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# The Routledge Companion to Ethnic Marketing

Edited by Ahmad Jamal, Lisa Peñaloza and Michel Laroche

# The Routledge Companion to Ethnic Marketing

The globalization of marketing has brought about an interesting paradox: as the discipline becomes more global, the need to understand cultural differences becomes all the more crucial. This is the challenge in an increasingly international marketplace, and a problem that the world's most powerful businesses must solve. From this challenge has grown the exciting discipline of ethnic marketing, which seeks to understand the considerable opportunities and challenges presented by cultural and ethnic diversity in the marketplace.

To date, scholarship in the area has been lively but disparate. This volume brings together cutting-edge research on ethnic marketing from thought leaders across the world. Each chapter covers a key theme, reflecting the increasing diversity of the latest research, including models of culture change, parenting and socialization, responses to web and advertising, role of space and social innovation in ethnic marketing, ethnic consumer decision making, religiosity, differing attitudes to materialism, acculturation, targeting and ethical and public policy issues.

The result is a solid framework and a comprehensive reference point for consumer researchers, students and practitioners.

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**Lisa Peñaloza** is Professor of Marketing at KEDGE Business School, France.

**Michel Laroche** is the Royal Bank Distinguished Professor of Marketing at the John Molson School of Business, Concordia University, Canada.

Recent developments have created an unprecedented climate of ethnic, religious and cultural changes on a global scale. This situation provides new and exciting opportunities. But, the question for academics and businesses, of course, is how best to define, challenge and suggest new markets, products and services created by a diverse ethnic, religious and cultural landscape. This edited volume by Dr Ahmad Jamal, Professor Lisa Peñaloza and Professor Michel Laroche is a rich source of thought for everyone who wants to get deeper insights into this question. I highly recommend *The Routledge Companion to Ethnic Marketing* as a relevant read that also helps to generate a dialogue necessary to extend our understand of this important area even further.

**Professor Adam Lindgreen**, *Head of Marketing and Strategy, Cardiff Business School, Cardiff University, UK*

Judging a book on the effect it has on the reader's thought processes, *The Routledge Companion to Ethnic Marketing* must be classified as outstanding. Its engaging style and argument clarity makes it an invaluable resource for researchers and in the classroom.

**Guilherme D. Pires**, *PhD, Associate Professor of Marketing, Newcastle Business School, University of Newcastle, Australia*

A most ambitious and comprehensive book geared to master Marketing to culturally diverse groups in the US and internationally. I am delighted to see an effort that includes models of culture change, cultural segmentation, religion, materialism, ethnic youth, and advertising approaches, in one comprehensive piece. This book puts culture at the core of marketing.

**Felipe Korzenny**, *PhD, Founder, Center for Hispanic Marketing Communication, Florida State University, USA and co-author of Hispanic Marketing: Connecting with the New Latino Consumer*

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# The Routledge Companion to Ethnic Marketing

*Edited by Ahmad Jamal,  
Lisa Peñaloza and  
Michel Laroche*

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## Chapter 8

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## Chapter 15

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**Part I**

# Why ethnic marketing?

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# Introduction to ethnic marketing

*Ahmad Jamal, Lisa Peñaloza  
and Michel Laroche*

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## Introduction

Growing population numbers, increasing purchasing power and a heightened sense of ethnic pride among ethnic minority consumers across the globe represent significant marketing opportunities (Jamal 2003; Peñaloza 2007). Cultural and ethnic diversity in the marketplace affects and shapes social institutions. As examples, many educational institutions have developed diversity offices to accommodate a multicultural student body and staff, while up-and-coming chefs and families and pop restaurateurs steadily incorporate ethnic foods into local cuisine. Ethnic diversity affects businesses by presenting opportunities in developing new markets for a variety of products and services, as well as challenges related to working with diverse workers and consumers.

The extent to which ethnic minority segments of a population integrate into a host society has been a major concern in the social sciences since their inception, especially during the last seven decades. There is a growing demand for marketing strategies and theories that incorporate ethnicity, ethnic identity and culture, and recent scholarly work has provided useful insights into ethnic consumers' responses to marketing efforts such as sales promotions, advertising and media, to name a few. Substantial work exists exploring the interplay of ethnicity, identity, consumption and marketing in focusing on major ethnic groups in North America and to some extent in the UK, Europe and Australia.

Ethnic marketing texts (e.g. Pires and Stanton in press) offer practical insights into the marketing opportunities arising out of cultural diversity. Other scholarly work discusses marketing strategies in a multi-ethnic environment (e.g. Cui 1997). A substantial body of work in marketing investigates the impact of migration and resettlement on the consumption experiences of immigrants (e.g. Hui, Kim, Laroche and Joy 1992). However, much of this work stands in isolation from each other. The current text aims to systematically link scholarly work published across different regions of the world, to outline a framework for ethnic marketing and to serve as a reference point for consumer researchers, doctoral students and practitioners including marketers and policy makers.

## Ethnic marketing in a globalized market economy

Ethnic marketing is an emerging field, and specific texts on the subject like Pires and Stanton (in press) highlight the importance of understanding the unique needs of ethnic minority

consumers and developing resonant marketing strategies that meet their preferences. In such a context, marketers need to be aware of key issues relevant to ethnic minority people, for example, ethnic identity and community as these impact consumption. Such work goes beyond early concerns limited to the location and socio-demographic characteristics of ethnic peoples and the extent to which they differ from ethnic mainstream consumers.

The contemporary global marketplace is characterized by the simultaneous occurrence of global integration and persistent ethnic, racial, religious and national difference (Cleveland, Laroche and Hallab 2013; Peñaloza and Gilly 1999). Worldwide immigration patterns and domestic growth rates of recent decades have contributed towards the creation of large ethnic minority subcultures across the Western world (Jamal 2003). Ethnic marketing public policies are highly contested in the USA and Canada as well as across Europe and Australia.

Regarding cultural diversity in the marketplace, it is important to appreciate how marketers and consumers are 'positioned within and traversing multiple cultural spheres' (Peñaloza and Gilly 1999, p. 84). Co-operation between marketers and consumers, and across subcultures of consumers, is a cornerstone of social and economic development (Gentry, Jun and Tansuhaj 1995). One way of enhancing such co-operation is to better understand how marketers, ethnic minority consumers and mainstream consumers interact with and adapt to one another. Such interactions and adaptations are complex and extend well beyond the segmentation and targeting efforts of firms; as cities, tribes and even nations use marketing techniques for their development (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009).

However, it remains true that some marketers retain narrow views of the workings of culture based on their own experience (Jamal 1997; Peñaloza 2007; Peñaloza and Gilly 1999). Whether it arises from a failure of imagination, a failure to reflect upon the cultural processes, interactions and changes in their own lives and businesses, or a failure to realize that they, too, live in an 'other culture' from the perspective of others, this blindness is both the cause and effect of marketers' tendency to impose their own perspectives on other consumers as well as workers. Traditional approaches to the study of ethnic minority consumer behaviour have been oriented primarily as attempts to gain control over such behaviour in order to influence and direct it. This instrumentalism, while beneficial in terms of short term strategy, has stymied longer term strategic considerations and understandings of the interweaving of ethnicity and market development.

The rise of global markets and Global Consumer Culture (GCC), the rapid diffusion of social media globally and significant changes in lifestyle, global travel patterns and rates of international migration and mobility present significant opportunities as well as challenges in ethnic marketing.

## Culture change

The issue of cultural difference, interaction and change is at the heart of ethnic marketing research and practice. Building on the work of many researchers, including Askegaard, Arnould, Kjeldgaard (2005), Peñaloza (1994) and Wallendorf and Reilly (1983), Laroche and Jamal (this volume) provide an insightful analysis and discussion of models of cultural change. A common assumption in acculturation research in marketing is that, as a result of prolonged contact and mutual influences between two or more cultures, cultural changes take place and these changes occur at an individual and a group level.

However, in practice, substantial research focuses on changes that occur to a single cultural group, and in almost all cases this is an ethnic minority group. Further work is needed that incorporates multiple cultural groups at the same time and includes mainstream consumers. Moreover, substantial differences exist in the way the term 'acculturation' is conceptualized and applied in an

ethnic marketing context. In most cases, acculturation is interpreted as one form of an adaptation to new cultural environment, and the paradigm of acculturation as adaption dominates current thinking and practice (e.g. Chirkov 2009). Laroche and Jamal build upon the work of Luedicke (2011) in calling for future research going beyond the bi-dimensional models of cultural change.

Recent models focused on identity (e.g. Askegaard *et al.* 2005) broadened acculturation to incorporate three sets of institutional acculturation forces and agents: the first is aligned with a heritage culture, the second is aligned with a receiving culture and the third is aligned with a GCC. The three agents and forces stand in a co-productive yet competing relation to each other as they inform the four identity positions of hyperculture, assimilation, integration and pendulum.

The models acknowledge fluid movement between identity positions and such movement can take various forms, as the ethnic minority consumers express and experience 'situational ethnicity' (Deshpandé, Hoyer and Donthu 1986), 'culture swapping' (Oswald 1999), an 'oscillating pendulum' (Askegaard *et al.* 2005) and 'frame switching' (Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008). Thus, as highlighted by Laroche and Jamal (this volume), ethnic marketers need to note that there is considerable diversity within ethnic minority groups and that people may take on multiple identity positions over the course of their lives. As their sentiments and concerns alter in specific contexts, ethnic minority consumers re-interpret and redefine the boundaries of the groups within which they exist (Jamal 1997). Discursive outcomes such as assimilation, integration, rejection and deculturation, as described by Berry (1980) may manifest; however, rather than viewing these conditions separately or independently from each other, it is important to note their constant interplay.

As highlighted by Laroche and Jamal (this volume), there remains a need for ethnic marketing researchers to go beyond the current conceptualizations of identity formation, acculturation and intergroup relations in considering the co-existence of two or more cultures. The distinction between acculturation processes and identity positions as outcomes, while useful in demarcating the scope of particular investigations, results in limited understandings of ethnicity overall (Jamal 1997). The idea of an outcome, as the product of a prior process, can only assume substance if the frame of observation is frozen in time (e.g. Chapman 1995) or is generalized across multiple observations. All societies and market institutions are, in some sense, constantly in a process of cultural change, and such changes are usefully examined with attention to internal and external forces and elements. As experienced by ethnic minority consumers, such notions of change may be understood in terms of co-constructive and competing models of time, space, being, having and consuming (Askegaard *et al.* 2005).

Scholarly acculturation work often studies various domains of cultural change like food, dress and language choices, which represent important symbolic systems (Barth 1969, pp. 9–38). Much further work is needed in other symbolic areas such as fashion, media and music consumption. Food, dress and language choices symbolize the manner in which consumers view and define themselves and others as insiders and outsiders (Douglas 1975). The ethnographic study of immigrant consumption necessarily touches upon broader questions regarding the interplay of culture and consumption more generally in appreciating the complex nature of cultural change (Peñaloza 1994; Jamal 2003).

Since the 1960s, immigrants from Latin America, Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and the Middle East have settled in North America, Western Europe and Australia. There are tremendous differences in the level of development and infrastructure of these nations, as well as different standards of living for individual migrants and their families. While somewhat problematic in potentially overemphasizing differences between nations and underemphasizing similarities between them (Nakata 2009), classifying societies as individualist or collectivist continues to be a common practice in ethnic marketing research. Schwartz *et al.* (2010) attempts to understand

the tensions between migrant groups and the societies that receive them in terms of differences in their values as approximated by characterizing the nations of the migrants and the hosts as collectivist or individualist.

Also in this volume, Yang explains how different social goals impact cultural change. Specifically, the author suggests that the socialization goal toward collectivism drives people in the Eastern culture of China to exhibit high-context communication patterns in comparison with the socialization goal towards individualism in the Western culture of the USA that brings about low-context styles of communication. Yang relates differences between the concept- and socially oriented parental styles to the susceptibility of adolescents to peer influence. Furthermore, the author notes differences in authoritative, authoritarian and permissive parental styles across the two cultures. Whereas people from the US consider authoritative parenting to be the most effective style for socialization, people from China report the authoritarian style to be the appropriate means of regulating children's behaviour. Research implications support Laroche *et al.* (2007) in considering acculturative consistency within generations as a relevant factor in understanding family decision-making processes among ethnic minority cultures, while ethnic marketing implications advise the need to use culturally relevant symbols such as authority figures and elders in marketing communications targeting Eastern cultures.

A phenomenon largely under-researched in ethnic marketing is category disturbance (Chapman and Jamal 1997). Cultural categories are theoretical concepts that are specific to each culture and are acted out in daily life. As Chapman (1992) observed, 'the meeting of different cultures is a sustained experience of classificatory disturbance' (p. 158). The social-anthropological literature is rich in detailing the moral importance that social groups attach to maintaining the integrity of their systems of classification (Evans-Pritchard 1956; Lienhardt 1961). Differences in social classification can generate perceptual barriers and impact social relations within multicultural environments (Jamal and Chapman 2000; Chapman and Jamal 1997). In the context of the coming together of multiple cultures with varying values and classificatory systems, acculturation can be understood by investigating the structure and direction of the classificatory features that impact consumption (Applebaum and Jordt 1996; McCracken 1986). A domain relevant to investigating such categories in consumption is the internet.

The internet has accelerated globalization processes (Angelides 1997), enabling marketers to better tailor their marketing communication programs by developing culturally congruent websites (Luna, Peracchio and de Juan 2002). In this context, Bartikowski (this volume) discusses ethnic minority consumers' responses to the web. Demographic factors, socio-economic status and generational differences within ethnic minority groups account for the digital divide between the mainstream and ethnic minority consumers. The author finds that ethnic minority consumers are adapting social media, mobile devices (e.g. smart phones) and mobile applications more quickly than their mainstream counterparts. The strength of cultural identification appears to play a dominant role in explaining how ethnic minorities respond to marketing communications. Bartikowski's recommendation to ethnic marketers is to make efforts to identify those who care about their ethnic identity and position their communications efforts accordingly. Ethnic marketers can improve the effectiveness of their marketing communication efforts by developing websites that are culturally congruent.

### **Here, there and everywhere: identity, space and ethnic entrepreneurship**

In emphasizing the relational dimensions of ethnic identity, Tonkin, Chapman and McDonald (1989) note that 'a group or an individual has no one identity, but a variety (a potentially very

large variety) of possibilities, that only incompletely or partially overlap in social time and social space' (p. 17). The term 'ethnic' can be used to describe any social group (be it a minority or a majority group) and the notions of ethnic identity and ethnicity exist in a context of oppositions and relativities (Tajfel 1981; Jamal 1997). Most of the prior work discusses ethnic minority consumers' identity positions in the context of meeting one's heritage and receiving cultures. Built into such conceptualizations is the notion of space involving a contrast between here (new country) and there (back home). The essays in this section detail how ethnic identity, space and entrepreneurial activities are intertwined.

Visconti (this volume) emphasizes how identities of ethnic and mainstream consumers confront each other in specific spaces that resonate with physical, geopolitical, cultural, social, ideological and political dimensions. His research extends previous research on ethnicity and acculturation that has addressed the role of space in the context of a contrast between original and destination countries by expanding upon spatial metaphors and thus elaborating the rich and varied multicultural nature of everyday experience. Visconti elaborates how ethnic minorities use local, regional and supranational articulations of physical space in creating more nuanced and richer ethnic identities; how they compare, reinforce and modify the ethnic stereotypes that others impose on them, and how they become part of a nation in using its social services and in contributing to its cultural life. In viewing acculturation phenomena from the lens of physical, cultural and social spaces, Visconti suggests new research directions in investigating the acculturating experiences of both ethnic minority and mainstream groups and in considering more comprehensive social exchanges involving multiple countries and contexts. By incorporating spatial metaphors, his work has helped advance ethnic marketing and transformative research and public policy.

Visconti's chapter, like many of the chapters in this book, builds upon previous studies that consider consumption to be a personal, social and material process that constitutes identity and serves as the terrain for cultural expression. Consumption itself becomes a space (Visconti, this volume) where ethnic consumers experience the joys and pleasures of cultural familiarities and the challenges and discomforts of differences. In ways parallel to theoretical understandings of interpretations and meanings in the consumption of physical goods (Douglas and Isherwood 1980), the essential feature of space appears to be consumers' capacity to make linguistic and poetic sense. Thus, space is very good for thinking through the contexts, meetings and identity and community constructions of multiple cultures. Space is both visible in the physical sense and invisible in the social, cultural and ideological sense as vital parts of culture and as the arena in which ethnicity and ethnic identity are forged and contested.

The steady rise in ethnic minority populations and their spending power provide significant entrepreneurial opportunities (Jamal 2005; Ram 1994). Previous work by Wamwara-Mbugua, Cornwell and Boller (2008) discusses the acculturation experiences of Kenyan immigrants using the metaphor of 'an entrenched African American subculture' within a U.S. majority culture. Jamal (2003) noted that small and medium sized ethnic minority enterprises, ethnic media, and religious and cultural centres act as acculturating agents facilitating ethnic identity formulation. Mehmood, Jamal and Sriram (this volume), contribute to this previous work by emphasizing the social innovations and economic and social contributions to ethnic community of ethnic entrepreneurs. These authors explain the importance of social capital in building and bridging economic relations and consider social innovation as an ethno-marketing strategy for social and economic development and prosperity. The growth of ethnic entrepreneurs moves in the opposite direction from the global consolidation of capital, and thus provides an important source of dynamism in ethnic communities. Their work echoes earlier work that considers ethnic minorities not only as consumers but also as producers (e.g. Peñaloza and Gilly 1999). Abid *et al.* call



for benchmarking the socially innovative features of ethnic entrepreneurship for developing and implementing innovative ethnic marketing strategies.

Also exploring entrepreneurship, Ojo, Nwankwo and Gbadamosi (this volume) track tensions and movements in the UK ethnic marketing landscape, as transnational activities, cross-border flows and the diffusion of ethnic minority entrepreneurship into the mainstream marketplace blur the boundaries among various ethnic groups. Prior research has attributed the growth limits of extended family ethnic minority businesses to family size and trust. The authors suggest that things may change when the younger generation takes control of these businesses. They elaborate additional dimensions of family owned enterprises, including breaking out of ethnic enclaves, business positioning and the role of entrepreneurial, symbolic and cultural capital as well as trust in ethnic entrepreneurship. The authors provide implications for future research that contextualize and add more nuanced understandings to dynamics of trust among ethnic entrepreneurs.

In a related domain, Ruvalcaba and Venkatesh (this volume) investigate internet-technology adoption among Hispanic small businesses in the USA. Using an ethnoconsumerist and ethno-marketing approach to understanding the motivation and barriers to technology usage, they identify cultural factors such as the tendency to stay connected with the community, the need for personal interaction, the lack of trust towards internet technology and risk aversiveness. Their findings identify a culture-based preference among Hispanic entrepreneurs for having a physical space instead of a virtual one and stress the importance of developing, maintaining and nurturing interpersonal relations with Hispanic clients. The perception that patterns of social relations within the Hispanic community are at risk triggers potential users' reluctance to use internet technology. To overcome this reluctance, the authors suggest enhancing the overall value proposition of technology products so that it resonates with Hispanic businesses, and assisting and empowering Hispanic entrepreneurs to utilize the cultural/social capital of the community in their businesses.

Their work raises important lessons for ethnic marketers. For example, the ethnoconsumerist and ethno-marketing approaches can provide deeper insights into the cultural dynamics underpinning business practices. In researching ethnic business practices, it is important to make explicit social relationships of various kinds, such as the value of business practices in the family and the community and the organization of time and space. Further, ethnoconsumerist and ethno-marketing approaches assist market researchers in attending to the specific meanings and rituals in business culture and to the culturally constituted nature of market behaviour (McCracken 1986). Implicit in such an approach is an effort to understand the entirety of the business system as manifest in the lived practices, through which individuals attribute sense and meaning to artifacts and activities. Because efforts to understand a different culture are always partial (Clifford and Marcus 1986), researchers' pursuit of holistic analysis and cultural understanding is of tremendous value.

## **Globalization, religion and materialism**

The rapid and widespread movement of people, capital, and products and services is impacting ethnic consumers across the globe. The integration of multiple heritage and receiving cultures with multiple consumer cultures globally in markets impacts ethnic minority identity formation and reformulation (Askegaard *et al.* 2005). Religion is a significant marker of ethnic identity in the global marketplace (e.g., Jamal & Sukor 2014). Recent ethnic consumer research suggests differences between ethnic minority consumers with high levels of religiosity as compared to those with low levels of religiosity (Jamal and Sharifuddin 2014), with implications regarding materialism (Cleveland and Chang 2009), cultural identity

(Lindridge 2005), consumption (Sood and Nasu 1995) and power in the marketplace (Jamal 1997). Izberk-Bilgin (this volume) examines the myriad ways in which transnational flows of people, capital, products and services, and ideas inform ethnicity and religion in people's consumption and connections to brands. She elaborates the conflation of ethnicity and religion in ethnic marketing research and explains the divergent trends towards and away from religion in consumption and markets. Distinguishing between consumer activism, ethno-religious ideologies, faith-based markets and marketing, the author highlights the convergent efforts of consumers, religious organizations, cultural intermediaries and government in altering the importance of religion in consumption. Her findings are particularly significant given the ever larger numbers of migrant workers, tourists, expatriates, refugees and students who cross borders and, in the process of doing so, encounter and react to what they perceive to be cultural threats and opportunities, thus contributing to an already heightened global sense of the 'religiously other'. In closing, Izberk-Bilgin maps future research directions at the intersection of religion, identity and social relations in exploring how markets and consumption facilitate people's pursuit of personal meaning and spiritual transcendence.

Cleveland (this volume) provides a comprehensive account of the extent to which ethnicity combines with acculturation to advance materialistic values across different cultures and consumption contexts. The rise of global mass media; significant advancements in technology, including the widespread adoption of internet and social media; tourism; cosmopolitanism; English language usage as well as an openness to GCC all act as agents of change impacting ethnic minority consumers' predispositions to adapt to other cultures and traditions and gain a materialist orientation. Yet at the same time, divergent counter trends also gain momentum, such that ethnic minority consumers reassert ethnic and religious identities and consumption practices. Ethnic marketers face the challenge of employing themes associated with materialism such as achievement, success, abundance, status and glamour, while at the same time reinforcing ethnic and cultural identities. The author closes with a timely call for anthropological perspectives in research on materialism across cultures.

## Marketing, market segmentation and targeting

Ethnic difference is a basic consideration in market segmentation and targeting. Zúñiga and Torres (this volume) analyze demographic and lifestyle features of Hispanics, African Americans and Asian Americans in the USA and point to distinctions in education, technology usage, health care, and economic and political activities through which the three groups experience and cope with the forces of acculturation. Hispanics tend to avoid pan-ethnic labels like Hispanic and instead use family origin to identify themselves. They tend to have positive perceptions of the US and view learning English as a pathway to success. Self-reported high levels of brand loyalty characterize them as a valuable market for companies. Political affiliation continues to strongly support Democratic political candidates as 71 per cent of Hispanics voted for Barack Obama in 2012. African American consumers continue to grow in numbers and economic power. Those who strongly identify with African culture prefer adverts featuring African American models and these models appear fairly prominently in TV and print advertising, especially in specialized media. Asian Americans represent a diverse group in terms of country of origin. Japanese Americans are more likely to attend to English language media than Chinese, Vietnamese and Korean Americans, who preference their native languages. Most Asians are brand loyal but look for high-quality brands at reasonable prices. The significant growth of ethnic diversity, combined with growing affluence and purchasing power, active political participation and engagement, and greater use of new technologies in the US offers substantial opportunities while challenges remain

in targeting and segmenting various minority groups in the diverse nature of ethnic groups and their use and preference for different languages.

Sekhon (this volume) explores the links among ethnicity, identity and consumption in addressing the bicultural self and identity in the consumption decision making of ethnic minority consumers. While acknowledging generational differences, the author suggests that ethnic minority consumers tend to experience multiple and fluid identities, and that consumption patterns, acculturation levels and self-relevant experiences help explain identity formation. She argues that ethnic minority consumer decision making is a complex, diverse and nonlinear process impacted by globalization, transnationalism and interactivity in the marketplace. Sekhon's work is consistent with recent acculturation work in marketing that considers the impact of macro- and micro-level factors on identity formation and the construction of ethnicity in consumption decision making.

In another work in this volume, Alam laments the dearth of marketing efforts targeting religious minorities with financial services. The author makes a case for multinational banks to enter the niche ethnic area of Islamic banking and finance with specially targeted services, warning that ethnic minority customers tend to be quite analytical and critical and may have higher than normal expectations for financial service providers. He further advises bank marketers to engage with ethnic minority customers, particularly those with strong ties in respective communities, at the very early stages in developing and tailoring their services and then later in helping disseminate financial knowledge using their own expertise and social networks.

Also important is attending to the variation within subcultures. The study of consumers at subcultural levels poses valuable opportunities to better understand patterns of class, status and ethnicity. Lindridge (this volume) discusses the key problems underpinning traditional approaches to segmenting ethnic minority markets. He notes that early applications of market segmentation by marketers at the turn of the century encouraged assimilation, whereas later efforts from the 1970s onward emphasized the unique needs of ethnic groups in segmenting markets. He cites the example of Proctor and Gamble targeting promotions for its hugely popular Gain detergent brand to the African American and Latino market segments in the US. His analysis highlights problems in the use of segmentation criteria requiring minimal within-group differences and maximal between-group differences. His discussion elaborates the shortcomings of demographic, geographic, psychographic and behaviouristic measures and the strengths of acculturation measures in segmenting markets and targeting consumers based on ethnicity.

Elliot, Cherian and Casakin (this volume) present the case of transcultural consumers who seek to embrace diversity and move beyond the confines of their own cultures by attending cultural festivals and purchasing art. Such consumers view cultural artifacts as opportunities to adapt and transform their personal and collective selves and rework their multiple, nested and elective identities. The authors argue for an approach to marketing ethnicity that considers consumption as integral to the construction of a transcultural identity. Citing the case of ethnic artists as cultural producers and visitors to the neighbourhood festival as transcultural consumers, the authors make a strong case for marketers to develop strategies that are inclusive of multiple cultural groups. Such scholarly work is emblematic of the significant opportunities in marketing research investigating the role of agency and subjectivity in the production and consumption of ethnicity.

## Advertising

Yoo and Lee (this volume) explore ethnic consumers' responses to multicultural advertising using a range of theories including identification (Kelman 1961), distinctiveness (McGuire 1984), in-group biasness (Brewer 1979), accommodation and polarized appraisal (Linville 1982)

theories. Overall, those who reported strong sentiments about their ethnicity and identity tended to prefer advertisements that were congruent with their culture and behaviour and feature ethnically similar models. Furthermore, ethnic minority consumers appreciate adverts that show sensitivity to their culture, and demonstrate higher levels of trust for culturally sensitive advertising messages.

Chávez's (this volume) attention to the need for cultural reflexivity in advertising practice and research is a timely one. Unbalanced representations of ethnicity in the marketplace create challenges for advertisers, their clients, consumers and society. The author speaks of particular challenges related to misrepresentations, faulty assumptions, and personal and organizational interests between cultural producers, consumers and intermediaries. He elaborates on the cultural homogeneity that results from the increased institutional concentration in advertising agencies, client appeasements and the professional ambitions of advertising executives. Ethnic marketers' tendency to invest authority in cultural intermediaries, in this case advertising agencies, can be self-defeating when they devalue the very cultural knowledge and expertise they seek. It is important to recognize that cultural knowledge construction in advertising is an inter-subjective process incorporating various subjectivities with differences in power. Implications from this work point to subtle cultural, personal and organizational barriers inhibiting the performance of advertising professionals and the ability of brand managers to accept the expertise of the cultural intermediaries they hire to learn about ethnic consumers. Chávez recommends that advertisers and marketers reflect upon and overcome their organizational biases in producing, circulating and disseminating cultural knowledge about ethnic minority consumers.

Khairullah and Khairullah (this volume) find cultural differences in how ethnic consumers perceive advertisements. In six studies of Asian-Indian Americans originating from India the authors noted that these consumers are among the wealthiest and highly educated ethnic segment in the US and include diverse religious, cultural and regional backgrounds. Those with low levels of acculturation report a preference for advertisements with Indian models over those with American models, although such preferences decrease as level of acculturation increases. The authors conclude that level of acculturation can guide firms in segmenting and targeting Indian American consumers.

## **Ethical and public policy in ethnic marketing**

Ethnic minorities are a visible part of consumer culture in major cosmopolitan cities around the globe, triggering the need to apply a policy of fairness and equal opportunity for everyone. Indeed, there exists significant opportunities for making inroads into ethnic minority market segments for those who integrate ethics into their marketing strategy. Pires and Stanton (this volume) provide a comprehensive overview of ethical concerns regarding the way ethnicity is approached and integrated into marketing practices, including the social exclusion and loss of self-esteem by ethnic minority consumers that result from marketers' failure to address specific cultural needs and wants. Reinforcement of stereotypes, incorrect ascriptions to communities and race-based discrimination are additional ethical issues arising in ethnic market targeting efforts, and these issues are rendered increasingly important and complex in contributing to a 'digital divide' in access to information technology globally. The authors conclude by developing a comprehensive ethical assessment framework for firms to implement ethical ethnic marketing efforts.

In closing the book, Peñaloza (this volume) builds upon several of the previous chapters in discussing contemporary opportunities and challenges in public policy. She points to a

growing trend towards greater awareness and sensitivity of ethnicity as a valid part of society, not just in private life, and emphasizes that ethnic minority consumers actively co-create value in marketing exchanges as both consumers and producers. In contributing insights to public policy regarding ethnic marketing, she highlights the inherently social and relational nature of cultural identity and ethnicity and the different positioning of ethnic groups in terms of access to resources and power structures. Citing the discussion of social plurality and difference in the social sciences, she recommends that public policy workers suspend their belief in their ability to truly know another as the means of better attaining the goals of dialogic and more effective forms of communication. She further discusses the legacy of post-colonial relations for its role in developing markets across the globe, and points to the growing realization among ethnic consumers that market activity can be harnessed for community development and the need for unifying public policy that serves the national mandates of fair and equal treatment. Public policy, ethnic differences and the reproduction of unequal power in the marketplace remain at the top of the many issues requiring greater understanding. Recommendations for public policy development and implementation point to the importance of positioning ethnic groups, and not just individual members, as valuable entities in their own right, worthy of recognition and address as agents and to the necessity of treating ethnic groups and people as equal participants in relation to others in the marketplace and in society.

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## **Part II**

# Processes of ethnic cultural change, socialization and technology

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# Models of culture change

*Michel Laroche and Ahmad Jamal*

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## Introduction

Migration involves movements of people from one place to another and many Western countries have a long history of attracting immigrants from different parts of the world. The impact of migration and resettlement on the consumption experiences of immigrants has long been a matter of great interest to researchers (Hui, Joy, Kim and Laroche 1992) in various disciplines like anthropology, sociology, social psychology and consumer behaviour. The key question of how immigrants remain involved with their culture of origin (even after spending substantial amounts of time in their respective countries of destination) is an enduring one in multicultural environments like the USA, Canada, Australia and the UK. Different theoretical frameworks exist explaining the phenomena, and this chapter aims to review such frameworks and identify future research directions.

## Models of culture change

### *Melting pot and assimilation*

In its purest form, the melting pot ideology 'assumed that each ethnic group would blend into a national whole that was greater than the sum of the ethnic parts' (Crispino 1980, p. 6). Such ideology underpins the phenomenon of assimilation, which is 'the process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life' (Park and Burgess 1921, p. 735, cited in Gordon 1964, p. 62).

From this definition, Gordon (1964) identified seven types of assimilation. First, cultural or behavioural assimilation happens when the immigrants change their patterns (including religious beliefs and observance) to those of the host society. Second, structural assimilation happens when the immigrants enter, at a large scale, cliques, clubs and institutions of the host society on a primary group level. Third, marital assimilation occurs when the immigrants have large scale intermarriages with members of the host society. Fourth, identifi- cal assimilation occurs when the immigrants develop a sense of people-hood or ethnicity based exclusively on the values of host society. Fifth, attitudinal receptional assimilation occurs when the immigrants do not encounter any prejudiced attitudes. Sixth, behavioural receptional assimilation

occurs when the immigrants do not encounter any discriminatory behaviour. Finally, civic assimilation occurs when the immigrants do not have any conflict for value and power with members of the host society.

According to Gordon, acculturation referred only to what he described as *cultural or behavioural assimilation*. Hence 'acculturation' in this sense was presented as part of an overall phenomenon called 'assimilation'. Accordingly, acculturation was treated as a linear bipolar process, by which individuals within immigrant communities give up the attitudes, values and behaviours of their original culture when acquiring those of the host culture (Gordon 1964). This definition confounds acquisition of host-cultural traits with the loss of original-cultural traits (Kim, Laroche and Tomiuk 2001). From a theoretical viewpoint, this perspective fails to consider alternatives to assimilation such as integrated or bi-cultural identities (Dion and Dion 2001).

Furthermore, a substantial amount of research in the last five decades into immigrants and the way they behave, act and consume does not provide significant support for everyone in the immigrants' communities to assimilate in the way described by Gordon (1964). The assimilation approach is also criticized on the grounds that it is 'uni-directional', with movement always towards replacement of old (country of origin) with new (country of destination) (see for example Hui *et al.* 1992; Padilla 1980). Rather than assimilating in its purest form and in its entirety, immigrants tend to engage in a more complex form of adaptation: (a) acquiring some skills and/or traits to function within a host culture and (b) retaining aspects of their culture of origin. The former has been referred to as *acculturation* and the latter as *ethnic identity* (Phinney 1990; 1992).

## **Acculturation**

According to Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936), acculturation 'results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups' (p. 149). The Social Science Research Council defined acculturation as the 'culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems' (Palmer 1954, p. 974). Most definitions found in the literature have common denominators: (a) people from two cultural origins; (b) continuous contact of two groups and (c) adaptation of cultural dimensions by individuals in groups. While cultural change occurs as a result of any intercultural contact anywhere in the world (e.g. teenagers around the world adopting Western cultural values due to their exposure to Global Consumer Culture (GCC) and engagement with global social media), the cultural change (under the term 'acculturation') is often studied among individuals (e.g., immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers and sojourners such as international students) living in countries or regions other than they were born (Schwartz Unger, Zamboanga and Szapocznik 2010).

Within marketing, 'consumer acculturation' is the 'process through which people raised in one culture acquire consumption-related values, attitudes and customs of another culture, through direct or indirect contact' (Schiffman, Dillon and Ngumah 1981). Peñaloza (1994) identifies three steps in the consumer acculturation process: (1) *move*, where one immigrates to a new country; (2) *translate*, where one associates host culture's concepts with home culture's ones to comprehend the new environment; and (3) *adapt*, where one learns how to function in the new culture. These steps of the consumer acculturation process are identified in several contexts, i.e., Hispanics, Blacks, European immigrants in the United States and Canada, and Muslims in Europe (Palumbo and Teich 2004). However, they do not follow a linear trend, but a complex, dynamic, cyclic and irregular process by which immigrants experience foreclosure (i.e. acceptance without question), then move to a crisis before finally reaching moratorium

(i.e. questioning and experimenting). Immigrants can go back and forth through these phases before achieving an identity (Steenkamp 2001).

### ***Ethnic identity***

For Phinney (1990) ethnic identity is: (a) based on context and meaningfulness in relation to a dominant culture; (b) fluid and malleable after immigration; (c) confounded with acculturation; (d) more salient after immigration; and (e) not specific to one ethnic group. In many conceptualizations, ethnic identity and acculturation are confounded. This is represented by a bipolar model of acculturation or changing ethnic identity (Phinney 1990; Phinney and Ong 2007; Laroche, Pons and Richard 2009). This model represents an *assimilationist* perspective where acquisitions of host-cultural traits are accompanied by some weakening of the original culture. In others, the two constructs are independent. However, a further flexible perspective provides a more complex representation of changing culture (Berry 1990; Keefe and Padilla 1987; Mendoza 1989; Phinney 1990; Laroche *et al.* 2009). Thus, highly acculturated people may exhibit high ethnic identity; and conversely, high ethnic identity people may show varying levels of acculturation. This perspective is related to *multiculturalism* and is a better theoretical base for the study of culture change (Berry 1990).

### ***Situational nature of culture change***

Acculturation is viewed as a multi-dimensional process. Researchers argue that the acquisition of new cultural traits and the weakening of traditional cultures vary from trait to trait (Hui, Joy, Kim and Laroche 1993; Keefe and Padilla 1987; Mendoza 1989). This *selective acculturation* explains the tendency of immigrants to adopt some *strategic traits* such as learning English to gain employment while maintaining native values and traditions (Keefe and Padilla 1987). Thus, processes like acculturation or ethnic identity are adaptive responses to structural situations (Yancey, Eriksen and Juliani 1976; Frideres and Goldenberg 1982). Bouchet (1995) provides support by arguing that ethnic identity is like a bricolage whereby one builds self-identity on the basis of heterogeneous elements taken from a diversity of cultural representations and practices. Stayman and Deshpandé (1989) argue that persons in multicultural societies have a set of ethnic and other identities that are differentially salient in different situations. Like mainstream consumers, immigrants may have multiple selves (Markus and Kunda 1986) and may engage in culture swapping (Jamal 2003; Oswald 1999). Stayman and Deshpandé (1989) gave the example of the salience of Irish ethnicity felt by an Irish American on St. Patrick's Day, and how it might affect the choice of a restaurant on that day compared to non-Irish holidays.

### ***Hyperacculturation***

Wallendorf and Reilly (1983) found that Mexican Americans, Anglo Americans and Mexicans living in Mexico all had different consumption patterns, with Mexican Americans consuming the most 'American-type' products. Thus, Mexican Americans over-assimilate to *prior* perceptions of American cultural styles and these conceptions of American lifestyles may originate from inferences drawn from the mass media (*ibid.*). Similar patterns are found among Korean Americans (Wei-Na and Koog-Hyang 1992) and Italian Americans (Celeste 2006).

According to *cultivation theory*, people are brought up in a mass-mediated environment (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli 1980) and immigrants to the United States – while learning its culture – rely more on material symbols and indirect exposure (e.g. through

television) than on direct exposure and participation in related events (Wallendorf and Arnould 1988). Television viewing studies find that people with little direct social experiences more likely assume that these images of the host society are real (Conway Dato-on 2000). Thus, immigrants may become over-assimilated to the host culture, falsely accepting the consumption cues provided by the mass media. The notion of hyper-acculturation or over-acculturation may also apply to members of the host society who may experience cultural change following their exposure to immigrant cultural groups (Jamal 2003). For example, Jamal (1996) documents instances of over-acculturation among the native English in Bradford (UK) who consumed spicier and hotter Asian dishes than did the British Pakistanis in the same town.

Askegaard, Arnould and Kjeldgaard (2005) studying Greenlandic immigrants in four Danish cities found evidence in support of Greenlandic hyperculture. Immigrants idealized cultural possessions associated with Greenland and consumed hyped commercial elements as emblems of authentic culture—with their identities becoming more Greenlandic than the Greenlandic people. This hyperassimilated identity involving elements of cultural maintenance and authenticity represented a reverse of the hyperassimilated identity identified by Wallendorf and Reilly (1983) in a North American context (Askegaard *et al.* 2005). There are other examples where immigrants seek to become more ethnic than their counterparts in the host culture. For example, Jamal (1997) documents the case of British Pakistanis in Bradford (UK) who sought to experience Islamic and cultural identities in the UK more strongly than the Muslims in Pakistan.

### ***Dimensions of culture change***

The indicators of acculturation are classified into behavioural, attitudinal, linguistic, psychological and socio-economic dimensions (Olmedo, Martinez and Martinez 1978). They vary in types and numbers from one group to another and from one study to another. For any specific group, these dimensions are the salient features of identification (Christian, Gadfield, Giles and Taylor 1976). Some of the accepted indicators of cultural change are: (a) *language*, (b) *friendship networks*, (c) *religion*, (d) *participation in ethnic organizations*, (e) *food preferences*, (f) *ethnic celebrations*, and (g) *politics* (e.g. Driedger 1975; Phinney 1990; Rosenthal and Feldman 1992). Other indicators of culture change include music, dress and media consumption (e.g. Peñaloza 1994).

An exhaustive literature search on ethnic identity and acculturation shows that some dimensions appear with higher frequencies (Laroche, Kim, Tomiuk and Belisle 2005). Thus, a structure of ethnic acculturation or identity applicable to many but not all groups may include: (a) one or more *language-based* dimensions and (b) an *ethnic attachment* dimension. Various language-based factors emerge as dimensions for several ethnic groups (Aboud and Christian 1979; de la Garza, Newcomb and Myers 1995; Giles, Taylor, Lambert and Goodwin 1976). Most measures include language-based items in contexts, which include *media consumption/exposure* (e.g. Keefe and Padilla 1987) and *family* (e.g., Keefe and Padilla 1987; Valencia 1985). *Ethnic attachment* also emerge as an important dimension of ethnic identity (Keefe and Padilla 1987; Kwan and Sadowsky 1997; Phinney 1992).

### **Bi-dimensional models**

Scholars state that when original and host-cultural identities are independent, the cultural adaptation process can be better understood (Berry 2005; 2009). Congruent with this viewpoint, studies of ethnic groups in the United States and Canada find that the adaptation process

does not necessarily cause the loss of one's original ethnic identity (Lambert, Mermigis and Taylor 1986). There are six key bi-dimensional models: (1) Berry's model, (2) Mendoza and Martinez's model, (3) Laroche and colleagues' model, (4) Cleveland and Laroche's AGCC model, (5) Cleveland and colleagues' extended model and (6) Laroche and colleagues' non-linear model.

### **Berry's model**

For Berry (1990), countries with official multiculturalism policies and acceptance of ethnic cultures and identities allow for high degrees of culture maintenance across generations of immigrants.

Berry (1980) states that change occurs along two independent dimensions: (1) the degree of *maintenance* of the original culture and (2) the degree of *conformity* to the attitudes and behaviours of the host culture. Dichotomizing these two dimensions provides four acculturation patterns (ibid.). Thus, adapting to the values, norms and traditions of the host society does not require or accompany a weakening cultural maintenance. Those who maintain their original identity while adopting traits of the host culture follow an *integrationist* route. Those who maintain their original culture while rejecting host-cultural traits adopt a *separatist* position. Those who abandon their ethnic identity in favour of host-cultural traits follow the *assimilation* route. Finally, those who neither maintain original cultural traits, nor adopt host cultural ones are *marginalized* or *decultured*. Research on Berry's (1980) conceptual framework (e.g., Kim, Laroche and Joy 1990; Laroche, Kim, Hui and Tomiuk 1998; Hui *et al.* 1992) found strong support for the integrationist – rather than the assimilationist – perspective. Integrated (or 'bi-cultural') consumers often experience high levels of self-esteem, confidence and pro-social behaviours (e.g. Chen, Benet-Martínez and Bond 2008) and are better able to adapt to cultural differences (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos 2005).

Berry (1990) stated that the acculturation process may operate unevenly, i.e. ethnic minority consumers may exhibit varying levels of acculturation while acting on different social and family roles (O'Guinn and Faber 1985). For Stayman and Deshpandé (1989) the degree of acculturation is context-specific, i.e. one may acquire aspects of the host culture when deemed appropriate (e.g. at work), and reject the same when they are no longer appropriate (Jun, Ball and Gentry 1993). Many ethnic minority consumers seek the 'best of both worlds', valuing both heritage and host cultures, expressing positive attitudes towards consumables emblematic of both cultural environments (Askegaard *et al.* 2005).

### **Mendoza and Martinez's model**

Mendoza and Martinez (1981) suggested a different four-typology conceptualization of acculturation patterns: (1) *cultural resistance* (i.e. actively or passively resisting acquisitions of host-cultural norms and behaviours while maintaining traditional customs), (2) *cultural shift* (i.e. new host-cultural norms are substituted for traditional customs), (3) *cultural incorporation* (i.e. customs are adapted from both original and host cultures) and (4) *cultural transmutation* (i.e. a unique subcultural entity is developed from a modification or combination of both native and host-cultural norms). One key aspect of Mendoza and Martinez's framework is that ethnic groups may use one acculturation pattern for certain customs while using other patterns for others: 'immigrant individuals are generally multifaceted with respect to the various types and dimensions of acculturation' (Mendoza 1989, p. 374). Despite differences in terminologies, there are overlaps and similarities between models proposed by Mendoza and Martinez (1981) and Berry (1980).