Claiming market ownership: Territorial activism in stigmatized markets

Ozlem Sandikci [a,*], Aliakbar Jafari [b], Eileen Fischer [c]

[a] *Adam Smith Business School, University of Glasgow, United Kingdom*
[b] *Strathclyde Business School, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, United Kingdom*
[c] *Schulich School of Business, York University, Canada*

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ABSTRACT

Brands that seek to serve stigmatized markets are frequently targeted with activism by stigmatizers who hold discrediting beliefs about the products, practices and/or people associated with such markets. Drawing on an inductive analysis of a large set of qualitative data in the halal food and beverage market, we identify three triggers that make activism by stigmatizers more likely to occur: stigma multiplicity, identity threat to stigmatizers, and ambiguity in targeting. Findings show that the nature of such activism is territorial as stigmatizers claim market ownership. We identify three forms of this territorial activism: patrolling the market boundaries, punishing the insurgents, and projecting identity threats beyond the market. Our study contributes to the market systems literature and to theories of identity threat, ownership, and territoriality. It further proposes a number of strategic options for companies that are being, or may expect to become, the targets of activist stigmatizers.

1. Introduction

In my book *Stop the Islamization of America: A Practical Guide to the Resistance,* I report at length on the meat industry's halal scandal: its established practice of not separating halal meat from non-halal meat, and not labeling halal meat as such. And back in October 2010, I reported more little-noted but explosive new revelations: that much of the meat in Europe and the United States is being processed as halal without the knowledge of the non-Muslim consumers who buy it. I discovered that only two plants in the U.S. that perform halal slaughter keep the halal meat separated from the non-halal meat, and they only do so because plant managers thought it was right to do so. At other meat-packing plants, animals are slaughtered following halal requirements, but then only a small bit of the meat is actually labeled halal.
(Happy Halal Thanksgiving By Pamela Geller) (https://www.americanthinker.com/articles/2011/11/happy_halal_thanksgiving.html).

As the opening post excoriating halal meat production as a "scandal" indicates, producers who choose to serve halal markets can anticipate that they will be targeted for criticism (or worse) from those who hold stigmatizing anti-Islamic views. Halal food producers can be understood to operate in "stigmatized markets," defined as markets where the products sold, the production practices used and/or the consumers

targeted "are negatively stereotyped and collectively devalued by one or more stakeholder audiences in ways that discredit the market as a whole" (Slade-Shantz et al., 2019, p. 1261). And despite the risks to brands and companies of being associated with any stigmatized market category (e.g., Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009), these markets may represent attractive opportunities because there is considerable demand among some segments, even though other stakeholder audiences (stigmatizers) view the market as tainted.

The importance of such economic opportunities for organizations is well-reflected in the sizable and growing body of research on this topic (e.g., Ashforth, 2019; Giesler, 2012; Grougiou, Dedoulis & Levenis, 2016; Hudson, 2008; Humphreys, 2010; Mirabito et al., 2016; Sandıkcı & Ger, 2010; Slade-Shantz et al., 2019). However, to date, scholars have paid limited attention to how stigmatizers may react when they become aware that brands are attempting to operate in what they regard as tainted markets. This theoretical oversight is somewhat surprising, since it is apparent that stigmatizers often go beyond mere disapproval and engage in some form of activism directed at brands or organizations operating in such markets. For example, they boycott "gay friendly" brands (e.g., https://marketingtherainbow.info/case%20studies/boycotts.html) or protest against social service providers catering to recent migrants (Tracey and Phillips, 2016). To address this gap, this paper asks two research questions: first, what triggers activism by stigmatizers toward brands that attempt to serve stigmatized markets? And second,

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what is the nature and form of activism in which stigmatizers engage?

The methodology used to explore these questions is a qualitative case study of the market for halal foods and beverages. Through inductive analysis of a large body of netnographic and media data, we identify three triggers of activism by stigmatizers: stigma multiplicity, identity threats to stigmatizers, and ambiguity in targeting of stigmatized markets. We also find that the nature of activism by stigmatizers is deeply territorial: stigmatizers claim market ownership. We identify three forms of this territorial activism: patrolling the market, punishing participants in the market, and projecting the threat beyond the market.

This research is important for the advancement of both theory and practice. In regard to theory, we complement prior work on stigmatized individuals and organizations by shedding light on the perspectives and practices of stigmatizers. This is particularly important given the growing polarization in society and the increasing evidence of activism by those who hold stigmatizing views of others (Avlon, 2019). Our work also complements prior theorization regarding marketplace territoriality, extending the scope from physical to social spaces. Further, it links the concepts of territoriality and activism in ways that can be generative for our understanding of both phenomena. Regarding practice, we provide insights for companies currently operating in stigmatized markets, those planning to do so, and those that neither operate nor plan to operate, in such markets but that are nonetheless targeted by stigmatizing activists. We delineate three strategic options – containment, confrontation and compliance – that firms may use to respond, and outline when each would be appropriate.

2. Literature review: prior research on market stigma

The roots of stigma research lie in the work of Erving Goffman who defined stigma as a "deeply discrediting" characteristic that reduces the bearer "from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one (1963, p.3). Goffman (1963) noted that individuals could be stigmatized based either on events or on core attributes. Events might include actions such as engaging in dishonest or deviant behavior. Core attributes include both externally visible traits such as physical imperfections, ethnicity or race, or attributes not immediately apparent such as mental illness or illiteracy. Building on the work of Goffman, scholars have identified stigma at the level of professions (e.g., Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999), brands (e.g., Giesler, 2012), and—relevant to this paper-—markets (e.g., Humphreys, 2010).

Like individuals, markets may be stigmatized based on specific discreditable actions (e.g., oil spills [e.g. Humphreys & Thompson, 2014]) or on intrinsic characteristics, such as those associated with products or services (e.g., marijuana [Huff, Humphreys & Wilner, 2019] or bullfighting [Valor, Lloveras & Papaoikonomou, 2021]), with customers (e.g., plus-sized customers [Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013] or veiled women [Sandıkcı & Ger, 2010]), or with some combination of these. Regardless of whether market stigma is associated with practices, products, or people, it is critical to note that stigma is a perceptual variable that resides in the views held by specific audiences located at a particular time and place. Any given market that is regarded as stigmatized by some stakeholders may not be regarded as such by others (Ashforth, 2019; Slade-Shantz et al., 2019) and perceptions of stigma can change over time (Smith et al., 2022).

Adopting Goffman's micro-level conceptualization, a significant body of research focuses on understanding how consumers experience stigma and cope with its negative effects (e.g., Achar, Dunn and Agrawal, 2022; Adkins & Ozanne, 2005; Argo & Main, 2008; Arsel & Thompson, 2011; Chaney, Sanchez & Maimon, 2019; Harmeling et al., 2021; Henry & Caldwell, 2006; Kates, 2002; Kozinets, 2001; Muniz & Schau, 2005; Ndichu & Rittenburg, 2021; Rank-Christman & Wooten, 2023; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995; Thompson & Arsel, 2004). Coping mechanisms identified range from acceptance to concealment and embrace of stigma. For example, low literate consumers limit themselves to familiar products rather than explore other consumption

opportunities (Adkins & Ozanne, 2005) and Starbucks fans hide their affiliation with the brand (Thompson & Arsel, 2004). Conversely, members of Star Trek and Harley Davidson brand communities embrace stigma and proudly display stigma symbols (i.e., wearing a Star Trek uniform in public; Kozinets, 2001) or engage in ritualistic activities to signal their difference (Schouten & McAlexander, 1995).

Similarly, organizations operating in stigmatized markets utilize various coping strategies. For example, Vergne (2012) explores how firms participating in one stigmatized industry can mitigate the disapproval they receive for doing so by operating in other, un-stigmatized, industries at the same time; he refers to this strategy as category-straddling. Grougiou, Dedoulis & Levenis (2016) investigate how companies operating in stigmatized markets engage in issuing reports on their corporate social responsibility to distract attention from the taint associated with the industries in which they operated. And Slade-Shantz et al. (2019) identify stealth tactics that firms use when they attempt to covertly enter and operate in a stigmatized market. One example of a stealth tactic is "structural hiding", which may entail using discrete location, signage, or architecture (Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009) or creating separate business entities to serve stigmatized markets in order to obscure the link to established corporate owners. Another stealth tactic is "digital disintermediating," which entails firms establishing direct pathways to customers in stigmatized markets using digital technologies that allow transactions to be obscured from the view of stigmatizing audiences.

However, coping is not the only option available to consumers and companies in stigmatized markets; stigmatization can be actively resisted. Recognizing that stigma is a form of power exercised "to keep people down, in and/away" (Link & Phelan, 2014p.30) and that stigmatization is an inherently political process (Tyler and Slater, 2018), a small subset of studies explores how market actors mobilize efforts to destigmatize identities, practices and products (Crockett, 2017; Eichert & Luedicke, 2022; Humphreys, 2010; Giesler, 2012; Humphreys & Thompson, 2014; Liu & Kozinets, 2022; Matson-Barkat et al., 2022; Muniz & Schau, 2005; Nguyen, Chen & Mukherjee, 2014; Sandıkcı & Ger, 2010; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013; Tsai, 2011; Wang, Anand, & Du, 2022). For example, Crockett (2017) shows that consumers confronted with racial stigma use black culture as a source of high status to destigmatize identities and consumption objects. Sandıkcı and Ger's (2010) study reveals that veiled consumers' practices of personalization and aestheticization contributed to the creation of a new, parallel taste structure that helped destigmatize the market for veiling. In their investigation of plus-sized consumers' quest for greater inclusion in the mainstream fashion market, Scarabato and Fischer (2013) identify change strategies (e.g., adopting a human rights discourse, capitalizing on available marketplace resources, or highlighting the commercial benefits of serving stigmatized markets) that stigmatized consumers pursue to reform industry practices. Liu and Kozinets (2022) find that China's 'Leftover Women' utilize symbolic, esthetic, social and moral capital to construct consumption counternarratives that challenge the stigma associated with being unmarried.

Other market actors such as companies and media also engage in destigmatization efforts. For example, Humphreys (2010) analyzed how symbolic interventions in the form of discursive reframing practices initiated by industry executives and circulated by mainstream media led to the destigmatization of casino gambling as an industry. Similarly, Humphreys and Thompson's (2014) analysis of the public discourse surrounding the Exxon Valdez spill of 1989 and BP Gulf Spill of 2010 shows that market actors successfully used framing strategies to restore trust in brands that have been tainted by malpractice. As they explain, the brand-centric disaster myths generated by media coverage framed public discourse in ways that helped insulate oil companies from systematic critique and devaluation. Furthermore, through collective work of multiple actors, stigma can 'fragment' over time, allowing previously stigmatized groups to use consumption to freely express their differences and individuality (Eichert and Luedicke, 2022).

Overall, past research on market stigma offers valuable insights on the experiences and practices of stigmatized consumers and companies. Evident from this research is that while destigmatization may sometimes be possible, market level stigma is often enduring with negative consequences for the actors tainted with stigma. However, given the tendency to focus almost exclusively on the 'stigmatized' market actors and destigmatization processes, the perspectives and practices of stakeholders who disdain the stigmatized market and even actively contribute to its stigmatization remain less understood. These stigmatizing actors – stigmatizers – may include consumers, companies, and other institutional audiences, such as journalists and politicians. In a rare study of stigmatization of a consumer group – supporters of bullfighting in Spain – Valor et al. (2021) show the key role stigmatizing actors – anti-bullfighting activists – play in construing the group as deviant and uncivilized violators of social norms. Using various rhetorical strategies, activists mobilize emotion discourse to categorize, stereotype and vilify the supporters of the practice. Reproduction and validation of these emotional prototypes by journalists and regulators contribute to creation of a pathic stigma, which, once established taints the identity of the social groups associated with bullfighting.

Valor et al.'s (2021) study shows that rather than merely avoiding a practice they deem deviant and undesirable, stigmatizing actors may mobilize to undermine its legitimacy. Such sustained activist work goes beyond boycott behavior that is typically discussed in relation to stigmatized brands or consumption practices. For example, research on multicultural marketplaces indicates that resentment and hostility toward ethnic 'minorities' may stimulate 'majority' consumers to avoid certain brands and retailers (e.g., Luedicke, 2015; Ouellet, 2007). Ouellet (2007) shows that racist ethnic-majority consumers (i.e., Caucasian Americans) hold unfavorable judgments of products or shops perceived as made or owned by ethnic minorities (i.e., Mexican immigrants) and avoid using them. Similarly, Luedicke (2015) reports that indigenous consumers in Austria abandon brands they believe cater too much to the needs of Turkish immigrants. Studies on the LGBT market suggest that consumers less tolerant of homosexuality have a higher tendency to boycott gay-friendly brands and companies (Walters & Moore, 2002). Overall, these studies suggest that stigmatizing attitudes shape consumption and shopping preferences of some consumers, motivating them to refrain from patronizing certain brands and businesses.

However, while such research is valuable in pointing out that stigma association can elicit boycott responses, it does not address why some stigmatizers actively and collectively challenge the stigmatized market or shed light on the forms of activism they undertake beyond boycotting. Given heightened societal polarization (Neureiter & Bhattacharya, 2021), it is likely that, from time to time, companies operating in these markets will become subject to collective contestations of the stigmatizers. Hence, a deeper understanding of the triggers of activism toward stigmatized markets and the nature and form of activism stigmatizers engage in can advance the existing knowledge on market stigma and consumer activism.

3. Research setting and methodology

To accomplish our objectives, we embarked on an inductive qualitative analysis of consumer activism against the halal F&B market. This is a fertile context in which to address our research questions because the halal market in the West is deeply stigmatized and consumer activism against the mainstream Western brands that cater to this market appears to be on the rise. In the next paragraphs, we elaborate on our research context before explaining our methodology.

4. Research setting

Muslims have historically been stigmatized in the West (Harris and Karimshah, 2019). A full account of this stigmatization is beyond the scope of this study, but it would suffice to note that it is rooted in an historical imagination that portrayed Muslims as followers of an inferior, uncivilized, and savage religion named Islam (Said, 1979). Burgeoning literature associates the contemporary stigmatization of Muslims in the West with public angst about their mismatch with Western civilization. A prevailing view is that Islamic values and beliefs are inherently incompatible with Western modernity (Jafari & Sandıkcı, 2016) and that Muslims belong to an unassimilable exogenous social category who deviate from the cultural norms of society (Harris and Karimshah, 2019). Such othering is particularly intertwined with Muslims' post-World War II settlement in the West and with the politics of identity in the post-9/11 era. Whilst the influxes of economic migrants, refugees, and sojourners from Muslim-majority countries have increased Muslims' visibility in the West, the 9/11 terrorist attacks drew extraordinary public attention to them as strikingly deviant minorities (Modood 2003). Key to this alertness has been the growing role of citizens in surveilling the attributes of Muslims as suspects of threat and unease (Harris and Karimshah, 2019).

Although Muslims' various attributes (e.g., women's veiling, see Sandıkcı & Ger, 2010) have been stigmatized for a long time, recently, their halal practices are unprecedentedly scrutinized and demonized. For example, halal slaughtering, which was traditionally discredited by animal rights activists in the 19th and 20th centuries (Lerner & Rabello, 2006), is now extensively diabolized as the incarnation of a wicked religion that promotes violence (Hussein, 2015). In halal slaughtering, Muslim butchers recite "In the name of Allah", signifying that humans cannot take animals' lives unless for survival. Due to Muslims' different readings of halal, stunning may or may not be applied. Yet, stigmatizers denounce the practice as the ritual of an abhorrent superstitious cult that fouls the entire food supply chain (Hussein, 2015). Beyond slaughtering, the vilification of halal now includes a wide range of issues. For instance, as a quality control mechanism, halal certification ensures that products and production processes comply with the standards of hygiene and avoidance of pork and alcohol in food and drink, but stigmatizers depict it as the invasion of the West through 'creeping Sharia' and 'stealth Jihad' (Hussein, 2015).

Given the dearth of halal in the West, Muslims would produce their own food (e.g., locally slaughtered animals in small farms) or resort to kosher, which shares similarities with halal. However, the post-World War II population rise motivated Muslim entrepreneurs to start halal businesses (e.g., restaurants and butcheries) in many Western cities in the 1970s (Jafari and Sandıkcı 2016). Parallel with the growth of halal as a niche market in the West, multinational corporations (MNCs) began to seek opportunities to sell halal offerings in Muslim-majority countries. This required halal compliance on the part of MNCs. That is, foreign firms had to meet halal standards in their target markets. For example, Nestlé Malaysia set up a halal board in the 1980s and expanded its exports to 50 countries in a decade. Other brands such as Subway, Unilever, McDonald's, KFC, and Danone also adopted halal certification in Muslim-majority markets (Bergeaud-Blackler,Fischer,and Lever, 2016). Alongside this, rising demands for halal in the West motivated MNCs to offer halal in their home countries too. For example, in the U.S., McDonald's started serving halal in two of its Michigan Branches in 2000. Walmart began selling halal in Michigan in 2008 and extended halal to more than 70 locations across the country by 2012. In France, Quick turned eight outlets to halal-only in 2009 and increased them to 22 after six months. In the UK, Tesco started selling halal meat in selected stores in 2000. Other brands (e.g., Cadbury, Kraft, Campbell, Pizza Hut, Pizza Express, KFC, Costco, Morrisons, Woolworths, Safeway, and Sainsbury's) also entered the halal market. In response to industry demands for halal accreditation, many halal certifying agencies sprung up in the West during the 2000s (Bergeaud-Blackler et al., 2016). These developments have been increasingly attacked by activist consumers who stigmatize the halal market, as uncovered in our findings section.

4.1. Data collection

We used netnography, archival data analysis, and in-depth interviews over a period of seven years between March 2013 and April 2020. These methods allowed us to access, track, and cross-examine large amounts of data from multiple sources (see Table 1). Since activism is a multifaceted phenomenon in which activists with different motives engage in various actions (Handelman and Fischer, 2018), it was vital for us to gain a deep understanding of activism against halal. Such activism in our study operates largely in the online environment with *ad hoc* offline activities (e.g., street protests, picketing, and in-store tactics). Therefore, the first step in our fieldwork was netnographic observation (Kozinets, 2010). We set out by exploring https://www.boycotthalal.com as the manifesto of the anti-halal campaign (generally known as the Boycott Halal Campaign, BHC). With affiliates mainly in North America, Europe, and Oceania, BHC opposes all services, products, and actors associated with halal (https://boycotthalal.com/boycott-halal-how-why-we-boycott-halal/). The BHC website outlines the reasons for denouncing halal and boycotting brands serving the halal market and hosts comments from and conversations between activist consumers.

Our thorough examination of the website led us to BHC's Facebook pages where activist stigmatizers extensively share news about companies and brands related to halal, raise public awareness of halal, and exchange ideas about action plans. Textual and visual data on these Facebook pages were common in accentuating the ills of halal and the urgency to stop it in the West. Although activist stigmatizers operate in many countries such as France, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Germany, we narrowed our sample to eight Facebook pages that were in English and that attracted more media attention. The first and second authors continually monitored these pages every two months and read their contents. All texts and images were saved in a series of Microsoft Word documents consisting of 8,546 pages. Apart from using Facebook as the main platform, activist stigmatizers would also use YouTube, comments on mainstream media, and blogs. Facebook members would promote anti-halal blogs and videos and inspire each other to articulate their opposition to halal by adding comments to blogs and YouTube video threads. When there was a mention of halal in the media, activist stigmatizers would post comments to the threads of the news/articles. Eventually, our netnographic data was enriched by a large number of comments from which we selected 608 items that generated more conversations and were more frequently shared on the Facebook pages.

Table 1
Data Sources.

A: Netnographic Data		
BHC Webpages	*Number of Followers*	*Pages (n)*
Homepage	N/A	472
Australia Facebook	104,012	1313
Main Site Facebook	96,718	956
UK Facebook	15,169	1928
Europe Facebook	4651	764
Canada Facebook	6300	616
New Zealand Facebook	2791	1065
USA Facebook	2319	703
We Like Our Non-Halal World Facebook	13,704	432
Total	*245,664*	*8546*
Media & Blogs	*Exemplary Sources*	Comments (n)
Newspapers	Daily Mail, The Guardian, The Independent, The Washington Post, The Sun, The Australian	236
YouTube	https://https://www.youtube.com/watch?v = 3gYq2DQG1zI https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mX4ycOGK81o https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IUpVANutLbA	231
Ani-halal blogs	barenakedislam.com, islam4infidels.com, 1389blog.com	141
Total		608
B: Archived Data		
Type	*Exemplary Sources*	*Items (n)*
Newspapers	New York Times, Washington Post, Financial Times, Daily Mail, The Guardian, The Independent, The Sun, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, The Australian	103
Websites	qsociety.org.au, secularism.org.uk, jihadwatch.org, patcondell.net, afdi.us	57
Secondary interviews	DW, France24, CBN, BBC, ABC	18
Total		178
C: Primary Interview Data *Name (pseudo-anonymized)*	*Position*	*Affiliation*
Douglas	Founder	BH Activist Group, Australia
Susan	Founder	BH Activist Group, Australia
Farid	Manager	Halal Certifier, Europe
Ahmad	Founder	Halal Certifier, USA
D: Main Boycotted Western Brands that Serve Halal		
Name		*Information on Halal Policy on Corporate Website*
Kraft Foods, Walmart, Costco, Aldi, Asda, Morrisons, Marks & Spencer, Waitrose, Tesco, Carrefour, Coles, Safeway, Woolworths, Boots, Kellogg's, Pizza Hutt,		Unavailable
Subway, Sainsbury's, Pizza Express, KFC, McDonald's, Nando's, Nestlé, Cadbury and Toblerone (Mondelez)		Limited

Along with netnography, the first and second authors also collected archival data consisting of articles from mainstream newspapers and anti-halal websites and secondary interviews in the media. Compared to the websites that overtly demonize Muslims and halal practices, media articles discuss halal as a controversial topic. Given the power of media in shaping public discourses (Humphreys & Thompson, 2014), it was no surprise to see how activist stigmatizers would interpret media coverages to their own advantage and further vilify halal. Equally, secondary interviews were cases in which activist champions would communicate their opposition to halal with larger audiences. Most of these secondary interviews were identified via leads from BHC Facebook pages. Media websites' search function was also instrumental to finding new materials. After reading and watching a large number of videos and articles, the links of 178 items with short analytical notes were saved in a Word file. Our netnographic and archival data collection followed an emergent sampling pattern; that is, one source of data led to another and the entire data collection happened to be less structured than most conventional qualitative studies (Maciel & Fischer, 2020).

Moreover, we reviewed the corporate websites of 25 brands boycotted by activists. Our aim was to understand brands' stance on halal and check activists' claims against them, but we found no/limited clarification on these websites. Finally, for further triangulation, we sought to interview activist champions, but only two accepted the invitation. The second author interviewed two activist leaders in Australia via Skype and email. These conversations prompted two more telephone interviews with the senior staff of two halal certifying agencies in the U.S. and Europe to seek elucidation on some of the claims made by the activist leaders. All interviewees were pseudo-anonymized and interview notes were saved for analysis. Similarly, the names of those whose online comments have been used in the study were pseudo-anonymized.

4.2. Data analysis

We used a grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) to analyze data. In line with the principles of the method, data collection and analysis occurred simultaneously. We began by analyzing the BHC website. Using open coding, the first two authors each analyzed data by going back and forth between parts and the whole of each text and between each text and the entire dataset. The themes generated were categorized using axial coding. By then, there were some initial indications of the triggers and nature of activism against the brands serving the halal market. The same techniques were applied to other datasets. The emergent sampling pattern (Maciel & Fischer, 2020) required us to constantly shift between different datasets. Once initial categories were identified, the first two authors compared and contrasted their analyses to reach consensus. The updated categories were then re-examined across all data. During the analysis, and as a critical requirement of inductive theory development, literature was consulted. Iteration between the data and literature continued until a substantive theory emerged and theoretical saturation determined the end of data collection. At this stage, the emergent theory and evidence from data were shared with the third author to comment on the analytical sensemaking of the study. After extensive discussions and revisiting the data and literature, all three authors reached agreement on the theoretical outcomes of the study.

Throughout the analysis, we remained sensitive to triangulation and theoretical transferability. Given the heterogeneous nature of consumer activist groups (Handelman and Fischer, 2018), we constantly examined our interpretations across all datasets to ensure that all motifs underlying the anti-halal activism were carefully examined. Similar to other contexts (e.g., Humphreys & Thompson, 2014; Sandıkcı & Ger, 2010; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013) activism in our study involves individuals with different agendas who come together around a common cause (i.e., opposition to halal). Our triangulation of multiple sources of data led to the identification of three major factors that trigger activism against brands serving the halal market. It also revealed that such activism operates in three forms of actions that aim to stop the growth of the stigmatized market. With regard to transferability, in order to evaluate the explanatory power of our substantive theory, we abductively applied it to other stigmatized markets. As we will explain in the remainder of this article, these theoretical insights can shed further light on understanding marketplace stigma and activism.

5. Findings

Our analysis reveals the triggers, nature, and forms of activism stigmatizers engage in (see Fig. 1). We identify three factors, each of which increases the likelihood that activism will be triggered when brands attempt to serve stigmatized markets. These include: the multiplicity of the stigma associated with the market; the extent to which stigmatizers experience threats to their identity; and ambiguity in targeting of the stigmatized market. Our findings also indicate that stigmatizers' activism is territorial in nature; that is, driven by a desire to protect the market from stigmatized intruders. We discuss three forms of territorial activism through which stigmatizers seek to deflect infringements and claim ownership of the market: patrolling the boundaries, punishing the insurgents, and projecting identity threats beyond the market.

5.1. Triggers of activism

5.1.1. Stigma multiplicity

We draw on the concept of stigma multiplicity to refer to a market characterized by multiple, intersecting sources of stigma. Prior research on stigma at the individual level has drawn attention to the fact certain categories of individuals are multiply stigmatized (such as those who are LGBTQ and who also suffer from severe mental illness [Kidd et al., 2011] or transgender women of racial/ethnic minorities [Wesson et al., 2021]). And research at the market level has identified the potential for market stigma to arise at least from two sources including products offered, and the consumers targeted (Slade-Shantz et al., 2019). Our data analysis suggests that the halal food market has at least three interrelated sources of stigma—production practices associated with halal slaughtering, the products that are labelled halal (regardless of whether halal slaughtering was involved in their production) and the Muslim individuals who are the target market for halal products). Our data analysis further indicates that this stigma multiplicity is one trigger for activism.

Consider the following quote from a discussion forum frequented by individuals who oppose halal offering:

> Many Non-Muslims, such as our thousands of Members of BOYCOTT HALAL, do not want to buy halal products & services at all – and it is outrageous when we realise, by doing some research, that our well known branded products have in fact become halal certified… yet this has not been displayed on the packaging. It is particularly sickening when that Unlabelled halal certified product is FOOD – often a well-known branded product, that we have unwittingly bought, that has been tampered with through Islamic Halal Compliance – and we have bought it and eaten it, because it was not clearly labelled. (Nov. 4, 2012, https://www.boycotthalal.com)

The opening line of this post signifies disdain for Muslims who want to buy halal products and services. The post also exhibits outrage at "well known branded products that have become halal certified" and signals a belief that such products have been "tampered with" through production processes that are halal compliant. A similar intermingling of sources of stigma is reflected in the following conversation on a UK-based Facebook forum.

> Denise: Can someone please explain to me how chocolates are halal? Surely only meat can be halal and last time I looked no chocolates
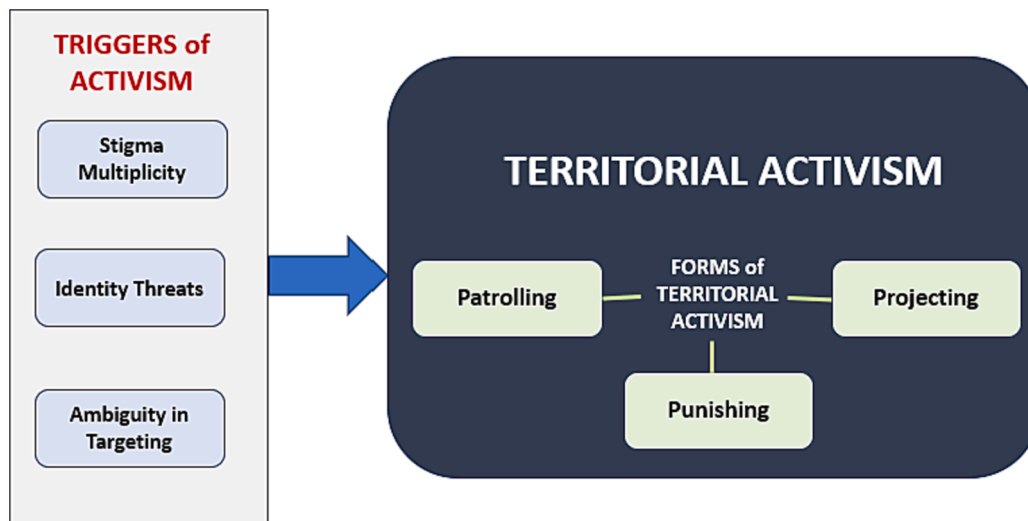
Fig. 1. Triggers and Forms of Territorial Activism in Stigmatized Markets.

have meat in them!! Milk obviously but cows aren't slaughtered for their milk!!

Carl: Denise, halal means some dirty guy has brayed and supervised over your stuff for a fee that is collected from you for the express purpose of your slow conversion to islam, its a fee for jihad against you because you're a non mozzy.

How dare you!!! (Oct.15, 2018, Boycott Halal UK Facebook)

In this discussion of halal certified chocolate, Carl's remarks reflect the intermingled stigma toward the "dirty guy" involved in halal certification, the certification process itself in which he "brayed and supervised…for a fee" as well as to the chocolates that bear halal certification.

Our data is saturated with similar quotes that reveal the tendency of those who actively oppose marketers operating in halal markets to rationalize their objections by implicitly or explicitly referring to a combination of stigmatizing elements. Arguably, stigma multiplicity is both a motivator and a resource for those who might otherwise not take action to oppose marketers serving a stigmatized market: it appears that when a market is characterized by stigma multiplicity, as is the case for the halal food market, opposition by activist stigmatizers who seek to prevent (more) marketers from entering stigmatized markets may be more readily justified, simply because there are more bases that stigmatizers can draw on to rationalize their activism.

5.1.2. Identity threats to stigmatizers

The potential for consumers to experience threats to their identity owing to experiences in the marketplaces has attracted considerable attention from marketing scholars (e.g., Arsel & Thompson, 2011; White & Argo, 2009; White & Dahl, 2007). Recently, stigmatized consumer groups have been singled out for their vulnerability to identity threat (e. g., Chaney, Sanchez & Maimon, 2019; Wooten & Rank-Christman, 2019). Ironically, our analysis reveals that stigmatizers may likewise experience identity threat. Moreover, our analysis suggests that this identity threat serves to trigger activism among stigmatizers.

Evidence of identity threat can be seen in the following comment regarding Domino's use of meat that is halal slaughtered:

Gabbie: [I'm] really fed up seeing all these company's using Halal meat, its such a wicked practice, also sick of the RSPCA [Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals] doing nothing at all, we should not have other peoples religions forced down us, something has to be done, x. (March 1, 2017, Boycott Halal UK Facebook)

While Gabbie's comments reflect her contempt for halal slaughtering, they also reveal a threat to her identity based on her perception that,

when a mainstream brand like Dominos uses halal meat in the offerings they serve to all their customers, a foreign religion is being "forced down" on unsuspecting non-Muslims. Similar reactions can be observed in reaction to Toblerone's halal accreditation in 2018:

"There I was eating my Christian chocolate and next thing you know I am being told to grow a beard and worship Allah" (twitter.com/alexmacse/status/1075437723677208577).

Angie: So lemme get this straight all those companies are taken over by muslims

Tina: We are losing the battle. We are losing our country. Because politicians are scared to say no in fear of retaliation.

Wendy: No need for halal… We are not in the Middle East… Someone needs to send our government the memo…

(Feb. 27, 2019, Boycott Halal Australia Facebook)

Conversations such as these suggest that activist stigmatizers perceive a threat to both their religious identity (there I was eating my Christian chocolate") and to their national identity ("we are losing our country") when marketers attempt to serve customers who value having food and beverage options that are halal certified. And, as the following quotations indicate, identity threats appear to be directly associated with activism. Consider, for example, reactions to KFC's decision to stop serving pork bacon in parts of Australia:

Caren: Money making again. This is Australia not a Muslims country, if they can't eat bacon, our meat, etc don't buy it. simple really. Disgusting what these food chains and businesses will do for the mighty dollar.

Lynsey: Why should bow down to them, they get preference before us. THIS IS NOT THERE COUNTRY MORONS.

Ted: I will be asking for bacon and if they tell me they don't serve it I will ask why and if they say because it's not Halal I will tell them to inform the manager he can shove his restaurant because I want Australian food not some minority banquet and walk out. (Nov. 5, 2018, Boycott Halal Australia Facebook)

As this quote reveals, the notion that his Australian national identity is being threatened leads Ted to plan to "walk out" of KFC. The same reaction emerged when Subway dropped non-halal products from its 185 outlets in the UK:

Francis: No more subway for me and all my family as don't agree with Muslim sympathisers, boycott them till they support British values not Muslim.

Pat: Patriot should boycott anything with Halal Approval. Only by doing this and hitting the companies in the turnover figures and profit statements can we force them to withdraw from Halal. Halal is just another instance of creeping Islamic Invasion and it must be stopped at all costs! Boycotting in vast numbers is the only way to go forward and will show all concerned how we all feel about the way our country is heading!
(Sep. 13, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/BOYCOTTxHALAL/posts/subway-adopts-sharia-law-for-185-uk-outlets-with-halal-meats-only-policy-boycott/1694877160542762/)

In both the KFC and Subway cases, stigmatizers rationalize taking action against the brands as a means of protecting themselves against perceived threats to religious and/or national identity.

Our findings regarding identity threat resonate with observations made by Vergne (2012) who argues that in the post 9/11 world, where solid boundaries are drawn between 'friends and foes,' discourses of stigmatization are increasingly replete with emotional accounts of

identity salience. That is, activist stigmatizers constantly scrutinize their environment to ensure that the stigmatized are not posing a threat to their existential values and interests. Our insights can also be fruitfully compared with those of Luedicke (2015, p.11) who studied how Austrian "indigenes" felt "betrayed by indigenous marketers who try to accommodate Turkish customer needs by making a product label readable to first-generation Turkish buyers." While his focus was not on stigmatizing beliefs that Austrians may have held toward first generation Turkish buyers, Luedicke found that the indigenous Austrian consumers he interviewed feared a "gradual sell-out" to Turkish immigrants and a "crumbling of their authority" (2012, p. 109). In our context, stigmatizers seem to harbour similar fears, and our analysis goes further in illuminating that such fears motivate stigmatizers to attempt to forestall a further "invasion" by the stigmatized. Our findings also resonate with the insights of Mirabito et al. (2016) who conceptualized stigma as a "turbine" in which various forces – "the sociocultural, historical, institutional, and commercial winds" (p. 173) – can propel changes in the degree to which stigma is salient. In contexts wherein

Fig. 2. Kellogg's Special K Cereal Package, UK: Red Arrow shows Halal Certification Indicator. (For interpretation of the references to colour in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the web version of this article.)

stigma becomes more visible, depending on their power and the support they receive from the environment, different actors (e.g., stigmatizers or the stigmatized) can become more determined to defend their identity. The identity threat that is experienced by stigmatizers when brands serve stigmatized markets appears to be an accelerant fueling activism toward the stigmatized market.

5.1.3. Ambiguity in targeting

Prior research on how companies operate in stigmatized markets has documented that many choose to do so in a stealthy fashion. For example, they may use discrete locations, signage or architecture, or engage in extremely limited advertising in order to escape the attention of stigmatizing audiences (Hudson, 2008). As another example, they may engage in "corporate disguise" by serving a stigmatized market under a different name than that used for serving mainstream markets (Slade-Shantz et al., 2019).

Our analysis suggests that brands serving halal markets engage in several practices that might be regarded as stealthy, or at least as difficult to detect. For example, we found halal labeling was vanishingly small on much of the packaging for halal certified products (see Fig. 2). We likewise found that online searches of brands' websites yielded limited information on whether they were halal certified or not. Further adding to ambiguity is the fact that many brands seem to be halal certified in some markets but not others: for example, Kellogg's cereals appear to be halal certified in the UK but not in Canada, and Cadbury chocolates are labeled halal certified in Australia but not in the USA. While this difference in labelling may be due to the fact that the products are halal in one country and not the other, the practice leads to ambiguity for stakeholders interested in knowing what foods are and are not halal.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, our analysis indicates that such ambiguity serves as an additional trigger for activism. The following post provides an initial illustration in support of this claim. It pertains to speculation in regard to whether McDonalds does or does not serve the halal market in the UK or elsewhere:

> Sara: we are very careful now what we buy and eat if we thought we had eaten meat been slaughtered in this evil way we would be SO bloody CROSS.
> Steven Gregory: McDonalds and KFC for a start
> Caren: KFC DEFINITELY but McDonald's say not.. unless you know differently
> Boycott Halal UK: McDonalds UK is adamant that it does not sell Ritually Slaughtered meat at all. It seems that McDonalds in UK is NOT selling Halal Certified meat - in fact they even import conventional Chicken from France, USA, Brazil and other countries who are able to sell bulk meat which has been slaughtered with proper stunning without any prayers said.
> NOTE: In many other countries (other than USA where they were really stung in a court case brought by the halal industry) McDonalds IS serving up halal certified products - Eg. even their Fish is halal in countries like Australia.
> However, at the moment it seems that McDonalds UK & McDonalds USA are adamant that they are NOT going down the halal certification route.
> (Oct. 16, 2015; Boycott Halal UK Facebook)

As this post suggests, those who make these posts are not sure what information is true or false, and not sure whether brands can be trusted to disclose whether or how they are serving halal markets. Furthermore, there are several examples in the data indicating that when activist stigmatizers directly contact companies and inquire about the halal status of their offerings, they may get inconclusive ("The woman on the phone didn't know what I was talking about" and even sarcastic ("as they didn't kill the chocolate") answers:

> Sara: I rang Subway's head office earlier and asked them if their non-halal outlets were halal certified. The woman on the phone didn't know what I was talking about. She just kept saying we have plenty of non halal stores, I had to explain to her the items didn't have to be meat to be halal certified. Then whole thing about paying halal certification she said she would look into it and email me. (July 27, 2015, Boycott Halal UK Facebook)
> Lillie: I am sick and tired of contacting companies in the UK and asking if they are halal certified - someone from Cadbury's told me not to be stupid as they didn't kill the chocolate" (Nov. 26, 2013, Boycott Halal UK Facebook)

Faced with ambiguity about whether a particular brand is serving the halal market in a particular country, people engage in speculation and circulate assertions about brands that may or may not be reflective of actual practices. Reactions of speculation, frustration and mistrust when there is ambiguity in regard to the targeting of stigmatized markets are further reflected in the following posts:

> We need to be very careful and ask deeper questions to those claiming to be Non-halal Suppliers, because we have found that many meat suppliers will Lie or conceal the truth to get a sale. (May 13, 2016, Boycott Halal UK Facebook)
> Pamela: If all meat was labelled to wether it was ritual slaughtered that would probably stop 90 % of it!!!!! Apparently supermarkets and restaurants are selling and serving this halal and haram meat without our knowledge!!!! Which is totally and utterly disgusting!!!!!!!! Why have we not got a choice?????????
> (Aug. 12, 2016, Boycott Halal UK Facebook)
> Tracey: No one asked my opinion on halal, nor if I objected. Well I do, I always have and hate it more now since it has crept onto every supermarket without my consent. The supermarkets took it upon themselves to supply this, replacing all the humanely slaughtered meat, bowing to the wishes of those who claimed it was their religious right to demand this. Apparently, the rest of us, the majority - for the moment - do not count, why would that be? (April 6, 2020, Boycott Halal UK Facebook)

These posts highlight that consumers wary of brands' practices tend to disbelieve them even when they do supply information. Brands are considered likely to "conceal the truth" while "bowing to the wishes of" Muslims in order to maintain sales to those who want to avoid halal offerings. And as previous research has indicated, mistrust such as that expressed in these posts can trigger an array of negative reactions, ranging from doppelgänger brand images (Thompson, Rindfleisch & Arsel, 2006; Giesler, 2012) to concerted efforts to undermine brands (e. g., Grégoire, Tripp & Legoux, 2009; Kähr et al., 2016; Kozinets & Handelman, 2004).

These findings resonate with research on how consumers respond when they feel that their choices in markets are restricted. Extant literature on consumer choice restriction (e.g., Bone, Christensen & Williams, 2014; Hammock & Brehm, 1966; Markus & Schwartz, 2010) has established that freedom of choice plays a key role in consumers' sense of sovereignty. Consumers' perceptions of (lack of) sovereignty become even more salient when they compare their own choices with those of others in the market. Relevant for the focus of our study, insights from research on stigma (Hudson & Okhuysen, 2009; Sandıkcı & Ger, 2010; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013) show that when facing choice restriction, stigmatized consumers feel devalued and deprived of accessing and benefiting from market offerings. Our findings highlight that stigmatizers can likewise believe that their choices are restricted when brands target stigmatized markets in ambiguous ways, and that fuels activism.

In sum, the disdain for the halal market emanating from its multiple sources of stigma, the existential threat it poses to an imagined 'Western' identity, and the lack of clear cues about what brands are actually doing, mobilizes the stigmatizers to engage in activist work against the brands

serving this market. The triggers we have identified elicit territorially oriented activism performed through patrolling the boundaries of the market, punishing the insurgents, and projecting the threats beyond the market.

5.2. The nature and form of activism

5.2.1. Territorial activism

Research on consumer territorial behavior suggests that when people develop psychological ownership of places, they seek to safeguard them from perceived infringement (Ashley, Gilbert & Leonard, 2019). While territories are often conceived as physical spaces, they can equally be regarded as institutionalized interactional patterns among actors (Brighenti, 2010; Kärrholm, 2012). Our analysis suggests that markets are one such institutionalized territory over which consumers lay claims of psychological ownership. And, in the face of a threat, they act to protect what they believe to be theirs.

Evidence that activist stigmatizers feel ownership of the market is pervasive in our data, and reflected in common references to products and providers in the market as "ours" (e.g., "our well known branded products" Nov. 4, 2012, https://www.boycotthalal.com; "our meat" Nov. 5, 2018, Boycott Halal Australia Facebook; "our shops" June 30, 2019, Boycott Halal UK Facebook; "our farmers and slaughter business's" Jan. 2, 2020, Boycott Halal UK Facebook). For the activist stigmatizers, the expansion of halal offerings represents an attack on what they believe to be rightfully theirs. Consider, for example, the reactions following the news about Wendy's alleged connections with halal certified meat suppliers in Canada:

> Victoria: Wake up- Wendys, KFC, popeyes, mary browns, McDonalds etc. Our Canadian brands are being infiltrated, does control of our country begin with our food?
> Marvin Parschauer: Vic Helewn a small step at a time, and the inevitable occurs! Apathetic people/countries allow it to happen.
> Sher Bear-North: starts with one location and then they are all certified.

The emphasis on the infiltration of "our Canadian brands" and the step-by-step invasion of "our' market speaks of a fear of ultimately losing control of "our country".

Prior research has suggested that when people perceive a loss of certainty and security, it is common for them to attempt to guard what they regard as 'their' territory in various ways (Bauman, 2001). In the context of food markets, as our analysis above has indicated, the actual or imagined presence of halal products and practices triggers feelings of loss of certainty – certainty in regard to information (e.g., product ingredients), in regard to rights (e.g., to freely choose according to one's own beliefs), and in regard to control over everyday spaces (e.g., restaurants) and practices (e.g. ordering takeaway food and grocery shopping).

To defend against these perceived potential losses, activist stigmatizers enact claims of ownership of the market that they feel is threatened. While markets do not literally belong to anyone, those engaging in territorial activism nonetheless attempt to exercise control over "their" market through patrolling its boundaries, punishing the insurgents, and projecting identity threats.

5.2.1.1. Patrolling.
Patrolling refers to efforts by activist stigmatizers to monitor incursion into "their" territory. In our context, this is manifest in the practices of keeping track of, and circulating claims about, brands, products and businesses that are or that may be halal certified. Given the ambiguity regarding the targeting of the stigmatized market, monitoring

the halal status of brands and any changes therein requires an ongoing and vigilant effort.:

> Ed: Companies have to pay to become halal/halal certified… The fee is paid to one of the Islamic certifying organisations. …not all companies choose to display the fact they have paid this fee. Some of these food products have been halal certified but, you the consumer, wouldn't know about it unless you rang the company and specifically requested the information. So, no logo on the packaging doesn't necessarily mean a product isn't halal certified. Companies know sales will be hit by those of us that boycott halal not buying their products.
> (7 July 2015, Boycott-Halal-In-Australia Facebook)

As Ed explains, one cannot simply assume that a product is non-halal based on the absence of halal logo on its package. As companies might choose not to display the logo for fear of losing sales, one needs to specifically search for that information. And searching for specific information requires going beyond the immediately visible to uncovering the hidden. Consider, for example, the vigilance reflected in the following:

> I generally research the food providers off the Main line, not McHalal, Taqiyya Bell, Subhumanway and of course Burka king. We already know that they are suspect. So I e-mail the food providers in my immediate area. I would welcome data from other cities so we can make an impact against Halal Certification. The Moslems use a block by block method, so we can take a page from their playbook. If we publicize the local businesses that have not taken the Moslem money, we can reclaim our cities one block at a time. Are you up to the challenge? (July 21, Boycott Halal USA Facebook)

As the quote illustrates, "research" into the halal status of "suspects" might expand from firms to their suppliers and entail surveying and contacting all targets in the "immediate area." This post also reveals the importance of collaboration and sharing of information. As the author of the post suggests, a comprehensive record of halal certified brands and businesses can be compiled by aggregating data from different cities. Accomplishing such a challenging task, stigmatizers then can start to "reclaim their cities.".

Besides directly contacting companies, activist stigmatizers make use of the information provided on halal certification agency websites, halal industry reports, and pro-halal websites and social media groups. In addition to individual observations, patrolling occurs through the aggregation of information sources. Websites that list halal and non-halal brands and mobile apps that track the origin of meat and poultry products (e.g., "Where's this from"), are frequently shared on social media sites. These posts urge followers to carefully examine the lists and diligently use them while shopping:

> Boycott Halal in Canada: Just do your best to support businesses that refuse to pay for halal certification.
> The Aussies have listed those accessible to shoppers there - and some of these brands are available here in Canada.
> NON-HALAL WEBSITE Non-halal and the halal certified lists
> https://www.nonhalal.com.au/archives/241
> See the Centre column is all proven halal certified products.
> To the Left are Non-halal products in the order they have been found by the administrators of this website…
> To the Right the Non-halal is in Alphabetical order & also see Non-halal by Type & Non-halal by State…
> (Jan. 8, 2020, Boycott Halal in Canada Facebook)

As this post indicates, collaboration in patrolling market territories

seems to cross national borders; in this case, those of Canada and Australia. Our analysis of anti-halal websites covering different regions (i.e., the UK, the USA, Australia and Canada) indicates frequent overlapping posts. It appears that at least some members of these communities monitor different sites and share information about halal status of brands across multiple sites.

While the patrolling practices reporting here are akin to monitoring practices documented in other research on consumer activism within markets (e.g., King & Pearce, 2010), there is nuanced difference in our findings. Specifically, given the market-claiming nature of activism triggered when brands enter stigmatized markets, the monitoring we observe here is more territorial in nature. That is, patrolling is a form of market-monitoring that seeks to uncover the extent to which brands have breached the boundaries of market terrain to which activist stigmatizers lay claim.

5.2.1.2. Punishing. Punishing refers to efforts by activist stigmatizers to limit or reverse the territorial incursions into the market they are claiming. In the halal food context, this is manifest in efforts to exert pressure on brands to stop seeking halal certification and selling halal food. It also takes the form of lobbying for legislation to restrict marketers' options for serving customers who want halal products.

As is to be expected, one major way to exert pressure on brands is boycotts: activist stigmatizers frequently boycott the brands they believe have been halal certified. And while some such boycotts are relatively local and low profile, others, such as those against Toblerone (Meyer, 2018) and Campbells (Ilo, 2010), have gained wide visibility. News stories and programs about the change in brands' halal status and the ensuing opposition amplify the voice of stigmatizers and can lend support to their efforts to restrict the behavior of offending brands.

Beyond boycotting, activist stigmatizers sometimes engage in what Wilkes (1978) refers to as "aberrant" behaviors such as the fraudulent return of goods:

> *Sam*: If you see these signs [halal] on food packages here's what to … it is great fun … Buy at least 3 of the items (say sandwiches) take them to checkout, let them cash up the total, THEN notice the sign and THEN express your disgust and demand your money back as it is against your christian religion to eat the food of an idol and false god.
> *Boycott Halal – UK:* GREAT IDEA Sam - This should then raise awareness… So many people are completely unaware of what is happening!
> *Sam:* I just love doing it. Especially when I order cooked food at takeaways then ask when the bring it to me … they have to throw it away.
> *Boycott Halal – UK:* WELL DONE SAM! We appreciate your support!
> *Sam*: A friend and I have a competition at weekends to fill a trolley to busting with all Halal ………let them ring it up, then 'notice '….."IT'S…It'S HALAL "!!!......No...No...... you must take it back!!...... then walk out. I managed to get up to £278.65p at Asda….Tee..Hee.
> *Liz McCutcheon*: Fantastic job Sam! (7 July 2015, https://www.facebook.com/Boycott-Halal-In-Australia)

Activist stigmatizers view this form of behavior as an effective strategy not only to raise awareness among fellow stigmatizers, but also ideally to teach offending brands a lesson. For example, the 'Buy Halal and Return' campaign prescribes such returns as a "very easy to do and perfectly legal" series of actions, claiming that "the deluge of returned products will grow to intolerable proportions and the shops, wholesalers, and manufacturers will soon learn that halal certified products do not pay" (https://www.islam4infidels.com/buy-and-return-halal-2/).

On the legislative front, activist stigmatizers pursue several courses of action. First, they lobby policy makers to enact regulations that would lead to clearer labelling of halal. For example, the American Freedom Defense Initiative petitioned the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Food Safety and Inspection Service for enactment of halal labelling

regulation. In Australia, Stephanie, a prominent anti-halal activist was quoted as saying: "Myself, lots of the 34,000 people have written to the Government and asked the Government to please, do something about this and label it so that people can know that they have a choice" (https://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2014/s4133082.htm).

Political actors also partake in these efforts. For instance, in early 2019, a group of cross-party MPs in the UK proposed an amendment to the Agriculture Bill to require clear labelling of the slaughtering method (https://www.secularism.org.uk/news/2019/04/mps-call-for-labelling-of-meat-from-non-stun-slaughter/).

Beyond seeking clearer labelling, activist stigmatizers lobby for legislation to ban halal products overall: "The only thing that we want government to do is to ban halal certification completely; it's not just compatible with Australian laws and culture" (primary interview with Douglas). Recent legislative changes indicate that new restrictions are being imposed at the national level. For example, religious unstunned slaughtering was banned in Denmark in 2014 and in Belgium in 2019. In both countries, the ban was justified in relation to animal welfare issues and included Islamic as well as Jewish ritual slaughtering practices. At a local level, in 2018, the Lancashire council in the UK banned serving of un-stunned halal meat in schools (Dalton, 2018).

Activist stigmatizers also sometime seek policies that would mean companies could sell stigmatized products only to the stigmatized consumers. In 2018, the regional environment minister for the far-right Freedom Party in the state of Lower Austria called for selling halal and kosher meat only to registered, religious-observant customers (Scally, 2018). The proposal stated that "Jews and Muslims would still be allowed to purchase kosher and halal food, but only if they can prove that they live in Lower Austria and are observant members of their religious communities" (Noack, 2018). Similarly, there are calls for controlling the sale of stigmatized products in "mainstream institutions". For example, a 2020 change.org campaign in the UK petitions that halal foods be banned in schools (Matthews, 2020). If school food does not meet the halal criteria, then stigmatized consumers should find a solution – bringing a halal sandwich or packed lunch.

To an extent, punishing behaviors of the type observed here align well with the practices of boycotting, and lobbying identified in prior research on consumer activism against brands (e.g., Klein, Smith & John, 2004; Kozinets & Handelman, 2004). They go beyond them, however, in that the targets of the activism here are not just brands, but those who the brands might serve. Consistent with the territorial nature of activism in contexts such as ours, the effort is to erect barriers that prevent perceived interlopers from being part of the claimed market.

5.2.1.2.1. Projecting threats. Projecting threats refers to framing practices (Benford & Snow, 2000) that promote the notion that failure to protect the threatened market will have adverse consequences well beyond the territory of the market being claimed. In the case of the halal food market, activist stigmatizers attempt to frame the actors and activities associated with halal as posing major threats on multiple fronts. Most commonly, they project that if brands in one food category begin offering halal products, this will inevitably lead to the same practice in an ever-expanding array of food categories. Consider, for example, the discussions on Boycott Halal Canada Facebook page following a post that informs members about an olive oil brand that has recently become halal certified:

> Derek: There will be no food left… this cult is trying to get EVERYTHING labeled Halal, it's not because of their faith, it's because they make Billions off the certifications.
> Danny: Derek – This is why we should be forcing the Government to ban the sale of HALAL trademark in Canada.
> Wendy: Just don't buy them.
> Sally: BOYCOTT THIS GARBAGE
> Mya: Soon we will have nothing to boycott because everything we buy will be halal…

Sandy: I was just thinking that myself. It took me along time to even find butter that wasn't halal. (Feb. 24, 2020, Boycott Halal Canada Facebook)

Based on the observation of a halal-certified olive oil, participants in this conversation project that "soon … everything we buy will be halal" including staple food items, such as butter. This speculation projects the prospect of a future that the activist stigmatizers find dystopic.

Beyond projections about the future of specific product markets, activist stigmatizers circulate accounts that associate halal with threats to the economic well-being of non-Muslims.:

Muslims know which meat is theirs, because it must be blessed by a muslim, killed by a muslim, prepared by a muslim and butchered by a muslim. This is also a jobs issue… surely there is a law regarding marginalisation in the jobs market?
As a result of the Sharia [the Islamic] Law Rules, this halal industry also became an immigration scam, as many muslims have been brought into Britain to do this work…
(18 October 2012, https://www.facebook.com/boycott.halal.UK/)

The argument underlying posts such as these is that halal slaughtering practices result in discrimination in the job market against non-Muslim workers. Since Islamic norms require that only Muslims partake in the halal slaughtering of animals, non-Muslim workers cannot fulfil this role; halal abattoirs employ only Muslim people.

Efforts to project threats to economic well-being are also evident in posts implying that halal certifiers are reducing national tax revenues: "Many of these halal organizations are Registered Religious Charities and somehow have managed to claim that they are Non-Profit making, so get various Tax & VAT exemptions" (4 Nov., 2012, https://www.boycotthalal.com/how-companies-like-kingsmill-allied-bakeries-go-halal/).

Beyond claims related to economic threat, activist stigmatizers also attempt to associate halal with threats to societal security. They allege that the money gained from halal certification is used for funding terrorism, as in the following line of reasoning: "Halal funding feeds mosques. Mosques create islamist. Islamist Breed ISIS. We pay for the terrorists" (Susan, Jan. 12015, https://www.facebook.com/boycott.halal.UK/). Similar framing is evident in the following report on a blog posted by an Australian MP:

David, an MP from the National Party of Australia, which is part of prime minister Tony Abbott's government, claimed there was "no doubt" that the money from halal certification was funding extremism. Mr David made the claims in a blog post on his official website. "There is no doubt that halal certification is funding organisations with extremist views and activities in Australia," he wrote. The politician alleges that popular Australian brands such as Vegemite and Freddo Frog could be unwittingly funding terrorism. (Nov. 20, 2014, https://www.independent.co.uk /news/world/australasia/no-doubt-halal-products-are-funding-islamic-extremism-australian-politician-claims-9872968.html)

By linking some-time halal brands (Vegemite, Freddo Frog) to terrorism, activist stigmatizers reach beyond the food market per se to try to mobilize support for their cause within the threatened market they are defending. They seek to sensitize both "unwitting" consumers and companies to the dangers of halal, as is further reflected in the following post:

When you purchase a product which is certified Halal, you are indirectly contributing to terrorism" (7 July 2015, https://www.facebook.com/boycott.halal.UK/)
[I]n the USA and Canada where Campbell's Soup and other companies have paid the Hamas-linked Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) for their halal certification, in France, where it is claimed that 60 % of halal food is controlled by organizations belonging to the Muslim Brotherhood and the so-called "halal tax" is the

organization's main source of funding. In the UK, major supermarket chain Morrisons is not only indirectly but even directly giving money to the Islamic National Zakat Foundation. (https://www.frontpagemag.com/fpm/199636/halal-taste-terror-enza-ferreri)

Furthermore, activist stigmatizers invoke the issue of public health and claim that halal slaughtered meat poses health risks. In halal slaughtering practice, the animal is not stunned and killed by slitting of its throat. Stigmatizers argue that this practice is unsanitary and carries high risk of contamination. Specifically, as the quote below explains, "cutting the animal's oesophagus at the same time as its carotid" increases the risk of dangerous bacteria to mix with blood and meat:

For the past four years Ritual Slaughter has been blamed for rise in E. coli and Campylobacter cases which have been described as a sanitary bomb.
The rise in Campylobacter and E.coli cases in Europe has been reported to be "directly related" to an alleged increase in ritual slaughterings and is found on raw or undercooked meat, particularly poultry. Ritual Slaughter involves cutting the animal's oesophagus at the same time as its carotid, leaving bacteria present in the digestive system, such as E.coli and Campylobacter, to mix with blood and the rest of the carcass, thus increasing the risk of contamination. (https://www.boycotthalal.com/boycott-halal-how-why-we-boycott-halal/, April 29, 2015)

By associating halal meat with harmful bacteria, activist stigmatizers expect that the general public will realize that halal slaughtering practices "are questionable and are an health risk that is why Boycotting is also very important for your health too" (May 1, 2018, Boycott British companies which support religious animal slaughter Facebook).

Similar to activists in other studies (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004; Varman & Belk, 2009; Weijo et al., 2018), activist stigmatizers engaged in claiming market ownership in our study use framing tactics to serve their purposes. Whether or not these activist stigmatizers are aware that they are projecting threats, their discursive tactics contribute to framing stigmatized consumers, products and practices within the halal food market as having adverse consequences well beyond the territory of grocery stores, restaurants, and family dining tables.

6. Discussion

6.1. Theoretical contributions

Existing research on market stigma tends to focus on the experiences and practices of consumers and companies tainted with stigma. Our study draws attention to an overlooked actor, stigmatizing activists, and investigates why and how they contest the brands that attempt to serve the stigmatized market. Our findings reveal three triggers that increase the likelihood of activism toward the stigmatized market. We also show that such activism is territorial and driven by a sense of ownership of the market. And we believe these insights are transferable to other stigmatized markets, such as the LGTBQ + wedding market (Velagaleti and Epp, 2023), where activist stigmatizers have attempted to undermine gay and lesbian couples' access to wedding services, in part by encouraging service providers to decline to work with such couples. These transferable findings offer several contributions to the literatures on stigma, territoriality, and activism.

Prior research shows that stigmatized consumers experience identity threats in the marketplace (e.g., Arsel & Thompson, 2011; Chaney, Sanchez & Maimon, 2019; Crockett, 2017; Kozinets, 2001; Sandıkcı & Ger, 2010; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013). We find that consumers who are not members of the stigmatized market may likewise face threats to their identities; however, their experiences indicate a different path to identity threat. Existing studies explain stigmatized consumers' vulnerability to identity threats through their affiliation to devalued social groups. That is, membership in groups that compare unfavorably with other

groups can lead to adverse treatment and threaten one's social identity (Dovidio, Major & Crocker, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In contrast, consumers in our study feel threatened when they compare their present collective identity to an imagined future collective identity. For the stigmatizing activists, the fears about losing their 'Christian', 'Western', 'British,' 'Australian,' or 'Canadian' ways of living and consuming generate dystopic visions for the collective's future. In this dystopic future, they imagine themselves to have morphed into the undesirable other and to have lost the ability and freedom to engage in consumption practices that define who they are.

We believe that this inter-temporal path to collective identity threat remains unexplored. Prior research acknowledges that possible future selves – people's concepts of who they might become, who they would like to become, and who they are afraid of becoming in the future (Markus & Nurius, 1986) – shape their consumption behavior (e.g., Schau, Gilly & Wolfinbarger, 2009; Schouten, 1991; Sirgy, 1982). However, given the individual focus of this stream of research, how imaginations of future collective identities influence marketplace interactions remains less understood (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004; Weijo et al., 2018). Our study shows that future identity threats can be experienced at the collective level and that such threats affect market experiences, sentiments and practices of those who share the visions of a feared future. Discrepancies between how a collective's social existence *should* be versus *could* be in the future generate anxieties and concerns that become materialized in the reactions toward the brands that are perceived to be instrumental in the construction of the dystopic future.

Given the increasing societal polarization that shapes the environment companies operate in, understanding how future collective identity threats affect marketplace interactions is theoretically and managerially important. There is evidence that consumers may stop patronizing brands and businesses that are perceived to be supportive of the demands of the social groups that they see as threatening their existential values and interests (e.g., Luedicke, 2015; Ouellet, 2007). However, our findings indicate that future collective identity threats can prompt alternative reactions. Rather than withdrawing from the market and giving up certain consumption choices, consumers in our study claim ownership of the market to make sure that it remains 'their' territory in the future.

Recent studies show that psychological ownership can manifest as territorial behavior (e.g., Ashley & Noble, 2014; Griffiths & Gilly, 2012; Kirk, Peck & Swain, 2018). Territoriality refers to actions aimed at marking, communicating and reclaiming one's psychologically owned possessions (Brown, Lawrence & Robinson, 2005). Consumers act territorially when another individual claims a place, object or idea (e.g., table in a café, coffee cup, song), that they believe they solely own. Through territorial responses, consumers seek to regain control of their perceived possessions or protect themselves from further infringement. We advance this line of inquiry in two ways. First, we shift the analytical focus from individual to collective level territorial behavior. As psychological ownership can manifest itself at both individual and collective levels (Pierce & Jussila, 2010), we argue that infringement of entities perceived to be collectively owned generates collective territorial responses. These responses, such as patrolling, punishing and projecting behaviors in our context, reflect the collective's shared concern for the perceived invasion of their territory and their shared vision for protecting it from further intrusions.

Second, we extend the scope of territoriality from physical to social spaces. Beyond tangible and intangible entities, territories can be conceptualized as institutionalized patterns of interactions among actors (Brighenti, 2010; Kärrholm, 2012). As one such institutionalized social space, markets can become subject to territorial claims. In the case of activism toward the stigmatized market, territoriality takes the form of claiming ownership of the market and entails efforts aimed at preventing the loss of that territory to the stigmatized products, practices and people. When consumers refrain from using brands associated with devalued consumer groups to protect their identities, they essentially

partition the market into domains with acceptable and unacceptable options (Luedicke, 2015; Ouellet, 2007). However, when consumers act territorially, they react to identity threats by claiming ownership of the entire market and engaging in forms of activism that they believe will help secure their continued ownership.

Territorial activism also brings a new understanding of consumers' aggressive behaviors toward companies and/or brands. Aggressive consumer behaviors, such as customer retaliation (e.g., Grégoire, Tripp & Legoux, 2009), negative word of mouth (e.g., Herhausen et al., 2019), boycotts (e.g., Klein, Smith, & John, 2004; Varman & Belk, 2009), circulation of doppelgänger brand images (Giesler, 2012; Thompson et al., 2006), and brand sabotage (Kähr et al., 2016) aim at specific targets (i. e., a company) and are motivated by a desire to force the target to change or discontinue the egregious behavior or to harm and punish the target (Friedman, 1999). We show that when consumers mobilize to respond to what they perceive as territorial intrusions, the scope of their activist efforts goes beyond individual targets to include the entire market, with its brands, products and consumption practices. Through patrolling and punishing the market and projecting threats, activist stigmatizers adopt a collective, organized, and persistent approach to compile and share information about changes in the market and plan and devise relevant responses against perceived infringements. In claiming the ownership of the market, they engage with an ever-shifting set of targets; any brand or company that is perceived as an intruder can become subject to activist reactions. Next, we discuss how companies can respond to such activism.

6.2. Managerial implications

Our findings provide practical insights for companies targeted by activist stigmatizers. Whereas prior research identifies stealth as a viable strategy to mitigate the negative effects of stigma (Hudson, 2008; Slade-Shantz et al., 2019), we show that ambiguous company practices contribute to activism. One implication of this is that attempts to hide or obscure a brand's association with the stigmatized market are likely to exacerbate stigmatizers' reactions. In today's hyperconnected world in which information is easily accessible and abundant (Swaminathan et al., 2020), consumers and other stakeholders can disseminate and even distort brand meanings and practices. Moreover, social media activism can be picked up by traditional media and gain broader visibility. As research indicates, media coverage of negative corporate news can have damaging effects on brands (Stäbler & Fischer, 2020). Therefore, targeted companies need effective response strategies other than disguise.

Drawing from our findings, we offer three strategic response options to managers: containment, confrontation and compliance. Below we review each option and explain the nature of companies' engagement with activist stigmatizers under each option and the relevant marketing action portfolio. While firms currently serving the stigmatized market are likely targets of activism and need to implement appropriate response strategies, companies planning to enter stigmatized markets can benefit from assessing different alternatives and adopting one in advance. Moreover, our data indicates that companies that are neither operating nor planning to operate in these markets can wrongly be associated with stigma and become targets of activist stigmatizers. We also discuss how these firms can respond to activism. Tables 2a and 2b summarize response strategies and marketing action portfolios.

6.2.1. Containment

One strategic response option is to contain the negative reactions of stigmatizers by minimizing and/or eliminating triggers of activism. Containment is a suitable strategy if the primary aim is to control escalation of activism and prevent persistent damage to the brand. As our findings indicate, brands' association with the stigmatized market can significantly impair stigmatizers' perceptions of brands. Prior research notes that customer engagement initiatives can foster

Table 2a
Strategic Options in Response to Activism.

	Companies operating in stigmatized markets	Companies planning to enter to stigmatized markets	Companies not planning to enter to stigmatized markets
Containment	√√√	√√√	√√√
Confrontation	√√√	√√√	√√√
Compliance	√√√		

Table 2b
Dimensions of Strategic Options.

	Company's Interaction with Activists	Marketing Action Portfolio	Illustrative Examples
Containment	Accommodative	Packaging and Labeling CRM Corporate Communication	- Nestlé - Toblerone - Jacob's Creek
Confrontation	Provocative	Social Media Marketing Corporate Communication	- Vegemite - Cadbury - Darling Jerky
Compliance	Submissive	Product design Distribution Corporate Communication	- Fleurieu - SPAR

emotional and psychological bonds between customers and firms (Kumar & Pansari, 2016). Hence, by adopting an accommodative engagement mode, firms can signal their sympathy for activist stigmatizers' fears and threats and demonstrate their willingness to address them. While a containment strategy cannot eradicate activism, firms' attentive and sensitive attitudes can help generate a sense of greater control of the market among activist stigmatizers and limit their adverse reactions toward brands.

At the operational level, containment can be performed through marketing actions that help improve the nature of interaction between companies and activists. For example, modifying packaging and labelling to clearly convey products' association with stigma can lessen perceptions of stealth and deception (e.g., Nestlé). Firms can also build more trustworthy relationships with activist stigmatizers through better designed and executed CRM practices. As research shows, frontline staff and service providers are key to communicating brand meanings and their failure to advise consumers can reflect negatively on the brand (Sirianni et al., 2013). Companies can enhance their employees' knowledge about the stigmatized markets and train them to provide transparent, detailed, and consistent information about brands' position in relation to stigma. Furthermore, corporate communication channels, such as company websites, social media pages and press events, can be utilized to assure activist stigmatizers that association with stigma does not jeopardize product quality. For example, after adopting halal standards, Toblerone managers conducted a press conference to convey the message that "the certification did not result in any change to our beloved traditional Toblerone original recipe" (Picheta & John, 2018).

Companies planning to enter the stigmatized markets can practice this containment strategy to foresee and curtail potential adverse reactions of the stigmatizers. By making necessary adjustments in their packaging, labelling and communications in advance and clearly explaining the reasons for their entry into the stigmatized markets, firms

can avoid accusations of deception and limit the sense of betrayal activist stigmatizers feel. A containment strategy can also help firms that are wrongly targeted by activist stigmatizers to correct misperceptions and clarify their brands' relation to the stigmatized markets. For example, when Boycott Halal Australia Facebook group mistakenly declared Jacob's Creek's wine halal and called for a boycott, the Australian winemaker used its social media accounts to confirm that its wines "are not suitable for those people following a Halal diet" (Keating, 2015). Following the company's statement firmly refuting the claim, Boycott Halal Australia called off the boycott.

6.2.2. Confrontation

An alternative response strategy is to confront the stigmatizing activists. That is, rather than accommodate, firms challenge activist stigmatizers' beliefs and claims about the stigmatized products, practices and people. By engaging in practices that provoke the activists, companies give the message that prejudice against the stigmatized market is wrong and that stigmatizers should be more tolerant in their consumption behaviors. Confrontation is a suitable strategy if stigmatizers have relatively less weight in a company's customer portfolio and if the gains from aligning with non-stigmatizing and/or stigmatized consumers are higher than the losses from severing ties with the stigmatizers. In essence, a confrontation strategy aligns with the inclusive marketing approach and seeks to encourage greater acceptance of diversity in the marketplace (Henderson & Williams, 2013; Licsandru & Cui, 2018). By confronting stigmatizers and questioning the validity of their fears and concerns, firms signal their determination to create an equitable marketplace.

Social media marketing and corporate communications can be particularly useful tools in executing the confrontation strategy. Firms, whether currently operating in or planning to enter the stigmatized markets, can develop communications campaigns promoting transnational principles, such as mutual respect and tolerance of others, and challenge the activist stigmatizers' assertions about the stigmatized market. Consider, for example, how the Australian spread brand Vegemite responded to the vicious social media attacks of anti-halal groups demanding the company to drop its halal certification. Vegemite developed #SpreadTheLove campaign and urged consumers to be more "respectful" (Thomsen, 2015). According to the company, the goal of the campaign was to caution people "who [insist] on posting comments of hate, religious vilification or unwarranted grumpiness" and promote "a more civil debate" on halal (ibid.). The social media campaign gave the message that "no matter how you spread your Vegemite, remember – we're just here to #SpreadTheLove" (ibid). Similarly, in response to the hateful online comments, Cadbury created a universal symbol of unity to express its support for a more respectful and culturally inclusive society (Green, 2019). Asking followers to download, use, and share the symbol on their own channels, Cadbury encouraged people "to find the 'glass and half' in everyone" (ibid). .

Companies that are wrongly targeted by activist stigmatizers can also adopt a confrontation strategy. Rather than merely providing facts about their disassociation with the stigmatized market, firms can actively take a stand against the stigmatizers. In recent years, companies have begun to align their brands more aggressively with social problems and openly express their position on divisive issues, such as racism, immigration and same sex marriage (Sarkar & Kotler, 2018). Confrontation strategies fit into this broader trend and allow the targeted firm to clearly communicate its divergence from the stigmatizers' views and beliefs. By disengaging completely from the stigmatizers, a company can publicize its position in relation to the stigma and gain the support of fellow-minded consumers. Consider, for example, the case of an Australian small business, Darling Jerky Co. On the company's Facebook page, a customer associated with Boycott Halal Australia group questioned whether its products are halal or kosher certified. After explaining that the product is neither halal nor kosher certified, the company owner posted the following message: "if you're a customer who goes out of their way to not purchase products based on inclusive or trivial dietary certifications, we are also in the business of not selling our products to people such as yourself" (Eddie, 2016). As expected, his provocative response fueled an online debate. Yet, according to the company officials, while there were many hateful messages, the overwhelming majority of the comments was supportive (ibid.).

6.2.3. Compliance

A final response option for companies targeted by the activist stigmatizers is to comply with their calls and disengage from the stigmatized market. This strategy is suitable for companies that lack organizational capabilities and/or financial assets to manage the activist stigmatizers' hostile reactions. As with any exit strategy, the compliance option should be chosen and executed after careful assessment of the firm's competences and the activists' relative size. If activist stigmatizers constitute a larger portion of the company's customer base, then submitting to their requests and foregoing the marginal revenues to be gained from serving the stigmatized consumers might be a reasonable approach. Exiting from a market that does not provide sufficient return for the company can be beneficial as resources freed can then be used for pursuing higher potential targets (Porter, 1998). However, in executing compliance strategy, firms should strive to minimize damage to the brand and clearly communicate the reasons underlying the exit decision to all stakeholders.

At the operational level, a compliance strategy requires making changes in the product and distribution practices and then effectively communicating the adjustments to different stakeholders. For example, SPAR, the second biggest Austrian supermarket chain, stopped selling halal meat in its stores in Vienna after being confronted by online and offline activism (Daily Sabah Europe, 2015). Similarly, Fleurieu (a small size Australian dairy firm) had to drop its halal accreditation and forgo a lucrative deal with the Emirates Airline (Mann, 2014). In both cases, companies announced their disappointment with the negative reactions they have encountered and expressed regret for their exit decision. By sharing their decision with the public in a timely and candid fashion, both firms managed to control the crisis and protect their brands from further financial and reputational damage; however, by exiting the stigmatized market they risked alienating the stigmatized consumers.

7. Limitations and future research

This study is an attempt to offer an understanding of the reasons and forms of activism toward the stigmatized markets. While our empirical context has been the halal F&B market, developments in the current global political economy suggest that tensions and conflicts over stigmatized identities, practices and products will continue to prevail and shape the environments companies operate in. Further research on stigmatized markets can offer additional insights into the experiences and practices of different stakeholders and provide further strategic guidance to companies. For example, given the goals of our study, we have focused on stigmatizers and their reactions. Future studies can explore how stigmatized consumers respond to stigmatizers' claims of ownership of the market and whether and how they collaborate with other stakeholders to prevent companies from exiting the stigmatized markets.

We offer the concept of market ownership as a key contribution of our study. Research on ownership and sharing has increased significantly in recent years (e.g., Eckhardt et al., 2019; Belk, 2010). However, this research has also been criticized for not adequately accounting for the political dimension of the sharing concept (Arnould & Rose, 2015). As these authors further elaborate, for example, the majority of the literature on sharing examines the concept at a micro level (e.g., individuals voluntarily sharing consumption objects), overlooking the macro conditions (e.g., institutional economic and political) in which, due to resource constraints, sharing can no longer exist. As Jafari, Aly, and Doherty's (2022) analysis of the literature on market dynamics also confirms, marketplaces are wrought with perpetual conflicts between different entities. For example, when market actors' perceptions of equilibrium are violated or resources become scarce, they can embark on gaining control of the marketplace, defending their possessions, or withdraw the resources they had previously shared with other actors. Therefore, further inquiries on the notion of market ownership can provide a more nuanced understanding of sharing and help develop a conceptualization of the politics of ownership and its implications for market dynamics.

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Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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Ozlem Sandikci is a Professor of Marketing at the University of Glasgow Adam Smith Business School. Her research addresses sociocultural dimensions of consumption and markets and focuses on the relationship between globalization, marketing, and culture. Her work is published in many journals including the *Journal of Marketing, Journal of Consumer Research, Journal of Business Ethics, Journal of Business Research, Marketing Theory*, and *Business History Review* and in several edited collections. She currently serves as an Associate Editor for Consumption, Markets and Culture journal.

Aliakbar Jafari is Reader in Marketing in the Department of Marketing of the University of Strathclyde Business School. He studies markets as sociocultural-material-technical arenas in which multiple institutions and actors interact, values and systems of meanings are (re)created, and different practices, processes, and offerings are (re)shaped. His research interests include areas such as postcolonial approaches to the study of markets, consumption and marketing, market-mediated ethnic-religious conflicts, market system dynamics, the intersections of the market, religions and spiritualities, and politics and policies of consumption. His longitudinal research on market-mediated racism has significantly contributed to ongoing policy work in the UK.

Eileen Fischer is a Professor of Marketing and the Max and Anne Tannenbaum Chair of Entrepreneurship and Family Enterprise at Schulich School of Business, York University. She has wide-ranging research interests that span the fields of marketing, entrepreneurship and international business and she is particularly known for her expertise in qualitative research methods. She has published in a range of journals including *Journal of Consumer Research, Journal of Marketing, Academy of Management Review, Journal of Business Venturing,* and *Journal of International Business Studies*. She is a past Co-Editor of the Journal of Consumer Research and a current Associate Editor of the Journal of Marketing Research.