

** August 2021 **

“DIVERSITY CAPITAL”

Forthcoming in

*Black Culture Inc:
How Ethnic Community Support Pays for Corporate America
(Stanford University Press, April 2022)*

Patricia A. Banks*

BOOK SUMMARY

“A surprising and fascinating look at how Black culture has been leveraged by corporate America, this book addresses some of today's most pressing public debates around allyship and diversity. Open the brochure for the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater, and you'll see logos for corporations like American Express. Visit the website for the Apollo Theater and you'll notice acknowledgments to corporations like Coca Cola and Citibank. The Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial and the National Museum of African American History and Culture, owe their very existence to large corporate donations from companies like General Motors. And while we can easily make sense of the need for such funding to keep cultural spaces afloat, less obvious are the reasons that corporations give to them. In *Black Culture, Inc.* Patricia A. Banks interrogates the notion that such giving is completely altruistic, and argues for a deeper understanding of the hidden transactions being conducted that render corporate America dependent on Black culture. Drawing on a range of sources, such as public relations and advertising texts on corporate cultural patronage and observations at sponsored cultural events, Banks argues that black cultural patronage profits firms by signaling that they value diversity, equity, and inclusion. By functioning in this manner, support of black cultural initiatives affords these companies something called “diversity capital,” an increasingly valuable commodity in today's business landscape. While this does not necessarily detract from the social good that cultural patronage does, it reveals its secret cost: ethnic community support may serve to obscure an otherwise poor track record with social justice. Banks deftly weaves innovative theory with detailed observations and a discerning critical gaze at the various agendas infiltrating memorials, museums, and music festivals meant to celebrate Black culture. At a time when accusations of discriminatory practices are met with immediate legal and social condemnation, the insights offered here are urgent and necessary.”

* Professor of Sociology, Mount Holyoke College. PhD, Harvard University; A.M. Harvard University; B.A. Spelman College. E-mail: pbanks@mtholyoke.edu; Website: <http://www.patriciaannbanks.com>.

Chapter 1 Diversity Capital

Excerpt

“Ladies and gentlemen, please welcome president of the General Motors Foundation, Vivian Pickard.” As the audience at the 2014 Washington Auto Show applauds, Pickard, who is African American and wearing a stylish black-and-white pinstriped pantsuit, walks to the podium of a large stage that showcases General Motors’ newest vehicles. “Good afternoon everyone,” she says smiling. “It is my pleasure to welcome you to the Chevrolet exhibit at the Washington DC Auto Show.” As is routine at auto shows, Pickard reports that two GM cars were just given national vehicle awards. But soon her presentation takes a surprising turn. Pickard announces that the GM Foundation is giving a million dollars to the Smithsonian to help build its newest museum, the National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC).

Like GM, corporations across the United States engage in philanthropy and sponsorships in the Black cultural sector. Open a brochure for an African American performing arts organization, such as the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater, and you’ll see logos for corporations like American Express and American Airlines. Or visit the website for a Black cultural center like the Apollo Theater, and you’ll notice acknowledgments to corporations like Coca-Cola and Citigroup. Some Black cultural initiatives, such as the Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial and NMAAHC, owe their very existence to big corporate gifts. GM and the fashion brand Tommy Hilfiger were the two largest private donors to the MLK Memorial, giving \$10 million and \$6 million, respectively. Similarly, dozens of million-dollar grants from businesses like Microsoft and Wells Fargo were founding donations for NMAAHC. Corporate sponsors like McDonald’s and AT&T also underwrite the Essence Festival, which is the largest Black music festival in the United States. Some businesses, like Ford Motor Company, support Black cultural initiatives across various local communities. In 2019, the automaker gave or made commitments to support Black cultural nonprofits such as The Charles H. Wright Museum of African American History in Detroit (\$120,000), the National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis (\$255,000), and the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center in Cincinnati (\$170,000). Smaller donations and sponsorships from corporations are important sources of supplemental

support for many other Black cultural institutions as well as Black initiatives at majority institutions. For instance, a \$5,000 corporate grant can be used to help produce an exhibition catalogue at a Black museum, or a Black dance company can use a \$2,500 corporate gift to help support an after-school program for children.

On its face, Black cultural patronage by corporations is a selfless act. Companies give generously to preserve the nation's cultural heritage and to contribute to the public good in other ways. However, from my research drawing on an extensive array of data (such as public relations and advertising texts on corporate cultural patronage and observations at sponsored cultural events), I show how Black cultural patronage is not just altruistic: It pays for business too. In the pages that follow I describe how Black cultural patronage by corporations is a form of what I term *diversity capital*. Black cultural patronage allows businesses to solve problems and leverage opportunities related to race and ethnicity and other social differences. Examining Black cultural patronage sheds light on how ethnic community support (i.e., philanthropy and sponsorships related to racial and ethnic minorities) is an important cultural resource for corporations; this ethnic community support allows corporations to project an image of being inclusive and equitable while strengthening their corporate interests. By engaging in Black cultural patronage, companies such as GM not only cultivate a broadly inclusive corporate image but also the perception that they specifically value African Americans.

These insights *not only* deepen our understanding of corporate philanthropy and sponsorships, but they advance theory on race and cultural capital. Although there is growing research on Black cultural capital as a practice that signals Black identity,ⁱ this scholarship focuses on individuals. By developing the concept of diversity capital, *Black Culture, Inc.* shows how cultural practices related to African Americans and other racial and ethnic minorities are a resource for establishing and maintaining racial images at the organizational level.

Along with advancing the literature on race and cultural capital, *Black Culture, Inc.* also contributes to the scholarship on corporate diversity. There is increasing attention to the racial images of companies, however this scholarship centers on employment.ⁱⁱ For example, studies examine how workforce diversity programs, such as affirmative action and mentoring programs, signal that firms are equitable. Other research calls attention to the ways that a diverse workforce itself projects an image that companies are “diverse, modern, and open to all.”ⁱⁱⁱ But by examining ethnic community support, this book provides a more comprehensive theoretical view

of how companies convey to stakeholders that they are racially inclusive.^{iv} Moreover, by focusing on specifically Black community support, this book provides important insight on the Black side of diversity branding. While Arlene Dávila's classic text *Latinos, Inc.* outlines the tactics that companies use to appeal to Latinx consumers,^v with some exceptions,^{vi} there has been little systematic analysis of African American marketing in the social sciences.^{vii}

Finally, *Black Culture, Inc.* also illuminates practical concerns around race-related philanthropy and sponsorships.^{viii} Uprisings over the deaths of George Floyd and other African Americans in the summer of 2020 set off an outpouring of corporate giving to racial justice causes.^{ix} For example, retail giant Walmart, which made a \$5 million donation to NMAAHC in January 2020, pledged to give away \$100 million to racial equity causes after the nationwide protests. Similarly, multinational investment bank Goldman Sachs and Altria (the parent company of cigarette manufacturer Philip Morris), which were both founding donors of NMAAHC in 2016, dedicated \$10 million and \$5 million, respectively, to support racial justice causes in the aftermath of the uprisings.

Although these donations deliver social benefits, the analysis in *Black Culture, Inc.* suggests that race-related corporate giving may also come at a cost. Ethnic community support conveys an image that companies are inclusive and equitable, but in reality some of these businesses have poor track records around diversity.^x Indeed, in some cases ethnic community support is strategically deployed to manage the images of companies accused of racial harm. For example, in the aftermath of racial image crises, businesses like Papa John's, Gucci, and Denny's announced donations to support African American initiatives.^{xi} The history of corporate community support places all these dynamics in perspective.

Giving to Communities

Just as community support is a meaningful part of the culture of social groups, like the upper class, it is also an important aspect of the culture of corporations. In fact, the histories of corporate and elite philanthropy are intertwined. When large cultural institutions were formed in the 19th century in the United States, the main patrons were wealthy individuals who earned their money through capitalist enterprises.^{xii} These wealthy industrialists took profits from business and invested them in the cultural life of the cities where they lived and worked.^{xiii} For example, heirs of automobile magnate Henry Ford were early supporters of the Detroit Institute of Arts in

Michigan, and department store scion Marshall Field was a founding patron of the Art Institute of Chicago and the Field Museum.^{xiv}

In the 1960s and 1970s, patronage in the business community shifted. Whereas before it was mainly wealthy owners and managers who gave individually, by the 1960s and 1970s more and more gifts were coming from businesses themselves.^{xv} During that era of growing social protest, businesses were accused of undermining the public good. For example, companies were accused of engaging in practices that harmed the environment and violated the rights of workers. Anti-corporate activism was also race related as companies were charged with propping up the apartheid regime in South Africa and enacting discriminatory hiring practices in the United States.^{xvi} As public scrutiny of the ethical practices of businesses intensified, corporations started to embrace a doctrine of corporate social responsibility. This ethos dictates that companies have an obligation to improve society and the communities where they do business.^{xvii} One way that corporations deliver social good is through philanthropy and sponsorships.^{xviii} Together these activities, referred to in this book as community support, are among the main vehicles through which companies “give back” to society.^{xix}

Just as the 1960s and 1970s were important for corporate community support as a whole, they were also notable for specifically Black community support. This was an era of Black cultural flowering as cultural institutions such as the Studio Museum in Harlem and the Dance Theatre of Harlem were established. Though these organizations were mainly grassroots affairs, they received corporate support even then. For example, in the 1970s an oil company contributed \$45,000 to the DuSable Museum of African American History in Chicago, and in the 1970s companies like Aetna and New England Life gave four-figure grants to support the National Center of Afro-American Artists, a Black arts organization in Boston. Corporations have also been long-time supporters of Black initiatives related to civil rights and education. For instance, in the wake of the urban uprisings in the 1960s, large companies made donations to nonprofits such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the United Negro College Fund, and the National Urban League.^{xx}

While it is clear that corporations are an important source of support for Black-focused initiatives, cultural and otherwise, it is not so apparent how companies benefit from their support. Sociological scholarship on corporate images, culture, and race offers some clues about the racial benefits of ethnic community support.

Enhancing Corporate Images

Corporate community support is motivated by enlightened self-interest.^{xxi} On one hand philanthropy and sponsorships provide social value. For example, gifts to museums and theaters are beneficial for society since they help to make the arts accessible to local communities. At the same time, corporations receive dividends for these good works. Or, they benefit materially and symbolically.^{xxii} With respect to symbolic benefits, community support bolsters the public image of companies. Community support in the cultural sector is specifically considered a “highbrow form of advertising.”^{xxiii} Through engaging in activities such as sponsoring museum exhibitions and donating to capital campaigns for arts centers, corporations convey a positive image to the public.^{xxiv} For example, in keeping with her assertion that “corporations generally fund art as a public relations gambit,”^{xxv} Victoria D. Alexander finds that in comparison to other types of museum patrons, corporations are more likely to fund exhibitions with wide appeal to the public.^{xxvi} While sociological scholarship accounts for how community support is a cultural practice through which corporations manage their image, there is little investigation of how community support directed at racial and ethnic minority initiatives may be used in a very specific fashion—to symbolically craft their racial image.

Race and Cultural Capital

To gain insight on how ethnic community support functions as a distinct form of corporate image management, we can turn to the sociological scholarship on cultural capital. Cultural capital is a concept that was developed by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and his colleagues to explain class inequality.^{xxvii} Bourdieu concluded that culture, or more specifically what he termed “cultural capital,” was at the root of class reproduction. As Bourdieu conceptualized it, cultural capital consisted of forms of middle- and upper-class culture—such as a taste for and understanding of “high culture”—that provided a class return. Through gaining an appreciation for high culture via family and educational socialization, the middle and upper class reproduced their class status.

While incredibly influential, cultural capital theory as conceptualized by Bourdieu has been critiqued.^{xxviii} In Bourdieu’s elaboration of the concept, it is the culture of dominant groups, such as the middle and upper class, that functions as a resource. Moreover, cultural capital is

defined in reference to class, rather than other types of categories, such as race and ethnicity. Other scholars have further elaborated cultural capital to account for how the culture of nondominant groups and racial groups can function as resources.^{xxxix} For example, Prudence L. Carter uses a modified theory of cultural capital to explain the educational experiences of Black urban youth.^{xxx} On one hand, she finds that having lower stocks of dominant cultural capital, or cultural capital as traditionally defined, explains their lower educational outcomes. However, Carter also shows that having high stocks of nondominant cultural capital, or cultural capital associated with a marginalized group, is important at school. Specifically, Black cultural capital—or a taste for and understanding of Black culture—plays an important role in the social life of Black youth. Engagement with Black urban culture—such as listening to hip hop—determines who is considered authentically Black among peers.^{xxxi} Carter theorizes that Black cultural capital is class-specific so that other forms of Black culture are important for racial membership among the Black middle and upper class. A growing body of research shows how practices such as collecting African American art and patronage at African American museums are forms of Black cultural capital that the Black upper-middle and upper class use to convey their racial identity.^{xxxii}

Black cultural capital is not the only innovation to cultural capital theory that relates to ethnoracial boundaries. There is also the argument that elites reproduce and maintain their status through possessing multicultural capital. This view asserts that in contemporary life, elites distinguish themselves not by having exclusive cultural tastes but rather through embracing culture from across social lines.^{xxxiii} As “omnivores,” elites signal that they are at ease with and open to all groups; with their eclectic tastes, they enjoy everything from classical music to rhythm and blues and appreciate foods from foie gras to black-eyed peas and cornbread.^{xxxiv}

Although the scholarship on Black cultural capital helps us to understand how Black culture provides a very specific return—projecting a Black identity—it focuses on individuals. Similarly, research asserting that consuming diverse culture signals openness also focuses on individuals. We still know very little about how cultural practices linked to racial and ethnic minorities offer benefits to organizations, such as enhancing an organization’s racial image.

The Racial Images of Organizations

Although race has traditionally been understood as a characteristic of individuals, it is

increasingly viewed as an attribute of organizations.^{xxxv} To that end, one facet of an organization's overall image is its racial image.^{xxxvi} If we consider an organization's image as stakeholders' perceptions of an organization,^{xxxvii} then we can think about an organization's racial image as the specifically racial aspects of that impression, such as whether or not an organization is perceived as connected to a particular racial group or whether or not it is viewed as discriminatory. For example, a corporation may be seen by consumers and other stakeholders as treating Latinx employees and buyers equitably or as treating them unfairly. In a similar vein, a corporation may be viewed as creating products that are used by and/or intended for use by African Americans or as producing products not consumed by and/or not appropriate for them to consume.^{xxxviii} Likewise, a corporation may be perceived as being deeply involved in the Asian American community or having little to do with it.

Having a diverse and inclusive image can have positive consequences for companies.^{xxxix} First, it is useful for appealing to ethnoracial minority consumers who want to see themselves reflected in brands.^{xl} For example, over one-third of respondents to a survey on diversity in advertising noted that they had stopped supporting a brand because it did not represent their identity.^{xli} Given changing demographics in the United States where there is more buying power among minorities—both because of growing numbers and increasing class mobility—appealing to ethnoracial minority consumers is critical for many companies' long-term survival.^{xlii}

Having a brand associated with inclusivity and minorities is also important for appealing to the “general market” or white consumers. Over the course of the 20th century and into the 21st, white racial attitudes and beliefs about principles of equality have generally improved.^{xliii} There has also been a shift in white attitudes along some measures of social distance. For example, although 65 percent of white people opposed marriage between African Americans and white Americans in 1990, by 2008 the proportion of white people who opposed such a union had dropped to around 25 percent.^{xliv} Not only are white Americans more racially tolerant along some measures, but racism has shifted from Jim Crow to color-blind.^{xlv} While the former was based on explicit beliefs about Black inherent inferiority, the latter rests on the assertion that everyone is equal. These changes in white racial attitudes and beliefs suggest that companies that project an inclusive image will appeal to many white consumers too.

It is also the case that an association with African Americans can help companies appeal to consumers across racial lines because Blackness is linked to edginess and being on trend.^{xlvi}

For example, athletic shoe companies like Nike rely on Black athletes as spokespeople to lend their brands a veneer of cool and appeal to a global consumer base. Similarly, soft drink companies like Sprite have used African American rap stars as representatives to increase the cool quotient of their brands.^{xlvi}

Along with appealing to consumers, a diverse image may provide businesses with other advantages. For instance, businesses seek to gain legitimacy among peers.^{xlviii} Given that today most large firms have diversity programs,^{xliv} an image recognized as valuing diversity puts companies in step with their peers. A racist image is also likely a deterrent for attracting racial and ethnic minority employees who presumably avoid firms with a reputation for excluding non-white people. Finally, given that since the 1960s discrimination against customers and workers has been illegal, an image as nondiscriminatory appears to provide a degree of legal protection for companies. Simply having a program that promises workforce equality, or what legal scholar and sociologist Lauren B. Edelman terms “cosmetic compliance,” is sufficient to legally protect organizations if a discrimination suit is brought against them.¹

Diversity Capital and Racial Image Management

Being perceived by stakeholders as diverse and inclusive is often beneficial for companies, and they use ethnic community support as a cultural resource to project this image. In this way, ethnic community support is a form of diversity capital. Like ethnic community support more broadly, Black cultural patronage is a cultural practice that allows businesses to solve problems and leverage opportunities related to race and ethnicity and other social differences.^{li} Companies mobilize Black cultural patronage to project a racial image that is generally diverse and inclusive and that is specifically connected to African Americans.^{lii} As theorists of organizational image management assert, “organizations must create, maintain, and in many cases regain a legitimate image of themselves in the eyes of their stakeholders.”^{liii} Given that in the post-civil rights era it is often advantageous for corporations to be viewed as diverse and inclusive, they engage in various strategies to promote this image.^{liv} Ethnic community support is one of the cultural practices that companies draw on to project the image that they include, and treat with respect, racial and ethnic minorities.

The racial image management that companies engage in may be directed at a specific racial and ethnic group, such as African Americans, or it may be aimed at a wider racial

audience, such as ethnoracial minorities or people across all racial and ethnic groups.^{lv} Along with varying by audience, racial image management may also differ with respect to the dimension of racial image that is being projected and the time horizon during which it takes place. With respect to dimension, companies may aim to project racial authenticity (caring about and having a genuine connection to a particular ethnoracial group), openness (including and valuing people of all ethnoracial groups), and/or equity (treating people from all ethnoracial groups fairly, justly, and impartially).^{lvi} With respect to time horizon, in some cases companies are engaging in reactive racial image management where they are responding to a racial image crisis. In other cases, racial image management is proactive and potentially helps to protect a firm in the event that a racial image crisis occurs later.^{lvii}

Racial image enhancement via ethnic community support takes place through various processes. One mechanism through which it occurs is that supporting ethnic causes is a signifying act that communicates that companies not only care about the specific cause they are supporting, but also the ethnoracial group associated with the cause. In this way, ethnic community support functions as a diversity sign. By simply giving to an ethnic cause, companies project an image of caring about inclusion and equity.^{lviii} However, often companies don't simply support an ethnic cause: They also publicize their support of that cause.

To promote their support of an ethnic cause, companies typically discuss it in *social* media, such as Twitter and Facebook, and *owned* media, such as press releases and blogs. They also pay for advertisements, such as in magazines. In addition, companies seek out journalists to report on their support in *earned* media, such as newspaper articles. Recipients of company support often publicize it in media channels that they control as well. Diversity framing in these various media channels is also a mechanism through which ethnic community support can project an image of companies as diverse and inclusive:^{lix} Frames are the “angle[s], schema[s], or narrative arc[s] that . . . highlight one or more aspects of an event, issue, or actor.”^{lx} I define *diversity framing* as the use of words, phrases, images, and sounds to communicate that ethnic community support is a manifestation of a company's valuing of diversity.^{lxi} For example, if a company sponsors a gospel concert, diversity framing might involve producing a press release that explicitly includes the phrase, “This gift reflects our commitment to the African American community.” Or the press statement may include a comment from a diversity manager, or include statistics about the percentage of workers at the firm who are African American.

Diversity framing might also occur in the production of a promotional video about a gift, narrated by a person who “sounds” Black or includes testimonials about the company’s diversity by Black workers. Diversity framing goes beyond the basic act of publicizing gifting to further the symbolic association of companies with diversity.

When companies engage in ethnic community support, there is also often a place-based aspect of that support. For instance, a company may give money to a capital campaign for a building, or it may contribute to an event that will occur in a particular venue. Various dynamics at these support-related sites can project an image that a company cares about diversity. At events that include presenters, such as emcees, diversity framing in their discourse can project an image that a company is committed to inclusion and equity. For example, a presenter may tell audience members that a company is sponsoring a gospel concert to “give back to the Black community.” Other messaging also conveys an image of companies as valuing diversity, such as free giveaways at venues like tote bags and t-shirts printed with ethnic marketing taglines.

In a related vein, the capacity for ethnic community support to brand companies as diverse is tied to corporate signage. Support-related sites typically include signage with the company name and/or logo. Some signs show the company name and/or logo along with text or images that associate a company with including and valuing ethnoracial minorities. For example, as will be discussed in more depth in Chapters 5 and 6, at Black events sponsored by McDonald’s, the company’s African American marketing slogan “Black & Positively Golden” is displayed alongside the Golden Arches logo on banners throughout event venues. It is also the case that with company names displayed within and outside of venues, the venues themselves, along with what takes place in and around them, become linked to the company.^{lxii} This includes “ethnic” elements and happenings, such as ethnic rituals and ethnic-related emotional displays in and around the venue. For example, when Black eventgoers engage in rituals such as African American sorority and fraternity “strolls” to songs at corporate-sponsored concerts, the ethnic embeddedness of the event increases, thereby deepening the association of the company with Blackness.^{lxiii}

****End of excerpt****

Notes

Chapter 1

- i Banks 2010b, 2017, 2018, 2019b; Carter 2003; Fleming and Roses 2007; Meghji 2019; Wallace 2017, 2019.
- ii Berrey 2015; Dobbin and Kalev 2017; Edelman 2016; Skrentny 2014.
- iii Skrentny 2014: 13.
- iv Also see Nancy Leong's (2013, 2021) analysis of "identity capitalism," which describes how in-group members, including companies, accrue benefits by association with members of out-groups.
- v Dávila 2001.
- vi For example, see Chambers (2009), Crockett (2008), and Hunter (2011a).
- vii Johnson et al. (2019) provide wide-ranging perspectives on the ways that race structures marketplace activities.
- viii A growing critique of philanthropy in general is that it is self-interested and reinforces inequality (Giridharadas 2018; McGoey 2015; Reich 2018).
- ix My analysis includes philanthropic pledges made by Fortune 500 companies in response to the BLM uprisings in the summer of 2020.
- x For a broader discussion of how progress on racial diversity in corporate America has stalled, see Dobbin and Kalev (2021), Newkirk (2020), and Stainback and Tomaskovic-Devey (2012).
- xi After a series of racial indiscretions in 2018, including alleged use of the N-word by founder and CEO John Schnatter, Papa John's ousted the leader and made a \$500,000 donation to Bennett College, an HBCU, in 2019 (Papa John's 2019). That same year after widespread criticism for selling a sweater evocative of blackface, luxury fashion company Gucci announced a \$5 million Changemakers Fund to help create opportunities in the African American community (Carrera 2019; Hanold Associates 2019). I discuss the Denny's case in Chapter 3.
- xii Alexander 1996a, 1996b.
- xiii DiMaggio 1982a, 1982b; Lena 2019.
- xiv Field Museum n.d.; Ford Corporate n.d.
- xv Individual and corporate philanthropy are also linked via the executives who work at corporations. It is not unusual for executives who serve on cultural boards to help arrange gifts from their companies to the nonprofits that they support. In some cases, corporate managers are specifically recruited to join cultural boards to serve as a conduit between nonprofits and businesses (Banks 2019a: 82–89; Ostrower 2002).
- xvi Banks 2021:162–164; Vogel 2016.
- xvii Soule 2009; Tsutsui and Lim 2015.
- xviii Himmelstein 1997; Martorella 1996.
- xix While philanthropy and sponsorships have some technical distinctions, in practice they both often fall under corporate efforts to contribute to the public good. Classically, philanthropy differs from sponsorships in that with the former there is no expectation that a company will benefit from the transaction. With that, philanthropy

is eligible for tax deductions, while sponsorships are not. In addition, philanthropy has been traditionally executed by corporate foundations, while sponsorships have traditionally been overseen by corporate marketing teams. However, in more recent decades the distinction between philanthropy and sponsorships has blurred. As Ed Able, then director of the American Alliance of Museums, observed about this shift over 25 years ago, “More and more of the funding for cause-oriented activities is coming from the marketing budget and less from a true philanthropic budget. [Businesses] are looking to some degree of quid pro quo” (Yu 1992). Reflecting on this change, the head of a major corporate foundation explained that grants to nonprofits are increasingly made on the basis of expected returns for the company: “There’s measuring of outcome before we agree to award a grant. So there’s a new way of thinking that’s much more investment-oriented than the old charitable contribution” (Yu 1992). The overlap between philanthropy and sponsorships is also reflected by findings from a survey of fundraising professionals, which found that close to 70 percent agreed that their organizations do not view these forms of support differently (IEG n.d.).

xx Cohn 1970: 70–73; Gasman and Drezner 2008.

xxi Chen, Patten, and Roberts 2008; Himmelstein 1997; Porter and Kramer 2002; Stendardi 1992: 21–30; Walker 2013.

xxii Barman 2017.

xxiii Alexander 1996a: 92.

xxiv Alexander 1996a, 1996b; DiMaggio and Useem 1982; Kirchberg 2003; Martorella 1990, 1996.

xxv Alexander 1996b: 25.

xxvi Ibid.: 25, 57.

xxvii Bourdieu 1986.

xxviii These critiques are part of a broader revision of cultural capital theory, asserting that the forms of culture that function as a resource vary within different social milieus; see Hall 1992; Lamont 1992.

xxix Carter 2003; Claytor 2020; DiMaggio and Ostrower 1990; Hall 1992; Meghji 2019; Wallace 2017, 2019.

xxx Carter 2003.

xxxi Ibid.

xxxii Banks 2010a, 2010b, 2017, 2018, 2019a, 2019b; Fleming and Roses 2007; Grams 2010; Meghji 2019; Wallace 2019. This approach to racial identity fits within a larger tradition of viewing racial identity as accomplished through sets of behavior or “performances.” For example, see Sarah Susannah Willie’s (2003) research on how Black college students perform race.

xxxiii Bryson 1996.

xxxiv Johnston and Baumann 2007, 2010; Khan 2011; Lena 2019; Lizardo and Skiles 2012, 2015; Peterson 1997.

xxxv Ray 2019; Wooten 2019.

xxxvi Wooten 2006.

xxxvii Díaz-Bustamante, Carcelén, and Puelles 2016: 2; Hatch and Schultz 2002; Massey 2015.

xxxviii Grier and Brumbaugh 1999; Grier, Brumbaugh, and Thornton 2006. Marketing researchers sometimes measure the racial image attributes of products by asking consumers to indicate the types of ethnoracial groups

with which they associate specific products. For example, research in the 1980s assessed the extent to which consumers perceived the “smoker image” of particular cigarette brands as African American (“The 1983 Image Study”).

[xxxix](#) Berrey 2015; Edelman 2016; Krieger, Best, and Edelman 2015; Leong 2021; Skrentny 2014.

[xl](#) Banks 2021: 54–68; Dávila 2001; Maheshwari 2017.

[xli](#) Adobe 2019.

[xlii](#) On one hand, growth in “ethnic” markets is a function of increasing immigration from regions such as Latin America and the Caribbean and Asia. Prior to 1965, immigration from countries outside of Europe was severely limited. But, with the passage of the Hart-Celler Immigration Act, which eliminated national quotas in 1965, immigration from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and Latin America swelled. These immigrants, as well as their children, have contributed to a so-called browning of the United States. Some estimates project that by 2045, non-white people will become the majority (Frey 2018). Though the US Black population as a whole hasn’t changed as dramatically over the past six decades as the Asian and Latinx populations, there has been a large shift in the class demographics of this group. Whereas the majority of Black people in the United States were working class and poor prior to the 1960s, by the 1990s most African Americans could be considered middle class (Pattillo 2007). This was a result of new civil rights laws banning discrimination in schools and the workplace as well as a strong economy in the 1960s (Wilson 1978). This class transformation means that African Americans have more “buying power” or discretionary income to spend on goods and services (Burnett and Hoffman 2010).

[xliii](#) Bobo 2001; Bobo et al. 2012.

[xliv](#) Bobo et al. 2012: 53.

[xlv](#) Bobo, Kluegel, and Smith 1997; Bonilla-Silva 2006.

[xlvi](#) Banks 2021: 71; Crockett 2008; Hunter 2011b; Schor 2004: 48. Research on the Black culture industry also highlights how audiences for Black culture are racially broad (Cashmore 1997).

[xlvii](#) Schultz 2019.

[xlviii](#) Galaskiewicz 1985; Useem 1984.

[xlix](#) Dobbin 2009.

[l](#) Edelman 2016. See also Henderson, Hakstian, and Williams (2016) and Pittman (2020) for analyses of consumer discrimination.

[li](#) While this book focuses on diversity capital as it relates to ethnoracial minorities, similar dynamics may also be at play with cultural practices tied to gender, sexual orientation, and disability status.

[lii](#) The use of “ethnic” culture to brand companies has parallels with the use of the arts to brand urban ethnoracial minority neighborhoods (Wherry 2011).

[liii](#) Massey 2015: 7.

[liv](#) Berrey 2015.

[lv](#) See Skrentny (2014) for a discussion of how companies aim to project their racial image to various racial audiences. Also, research on ethnic marketing elaborates on how companies direct messaging at racially

segmented audiences such as the “African American market,” the “multicultural market,” and the “general market.” This research also addresses how increasingly companies direct messaging at the “total market” or consumers across racial and ethnic groups (Banks 2021: 54–68).

- lvi Skrentny (2014) outlines how firms seek to communicate “openness,” “lack of racism,” and care to various racial audiences.
- lvii For example, research on affirmative action asserts that judges defer to “cosmetic compliance” with civil rights law when making decisions about discrimination cases (Edelman 2016).
- lviii For broader discussions of gift giving as a form of communication conveying that givers honor and respect recipients, see Belk (1977) and Mauss (1967).
- lix This includes owned media (media channels that a company controls), recipient media (media channels that recipients of ethnic community support control), earned media (media channels controlled by a third party that cover a company for no direct remuneration), paid media (media channels that a third party controls and a company pays money for), and social media (media channels where participants share content).
- lx Tolley 2015: 18.
- lxi On race and framing see Natasha K. Warikoo’s (2016) research on the ways that students at elite colleges and universities think about the admissions process. Students who view admissions through a “diversity frame” emphasize the educational value of a diverse student body.
- lxii As research on culture and commerce elaborates, brand images are developed via advertisements where referents (such as a particular type of person or object) are placed next to company names, logos, and products. Through placing referents with particular meanings next to company names, logos, and products, the meanings of the referents are transferred to the brand (McCracken 1986). A similar dynamic takes place in physical space at support-related venues. When company names and logos are placed within, on the grounds of, and inside of venues, meanings of venues themselves along with happenings in and around venues are transferred to brands.
- lxiii For example, research on race and advertising elaborates on how ads that include “ethnic consistent cues” for a particular ethnoracial group, such as “depictions of [their] ancestral heritage,” help to convey that products are intended for use by members of that group (Grier, Brumbaugh, and Thornton 2006: 38).