

EDITED BY
GUILLAUME D. JOHNSON
KEVIN D. THOMAS
ANTHONY KWAME HARRISON
SONYA A. GRIER

RACE

IN THE
MARKETPLACE
CROSSING CRITICAL
BOUNDARIES

Foreword by
ARLENE DÁVILA
Afterword by
ROKHAYA DIALLO



Race in the Marketplace

“The Race in the Marketplace group are undertaking some truly important work on a subject that has been for too long sidelined in our discipline. This book should be on every scholars’ reading list and discussed widely. I cannot recommend it enough.”

—Mark Tadajewski, *Professor of Marketing, University of York*
and Editor of the Journal of Marketing Management

“This book is absolutely necessary because it alerts the world to the reason why race still matters in contemporary market societies. Even though most formal forms of racism (notably apartheid and colonialism) ended years ago, market still seems to work in one direction, thus negating all the gains attained through freedom, and perpetuating the abuse of human rights. This book is a must read.”

—Muzi Kuzwayo, *former CEO of TBWA / Hunt / Lascaris South Africa and*
Author of Through Mud and Dust: Marketing to Black South Africans

Guillaume D. Johnson · Kevin D. Thomas
Anthony Kwame Harrison · Sonya A. Grier
Editors

Race in the Marketplace

Crossing Critical Boundaries

Foreword by Arlene Dávila
Afterword by Rokhaya Diallo

palgrave
macmillan

Editors

Guillaume D. Johnson
Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
(CNRS)
Université Paris-Dauphine
Paris, France

Kevin D. Thomas
Diederich College of Communication
Marquette University
Milwaukee, WI, USA

Anthony Kwame Harrison
Department of Sociology
Virginia Tech
Blacksburg, VA, USA

Sonya A. Grier
Kogod School of Business
American University
Washington, DC, USA

ISBN 978-3-030-11710-8 ISBN 978-3-030-11711-5 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-11711-5>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018968343

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive licence to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2019

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: Inspired by the work of Melchior Abeille

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Foreword

Today, no one can deny that to think about markets is to think about race. Never before have we gotten so much evidence on the interplay of race and markets as reports about retail racism crowd everyone's newsfeed. We have ample evidence that people of color have unequal access to goods and services—from food and education to mortgages—and that they are regularly regarded as “suspects” when shopping, browsing, or simply for being non-white. The significant issue is understanding why. Despite all the overwhelming evidence showing that markets are raced, we remain so invested, tied, and committed to the existence of an actually occurring “free” and “fair” market. How did the idea that markets are or should be unencumbered by race, and other irksome “identities” such as those of class, gender, sexuality, age, and more come to be? Even more worrisome, we must ask why is this mythical market seen as the most reliable recourse for human salvation and flourishing?

This groundbreaking volume tackles these questions by centering the conversation on race, the issue that is most present and most ignored in the field of marketing research. In particular, the authors summon marketing researchers, classical economists, and practitioners (brand makers and advertisers) to stop ignoring decades of empirical, scholarly, and journalistic evidence showing that race and markets are intrinsically connected. Not only has race been central to capital accumulation from the very origins of world capitalism—as the variable around which labor was organized and value exploited and extracted; Race and racial logics also encode our institutions and laws—they fuel every marketing campaign, even every attempt to find new algorithms to reach “today's marketplace.”

This timely and innovative volume makes amply clear that to deny this fact is to trade in myths at the cost of reality. In so doing, the volume provides an urgent reckoning and a necessary reality check about the interplay of markets and race. In particular, the authors urge us to stop celebrating the “discovery” of race, and diverse audiences and markets in naïve and simplistic ways by highlighting how people of color are neither a “new force” nor a “secret for growth,” but the very fabric of the US population and popular culture. They summon brand marketers to stop seeking ways to maximize profit from ethnic and multicultural marketing campaigns and challenge their academic peers to stop coding for race without fully understanding how it works and operates in markets and in society at large. Moreover, they show that it is time scholars, marketing professionals, and the public reflect on how dominant ideas and practices around markets contribute to inequality. It is both necessary and possible to find ways to develop liberatory public policies and actions that contribute to greater access, equity and more equitable markets. The authors in this volume provide pathways, methods, and ways to do just that.

Even more powerfully, this volume serves as a testament of the growing community of RIM interdisciplinary scholars who are inserting conversations of race into their very fields and into the larger conversation around marketing and business. The RIM network provides a community of scholars who share this politicized vision of marketing and are ready to share their networks and insights through publicly open convening and the publication of this landmark volume.

The result is a book providing current and sophisticated concepts and methods to develop anti-racist approaches to marketplace research. Mining insights from an encompassing transdisciplinary community, the authors represent fields as varied as public health, anthropology, sociology, geography, communications, and more. The authors’ goal is to open up the conversation and question taken for granted ideas about race and the wording of markets while promoting interdisciplinary and collaborative approaches to their study. Most significantly, they urge us to move past coded words such as multiculturalism, in-culture marketing, diversity and more to examine the multiple ways race impacts all type of markets, and people’s experiences navigating them. The diversity of case studies is an enormous contribution on its own by showing the different spaces, fields, institutions that must be accounted to fully understand the contemporary interplay of markets and race. They trouble easy assumptions about ethnic and racial groupings and culture, by reminding us that there is a multiverse of identities in each

“identity” and challenging stereotypes that surround marketing’s impulse to construct racially rational “bounded” markets.

Twenty years ago when I was a young assistant professor researching “Hispanic marketing,” I remember browsing through business and marketing departments looking for anyone studying race or “ethnic marketing.” Historically, many anthropologists have been hired in marketing, business, and advertising industries yet I was surprised to learn that few anthropologists were actually hired in marketing departments. Much less were there people of color in this predominantly white-dominated field. I must confess that while I teach courses on media and race and culture and consumption where I regularly touch on issues of marketing and advertising, I never consulted marketing departments again, or have kept up with that field, though I hear that my book *Latinos Inc.: Marketing and the Making of a People* is still taught in many marketing courses to discuss the topic of “Latino/a/x/s.” However, as I write this Foreword I repeated the same exercise I did twenty years ago by browsing the marketing department at my own institution, which housed at NYU Stern Business School is a well-recognized leader in the field. Sadly, though unsurprisingly, I realized that if I were a young professor delving into examining marketing research, I would have come to the same conclusions. Black and Latinxs are nowhere to be found in the tenured and tenure track professors, with the exception of a recently hired assistant professor. The rapid growth of RIM makes it impossible for business and marketing to remain blinded and at the margins of all the advances in critical race theory, ethnic studies, and emerging from all disciplinary fields that are currently examining dynamics of race and markets. Unlike the early 2000, this time there is the RIM network ready to welcome new generations of researchers and scholars, and ready to change the conversation around marketing research and its practices. It could not come at a more timely moment.

Greenwich Village, New York, USA

Arlene Dávila
Anthropology and American Studies
New York University

Arlene Dávila is Professor of Anthropology and American Studies. She studies the political economy of culture and media, consumption, immigration, and geographies of inequality and race. She has authored six books examining these issues and is the founding director of NYU’s Latinx Project.

Contents

1	Introduction	1
	<i>Guillaume D. Johnson, Kevin D. Thomas, Anthony Kwame Harrison and Sonya A. Grier</i>	
 Part I Space and Time		
2	Making the Mass White: How Racial Segregation Shaped Consumer Segmentation	21
	<i>Marcel Rosa-Salas</i>	
3	Race, Markets, and Digital Technologies: Historical and Conceptual Frameworks	39
	<i>W. Trevor Jamerson</i>	
4	(Re)Visiting the Corner Store: Black Youth, Gentrification, and Food Sovereignty	55
	<i>Naya Jones</i>	
5	Beyond Whiteness: Perspectives on the Rise of the Pan-Asian Beauty Ideal	73
	<i>Jeaney Yip, Susan Ainsworth and Miles Tycho Hugh</i>	

Part II Racialization and Intersectionality

- 6 Shopping While Veiled: An Exploration of the Experiences of Veiled Muslim Consumers in France** 89
Ranam Alkayyali
- 7 Constructing and Critiquing Interracial Couples on YouTube** 107
Francesca Sobande
- 8 Marketing Marriage and Colorism in India** 121
Komal K. Dhillon-Jamerson
- 9 “Dirty Braids”: How Hair Is Disrupting Dominant Racial Narratives in Puerto Rico Post-Hurricane Maria** 137
Jess Vega-Centeno

Part III Voices and Modes of Understanding

- 10 Are Black Consumers a Bellwether for the Nation? How Research on Blacks Can Foreground Our Understanding of Race in the Marketplace** 153
Cassi Pittman Claytor
- 11 A Loan at Last? Race and Racism in Mortgage Lending** 173
Vanessa Gail Perry
- 12 Crowd-Based Markets: Technical Progress, Civil and Social Regression** 193
Lauren Rhue

Part IV Neoliberalism, Markets and Marketization

- 13 Cultural Justice and Collecting: Challenging the Underrecognition of African American Artists** 213
Patricia A. Banks
- 14 The New Economics of Colorism in the Skin Whitening Industry: Case of India and Nigeria** 227
Ramya M. Vijaya

15 Race as a Currency? Profitability and Racialization in French Healthcare Institutions	245
<i>Dorothée Prud'homme</i>	
16 Development by Markets: An Essay on the Continuities of Colonial Development and Racism in Africa	259
<i>Samuel Kwaku Bonsu</i>	
Afterword	273
<i>Rokhaya Diallo</i>	
Index	279

Notes on Contributors

Susan Ainsworth is an Associate Professor in Organizational Studies at the University of Melbourne (Australia). She is an expert in discourse analysis, qualitative methods, and gender within organizations. She is on the editorial boards of *Organization Studies* and *Journal of Management Studies* and is an Associate Editor for *Gender, Work and Organization* and *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management*.

Ranam Alkayyali is a Lecturer of Marketing and Economy at ISEG Digital Marketing and Communication School Toulouse (France). She holds a Ph.D. in Marketing from Paris-Est Créteil University and ESCP Europe. Her research focuses on immigrants' acculturation and identity negotiation through consumption.

Patricia A. Banks is an Associate Professor of Sociology at Mount Holyoke College (USA) whose research program lies at the intersection of culture, patronage, and markets. In 2018–2019, Banks will be at Stanford University as a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. She is author of the book *Represent: Art and Identity Among the Black Upper-Middle Class* (Routledge, 2010).

Samuel Kwaku Bonsu is Professor of Marketing at the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration (GIMPA) and Visiting Researcher at the University of Southern Denmark, Odense. He maintains research interests in African consumer cultures and subjectivities in contemporary markets. He has earned the moral and scholarly authority to comment on matters of African development as a tyrannical process. You may disagree, if you wish!

Komal K. Dhillon-Jamerson is a race and women's and gender studies scholar, whose research primarily focuses on pigmentocracy in the context of India, with a focus on postcolonialism as it relates to cultural imperialism. Other works include *Can the Global Transmit the Local for Diaspora?* and *European-Americans Favoring People of Color: White Colorism and Social Inequality*. Dhillon-Jamerson teaches courses related to Asian cultures, multicultural communication, and women's and gender studies at Virginia Tech (USA).

Sonya A. Grier is a Professor of Marketing at the Kogod School of Business, American University (USA). Dr. Grier conducts interdisciplinary research on topics related to race in the marketplace using a diversity of methodological approaches. She has published her research in leading marketing, public health, health policy, and psychology journals and also created two award-winning documentary films.

Anthony Kwame Harrison is the Gloria D. Smith Professor of Africana Studies and Associate Professor of Sociology at Virginia Tech (USA). His scholarship examines the impacts of racial identification on arenas of popular culture and leisure. He is author of *Hip Hop Underground: The Integrity and Ethics of Racial Identification* (Temple University Press, 2009) and *Ethnography: Understanding Qualitative Research* (Oxford University Press, 2018).

Cassi Pittman Claytor is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Case Western Reserve University (USA) whose research examines the intersection of race and class and how race structures racial minorities' consumption and economic behavior. More specifically, her research examines the attitudes, experiences, and consumption preferences and practices of middle-class Blacks.

Miles Tycho Hugh is a research and teaching assistant at the University of Sydney (Australia), having recently completed Honours in Marketing. He is interested in research on the history and anthropology of identity construction and Asia, shaped primarily by ethnographic fieldwork he conducted in Jakarta and Singapore.

W. Trevor Jamerson's research focuses on the relationships between physical and digital communities, most prominently relationships between Harlem and TripAdvisor. He has previously published in areas of digital sociology, race studies, and critical tourism studies. He is currently teaching courses on sociology and racial inequality at Virginia Tech (USA).

Guillaume D. Johnson is a marketing scholar at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) based at the University Paris-Dauphine (France). His research focuses on the sociopolitical dynamics of multicultural marketing with a special emphasis on race. He has explored these issues in France, South Africa, and the USA, and his work has been published in management, marketing, and advertising journals. Prior to joining the CNRS, he held academic positions in South Africa and China.

Naya Jones is a critical health geographer, activist scholar, and holistic practitioner. Through community- and arts-based methods, she broadly focuses on issues of historical and racial trauma, healing, sovereignty, and place. Her work especially centers the experiences and knowledge of Black Diaspora populations in North and South America. She is a Postdoctoral Fellow in Primary Care Research at the Medical College of Wisconsin (USA) and a Culture of Health Leader (2017–2020), a program supported by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.

Vanessa Gail Perry is a Professor of Marketing, Strategic Management, and Public Policy at the George Washington University School of Business (USA). Her research focuses on consumer and regulatory issues in financial and housing markets.

Dorothée Prud'homme is Head of Research at Association Française des Managers de la Diversité (AFMD) and Associate Fellow at Centre Emile Durkheim, Sciences Po Bordeaux (France). She holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from Sciences Po Bordeaux and over the last ten years conducted several research projects dedicated to the process of racialization in public and private organizations in France.

Lauren Rhue is an Assistant Professor of Information Systems and Analytics at the Wake Forest School of Business (USA). Her research examines the economic implications of technology. Dr. Rhue is an alumna of the Stern School of Business and Stanford University.

Marcel Rosa-Salas is a born and raised Brooklynite and a doctoral candidate in cultural anthropology at New York University (USA). Her research examines how American marketing professionals produce knowledge about race and American national identity. She holds a B.A. in Africana Studies from the University of Pennsylvania (USA). She is a Ford Foundation Predoctoral Fellow and a Wenner-Gren Dissertation Grant Awardee.

Francesca Sobande is a Digital Media Studies Lecturer at Cardiff University (UK). Her research focuses on race, gender, media, and the marketplace. She is author of *The Digital Lives of Black Women in Britain* (Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming 2020).

Kevin D. Thomas is an educator, analyst, and activist scholar. He currently serves as the Assistant Professor of Multicultural Branding at Marquette University (USA). He specializes in using policy-relevant and community participatory action research methods to critically examine the relationship between marketing, consumption practices, and notions of self and community. Dr. Thomas is a co-founder of Food for Black Thought and the Black Media Council. He remains grounded through his mindfulness meditation practice.

Jess Vega-Centeno is a doctoral candidate at the University of Texas at Austin (USA) with a B.A. in Psychology and M.B.A. in Marketing Management. She spent 15 years in advertising and marketing, developing and managing campaigns and strategic communication plans for various products and services ranging from educational to financial services. Her research interests include marketplace inequities, consumer culture, and identity politics.

Ramya M. Vijaya is a Professor of Economics at Stockton University, New Jersey (USA), where she teaches courses in economics and global studies. Her research focuses on race and gender inequalities in the global political economy.

Jeaney Yip is Lecturer in Marketing at the University of Sydney (Australia). Her research is multidisciplinary and involves the study of discourse and identity in religion, gender, and consumer culture. She has published in *Social Compass*, *Pacific Affairs*, *South East Asia Research*, and *Journal of Macromarketing*.

List of Figures

Fig. 11.1	Indirect effects of race and racism on mortgage lending criteria	176
Fig. 11.2	Selected financial characteristics by household race/ethnicity	180

List of Tables

Table 7.1	Most popular videos—themes	112
Table 7.2	Sample of words in most popular video titles and search prediction topics	113
Table 8.1	Skin color preferences and self description in matrimonial advertisements	129
Table 8.2	Comparison of male scheduled caste/dalit matrimonial advertisements	132



1

Introduction

Guillaume D. Johnson, Kevin D. Thomas, Anthony Kwame Harrison and Sonya A. Grier

In his fable “The Racial Preference Licensing Act,” the late Harvard law professor Derrick Bell (1992) imagines a license which authorizes businesses to exclude people on the basis of their race. Similar to pollution permits giving firms the legal right to pollute, this license legalizes racial discrimination for a fee (“expensive though not prohibitively so,” p. 48). Once obtained, a business must display their license prominently within their premises and operate their activity in accordance with their official racial preference. Only licensed facilities are allowed to discriminate. Others, if found

G. D. Johnson (✉)

Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS),
Université Paris-Dauphine, Paris, France
e-mail: guillaume.johnson@dauphine.fr

K. D. Thomas

Race, Ethnic and Indigenous Studies Program, Diederich College of
Communication, Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI, USA
e-mail: kevin.thomas@marquette.edu

A. K. Harrison

Department of Sociology, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA, USA
e-mail: kwame@vt.edu

S. A. Grier

Marketing Department, Kogod School of Business, American University,
Washington, DC, USA
e-mail: sonya.grier@american.edu

guilty, are fined. The Act also stipulates that license holders must regularly pay a tax to an “equality fund” that supports discriminated communities through investments in business development, home ownership, and education. Accordingly, the fictional president of Bell’s fable presents The Racial Preference Licensing Act as a way of maximizing freedom of racial choice while guaranteeing racial equality, either directly from equal access or indirectly from the “fruits of the license taxes” (p. 52). Drawing on the idea that the purpose of integration laws is “not to punish lawbreakers but to diminish their numbers,” the president further claims that the license and associated taxes are the best ways to de-incentivize racist behaviors (p. 51). Rather than policing morality, he calls for a paradigm shift which realistically uses the “working of a marketplace” to achieve racial justice:

Racial realism is the key to understanding this new law. It does not assume a nonexistent racial tolerance, but boldly proclaims its commitment to racial justice through the working of a marketplace [...]. (p. 47)

Subtitled “a fable about the politics of hate,” Bell’s essay highlights some of the key questions that inform *Race in the Marketplace* (RIM) as an emerging field of interdisciplinary scholarship. Namely what is the relationship between markets and racial justice? Is racial injustice an indelible feature of a market society? Or can market practices, incentives, and/or policies be liberatory, enabling all individuals to experience just treatment, access, and opportunity?

Market(ization): The Road to Racial Justice?

Historically, scholars have considered the State as the key site of racial oppression (Omi and Winant 2015). Racist systems like Jim Crow, Nuremberg, and apartheid laws which directly impacted markets were all put in place by national governments. The marketplace, on the other hand, has been conceived as a potential space for the liberatory emancipation of dominated classes. Because the possibilities for commerce offered by markets extended beyond the scope of localized power structures (for instance trading with outside partners or in new unregulated commodities), subordinated groups could engage the market as a means to advancing their marginalized and/or ascribed status (Hann and Hart 2009). The power of Jewish merchants in medieval Europe (430 AD–1453 AD), for example, often challenged the racist arrangement of local authorities, which excluded Jews from many occupations and places of residence, and forced them to

wear distinctive, identifying clothing (Friedman 1962; see also Levy 2005). Similarly, the disproportionate contribution of “immigrants” to entrepreneurship and national growth contradicts racist anti-immigration rhetoric and policies that view them as social burdens (Kerr and Kerr 2016). Thus, prominent scholars across disciplines have theorized that a market unfettered by the political grip of government would eventually correct racial injustice and make it obsolete (Becker 1957; Friedman 1962; Posner 1987). In the words of US economist Milton Friedman in his seminal *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962, p. 109):

[a] free market separates economic efficiency from irrelevant characteristics. [...], the purchaser of bread does not know whether it was made from wheat grown by a white man or a Negro, by a Christian or a Jew. In consequence, the producer of wheat is in a position to use resources as effectively as he can, regardless of what the attitudes of the community may be toward the color, the religion, or other characteristics of the people he hires.

Such theorizing relies on the idea that marketplace participants are free, independent, and self-interested individuals who cooperate through various economic mechanisms to exchange goods and services. The argument continues: If a business uses racial preference in its activities, the self-imposed burden of excluding potential customers, clients, and/or partners on the basis of race would place it at a disadvantage relative to its non-discriminating competitors (Friedman 1962). The costs associated with such an obligation would act as a tax on the discriminating company and inevitably, so the logic goes, drive it out of business.

Supporters of this view agree nonetheless that a store may still discriminate within a free-market framework. Yet they contend that, if it does so, it is as a response to the racial preferences of its community of customers or employees. According to this third-party argument, racist patrons and staff can introduce “competitive pressures” forcing businesses to behave in discriminatory ways (Sunstein 1991, p. 25). Legally enforcing non-discrimination policies would then be counterproductive as they would not directly impact the real racists (that is the community) but rather the store, which is only trying to satisfy the preferences of its (racist) clientele and staff (Friedman 1962). In this view, also espoused by Derrick Bell’s fictitious president, governments should not coerce firms to practice racial equity but should instead prevent coercion by ensuring freedom of choice. In other words, individual freedom should prevail over other values as it will guarantee mutual benefit, global stability, and put an end to discrimination.

History, however, has refuted this assumption time and again. First, local authorities have consistently controlled the potential racial subversiveness of markets by restricting the mercantile activities of racialized groups. An infamous example of this was the pariah status of Jews in medieval Europe, which controlled how they could run their business and public life; ensuring that they had limited access to money and almost no political power (Hann and Hart 2009). During the twentieth century, race riots against “Black Wall Street” in Tulsa, Oklahoma (USA) and against thousands of Jewish-owned businesses during the *Kristallnacht* (“Crystal Night”) in Nazi Germany confirmed the ineffectiveness of market-logic in thwarting racial violence. More recently, beliefs that “neutral” market-driven technological advances will eliminate racial injustice were further challenged when the United Nations and several NGOs accused Facebook and its supposedly dispassionate algorithms of stoking the flames of racial hatred against minority-status Muslim groups in Myanmar and Sri Lanka (Fisher and Taub 2018; see also Müller and Schwarz 2018). One could argue that in all these examples (Oklahoma, Germany, and Myanmar), the governments were more or less directly involved and, thus, the market was never totally free to run effectively. Nevertheless, the worldwide marketization of fundamental social institutions like education, health care, criminal justice, politics, and the arts through privatization and deregulation—think students as consumers, monetized sickness, and for-profit prisons¹—confirm that free markets have not led to racial justice.

From Racial Capitalism to Raced Markets

What free-market proponents may have overlooked is that “race” is not just an “irrelevant characteristic” of market capitalism (Friedman 1962, p. 109) but rather is infused into its core (Tilley and Shilliam 2018). Indeed, as political theorist Cedric Robinson (2000 [1983]) argues, capitalism and racism have always evolved together to produce a modern world system, which he labeled “racial capitalism” (see also Kelley 2017; Melamed 2015; Thomas 2013). His thesis takes issue with several conventions widely accepted in the study of racism and capitalism, respectively.

First, Robinson doesn’t limit his understanding of race to perceived physical characteristics but rather focuses on the *sociopolitical processes* which create racial subjects (see also Schaub 2019). These processes include the often contradictory laws and ideologies that have been used to justify racial categories and hierarchies. Thus, Robinson challenges the idea that the concept

of “race” began with Europe’s modern encounter with Africans, Asians, and/or indigenous peoples of the New World (Robinson 2000 [1983]). Instead he argues that racialism, the legitimation and corroboration of a social order by way of its racial categories, has its genesis *within* Europe where *racialized* subjects (such as Slavs, Tartars, Irish, Jews) were victims of dispossession, colonialism, and slavery (Kelley 2017).

As a result, Robinson’s position also casts doubt upon the aforementioned view that capitalism was the revolutionary antithesis of the political and economical arrangements of medieval Europe (Kelley 2017). Instead, he argues that capitalism originated from a European civilization already thoroughly infused with racialism. He states: “The tendency of European civilization through capitalism was thus not to homogenize but to differentiate—to exaggerate regional, subcultural, and dialectical differences into ‘racial’ ones” (Robinson 2000 [1983], p. 26). Simply put, he contends that as much as racialism cannot be dissociated from the European project, race cannot be dissociated from capitalism... within a free-market paradigm or not.

Robinson seems therefore to provide a definitive “Yes” to our opening question regarding whether racial injustice is an indelible feature of a market society. Indeed, race has clearly played a central role in the conception and growth of modern global markets including banking, housing and textile, and the inequities they engender (Grier et al. 2019). Furthermore, scholars demonstrate how through rhetoric and practices market initiatives have been legitimized in opposition to a welfare-state racialized as Black and inferior (Hohle 2012). Racialized representations, moreover, have always served as key linchpins through which products are commodified, which, in turn, impacts evolving understandings of race (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; Crockett 2008; McClintock 1995). Thus, the process is intertwined: race influencing market constructions and markets (re)defining race. In particular, by masking power dynamics, the free-market approach contributes to a “colorblind” ideology, which reduces racism to an individual level; further mystifying connections between race and the economy, particularly as they relate to “the racialized division of labour, wealth accumulation, property ownership, environmental degradation and global debt” (Tilley and Shilliam 2018, p. 5).

Can We Escape Raced Markets?

So, is there a way out? To answer this challenging question, we draw parallels between the works of two monumental scholars of market and race, namely anthropologist Karl Polanyi and sociologist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. Both

argue that market and racial domination do not happen without some form of resistance. According to Polanyi (2001, p. 138), the dynamics of modern society are characterized by a *double movement* where the push for the free market is immediately met by a counterpush for social protection aiming to support those most affected by the damaging consequences of the market. Similarly, Bonilla-Silva (1997) contends that because racial classifications organize and limit people's lives, the meanings and the positions assigned to races within a social order are always contested. Race, then, far from being an inborn and fixed characteristic should be understood as contingent, negotiable, and transmutable over time and space.² As such, Bonilla-Silva defines *racial contestation* as the struggle of racial groups for systematic changes regarding their position within a given social organization (1997, p. 473). Both scholars argue that although such a resistance can be expressed at the individual level, it sometimes becomes collective, general, and can potentially affect a market/society's overall organization.³

It is this spirit of contestation against racial and market oppression that motivates the origins of Race in the Marketplace (RIM). As a nascent field of study, RIM coalesces around developing networks of dedicated scholars and practicing professionals who recognize and, accordingly, have responded to the shortage of critically oriented scholarship related to race in the fields of marketing and consumer studies (see Pittman Claytor 2019, in this volume Chapter 10). Scholars point out that research in these disciplines generally lacks a critical approach that explicitly engages with the realities of power, privilege, and oppression (Burton 2009; Davis 2018; Grier et al. 2019; Williams et al. 2008). On the other hand, a more complex approach can often be found outside these fields, including in scholarship stemming from the social sciences, communications, humanities, management, and health sciences. Still very little cross-pollination between disciplines occurs. Indeed, while researchers working in the social sciences and humanities grapple with race in contexts of economic, social, and political transaction, many have yet to fully appreciate or utilize relevant marketing frameworks. At a time when fundamental social institutions are increasingly governed by marketplace logics, all scholars committed to dismantling race and its pernicious role in defining conditions of social inequality and personal injustices could benefit from building with and upon each others' insights, models, and perspectives. As such, the RIM network was developed to promote cross-disciplinary research and dialogue that advances knowledge and understanding about the significant impacts of race on marketplaces across the globe.

Race in the Marketplace: Crossing Critical Boundaries represents the leading edge of ongoing efforts to establish RIM as a cohesive field of critical,

transdisciplinary inquiry, and research dissemination. The vision for this first-of-its-kind volume arose out of a spring 2017 gathering of international, cross-disciplinary scholars in Washington, DC. At the inaugural RIM Research Forum, nearly fifty scholars working in and around fields related to race and marketplaces congregated to share our collective experiences working in these frontier arenas. The conversations we had were vibrant, evocative, and ultimately instructive in solidifying our conviction that RIM represents a fruitful area of scholarship, collaboration, engagement, and activism. Out of this gathering, we created working groups to draft a collective mission, value statement, and framework for RIM as an inclusive, critical, and interconnected research domain. Through this partnering of marketing, social sciences, arts, and humanities scholarship—combining the rigor of empirical research with the vigor of invested advocacy—we established working definitions of *race* and *marketplace* and affirmed our commitment to transformative scholarship and accessible modes for communicating our findings. When, as editors, we invited colleagues to contribute to this volume, we did so under these auspices.

RIM represents a broadly defined arena for spotlighting, discussing, disseminating, and recommending policy. It is informed by a fundamental understanding that, just as markets impact the creation and maintenance of racial difference, racial differences impact the creation and maintenance of market practice.

Defining Race, Marketplace, and Other Key Concepts

Race, in the context of RIM, cannot be separated from power. We define it as a mode of sociopolitical classification that creates *enduring* hierarchies based on physical appearance, cultural practices, and ancestry. Race is generally thought to comprise specific inherent qualities ascribed to biological differences, including skin tone, blood, and other physical/physiological characteristics. In contrast, ethnicity encompasses cultural qualities achieved through socialization, such as language and religious practices. Under most circumstances, society will not accept a person changing their race. Although race divides humanity into several distinct subsets, its original and continued impact is to privilege White classified people as a group relative to non-whites through “the exploitation of their bodies, land, and resources, and the denial of [equitable] economic opportunities” (Mills 1997, p. 11).

Racial hierarchies manifest as both *ideologies* that get applied to racially differentiated identities and *practices*, which facilitate, perpetuate, and magnify race-based inequalities (Golash-Boza 2016). As such, our definition of race includes social and ethnic groups who experience *racialization* under its overarching classificatory design (Silverstein 2005).

Although regarded as a totalizing force—meaning that race consistently ranks among the most salient factors in determining people’s identities, outlooks, and life chances—a vital dimension of RIM scholarship involves addressing the intersections between race and other socially consequential categories including gender, class, age, sexuality, ability, and religion as they concertedly relate to marketplace thought and practice. Indeed, such intersectional frameworks are essential to grasping lived experiences of race. For instance, sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (2000, p. 47) engages the importance of intersectionality in US consumer society in these terms:

Patterns of consumer racism that fall more heavily on Black women affect the purchasing power of their income. Because African American women usually are responsible for families, they do much of the shopping for housing, food, clothing, health care, transportation, recreation, and other consumer goods. Consumer racism in all of these areas means that Black women’s depressed incomes simply do not have the same purchasing power as those of White men or women.

On the other hand, we understand markets to be socially constructed fields of social interaction and systems/networks of exchange featuring a wide range of valued assets and resources. We often think of markets in economic terms and tend to characterize them as involving exchanges of commerce and money. Marketplace, in our formulation, includes sites of cultural interchange, exchanges of service, as well as brokering in political power, ideology, and persuasion. Accordingly, marketplaces are envisioned as broad and inclusive formulations that incorporate arenas of retail, finance, housing, health care, politics, education, advertising, employment, media, religion, and the like.

In forwarding RIM and its goal of inclusive, fair, and just marketplaces, our objective is not to promote some sort of “black capitalism” as one scholar may have erroneously believed (Micheals 2018); nor do we have a visceral hatred of markets. We do not conceptualize markets as antisocial enclaves or as mere synonyms of capitalism and neoliberalism. On the contrary, as many scholars have demonstrated, markets play a critical role in the social life of any modern society and are meaningfully connected to ways of

expressing love and care (Bandelj et al. 2017; Graeber 2004; Zelizer 2005). As such, they are valued mechanisms of social integration, coordination, and distribution (Ferguson 2015). To paraphrase anthropologist James Ferguson (2015, p. 128), our aim is not necessarily to replace markets with something else (racism also holds a key place in the development of welfare states, see Bhambra and Holmwood 2018) but to use them to do socially useful things that would be impossible to do without them.

Having outlined RIM's conceptions of *race* and *marketplace*, a handful of other concepts, appearing throughout the volume, also warrant preliminary definitions⁴:

- *Capitalism*: An economic system that centers on the private ownership of resources. In a capitalist society, the means of trade are primarily owned and controlled by private entities, rather than cooperatively or by the state. Typically, the process of generating goods and/or providing services produces significant tension between the private owners' desire to maximize monetary profits, steward the environment, and support social welfare.
- *Colonialism*: The extension of political and economic control, typically by European powers (colonial states), over new territories and their inhabitants via the procurement of lands, exploitation of ecological resources, racialization of native peoples, and imposition of sovereign authority through commissioned (such as colonial officials and military) and non-commissioned (such as missionaries, traders, and settlers) agents of the colonial state.
- *Commodification*: The process or act of transforming a person or thing (tangible or intangible) into a commodity—that is, an object intended for trade.
- *Dialectical*: The dynamic, interconnected, and often contradictory relationship between social structures, cultural practices, and each individual's ability to act independently.
- *Discrimination*: Unjust treatment of individuals or categories of people, generally, as a result of conscious or implicit bias associated with one or more identity coordinates, such as race, gender, age, sexuality, and social class. Discrimination can be experienced at the interpersonal level as well as through systems, structures, and institutions.
- *Identification*: The process whereby individuals recognize themselves (self-identification) and/or are recognized by others as belonging to collectively identified social group (such as race, gender, sexuality, religion). Such recognitions typically involve some ascription to (in the case of self-identifications) or expectation of adherence to the norms associated with the collective group. We emphasize *processes-of-identification* ahead of

any notion of set *identity*, as the former draws attention to the fact that what we consider “identities” are, in everyday practice, fluid, negotiated, and materialize through social interaction.

- *Ideologies*: Tacit (taken for granted) perceptions of the world and how it works, which advance the interests of particular groups, justifying and normalizing their position within the existing social structure.
- *Legitimation*: The manner with which a person, place, or thing gains justification and normalcy by their/its perceived or actual association with the values and norms upheld by a given society.
- *Marketization*: The process of transforming a public-sector enterprise or communal aspect of society (such as air or water) into one that is privately operated, controlled, and sold for consumption. This process typically requires making changes to the legal structure of the enterprise itself and/or the environment where it operates.
- *Neoliberalism*: An economic ideology that advocates for free-market enterprise. Rather than perceiving the government as a provider of public welfare, the state’s primary function is to promote markets and foster competition, mainly through cutting or completely removing business-related regulations, restrictions, and oversight, and enacting pro-business trade practices, such as developing low or no taxation trade zones—think North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).
- *Racialization*: The process or act of designating a social group and/or their cultural practices to a particular racial identity, regardless of how individual members of the social group self-identify, in such a way that this classification is assumed to be essential, inherent, prevailing, and hierarchical relative to other racial groups.
- *Racism*: (1) The ideology and practice of designating social groups according to race (racialization) and recognizing such designations as a basis for hierarchical ranking and differential treatment. (2) A prevailing (global) structuring force that grants privileges and access to resources on the basis of perceived proximity to Whiteness and imposes social and material disadvantages based on proximity to Blackness.

Overview of Chapters

The book is divided into four thematic parts.

The first part features a series of temporal and spatial studies, establishing a context for understanding the interactive nature of race and markets. In Chapter 2, cultural anthropologist Marcel Rosa-Salas uses an historical

analysis of marketing discourses and practices to demonstrate how the nondescript US consumer segment termed the “general market” is inextricably linked to Whiteness. Chapter 3 finds sociologist W. Trevor Jamerson offering historical and conceptual frameworks for understanding the interactions of and intersections between racial difference and digital technologies. Through a critical analysis of currently popular digital platforms, Jamerson illustrates their role maintaining racial hierarchies and contributing to the commodification of racial differences. In Chapter 4, geographer Naya Jones complicates nutritionally focused food activism and policy work by highlighting spatial and relational factors that impact food access for Black youth. Utilizing a case study of a gentrifying neighborhood in Austin, TX, Jones articulates the complexities that must be considered when undertaking food-focused research, policymaking, and activism from a food sovereignty perspective. Part I concludes with marketing and organization researchers Jeaney Yip, Susan Ainsworth, and Miles Tycho Hugh canvassing the Pan-Asian beauty ideal and its nuanced blending of Asian and European aesthetics. Through a contextualized analysis of beauty, race, and the “Pan-Asian look,” the authors trouble how Whiteness is perceived in Asian culture.

The second part focuses on the interconnected nature of race and other identity coordinates within specific arenas of exchange. In Chapter 6, marketing scholar Ranam Alkayyali discusses the everyday racialized shopping experiences of veiled Muslim women in France. Through a series of in-depth interviews with Muslim women who wear headscarves, Alkayyali shows how veiled consumers experience and cope with intersectional oppression in French retail settings. The chapter that follows, written by digital studies researcher Francesca Sobande, illuminates how race, gender, and sexuality are intimately interconnected in the contemporary marketplace of interracial couple video blogging (vloggers). Responding to the current fashionable-ness of these self-produced vlogs, Sobande demonstrates how they uphold remarkably conservative notions of colorism and heteronormative coupledness. In Chapter 8, interdisciplinary scholar Komal Dhillon-Jamerson investigates the intersection of race, gender, and class through one of life’s most enduring rites of passage: matrimony. Focusing on matrimonial ads in India, Dhillon-Jamerson examines the role of colorism in relation to social class and caste during the process of matchmaking, thus demonstrating the intersectional ways in which the lives of women are impacted. In the final chapter of Part II, marketing and advertising scholar Jess Vega-Centeno explores the intersections of race, gender, hair, and the marketplace in post-Hurricane Maria Puerto Rico. Through a historized analysis of popular

press articles, Vega-Centeno draws attention to how the silencing of race relations and the power dynamics they encompass on the island are being disrupted as a result of marketplace failures resulting from the monumental storm.

The third part of the book highlights innovative research perspectives and techniques that promise to foster new insights and understandings of the relationship between race and markets. It begins with sociologist Cassi Pittman Claytor's chapter which calls attention to the dearth of research related to Black consumers in leading marketing journals and proposes a detailed framework for enhancing the depth of race-related consumption research. Drawing on research emerging from sociology, Pittman Claytor provides specific suggestions for the development of a more expansive consumption research agenda that focuses on Black consumers and their marketplace experiences. In Chapter 11, marketing researcher Vanessa Perry illustrates how issues of race and racism permeate the mortgage lending process. Specifically, Perry emphasizes the value of incorporating the sociological construct of cumulative (dis)advantage when analyzing the impact of race and racism by interrogating the relationship between race, generational wealth, and mortgage credit. Part III closes with information systems scholar Lauren Rhue unsettling the perceived neutrality of crowd-based marketplace technologies. Rhue provides explicit examples of how the logic undergirding crowd-based markets is inherently oppressive to non-white consumers and offers recommendations for addressing these issues.

The final part of the book explores the role of race in specific market domains including arts, beauty, health care, and the development industry. Part IV opens with sociologist Patricia Banks examining how political and aesthetic values shape the consumption behavior of African-American art collectors. Although focused on the market for African-American fine art, this chapter also offers insight on activism in cultural markets more broadly by troubling the assumption that appeals to racial politics alone will mobilize changes in consumer behavior. The subsequent chapter by economist Ramya Vijaya investigates the booming market of skin lightening products in India and Nigeria. Vijaya historicizes the product sector's substantial growth, discusses mobilization against it, and outlines a path forward to more effectively counter the evolving marketing strategies executed by the multinational-led industry. The penultimate chapter finds political scientist Dorothée Prud'homme examining how race serves as a currency in the French health-care system. Utilizing ethnographic techniques and focusing on health care patients categorized as Roma, Prud'homme demonstrates how France's

promise of equal healthcare access is thwarted through the enactment of new public management policies that encourage healthcare professionals to select and treat patients based on their “medical value,” which is intricately tied to their perceived race. The part ends with marketing researcher Sammy Bonsu’s essay on the enduring relationship between colonial practices, racism, and development across the African continent. In addition to exposing how racist ideology permeates previous and current forms of development in Africa, Bonsu provides a post-colonial vision of development work on the continent that is rooted in collective well-being and emancipation.

Finally, the volume also includes a foreword and an afterword which provide broader views on the importance of RIM-related research. In the foreword, cultural anthropologist Arlene Dávila situates the historical place of RIM scholarship in academia. In the afterword, journalist and activist Rokhaya Diallo highlights the importance of RIM from a consumer standpoint.

Conclusion

The power of this book is that it directly brings to light the myriad ways race and markets impact each other. Race is not treated as one variable among many that must be controlled, nor are markets limited to places of monetary exchange. Here, the nuances and complexities of race are brought to the fore, and markets are demonstrated as essential to nearly every aspect of our lives. Each chapter illuminates particular ways that race and marketplaces feed on one another, and when taken as a whole a new vision for understanding and transforming the relationship between race and markets emerges. In this vision, multiple disciplines are engaged, commonalities and particularities across geographic regions are integrated, and the intersecting experience of race with other coordinates of one’s identity, such as gender, social class, and religion are examined collectively. Indeed, the way forward is through crossing critical boundaries.

Acknowledgements As noted above, the volume has developed from the inaugural RIM research forum which we convened in May–June 2017 at the Kogod School of Business, American University, Washington, DC. We want to (alphabetically) thank the funders of this meeting, namely the American University Kogod Business School, the Association for Consumer Research, the Marketing Science Institute, Rutgers University-Newark, the Université Paris-Dauphine, the University of Texas at Austin.