employ in constituting ethnic minority identity, ethnic marketing enables ethnic identity production.*

Further, the results of ethnic identity production also are evident collectively.

Proposition 1b. *In its capacity to unite consumers producing ethnic minority identity, ethnic marketing is crucial in the development of ethnic minority community.*

4.1.2. Validating ethnic minority identity and community

As evident in the trajectory, ethnic minority identity has held negative and positive associations historically. In the early periods to be an ethnic minority person was to be stigmatized in unfavorable and undesirable depictions and to live separate from ethnic majority others (Peñaloza, 1995, 2007a). While Civil Rights activism and government legislation helped turn ethnic minority identity into a positive quality, ethnic minority marketing also plays a critical role in validating ethnic minority identity and community.

I apply Charles Taylor's (1991) insights regarding the increasing importance of social recognition amidst contemporary urban conditions of population density and anonymity in the following proposition to explain how ethnic minority marketing serves to validate ethnic minority identity. Jackie Moody intimates this market validation as a mirroring effect in her positive response to advertising targeting Latinos, “It's nice to see someone like myself with brown eyes and brown kinky hair in ads” (Peñaloza, 2006).

Proposition 2. *Ethnic minority marketing validates ethnic minority identity and community as a function of the social recognition it provides to ethnic minority people in depicting and addressing them directly as consumers and members of an ethnic minority group in contrast to the group's history of denigrating treatment.*

4.2. The effects of ethnic minority marketing on ethnic majority peoples

Ethnic minority marketing affects non-targeted ethnic majority persons as well as targeted minorities. Grier and Brumbaugh (1999) demonstrated such effects for White persons in viewing ads targeting African Americans, while Oakenfull, McCarthy, and Greenlee (2008) showed similar results in the reactions of heterosexual persons to ads targeting gay persons. To explain, I return to the left of the figure to illustrate that ethnic majority White people had become accustomed to seeing their ethnic identity at the center of society and defining it prior to the middle 20th century. At that time segregated neighborhoods prevailed, and so their contact with ethnic/racial minorities was limited to marketplaces and public sites. The Civil Rights era changed this in government policy and treatment, and in subsequent market targeting. As ethnic majority White-owned firms began to target African Americans in the 1970s and Latinos/as in the mid1980s, they generated the validation effects detailed in Proposition 2. The next propositions are concerned with the mainstream backlash to ethnic minority marketing validation.

4.2.1. Decentering ethnic majority identity and community

Decentering is literally the realization by members of an ethnic majority that they no longer define a society. Luedicke's (2015) landmark study of the reactions of majority White Austrians to marketing campaigns targeting ethnic minority Austrians of Turkish descent explains this decentering. That is, mainstream White Austrians resented the marketing campaigns for contributing to ‘unwarranted’ Turkish Austrian's housing, automobile and food consumption that had surpassed their own consumption levels.

Studies in the U.S. have noted similar effects, as the greater presence and visibility of ethnic minority peoples can decenter some members of the White ethnic majority (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997). I explain this decentering in the next proposition as the converse of Taylor's (1991) insights regarding social recognition.

Proposition 3.1. *Ethnic majority persons can be decentered when they do not recognize themselves in marketing materials targeting ethnic minority persons.*

4.2.2. Destabilizing ethnic majority identity and community

The historical trajectory offers information useful in unpacking a closely related secondary effect, destabilization, in the following proposition. It is one thing to not recognize oneself in marketing materials and social treatment, it is yet another to be so put off by such misrecognition to the point of taking corrective action, including stigmatization, legal challenge, or even violence.

Proposition 3.2. *The dissemination of market materials targeting ethnic minorities targeted can destabilize some mainstream persons to the degree that they mobilize to reinstate their ethnic group at the center of society.*

I illustrate this destabilization in the hostile reactions to a Coca Cola

commercial aired during the 2015 U.S. Superbowl football game. In the ad, persons of recognizable ethnic minority features and attire sang the U.S. national anthem in the language of their subculture. While some reactions were positive, hostile and demeaning comments outnumbered them, such as "We speak ENGLISH here, IDIOTS" and "America the beautiful is sang (sic) in English. Piss off," and "#Dont $!uck With Us" (cited in Poniewazik, 2014). Notably, some of the negative comments strive to recenter the language of the White ethnic majority. Another example of destabilization takes the form of a legal challenge. In response to the French hamburger chain, Quick, serving Halal meats, the mayor of Roubaix, Rene Vandiervendonck, sought an injunction against the company for discriminating against those who did not slaughter their meat this way (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2010).

4.3. The effects of ethnic marketing on society

4.3.1. Contributing to social fragmentation

I have addressed the way ethnic minority representations disseminated in marketing campaigns legitimize ethnic minority people as consumers by emphasizing their worth and contributions to the national economy. And yet, marketing campaigns do not just draw from existing social representations; they reproduce them (Chavez, 2015; Pollay, 1986). Together, the depictions of Latinos/as buying and using consumer goods in ethnic marketing campaigns help bring about a diverse, multicultural sense of that society, as conveyed in the next proposition.

Proposition 4.1. *By initiating and diffusing representations of ethnic minorities as consumers and as a function of the social reach and influence of firms and media, ethnic marketing reproduces ethnic difference in the social imaginary*.

A foundational tool in ethnic marketing is segmentation, which entails dividing a large social group into ethnic subgroups in order to strategically develop tailored offerings and communications to target members (Lindridge, 2015). Weidel and Kamakura (2000) make a further point in concluding that marketers do not discover existing segments, they *create* them in segmenting markets. Such creation extends beyond the domain of markets to society overall in the next proposition.

Proposition 4.2. *As specialized ethnic marketing campaigns diffuse, they foster and validate diverse forms of ethnic identity and community in ways that contribute to the formation of heterogeneous, multicultural societies.*

4.3.2. Advancing multicultural ideals and resistance backlashes

Ethnic minority marketing campaigns advance a more inclusive, multicultural sensibility and reality in the nations in which they circulate. This multicultural commercial inclusion converges with government recognition and integration in the U.S. in ways that fuel the normative ethic of multiculturalism (San Juan, 2002).

There is another factor to consider. Since the 1980s fashion designers, musicians, and consumer products firms have distinguished their offerings in associating them with ethnic minority people and symbols (Lipsitz, 1994; O'Barr, 1994). Notably, such ethnic minority inclusion contributes to the increased visibility, social reality, and normative ethic of multicultural integration against which some members of the ethnic majority resist, as described in the following proposition.

Proposition 4.3. *Ethnic minority marketing campaigns contribute to a normative ethic of multicultural integration against which some ethnic majority persons resist.*

As an example, in July 2015 a group of White men seated in an executive suite at a hockey match in Rapid City, South Dakota, spit at, dumped beer on, and chided "Go back to the Rez!" to Native American students sitting in the rows below them who had come to the match on a field trip celebrating their scholastic achievements (Townes, 2015). To be clear, I am not suggesting that marketers or marketing activity brought about this denigrating incident. What I am suggesting is that contemporary ethnic marketing campaigns take place in multicultural societies that have experienced dramatic changes in social relations, as depicted in the historical trajectory. I further suggest that because many such incidents take place in business settings, the incidents as well as the sentiments and social relations that give rise to them fall within the rightful domain of ethnic marketing.

5. Theoretical contributions

When we include ethnic/racial minority-owned businesses and media that serve ethnic/racial minority consumers, there is strong evidence of much earlier origins than Cui (2001) designated in tracing the field to Edwards' (1932) account of the consumption patterns of Blacks in the U.S. Further, this broadened scope demands equivalently broad definitions that encompass how ethnic marketing evolves with, and changes social relations.

5.1. Redefinition of ethnic marketing

Extending from the propositions, I redefine ethnic marketing as "the activity, set of institutions, and processes for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offerings that *produce* value *in designating and uniting consumers as an ethnic group, thus supporting members' identity and community development,* with benefit to customers, clients, partners, communities, and society at large." This definition makes several contributions. First, it reflects contemporary use of the term ethnicity. Williams (1976, 119–120) traces its meanings of the term from 14th century Greek, heathens, pagans, and Gentiles, to a "polite term for Jews, Italians, and other lesser breeds" in the early 19th century, and to all social groups in the late 20th century.

Second, the redefinition expands the scope of the field of ethnic marketing beyond ethnic minority consumers who identify as such. Previous work has shown that only a portion of every ethnic minority group tends to identity with its moniker (Cleveland, Erdoğan, Arikan, & Poyraz, 2011). This is especially the case for second plus generation residents, whose ethic identification tends to decrease even as their cultural affiliation continues to inform their consumption (Peñaloza, 2006, 2007b; Visconti et al., 2014; Yang, 2015). Further, the revised definition applies to ethnic majority persons, although research has observed them to have lower propensity to identify than ethnic minority persons, due to their less prevalent experience of separate and disparaging treatment (Askegaard, Kjeldgaard, & Arnould, 2005; Lipsitz, 1998).

Most critically, the redefinition treats ethnic identity as a dynamic and contested construction that consumers produce in buying and using market offerings, and with regard to others (Cleveland et al., 2011; Despande, Hoyer, & Donthu, 1986; Peñaloza, 1995, 2006). It also appreciates the role of marketing in enabling and supporting ethnic identity and community. Thus, the social designations, consciousness, and historical experience forming an ethnic minority group are necessary but not sufficient conditions in ethnic market formation. Also crucial are the activities of ethnic minority-owned firms, media, and consumers, as well as government policy and academic support, and the validation of ethic-majority owned firms.

5.2. Redefinition of ethnic marketing research

I broaden the definition of ethnic marketing research to be consistent with the propositions as well, and use italics to indicate modifications to the definition of marketing research approved by the American Marketing Association (2003) to explicitly address ethnicity. *Ethnic* marketing research is the function that links marketers to *ethnic* consumers, customers, and publics through information—information

used to identify and define marketing opportunities and problems; *enhance understanding of ethnic consumers' identity and community formation and relations with others;* generate, refine, and evaluate marketing actions, monitor marketing performance; and improve understanding of marketing as a *social* process. *Ethnic* marketing research specifies the information required to address these issues, designs the methods *(plural)* for collecting information, manages and implements the data collection process, analyzes the results, and communicates the findings and their implications, *for the benefit of minority and majority ethnic consumers and their communities, clients, partners, and society at large*.

This redefinition allows for plural connotations for the term ethnicity and it features a broader contingent than firm and consumer benefits, as consistent with the inclusion of ethnic communities and society in the definition of marketing offered by Pires and Stanton (2015) and the AMA (2013). Further, the redefinition emphasizes ethnic marketing research as a vehicle for enhancing the knowledge of marketers and other organization members regarding changing and contested relations between ethnic minority and majority consumers.

6. Recommendations for practitioners, limitations and suggestions for future research

6.1. Ethnic marketing recommendations

The first recommendation follows from Propositions 1a and 1b in encouraging ethnic marketers to better understand their vital roles in enabling ethnic minority identity and community. In advancing such understanding, it is essential that practitioners begin to view their craft as an objectifying device that represents ethnic minority consumers and that further operates as social intervention in their production of ethnic identity and community. A counter example is an ad by Tecate featuring an attempt at humor playing off the stereotype of Latinas as hot and sexy in promoting the beer as “finally a cold Latina” (KCRA Sacramento News, 2004). In response to the many calls by Latinas offended by the ad, the U.S. Congressional Hispanic Caucus requested the company to drop the campaign (Roybal-Allard, 2004). Such missteps can be prevented by gaining appreciation of the subjective experience and consciousness of ethnic minority consumers.

Second, following from Proposition 2, I encourage ethic marketers to keep in mind that the historical asymmetry between ethnic minority and majority persons in resources and social treatment can be a source of tension in targeting and serving minority ethnic consumers. Extrapolating from Gustaffson's (2005) work suggesting a dialogic approach, I suggest that ethnic marketers develop specific ethnic marketing campaigns and train personnel in service activities to position and treat with respect and dignity minority persons in relation to majority ethnic others. Even today, as some ethnic minority consumers are welcomed in the marketplace, others are not. While the experience of Sister Maria Elena described earlier may seem a relic from the past, disparate treatment continues. For African Americans Grier, Williams, and Crockett (1996) noted the disadvantages of Black men in retail stores; while Bone, Christensen, and Williams (2014) showed the harm that limited market access inflicts on minority people's self-concept.

Third, following Propositions 3.1 and 3.2, it is essential that marketers consider the effects of ethnic minority marketing campaigns on ethnic majority people. Marketers can develop creative campaigns that contribute legitimizing effects for ethic minority consumers such as those discussed in Proposition 2, while helping advance positive social relations by avoiding the marginalization or denigration of the majority. Further, marketers should ease the transition of ethnic majority persons to being part of a larger social fabric by avoiding references to cultural purity and superiority in marketing materials and treatment. As an example, the criticism of a recent Nivea soap campaign proclaiming ‘Keep it Pure’ and emphasizing whiteness (Goins-Philips, 2017) could have been avoided by not including phrases previously associated with White supremacy groups and instead emphasizing the ability to keep skin soft due to the presence or absence of particular soap ingredients.

Fourth, following from Propositions 4.1 and 4.2 that elaborate the social effects of ethnic marketing in fragmenting and multiculturizing society, practitioners will benefit from attuning their perspective and operations in accord with the understanding that ethnic marketing practice is intricately interwoven with social relations. Another glaring counter example is the recent ad pulled by Pepsi (Wong, 2017). The ad was peppered with ethnic imagery: a Muslim woman photographer, an Asian male musician, and numerous persons of Color and Whites sporting symbols of diverse sexuality, many carrying placards sporting peace signs. It was devoid of all references for equal treatment and against police violence affecting African Americans particularly, although the actual demonstrations were held to protest recent deaths involving police. In the ad a White woman, Kendall Jenner, leaves a photo shoot to join a demonstration, and then after walking a short distance, gives a Pepsi to a White policemen in line with other police controlling the crowd. While presumably invoking 1960s anti-war protests, the ad touched already tense social relations. By keeping in mind that viewers interpret ethnic marketing materials against the backdrop of existing social relations, marketers can better anticipate the reactions of targeted and untargeted ethnic minorities and the majority, thus formulating more effective campaigns.

Finally, although market and social domains interweave, there are marked differences between them. Markets favor discrete, quid pro quo exchanges, such that one pays for products and services (Bell, 1976), while non-monetary exchanges and reciprocal norms characterize community (Putnam et al., 2003). Scholars have charted how consumers strive to counteract the social effects of neoliberal marketization, including individualism, material accumulation, and productivity that are globalizing rapidly (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Harvey, 2005). Further, Williams (2005) documented that in households in developed as well as in developing nations, market exchanges increase and then decrease, as measured in terms of the time, effort, and money people engage in them, with parallel rises in non-market activities, such as elder and child care, cooking, home maintenance and improvements, crafting, and gardening. Marketers and market researchers should be aware of these counter-trends to marketization, as ethnic communities are challenged to retain an ethic of sharing and giving amidst such strong market forces (Peñaloza, 2004). It is also important to note that non-market activities form the backbone of identity and community for many ethnic minority and majority peoples in the world.

6.2. Limitations and suggestions for further research

This paper has charted a trajectory of interpellations between ethnic marketing and social activity. It is not without limitations. The first limitation stems from its predominant focus on Latino/a consumers and the businesses and media serving them in the U.S. Further work with Latinos/as will deepen understanding of the emergence and evolution of ethnic marketing for this group. Further research is important with other peoples in the U.S. and in other nations in developing alternative trajectories appropriate to their history and social relations. Notably, the redefinitions apply to minority and majority ethnic groups designated by a myriad of factors only touched upon in this research, including colonization, immigration, language, religion, skin color, and facial features, as well as gender/sexuality, social class, age, values, activities/interests, and abilities. The redefinitions also allow for particular designations to emerge. By considering the differing social conditions fostering and inhibiting ethnic marketing, researchers will be able to pluralize and extend accepted knowledge in our field.

A second limitation is the reliance of this work on historical and ethnographic, introspective data. Further research is strongly encouraged using alternative methods in studying this and other ethnic minority and majority groups to appreciate shared and distinct circumstance and to evaluate the robustness of this framework and the

propositions.

A third limitation of this research is its limited dealings with gender or social class. As Gopaldas (2013) noted, research often focuses on ethnicity or race as if it existed apart from these other dimensions, yet persons seldom experience these dimensions separately. Further research is encouraged that analyzes these disparate dimensions of ethnic life as well as their inter-relations for greater insight into how ethnicity is experienced and construed in specific market and consumption contexts.

Additional work also is called for in documenting distinct regional cultural patterns and intergroup relations within regions. In Australia, Walsh (2012) noted increased emphasis on economic competitiveness and efficiency, the retrenchment of social programs, and heightened demands for social discipline at the intersection of neoliberal market development and multiculturalism. His work contrasts with the long-standing dual language conditions in Canada (Roosens, 1989) and with the recent push for the integration of immigrants in the European Union (Kantor, 2015). The study of how ethnic identity and community form and manifest over time in relation to market development in specific national and regional contexts and comparatively will make important future contributions.

Finally, as ethnic marketing continues to evolve, it will be ever more useful to conduct research on majority people as an ethnic group. An example is research on White people in the U.S. (Burton, 2009; Peñaloza, 2007b), to explore their characteristics and concerns, as well as the impact of ethnic minority marketing strategies on them. Further research also is encouraged that explores the changing relations between an ethnic majority and minorities in increasingly multicultural societies. Extending the insights of Rhodes and Westwood (2007) regarding how the self exists in relation to others, I suggest that ethnic marketing researchers can advance knowledge by examining how ethnic minority and majority identity are produced in relation to, and in distinction from each other in society.

In conclusion, it is important to gain deeper and more comprehensive knowledge and understanding of ethnic minority and majority groups, to include their inter-relations, in advancing ethnic marketing practice and research. In current times of ethnic tension and violence, ethnic marketing practice and research have the potential to advance positive inter-ethnic group relations, yet this potential is beyond our ability to realize when we treat ethnic marketing and consumption phenomena as a domain apart from the societal contexts within which they are embedded. Ethnic marketing campaigns featuring ethnically diverse coexistence in neighborhoods and apartment buildings, representations of multi-ethnic families and friendship groups, and amiable interactions among persons of different ethnic groups in market settings, such as sporting events, banks, restaurants, cafés, and movie theaters can help advance positive social relations. In featuring persons of distinct ethnic groups interacting amiably in a store or advertisement, such inclusive ethnic marketing materials and activities can help normalize positive inter-ethnic group relations. Such potential is no mere fancy; its benefits are pragmatic indeed to our field and to the societies in which we live.

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