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“Upload Your Impact”: Can Digital Enclaves Enable Participation in Racialized Markets?

Journal:	<i>Journal of Public Policy and Marketing</i>
Manuscript ID	JPPM.21.083.R3
Manuscript Type:	Special Issue Revised Submission
Topics and Methods:	Race, Consumer Culture Theory, Market exclusion, Qualitative research, Consumer movements, ethnic minority

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Abstract: Ethno-racial minorities are often racialized and consequently excluded from various consumption contexts. Racialized market actors strive to overcome exclusion and gain participation in markets; however, these efforts are often insufficient because they cannot create equitable access to market resources, fair opportunities for voice, and empowerment to shape market practices. Our research identifies digital enclave movements as a unique means by which racialized market actors redirect their resources and mobilize digital network tools to participate in markets. Using a qualitative study of the digital enclave #MyBlackReceipt, we explore tactics supporting the formation and sustenance of digital enclaves and how they support participation in markets. We identify five tactics that racialized market actors employ to foster digital enclaves and enhance market participation: legitimizing, delimitating, vitalizing, manifesting, and bridging. Last, we provide recommendations for policymakers on how to support and foster more equitable participation of ethnic minority groups in markets while addressing the risks of radicalization and the backlash related to enclaves.

Keywords: enclaves, market exclusion, race, market participation, digital movements

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“This is Black Wall Street reborn using technology.”

(Kezia Williams, co-founder of #MyBlackReceipt)

Contradicting historical conceptions of markets as “free” or even “fair” spaces (Johnson et al. 2019), marketing research indicates that markets are racialized at their core (e.g., Grier, Thomas, and Johnson 2019; Henderson, Hakstian, and Williams 2016; Poole et al. 2020). Ethno-racial minorities are excluded from various consumption contexts, contributing to racial disparities and consumer disempowerment (Bone, Christensen, and Williams 2014; Brumbaugh and Rosa 2009; Crockett, Grier, and Williams 2003; Saren, Parsons, and Goulding 2019). Altogether, the marketing literature points to the importance of enhancing our understanding of how to counter exclusion and foster racialized actors’ participation in markets. Our study contributes to this goal by examining whether and how digital enclaves can support racialized actors’ participation in markets.

We define market participation as entailing equitable access to market resources, fair opportunities for voice, and the power to shape market practices. Our study examines digital enclaving as a form of activism through which racialized consumers pursue participation in markets by redirecting consumer economic resources and mobilizing digital network tools in favor of a specific market unit.

Traditionally, racial activism has pursued market participation through clusters of activist market actors forming a market unit enclosed within the mainstream market (Portes and Manning 2019). These so-called enclaves are established as a temporary solution for racialized market actors to regain standing while continuing to pursue mainstream participation (Regev 2020). However, while enclaves can achieve gains (Branchik and Davis

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2009), they usually fail to succeed in lifting barriers to participation, partly because of their geographical limitations but also because of radical responses from mainstream markets.

Yet, following the brutal murder of George Floyd and related radicalization (e.g., protests, riots) in 2020, enclaving has resurged among digital activist movements. Activists have mobilized digital network tools to redirect consumer economic resources in favor of Black market actors, with #BuyBlack and #MyBlackReceipt (hereafter #MBR) being well-known examples of contemporary *digital* enclaving. These movements encourage Black consumers to buy products and services from Black-owned businesses to counteract the racialized economic inequalities of mainstream markets. It remains unclear, nonetheless, whether digital enclaving can facilitate participation in racialized markets, and/or if policies can be developed to (1) support digital enclaving initiatives and (2) prevent radicalization in response to them (Glickman 2020; Silva 2018).

In seeking to address this gap, we conduct a qualitative study of #MBR, a digital enclaving movement launched in 2020 that is part of the broader #BuyBlack movement. #MBR invites consumers to upload their receipts from purchases at Black-owned businesses to evidence the money retained in the Black community if consumers deliberately choose to spend on Black-owned businesses. We examine how tactics in the #MBR movement support the creation or flourishing of a digital enclave by establishing boundaries within which consumers can more completely participate, aiming to equip racialized market actors to eventually achieve participation in mainstream markets. In particular, we ask *Which tactics enable the formation and sustenance of digital enclaves?* and *How do digital enclaves support racialized actors' participation in markets?*

Through our study of #MBR, we identify five tactics and specific sub-tactics that support racialized market actors' participation in flourishing digital enclaves. These tactics shape and support enclave boundaries, vitalize behaviors and emotions in the enclave, and

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manifest economic exchanges among participants. The tactics also legitimize and connect digital enclaves in networks of meanings and resources that extend beyond these bound market spaces. In discussing our findings, we argue that a thriving digital enclave, through its mobilization of digital tools, enhances the voice and power of racialized market actors to shape practices in mainstream markets by redirecting economic resources. Moreover, we argue that digital enclaves have the potential to prevent more extreme and radicalized responses that have undermined offline enclaves in the past. We also show how digital enclaves can inform research in marketing and public policy agendas. A glossary of the working definitions for the key terms used in this article is provided in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 about here.

Racialized Actors' Pursuit of Market Participation

Symbolic work: Stigma and Representation Management

Racialized actors can strive to participate in markets through symbolic work. Through stigma management, individual consumers mobilize their own resources to escape and weaken the stigmas that limit their market participation (Mirabito et al. 2016; Pittman 2017). In doing so, consumers may dissimulate their racial identity through the assimilation and appropriation of White actors' consumption codes (Bone, Christensen, and Williams 2014). They may also attempt to achieve "respectability" in certain market spheres or adopt a racial uplift ideology (Crockett 2017). They do this by engaging in forms of micro-resistance to prevent stigmatization and the associated negative outcomes.

Racialized actors can also embrace cultural counternarratives that fragment widely accepted truths about themselves, thus aiming to change perceptions, beliefs, and actions toward them (Milner and Howard 2013). By embracing counternarratives, racialized actors contribute to decentering the dominant narrative and raising the consciousness of racialized consumers' rights, equity, and protection (Motley, Henderson, and Baker 2003). These efforts

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provide racialized actors with partial participation in the form of consumers' increased access to products, services, and venues. However, they do not provide racialized actors with equitable access to market resources (Crockett 2017).

Beyond stigma, markets also exclude racialized actors symbolically by rendering their ethno-racial identity invisible (McDonald and Wingfield 2008). Social "invisibility" denies marginalized minority groups "recognition, legitimacy, authority, and voice" (Settles, Buchanan, and Dotson 2019, p. 2) and provokes feelings of isolation and inadequacy in relation to the dominant culture (McDonald and Wingfield 2008). Racial minority consumers and activists have long fought for space, visibility, and representation in markets (Branchik and Davis 2009). To achieve this, they advocate for marketers' engagement in efforts to ensure representation in management, portraying minority consumers as significant market actors who should have their needs and desires catered to by marketers (Peñaloza 2018).

When mainstream marketers respond by developing and promoting products for ethno-racial minorities (Davis 2018), the meanings associated with racialized consumers are transformed (Lamont and Molnár 2001). Racio-ethnically balanced communications (Crockett 2021) and products and services tailored to the specific needs of Black consumers (Chui et al. 2021) increase the representation and visibility of these racialized consumers in markets. Marketers may also create narratives that portray ethno-racial minorities as dignified or fashionable social identities, thus fostering positive stereotypes (Crockett 2008; Lamont and Molnár 2001). Brands increasingly acknowledge societal racial exclusion and stand up for racial justice by taking on the role of "advocate" for systemic change (Menon and Kiesler 2020; Sibai, Mimoun, and Boukis 2021). Strategies such as promoting markets as multicultural spaces and selling diversity amplify ethno-racial consumers' recognition in the market (Harrison, Thomas, and Cross 2017). However, while such recognition increases representation and visibility, it does not ensure the development of tools for consumers to

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expand and control their participation in the market, therefore circumscribing long-term benefits (Seamster and Charron-Chénier 2017). Thus, these efforts result in token forms of participation, which means that while racialized market actors may gain perfunctory representation and/or a subordinate level of market access, this is often without remediation of resource redistribution inequalities.

Resource redistribution: selective patronage

Beyond symbolic work, racialized market actors also bolster their participation in markets by redirecting the flow of economic resources to the ethno-racial community (Glickman 2009; McNay 2010). Here, racialized actors engage in selective patronage, which means voluntarily excluding themselves from portions of the market (e.g., boycotting) and redirecting their resources to other market actors more aligned with their values and goals (Hinrichs and Allen 2008).

Selective patronage has a long history in the African American community. The term was coined in the 1950s in civil rights leader Leon Sullivan's call for the creation of job training opportunities for Black Americans in Philadelphia, and it represents a powerful attempt to effect social justice through resource redistribution. Sullivan's message was "Don't buy where you can't work," encouraging Black consumers to patronize only businesses that did not discriminate in hiring (Sewell 2004). The tradition has continued, with Buy Black campaigns representing a notable contemporary example (Gammage 2017; Hinrichs and Allen 2008).

As an approach to achieving participation in markets, selective patronage underscores consumers' agency to make reflexive consumption choices that promote the interests of the African American community (Gammage 2017). It specifically emphasizes the notion of "double-duty dollars," in which Black consumers' economic resources simultaneously purchase a commodity and advance the group by nurturing its economic development and

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fostering self-reliance for their ethno-racial community within a racist society (Regev 2020).

Selective patronage is closely associated with the notion of enclave, as patronizing racialized businesses tends to cluster racialized actors (Weems 1998; Regev 2020).

Ethno-racial enclaves

Enclaves are distinct units enclosed within, or as if within, a larger dominant unit. Traditionally, enclaves are geographic units with market actors clustering in a distinct territorial space (Nieslen, Sumich, and Bertelsen 2021), yet often they can also be ethno-racial, meaning market actors cluster on the basis of a common identity and culture derived from their ethnicity or race (Castile and Kushner 2017). Racialized minority groups, in particular, tend to cluster in enclaves to reaffirm their identity and interests in the face of shared political, economic, and social restrictions (Portes and Manning 2019).

Ethno-racial enclaves facilitate the development of a strong sense of collective solidarity that transcends the purely contractual character of business transactions (Wilson and Portes 1980). By providing a space for people who share the same ethnicity to create potentially beneficial relations, ethnic enclaves carve a socially respectable and economically viable space for small businesses in the midst of the mainstream economy, which assists members in achieving economic mobility. For example, Wilson and Portes's (1980) foundational study of Cuban immigrants describes how the concentration of businesses (distinct geographic unit) run by Latino immigrants employing people from the same ethnic group has generated a shared view among members (collective solidarity) and granted them the resilience to deal with disadvantageous economic positions. Similarly, Black enclaves are a powerful example of enclaves unifying markets' actors on the basis of their ethno-racial identity (Regev 2020).

Black enclaves

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One of the most recognized Black enclaves, “Black Wall Street” was a geographically based African American community of over 10,000 residents in the Greenwood district of Tulsa, Oklahoma, in the early 1900s, under laws of mandated segregation. It was a prosperous and affluent enclave, populated by a multitude of African American–owned businesses, numerous professionals, and Black consumers (Messer, Shriver, and Adams 2018). However, the prosperity of Black Wall Street was perceived as an economic threat by White citizens, generating tensions that culminated in a terrible attack that destroyed the Greenwood district and killed more than 300 people. Reflecting on the tensions that led to the race riot, Messer, Shriver, and Adams (2018, p. 790) note that “the very structural conditions that benefited African Americans prompted envy and anger among many whites.”

Despite the radical response that led to its tragic destruction, the Greenwood district inspired many local movements to redirect Black consumers to shop exclusively in Black-owned businesses and reproduce its successful economy, in which Black consumers and business owners enjoyed enhanced participation. For example, Regev (2020) covers multiple instantiations of “Black buying power” movements led by the Black elite through the decades that followed the end of segregation.

As Black Wall Street was built and prospered during segregation, attempts at market inclusion based on enclaving have been criticized for the separatist thinking underlying them (Weems 1998). But despite the critiques, these movements advanced their cause by publishing lists of Black-owned businesses and “how-to-buy” guides. They also issued calls for Black people to boycott certain products and companies, avoid patronizing discriminatory businesses, and selectively shop at Black-owned businesses, emphasizing the various duties of the Black dollar (Branchik and Davis 2009). By the 1940s, enclaving movements were further advanced with the support of statistics, market research data, and formal guidelines for Black business owners (Regev 2020). Movement leaders often issued specific instructions

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to Black entrepreneurs that focused on how to develop customer relationships, as Black consumers are the center of much attention by White-owned businesses, which are anxious to profit from their buying potential (Davis 2013; Weems 1998). Indeed, the interest of White corporations in pursuing and capturing the Black market has been increasing, and it represents a major obstacle to present-day economic enclave initiatives (Marable 2005).

Digital enclaves

(Black) activist movements have mobilized digital networking tools to form online social spaces promoting the participation of racialized actors in markets. These social spaces, which we call “digital enclaves,” are multi-platform networks distributed across diverse online spaces, such as social media platforms, blogs, websites, and other digital interfaces (e.g., Graham 2014; McIlwain 2015; Steele 2018). Interactions between participants in digital enclaves are organized around technoculture resources, most commonly hashtags, connecting people into networks that advocate for social change, identity redefinition, and political inclusion (Jackson, Bailey, and Welles 2020). Black Twitter, for instance, is a particular type of digital enclave built around hashtags on Twitter (Kuo 2018).

Through the use of hashtags, digital enclaves form a networked public sphere allowing people to debate, unite, and magnify their messages well beyond their immediate social circle (Kuo 2018). Hashtags in digital enclaves bring diverse groups together around discourses in support of prominent social causes, such as #BlackLivesMatter. Yet hashtags also generate new arguments not addressed by the cause. For example, #YouOkSis and #SolidarityIsForWhiteWomen are hashtags created to promote feminist rights within the racial justice activism movement (Steele 2021). Through the introduction and aggregation of discourses, digital enclaves thus help racialized groups develop collective definitions of their political interests and add new resources and meanings (Harris-Lacewell 2004).

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To avoid the backlash that may occur if their ideas become openly manifest (Brock 2012), digital enclave members must employ various tactics to maintain the enclave's safety and ensure its perpetuation. For example, members of digital Black enclaves were shown to engage in camouflage, creating "hidden communication networks, and [developing] group memory to guard against unwanted publicity of the group's true opinions, ideas, and tactics for survival" (Squires 2002, p. 458). Tactics—actions through which actors pursue a goal—are considered the essence of social action; they involve innovation and adaptation in social action "to create opportunities for one another through effective collective actions" (Smithey 2009, p. 661).

In contrasting #MBR with other digital enclaves discussed in the literature, such as Black Twitter or "The Root" (Graham 2014; Graham and Smith 2016), we observe some distinctions. First, #MBR has a clear focus on achieving market participation by increasing the volume of exchanges between consumers and Black-owned businesses. Second, it seems to have a coherent and unified discourse for consumption by both its internal members and the external public.

Research Context and Methodology

Individual and contextual factors combine in online environments to produce creative collective acts (Kozinets, Hemetsberger, and Schau 2008), resulting in cultural networks that become the locus of interaction and practices (Scaraboto and Ferreira 2016), particularly useful for investigating emergent phenomena such as digital enclaves. To empirically investigate enclaving practices and how they can support consumer participation in markets, we conducted a qualitative study of the #MBR movement. We adopted a non-participant approach and collected archival data publicly available on traditional and social media (Fischer and Parmentier 2010), choosing thematic analysis (Gibbs 2018; Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña 2018) as the specific procedure to navigate the data analysis process.

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Research Context

To explore how digital enclaves are formed and sustained to support racialized actors' participation in the market, we empirically investigated a recent example enacted in the U.S., the #MBR movement, which is similar to many others aligned with the broader #BuyBlack movement. #MBR was launched in June 2020 by Kezia Williams, founder of The Black upStart, an educational program focused on training Black entrepreneurs. Through her social media platforms, Williams advocates for financial literacy in Black communities, including building wealth, creating businesses, and providing jobs. #MBR started when Williams reached out to Torrence Reed, CEO of Zoom Technologies. Together, they set up a website where consumers, businesses, and investors can upload receipts that serve as proof of purchase from or investment in Black businesses. Their goal was to reach \$5 million receipts in 17 days.

The fundamental logic of #MBR is to retain money within the Black community. They envisioned a thriving Black economy that would liberate Black businesses and consumers from the exclusionary racial dynamics that prevail in markets. As an ethnic enclave, #MBR attempts to create an economically viable space for Black businesses within the mainstream economy, thus leveraging economic resource redistribution in the market as a political tool (Nieslen et al. 2021). Furthermore, #MBR embraces the Black enclave features associated with confronting discriminatory and racialized business practices and supporting Black-owned businesses (Regev 2020). It also connects people in a multiplatform network and adopts digital and communication tools to sustain the market enclave (Steele 2018). As such, #MBR supports consumers' and companies' performance of economic exchange (buying, selling) through online activities (i.e., uploading the receipt or reproducing #MBR on social media). #MBR's aims are inspired by prior Black market activist enclaving movements; in particular, Williams often connects #MBR to Black Wall Street. As such,

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#MBR is not a completely new movement but is part of a revival of enclaving—and Black activism—movements (Branchik and Davis 2009) in digital form. The combination of digital activism with economic resource redistribution makes #MBR a compelling case of online Black enclaving.

Data Collection

To collect a manageable dataset, we focused solely on #MBR but pursued the threads between this movement and several others that align with the broader #BuyBlack cause. Multiple hashtags are employed on social media alongside #MBR, as is common given the porous boundaries of digital enclaves (Graham 2014). While we read through these, we did not collect data on other hashtags, such as #BuyBlack.

We collected media articles (from mainstream media outlets, blogs, and independent publishers) and archival data published on social media platforms and searched for the hashtag #MyBlackReceipt on Factiva for media articles. We complemented this with a Google search for news features using the same keyword. For social media, we used the applications 4K Stogram (Instagram) and TweetDeck (Twitter). 4K Stogram functions as a data aggregation tool via which people may browse and download Instagram pictures, videos, and stories by user, location, and hashtag. Similarly, TweetDeck enables the search and collection of Twitter posts based on hashtag, date, and engagement level. Both tools were used for data condensation (Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña 2018) in line with their capacity to display the totality of posts from selected hashtags. We also used the embedded search mechanisms on Facebook and YouTube, searching only for the hashtags #MyBlackReceipt and #MBR on these platforms. Additionally, we collected information on the official website for the movement (MyBlackReceipt.com). Data were collected between August and November 2020 and covered the period from the first announcement of the initiative, June 1,

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to October 31, 2020. Table 2 describes the resulting dataset. Four of the authors were directly responsible for data collection and management.

Insert Table 2 near here.

Data Analysis

A subset of authors conducted a thematic analysis (Gibbs 2018; Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña 2018) of the entire dataset. Our analysis focused on textual data content (i.e., YouTube videos transcripts, messages within illustrative posts, and comments on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram), which required interpreting the speech, conversation, and narrative in the posts rather than the visual representations within them. Although we did not code for visual aspects of image-only messages, we retained those in our dataset, as the captions and comments for each image offered textual data for analysis.

Thematic analysis is an analytical process that supports researchers to develop an empirically based understanding of a cultural phenomenon through the identification of patterns (coding), themes, and categories (Ferreira and Scaraboto 2022; Gibbs 2018). To support the process, we followed Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña's (2018) general procedure, which encompasses three simultaneous activities: data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. Data condensation is the practice of selecting, focusing, simplifying, and/or transforming the data across the dataset (Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña 2018). This practice was assisted by Gibbs's (2018) coding procedure, which encompasses scrutinizing the collected data, identifying segments, and assigning labels that represent these segments in a theoretical and analytical, rather than merely descriptive, manner.

We started by reading through a subset of the data to identify the main patterns related to how the movement was fighting market exclusion. In this first cycle of coding, four general themes were identified: the movement's goals, strategies, tactics, and outcomes. We then coded the data to identify the different types of each. Finally, through iteration between

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the extant literature and the dataset, we refined the analysis to focus on the tactics employed in #MBR as a digital enclave. At this stage, we looked at enclaving as a “sensitizing concept” to interrogate the data and identify theoretically meaningful patterns, which were reciprocally adjusted to the literature (Locke, Feldman, and Golden-Biddle 2020). We then conducted a second cycle of coding, which focused on identifying ways in which the tactics employed in #MBR could be increasing consumer participation and reducing market exclusion. Last, we purposefully searched for negative cases, discussed discrepancies, and used several descriptors until we settled on those that more clearly delineated the patterns seen in the data. In doing so, a final set of five enclaving tactics were identified that support the flourishing of a digital enclave and participation in the market. They also offer support to a theoretical understanding of the phenomenon in a manner consistent with the data. Overall, this was an iterative analytical process in which different subsets of authors independently and manually coded the dataset at different points, identifying excerpts and discussing data exemplars. They also used different forms of data as triangulation tools and adjusted their interpretations to the literature (Spiggle 1994). The remaining authors were involved in the analytical process through regular meetings with the data analysis teams, in which the findings were presented and discussed, and a joint interpretation built.

Findings

Our findings define and explain the tactics that support the formation and sustenance of digital enclaves. We identify five tactics that support #MBR as a digital enclave: a) legitimizing, which justifies the purpose of the digital enclave; b) community delimiting, which establishes the symbolic boundaries of the digital enclave; c) vitalizing, which habituates behavior and infuses emotion into the digital enclave; d) manifesting, which materializes the digital enclave; and e) bridging, which connects digital enclaves to sets of people, resources, and discourses outside the enclave, helping to increase its porosity. These

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tactics support each other, mutually reinforcing the digital enclave. For example, materializing can illustrate the benefits of connecting with the collective, thus enabling further bridging work. Meanwhile, legitimizing can build the enclave's credibility, thus encouraging further materializing behaviors. Below, we unpack and evidence the five enclaving tactics as well as the sub-tactics that animate them. We explain their importance for enclave formation and sustenance and situate them in the goal of promoting racialized actors' participation in markets (please see Figure 1).

Insert Figure 1 about here.

Legitimizing Black Market Enclaves

As a tactic, legitimizing involves reinforcing the purpose or value of a digital enclave. Observed in other aspects of market practice (e.g., Humphreys 2010; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013), legitimizing endorses the participation of Black actors in the market, supporting the continuity of the enclave and explaining the actions of its members. Legitimizing has been important in non-digital Black enclaves (Branchik and Davis 2009) but has often been constrained to the creation of promotional material, marches, and localized public debates in those contexts. However, in digital enclaves such as the one #MBR advances, legitimizing tends to take the form of social media posts, emojis, and "likes" that support posts from key members or help justify the actions and events that animate the enclaves. In #MBR, we observed two sub-tactics that legitimize the enclave: justifying and reframing.

Justifying involves offering reasons that explain the existence of the enclave. This motivates participation in the enclave, reinforcing its goal to achieve market participation. #MBR founder Kezia Williams justifies the enclave by explaining how enclaving represents an investment in the Black community:

Black entrepreneurs should make more of the products that Black people buy disproportionately. The Nielsen Consumer Index Report noted that we over-index in spending on ethnic hair care & beauty products, women's fragrances, feminine hygiene products, refrigerated juices and drinks, gum, detergents. This is why the

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incredible success of J.I.V.E. Juice Company, and the Honey Pot and also True Laundry Detergent are nearly guaranteed. They capitalize on the Black dollar and also provide a service that others want too. We need more Black-owned companies making products in these categories and more. When we make the products and provide the services that we buy, our \$1.3 trillion becomes an investment and not a blank check for every other company to endorse but our own. (Kezia Williams, News data, June 18, 2020)

Kezia refers to market intelligence (i.e., Nielsen Consumer Index Report) and offers as examples of success a list of thriving Black-owned businesses. She equates providing services and products that cater to the needs of Black consumers to an investment in the Black community. Through this and similar messages, market actors justify the importance of the enclave and the need to work to achieve freedom from the exclusionary racial dynamics that prevail in markets. By providing justifications, #MBR increases awareness of consumer and marketing power by fostering individual choices and business initiatives aligned with the movement's goals. The tactic also relies on disseminating small successes to trace connections between consumer choices and the purpose of the enclave:

“One United [Black-owned bank], with five total branches in California, Florida and Massachusetts, received 40,000 new accounts over the past month. The first boost came from the pandemic with more people shifting to mobile banking,” said Kevin Cohee, C.E.O. of OneUnited. A second wave came from people thinking about how spending can influence the race-related changes they want to see in America, he added. “The awareness around racism caused people to rethink where they're doing business and how they participate in the social well-being of their community,” Cohee said. (DB, News data, June 20, 2020)

Seeing examples about the positive impact of choosing to bank with institutions within the Black community, Black consumers and business owners become more conscious of the purpose of the movement and its potential impact (Grier, Thomas, and Johnson 2019). The justification logic here is that, if Black entrepreneurs and business owners receive a better financial and business education, they will thrive, employ more Black people, and serve Black (and other) customers better. This means they are further supporting the movement in justifying their existence. In many ways, the justifications of #MBR are similar to those of the Black enclave Black Wall Street and other territorial enclaves (Branchik and Davis,

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2009), which help to legitimize them. The digital medium, however, allows for a more diverse set of justifications to be offered and increases the level of participation of market actors in providing, endorsing, and circulating them. This is because justifications can be articulated by anyone in the enclave; they are seen and supported (through likes, shares, and emojis) by other members of the group. This leads to more equitable opportunities for voice and confers more agency on participants of these movements.

While justifying legitimizes the enclave by helping explain its *raison d'être*, *reframing* (Benford and Snow 2000) works by helping members to deal with threats to legitimacy. It reframes racism and anti-enclave comments in a way that reinforces the need for the enclave. For example, a participant received racist comments about her work as a Black entrepreneur. She turned to the Facebook community of #MBR to share what had happened. Other participants were supportive in their comments, reframing the racist event as validating the need for her work with #MBR and emphasizing the importance of her involvement with the group and her role in shaping market practices: “Don’t acknowledge this ignorance. Fires need oxygen to burn. You’re doing amazing work!!” (JK, Facebook, July 10, 2020), “If they took that much time ... it means you’re doing it sis. Keep up the good work” (DS, Facebook, July 10, 2020), and “Demons come out mad when they see God’s vision coming through!” (MS, Facebook, July 10, 2020). Reframing works well to support the enclave because it provides discursive tools for enclave members facing adversity in a way that repurposes the adversity and makes it a strength. While reframing might have occurred in physical enclaves (Branchik and Davis 2009), the territorial nature of those enclaves made it more difficult for framing to happen, as the debriefing of racist comments could not happen as visibly for fear of retaliation. In #MBR, the online medium protects members from physical retaliation by allowing for more open engagement in reframing. Together, justifying and reframing show how market actors legitimize the enclave.

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Delimitating

Delimitating involves establishing or negotiating the symbolic limits of a digital enclave. It allows community actors to determine which businesses are to be sought out and supported by establishing what it means to be a Black-owned business. Once a business is considered part of the enclave, patronizing that business becomes an act of community buttressing. This is a formative part of the enclaving process; it allows for the enclave to exist and is continually negotiated over time to ensure that the enclave is perpetuated. Although use of this tactic by enclaves has a long history (Branchik and Davis 2009), the context of #MBR as a digital enclave introduces new, and amplifies existing, mechanisms at play: “It is to this underrepresentation and misrepresentation, along with efforts towards solidarity and community building, that contemporary counterpublics respond, using media technologies available to them” (Jackson, Bailey, and Welles 2020, p. xxvii). Within the limits of the enclave, the community has the opportunity to reclaim the ways in which they choose to interact with and participate in the market.

In #MBR, we identified two sub-tactics through which delimitating is enacted. The first is boundary articulation, wherein actors in the enclave clearly articulate and police what is (or is not) a Black-owned business. The second is emboldening identity expressions in the market, in which consumers and businesses are encouraged to identify as unapologetically Black and as belonging to the digital enclave.

Boundary articulation is enacted by identifying, circulating, and policing what it means to be a Black-owned business. In #MBR, to be recognized as an enclave member, businesses need to go beyond catering to the needs of Black consumers; they need to be able to prove that their ownership is either partly or fully Black. This is because of the enclave’s purpose of helping build intergenerational Black wealth. However, the standards used to evaluate whether ownership is, in fact, Black are variable: some members will only accept a

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business as Black-owned if 100% of the ownership is in the hands of the Black community, while others will accept the business as part of the enclave if it is majority Black-owned. This is continually negotiated by the community. For example, there has been debate around the concepts of Black-owned and Black-founded:

Sometimes, companies blur the line between Black-owned and Black-founded, but they're not the same, she says. For example, we've seen Target tout that they uplift Black-owned and Black-founded brands, and both of those are great to support, but only one of those, Black-owned brands, will actually help our community. (LL, News data, April 28, 2020)

This has become clear, as many brands founded by Black community members have been sold to mainstream market actors. Shea Moisture (capillary products) is Black-founded but is currently owned by Unilever—buying from Shea Moisture does little to support the Black community, and so the company is not granted unquestioned participation in the digital enclave. The U.S. Census Bureau (2012) defines Black-owned as “any firm with Black or African American owners holding a 51% or larger stake in the business.”, but in practice, participation in the enclave is less clearly defined as can be seen in the following quote: “Upon further review, one owner is Black and one IS white. 50% is good enough for me though, plus they partner with the non-profit Soil that does work in Haiti. They get a pass from me. Lol.” (KW, Facebook, June 20, 2020). Here the fact that at least 50% of the business ownership is Black qualifies it for participation in the enclave. This excerpt illustrates the ways that consumers make and share judgments about the boundaries of a digital enclave. The business gets a “pass”—a somewhat begrudging rather than enthusiastic acceptance of inclusion. Other businesses are denied the privilege of inclusion, as can be seen in Figure 2, where members of the Black community have identified the brand Cantu (and other brands), which caters to Black kinky and curly hair, as not belonging to the community.

Insert Figure 2 about here.

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Emboldening identity expressions in the market is enacted by encouraging Black consumers and Black-owned businesses to identify as unapologetically Black. This signals their belonging to the digital enclave and their desire to participate in this more-inclusive market. Beyond that, there is also the wish to be genuine to themselves and to their culture. This is achieved by, for example, promoting the use of natural hairstyles in the workplace, normalizing Ebonics,¹ and signaling Black worth. This is contrary to the mainstream market, which, on the whole, does not celebrate Blackness and Black identity. This tactic strengthens the boundaries set by members of the enclave and uses them to identify who is inside and outside the enclave. In this next quote, we can see the desire for Black market actors to be who they are, loudly and without pretense:

Happy Rising Queens!👑

You have to not only talk the talk but you must walk the walk regarding representation and equality for our beautiful Black community. Last Saturday, our Founder @lashawn_daily did just that as she protest in our Leena face mask and Camara yellow sundress. Your outfit is your daily armor. It's a mouthpiece for how you want to express yourself on any given day and this day she wanted her creations and who she was to speak louder than ever. She simply just wanted to BE. How often as a Black woman do you feel you have to morph into being someone else... to appease them or make someone feel "comfortable". No more! Today and everyday moving forward we just want you to BE. Enjoy diving all the way into the freedom of that! Wearing your hair your way, dressing how you feel best and doing whatever your body feels is most natural. The days of policing the Black woman are officially over!! (SO, Instagram, June 11, 2020)

This desire to be "her authentic self" includes wearing her hair in a natural style and sporting a face mask and a sundress from her Black-owned business. In doing so, her Black identity is strengthened not only by her natural hair style but also by her decision to consume from within the enclave. Such choices feed and sustain the enclave, and that, in turn, uplifts her entire community.

¹ The term 'Ebonics' was created in 1973 by a group of Black scholars who disapproved of the negative terms used to describe this type of language. After controversy over its use in the early 1990s, it has primarily been used to refer to the sociolect African American English, a dialect distinctively different from Standard American English.

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Vitalizing

Vitalizing is the enclaving tactic of habituating behavior and infusing emotion into the operation of a digital enclave. It supports the flourishing of an enclave by encouraging involvement and exchange by participants in the market space; in short, it fosters a functioning, inclusive market environment where participants, both buyers and sellers, can access a market space in which their needs can be satisfied. Prior work on market enclaves suggests varying levels of animation and functionality (Wilson and Martin 1982) and indicates that actors play a role in shaping these qualities. The tactics actors engage in to bring an enclave to life are especially important when they are digital, and thus more imagined, than traditional geographically rooted Black enclaves (c.f., Branchik and Davis 2009). Vitalizing is manifested through three sub-tactics: enticing, mapping, and enlisting.

Enticing involves individuals enthusiastically promoting market offerings in an enclave. It serves to vitalize a digital enclave by communicating to others that there are appealing products and services on offer, thus encouraging them to engage with other market actors who have intersecting values or tastes. To entice consumers, many Black business owners post about their businesses on social media platforms using the hashtag #MyBlackReceipt. The following Facebook post, from an emerging restaurateur, eagerly introduces the launch of a new restaurant in the Atlanta area:

So my siblings and I did a thing. We pooled our resources and talent and are opening a restaurant. Yep, in the middle of a pandemic. Allow me to introduce you to the Peach Magnolia: A Louisiana Bistro. We are bringing the bayou to you with Creole and Cajun favorites like PoBoys, Seafood Nachos, Boudin, Beignets and more! We'll be located in the West End and look forward to sharing our delicious eats with you Mid-August 2020! Follow us on FB & IG for Opening details @PeachMagnoliaATL The Peach Magnolia – ATL #atl #food #restaurants #Blackowned #familyowned #westend #atlanta #foodies #buyBlack #webuyBlack #comingsoon #louisiana #peachmagnoliaatl #soulfood #comfortfood #atleats #thepeachmagnolia #foodnetwork #cook #smallbusiness #myBlackreceipt (SB, Facebook, July 8, 2020)

Posts such as this tell the story of Black-owned businesses and make them more appealing for consumers to patronize. Through their use of #myBlackreceipt and other related hashtags, the

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owners situate themselves in the enclave and present themselves to consumers interested in participating in this market. In some cases, like the above post, which received 96 emoticon responses, 37 comments, and 21 shares, these posts generate significant online engagement. Our dataset includes thousands of similar promotional posts on Instagram (see Figure 3 for visual examples).

Insert Figure 3 about here.

In addition to connecting to #MBR through the hashtag, these posts link to business webpages and employ several other hashtags to extend their reach (e.g., #BuyBlack #BuyBlackChallenge #SupportBlackOwnedBusinesses #BlackWallstreet #KeziaWilliams #AmplifyMelanatedVoices #AmplifyBlackVoices). Similar to social movements that use hashtags to frame political issues and mobilize individuals online around a specific topic (Xiong, Cho, and Boatwright 2019), #MBR makes it easier for potential supporters to find Black-owned businesses and increase consumer choice regarding where to spend their money upon deciding to patronize Black-owned businesses. This spurs the investment of energy and increases involvement in the digital enclave.

Yet, in isolation, individual promotional posts from business owners do little to convey the vitality of the digital enclave as a whole or help consumers find and access a broader range of businesses that may address their needs and wants. To help communicate that the digital enclave is a flourishing market space beyond the scope of the few businesses consumers may see in their social media feed, actors also engage in the sub-tactic of enclave *mapping*: creating directories and search capacities that enable consumers to better see and access the breadth of businesses involved in the digital enclave. In the past, access to Black-owned businesses was mainly through their geographical locations, as they were situated in predominantly Black neighborhoods (Branchik and Davis 2009; Crockett and Wallendorf 2004). However, Black businesses have proliferated online and outside of Black

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neighborhoods, in search of a wider target market (Crockett 2017), making it more difficult for consumers to identify them. Consumer posts on social media highlight that it can be a struggle to find local shops and identify branches of large businesses (e.g., McDonald's or 7-Eleven) that are Black-owned. Using maps created by members of the enclave, consumers can better see the participants in an enclave and increase their access to relevant consumption-related information. The website myBlackreceipt.com lists more than 5,000 U.S. businesses in a searchable directory, creating a resource that facilitates exchanges within the enclave. Our media data highlight the creation of several similar directories and lists that map the enclave and facilitate the identification of Black-owned businesses:

Looking For A Black-Owned Business To Support? There's An App For That. Mandy Bowman knew that buying Black was important before it was the trend that it is today. Bowman is the founder and CEO of Official Black Wall Street, a platform that connects consumers with thousands of Black-owned businesses in 10 countries worldwide. The directory, which launched in 2015, has been particularly useful recently, at a time of heightened momentum around the #BuyBlack movement. (JS, News data, July 1, 2020)

These types of market maps, from Official Black Wall Street, Yelp's Black Businesses directory, and others, reflect a sub-tactic that centers Black businesses and enables consumers to better navigate the distributed enclave. Mapping identifies Black businesses that fit the movement's general criteria and establishes the foundation for more regular market interaction between consumers and proprietors of Black-owned businesses. This is central to the functioning of a dynamic enclave.

While *enticing* and *mapping* vitalize an enclave by providing useful information and consummating market exchange, *enlisting* does so by bringing new participants into the fold, thus creating opportunities for more exchanges. As a leader in the digital enclave, Kezia Williams actively engages in this sub-tactic online and through media appearances; other organizers, business owners, and consumers follow her lead, as exemplified in the following two Facebook posts:

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“My org is a founding partner of National Buy Black Movement: #MyBlackReceipt, we need 15 friends to RSVP today! This effort asks all to buy from a Black-owned business and upload the receipt until we reach the goal of spending \$5 million with them. Are you in? RSVP: myBlackreceipt.com @theBlackupstart #TheBlackupStart — with The Black Upstart.” (MBF, Facebook, June 13, 2020)

“Tag A Black Owned Business Below! Let’s spend some Black #MyBlackReceipt” (JL, Facebook, June 7, 2020)

In the first post, a business owner follows a commonly observed script and asks consumers to join the enclave by “RSVPing,” an interesting turn of phrase that implies exclusivity and belonging. In the second post, a consumer prompts others to identify Black-owned businesses, nominally bringing them into the enclave to increase consumer awareness of and spending at their establishment. These posts, and the broader dataset, demonstrate that enlisting is widely practiced by many members of the enclave who aim to increase its scope and presence, thus creating a more vital, collectively resourced market space.

Vitalizing is essential to digital enclaves because it helps support their core function of facilitating exchanges between actors who seek to further the same collective aims. If fundamental aspects of an enclave are not facilitated because too few businesses enlist or consumers are unaware as to where they can purchase goods, the enclave will falter and fail to achieve its purpose, forcing people to leave or to look elsewhere in the market.

Manifesting

Manifesting is the enclaving tactic of evidencing the exchanges that occur within a digital enclave, demonstrating its existence in a virtual world. Manifesting supports the enclave by signaling its presence and impact on those in the enclave and encouraging actors to get or remain involved. Traditional enclaves are visible to market actors, who can see the stores in a neighborhood and the patrons coming and going, but this is less true for digital enclaves, which are stitched together through virtual means. This increases the necessity to evidence a thriving enclave to market actors. Manifesting affords this possibility through two sub-tactics: claiming and substantiating.

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Claiming occurs when consumers publicly assert their purchase in the digital enclave.

This individual act, facilitated through social media, serves as evidence of their market behavior and, more fundamentally, commitment to the enclave and its affiliated businesses. It also represents an act of virtue signaling (Wallace, Buil and De Chernatony 2020). There are hundreds of social media posts in our dataset in which consumers claim to support Black-owned businesses with their recent purchases. Examples include “👛💰 Yes Queen!!!! Bought this beautiful dress!!! #BuyBlack” (VT, Facebook, July 19, 2020), “I just bought this book for my granddaughter. Now I will buy the products to go with it! Awesome!” (SP, Facebook, December 18, 2021), “Yayyy!! I am a total journal girl. Will be purchasing one very soon! CONGRATULATIONS on this amazing addition to your bawse [sic] Babe portfolio! Love you! 🥰🥰” (MD, Facebook, June 20, 2020), and “Just purchased 2 books from black authors” (VK, Facebook, June 27, 2020). While consumers regularly share word-of-mouth for a variety of reasons, these examples reflect their active support of Black proprietors. The posts assert that consumer demand in the enclave is strong, thus signaling to business owners that it is profitable to participate in the market space. Individual assertions of demand may also be substantiated through the aggregation of more objective evidence of purchase. Market research companies do this, for example, when they release sales data for particular categories or segments. **Substantiation** in a digital enclave provides authoritative evidence that the enclave is facilitating market exchanges. In the context of #MBR, this occurs via the enclave’s central website, which affords consumers the opportunity to upload receipts from purchases they have made at Black-owned businesses. The dollar value associated with these receipts is tallied, displayed prominently on the site’s homepage, and shared throughout social media using the enclave’s hashtag. The sub-tactic of substantiation, which represents a new type of enclave-driven market activity, provides confirmation of aggregate consumer demand in the enclave, a value that would otherwise be hard to ascertain.

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This value serves as a point of celebration; it is proof of the enclave's existence and effectiveness, a symbol of its impact in the market, and something that can be shared with the media in support of the same claim and to raise awareness of the enclave's purpose and effect. Taken together, these sub-tactics of manifesting demonstrate to audiences both inside and outside the enclave that the market space is vital and a site of active participation in a market that allocates resources to support wealth accumulation in the Black community.

Bridging

Bridging is the enclaving tactic of connecting digital enclaves to wider sets of people, resources, and discourses. It situates enclaves in more extensive market networks and cultural meaning structures, providing greater opportunities to acquire valuable resources to help them flourish. It also facilitates participation in the mainstream market. The tactic of bridging links to prior research on enclaves (e.g., Ndofor and Priem 2011), thus pointing out that, in addition to providing a safer space for particular types of market actors, enclaves have supplier and demand linkages to the larger market in which they are embedded. Bridging emerges through the exercise of two sub-tactics: partnership development and cultural connection.

Partnership development entails forming relationships with allied people or organizations who are non-marginalized market actors (e.g., celebrities, brands, sponsors) and aligned with an enclave's goals. Market actors in an enclave can then access the symbolic resources owned by these mainstream market actors to challenge ethnic and racial inequality (Crockett 2021) and enhance market participation for the Black community. This sub-tactic holds appeal because of mainstream market practices, such as corporate social responsibility (Luo and Bhattacharya 2006), and the increased expectation that companies take a stance on societal matters (Green and Peloza 2011). As such, mainstream market actors find value in partnering with digital enclaves.

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One such partner is Yelp, a business directory and review site that has created a filter option to feature Black-owned businesses: “This year, Darryl agreed to join the #MyBlackReceipt team and negotiated our partnership with #Yelp yielding over \$100,000 in free national advertising and assisting our goal of \$7+ million receipts” (Kezia Williams, Facebook, August 13, 2020). This increases the exposure and the voice of the enclave within the larger market. Another example is Pepsi, which has committed “\$50 million over five years to help set Black restaurateurs up for success” and is hoping to “drive at least \$100 million in sales for Black-owned restaurants over the next five years. We’ve partnered with MyBlackReceipt to help us track our progress” (<http://pepsidigin.com>). When those partnerships support Black-owned businesses without detracting from their potential, they provide market actors with access to resources previously denied through market exclusion.

Bridging is also implemented through the sub-tactic of *cultural connection*, in which the digital enclave is related to a broader set of movements or discourses that intersect with the enclave through a similar set of ideas. This approach helps people to better understand the motivations behind the digital enclave, imbuing it with additional meaning that can make the act of buying Black even more symbolically potent. Bridging can also introduce new actors to the enclave through their previous interest in or involvement with related cultural ideas and spaces. The following Facebook post from the owner of a Black-owned bookstore exemplifies this tactic by relating the digital enclave to the historically significant day of Juneteenth, as well as other discourses, such as Black pride and building Black wealth:

Lincoln’s freeing of the enslaved was largely only on paper, and the ongoing Civil War prevented freedom from becoming a reality as many plantation owners withheld the news. They didn’t care about what humanitarians thought about them suppressing the news of freedom, because in their minds the negro people were a lesser people in comparison to themselves. Juneteenth marked a turning point in the fight to free African-Americans from bonds of slavery, and African-Americans in Texas (one of the last hold outs) and nationwide celebrated it as a day of freedom.

Actions that celebrate Juneteenth in deeds, not just words.

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- (1) Shop/Order from a Black-owned business and upload your receipt at #myBlackreceipt by our sis @keziamw ceo of @theBlackupstart
 - (2) Read/share a book written by a Black author. Even host a cuddle storytime with your little one featuring beautiful Black characters.
 - (3) Register your own LLC business and create economic freedom for yourself and your legacy. If you've been dreaming of a business, developing plans and strategies, building relationships, go for it! It doesn't have to be perfect to be real and make a difference. Visit local business resources in your community for all the steps. It's about intentional execution not perfection.
- #mahoganybooks #Blackbooksmatter #juneteenth #emancipationday
 #freedomaintfree #shopBlackowned #economicfreedom #Blackamdproud
 #createalegacy #executionnotperfection (MB, Facebook, June 19, 2020)

In this elaborate post, the business owner explains the meaning behind Juneteenth and blends this with ideas of buying Black and other Black empowerment discourses. In the logic of this post, buying Black, and playing a role in the digital enclave, is one way consumers can celebrate the holiday. Other posts in the dataset similarly commingle buying Black with the hope for a re-emergent Black Wall Street or the potential for reparations. In weaving these cultural connections, market actors make the enclave a site for deeper conversations and, perhaps, a more meaningful place to convene, converse, and act in the hopes of achieving more complete market participation or ever-broader racial equity.

Discussion

Can digital enclaves support racialized actors' participation in markets, and if so, how? Prior research shows that market enclaves usually fail to support racialized actors' participation in markets because of their inability to survive (Messer, Shriver, and Adams 2018; Regev 2020; Branchik and Davis 2009). In our qualitative study of #MBR, we identified five tactics and specific sub-tactics that racialized actors in digital enclaves perform to help address this challenge. These tactics promote the formation and sustenance of digital enclaves: they legitimize their purpose, vitalize behaviors and emotions within them, shape and enforce their boundaries, and materialize and connect the digital enclaves in external networks of meanings and resources. By promoting the persistence of digital enclaves, these

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tactics foster participation in markets through redirecting economic resources in ways that enhance the voice and power of racialized market actors in mainstream markets. In the following sections, we discuss how our findings contribute to the literature on theorizing racialized market actors' work to achieve market participation.

First, we show how enclaves complement racialized market actors' symbolic work to achieve enhanced participation. Like stigma and representation management, enclaving promotes access to the consumption of products and services and gives visibility to racialized consumers (Bone, Christensen, and Williams 2014; Branchik and Davis 2009; Crockett 2021; Harrison, Thomas, and Cross 2017). Yet, enclaving also allows the creation and sustenance of a market resource, controlled by racialized market actors, that they can leverage for market resource redistribution. While enclaving constrains activist efforts to the boundaries of an enclave, in digital enclaves, those boundaries are porous. This allows racialized actors to "catch their breath" (Regev 2020) and acquire resources, while connecting to mainstream actors in ways that will enable racialized actors to pursue enhanced participation in the mainstream market if they so wish. Legitimizing the digital enclave helps circulate a range of justifications that endorse actor participation to a variety of stakeholders, and its practice in a digital space affords more equitable opportunities for consumers to successfully voice their legitimacy. Further, bridging helps digital enclaves acquire resources and link them more broadly to mainstream markets. As a result, it provides conduits for greater participation in those spaces. Bridging also provides digital enclave members with access to broadly circulating discourses, linking the digital enclave to larger movements in the market and society more generally.

Second, our research informs the understanding of how digital enclaves differ from the traditional enclaves pursued by Black activists in geographically circumscribed physical environments. As prior research shows, geographically rooted Black enclaves have thrived

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and become economically strong and socially dense, but they were almost entirely segregated from the mainstream market (Weems 1998; Regev 2020). Although relationships with the mainstream market existed (e.g., with suppliers and occasional consumers), these were few in number and were not encouraged. Furthermore the success of these closed enclaves felt threatening to White majorities, who responded with a violent backlash, the intensive cooptation of Black consumers, and radicalization (Messer, Shriver, and Adams 2018). Contemporary digital enclaving is not geographically bound and, as such, feels less limiting to participants. While tactics such as delimitating create boundaries for the enclave, these boundaries are tentative and porous. Other tactics work to connect the enclave to the mainstream market. For example, legitimizing works with external and internal publics, and bridging positions the enclave in more extensive market networks with shared cultural meaning structures, thus affording enclave participants opportunities to acquire valuable resources that can help them achieve participation in markets beyond the enclave. The porous boundaries of a digital enclave make its relationships with the mainstream more frequent and more visible. Arguably, when allies are welcomed and partnerships developed, radical backlash from majorities can be minimized or prevented.

Overall, this study re-orientes the discussion on market racism to focus on the tactics employed by racialized market actors to achieve market participation by mobilizing economic resource redistribution and digital network tools. This is important because it aligns knowledge of market activism with more transformative agendas that aim to create social inclusion through the empowerment of market actors (Crockett et al. 2013) in addition to efforts for token participation. This observation has important implications for policymakers, which we discuss in the following section.

Policy Implications

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A variety of (anti-discrimination) policies have been developed in previous decades to enhance the participation of racialized actors in markets (Johnson et al. 2019; Tangri and Southall 2008). Historically, public policies have tended to promote the development of “color-blind” behaviors in markets, whereby market actors’ treatment of other market participants is not supposed to be influenced by race or ethnicity (Wise 2010). For example, anti-discriminatory advertisement guidelines and regulations, such as the Fair Housing Act in the U.S., requires promotional communications to develop similar representations for people of all races (Petty et al. 2003). Similarly, anti-discriminatory sales laws promote equal treatment during the sales process; the Civil Rights Act of 1964, in particular, forbids service denial on the basis of customers’ ethno-racial identity across a wide range of product categories. Addressing the specificities of sales discrimination in the banking sector, the Equal Credit Opportunity Act and the Community Reinvestment Act of 1977 (CRA) also force banks to open credit to citizens of all socio-economic statuses and races and to ensure citizens of all races have access to promotional communications (Petty et al. 2003). Consumers confronted with racial bias when shopping can further leverage complaint procedures protected by corporate policies and national laws (Kennedy 2001).

Our study of the #MBR digital enclave sheds light on an opportunity to complement extant color-blind policies (Wise 2010) with color-conscious policies fostering market contexts, such as digital racial enclaves, where market actors’ ethno-racial identities are emphasized, and socio-economic structures are created that respond to those specific identities’ needs and challenges. In doing so, color-conscious policies can help enhance the level of participation of ethno-racial minorities in markets, from limited (e.g., consumption of dedicated products and offerings) to more comprehensive, fostering more equitable access to market resources, fair opportunities for voice, and the power to shape market practices. Based on our study of a digital enclave, we identify two normative principles that can guide

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“sources of public policy (e.g., federal, state, and international agencies; self-regulation; the courts; nonprofits; society; industry standards; company policies; personal ethics)” (Andrews et al. 2022, p. 11) when developing and implementing color-conscious market policies.

First, color-conscious policies focus on supporting the participation of ethnic minorities in markets. As racial market enclaves are led by ethno-racial minority business owners and cater to the needs of ethno-racial minority consumers, public policies should focus on enabling the legitimizing, vitalizing, manifesting, bridging and community delimitation tactics that create and sustain racial market enclaves.

As allies, policymakers and businesses can aim to support racialized market actors' efforts to engage with digital enclaves and participate more equitably in markets without taking control or removing their decision-making power. For example, to develop color-conscious initiatives that support enclave manifestation, businesses could develop programs that more directly focus on evidencing the digital enclave. Zoom Technologies, for example, partnered with #MBR to provide a platform that enables the enclave to *manifest* its Black receipts. The organization also supports *vitalizing* and *legitimizing* the enclave through Zoom Soul, an Employee Resource Group, that works year-round to bring insightful and educational experiences that empower, engage, and strengthen Black enclaves (Gray 2022). If we recognize that such enclaves serve the public interest, public policy can bolster them by including financial incentives for business initiatives such as Zoom Soul.

Public policy could also provide frameworks that guide organizations interested in supporting Black enclaves to better understand the potential consequences of each enclaving tactic as well as steps for implementing these tactics. Policies seeking to increase the market participation of ethnic minorities via enclaving tactics could also support the construction of *bridges* connecting Black enclaves to wider sets of people, resources, and discourses. Regarding partnership developments, local and state governments could, for example,

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organize networking events that enable entrepreneurs to find partners and consumers to learn about the benefits and operations of enclaves. They could also invite representatives of enclaves to public celebrations of ethno-racial histories and commemorations of significant past events that have contributed to racialized markets and societies today. Such participation helps *legitimize* Black enclaves and solidify their existence.

Second, racially conscious policies should address the risks of polarization related to the development of racial market enclaves. Some ethnic majority members can misconstrue enclaves as a segregational initiative rather than a means to empower ethnic minorities, especially when enclaves appear to be a threat to the ethno-racial status quo. Black Wall Street is one famous illustration of this phenomenon in the context of a physical enclave (Messer, Shriver, and Adams 2018), in which radicalized individuals attacked the enclave, destroying Black lives, homes, and businesses. In our study of a digital enclave, we found comments devaluing #MBR as a form of inverted segregation. Further, while #MBR is a fundamentally inclusive and peaceful movement, it has the potential to become insular in response to negative responses from radical White consumers, effectively leading Black consumers to transform their discourses and practices of differentiation into discourses and practices of segregation.

These risks call for the development of programs supporting the legitimization of digital enclaves. Such programs would justify the *raison d'être* of digital enclaves by promoting their benefits to the wider population and rendering them desirable to all. This could involve, for example, potentiating public campaigns that educate the general public on the economic and social benefits of developing strong Black communities and reducing racial inequalities. Such campaigns could leverage, for instance, statistics that indicate that closing the racial wealth gap in the U.S. would represent an increase of 4–6% in the country's GDP

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by 2028 (Noel et al. 2019). Local governments could also offer public support to enclaves by relaying their messages and thus helping normalize support for Black business.

Programs supporting the legitimization of digital enclaves may also contribute to reframing false portrayals of enclaves as being segregational. This involves developing campaigns sensitizing White actors to the nature of White privilege in markets where White culture and needs are systemically prioritized as well as generating sympathy for ethno-racial minorities' experiences of market exclusion. Such campaigns could involve, for example, the development and dissemination of videos showcasing testimonies of market exclusion and the transformative experiences resulting from participation in an enclave, as well as the organization of roundtables on the topic. Reframing erroneous depictions of enclaves would also involve developing public campaigns to educate relevant White and racialized consumers about the boundaries between empowering separation, which promotes the acceptance of difference, and discriminatory separation, which devalorizes difference. This includes but is not limited to the "Cultural Awareness and Belonging" and "Addressing Microaggression" modules that are often part of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) educational programs offered by organizations committed to diversity and inclusion. Our findings, however, caution against tokenistic DEI approaches run for compliance reasons, and highlight the need for DEI modules created and facilitated by those in the enclave, adopting a strengths-based approach (Fogarty et al. 2018), and culturally responsive practices to support digital enclaving practices. For a summary of the policies discussed in this section, please see Table 3.

Insert Table 3 about here.

Limitations and Further Research

#MBR represents an ideal context to elucidate how digital enclaves can support racialized consumers in pursuing participation in markets. However, achieving market participation is a

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long-term process, and #MBR, like other hashtag movements, is recent. Our study, therefore, lacks the historical hindsight to demonstrate the effects of the enclaving tactics identified. We suggest future research to develop longitudinal studies tracing whether and how racialized actors and the market systems they operate in change in response to the enactment of digital enclave movements.

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Tables

Table 1: Glossary of Key Conceptual Terms

Market exclusion	“Involves barriers to participation in the market relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society. It affects the ability of individuals and groups to be adequately represented in the market and has implications for quality of life and social cohesion” (Burgess et al. 2017, p. 491).
Market stigma	“The labeling, stereotyping, and devaluation by and of commercial stakeholders (consumers, companies and their employees, stockholders, and institutions) and their offerings (products, services, and experiences)” (Mirabito et al. 2016, p. 171).
Minority visibility	The extent to which a minority is fully recognized by social actors like organizations, institutions and society at large (Brighenti 2007). Visibility differs from invisibility whereby minority’s accomplishments are unimportant denying them recognition, legitimacy, authority, and voice and hypervisibility, whereby minorities are subject to heightened scrutiny (Settles, Buchanan, and Dotson 2019).
Positive racial representation	Positive racial representation is the use of market resources to make marginalized minorities visible, acknowledging them as significant market actors and catering to their specific needs and desires (Crockett 2021; Lamont and Molnár 2001; Peñaloza 2018).
Race	“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” (Johnson et al. 2019, p. 7).
Racial equity	Racial equity is defined as just and fair inclusion into a society in which all people can participate, prosper, and reach their full potential (Policy Link 2018).
Racialized consumer	Consumers whose representation, values, behavior, and identity are profiled on the basis of an ascribed race or ethnicity (Harris, Henderson, and Williams 2005)
Radicalization	“... a process that entails socialization into an extremist belief system that sets the stage for intolerance or even violence toward individuals with a different worldview” (Braddock 2015; Trip et al. 2019)

Table 2: Research Dataset

Data Source	Data Description	Data Volume
Media outlets	News articles, blog posts, TV interviews resulting from searches on Factiva and Google News with the keywords “My Black Receipt” and #MyBlackReceipt.	25 media articles, totaling 62 pages
YouTube	Videocasts, interviews, promotional videos for the movement. Transcripts automatically generated by YouTube were downloaded and links to videos saved.	12 videos, totaling 104 minutes
Facebook	Posts by movement leaders, supporters, and consumers. Comments and reactions to these posts (icons, shares). These were collected manually by saving posts to a Facebook shared collection.	100 public posts, including images and approximately 2,000 comments

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Instagram	Posts by movement leaders, supporters, consumers, but mostly by Black business owners promoting their products. Mostly pictures, videos, and image macros tagged with #MyBlackReceipt and automatically collected by 4K Stogram. Comments and reactions to these posts (icons, shares).	16,900 posts—approximately 10,000 without duplicates
Twitter	Tweets by movement supporters, business owners, and consumers, resulting from a search on TweetDeck for #MyBlackReceipt between June 1, 2020 and October 31, 2020.	45 single-spaced pages on Word, no images (only text, links, emoticons, thumbnails)
Website	Information from “about” and “supporters” pages and a sample of businesses listed on the business directory was collected manually.	125 pages in PDF format

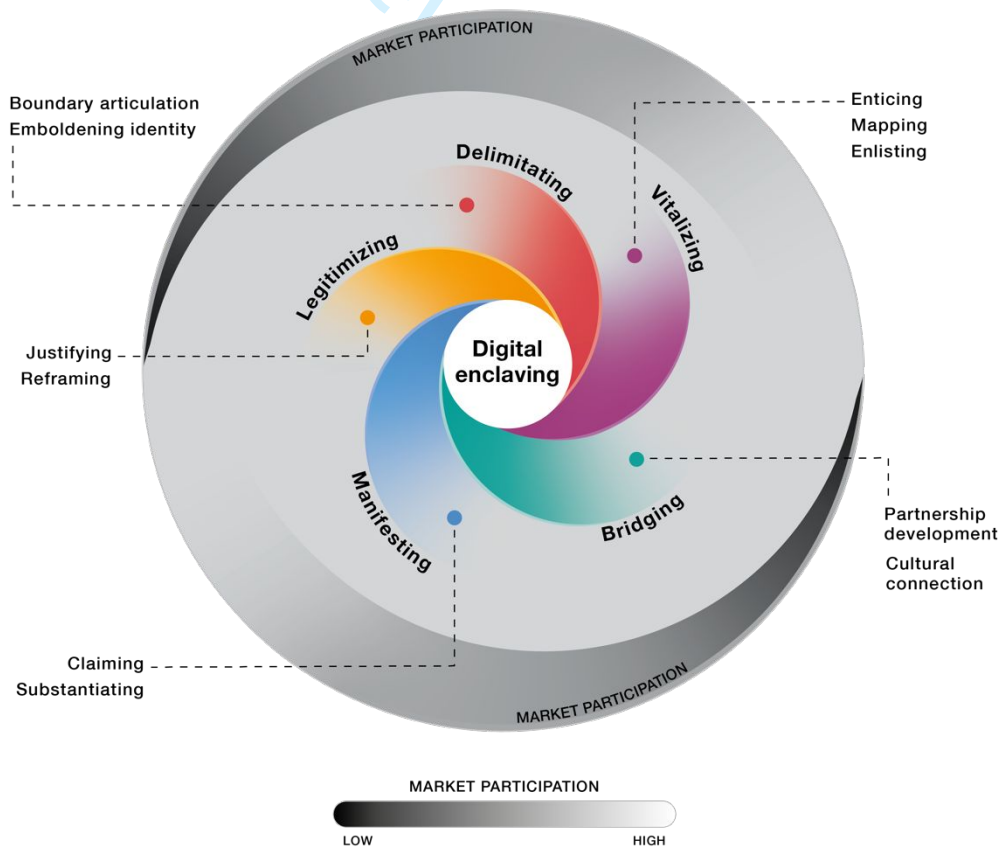
Table 3: Guidelines for color-conscious policies fostering the creation and sustenance of digital ethno-racial enclaves in the market

Guiding principle	Policy focus	Policy examples
Enable digital enclaving	Justifying the importance of digital enclaves for racialized market actors	Officially including enclave leaders in commemorations and celebrations of ethno-racial histories Trade associations developing statistics on the impact of digital enclaves on racialized market actors' financial status
	Delimiting enclave boundaries	Governments, in partnership with digital enclaves, specifying what constitutes a racialized business by developing ownership thresholds
	Encouraging involvement and participation in the enclave	Retailers facilitating consumers' identification of racialized businesses by showcasing their ethno-racial identity in search engines, catalogues, and brick-and-mortar shops. Retailers promoting racialized businesses' products in cause-related marketing campaigns (e.g., Targets Beyond Black Measure)
	Manifesting digital enclaves	Businesses pledging to buy a certain quota from ethno-racial minority suppliers (i.e., the 15% pledge) Governments creating financial incentives for online platform businesses to cater to the needs of digital enclaves
	Connecting digital enclaves with resources and people outside the enclave	Governments organizing networking events that connect interested entrepreneurs and consumers with digital enclave leaders Trade associations sponsoring the creation of directories listing ethno-racial minority businesses
Preventing polarization around	Promoting digital enclaves' benefits to the population	Governments coordinating campaigns that explain the dangers of ethno-racial inequalities

digital enclaves	Reframing segregational depictions of digital enclaves as mistaken	Actors from the education sector disseminating video testimonies of ethno-racial market exclusion and the empowerment resulting from participation in an enclave Businesses organizing debates on the nature of White privilege in markets Trade associations co-creating with enclaves training packages and campaigns about the difference between empowering and discriminatory separation
	Discouraging concerted attacks of digital enclaves	Social media platforms creating and enforcing moderation policies that condemn discriminatory, disparaging comments against racial enclaves

Figures

Figure 1: Digital enclaving framework



(Source: visual representation created by the authors)

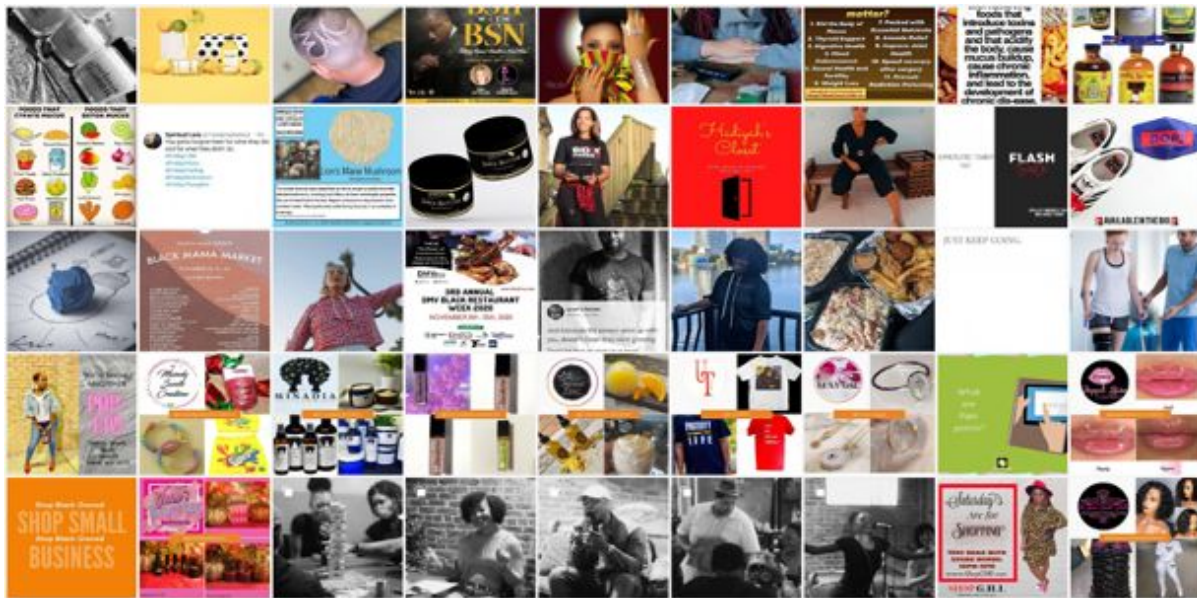
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Figure 2: Instagram posts denouncing non-Black-owned companies



(Source: BB, Instagram, June 10, 2020)

Figure 3: Instagram posts promoting Black-owned businesses with #MyBlackReceipt



(Source: Visual representation created by the authors)

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WEB APPENDIX

These materials have been supplied by the authors to aid in the understanding of their paper. The AMA is sharing these materials at the request of the authors.

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Table W1: Conceptual overview of digital market enclaves

Features	Description
Actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enclave leaders • Racialized consumers • Minority-owned businesses • Allies • Enclave investors
Actors' roles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enclave leaders develop a vision for the enclave, create the enclave's digital infrastructure (e.g., website), and manage staff • Minority-owned businesses provide products and services to the enclaves • Racialized consumers buy products and services from the enclave • Allies support and justify the enclave • Investors fund the enclave's operations (e.g., digital infrastructure and staff) • All actors foster and sustain the enclave (e.g., legitimize, delimit boundaries, vitalize, manifest, bridge)
Comparison to other market-based collectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Digital consumer movements: digital enclaves are a particular form of digital consumer movement that mobilize digital network tools to enhance specific minorities' participation in markets. Their uniqueness as consumer movements lies in their focus on redirecting consumers' economic resources into a distinct market unit enclosed within the mainstream market. • Physical market enclaves: physical and digital enclaves serve the same aim. However, digital enclaves are primarily built around digital network tools. As a result, they do not have geographical boundaries and the boundaries between insiders and outsiders are more porous. • Brand publics: as in brand publics, interactions in digital enclaves are mediated by techno-cultural resources such as hashtags. However, engagement with digital enclaves is motivated by market activism rather than publicity. Further, digital enclaves are structured by ownership, and purchase behaviors, rather than individual and collective affect around brands. The focal object is an enclave rather than a brand. • Online consumption communities: enclaves unite their members around a common goal (resource redistribution aiming to mitigate a perceived inability to participate in markets), rather than a shared identity centered on interest in a brand or a consumption activity. In addition, enclaves are market units enclosed within and somewhat separated from, rather than integrated in, the mainstream market.

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Table W2: Data links

Data	Link
Kezia Williams, News data, July 6, 2020	https://www.womengineered.org/2020/07/06/kezia-williams-my-black-receipt/
Kezia Williams, News data, June 18, 2020	https://www.forbes.com/sites/maryannreid/2020/06/18/myblackreceipt-founder-asks-can-white-people-purchase-like-they-protest/?sh=20c75ce4d26b
DB, News data, June 20, 2020	https://issuu.com/scbiz/docs/crbr_072020
JK, Facebook, Jul. 10, 2020	https://www.facebook.com/williams.kezia/posts/10157222858440778
DS, Facebook, July 10, 2020	https://www.facebook.com/williams.kezia/posts/10157222858440778
MS, Facebook, Jul. 10, 2020	https://www.facebook.com/williams.kezia/posts/10157222858440778
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