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Globalisation and food positioning semiotics: Halaal food access and perceptions among Muslims in Cape Town

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ABSTRACT

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Foodscapes are overflowing with food products from different countries, as globalisation and marketisation promote the mobility of humans and goods. To ensure food security for the nation, globalisation encourages transnational branding and the rebranding of food products during distribution to wider consumers. However, accessing food in such foodscapes can be challenging to Muslims who are obligated to only eat halaal food according to Islamic religious beliefs**.** The Islamic dietary laws define food products that are halaal as lawfully acceptable for consumption and the food products to avoid are termed haram. The term halaal is complex, as it does not just pertain to the condition of food products, but also the way of life for Muslims. As such, Muslims have to be literate to read the semiotics of food in instances where not all foods are labeled to determine whether it is halaal or haram. By problematising the foodscapes as spaces where Muslim consumers' access to food is restricted by religious laws, this study, therefore, explores the halaal concept as part of food branding, positioning and consumption semiotics that are used to mark halaal food in foodscapes. In particular, it explores the kinds of semiotics that are used to brand and position halaal food separate from haram food in selected Cape Town foodscapes. This study uses qualitative research methods such as document analysis, observations and stimulus interviews to collect data to understand the concepts of halaal and haram including how the Muslims in Cape Town perceive these concepts by drawing on their experiences in their encounters with food in different globalised foodscapes. The study applies a critical multisemiotic discourse analysis which combines elements of critical discourse analysis and multisemiotic tools, to understand the semiotic choices in positioning, accessing and consuming of halaal food and experiences thereof among Muslims in Cape Town. The results show that while specific semiotics are deeply rooted within their religious beliefs, themes of resemiotisation, recontextualisation and intertextuality are evident in the halaal branding processes as well as the relationship between Muslim consumers

and the halaal authorities. Three prominent semiotics used to brand and position halaal food are certificates, logos and particular foodscape signage. This includes showing evidence on how the ideological meaning behind the halaal concept is now resemiotised and recontextualised in foodscapes, with intertextuality as one of the strategies used on halaal branded foods. In some cases, the halaal semiotics are placed on products that do not require halaal branding thereby extending the halaal semiotics as a marketing tool in addition to carrying ideological meanings related to halaal as a way of life for Muslims. The interview results show Muslim consumers' perceptions and consumption experiences. The meanings attached to halaal branding semiotics have now become a part of the Muslim's identity in terms of their food consumption. In competition with big, globalised foodscapes, small local halaal designated foodscapes owned by the Muslims take it upon themselves to make sure that there is a variety of halaal food as compared to the big corporate foodscapes that cater more based on demand. The establishment of these small marginal spaces can also be seen as the minority reclaiming their power over these corporate foodscapes which cater to a variety of consumers. In cases where there is a lack of semiotics or there are semiotics that are not well positioned or are invisible when entering certain foodscapes, the consumers turn to the shop assistant for confirmation on whether the establishment is halaal. Interestingly in some cases, pleasantries such as, "shukrans" and "afwans" which mean thank you and you are welcome respectively, and other Muslims either as clients or workers in the foodscapes are regarded as meaning-making resources which play a major role in them deciding to buy the food. As Muslims, these participants are able to navigate the foodscapes equipped with knowledge on what semiotics to look for but also how they would interpret such semiotics. Their interaction with food in these spaces becomes part of an identity performance which signals ideological consumption practices. The repurposed halaal ideology now grants Muslim consumers a sense of power and privilege in selected foodscapes in addition to enabling the halaal certificate to validate the halaal status of foodscapes such as restaurants and takeaways. This study adds to the literature both in food studies and in the language and communication field and also reveals possible further areas of study on the semiotics of halaal food.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis for the topic *Globalisation and food positioning semiotics: Halaal food access and perceptions among Muslims in Cape Town* is my own original work, that it has not been submitted before, for any degree or examination in any other university and that all the sources I have used or quoted, have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Ammaarah Seboa

Signed:  Date: 12 April 2023

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to all who have been with me through every step of the research and writing process, you guys are amazing!

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In the Name of Allāh, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

First and foremost, I open this with a small prayer in thanks to Allah for all that I have learnt over the last few years while completing my Master's in Linguistics at the University of the Western Cape.

As a Muslim, there were many instances where I had to remove myself from this study in order to avoid any pre-empting of my results. Growing up I have never given much thought to the halaal brand, other than it was normal to see it on a product's packaging. That being said, I am grateful to have been given this opportunity to research a topic close to my heart and I express my gratitude to the Intra-institutional Mellon-funded Programme, "Critical Food Studies, Transdisciplinary Humanities Approaches", for having done so.

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ACRONYMS

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CFS	Critical Food Studies
CMDA	Critical Multisemiotic Discourse Analysis
HFSA	Halaal Foundation of South Africa
ICSA	Islamic Council of South Africa
KC	Kenilworth Centre
KFC	Kentucky Fried Chicken
MDA	Multisemiotic Discourse Analysis
MJC	Muslim Judicial Council
NIHT	National Independent Halaal Trust
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
SANHA	South African National Halaal Authority
SWT	Subhanahu Wa Ta'ala (Arabic for *The most glorified, the most high*)
WHC	World Halaal Council

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CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND INFORMATION SITUATING THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

Globalisation encourages the movement of people and goods across borders as well as the blurring of cultural and economic consumption practices where social relations obtain placeless and distanceless qualities (Appadurai, 1990; Scholte, 1996). Mohammed (2014) states that similarly to any phenomenon, the impact of globalisation on individuals, groups, religions, and governments ranges from social, economic, moral, technological, and psychological factors. One important field Saber (2009) cited in Mohammed, (2014) notes, is globalisation's relation to religion. Saber (2009) as cited in Mohammed, (2014:11) exclaims that although Islam is not in any direct "conflict with globalisation", there is a noticeable difference between the Islamic view and the current features of globalisation. However, it is undeniable that Islam is a globally spread religion and this is prevalent in its efforts to become worldwide, says Saber, (2009) cited in Mohammed, (2014). While encouraging the growth and revitalisation of certain identities, it was believed that Islam would lose public influence in contemporary globalisation, nevertheless, Mohammed (2014:14) predicted that Islam may actually "gain more popularity" with globalisation now playing a key role in the future of Islam. Ireland and Rajabzadeh (2011), confirm that Islam is one of the fastest-growing religions in the world and that the recent growth in religion and cultural practices is caused by mobility as a result of globalisation.

As the world changed, Islamic civilisations have adapted and developed a few challenges that the Western World seems wary of (Esposito, 1997). Even so, these fears are uncalled for says Mohammed (2014), because they are founded by the globalisation of exploitation, in which some markets do not want to administer religious teachings and beliefs. In terms of Islam, Karim (2005) says that it does not struggle to find its place in contemporary globalisation much to the disbelief of Western discourses which claims that Islam stands against modernity and globalisation. Scholte (2000) states that while globalisation has four "redundant" concepts, namely internalisation, liberalisation, universalisation or westernisation, he sees globalisation as being a deterritorialisation of the super territorial relations between individuals because they reside within

a transworldly space where global conditions cannot be seen in terms of territory alone. As a result, the globalisation of production, in turn, exerts pressure on the marketisation and exchange of goods (Adams, 2011) which appears to be historically unparalleled.

While previous studies have focused on the consumer's intention to purchase halaal foods and the privilege that halaal foods have in the marketplace, there is limited research written on understanding the concepts of halaal and haram within a foodscape as well as a Muslim consumer's perception and accessibility to halaal goods. Halaal is an Arabic term which means "lawful", and haram refers to what is deemed "unlawful" (Ali, Xiaoling, Sherwani and Ali, 2018). The term halaal displays a complex nature because not only does it concern how Muslims should dress, live and carry themselves, it also enforces strict laws around food which Muslims should abide by (Hyde, Miller, Morisco, and Ollendyke, 2016). The practices behind the processing of halaal foods guarantees that animals receive humane treatment in addition to prohibiting the use of any animal by-products in other goods (Teng, Siong and Mesbahi, 2013). However, due to the rapid growth of Islam as well as the awareness of the processing procedures of halaal foods by food exporters, there has been a rise in the demand for halaal products and services (Adams, 2011; Ali et al., 2018).

Cape Town can be seen as the epicentre of South Africa's global recognition as a rainbow nation. Popularly known as the 'Mother City' and for its attractive tourist sites, Cape Town is home to a variety of diverse cultures, people and religions, one of which is a vast Muslim community (Bunche, 1937; Cochrane and Chellan, 2017). It is therefore important to investigate the kind of semiotics that are used to brand and position halaal food for the Muslim community in different foodscapes in Cape Town. Mandivenga (2000) notes that Islam first arrived in South Africa during the mid-17th century by way of the Dutch European colonizers. One of the first "two distinct ethnic groups" to settle in the Cape was the Malays (Mandivenga, 2000:347). The term "Malay" was used to classify those that came from the Indonesian Archipelago, Bali, Sunda Islands, Java, and Madagascar (Mandivenga, 2000:374). I.D du Plessis later refined the term "Cape Malay" as a means to separate Muslims from non-Muslims (Motala, 2013:13). While Cape Coloureds have little to no Malay ancestry (Motala, 2013), this term acts as a classification of their blended Bantu, white, Hottenton, Malagasy, South, and East Asian blood (Mandivenga, 2000). Mandivenga (2000) notes, that the largest group of practising Muslims in South Africa is situated in the Western

Cape centered on the Cape Town area. Therefore this study adopts the "Cape Muslim" label to refer to the local South African Muslims who reside in Cape Town.

In April of 1950, the Apartheid Government passed the Group Areas Act (South African History Online, 2011) which was only put into effect on the 30th of March 1951, in the Cape Province (Johnson, 1951). The Group Areas Act 41 (1950), established three main kinds of areas, namely controlled, specified, and group (see Appendix 1). Motala (2013:74) says that pending the "proclamation of an area", the "status quo" of each residential area was frozen. This led to the removal and relocation of thousands of Cape Town residents. Motala (2013:74-75) states that this act was also an attempt at isolating the Indian population while distancing them from their homes in addition to dramatically limiting racial mixing. Residential allocation was done through the Group Areas Board, and it was "apparent" that the intention to divide up Cape Town's residential area was not an equal one as the more desirable metropolis areas were designated for the "whites only" (Motala, 2013:76). Residents were now placed in areas such as Maitland, Kensington, Cravenby, Cape Flats, Bontheuwel, Manenberg, Hanover Park, Athlone, Rylands, Mitchell's Plain, Grassy Park, and Slangkop, and due to its lack of facilities, halaal markets, mosques, and schools were even established (Motala, 2013). Furthermore, it was reported that areas such as Goodwood, Claremont, and Mowbray had a significant number of both white and non-white residents, however, it was almost always categorised as a "white" area (Motala, 2013:76). Therefore, the research sites selected include and are not limited to areas in the Northern and Southern Suburbs, such as Elsies River, Delft, Goodwood, Zevenwacht, Soneiker, Durbanville, Brackenfell, Milnerton, Table Bay, Belgravia, Kenilworth, Simon's Town, Retreat, and Noordhoek.

The Muslim demographic makes up 2.5% of South Africa's total population (Bashir, Bayat, Olutuase and Latiff, 2019) and the rise in the demand for halaal goods has led to the marketisation of this periphery group. Despite being categorised as a minority or periphery group, close to 90% of the food products available in foodscapes are halaal certified. This is because South Africa supplies Africa with 25% of its halaal goods by exporting these products to various countries on the continent country (Bashir et al., 2019). The marketisation and circulation of halaal food products in foodscapes have exponentially increased (Johnson, Thomas and Grier, 2017), and

usually, in this context, globalisation forces would also contribute to the consumption discourses that influence certain lifestyles as advertised in mass media. Considering food distributions in worldwide foodscapes, globalisation forces "allow for branded goods to be aggressively marketed to many consumers" (Mafofo and Wittenberg, 2019:457). For Muslim consumers who purchase halaal-certified food products, it is more of trying to maintain their current lifestyle and beliefs instead of obtaining a healthier or new lifestyle.

In regards to the positioning and presentation of these products, we look at the branding materials used to market halaal foods as well as the relationship with consumer intention and loyalty. Additionally, transnational rebranding methods have been put in place in order to distribute these goods to wider consumer communities to ensure food security for the nations. Even so, food access in such foodscapes can be challenging for Muslims who only eat halaal food. In cases where not all foods are labelled to determine whether it is halaal or haram, Muslims have to be literate to read the semiotics of food in the foodscapes. South Africa is rich in various cultures and with a considerable number of Muslims. It is one of the five largest halaal goods manufacturers (Bashir et al., 2019) in Africa. Although there have been studies conducted on food accessibility and food transportation across foodscapes in South Africa, Battersby and Peyton (2014), state that the existing literature does not adequately address the impact that the distribution of food in these foodscapes has on household food security among Muslims who are obligated to eat halaal-certified foods, that are undoubtedly also accessed by non-Muslim consumers who have interest in purchasing halaal-certified foods.

In relation to globalisation, food security, food access and Muslim consumer perceptions, the notions of halaal branding semiotics, consumer intention, identity and ideology are reviewed. In the South African context, food security refers to local and not global production in collaboration with critical factors that are not related to climate change (Turral, Burke and Faurès, 2008). If there is a risk to the food security of halaal foods, it could result in food endangerment to this demographic. Food endangerment or endangered food concerns foods that are going extinct because of shortages or unstable growing environments (Kruchten, 2019). However, South Africa has more than one halaal certification body established which seeks to ensure food security for the Islamic demographic.

This study seeks to understand halaal branding semiotics as well as the ideologies that are repurposed. The data collected for this study consists of pictorial, written and spoken discourse as the data sets. The pictorial data was collected at the abovementioned research sites whereas the written and spoken discourse refers to the transcribed participant interviews which were conducted via the Zoom platform. By employing a critical multisemiotic discourse analysis (CMDA) the researcher explores this new-found phenomenon in collaboration with the consequences of globalisation and draws up findings accordingly. This study aims to breach the gap in existing literature where the matter of halaal semiotics is concerned.

1.1 Problem statement

Due to the increase of different types of foods in South African foodscapes, it is also noteworthy that a few foodscapes are strictly halaal, and most of them have both halaal and haram food. The encouragement of transnational branding and the rebranding of food products for distribution to wider communities are seen as positive strategies to ensure food security for the nations. However, to Muslims who only have to eat halaal food, this poses a challenge when accessing food in foodscapes. Despite a Muslim individual's halaal diet, there is scant research in trying to understand the semiotics that are used to label such foods and discourses related to the Muslim's experiences and consumption practices in accessing the halaal food. Many scholars have written on the halaal, particularly in the field of marketing and a consumer's intention to purchase halaal goods. However, there is scarce literature in regards to how foodscapes position and brand halaal foods. Problematising the foodscapes as spaces where a Muslim consumer's access to food is restricted by religious laws, it is important to explore the halaal concept as part of food branding, positioning and consumption including looking at the semiotics that is used by foodscapes to position and separate the halaal foods from the haram foods, including the perceptions and experiences of the Muslims in accessing halaal food.

1.2 Aim and objectives

The main aim of the research is to understand the kinds of semiotics that are used to brand and identify halaal food among those that are haram in addition to how the Muslims in Cape Town

perceive these notions by drawing on their experiences in their encounters with food in different globalised foodscapes. The objectives of the study are:

1. To find out the kinds of semiotics that are used to brand and position halaal food separate from haram food in selected Cape Town foodscapes
2. To find out how halaal semiotics and their ideological meanings are repurposed in positioning halaal food in selected foodscapes
3. To find out how Muslims as consumers interpret such meanings and their effect on food accessibility
4. To investigate the Muslims' experiences and perceptions in encountering halaal food in different foodscapes in Cape Town

1.3 Research questions

1. What are the kinds of semiotics that are used to brand and position halaal food differently from haram food in selected Cape Town foodscapes?
2. How are the halaal semiotics and their ideological meanings repurposed in positioning halaal food in selected foodscapes?
3. How do Muslims interpret such meanings and what is their effect on food accessibility?
4. What are the experiences and perceptions of Muslims when they encounter halaal food in different foodscapes in Cape Town?

1.4 Significance of the study

There are few studies written on halaal semiotics and despite the existing literature, not much has been written within the South African context. Previous studies have focused on the consumer's intention to purchase halaal foods, as well as the privilege that halaal foods have in the marketplace and the halaal brand. Whilst the food should be clearly marked halaal, it is not always known to the public how the food is branded or positioned and the kind of semiotics that are used to brand or mark such foods. In cases where not all foods are labelled, Muslims have to be literate to read the semiotics of food to determine whether it is halaal or haram. This could lead to problems

regarding the nation's mission in food security for the Muslim population. There are not many studies that focus on food endangerment, apart from a few web-based sources. However, food endangerment here refers to the lack of security, stability and accessibility of food products for the Muslim demographic. This study therefore will add to the minimal literature by concentrating on the phenomenon of the halaal branding semiotics and positioning of halaal foods in foodscapes as well as the perceptions of Muslims who are the majority consumers of halaal food. Additionally, this study provides insight as to how the branding semiotics of halaal foods can be viewed as a brand within a brand in regard to foodscapes. This research also contributes to fields within linguistics that focus on semiotics studies, and in particular halaal semiotics, which is yet to be investigated especially in a South African context through a linguistic lens.

1.5 Organisation of the thesis

Chapter 1: Background information situating the study, as shown above, presents the social phenomenon occurring in the rise of halaal semiotics on food products. Sub-sections in this chapter include the introduction, problem statement, aims and objectives, research questions, the significance of the study as well as a chapter outline. By introducing the Group Areas Act 41 (1950), and its role in the removal and relocation of residents in Cape Town, it assists in situating the participants selected. In terms of globalisation, this study problematises selected Cape Town foodscapes by exploring this significant gap in the field regarding halaal food semiotics, food positioning, foodscapes, and food security through a linguistics lens.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical frameworks, delivers a detailed view of the relevant theory regarding the study. This chapter presents an introduction and focuses on topics such as understanding the concepts of 'halaal' and 'haram' in food studies, ideological Muslim identity and globalisation as well as food security and food sovereignty. This chapter also highlights the privilege and marketisation of periphery groups along with the branding concepts related to halaal semiotics and foodscapes. It includes a critical multisemiotic discourse analysis (CMDA) which combines multisemiotic discourse analysis (MDA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) elements. While MDA is widely used to analyse visual data based on its representational,

interactive, and compositional elements, a CDA is employed to critically analyse any spoken or written discourse presented.

Chapter 3: Towards a qualitative interpretive approach, presents the study's research methodology, research sites, and the tools used to analyse the visual data, document analysis, and stimulus-text interviews. The chapter also presents the methods the researcher undertook while compiling their data. It looks at matters of sampling, research ethics, and data analysis, in addition to providing a detailed account of how participants were contacted and the data transcribed, labelled, and later stored. This section concludes with a summary.

Chapter 4: A look at semiotics used to brand and position halaal foods in foodscapes, presents data that answers Objectives One and Two, which are related to the kinds of semiotics used to brand and position halaal food separate from haram food in different foodscapes in Cape Town. This chapter offers a detailed overview of the compositional elements and the analysis includes how Islamic ideological meanings are repurposed in the selected foodscapes in addition to noting a few key observations of interest, and this chapter concludes with a summary of the findings.

Chapter 5: Repurposed meanings and the experiences of Muslim consumers, presents data that answers Objectives Three and Four, which deal directly with the participants selected for this study. By examining the experiences of the selected participants as Muslim consumers in Cape Town, this chapter provides us with a better understanding of this minority group when it comes to acquiring food. Possible instances of food endangerment are questioned in addition to exploring food stories as told by the participants themselves. This section closes with a summary of the findings before presenting the conclusion of the study.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and recommendations, draws on the general findings presented in Chapters Four and Five. In relation to the research objectives, this section consists of an analytical summary of the study. This chapter ends with the implications of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter concentrates on aspects of globalisation, halaal branding semiotics, and the ideological Muslim identity. It invites us to explore the definition of halaal and haram, as well as the commodification of the halaal concept in addition to the privilege of halaal food products in the marketplace. All of these concepts help in the investigation behind the semiotics and meanings of the halaal food brand. In South Africa alone there are approximately five certification organisations which issue the halaal certificate, and referencing these organisations is also important as they play a major role in the halaal branding semiotics. This chapter also presents the study's theoretical framework which combines elements of the critical discourse analysis and multisemiotic discourse analysis tools such as power, ideology, intertextuality and interdiscursivity as well as the compositional, interactional and representational metafunctions, and lastly resemiotisation.

2.1 Understanding the concepts of 'halaal' and 'haram' in the food studies

In Islam, the Quran is the Muslims' holy book with divine instructions for life. The Holy Quran says that for products to be considered halaal, they have to meet the requirements of halaal according to Islamic law (Wilson and Lui, 2010; Ismoyowati, 2015; Hyde et al., 2016; Bashir et al., 2019). Even though certain foods and drinks have been deemed haram (non-halaal) or prohibited in the Holy Quran and prophetic hadith, there is still this uncertainty with some in regard to their halaal consumption. It is said that Allah (SWT) has commanded His Messengers Muhammed (PBUH), where He says: "O mankind! Eat whatever is lawful and wholesome on the earth…" (The Quran: 2:168). Even though all foods are considered suitable for consumption by Muslims, there is a list of foods which are actually haram and not suitable for a Muslim's consumption. Hyde et al., (2016) have expanded the list of haram food to include not only certain animals and alcohol but also circumstances regarding the slaughtering of the animals.

The most commonly known haram foods to Muslims are pork and alcohol. Apart from it being "explicitly declared haram" (Saloom, 2012), pork and its animal by-products are seen as "impure, unhealthy and harmful for humans due to the fats, toxins and bacteria it contains" (Saloom, 2012) and in the Quran, it is stated that Muslims should avoid the consumption of anything which would cause harm or in toxify the body. The other reason why pork is haram to consume by Muslims is that the animal does not have a neck and it cannot be slaughtered the Islamic way. By means of slaughtering an animal the Islamic way, an incision is made in the neck of the animal along the carotid artery, jugular vein and windpipe in one single swipe (Meikle, 2014), after this the animal is drained from its blood. For halaal meat to even be considered halaal, the animal has to be well cared for and alive before its slaughter. Meikle (2014) further states that the procedure also has to be performed by a Muslim. The Islamic method of slaughtering appears more humane to these animals, than shocking the animal before their slaughter.

However, in the case that there is only pork a Muslim person should find themself in a situation where there is no other food available and they are starving. In the Quran it states,

> "Why should you not eat what has been consecrated in God's Name, when He has already explained to you what He has forbidden you unless you are compelled by necessity?" (The Quran: 6:119).

This means that if a Muslim would rather die than consume pork, there is an exception made in their consumption of pork (Saloom, 2012). As such, they would need to eat pork in order to live because suicide is seen as a sin in Islam. Alcohol is also considered to be haram to Muslims, this too includes any type of food which uses alcohol in its preparation. In addition to pork, Hyde et al., (2016) note carnivorous animals, birds of prey, and land animals without any external ears, and haram for Muslims to consume. Khan and Haleem (2016), extend this list to animals with fangs such as dogs, lions, tigers and wolves, as well as domesticated mules, donkeys and elephants.

If there should be any spillage of blood or the inclusion of blood by-products in the preparation of foods, the food is then deemed haram. Most of the haram foods concern the actual food or product, but another haram factor lies in the conditions of the slaughtering of the animal for its

meat. The first condition is that the animal needs to be slaughtered in the name of Allah. In Islam, when animals are slaughtered for their meat, it is done in the name of Allah, as a form of a small prayer and this is done to express a sense of gratitude to the animal as well as to ask Allah's permission to slaughter the animal (Anwaar, 2017). The second condition regards the welfare of the animal before the slaughtering takes place. If the animal is dead before the slaughtering occurs, its meat is considered haram to Muslims. In addition to the slaughtering of animals that provide halaal meat, a sharp knife must be used in the act. Lastly, if any foods should be contaminated with the abovementioned haram items, the food is immediately considered as being haram even if the food was certified as being halaal before the contamination took place.

In light of this, the term halaal does not only refer to food and drink, but it also refers to the way of life for Muslims. Besides foodscapes, this concept of halaal is found in contexts of cosmetics, personal care and cleaning products, overall it pertains to the way in which they carry themselves and live (Hyde et al., 2016). Wilson and Lui (2010) state that Muslims do not view the halaal term as being a brand, but rather it is a part of their belief system and moral code of conduct, which is an integral part of their daily life. By means of halaal branding semiotics, Muslim consumers can easily identify products fit for their consumption. Even though halaal branding semiotics should act as clear indicators of halaal food, it is unknown to which extent these signs are used and the ideological meanings behind them. With the growth of our markets today and the influx of imported goods, it is imperative to investigate which semiotics are used to validate the halaal status of the food products available in foodscapes.

2.2 Ideological Muslim identity

There are three notable sects of Islam in Cape Town, which are known as *Sunni, Shi'a* and *Ahmaddiya,* even though few of their practices differ all three of these sects adhere to the consumption of halaal food (Tayob, 2012; Motala, 2013). In this instance, the consumption of halaal food, in particular, Muslim food culture now acts as a means to confirm one's Islamic identity (Tayob, 2012). The identity of an individual is a result of more than just their religious status (Duderija, 2008; Hussein, 2004). Identity can be seen as who we are, how we would perceive ourselves and how others would perceive us (Thornborrow, 1999). While identity is seen as being

fluid, shifting and dynamic (Gilliat-Ray, 1998; Cameron, 2001), Tayob (2012:13) says that "halaal" becomes a means of "inscribing" one's identity as it imposes both an ethnic group consumptive and individual identity. He extends this to include how halaal consumption now acts as a way of expressing one's identity (Tayob, 2012:13). Interestingly enough, Tayob (2012) notes that in countries where the Muslim population is a minority, these groups were strict regarding the matters of animal slaughtering as compared to the countries where Muslims are the majority. Tayob (2012) claims that the rise in a variety of religious, cultural and lifestyle products has resulted from a form of commodification due to the consumption which was created by cultural intermediaries. This occurs when consumption acts as a religious experience whereby an individual manages to "assert his or her ontological significance" (Campbell, 2004:4, cited in Tayob, 2012). The term "cultural intermediaries" was coined by Bourdieu says Tayob (2012). Bourdieu and Nice (1984:359) define the term as "involving the presentation and representation (sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, fashion, decoration and so forth)" across all institutions which provide symbolic goods and services. Maguire (2008:1-2, cited in Tayob, 2012) explains cultural intermediaries as being

> …central in the promotion of consumption; not simply producing goods and experiences for sale in the consumer marketplace, they are also, crucially, involved in mobilising and motivating consumers to connect their specific aspirations, fears and desires to particular product qualities and to the realm of consumption more broadly… (Maguire, 2008:1-2, cited in Tayob, 2012)

Petrescu (2015) says that ideology can be viewed as a systematic form of ideas that mainly concerns human life and culture, or the characteristic of thinking of an individual or a group of cultures. With the 'Muslim identity', their personal and religious ideologies are linked to the halaal concept, which forms a vital part of a Muslim's identity.

Ultimately, the ideology behind the Muslim identity, specifically the Cape Muslim identity consists of the combination of an individual's racial, cultural, religious and national identity that lies in between the local and global as well as their past and their future (Baker, 2009; Brodeur, 2004). In Cape Town specifically, the Muslims here are known as either Cape Muslims or Cape

Malay. As stated in Chapter One, the term Cape Muslim is adopted in this study as the term Cape Malay acts as a means to separate Muslims from non-Muslims says Motala (2013). When looking at Muslim identities here, it is imperative to note that racial identity plays a big role in differentiating the Cape Muslims from the Cape Coloureds, thus, 'Malay' served as the racialised identity of Muslims residing in Cape Town (Mandivenga, 2000; Tayob, 2004; Motala, 2013). Leman (1999) proposes that one can find five different religious modulators within a multicultural urban context in regard to second and third-generation Muslim immigrants (Duderija, 2008). Therefore, all of the factors mentioned above including their own ideologies apart from the halaal are what would contribute to forming an individual Muslim identity, which can influence their perception and experiences of the world and see how their consumption of halaal food further solidifies their Muslim identity. Branded halaal food becomes a very interesting meaning-making resource that is worth investigating to understand the Muslims' perceptions and experiences during their encounter with food in increasingly globalised foodscapes

2.3 Halaal food in globalised foodscapes

Globalisation encourages the movement of people and goods across borders as well as the blurring of cultural and economic consumption practices where social relations obtain placeless and distanceless qualities (Appadurai, 1990). Appadurai (1990) claims that there are five global scapes: ethnoscape, technoscape, ideoscape, financescape, and mediascape. In line with this study, we only focus on the ethno-, ideo-, finance-, and mediascapes.

Appadurai (1990:329) defines the ethnoscapes as the dynamic landscapes of people who "constitute the shifting world" we live in, this includes exiles, immigrants, refugees, tourists, guest workers as well as other moving persons and groups. Powell and Steel (2011) say that Appadurai (1990:331) views ideoscapes as a "concatenation of images" which is often "directly political" and mostly deals with the "ideologies of states" as well as the counter-ideologies of movements that are explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a small piece of it. They move on to define the financescape as being the flow of capital or the "national stock exchanges", "currency markets", and "commodity speculations" transfer mega-monies via "national turnstiles at a blinding speed" (Appadurai, 1990:330). Mediascapes here refers to the "distribution of electronic capabilities to

produce" as well as the dissemination of information such as magazines, newspapers, and film production studios which are currently available to the growing number of public and private interests of others which has created images of the world through these media (Appadurai, 1990).

Mohammed (2014) says that globalisation appears to influence all aspects of life specifically its relation to religion. Mohammed (2014:2), exclaims that religion,

> especially (Islam) are basically salient dynamics that would certainly influence and reshape identities, behaviours and orientations at the peak and most critical stages of globalisation in view of the large number of adherents across the globe (Mohammed, 2014:2).

This means that Islam plays a role in the formation of the Muslim identity and by extension would now shape how Muslims would live in a globalised world. As the world changed, Islamic civilisations have adapted and developed a few challenges that the Western World seems wary of (Esposito, 1997). However, these fears are uncalled for says Mohammed (2014), because they are founded by the globalisation of exploitation in which some markets do not want to administer religious teachings and beliefs. In terms of Islam, Karim (2005) states that it does not struggle to find its place in contemporary globalisation much to the disbelief of Western discourses, which claim that Islam is against modernity and globalisation. Furthermore, Mohammed (2014) says that the challenges Islam may face lie in its mission to preserve its religious, cultural, social and ethical integrity within the globalised context where morality does not exist. As such, the relationship between Islam and globalisation has received many negative connotations with the main conclusion being that they cannot accommodate each other (Mohammed, 2014). Looking at the processes of globalisation, it becomes important to find out the kind of semiotics that are used to brand Halaal food as well as the positioning practice implemented in foodscapes.

Of the four concepts of globalisation Scholte (2008) mentions, universalisation appears to be well linked to the global halaal market. Scholte (2008:1476) defines globalisation in terms of universalisation as being

> …a process of dispersing various objects and experiences to people at all inhabited parts of the earth. On these lines, 'global' means 'worldwide' and 'everywhere'. Hence there is a 'globalisation' of the Gregorian calendar, tobacco, business suits, curry dinners, bungalows, Barbie dolls, shotguns, and so on. Frequently globalisation-as universalisation is assumed to entail homogenisation with worldwide cultural, economic, legal, and political convergence (Scholte, 2008:1476).

As a result, the globalisation of production, in turn, exerts pressure on the marketisation and exchange of goods (Adams, 2011) which appears to be historically unparalleled. In Cape Town, the Muslim population sits at 1.93%, with 60% of food products available in foodscapes being halaal certified (Bashir et al., 2019). Additionally, South Africa contributes 25% of its halaal goods to Africa's global marketplace (Bashir et al., 2019). With the global halaal market thriving from South Africa's perspective, this brings into question whether the nation can continue to provide for this demographic or run the risk of food endangerment.

In the South African context, food security refers to local and not global production, along with critical factors that are not related to climate change (Turral et al., 2008). In this case, food security concerns a Muslim consumer's accessibility to food and if their needs are not met, this could lead to food endangerment. Seeing a foodscape being able to deliver and assure Muslim consumers of the status of their accessibility in relation to food security and food endangerment. Food endangerment within the Muslim demographic would concern the lack of securing halaal goods in foodscapes. But in an effort to avoid food endangerment, food sovereignty plays a big role.

Adekunle (2016) defines food sovereignty as being a person's right to healthy and culturally appropriate food which has been produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, as well as a person's ability to own their food systems in a sense. This means that within communities, the public is able to influence the type of food they want available in the foodscapes available. This could account for the halaal goods being available in foodscapes because of the presence of a Muslim community in the area. These concepts of foodscapes, food security, food endangerment and food sovereignty encourage the privilege that some goods would receive in the marketplace.

2.4 Discourses around halaal privilege in the marketplace

Halaal-certified food products appear to take precedence in the marketplace and based on this they are awarded a type of privilege. The marketplace acts as the representation of a foodscape, a space where one would acquire food (MacKendrick, 2014), for example, a shopping mall, supermarket, or fast-food restaurant. As a foodscape refers to more than one specific space it is able to provide a wide variety of foods for consumers. Even though a foodscape is generally referred to as a space to acquire food, what individuals seem to miss is the fact that a foodscape is a space which comprises of other spaces. Some foodscapes can be seen as individual spaces while inhabiting another foodscape, whereas other foodscapes are able to thrive in isolation. An example here is how a shopping mall takes on the identity of a foodscape where other foodscapes are readily available to consumers. As we travel to shopping malls to purchase goods, other types of foodscapes such as supermarkets and food courts, which house fast-food restaurants. These other three foodscapes now become spaces which inhabit the larger foodscape, i.e. the shopping mall. Thus, the concept of the foodscape can be seen as being dynamic, because foodscapes such as a supermarket and fast-food can be located in isolation, not needing the larger foodscape of a shopping mall to exist. Despite the traditional definition regarding foodscapes, today a foodscape is able to offer its consumers much more in regard to goods and services.

Based on what they are able to offer to the public, foodscapes have to keep in mind the fact that South Africa is a country that contains a vast cultural and religious demographic. As a result of the different religious and cultural backgrounds, foodscapes cater to large demographics, and they try to include everyone. This proves to be difficult due to popular food trends and one's food regime changes because of globalisation and people's mobility. In terms of the halaal concept, statistics show that on a global scale, South Africa supplies the continent of Africa with 25% of their halaal goods (Bashir et al., 2019). As people are seen as constantly moving across borders and spaces, this constant movement may cause reason of panic in regards to food accessibility for Muslims.

Johnson et al., (2017), say that privilege can be understood as being a set of unearned social benefits that a dominant group possesses. However, this concept of privilege brings to light an interesting contrast when looking at halaal-certified foods, because only a small percentage of

South Africa's population is Muslim (Bashir et al., 2019). This notion of market privilege dates back to the 1860s when the Dutch settlers colonised the Cape and brought Muslim slaves with them (Baderoon, 2015; Oppelt, 2012). In Baderoon's work *Regarding Muslims: from slavery to post-apartheid*, she draws on various literature which supports how Muslim slaves were able to preserve their religious practices including food preparation. By preparing food for their "masters", it is said that Muslim slaves influenced some of South Africa's cuisine today (Baderoon, 2015:50-51). The Muslim's privilege in the marketplace took precedence when the minority group positioned themselves within the homes of their Dutch owners. Baderoon (2015:51), draws on De Certeua's *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984) and notes that the "powerless subvert the culture of the powerful" under the guise of decimal transformations within the dominant cultural economy to shape it according to their own interests and rules. However, within the South African context, the halaal concept has been repurposed to adapt from its position in the kitchen to the marketplace with the respect to secure food for the Muslim minority group.

One of the main reasons for the marketing of halaal-branded products is to attract more Muslim consumers because the halaal is the way of life for Muslims. This ensures their survival as per their religious beliefs. Instead of conceptualising this concept of privilege, it can be looked at from a Foucauldian perspective on privilege and power (McWhorter, 2015). This assumption does not only refer to the privilege of having the halaal brand in foodscapes, but one can also investigate the types of semiotics present in terms of the halaal certification bodies, as these bodies can be seen as holding a sense of power too. The fact that this phenomenon has received this level of marketing tells us that these food products have taken precedence and are in higher demand within the marketplace. This allows the halaal-certified food products to obtain a sense of privilege in the marketplace due to the specific ways in which the halaal brand needs to be upheld within foodscapes.

2.5 Branding: A case of halaal food

Branding is defined as being able to create "a recognisable and unique identity for an organisation and its products, so as to automate buying behaviour" (Mafofo and Wittenberg, 2019:454). The original concept of branding was actually connected to the practice of burning an ownership mark

onto a product and in the mid-20th century branding become a mainstream social phenomenon (Mafofo and Wittenberg, 2019). Six main concepts of branding were identified by Mafofo and Wittenberg (2019), namely, brand identity, brand positioning, brand awareness, brand association, brand consumption, as well as institutional branding. The concepts above focus intensely on a major part of understanding not only the intention behind the purchasing of goods and services but also their consumption and identity performance. Halaal food products are a good example of this kind of trajectory and it would also include the origins and understanding of why Muslims in this case purchase, consume and perform certain identities thereof.

Brand identity not only includes the packaging and colour but also how the product's image in different types of media. Bashir et al., (2019) says that relationship between the brand and the consumer refers to a sense of brand loyalty. Aaker (1991) briefly defines brand loyalty as being a consumer's level of attachment to a brand. Yet, Oliver (1997) expands this definition and says that there is

> A deeply held commitment to rebuy or repatronise a preferred product or service consistently in the future, despite situational influences and marketing efforts having the potential to cause switching behaviour" (Oliver, 1997:392).

Due to brand loyalty, the relationship between the brands and consumers has now become well-honed. The aim of the brand is to form a relationship with consumers and to stand for a promise, that it will be built. Before we can discuss the implications of a halaal brand identity, we first have to take a look at the identity of who the halaal is for. Identity in relation to the halaal has to do with ethnic identity. Given that these bodies were established with the sole purpose to assure the safety of food products to Muslim consumers, thus it target a specific ethnic group of people. Traditionally the term ethnicity has been described in many ways and they usually refer to an individual's ancestral heritage, as well as their common descent, beliefs, customs and many more, it is often seen included with this concept of race say (Ferris, Peck and Banda, 2019). The shared element of Muslim consumers is the fact that they are Muslim, and per their religious beliefs they are obligated to eat halaal food. This then leads to brand awareness, Rossiter and Percy (1987; 1997), state that that brand awareness concerns the consumer's ability to recall and recognise the

brand in a different context, while still in sufficient detail to make a purchase. In terms of the halaal brand, Muslim consumers will remember which food-producing company sells halaal-certified food products, and that will maintain the consumer and producer relationship that has been established.

According to scholars (Aaker, 1996; Kotler and Keller, 2005) brand positioning, focuses on the points of difference and this sets a brand apart from its competitors. Here, the term positioning may be simply defined as to how a brand is positioned in the mind of the consumer while paying respect to the values with which it is differentially associated or 'owns' (Ries and Trout 1982, cited in Marsden 2002). These points of difference are what consumers will always remember about the brand. In terms of halaal it is interesting to find out the kind of semiotics that are used to brand or differentiate halaal food products from other food products, but this does not necessarily mean that the unbranded products are not halaal. All this shows that another type of semiotic is used to create meaning. For example, in the case where food products would not contain the halaal brand results in the dilemma whether it still safe to consume for Muslim consumers. This cements Wilson and Lui's (2010) view that Muslims would adopt a position of avoidance and the specific product itself. Because of the halaal branding on a product, Muslim consumers will remember from which brand as a whole the product comes. The same can be said for a product that does not carry the halaal brand.

Brand association makes use of ideas values and feelings that consumers would think of or experience when they use or interact with a particular brand (Mafofo and Wittenberg, 2019). This is the brand marketer's attempt to create mental associations that are positive and strong, and they also differentiate their products from competing brands. In the case of halaal foods, Muslim consumers will always remember halaal-certified food brands as they depend on such foods to survive. Brand consumption refers to the buying of branded goods by consumers (Mafofo and Wittenberg, 2019). This consumption is now also increasing mainly due to globalisation and mass media. Bauman (2007) says that it allows for branded goods to be aggressively marketed to many consumers by food producers. Bashir et al., (2019:3) state that South Africa is "one of the five" largest manufacturers of halaal goods and adds that South Africa is also broadly regarded as being the "gateway" to Africa's halaal food and beverage market. The halaal brand acts as the main

symbol of trust and quality for Muslim consumers (Mostafa, 2020), because it clearly distinguishes halaal-certified products from non-halaal ones. Apart from emphasising the halaalness of a food product, the halaal brand also serves to identify healthy food from unhealthy food due to the specific food quality, safety, and hygienic conditions which need to be met (Bashir et al., 2019). Today there has been an increase in products that are marketed as halaal-certified, and as a result the halaal certification now extends beyond the meat industry to packaged foods and dietary and nutritional supplements (Regenstein, Chaudy and Regenstein, 2003). It becomes important to investigate the kinds of semiotics used to brand halaal foods in different foodscapes to reveal the practices and meanings around such food in South Africa. Particularly in the selected foodscapes in Cape Town, as well as the meanings attached to such semiotics by Muslim consumers.

2.6 The commodification of the 'halaal' into the halaal brand

Ali et al., (2018), note that even though Muslim consumers are given a wide selection of halaal products and services, each product group offers many different local, as well as internationally recognised brands. Halaal branding refers specifically to the use of certain signs as logos and symbols which provide assurance (Ali et al., 2018:715) to its Muslim consumers. This branding ensures that the ingredients used and the production processes are according to the Islamic Shariah (Ali et al., 2018:715). However, the meaning of the word Halaal is derived from the Arabic language, and it means to be lawful and permissible by the Islamic Shariah (Ali et al., 2018:716). They (Ali et al., 2018:716), further state that the halaal concerns a Muslim's religious obligation to only consume food that is halaal and prescribed by the holy Quran.

As such, some scholars argue that the term halaal cannot be a brand denoting food acceptable for Muslims to consume, and this is what makes the term halaal so complex in regard to this study. By trying to shape the halaal into being a brand, institutional branding actually takes place. Even though institutional branding widely refers to companies, to an extent it would apply to the halaal concept as well. The Mosque is a religious institution where Muslims pray, and it spreads the message of Islam from the Holy Quran. Van Riel (1997) exclaims that an institution has to make its identity clear in order for it to be used as the organisation's benchmark by which its products and services, performances and accomplishments can be measured.

The halaal certification was introduced to South Africa during the 1960s, at the time it was administered under the supervision of the Ulama (a religious leader of the Muslim community). At this time the certificate was limited to the meat industry and this includes both meat slaughterhouses and abattoirs (Smith, 2012). In the 1970s, the certificate then extended to include the poultry industry, and in the 1980s it included other consumables. It was the South African National Halaal Authority (SANHA) that had established itself as South Africa's pre-eminent halaal certification body (Smith, 2012). Though not placed on the foods, the presence of a halaal certificate in foodscapes seems to indicate the invisible brand of halaal food. It is a document which is issued to companies selling halaal products and is the most prominent certification standard adopted by almost all the pro-Islamic organisations who know its importance and significance to Muslims buying and consuming food in South African foodscapes.

Today, with the inclusion of SANHA, there are five certification organisations in South Africa which issue the certificate, making them six in total. Namely these bodies are the South African National Halaal Authority (SANHA), the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC), the Majlisush Shura Al Islam also known as Shura, the Islamic Council of South Africa (ICSA), the National Independent Halaal Trust (NIHT) and the Halaal Foundation of South Africa (HFSA). The first five bodies are well-established certification organisations are South Africa, while the HFSA is not held in the same light. It appears that the HFSA is a body that has only been established in the last few years, this proved difficult to research this organisation as there is not much academic literature regarding it. However, according to a news report, a foodscape in Durban was issued the certificate by HFSA even though non-halaal food products and alcohol were served on the same premises (Shaikh, 2018). What only cemented the Muslim community into wanting this foodscape's certificate revoked and wanting answers from HFSA was the fact that this foodscape has made prayer facilities available for their Muslim consumers. Meaning that even though they made such facilities available, the foodscape would still serve its alcohol and non-halaal food products while its Muslim patrons would be praying for instance, this entire taking place on the same premises. The Muslim community argued that the certificate would be null because of what else the foodscape serves. The process of obtaining a halaal certificate concerns an application and inspection of the premises and conditions that the applicant needs to strictly follow (SANHA, n.d).

Further upon the issuing of the certificate there are several rules and regulations that the recipient/s needs to follow.

Interestingly, the colour 'green' holds significant meaning in Islam as the colour is referred to several times throughout Islamic history it was used to represent Muslim soldiers in battle, also used in flags and in the Quran, it references to, for example cushions, garments and the earth across verses on the visible spectrum, green lies between yellow and blue. Symbolically, yellow represents the sun, the heavenly realm, while blue represents earth, the worldly life. According to the Muslim religion interpretation, the earth is also known as the 'blue' planet, because its surface is 70% water (Sisters Magazine, 2019). Similarly as to how humans are a blend of heavenly and earthly attributes, green is the mixture of yellow and blue (Sisters Magazine, 2019. Green is associated with life, spring and resurrection. Indeed, the Arabic word for 'paradise', 'Jannah', means 'garden', an image universally associated with green (Sisters Magazine, 2019). Another colour often used is gold. Olesen (n.d.) reports that the colours gold and green mean to represent paradise in Islam.

Another prominent mode found associated with halaal branding semiotics is the symbol of the crescent moon and star "☪". Arnold (1928:155) states that,

> Islam has never encouraged the use of any kind of religious symbol, and this lack of any characteristic symbolism has distinguished Islam from most other religions. Some explanation of this phenomenon may be found in the well-known hostility of the Muslim theologians to all forms of representation of living objects, whether human or animal, for a religion without an iconography is unlikely to develop a symbolism. On the other hand, the reason why the Muslim theologians condemned representational art was based on a belief that the sin of the painter or the sculptor lay in the fact that he usurped the function of the Creator in arrogating to himself, in the very exercise of his art, the power of giving life to the creations of his brush or chisel; no such objection applied to plants and flowers; it is therefore not clear why inanimate objects were not adopted as symbols of the faith. There must therefore have been other influences at work, among which may be reckoned

> the detestation of anything even remotely savouring of idolatry, and the absence of any kind of sacramental system in the religion of Islam (Arnold, 1928:155).

Arnold (1928) also notes that this symbol has become associated with Islam, in the same way that the cross is associated with Christianity. Even though this mode is associated with Islamic history and the halaal branding semiotics, it has no, none whatsoever significant meaning in the religion of Islam. The crescent moon and star appeared during the Ottoman (Umayyad) Empire, thus linking it to the Muslim world says Zuhudi and Dolah (2018). Despite this, Zuhudi and Dolah exclaim that it is used as one of the "core visual elements" for halaal brandings semiotics. Even though the Ottoman Empire made the crescent moon and star symbol popular, this symbol holds no bearing in Islam. With regards to Objectives One and Two (see Chapter One), it is important to understand the meanings behind these specific signs which are repurposed in halaal branding semiotics. By examining the positioning practices implemented throughout foodscapes via halaal branding semiotics, the way in which halaal food for Muslim consumers is marked can be critically analysed.

2.7 The halaal brand as a marketing strategy and its implications

In terms of brand and identity, marketers concentrate on enhancing a brand by connecting it to "particular identities and associated feelings, perceptions beliefs or attitudes" (Mafofo and Wittenberg, 2019:459). By purchasing the marketed product, consumers believe that they will achieve the particular lifestyle that is being advertised. In consumerist societies, there is this increase in the belief that one's self-worth and identity are defined by the products that they consume and due to this, one's personal identity would become branded as a commodity which can then be marketed on the 'social marketplace' (Mafofo and Wittenberg, 2019). Wilson and Lui (2010) add that products which profess high levels of ethical practices tend to position themselves as premium brands. This is true within South Africa's context in terms of the halaal brand. Halaal branded items cost slightly more than the items without the brand. In contrast to South Africa, Wilson and Lui (2010), state that many halaal offerings are priced below their non-halaal equivalents, as to encourage the consumption of halaal-branded products.

Mafofo and Wittenberg (2019) also state that there has been a global dematerialisation of culture by which branding is a particular manifestation. This means that a shift has occurred from the modernist economy towards a post-modernist economy based on the consumption of branded images and services and this is also the same, especially in the case of the halaal certification. Ismoyowati (2015), states that halaal food has become more important these days because of the increasing demand in the global marketplace as South Africa supplies the rest of Africa with 25% of their halaal goods (Bashir et al., 2019). In the past, the certification was used to certify that food from the meat industry was halaal, but today the certification now goes beyond that. Also, there is the case where some branded food products do not brand non-meat and dairy products as halaal-certified.

In an Indonesian-based study, respondents commented on the safety of officially inspected poultry products which was sold at their markets and the lack of the halaal brand to label these poultry products as halaal-certified (Ismoyowati, 2015). In addition, there is a high priority put on the halaal issue while purchasing food, buying meat, or selecting a restaurant because this concern positively correlates with Muslim religious beliefs (Ismoyowati, 2015) and as an extension of that, food companies and producers brand certain food products with halaal certification as a means of a new marketing strategy to attract more Muslim consumers. Seeing as some food products do not require the halaal brand, it is interesting to see the lengths food producers would take in order to make a profit which in turn would result in the marketisation of this periphery group.

2.8 Theoretical framework: Critical multisemiotic discourse analysis

The study employs a critical multisemiotic discourse analysis (see Mafofo, 2015) as the theoretical framework, which includes both aspects of critical discourse analysis and aspects of multimodality. Below is a brief explanation of the main tools of this framework as will be adopted in this study: Wodak and Meyer (2009) state that the main concern of critical discourse analysis (CDA) is to demystify ideologies and power through systemic investigations of semiotic data, whether it is written, spoken or visual. Wodak (1995:204) notes the purpose of CDA is to study the "opaque as well as the transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination power

and control" exhibited in language. In line with the power and ideology evident in CDA, the notions of intertextuality and interdiscursivity of semiotics will also be discussed.

2.8.1 Critical discourse analysis

Wodak and Meyer (2009) say that the main concern of critical discourse analysis (CDA) is to demystify ideologies and power through systemic and reproducible investigation of semiotic data, whether it be written, spoken or visual. Even though the purpose of CDA is to study the "opaque as well as the transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination power and control" exhibited in language says Wodak (1995:204), it actually further expanded on in her later work and states that,

> [CDA] studies real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take (partially) linguistic form. The critical approach is distinctive in its view of (a) the relationship between language and society, and (b) the relationship between analysis and the practices analysed (Wodak 1995:173).

Chouliaraki's and Fairclough's (1999) work on CDA focuses more on the socially constitutive in addition to the socially conditioned. They seek to prove discourse as being an "instrument of power" (Blommaert, 2005:25) which has demonstrated increasing importance within contemporary societies. Van Dijk's (1993) shares a similar view in regards to power. Van Dijk (1993: 249) says that social relations are

> present in texts both explicitly and implicitly…Since language can (re)produce social life, what kind of world is being created by texts and what kind of inequalities and interests might this seek to perpetuate, generate or legitimate? Here language is not simply a vehicle of communication, or for persuasion, but as a means of social construction and domination (Van Dijk, 1993:249).

Furthermore, the notions of intertextuality and interdiscursivity appear to reinforce Van Dijk's (1993) view on social relations. Intertextuality refers to the different types of discourses a text is

made up of as well as its relationship to the reader, whereas interdiscursivity draws on various conventions of a text and uses specific discourse features from one genre to represent another (Koller, 2010; Bullo, 2017). With these concepts in mind, the social relationship between halaal branding semiotics and Muslim consumers as well as the dominance halaal branding semiotics may hold within foodscapes will be explored.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) acknowledge that the way in which this instrument is used can be confusing to understand, but through CDA they aim to clear any misunderstandings:

> It is an important characteristic of the economic, social and cultural changes of late modernity that they exist as discourses as well as processes that are taking place outside discourse, and that the processes that are taking place outside discourse are substantively shaped by these discourses (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:4).

Similarly, Fairclough's (2003) work on ideologies analyses text in terms of representations, enactments as well as inculcations which he calls the order of discourse. In relation to power struggles, Fairclough (1989) defines power struggles in discourse as being shaped by the relations in social order and being held together as a hidden effect of power (Negm, 2014). Halaal branding semiotics appear to be in a power struggle within in Cape Town foodscapes, thus by utilising specific ideologies they will be able to exert their dominance in these foodscapes.

With the above, we can see that CDA in actual fact concerns more than just discourse, as it also looks at the relationship between different domains. As such, Thomas and Selimovic (2014), say that CDA is able to approach a task by critically situating its analysis of events which surround the discourse. This statement only reiterates what Wodak (1995) as well as, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) have said above in their respective contexts. In essence, this study aims to explore the relationship between the semiotics used to brand halaal food in foodscapes and the Muslims consumers who frequent these spaces and reside in Cape Town.

2.8.2 Multisemiotic discourse analysis

Kress (2010) views semiotics as being the study of all sign systems and how these systems are able to communicate a greater meaning (Bock and Mheta, 2019). Multisemiotic or multimodality refers to the use of two or more modes (e.g. text, image, sound, video and gesture in a sign (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). According to O'Halloran (2011), Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996; 2006), along with O'Toole (1994; 2010) provided the foundations for multimodal research. The MDA tool that will be utilised in this study is a multisemiotic model developed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006). Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), based on their model on Halliday's (1978; 1985; 1994; 2004) social semiotic approach to language, namely the three metafunctions; textual, interpersonal and ideational. These metafunctions as revised by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996; 2006) explore the notions of compositional, interactive and representational systems (see Mafofo, 2015). Stoian (2015) states that even though the compositional metafunction focuses on the entire composition, it also examines the way in which both the representational and the interactional metafunction elements relate to one another as an integrated meaningful whole.

2.8.2.1 Compositional

The compositional metafunction looks at an array of compositional elements, such as framing, salience, and information value are arranged in order to produce various textual meanings (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). The information value refers to the "placement" of visual and verbal signs are placed in a multimodal text, and how they are able to provide "specific informational values" that Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:177), state are attached to what they regard as various "zones" also known as quadrants of the image. The features of the information value are the centre and margin, left and right, and top and bottom. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:196) say that the "nucleus of information" is presented at the centre of an image, that the margins of an image possess "dependent elements", and that in some cases, such as newspaper pages, the margins would combine with the ideal and real as well as the given and new.

The ideal (at the top) presents us with the "generalised" information, and it is also seen as the most salient part of an image, whereas the real (at the bottom) provides us with more factual or "specific"

information shown on an image (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:187). Lastly the given (on the left) and the new (on the right) of an image. The given presents information that the "viewer already knows" and the new presents information that is "not yet known" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:181). The image (Figure 1) below, illustrates the information value along with each quadrant in diagram form.

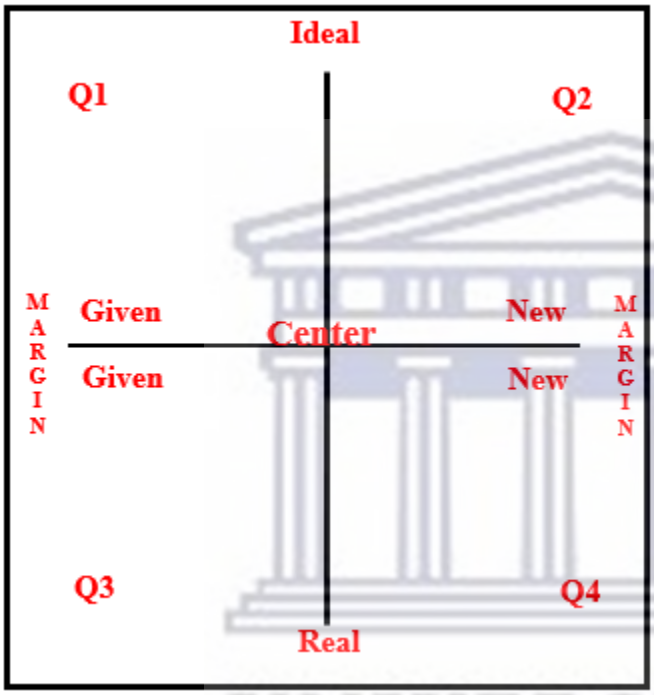

Figure 2.1: Information Value Diagram (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:177)

Salience refers to the most striking features that are "made to attract the viewer's attention" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:177). This looks at the overall image based on factors such as "…placement in the foreground or background, relative size, contrasts in tonal value (or colour), differences in sharpness" says Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:177). The last system that they (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006) suggest is framing. Framing refers to the relationship between the visual and verbal signs in terms of coherence which are positioned to connect or separate ideas in an image (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). Overall this system looks at how the visual and verbal aspects of an image are able to work together; interestingly enough the aim of this system is similar to what multisemiotic is referred to.

2.8.2.2 Interactive

The interactive metafunction focuses on the modes used to create a social relationship between the producer of a sign and the receiver of the same sign (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006; Stoian, 2015). The mode used needs to represent a specific social relation between the object represented, the producer, and the viewer (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). By doing this, producers of a sign establish an interactive relationship with the receiver, i.e. Muslim consumers, which then enables us to explore the representational metafunction below. Moreover, we will be able to see how vast interactive relationships can be represented based on the semiotic choices available to Muslim consumers.

2.8.2.3 Representational

Lastly, the representational metafunction examines the kinds of semiotic modes which represent "aspects of the world" as humans experience them. This metafunction zooms into the relationship between individuals and modes used to represent specific objects and their link to a world which exists outside the "representational system" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996:42). This metafunction looks at how semiotic modes become resemiotised in a sense in order to show a various way in which and their relations to other objects can be portrayed and is "visually realised" through vectors (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:42). Stoian (2015) says that producers encode specific social meanings into their semiotics in order to reach their targeted demographic, in this case, Muslim consumers. Additionally, this may lead to certain visual representations across the semiotics collected to be favoured over others.

2.8.3 Resemiotisation

Resemiotisation is able to transfer the meanings from one semiotic mode into one which is different states Iedema (2001; Banda and Mafofo, 2016). This means that even though "each semiotic element has its own specific (systemic) constraints and affordances" (Iedema, 2001:33), it would still hold similar aspects of certain modes, this allows for a sense repetition to be present in modes. As such, looking at intersemiotic translation (Jakobson 1959; Eco 1979) labelled as

resemiotisation by Iedema (2003) is key in this case as halaal social semiotics are undoubtedly part of both a cultural and religious communication where meanings are created and circulated in different social domains (Iedema, 2003). Iedema (2003) explains that resemiotisation allows for the transfer of meaning from one semiotic mode to the other which results in the shaping of a new meaning. Thus, a mode would be repeated but the manner in which it is now being used and its meaning would change.

Additionally, we can see how a sense of recontextualisation now takes place. Iedema and Wodak (1999:13) view recontextualisation as a

> …means for edifying meaning. As a means for simultaneously construing increased social-discursive relevance and material presence, it is the crux of organisational power. Organisational discourse analysis concerns itself with the nature and the legitimation and contestation of discourses and practices. While discourse analysis, in general, provides the means for analysing the details of situated interaction, the concern with recontextualisation enables organisational discourse analysis to take account of both linguistic and other semiotic productions, as well as describe the 'multimodal' logic underpinning structuration in organisations (Iedema and Wodak, 1999:13).

As instances of resemiotisation and recontextualisation are prevalent in the data that will be analysed, Bryman (1998), says that through a qualitative research design, the researcher will be able to investigate and understand the culture and behaviour of individuals and groups from the point of view of those that are being studied. It is suitable for this study, which aims to understand social semiotics and perceptions around the halaal food banding and accessibility.

2.9 Chapter summary

The literature reviewed consisted of the relevant theory which sets a foundation in terms of theory related to the study. As this study is more interested in understanding how the consumers interpret the halaal semiotics. In relation, it would cement the resemiotisation of the halaal concept as well as the semiotics that are used. A combination of the tools utilised in the CMDA (namely CDA

elements, multisemiotic tools- compositional, interactive and representational elements, resemiotisation and recontextualisation) will help in analysing the data the research objectives seeks to answer. This includes extending the MDA analytical tool to examine the resemiotisation aspects of the data collected. While a critical multisemiotic discourse analysis enables the researcher to analyse the objectives of Chapter One in the data analysis of Chapters Four and Five.

CHAPTER 3

TOWARDS A QUALITATIVE INTERPRETATIVE APPROACH

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed overview of the study's methodological approaches in line with the objectives presented in Chapter One. This study presents the methods undertaken in this text-based study and the researcher utilizes qualitative-interpretive research which investigates the instruments of data collection, document analysis and interviews. This chapter also focuses on the qualitative-interpretive approach, research sites and data collection in addition to addressing matters of research ethics. This section concludes with a chapter summary.

3.1 Qualitative-interpretive approach

The understanding of the subjective reality and the meanings attached to a qualitative research design is better aided by interpretive or descriptive research (Flick, 2014). Gelo and Braakmann (2012), state that the qualitative approach views reality as both socially and psychologically constructed and consists of data collected in a non-numerable form such as texts, pictures, video and audio. Due to the data collected being qualitative and interpretive in nature (Cresswell 2007, Gerring, 2017), this approach was thought suitable for this study as it aims to understand social semiotics and perceptions around the halaal food branding and accessibility in regard to Muslim consumers. Bryman (1998) says that through a qualitative research design, the researcher will be able to investigate and understand the culture and behaviour of individuals and groups from the point of view of those that are being studied. With its holistic nature, can better assist in the development of quantitative measures in the event of change in addition to making "context explicit" in certain situations (Mason, 2006). With this approach, the phenomenon surrounding halaal branding semiotics and by extension, the repurposing of ideological meanings to Muslims can be put into perspective and provide better insight to this minority group.

3.2 Research sites

To accomplish this research, the data collection was conducted inside and outside of the selected foodscapes. The research sites where the data collection took place consist of more than 20 foodscapes located both in the northern and southern suburbs of Cape Town and correspond to the displacement of people (Motala, 2013) in the Group Areas Act (1951). The research sites include N1 City, Value Centre, Avonwood Square, Vangate Mall, Wembley Place, Kromboom Centre, Kenilworth Centre, Blueroute Mall, Sun Valley Mall, Harbour Bay, Cape Gate Mall, Tygervalley Mall, Soneiker Mall, Zevenwacht Mall, Airport Shopping Mall, and Delft Mall. Initially, the research sites selected were going to be based on the frequency of visits by the researcher. However, after much consideration, the list extended beyond a few research sites and now included most of the major malls situated in and around the Cape Town area to provide a richer data collection. Outlying areas were also included, followed by a plan of action regarding the research sites and their proximity to each other. Foodscapes such as Wembley Place, Kromboom Centre, Kenilworth Centre, and Vangate Mall are located across the Athlone, Kenilworth, and Tokai areas. Foodscapes like N1 City, Value Centre, Soneiker Mall, Tygervalley Mall, Cape Gate Mall, and Zevenwacht Mall are located in the Goodwood, Durbanville, Brackenfell, and Kuils River areas respectively. Whereas Sun Valley Mall and Harbour Bay are in Simon's Town, and Avonwood Square, Airport Shopping Mall, and Delft Mall are located in Avonwood, Belhar, and Delft. When visiting the research sites in the Durbanville and Soneiker areas I was unsure whether ample data could be collected, because there are not many mosques situated that far north in the Northern Suburbs. The opposite can be said for areas such as Goodwood, Athlone, Goodwood, Belhar, and Kuils River for example. This brought into perspective that the presence or lack of a Muslim community in an area plays a significant role in the type of food accessible to consumers in foodscapes.

3.3 Instruments of data collection

To explore how halaal semiotics are positioned in selected foodscapes, in addition to examining Muslim consumption discourses, the study objectives and research questions seek data on a specific set of variables. Thus, an application of several methods of data collection was executed.

In regard to qualitative traditions, this practice is not new and in an applied field such as evaluation, there is evidence that multiple methodologies have comfortably co-existed (Datta, 1994; De Lisle, 2011). This is because of complex and multiplex social phenomena that researchers might face, further states De Lisle (2011). Ethical clearance for the study was obtained for the period of 23 March 2021 - 22 March 2024 (see Appendix 2). Guided by the abovementioned, a brief description of the methods used to gather the research data follows below.

3.3.1 Document analysis

Like all analytical tools in a qualitative research study, document analysis (see Mafofo, 2015) requires the data to be "examined and interpreted" in order for us to gain understanding, develop empirical knowledge, and elicit meaning says Corbin and Strauss (2008, cited in Brown, 2009:27). Brown (2009:27) defines document analysis as a "systematic procedure" for the review and evaluation of both printed and electronic documents and adds that it consists of images and text which should be recorded without the researcher's intervention. When studying the "same phenomenon" (Denzin, 1970:291) document analysis is often paired up with other qualitative research methods as a means of triangulation. Yin (1994, cited in Brown, 2009:28, see also Karppinen and Moe, 2012) notes that additional sources of data include participant or non-participant observation, interviews, and physical artefacts as the researcher is required to make use of multiple sources of evidence. Furthermore, Brown (2009) states that by drawing upon various methods, the researcher can better justify their findings in addition to reducing any potential biases. In this study, the document analysis consists of pictorial data captured in the research sites because it gives a clear overview of the kinds of semiotics that foodscapes and food companies use to market halaal food products.

The pictorial data are the images captured inside and outside the research, these typically included the halaal certificate, halaal branding semiotics on food products, the halaal fridges in foodscapes as well as any instance of both Arabic and English discourses that served as indicators of halaal products. DeLoache, Pierroutsakos, and David (2003), use the term 'pictorial competence' as a collective to include the perception, interpretation, and use of pictures in relation to its vast level of understanding across individuals. DeLoache, Pierroutsakos, and Troseth (1996) say that full

pictorial competence includes both conceptual knowledge and perceptual capabilities. The researcher looked for where the foodscapes such as Pick 'n Pay, Checkers Hyper, or Woolworths were located before going to the malls' food court/s. The researcher also captured any other types of foodscapes which were issued a halaal certificate. These were the foodscapes that were not generally located in the food court, rather one would walk by them while shopping. When entering the foodscapes, the researcher informed the managers about the research and asked for permission before capturing pictorial data using a cellphone camera. In some cases, the researcher ensured that the images captured contained no human elements, but if it was unavoidable the researcher blurred the image as a means of protecting the individual's identity. The visual data was collected over the span of two years from 2020 – 2021. The visual data set consists of images of various semiotics used to brand and position halaal foods. The data captured consisted of images both inside and outside the selected foodscapes. In an effort to avoid a state of confusion, the data captured through my smartphone's camera was put into folders with the appropriate name and date, and later on, they were transferred to the researcher's laptop device where they were sorted and stored.

3.3.2 Interviews

Interviews were another tool that the researcher used to obtain data, as they provided in-depth information in relation to the "phenomenon under examination" (Polkinghorne, 2005 cited in Knox and Burkard, 2009). Being able to get a first account from Muslim consumers on halaal branding semiotics proved to be invaluable to this study. Open-ended questions were asked as this allowed for a richer dataset in addition to receiving an unencumbered view of each participant's stance in regard to halaal branding semiotics and the methods employed by foodscapes. The researcher selected twelve Muslim participants from the ages of 20 - 60 years old, residing in and around the Cape Town area. Through the purposive sampling method, the researcher was able to gather a wide spectrum of rich information regarding halaal food semiotics in foodscapes within the allocated time frame of this study. The purposive sampling method acted as an informant selection tool when choosing participants for the study based on the qualities they possessed (Tongco, 2007). It is imperative to note that the researcher herself is Muslim and practices Islam, thus finding reliable participants was done efficiently through the WhatsApp social media platform.

As the research questions asked are well-linked to ideologies within Muslim communities which the researcher is a part of, little preparation was needed in terms of understanding the Cape Malay culture before acquiring participants for the study (Snedecor, 1939; Tongco, 2007). To ensure that all ethical procedures were upheld while conducting this study, the research participants were provided with a brief outline of the study (see Appendix 3), a consent form (see Appendix 4), and a stimulus-text interview (see Mafofo, 2015) questions (see Appendix 5) upon contact before the interviews. After the initial contact with my participants, we then arranged a date and time for the interview. As the interviews were done through Zoom, signed consent forms were collected both before and after the interviews were conducted. Some interviews were conducted on the same day and the participants sent the signed consent forms via email and WhatsApp. The researcher also received their verbal consent before the interview actually started, they were told that the interviews were going to be recorded and were asked to give consent which they did and that their participation was completely voluntary and they were free to stop participating if they wished so. They were also given the contact details of both the researcher and the supervisor at the University of the Western Cape (see consent form in Appendix 3) in case they needed to verify the authenticity of the research before they participated. The participants were also informed that the interview data would be transcribed and later stored in a secure Google Drive folder, which only the researcher and my supervisor would have access to. Furthermore, the researcher assured the participants that their identities would remain confidential and anonymous, and their names were substituted with pseudonyms throughout the duration of this study. In the case of a participant wanting to withdraw from the study, they were informed that their data was going to be disposed of and their confidentiality upheld. The participants were cooperative and none of them withdrew from the interviews.

During the interviews, the researcher introduced both herself and the implications of the study before presenting the stimulus-text interview questions. It was also confirmed that they each received a copy of the necessary documents as mentioned above before briefly reading through the information sheet (see Appendix 3). Participants were asked if they had any questions regarding the nature of my study before asking the stimulus-text interview questions (see Appendix 5). Open-ended questions were asked during the stimulus-text interviews concerning the participants' perceptions of the halaal semiotics, food accessibility in foodscapes and the semiotics

used in foodscapes. These questions allowed for discussions regarding religion, foodscapes, and even the matter of storage. The interviews were conducted via the Zoom platform and adhered to the Covid-19 regulations, as the period for this data collection spanned from 2021-2022 due to time constraints. The text data was sourced through the recorded interview audio which was later transcribed. The researcher used the Descript, an automatic transcription software to assist with transcribing the audio data. This software also helped in categorising, identifying and labelling the speakers easily. Once the transcriptions were completed, they were exported to a Word document where the researcher edited the transcriptions as needed. After the editing process was completed, the researcher uploaded the participant interviews, consent forms and transcribed files onto their Google Drive into respective and secure folders and started processing the data as indicated below under the data analysis section.

3.4 Data analysis

Conducting a data analysis under qualitative research allows for an "interpretive understanding" when deconstructing the meanings of a social phenomenon by uncovering the "truths that exist in the world" in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of reality (Thorne, 2000:68). Data analysis methods utilised in this study combines elements of CDA and MDA to form a CMDA (see Chapter Three) in order to critically analyse both the pictorial and interview data obtained.

Guided by the qualitative methods of data handling, the researcher coded the data in relevant themes that were related to the objectives of the study. Then applied the CMDA theory and its tenets as outlined in Chapter Two to make sense of the branding semiotics used to position halaal food and examine the experiences of the selected Muslim consumers in different foodscapes in Cape Town. CDA (see Van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 1995; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Blommaert, 2005; Wodak and Meyer, 2009) helps in revealing the intertextualised and ideological semiotics that are drawn upon in branding selling and consuming the Halaal food. Kress and Van Leeuwen's MDA (1996), forms part of the study's theoretical framework and it is an efficient analytical tool to examine the discourse, pictorial, video, and audio data. Particular elements of the MDA include the compositional, interactive and representational metafunctions. The compositional metafunction looks at how elements, such as framing, salience, and information

value as discussed in Chapter Two, are arranged in order to produce various textual meanings (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). The interactive metafunction focuses on the modes used to create a social relationship between the producer of a sign and the receiver of the same sign (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). Lastly, the representational metafunction examines the kinds of semiotic modes which represents "aspects of the world" as humans experience them. This metafunction zooms into the relationship between individuals and modes used to represent specific objects and their link to a world which exists outside the "representational system" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996:42). Resemiotisation is also used to understand how the semiotics are carried across (Banda and Mafofo, 2016) in positioning the Halaal food and the interpretations of the meanings they carry. The drawn upon themes were discussed in relation to the relevant literature review on the commodification of the halaal concept, how the halaal brand can be seen as being a brand within a brand as well as how smaller foodscapes exist within a foodscape. Hence, this study focused on the visual analysis of halaal semiotics and the compositional analysis of participant interviews. The analysis aimed to uncover how Muslim consumers interpret the signs used to identify halaal food and therefore extends to uncovering this social phenomenon under the guise of halaal branding semiotics and the marketisation of this minority group in South Africa.

3.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided a detailed outline on the methodological approaches that the researcher used when conducting the study. This includes a brief section on the qualitative-interpretive approach, the sites where data was collected, and the instruments that were used to collect both the pictorial and interview data as well as the data analysis and researcher ethics. Additionally, the researcher also stated why the qualitative-interpretive approach and participant interviews were used as it results in establishing a greater meaning for the social phenomena under examination. Furthermore, it is noted that the specific research sites selected for this study have ties to the Groups Areas Act (1951). The next chapter reports on the research findings and discussions as per the relevant literature and theoretical framework presented in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER 4

A LOOK AT SEMIOTICS USED TO BRAND AND POSITION HALAAL FOODS IN FOODSCAPES

4.0 Introduction

As stated, Muslims are obligated to eat halaal-certified foods as per their religious beliefs. That makes them the majority of the consumers who purchase halaal-certified food in foodscapes. South Africa has five halaal certification organisations, and each of these organisations ensures that the conditions of the food products comply with Islamic Sharia law. This study, therefore, is interested in understanding the semiotics that companies and producers use to present the halaal brand in selected South African foodscapes in Cape Town. As stipulated in Chapter One, this chapter presents the data and analysis in trying to answer Objectives One and Two. The first objective was to identify the kinds of semiotics used to brand and position halaal food from haram food, and the second objective was to investigate how halaal semiotics and their ideological meanings are repurposed in positioning halaal food. Using the CMDA theoretical framework, the sections below start with looking at the branding semiotics and positioning of halaal foods in foodscapes. Even though foodscapes generally refer to spaces where individuals would go in order to acquire food, in this study, there are three major foodscapes namely: supermarkets, restaurants and butcheries in the shopping malls visited (refer to the research sites in Chapter Three). The dataset collected consists of three prominent supermarkets found across each research site namely, Pick 'n Pay, Checkers Hyper, Woolworths and Spar, which have a butchery or meat section available in store besides the butcheries visited. The restaurants include selected shops around food courts in and outside shopping malls

4.1 Semiotics used to brand halaal foods in foodscapes

This section of the analysis focuses on the branding semiotics used on the halaal food products. The two main semiotics used to brand and position halaal food in selected foodscapes are certificates and logos. Depending on the foodscape, i.e. a supermarket, restaurant or butchery, the

semiotic differs. Even though foodscapes generally refer to spaces where individuals would go in order to acquire food, in this study the researcher has differentiated between two types of foodscapes. The first type of foodscape is spaces where one would go to buy and consume food such as a fast-food restaurant, or takeaway, whereas the second type of foodscape would be spaces where one would go to purchase food such as a supermarket. Despite the fact that food can be purchased in both spaces, their environments are different even if they may offer the same products and services. For instance, in a supermarket such as 'Pick n Pay' or 'Checkers Hyper', one can purchase a pie or a doughnut and consume it after it has been paid for, and a similar scenario to this would be to purchase a pie at a fast-food place like 'King Pie' or at a 'Pie City'. However, with the inclusion of food products, already prepared food such as pies, sandwiches, chicken and more can be purchased at a 'Pick n Pay' or a 'Checkers Hyper'. These types of supermarkets also sell canned foods, fruits, vegetables, breads, pre-packaged meats, and all sorts of other food products that are tightly sealed. A supermarket allows for a wider range of products available including food products to be provided as opposed to a fast-food restaurant.

There are six recognisable halaal authorities in South Africa are Shura, the Muslim Judicial Council, the National Independent Halaal Trust, the Halaal Foundation of South Africa, the Islamic Council of South Africa and the South African National Halaal Authority (see Chapter Two). Each of the abovementioned halaal authorities has its own identifiable semiotics. The researcher utilizes the compositional and interactive metafunctions of Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996; 2006) MDA tool as well as the concepts of resemiotisation (Iedema, 2001; 2003) and recontextualisation (Iedema and Wodak, 1999), to identify and make sense of the semiotics of these halaal authorities. The compositional metafunction examines the arrangement of the information value, salience and framing, which are all compositional elements. The information value concerns areas such as the Ideal, Real, Given, New, Centre and Margins (Kress, 1996; 2006) which strategically work together to attract the viewer's attention. The Ideal presents the viewer with the most prominent part of the image and the Real provides factual information to the Viewer (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006). The Given contains known information and the New contains unknown information (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006). Lastly, the Centre presents the "nucleus of information", and the Margins contain "dependent elements" which may combine with the Given, New, Ideal or Real (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:196) Whereas the interactive metafunction

zooms in on the social relationship that was established by the use of certain modes between the receiver and producer of a sign (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006).

As stated previously, Iedema (2001:33) says that with resemiotisation, "each semiotic element has its own specific (systemic) constraints and affordances", so while certain modes are repeated, their meaning would change depending on their context. Recontextualisation has become a means for "edifying meaning" and that it simultaneously construes the "material presence" and "social discursive relevance", this means that recontextualisation allows for the other multimodal productions to occur via organisation discourse analysis in terms of legitimisation (Iedema and Wodak, 1999:13).

4.1.1 Shura

Shura was established in 1968 (Shura, n.d.) and their services appear to be bound to the halaal certification of fast-food foodscapes. Captured and labelled as Figure 4.1, is a Shura certificate that was issued to the "Pie City" located at "VANGATE MALL" in "ATHLONE" for the business of "FAST FOOD". Information value here looks at the features of Centre in combination with the Given, New and Ideal (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006). Where the Ideal value is located, we can see an image of a mosque and directly under this Shura's contact details are found. Mosques are the place of worship for Muslims (Stacey, 2012), and this is seen on the top of the certificate. Although the main form of semiotics is a certificate, they do have a brand logo and sticker which is used in foodscapes. Apart from the Given (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006), which tells the public to which foodscape this certificate was issued, this statement assures the public of the certificate's validity in regard to serving halaal food. The date issued as well as the certification expiry date is also clear to see. Also stated on the certificate is the fact that the foodscape has to "adhere" to the "terms and conditions" as per the "contract", if not Shura has the power to revoke the certification from the foodscape.

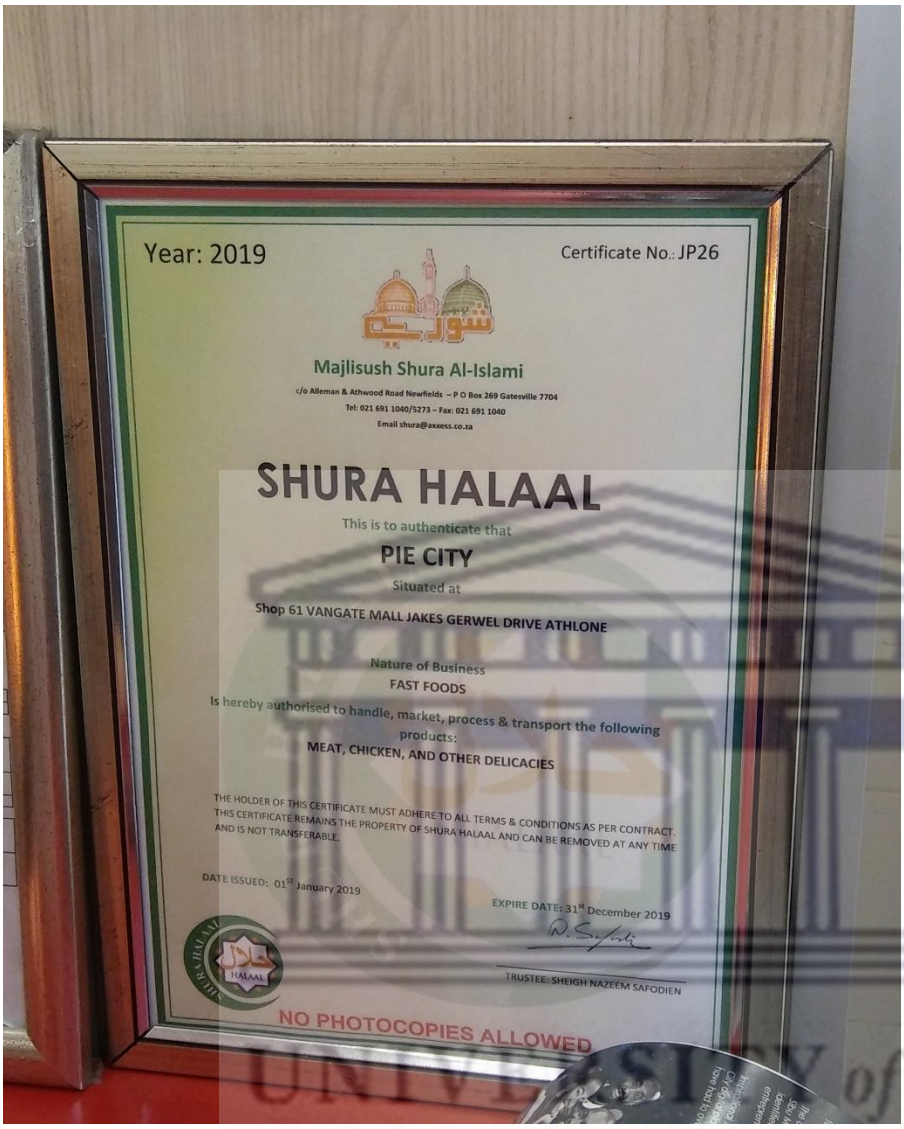

Figure 4.1: Shura Certificate

In Quadrant 1 where the Ideal is found (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006), we can see the year the certificate was issued and in Quadrant 2, we can see the certification number this certificate holds. In the Margins of Quadrant 3, Shura's logo is present and in the Margins of Quadrant 4, the signature of the Shura's representative who authorised this certificate on can be seen. Compared to the Information Value diagram (see Figure 2.1 in Chapter Two), Shura's contact details are positioned above the Centre of the certificate rather than in the Real, and information relating to the New value such as the date of issue is positioned at the top-left corner. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:196), have cautioned this in newspaper articles, however it can be seen present in certificates

too. The logo in Figure 4.2 below was captured inside the Burger King at KC and it is easily visible once entering the foodscape.

Figure 4.2: Shura Logo and Sticker

Apart from acting as a logo, it also doubles as a sticker and was positioned on the wall adjacent to the 'pick up' counter. By placing the sticker there, the foodscape foregrounds the halaal brand and plainly states that it is still halaal certified thereby assuring consumers that it is operating within the recognisable Muslim standards. This is important because, after the 1st of September 2019, approximately half of the Burger King franchises now serve pork on their menu at locations that were previously considered to be halaal only. This notice along with a list of both halaal and non-halaal franchises was posted on their website (Burger King, 2021). The sticker is able to present a sense of power in terms of brand association (Fairclough, 1989; Blommaert, 2005). This sticker both brands and positions the foodscape as being halaal, and a safe place for Muslim consumers to purchase from them.

This logo and sticker above comprise of a green crescent moon to the left, and a green circle placed behind a star-like shape in the middle. In the crescent moon, the words "Shura Halaal" is written.

Written in a star-like shape we can see the English transliteration in black "HALAAL", and Arabic "حَلَال" in gold, of the word. We can see how resemiotisation and intertextuality occur. As mentioned before, resemiotisation looks at how semiotics are repurposed (Iedema, 2001; 2003; Banda and Mafofo, 2016), whereas intertextuality makes use of specific discourse features from another genre to establish a relationship with the reader of the sign (Koller, 2010; Bullo, 2017). The word halaal is repeated in addition to the use of different discourses present, one text appears in the English transliteration while the other is in Arabic. Both texts on the logo brands and positioned it as being halaal certified. The sticker that acts as a semiotic is actually just their logo. The watermark which is actually their logo is seen on the certificate as well. Their logo consists of a green crescent moon holding a green circle. In the circle, there appears to be a multi-pointed star, with the outer points tipped in gold. The inner points form part of a white shape with a black border.

The most salient features of the certificate are the image of the mosque on top, the logo positioned in the bottom-left corner, the logo being watermarked, the colours green and black as well as the font size. The image of the mosque, the symbol and the word halaal on these semiotics act as indicators that this is associated with Muslims and the Islamic religion. Thus, it emphasizes the fact that this certificate would be significant to Muslims and because it would be placed in a foodscape it only further supports the ideology that Muslims consume halaal foods. The colour green is used on the whole of the certificate, while there appears to be an enlarged image of their logo printed as a watermark.

The framing of the written mode works well with the visual modes present in the semiotic. Besides the certificate being seen as one semiotic, the logo is another semiotic that is placed on it. This means that this certificate can be seen as a semiotic within a semiotic. Concerning the written discourse of the certificate, it is well placed and it does not appear to overwhelm the other elements in the certificate. In the logo, we can see how the words "SHURA HALAAL" is written on the inside of the crescent moon in white. On the white, inside of the star-like shape, we see the other written discourse "حَلَال" in gold and "HALAAL" in black, being displayed, again resemiotisation of the text. The written discourse here is communicating that the logo belongs to Shura and that it is also halaal. Shura semiotics are mostly used as certificates in foodscapes such as Burger King.

The modes used in these semiotics reinforce the interactive relationship between the sign producer and Muslim consumer in terms of ideological meanings such as the word “halaal” as well as the usage of a mosque and the specific shades of green that can be seen across both semiotics. The colour green is held in high esteem in the Islamic religion as it is referenced to several times in the Quran in addition to being associated with the garden, life, spring and resurrection (Sisters Magazine, 2019). Whereas in the western context, the colour green relates to “hope” and “justice” (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:227).

4.1.2 Muslim Judicial Council Halaal Trust (MJC)

The Muslim Judicial Council also known as the MJC was established in 1945 in South Africa, however, they were only registered for the halaal certification and other activities in the halaal industry in the year 1986 (MJC, n.d.). Their services issue halaal certifications (see Figures 4.3 – 4.8) to both fast-food foodscapes and supermarket food products. The corresponding information value features here are the Centre, Ideal and Real.

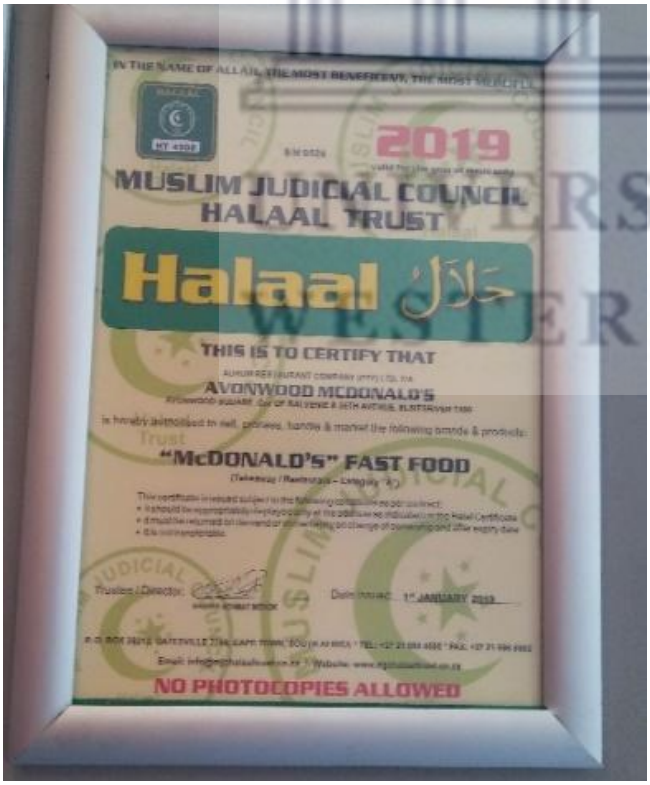

Figure 4.3: MJC Certificate Fast-food

Written boldly just above the centre of the certificate shown in Figure 4.3 above, are the words "Halaal حَلَال" on the yellow and green watermarked background, thus making this the certificate's most salient feature. The English transliteration accompanies the Arabic discourse, thus, resemiotisation and intertextuality occur here too. In terms of information value, in the Ideal section of the certificate, we can see that salient features were used to make it more visible to Muslim consumers (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006). However, this can also be seen as enhancing and authenticating the council's name; "MUSLIM JUDICIAL COUNCIL HALAAL TRUST" (Figure 4.3). Across the top of the Ideal value section, the phrase, "IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE MOST BENEFICENT, THE MOST MERCIFUL" is displayed. Bayuni (2012) says that a Muslim would say this small prayer before performing any deed. This small prayer holds both elements of ideology and power (Blommaert, 2005), and this displays the interactive relationship between the MJC and the Muslim consumer by drawing on specific Islamic ideologies. Muslims believe in Allah (Elbih, 2015:113) and by having this small prayer positioned at the top of the certificate, a type of resemiotisation (Iedema, 2001; 2003) and recontextualisation (Iedema and Wodak, 1999; Banda and Mafofo, 2016) takes place, in the way that this particular foodscape has now become blessed through the certification.

In Quadrant 1, a green-square-shaped MJC logo is placed, and in Quadrant 2, the year for which the certificate is issued can be seen in red bold letters. Below the centre of the certificate, we see that it is issued to "Avonwood McDonald's", which is followed by the details pertaining to the certificate's validity. In Quadrant 3, the MJC's authoritative representative's signature is placed, and in Quadrant 4, we see the date it was issued. In the Real section of the certificate, we can find the contact details for the MJC and below that again in red, bold print are the words "NO PHOTOCOPIES ALLOWED" displayed appear to be shouting at the viewer (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006). The MJC certificate also makes use of the word "certify" instead of authenticate. Moreover, there is a list of stipulations which need to be followed by the recipient and the MJC's contact information is displayed on the certificate too.

This certificate is easily found in foodscapes such as a McDonald's (Figure 4.3). In addition to this certificate, the MJC does issue two other certificates and while their presentation differs from the one analysed above in terms of colour, its content and purpose remains the same.

Figure 4.4: MJC Certificate Black

The certificate above (Figure 4.4) is one of two certificate designs the MJC uses when issuing certificates to be placed in meat and poultry fridges in foodscapes such as supermarkets and butcheries. This certificate uses the same layout as the certificate in Figure 4 when looking at its information value features. Noticeable differences between Figures 4.4 and 4. 5, are the placement MJC logo and the certification validity period. Instead, the salient features here are replaced by the two logos positioned in either top corner of the document. In Figure 5, we can see that this logo is emphasised by its placement in gold in the top-left corner as well as the green-square-shaped counterpart in the top-right corner. At the top of the Ideal section is the halaal authority name (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006), "MUSLIM JUDICIAL COUNCIL HALAAL TRUST" and close to the Centre of the document it reads the "CONFIRMATION OF CERTIFICATION" that the meat available in "WOOLWORTHS - N1 CITY MALL" is acquired from "EXCELLENT MEAT PACKERS CAPE". In addition to providing confirmation that the meat sold at Woolworths - N1 City Mall is halaal, this certification also informs Muslim consumers of the butchery that supplies the Woolworths retailers. In regard to the salient features, this certificate (Figure.4.4) forgoes, the eye-catching green, this certificate only makes use of the colours black and white.

In the Real section (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006) of the certificate we can see the signature of the MJC's authoritative representative, the MJC logo in black this time and a reference number for this certificate. Directly under this there is a certification validity notice which reads, "THIS LETTER IS VALID UNTIL 31ST DECEMBER 2019" (Figure 4.5). Compared to the certificate used in fast-food spaces, this notice is place at the bottom of the certificate instead of the top-right corner.

Figure 4.5: MJC Certificate Green

The second certificate issued to supermarkets and butcheries combines aspects of the certificates shown in Figures 4.3 and 4.4. Although the layout of this certificate (Figure 4.5) looks similar to that of the certificate shown in Figure 3, it does not possess all of its salient qualities. As seen in Figure 4.5 on the next page, the green and yellow watermarked background is replaced with a plain

white one. In the top-right corner above the year of validity, “2019”, an additional feature includes the regulation as to where this certificate may be placed. This regulation stipulates that the certificate is only to be displayed at the “POULTRY COUNTER” of a supermarket and by extension signifies the geosemiotic delimitation of the Halaal signage in this foodscape. Therefore, this document acts as a means to verify that “PICK ‘N PAY FAMILY STORE - PAROW” sells halaal poultry products from this particular fridge (Figure 4.5).

In regard to framing (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006), we can see how the colour green, the placement of the MJC’s logos, and the font size claiming the halaal status of a foodscape works together. The phrase “HALAAL حَلَال”, is written in large letters and placed in the middle of the certificates in Figures 4.4 and 4.5. Whereas in Figure 4.4, the logo of the MJC is displayed thrice on the document. Once each in the opposing top corners, and then another time in the middle at the bottom of the page. The three logos present can be found on packaged food products. In Figures 4.3 – 4.5, a green-square-shaped logo can be found and in Figure 4.4 there are two separate circular-shaped logos, one in gold and the other in black. The circular logo which comprises of the crescent moon and star with the “MUSLIM JUDICIAL COUNCIL” written on the circular interior, is actually apart from the square logo, thus the MJC’s logo in this context becomes repurposed and seems to function as a stamp on food products and the watermarks on the certificate. The circular stamp is placed in the middle, written in white. The differences in the presentation of this logo are in the colour and shape that is printed on the packaging.

Figures 4.6 – 4.8, on the next page, show three different dairy products that are all certified by the MJC. The first one, YogoFun, a Parmalat product in Figure 4.6 consists of the colours purple, yellow and white, with the halaal branded visible under the manufacturer information on the side of the carton in a navy blue or a dark purple. This is different compared to the logo that is used on the certificate in Figures 4.3 – 4.5. The second product is Orley Whip (Figure 4.7), which is a kind of dessert cream topping. The packaging of this product consists of the colours light blue, with the text appearing in the colours white and dark blue. The halaal brand can be seen under the barcode on the product’s packaging in a dark blue. The last product is Marvello, a margarine product that uses the colour yellow with its text in green on the packaging. Unlike the first two products, the halaal brand is placed on the bottom of the butter as opposed to the side of it.

Figure 4.6: YogoFun

Figure 4.7: Orley Whip Dessert Topping

Figure 4.8: Marvello

The salient and framing values of the logos depend on the packaging of the products. As seen above the two food products were certified by the same body, yet their logo is different in appearance. Framing usually positions the logo printed on the back of the product and positions it with the nutritional value and ingredient information. With the difference in the appearance of the logo, resemiotisation takes place. This difference in appearance still holds onto the originality of the logo and its association with the body (Iedema, 2001; 2003). Present in the logo we can see the name of the halaal authority, "MUSLIM JUDICIAL COUNCIL" and how both the crescent moon and star symbol as well as the English transliteration of the word 'halaal' have become resemiotised as the MJC's branding semiotics. This clearly marks the product fit for Muslim consumption while reiterating that it is the MJC who provides this assurance. The MJC provides certification in the form of the certificates and logos mentioned above to an array of foodscapes and food producers, including McDonald's, Debonair's, KFC, Excellent Meat Packers Cape, Woolworths, Pick 'n Pay, Checkers, County Fair, Parmalat, and Al' Amien Foods.

4.1.3 The National Independent Halaal Trust (NIHT)

The National Independent Halaal Trust (NIHT), formerly known as the Independent Halaal Trust (IHT) was "formed" and "constituted" in 1992 (NIHT, n.d.). NIHT certifies foods available in both foodscapes as shown in Figures 4.9 – 4.13 below, with the information value features, Centre, Given, Ideal and Real present.

Figure 4.9: NIHT Certificate

Unlike the first two halaal authority certificates which used a similar layout in regard to information value, the NIHT certificate looks different. In the Given section, we see that the NIHT logo is enlarged and it too comprises of the image of a mosque on the top of the logo with the word "HALAAL" written across the dome of the mosque. In the middle of the logo the word halaal is written in Arabic "حَلَال". At the bottom of the logo, the acronym "NIHT" is placed above the organisation's full name of "National Independent Halaal Trust" (Figure 4.9). In the Ideal section, the words "HALAAL CERTIFICATE" with the phrase, "In the Name of Allah, The Beneficent, and The Merciful" directly above it, this is seen in the MJC certificate as well. Below this, just

above the Centre of the document, we see that the certificate was issued to the "CINNABON" in the "TYGERVALLEY SHOPPING CENTRE" located in "BELLVILLE" (Figure 4.9). Underneath it, we can see that the foodscape is "CERTIFIED HALAAL", and that the date issued and authoritative representative has signed this certificate to ensure its validity. The certification period dates can be found in the area between the Centre and Real of the certificate. The contact details for NIHT's "Head Office" are located to the right of this and at the bottom of the certificate along the Real are the "NO PHOTOCOPIES" and "MISUSE OF THIS DOCUMENT" warnings (Figure 1).

The salient features (see Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006) of the NIHT certificate consists of a large font, capitalised letters and the colours green, white and red (Figure 4.9). The framing of the salient features present shows us how quickly this certificate positions the foodscape as halaal certified. This is accomplished by the enlarged logo and text visible in the colours green and white. As seen with the previous halaal authorities, the colour green plays a prominent role among the modes present in this semiotic.

There are three variations of the NIHT logo which appears on food products as captured in Figures 4.10 – 4.12, and the halaal brand on each of these products compliments the food producer's packaging. Figures 4.10 – 4.12 are displayed on the next few pages and consist of products such as Pioneer Foods, Kellogg's Corn Flakes and House of Coffees Ground VIP Gold Medium Roast, respectfully. In Figure 4.10, the NIHT logo comprises of the colours black and white only, whereas in Figure 4.11 there is the colourful logo that features on the NIHT certificate. Figure 4.12 is similar to Figure 4.10; however, Figure 4.12 uses the colours blue and white to match the coffee product's packaging. Though most of the colours chosen for these semiotics have ties to Islamic culture, in some instances like the above, the colours chosen were explicitly done for aesthetic reasons. The logos in Figures 4.10 and 4.11 can be found in the Real section of the food product where there is manufacturer's information. Figure 4.10's brand is positioned on the side of the box just below the combined Real and New sections, while Figure 4.11's is positioned at the bottom of the box in the Real section. Whereas the brand for Figure 4.12 can be found in the New section of the product which provides brewing instructions for the coffee grounds.

Figure 4.10: NIHT Logo Pioneer Foods

Figure 4.11: NIHT Logo Kellogg's Corn Flakes

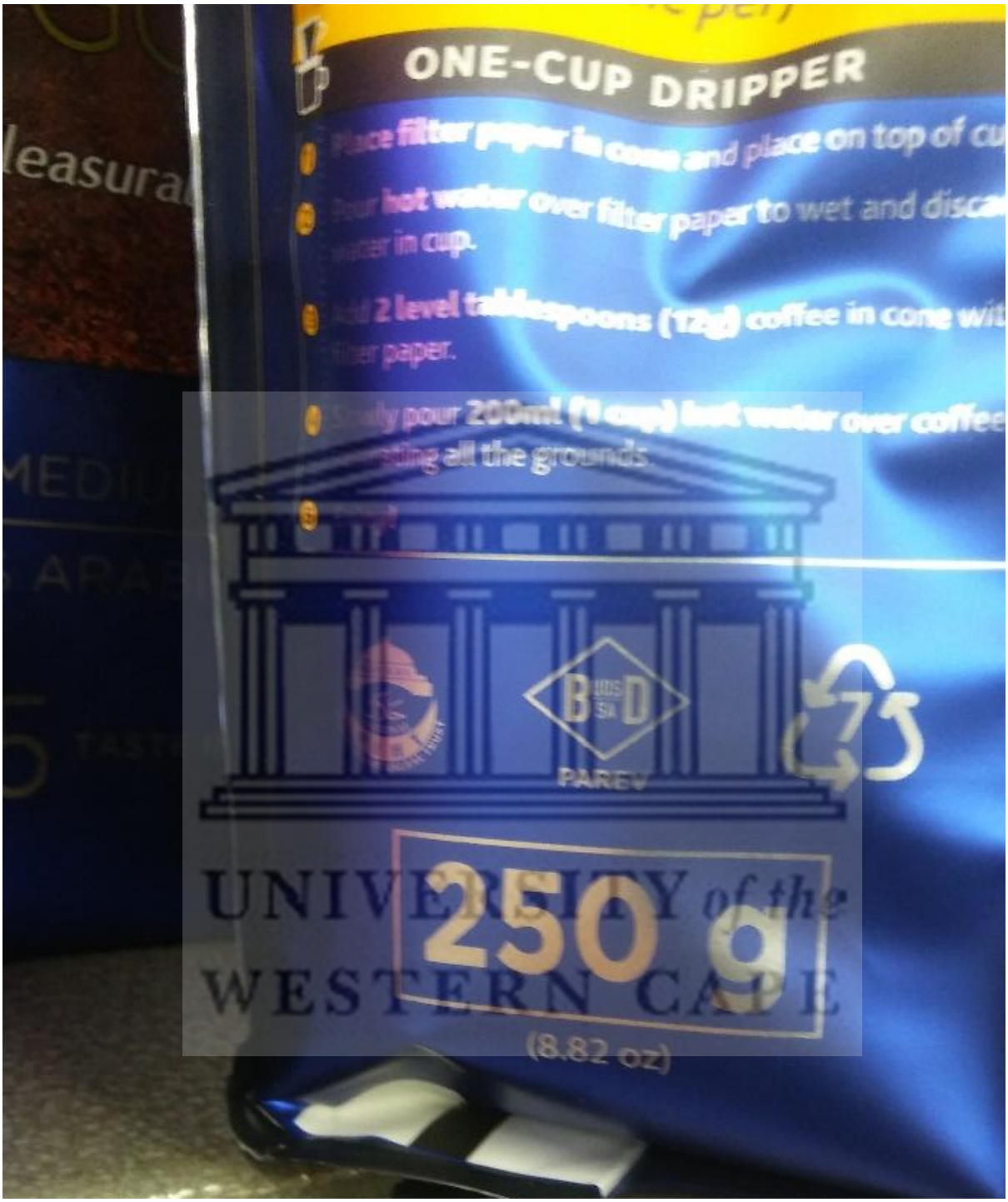

Figure 4.12: NIHT Logo House of Coffee

Figure 4.13: House of Coffees Display

The most salient feature of NIHT logo on the "PIONEER FOODS" (Figure 4.10) box is the fact that it is in black and white. This is very minimalistic as compared to the logo seen on the certificate (Figure 4.9). The colour of the logo compliments the colours red, purple, orange, white and black used in the packaging of the product. It is positioned near the bottom of the box along with the other stamps regarding the status of the product in terms of packaging. While the most salient features of the logo on the "Kellogg's Corn Flakes" (Figure 4.11) cereal box is in the colours green, white and red as it is displayed so on the certificate (Figure 4.9). Lastly, the salient features of the logo displayed on the "HOUSE OF COFFEES GROUND VIP GOLD MEDIUM ROAST" is the colour of the halaal brand in white against the product's blue packaging (Figures 4.12 and 4.13).

This noticeable change in the appearance of the same logo further proves my earlier statement regarding the packaging of food producer products. Because even if the halaal body would have their branded logo displayed with certain colours, those colours might not reflect well on the colours involved in the packaging of the food product. This gives food producers more than one choice when deciding on a halaal brand to be placed on their product. As seen above, NIHT issues

certificates both to foodscapes and food producers. Besides foodscape and food products analysed in this section, NIHT does provide an extended list of foodscapes and other industry businesses that they certify available on their website database.

4.1.4 The Halaal Foundation of South Africa

The Halaal Foundation of South Africa (HFSA) is a Durban-based halaal authority and they provide certifications to both foodscapes and food producers. Like NIHT, an extended list of certified outlets can be found on HFSA's website database (HFSA, n.d). Figures 4.14 – 4.16 shows the certificate and the logo of HFSA respectfully.

The certificates in Figures 4.14 and 4.15, makes use salient features such as the colours green, gold, yellow, black, red and white as well as a multi-pointed star. In regard to information value, we can see written across the Ideal section of the certificate is, "HALAAL FOUNDATION OF SOUTH AFRICA", and below that we can find the certification issue number (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006). The written text is displayed in both black and white, with black being the more dominant choice of the two. In the top right-hand corner, the year that the certificate is issued for, which is "2019" is visible. In the Centre of the certificate, we see which foodscape this was commissioned for, "Hungry Lion Cape Gate", situated at "Cape Gate Shopping Centre" and it is located in "Kraaifontein" (Figure 4.14). While the second certificate shown was issued for the "BAKERS CLUB" store in VANGATE MALL", which is located in "ATHLONE" (Figure 4.15). Additional text on the certificate in Figure 4.14 states that the foodscape is "APPROVED TO PROCESS AND MARKET FAST FOODS", and the certificate in Figure 4.15 is for "BAKERY, CONFECTIONERY & PIES"; here the implication of the certificate is once again stated differently. This text positions the foodscape and its location clearly to the viewer. While overlapping both Quadrants 3 and 4 along the Real of the certificate, we find the halaal body's authorisation signatures, validity period and the "NO PHOTOCOPIES ALLOWED" highlighted in red as a warning (Figure 4.14). The organisation's contact details can be found in the lower-right corner of Quadrant 4.

The framing of the text in the certificate is in all caps, and their font size differs. This could be in relation to the importance of the message the text is communicating, because the body's name is positioned in a larger font than the rest of the certificate. It is similar with the positioning of the logo, as it is enlarged and placed in the top-left corner. Their logo appears to be a resemiotised image of a prize ribbon, as if the halaal authority is granted this foodscape a prize by positioning them as a halaal establishment.

Figure 4.14: HFSA Certificate Hungry Lion

Figure 4.15: HFSA Certificate Bakers Club

Figure 4.16: HFSA Logo

The most salient feature of HFSA's logo, is the Arabic, "حَلَال" written in white (Figure 4.16). The rest of this multi-pointed star is green, with a yellow ring in the middle which holds the organisation's name in green. The organisation's name, "HALAAL FOUNDATION OF SOUTH AFRICA" (Figure 4.16), is framed in all caps and appears to circle the Arabic discourse placed at its center. As stated earlier, this halaal authority certifies an array of foodscapes and food products.

4.1.5 The Islamic Council of South Africa (ICSA)

The Islamic Council of South Africa (ICSA) was established in the year 1975 and is located in Cape Town (ICSA, 2019). ICSA certifications are commonly seen in fast-food establishments and rarely on food products in supermarkets. The images captured and displayed in Figures 4.17 – 4.22, are examples of the ICSA halaal branding semiotics.

The information values present on the certificate found in Figure 4.17, are the Ideal, Real, Centre and Given. (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006) Across the Ideal in white and green letters is the halaal authority's name, "Islamic Council of South Africa Fund (Pty) Ltd" as well as the claim that they are a member of the "World Halal Council" (Figure 4.17). Underneath this, we see that the certificate here is to "certify" the foodscape "SAUSAGE SALOON CAPE GATE" (Figure 4.17). In the Centre, it is stated that the certificate was authorised by ICSA's "Judicial Committee", and just below this in the Real section we find ICSA's contact details. Also included in this section are the notices that this certificate is the "property of ICSA" and that it is "not transferable" nor are "alterations and photocopies allowed", written in black (Figure 4.17). With the other certifications analysed, this warning was written in red. While not as eye-catching, it still holds a sense of finality and is not to be argued with, as this certificate gives the foodscape the power to operate as a halaal establishment.

Figure 4.18 is a zoomed in shot of the ICSA logo visible on the certificate. The way in which ICSA's logo (Figure 4.18) and the traditional crescent moon and star differ is based on the fact that ICSA's name is written inside the crescent moon, with the star placed above "ICSA" and , "حَلَال" which is positioned beneath each other, on top of the crescent moon shape. In the opposite corner we can see that the year "2019" is displayed, and slightly under this we can the other logo. The second logo belongs to the "WORLD HALAL COUNCIL" (Figure 4.18), which is a worldwide "federation of halaal certifying bodies" established in Jakarta, Indonesia (WHC, n.d.). Their logo comprises of a global sphere with the organisation's name, "WORLD HALAL COUNCIL" on the perimeter of the sphere, while the Arabic, "حَلَال" is displayed in the centre of the globe, and the abbreviation, "WHC" is positioned at the bottom (Figure 4.19). This logo claims that ICSA is a member of this council.

The salient features of this certificate (Figure 4.18) consist of the colours green, white, black, yellow and gold, along with two logos which are printed on opposite sides of the certificate. In the top left-hand corner we find the ICSA logo, which comprises of the crescent moon and star symbol. The reuse of this symbol shows us an example of resemiotisation of a mode (Iedema, 2001; 2003; Banda and Mafofo, 2016).

The framing of words in this symbol puts emphasis on the foodscape's halaal status (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006). The halaal body's name, status of the foodscape and the name of the foodscape is positioned in a bigger and bolder font (Figure 4.17), compared to the other written modes on the certificate. The body's name is displayed in the colour green, while the rest of the text present is displayed in the colour black.

The ICSA logo is also repurposed as a stamp (Figure 4.20) and sticker (Figure 4.21). Figure 4.21 shows the logo as a stamp on a "Crisp n Golden" poultry product (Figure 4.20). Whereas Figure 4.20 presents us with the colourful green and yellow logo which is now a sticker placed on the window of the "ROCKSTAR CAFÉ" in Zevenwacht Mall (see Figure 4.21, and Figure 4.22 circled in white). This sticker acts an immediate indicator of the halaal status of this establishment, thus resulting in the recontextualisation (Iedema and Wodak, 1999) of the halaal concept in this particular foodscape by positioning it as being halaal-certified.

Figure 4.17: ICSA Certificate

Figure 4.18: ICSA Logo

Figure 4.19: World Halaal Council Logo

Figure 4.20: ICSA Stamp

Figure 4.21: ICSA Sticker

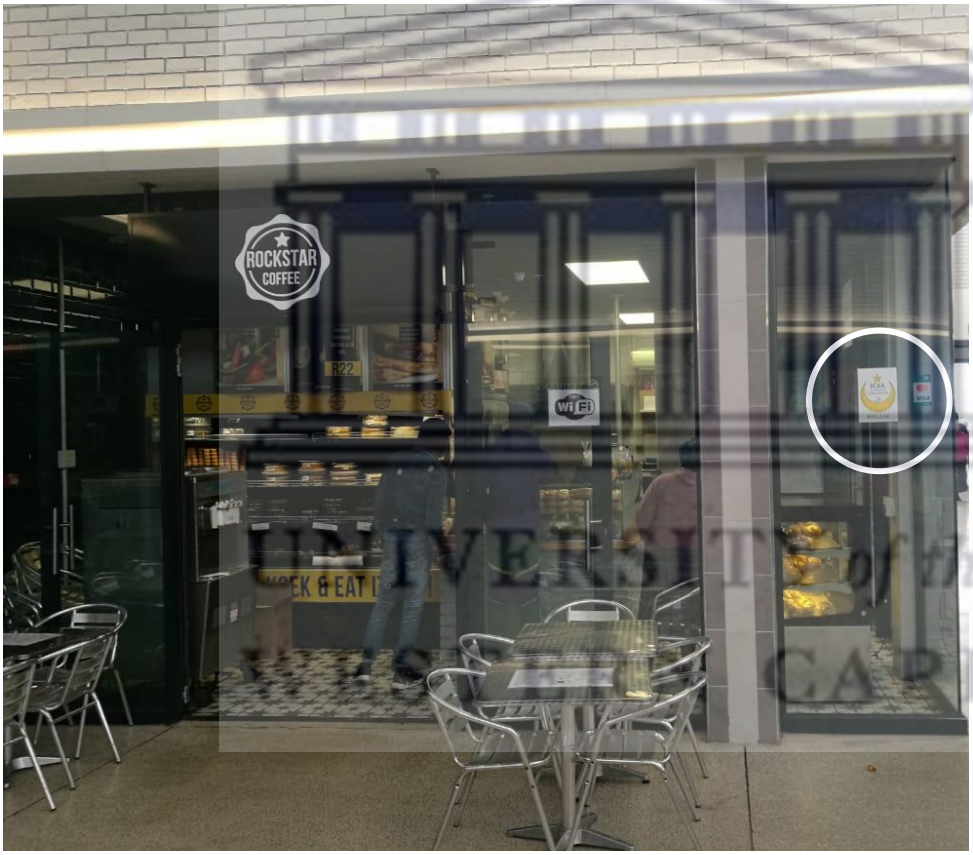

Figure 4.22: ICSA Sticker Rock Star Cafe

Like the MJC, NIHT and HFSA, we can see that ICSA certifies both food products and various fast-food places as well as cafes available in foodscapes. With the placement of the sign on the door to the foodscape, this establishment may easily be overlooked as a halaal eatery because Muslim consumers could assume that it is a non-halaal foodscape. One contributing factor to this

line of thought can be due to the name of the foodscape, ‘Rockstar Coffee’ as well as the other semiotics visible which reads ‘Koek’ and ‘Eat’which only tells us that this space provides food to consumers and not its halaal status. This brings to attention the need for an explicit halaal sign which shows Muslim consumers that it is a halaal establishment.

4.1.6 The South African National Halaal Authority (SANHA)

The last halaal body is the South African National Halaal Authority (SANHA) which was established in 1996 and it is an international non-profit organisation (SANHA, n.d.). The halaal body seems to certify the majority of packaged or canned food products available in foodscapes apart from the MJC. These products range from condiments, seasoning spices, hot chocolate, cereal, butter and dairy. In Figures 4.23 – 4.28(a), examples of the abovementioned have been products are shown.

Figure 4.23: SANHA Logo Checker's Mayonnaise

Figure 4.24: SANHA Logo Aromat

Figure 4.25: SANHA Logo Nestlé Hot Chocolate Powder Mix

Figure 4.26: SANHA Logo Futurelife Tots Cereal

Figure 4.27: SANHA Logo Blossom Butter

Figure 4.28 (a): SANHA Logo Pick ‘n Pay Full Cream Pasteurised Milk

In regard to information value, the halaal brand can be seen in a combined area of the Given, New and Real. On Figure 4.23, a Checker’s Mayonnaise product, the halaal brand is positioned under the blurred Real and New sections of the packaging which notes the product’s ingredients as well as storage instructions (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2006). Figure 4.24 is an Aromat product, and the halaal brand here can be seen placed near the New and Given sections. The New is the barcode and the Given is the serving suggestion of the product. Figure 4.25 is Nestlé’s hot chocolate and the halaal brand here is positioned near the New. The New section here is the ingredients list, product barcode and preparation instructions.

In Figures 4.25 and 4.26, the New and Real sections have combined which makes for an interesting analysis. In Figure 4.26, the box of Futurelife's Tots Cereal with the halaal brand is placed in overlaps both the New and Real sections and includes the list of product ingredients as well as the notice for "STORAGE INSTRUCTIONS" and "DIRECTIONS FOR USE" (Figure 4.26). With Figure 4.27, a Blossom Butter product, the halaal brand is placed in intersecting sections of the Given, New and Real. The Given section denotes that is a "PRODUCT OF SOUTH AFRICA", while the Real provides the consumer with the food producer's contact details. The last image shown here in Figure 4.28(a), is a Full Cream milk from Pick 'n Pay. The halaal brand is positioned in the New section which is close to the product barcode and Pick 'n Pay's contact details.

Even though the colour on various food products may differ because of packaging, the framing of the logo remains the same as seen in the figures below. The framing of SANHA's logo is oval-like in shape and it positions the word "HALAAL" on top of the oval, with the Arabic "حَلَال" on the inside of the oval and a banner positioned underneath the oval with "S.A.N.H.A." displayed in the middle. The framing here suggests that both written modes are able to communicate that the product is halaal in both English and Arabic, thus intertextuality and resemiotisation (Banda and Mafofo, 2016) take place. Their positioning on the back of the packaging is similar across all of the logos printed on food products. The salient feature of the logo depends on the packaging of the product.

The analysis of the branding semiotics has revealed that certificates, logos, stamps and stickers act as the main halaal branding semiotics in foodscapes. In terms of salience, the incorporation of the colours green, white and black as well as the bigger font and design of the halaal authority's logo, would depend on the food product's packaging. This shows us how the logo of the one halaal body is able to differentiate itself in terms of appearance. The logo also acts as a brand on the packaging, it is practically a stamp therefore it only supports the assumption regarding the halaal brand. The content of the certificates is all similar to one another, they contain the name of the foodscape, the date issued, the expiry date, the year, the halaal body's contact details and so on. Another commonality among the semiotics is the crescent moon and star symbol most of them use, despite the fact that it holds no significant meaning to Islam, it is resemiotised and associated with these semiotics as analysed.

Interestingly, this certificate is also now repurposed for purely marketing purposes other than labelling halaal food. Figure 4.28 (b)

Figure 4.28 (b): The Aquabella water

The Aquabella product is certified through SANHA, with the halaal brand is positioned next to the water's nutritional information at the back of the bottle. With the Given and the New sections combined, the packaging on the product easily alerts consumers of its halal status. This brings to question the validity of the halaal brand. By way of the notice placed in the Real section on the front of the bottle's packaging, informing consumers that it was bottled in "the heart of the Paarl winelands", the certification becomes justified even though it is a bottle of water. This is due to the fact that it is bottled on a vineyard and it is known that Muslims should avoid any and all type of intoxicants (see Chapter Two). By having this brand on the bottle of water, this company reinforces the halaal ideology and ensures its safety for consumption by Muslim consumers.

4.2 The positioning of halaal semiotics in foodscapes

This section of analysis zooms into the semiotics used to position halaal foods in foodscapes. Here foodscapes such as fast-food restaurants and supermarkets were analysed based on their positioning practices of meat products and the halaal certificate in their respective spaces. In addition, the notion of privilege in the marketplace was also explored (McWhorter, 2015). The data collected consisted of more than the same foodscape chains located in different areas. This was done to understand the Muslim communities in these areas in the area and to see if the halaal products were given privilege over other food products.

Across all the research sites of the fast-food foodscapes, they all seem to position the certificate near their counter. The assumption here is that they want the halaal certificate to be easily visible to their Muslim consumers. In other places they seem to position this certificate either right under (see Figure 4.29) or near the menu (see Figure 4.30), on the counter (see Figure 4.31) or near the kitchen in the back (see Figure 4.32). One could also find the certificate positioned at the entrance of the foodscape (see Figure 4.33). Figures 4.29 – 4.33 showcases the examples of certificate positioning in selected fast-food foodscapes.

Figure 4.29: Simply Asia - Cape Gate

The certificate above issued to the foodscape Simply Asia in Cape Gate Shopping mall, and it is positioned under the menu and it is elevated so that consumers know about its halaal status.

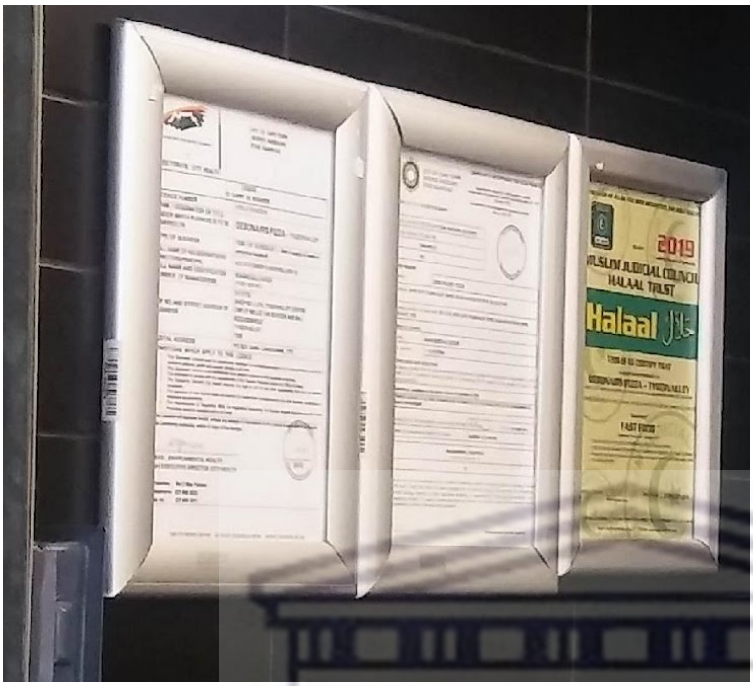

Figure 4.30: Debonair's Pizza - Tygervalley

The certificate shown in Figure 4.30, was issued to Tygervalley's Debonair's Pizza and it is positioned diagonally to the left under the menu. It is positioned in a consumer's direct eyesight, meaning that it is easily accessible by Muslim consumers should they decide to purchase anything from this foodscape.

Figure 4.31: Ocean Basket - KC

This certificate is positioned on the counter at the Ocean Basket in Kenilworth Centre (KC). It is one of the first signs that a consumer would come across once entering the foodscape. The sign placed slightly in front of the certificate alerts consumers that their product is also available on the Uber Eats mobile application, by which they can order for delivery or pick-up.

Figure 4.32: KFC - Value Centre

The above certificate in Figure 4.32, is from the foodscape Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) located at Value Center in Goodwood. As seen with previous certificates, this certificate is positioned under the television screen to the right of the menu. It is in the consumer's direct eyesight and Muslim consumers visiting for the first time are able to immediately see it. There is nothing that obstructs the view, note that is it placed in the back.

Figure 4.33: KFC - Avonwood Square

In comparison to Figure 4.30, we can see the immediate difference in the positioning of the two certificates. The certificate shown above in Figure 4.33, is from Avonwood's KFC, and it is positioned behind a set of burglar bars at the back near the kitchen. It is not easily noticeable by consumers as it faces the staff. Therefore it is not actively able to communicate the meaning behind the certificate to Muslim consumers, especially those who are visiting the area for the first time and they know that KFC only serves chicken so it would be safe to assume that they can eat there. However, upon entering the foodscape they are not able to immediately spot the certificate. The positioning of the halaal certificate too plays a big role in accessibility in foodscapes. With the certificate placed in the back Muslim consumers may become conflicted. With the positioning of the certificate in this foodscape, it appears to be hidden from the customers and even though KFC exclusively serves chicken, their methods of obtaining poultry products would come into

questions. This presents a food accessibility issue to Muslim consumers and by extension asks if this foodscape receives any Muslim consumers from them.

Figure 4.34: Mc Donald's - Value Centre

The certificate above was issued to the foodscape McDonald's located at Value Centre right at the door. This certificate is one of the first signs that a consumer would encounter once they enter this space. It is placed above their employee of the month semiotic. By doing this they are associating the McDonalds's brand with the halaal brand in a sense to elevate the status of the establishment. Some of the certificates shown in Figures 4.29 – 4.34, are seen to be framed. This appears to be an action of the foodscapes themselves. By framing and positioning the certificates as such it seems that their status is elevated within these spaces and that they are granted privilege (Foucault, 1977; McWhorter, 2015) and power (Blommaert, 2005) in these foodscapes.

Apart from the examples of the foodscapes above which have certificates, there are many Muslim owned foodscapes that do not have them, but that does not make them any less halaal. Take note

that this does not mean that they do not apply for a certificate, even if they do not need to do so. In order to brand themselves halaal they position their foodscapes with halaal branding semiotics. This usually involves adding the Arabic word for halaal, "حَلَال" onto their foodscape semiotics, or it is incorporated in their menus (see the white circles placed on the Figures 4.35 – 4.29).

Figure 4.35: The Lounge Signage

Figure 4.36: The Lounge Menu

Figure 4.37: Spitfire Menu

Another example of this type of positioning of halaal foodscapes is Wembley Place in Belgravia (see Figures 4.38 – 4.41 below).

Figure 4.38: Wembley Place

Figure 4.39: Wembley Place Sidewall

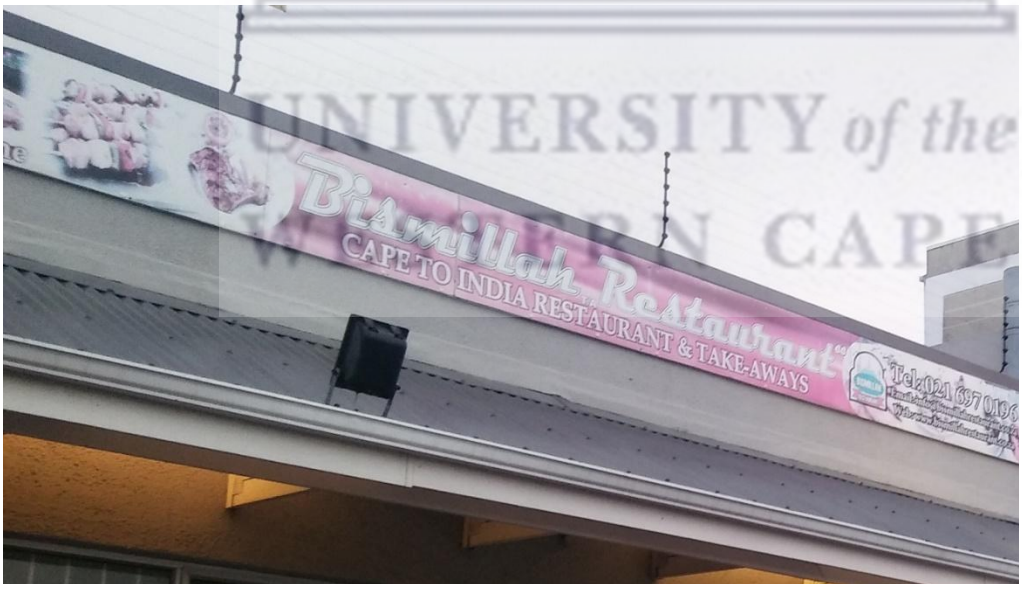

Figure 4.40: Bismillah Restaurant

All of the foodscapes at Wembley Place are halaal, this is evident by the semiotics positioned on the building as we can see the words “Bismillah” (Figure 4.40) on the banner of the Cape to India foodscape and the word “HALAAL” (Figure 4.39) on the Tai-Chung sign (see the white encircled). Asian eateries do not typically cater for the Muslim demographic as pork and duck are often served as these establishments, however the placement of the word “HALAAL” (Figure 4.39) is strategic in its positioning as it immediately alerts consumers of its status when reading the signage outside. With Figures 4.39 and 4.41, the logo of the “Cape to India” foodscape is a mosque (see the white encircled); thus the Muslim’s place of worship is used as this foodscape’s branding semiotic. The capitalisation of the word ‘halaal’ and its placement as part of the Ideal makes it more salient and hence more visible to the consumers as they approach the place. Besides these eateries there is also butchery, market and a take-aways known as “Wembley Roadhouse” (Figure 4.41). Wembley Place is located in a majority Muslim-populated community, which is why there are no non-halaal food products sold on their premises.

Figure 4.41: Wembley Roadhouse

Another interesting foodscape found was a supermarket’s butchery. Reason being when the halaal bodies were first established, the halaal certification was only applicable to the meat industry. But

over the years it has surpassed the meat industry and it now includes other consumables. The next section of the analysis compares the meat positioning practices of foodscapes such as Spar, Woolworths, Checkers and Pick ‘n Pay.

The Spars visited was located in two different areas, Spar A in Elsies River and Spar B in Crawford area. Spar A does not sell any halaal meat, including chicken. However, Spar B sells halaal meat in addition to non-halaal meat. In both foodscapes, the butchery makes use of open fridges with shelves where the meat is packed on. Spar A makes us of labels for the meat (Figure 4.42) which says “BEEF”, whereas the only semiotics which references the meat in Spar B is the price tag aside for the faint MJC logo on the last pack of viennas (Figure 4.43).

Figure 4.42: Spar A - Meat Fridge

Figure 4.43: Spar A - Meat Fridge MJC Stamp

A few of the Woolworths foodscapes visited were also located in different areas. Woolworths A is located in Goodwood, Woolworths B is located in Kraaifontein and Woolworths C is located in Kenilworth.

What has become a trend among a few Woolworth's foodscapes was the installment of fridges in their food market. This means that the meat products are no longer packed on shelves with not much protection in the regards of the halaal meat products. Previously in the Woolworths foodscape, different meat products would be allocated a shelf. However, a noticeable pattern among shoppers in foodscapes is the infamous 'pick up and put back' of products. If this occurs with meat products, it presents a major challenge for Muslim consumers due to the risk of cross-contamination which in turn would question the validity of the product's halaal status. Nonetheless, with this act committed non-halaal meat products would be placed with halaal meat products and vice versa. With Woolworths installing these fridges, there is hope that these acts would come to a stop. The figures below illustrate the fridges available in Woolworths A (Figure 4.44) and B (Figures 4.45 and 4.46).

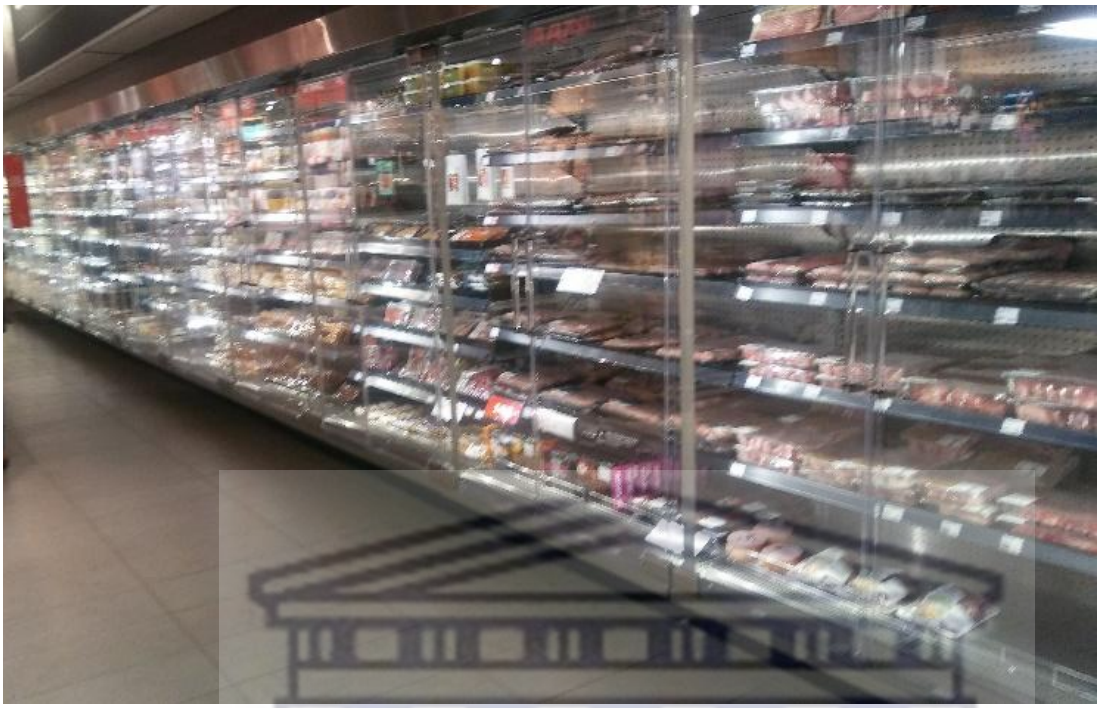

Figure 4.44: Woolworths A Fridge

Figure 4.45: Woolworths B Chicken Fridge

Figure 4.46: Woolworths B Packaged Foods Fridge

In contrast to Woolworths A located in Goodwood which has an equal Muslim demographic, and Woolworths B located in Kraaifontein which has a slightly less than average Muslim demographic, Woolworths C located in Kenilworth which also has an equal representation of Muslim in the area did not have the fridges in the figures above installed in its foodscape. Instead it still used the open fridge with the shelves, but there is an open corridor which separates the halaal meat from the non-halaal meat stocked on the shelves (see Figure 4.47). While the roll-out of these fridges were executed from as energy saving measure, the prestige afforded to halaal branded food by the Woolworths foodscape is noted, as this occurrence can be seen as a means to limit instances of cross-contamination of meat products.

Figure 4.47: Woolworths C Shelved Fridge

On the left side of Figure 4.47, you will find the halaal meat products (Figures 4.48 and 4.49) stocked with the MJC halaal certificate visible. And on the right side of the non-halaal meat products (Figure 4.50) is stocked. These fridges also use glass patricians to separate products. Apart from how these fridges are able to physically position the meat products by keeping the halaal meat completely separate from the non-halaal meat in these foodscapes both with and without the doors. The initial measures taken by Woolworths, are the discourse displayed on the product's price tag (Figures 4.51 and 4.52), stickers (Figure 4.53) and halaal certificates (Figures 4.47 and 4.48).

Figure 4.48: Halaal Fridge and Certificate

Figure 4.49: Halaal Lean Beef Mince

Figure 4.50: Non-halaal Meat Products

Figure 4.51: Woolworths Label - Halaal Beef Ribs

Figure 4.52: Woolworths Label - Pork Sausage Bacon & Cheese

Figure 4.53: Woolworths Sticker - Halaal Smoked Beef Viennas

By making use of these additional semiotics, this foodscape is seen as adhering to and even going beyond the rules and regulations regarding the halaal certificate. They have put a sort of security measure in check by labelling the price tags as “Halaal”, and they even created their own sticker which is the recontextualisation of the imagery on the halaal certificate (Iedema and Wodak, 1999). This could have been done as a means of creating associations between brands.

The few Checkers foodscapes visited were also located in different areas, but for this analysis, only two were chosen. Checkers A is located in Goodwood and Checkers B is located in Kenilworth. The Goodwood area has a fifty-fifty Muslim to Non-Muslim ratio, whereas the Kenilworth area is seen as a majority Muslim dominant community. The Checkers foodscape sets up appropriate labels similar to the Spar foodscapes and it positions its halaal meat products on one side of a four-sided shelved fridge (Figure 4.54) in Checkers A. This fridge only stocks chicken products such as County Fair chicken as well as Fresh Choice (Checkers' own brand) both of which is halaal certified by the MJC.

Figure 4.54: Checkers A - Halaal Chicken

The image shown above in Figure 4.54, is of halaal-certified chicken. The products here contain a mix of County Fair and Checkers' poultry products, with the halaal certificate placed on the side. In Checkers B there are two separate butchery sections, however, as of 2 November 2020, they no longer have an in-house halaal butchery. This announcement was posted on the Voice of the Cape, a national Muslim radio station's Facebook page. When entering this foodscape, the non-halaal butchery is to the left of the foodscape and the halaal butchery is to the right. This foodscape makes use of semiotics to position and distinguish the halaal meat from the non-halaal meat. There is a big neon sign that says "non-halaal" on the wall on the non-halaal butchery (see Figure 4.47 below).

Figure 4.55: Checkers B - Non-halaal

The semiotics used to position and distinguish the halaal butchery from the non-halaal butchery, we can see how the Arabic term "halaal" (ss Figure 4.55) is again repurposed as a part of the sign to show Muslim consumers that the items from this butchery section is not fit for their consumption. The font and white colour of the sign presents us with a soft and non-threatening semiotic which appears to gently remind consumers of its halaal status as this foodscape caters to both Muslim and non-Muslim customers. Additionally, the use of halaal certificates, specifically those issued by the MJC are prominent in this foodscape (see figures below).

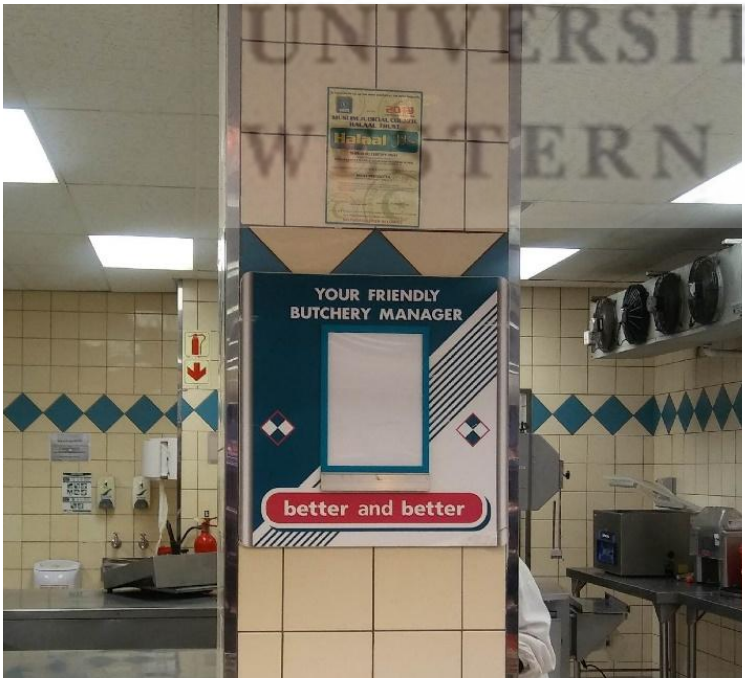

Figure 4.56: Checkers B - Halaal Butchery Certificate

Figure 4.57: Checkers B - Poultry Counter Halaal Certificate

The certificate in Figure 4.56 is positioned on a pillar behind the counter of the halaal butchery, and it is placed high enough so that consumers can see it. This placement immediately alerts consumers of which in-store butcher they were at. As seen in its placement at other poultry counters, the certificate in Figure 4.57 is positioned on the wall of the fridge in which the halaal chicken is placed. This positioning reinforces the fact that this particular fridge is for halaal poultry products only. This is also seen as once again providing halaal food products with privilege and power (McWhorter, 2015) in the marketplace.

Analysing the means and methods that these foodscapes incorporate in order to position halaal foods has cleared up questions, while also inspiring a few more. First and foremost, with halaal goods being treated as they are this tells us that Muslims should be considered the most dominant among South Africa's demographics. Despite this manner of thinking, Muslims only account for about 2.5% of South Africa's population. The reason why halaal foods have this privilege in the marketplace is because food producers have discovered that a profit can be made off of halaal-certified goods. While collecting the data, the prices of three dairy products were compared. Two

of these products were halaal-certified, and the other was not. The halaal certified products were approximately an R 3, 00 more than the non-halaal-certified product. When food producers decide to have their food products halaal certified they have to pay a fee, and with consumers paying slightly more for the 'halaal product' the food producer is able to earn their money back. Also by participating in having their products certified they are capitalising off of the Muslim religion.

The semiotics that these foodscapes use to position halaal goods from non-halaal goods promote power, ideology and hegemony in relation to privilege in the marketplace (Foucault, 1977; Van Dijk, 1993, McWhorter, 2015). These semiotics are mainly if the form of written discourse. First it promotes power by giving both halaal and non-halaal meat products the semiotics necessary to communicate their status. However, one meat product is not seen as having more power over the other. Both of the types of products are able to be sold to the respective consumers. Despite there being this sense of equality among the products, in some foodscapes, there is a case of inequality in regards to the food products available. Even though Spar A is located in a moderate to heavy Muslim-populated area, they have a limited variety of halaal meat products available to Muslim consumers.

Though referring back to the non-Muslim consumers who refused to purchase halaal branded goods and even set up a Facebook social media page (Scharnick-Udemans, 2020) about it, they view halaal goods as having a privilege in the marketplace. To an extent, halaal foods do have a privilege, but this privilege has not been gained by traditional means. Foucault's (1977) theory on privilege said that for there to be privilege it has to be done by the dominant group. In contrast to Foucault's (1977) view, the Muslim demographic only makes up a small percentage of South Africa's population yet most of the foods in foodscapes are halaal branded. The reason for the halaal certificate to be extended to other consumables is rather a factor of a new-found marketing strategy employed by bigger corporations. This act is seen as marketing companies commodifying the ideology of the halaal in relation to the Muslim diet and food consumption. This is promoted by the resemiotisation of the halaal concept and the semiotics by which it is presented in the material world. These semiotics are the certificate, logo, sticker and other forms of written discourse. All of the abovementioned semiotics are used to communicate that there is halaal food

available in the foodscape. Thus, hegemony is employed by the actual marketing strategy which is seen as hiding behind the halaal-branded goods that the consumers see.

Within the Muslim community, local Muslim-owned foodscapes are supported. Thus, Muslim consumers do not need to purchase any goods from corporate foodscapes. However, the fear of loss of profits has spurred the bigger supermarkets and food companies to make halaal goods available in abundance, hence Muslim consumers are seen as having more than one option to choose from when buying goods. This action allows for the Muslim food culture and identity to become more pronounced within corporate foodscapes. Moreover, to ensure the satisfaction of its Muslim consumers is met the staff of the foodscapes have to ensure that nothing risks this client base in terms of the conditions which have to be met in regards to the halaal meat products. This sums up how the halaal goods are granted privilege in the marketplace.

4.3 The meanings and implications carried by these semiotics in regards to food access for Muslims

This section focuses on the power, privilege and ideological meanings behind the semiotics and the implications which they carry.

On the halaal certificates, it is the colour green which is the most dominant across all certificates and it catches the eye (Sisters Magazine, 2019; Olesen, n.d.). While it is the most dominant colour, there are other colours which are seen used on the certificates as well. All of the certification organisations use the colour green in the visual presentation of their sign. By doing this these organisations can be differentiated from one another by, and not limited to Muslim consumers. Besides their colour scheme, they are also seen positioning their certificates differently from each other even though they all display to the same content and intention to a Muslim consumer, thus they are presenting it as a brand.

One of the most prominent modes encountered when it comes to halaal-certified foods and foodscapes is the symbol of the crescent moon and the star. Despite the fact that this symbol holds no substantial meaning in Islam because of its association with the Ottoman Empire, this symbol

has become resemiotised as a mode which is utilised by some halaal bodies (Arnold, 1928; Zuhudi and Dolah, 2018). Even though this point has been stressed time and time again in Islamic literature, because of the Ottomans many believe that this symbol is used to represent Islam, but again it does not.

This symbol is not only seen on the halaal certificates and an organisation's logo, but it is also commonly found in Muslim-owned and other halaal foodscapes, such as a takeaway. This distinction between Muslim-owned and other halaal foodscapes is made because most informal foodscapes such as takeaways, do not also acquire the halaal certificate although they are a halaal establishment. Although some informal halaal foodscapes operate as such, there are others that do obtain the certification to verify their legitimacy and claim their power in a sense (Van Dijk, 1993).

Intertextuality (Bullo, 2017; Koller, 2010) is prevalent in these branding semiotics. In cases where there is no certificate, the owners would position the symbol or even the word "halaal" in English or Arabic "حَلَال" somewhere on the either a sign outside the foodscape or inside the foodscape. Besides the certificates, many halaal certified organisations incorporate the symbol with their halaal brand to distinguish them from other halaal certified organisations. This also adds to the commodification of the halaal into a brand. In relation to the interactive metafunction, these signs have created a bond between Muslims as the consumers and the halaal authorities as well as food producers of these products through the semiotics they use for halaal food in foodscapes. These semiotics enable Muslim consumers to purchase food in accordance with their dietary requirements and Islamic Shariah Law.

Another form of Arabic discourse is seen on Freshpak's Rooibos tea. This is written on the back of their packaging along with the NIHT logo, while Five Rose's tea also has Arabic discourse on its packaging but no halaal brand. This is seen across a variety of products from cool drinks to sugar in foodscapes. Considering how the crescent moon and star symbol is seen as one of the prominent modes of halaal branding semiotics (Arnold, 1928; Zuhudi and Dolah, 2018), this brings to question how Muslim consumers would interpret the other Arabic discourse written on the product. An example of such a product is the Häägen-Dazs frozen dessert. This dessert has no visible halaal brand, but it has information pertaining to the product written in Arabic discourse.

All of the points above concern not only resemiotisation (Iedema, 2001; 2003), but also the recontextualisation (Iedema and Wodak, 1999) of what halaal originally meant. The context of the halaal pertains to much more than just the conditions of the food industry as stated in the literature review. What makes this important is the fact that this sense of recontextualisation has made the halaal into a brand. The points above are all elements that are found either on the halaal certificate or on the logo. Based on the mere fact that there is a recognizable logo for the halaal bodies only cements my point that the halaal can be seen as a brand.

In line with privilege and power (Foucault, 1977; Fairclough, 1989; Van Dijk, 1993; Iedema and Wodak, 1999) in foodscapes, the halaal brand acts as a material representation of the trust Muslim consumers put into these halaal authorities and by extension the food producers in selected foodscapes. This brand is responsible for the privilege and power that halaal foods receive in foodscapes. This in turn gives Muslim consumers power in selected foodscapes regarding the dietary needs, despite there only being a 1.93% (Bashir et al., 2019) present in Cape Town. It is interesting to see how a minority group acquires this power when it is usually the dominant group that prevails. Elbih (2015:113) says that Muslims who reside in non-Muslim countries try to "live in accordance" with their local government. But by looking at the food available to Muslims in selected foodscapes, it seems as though this minority group is on the verge of successfully integrating itself into South Africa and its non-Muslim society.

4.4 Chapter summary

In this chapter, the researcher has analysed the semiotics used to brand and position halaal food in selected Cape Town foodscapes. Three prominent semiotics used to brand and position halaal food are certificates, logos and particular foodscape signage. This includes showing evidence on how the ideological meaning behind the halaal concept is now resemiotised and recontextualised (Banda and Mafofo, 2016) in foodscapes, with intertextuality as one of the strategies used on Halaal branded foods. Moreover, these semiotics have shown that they serve as a kind of universal sign to Muslim consumers in selected Cape Town foodscapes apart from solidifying its power and privilege in foodscapes. In some cases the halaal semiotics are placed on products that do not

require halaal branding thereby extending the halaal semiotics as a marketing tool. Chapter Five looks at the interviews with 12 Muslim consumers, varying in age and residential suburb.

CHAPTER 5

REPURPOSED MEANINGS AND THE EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM CONSUMERS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the data related to the last two objectives mentioned in Chapter One and looks at the transcribed participant interviews in relation to (1) how Muslims as consumers interpret such (semiotics) meanings and their effect on food accessibility and (2) investigates the Muslims' experiences and perceptions in encountering halaal food in different foodscapes in Cape Town. In combination with Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996; 2006) Representational Meaning, elements of CDA such as ideology, power and privilege will be used to analyse the participant responses in this chapter, as well as instances of resemiotisation which all make the CMDA theoretical framework as outlined in Chapter Two. The structure of the analysis in the chapter is divided into three sections. The first section presents the responses and analysis related to Objective Three (see Chapter One) and focuses on the term 'halaal brand' in relation to the halaal concept. The semiotics Muslim consumers use to identify halaal foodscapes and their interpretation of these specific signs are also analysed. Section two provides insights related to Objective Four (see Chapter One) and puts into perspective the foodscapes the selected participants frequent and the positioning of halaal food in those foodscapes. Additionally, this section looks at the actions of Muslim consumers when no halaal branding semiotics are present as well as their views on the core meaning of halaal foods and if it has changed. This chapter ends with concluding remarks.

5.1 Interpretation, repurposed meanings and the effect of food accessibility for Muslim consumers

This section of analysis aligns with Objective Three (see Chapter One) and draws on the foodscapes the participants of this study frequent and the kinds of semiotics they make use of when identifying halaal establishments as well as their interpretation of these signs. Additionally, this

section provides insight into potential challenges Muslim consumers face when acquiring halaal food and their purchasing choices if halaal branding semiotics are not present.

5.1.1 Preferred foodscapes

When asked, all participants said that they would shop at major foodscapes such as Pick 'n Pay, Checkers and Woolworths located in shopping malls close to their homes. To get a better view of the foodscapes available to Muslim consumers, participants who live in close proximity to each other were grouped together.

First, Participants 1, 2, 3 and 8. Participant 1 lives in Parow and Participant 2 in Elsies River, whereas Participants 3 and 8 stays in Goodwood.

Apart from the major retailers mentioned above, Participant 1 included "…Fairfield, in Voortrekker Road...smaller Islamically-owned businesses…" and "…A-Mart…" which is an online Korean Market that sources halaal products (see Appendix 6). Participant 2 says the foodscapes she frequents most are located in Goodwood, and they are "…Food Lover's Market…Excellent…N1 City Mall…ShopRite's…Nando's, KFC's…the local fish and chips, the one here in Goodwood…and Saffraan's…", other foodscapes include "Simply Asia…Kauai…Oranjezicht market…Ocean Basket…And the Spur in KC…", outlying areas here include the Simply Asia, as there is not one located in Goodwood, the Spur in Kenilworth Centre and the Oranjezicht market at the V&A Waterfront (see Appendix 7). Participant 8 and his family visits foodscapes such as "Wembley…Excellent…Kentucky…Nando's…Debonair's …fisheries …Canal Walk…Simply Asia…" and "…Subway…" (see Appendix 8). Excellent here is referring to the Excellent Meat Market in Elsies River. Wembley is located in Belgravia, while Kentucky, Nando's, Debonair's and fisheries are situated in Goodwood, and the Simply Asia and Subway can be found in Canal Walk, a shopping mall in Cape Town. To this, Participant 3 adds "…OK's…N1 City…McDonald's…" and a "…Izzy Burger…" which is not too far from her residence. Participant 3 concludes that there is "…a good selection of food places…" that cater to her dietary requirements (see Appendix 9).

The second group of participants reside in the Kensington and Maitland areas, these are Participants 4, 5 and 9. Participant 4 lives in Kensington and considers herself to be quite the shopper, she says,

> Participant 4: …well, I think I'm quite widely mall-travelled (laughs) So I visit most malls, examples could be Canal Walk, Tygervalley, N1 City, Parow Centre and most food shops as well. Be it Nando's, KFC, McDonald's, Burger King and all the rest. So yeah, I generally do like to eat out and/or shop.

Participant 5, who lives in Maitland says he shops at "…Howard Centre in Pinelands…the Spar in Kensington…Elite", as well as from "…street vendors…around me or in my close proximity, there's like five different Tikka stalls. So you can have your pick. So there's also burger stands, gatsbys and stuff like that…" (see Appendix 10). Elite is a Muslim-owned butchery located in the Kensington and Gatesville areas. Participant 5 frequents the Kensington branch and only really travels outside his immediate foodscapes to Howard Centre in Pinelands. Participant 9 also lives in Kensington and says the foodscapes he often frequents are "…Spar…", the one in Kensington and the "…Checkers in Rylands…because…the butcher there at the Checkers is halaal…Constantia, I like to go to that Pick 'n Pay, and the one in Claremont…the bakery there is fully kosher…" and "...Burger King, the one in N1 City…" apart from the more "traditional halaal places" such as "…Wembley Roadhouse…Aneesa's" and "Golden Dish" (see Appendix 11). The traditional halaal foodscapes Participant 9 refers to above are all located in the Athlone and Belgravia areas.

The third group of participants live in the Athlone, Rylands and Mitchells Plain. Participant 10 lives in Athlone, Participants 7 and 11 stays in Rylands, and Participant 12 resides in Mitchells Plain. Participant 10 says that,

> Participant 10: …from a retail perspective, we frequent a lot of Pick 'n Pay and Woolies. Actually or no, we actually frequent all of the main retailers, but our main one is Pick 'n Pay, purely because I think my mother has been shopping there for years and she knows what's in every aisle…I think the most takeaways that we eat at is Nando's…and the KFC, which is your usuals…Meat we buy from, from our local butcher. So it would either be an

> Excellent Meat Market or a Shoukut's that's in…Crawford. So meat, we buy at a local halaal, fully-halaal butcher… chicken we would buy at Pick 'n Pay.

Both Participants 7 and 11, reveal that they speak from a place of privilege when it comes to foodscapes as the Checkers and Pick 'n Pay in their area is halaal. Participant 7 says that she is "not burdened" by the foodscapes available to her (see Appendix 12), while Participant 11 notes that the closest halaal butchery is less than "ten minutes" away from her home (see Appendix 13). Other foodscapes mentioned are Elite, Wembley, Kekkel en Kraai and Kariel's Chicken Shop. Interestingly, the name of the foodscape "Kekkel en Kraai" (Participant 11) is written in Afrikaans and translates to Cackel and Crow in English, with this foodscape we can see how the sound associated with chickens become repurposed as the name of the store. Participant 12 on the other hand says that she and her family frequent a few halaal butcheries located in,

> Participant 12: …Woodridge and then there's one in Watergate, that one is called The Butcher Shop and they like- just halaal meats. Other than that there's Winners, and that's just like the local, the local shop that we shop at. But then think we also […] Checkers, Pick 'n Pay, Shoprite…

As stated before, participants who reside in bigger Muslim-populated areas are privileged regarding easily accessible halaal foodscapes. In the case of Participant 6, who lives on the "outskirts of Stellenbosch", she claims that she needs to travel to secure halaal food for her household,

> Participant 6: …if it's a monthly shopping trip, then…we have to drive to Athlone, A1 Chicken Hyper, Checkers Rylands Village…Pizza Time in Gatesville… And we'd usually factor in a trip to Kenilworth Centre for coffee and cheesecake at Mugg and Bean…or…we pop over to Spur…so I am located…on the outskirts of Stellenbosch…that is why I'd always be speaking about Cape Gate or Tygervalley…I go to Starbucks in Tygervalley…And then Giant Hyper…in the Cape Gate/Brackenfell area…It's also…a Muslim-owned business…in terms of Cape Gate, the Nando's at Cape Gate is halaal…I prefer shopping at Pick 'n Pay in Cape Gate because their bakery's halaal, and they do have fridges, that halaal fridges that are…in the meat section, but it's a completely separate fridge from the non-halaal meat products…when I buy meat, I would either buy it at Giant Hyper or Excellent in Kuils River or Excellent in Athlone…Canal Walk, they have more

> options. They have La Rocca…Dip and Dip…Cinnabon...Nando's…there are a lot more options in Canal Walk...when I'm looking at the Waterfront…they have a Nando's…Starbucks…Cinnabon…in terms of Tygervalley…Tygervalley, has a Mochachos that is halaal-certified, the Starbucks is halaal-certified. They, they have, they have a McDonald's there, they have Kentucky, they have all of these other options, but I mostly frequent…Mochachos and, and Starbucks, when I go to Tygervalley. So I do have particular stores that I shop at and particular food items that I prefer...

The foodscapes she frequents are located in areas such as Brackenfell, Bellville, Belhar, Kuils River, Athlone, Rylands, Gatesville, Milnerton and even the Waterfront. With Participant 6's geographical location being the "outskirts of Stellenbosch", as this area is predominantly non-Muslim, she has to travel at least 20 minutes outside of her residing area to purchase halaal food from foodscapes. This reinforces the previous statement that the availability of halaal foods in foodscapes is dependent on the presence of a Muslim community. Additionally, this illustrates the critical use of halaal branding semiotics for the consumption of Muslim consumers who may reside in Stellenbosch as a means of developing consumer trust with this demographic. In this instance, Participant 6 holds the power in where she chooses to purchase food. Even though the foodscapes available to Participant 6 lack halaal food, it is evident in her foodscape choices how she reaffirms her religious identity to ensure that she only consumes halaal food.

Although the participants are scattered, with only a few living close to each other, shared foodscapes are visible among them. Apart from the major retailers as stated above, these foodscapes are Checkers Rylands Village (this branch specifically), N1 City, Canal Walk, Kenilworth Centre, Spar (Kensington branch), Elite, KFC and Nando's. Even though these foodscapes provide halaal food to Muslim consumers, it does not mean that they suffer no challenges when shopping.

In areas where both Muslims and non-Muslims live, the foodscapes frequented cater to both groups. This means that the concept of supply and demand in consumerism plays an important role in the availability of halaal food in foodscapes. If there are not many Muslim consumers, there will be a limited stock of halaal food in contrast to living in an area where there is a prominent Muslim community. Besides the corporate foodscapes, participants have stated that there are fully-halaal

foodscapes such as butcheries and supermarkets, where they would purchase food from. The establishment of these spaces can also be seen as the minority reclaiming their power over these corporate foodscapes which cater to a variety of consumers.

5.1.2 Halaal branding semiotic identifiers and their meanings

When entering foodscapes where the halaal branding semiotics (see Chapter Four) are not easily available, participants have disclosed that they peruse the menu to see if pork or alcohol was served, they would also ask the staff if the foodscape were halaal or they would look for the crescent moon and star symbol. Below are a few participant excerpts:

Participant 1: So generally I look for sign-postings, either in English or in Arabic that says halaal…After which I look for the actual certificate. If I don't see any of that, I check for places that have obvious vegan or vegetarian sign-postage…and if they have neither I check the menu to see if there are any pork products on the menu. Alternatively, I just ask the cashier if the establishment is halaal or halaal-friendly or not.

Participant 4: Well usually what one would look for is, you know, like the sign, the moon or the star sign, alternatively one would look at the menu to see what options there are on the menu. Usually, it's quite obvious when a menu is halaal or not.

Participant 8: The certificate is basically just for…people that don't know our faith or don't understand the regulations of Islam to obviously indicate to me as a customer, that they are doing their bit in order to…to be halaal or make food that's that, that I can consume…I mean, I do look for it because the stores, normally they all sort of keep it in front…if it's not accessible, if I can't see it, I will ask. If it's behind counter, do you have a large certificate? Can you show it to me? And most of the time they don't have an issue.

Participant 11: I would look for like the crescent moon and star, or like the Muslim Judicial Council, stuff like that. Or otherwise I would just ask if they were halaal-certified.

Common answers among participants were reviewing the establishment's menu in addition to looking for any type of Arabic discourse as well as the crescent moon and star symbol. Besides the word 'halaal' displayed on signage and food products (see Chapter Four), the use of the

crescent moon and star symbol "☪" was brought into question along with the image of a mosque. The Arabic word "حَلَال" or even in its English transliteration 'halaal' which means permissible in English, is a common theme among the modes used in this semiotics. Here, the word 'halaal' which means permissible for Muslim consumption (see Chapter Two) has been both resemiotised (Iedema, 2001; 2003) and recontextualised (Iedema and Wodak, 1999) in foodscapes. As it moves away from its traditional and complex meaning and instead acts as an identifier for Muslim consumers when purchasing food. One common concern voiced by participants is the lack of semiotics when entering certain foodscapes, which in turn leads them to scanning the menu or asking the shop assistant if the establishment is halaal. When this happens, the power dynamics between consumer and foodscape shift. Depending on the foodscape's halaal status, Muslim consumers may not be able to acquire food from them. So even though consumers would have the upper hand when it comes to purchasing goods, with Muslim consumers, their purchasing intention, to only buy halaal food, plays a major role and could result in the foodscape having power over them in this instance.

A mosque is a religious institution which serves as a Muslim's place of worship (Afnarius, Akbar and Yuliani, 2020). By using the imagery of a mosque, these halaal branding semiotics strive to reinforce the group and religious identity among Muslim consumers. The mosque has ties to their place of worship, whereas the crescent moon and star sign seem to be a universal symbol for halaal food. Most of the participants interviewed said that this symbol is something they learned growing up, while others said that this symbol acts as a universal sign of a halaal foodscape or food product in Cape Town for both Muslim and non-Muslim consumers.

> Participant 2: Symbols are great because it's a quick reference, but the only symbol that's been ingrained upon me since, you know, childhood is the moon and the star which represents the MJC symbol for halaal…I think we know the MJC…we know NIHT, we know SAHNA…it's used on a lot of the flags or, you know, in our Eastern countries…So I don't think, if I should see a mosque, if I'm not- if it was not a Muslim person purchasing for somebody who's Muslim. I don't think that they would look for…a moon and a star, or a mosque, you know, or they would even know how to spell halaal in Arabic. So it's good to have the English transliteration of halaal.

Participant 5: …I don't wanna speak for everyone, but everyone that I know or most Muslims, they, they just look for the crescent…moon on the sticker that says "halaal". And then, that would be basically a symbol for us…growing up, like my ma would always, or my grandmother would always say "Don't buy anything, if you don't see this sign on a, on a package", basically trying to educate us.

Participant 6: I grew up knowing that that is the symbol to look for on food and know that I'm allowed to consume these products….I know that food went through a strict process or strict processes and is of a top, top quality. I know that I'm not consuming food. That is, oh, sorry. I know that I am consuming food that is in compliance with the Shariah guidelines of food that Muslims may consume.

Participant 8: I mean growing up there was obviously always just the MJC. So you look for the symbol that, that identified to you that this is the certificate that, that came from the MJC. Whether they had a mosque or a, or a crescent and a star on it. And, and, and that would identify to you the body that that has, that has given the cert- the certificate.

Participant 11: …so the crescent moon and star just basically tries inform unaware Muslims that they can consume these items that it's okay for them to consume it. And they, they aren't how can I explain? They don't have to be cautious of it or anything like that?

The resemiotisation (Iedema, 2001; 2003) of the crescent moon and star symbol on the other hand, serves as a clear indicator of a halaal foodscape to Muslims. One popular misconception regarding the crescent moon and star is that it serves as a symbolic reference to Islam (Arnold, 1928). Although this symbol has ties to the Islamic festivals (Ahmed, 2006) and the Ottoman Empire (Zuhudi and Dolah, 2018), this misconception appears evident in the lack of education among some Muslims as well,

Participant 7: I mean…the moon symbolizes a lot of stuff in Islam. So I get the, the moon and star, iconography that they use. So yeah, it's something also, I think that's…you learn even like when you're young, like if you go to madrassa and things like that, they instill, like we learn, okay, this is what's the different symbols that represent different religions. And if you study it, like, they'll tell you, look, this is the sign for Hindu…this is the sign for Christianity…this is the sign for Judaism and then the moon and the star, this is the sign for Islam. So it's like something that gets instilled with you, like very young…I don't know anything else besides that because I was obviously raised Muslim.

With its specific use as an identifier of a halaal eatery, many Muslim consumers have started to associate this sign as a symbol of Islam. Instead, this symbol has become a universal sign for halaal food to Muslims in Cape Town. Participant 2 solidifies this statement by saying the following,

> Participant 2: …I can't always say, you know, that any moon and star symbol on a foreign product without the word, halaal is actually halaal. So the symbol is great, but the words need to be there. So I found that if I purchase products from imported, that the word, halaal is written on there either in Arabic or in English…you know, and…I understand that to be, or accept that as halaal, beside the symbol. The symbol is more for local…but for me, if it's an international product, I wouldn't know what, if they use a different symbol. I wouldn't know what it means. So yeah. The words need to be there besides the symbol.

Even though South Africa imports halaal food products from other countries, it is not always known what foreign halaal authorities may use to certify their products. Based on what Participant 2 said above, the word 'halaal' in Arabic or the English transliteration serves now as a global sign of halaal food products instead of the crescent moon and star which is seen in Cape Town. It is remarkable to see how the Arabic and English discourse, the mosque imagery, and the crescent moon and star symbol, now form a part of the Muslim consumer identity. These semiotics are what gives Muslim consumers power in foodscapes. Another form of power that can be seen in the intertextuality and interdiscursivity (Koller, 2010; Bullo, 2017) of the semiotics used. The abovementioned semiotics are combined together in a collaborative effort to produce meaningful semiotics Muslim consumers have come to rely on in order to access food deemed fit for their consumption.

Regarding the placement of the halaal certificate, Participant 8 says that it is usually kept in the "front" and that he has experienced no problem when asking the foodscape staff to view it if it is not easily acceptable. Moreover, Participant 6 states that if she cannot see the certificate which is usually on the wall "on the right-hand side" of the cash register (see Appendix 14 and Chapter Four). Participant 6 also states that sometimes the placement of the certificate is in "awkward spaces", and if that is the case she would go ahead and ask if they are halaal-certified or not. Most of the participants agreed with this way of thinking when entering a foodscape they were unsure

of. If the halaal certificate is not present, their next plan of action is to ask the sales assistant if the establishment is halaal certified or not.

Interestingly, Participants 1, 9 and 10, have created their own checklists which include taking note of the foodscape clientele and logging onto social media,

Participant 1: …if they do have a social media, I tend to go on social media, just to make sure, that they do conform to halaal food and that they don't divert…Typically small businesses will have a notice to say whether they are strictly halaal or not.

Participant 9: I think I'd look at the customers that's coming in there. You know in terms of, you know, like the customer, look at possibly the area of them the food-court. I know that certain malls would be like, halaal, like, for example, like your Vangate Mall you know, that majority of the food stores there would, would, would naturally be halaal because of the clientele in the area.

Participant 10: …Google the restaurant itself and then check what the social media says. Maybe check their website, maybe check food review websites, just to see if anybody else is commented on whether their place is halaal or not.

In contrast to entering Muslim-owned foodscapes, participants agreed that Muslim-owned establishments do not require a halaal certificate and that by entering these foodscapes they would not ask these questions as seen with Participant 1 above. Instead, they would assess the appearance of staff and clientele, which brings to light another sign that acts as a halaal branding semiotic. Additionally, Participants 1, 8, 9 and 10 claimed that they can trust these spaces and not worry about what they will be consuming,

Participant 1: …if it's a, like a small-family business and you know the people, and you know that they're Muslim, and you know that they make the products in accordance with Shariah Law and that it's halaal. I don't typically feel like I have to look for anything…

Participant 8: If it's, if there are Muslim people, if it's a store that's owned or ran, ran by Muslims, then I don't look for certification because I mean, it's not necessary in my eyes for them then to have a certificate. The certificate is basically just for a…people that don't know our faith or don't understand the regulations of Islam to obviously indicate to me as a

customer, that they are doing their bit in order to…to be halaal or make food that's that, that I can consume.

Participant 9: There are certain Muslims places which won't have a certificate, you- which is Muslim-owned. I think like your Mariam's Kitchen for example, that would be a Muslim-owned takeaways. But it won't have necessarily, it won't be required for them to have a, a certificate because naturally the products they're buying is halaal, what they're selling to the public.

Participant 10: Yeah, 'cause they would just assume that we know they halaal because they are Muslim…and in all honesty, if I see a…a small foodspace and it's Muslim people that own the place, I'm gonna assume that it's halaal. I'm not gonna ask the questions because let's be honest, even if you go to a food market, the aunty and the uncle is not gonna put up these signs because as much as they are gonna expect us to know that they are fully halaal, I will also just take it to granted that they are…I think one of the basic things would be, if someone's wearing a scarf that's working at the back, the way they greet you. The shukrans, the afwans, certain jargon that gets used and no one else would know.

Consumer loyalty and brand trust (Aaker, 1991; Oliver, 1997) are two factors which play an important role in Muslim consumer purchasing intentions. With Muslim-owned foodscapes, consumer loyalty is established through the appearance of the foodscape staff and consumers, which now acts as a halaal branding semiotic that Muslim consumers use to identify halaal eateries. Recontextualisation (Iedema and Wodak, 1999) of bodies as meaning-making resources, also takes place, in particular regarding the individual's appearance. In the context of a foodscape, the individual's appearance takes on a whole new meaning if the halaal branding semiotics is not visibly present to Muslim consumers. Here, the Representational Meaning takes root in the form of the appearance of the foodscape's clientele and staff. Their appearance functions as the semiotic mode used to establish a social relationship with potential Muslim consumers, as their appearance is an outward representation of their religious identity as Muslims.

Another identifying factor to Muslim consumers, takes the form of intertextuality (Koller, 2010; Bullo, 2017), this regards the jargon used in Muslim communities. Muslim consumers trust these individuals because of the sense of community and shared ideology based on the appearance and

the jargon these individuals use. The jargon includes words such as, “shukrans” and “afwans” as mentioned by Participant 10, which translates to thank you and you’re welcome respectively. The appearance of individuals as well as the jargon used in foodscapes acts as a “cultural resonance” (Machin, 2013:354) to Muslim consumers. These cultural resonances also act as examples of universalisation in relation to the global halaal market as it concerns the homogenisation of worldwide cultural, economic, and legal convergence (Scholte, 2008). In the South African context, these factors function as indicators, however, it is noted that Arabic is not exclusive to Muslims nor is their manner of dress.

When compared to bigger food corporations, it is evident that Muslim consumers put their trust in “this piece of paper”, says Participant 5 (see Appendix 15). So instead of trusting people, their trust lies in the halaal branding semiotics which is used as a means to validate the halaal status of a foodscape or food product. In terms of food products, Participant 6 stated that she only uses halaal branded food products when cooking,

> Participant 6: …I can tell you that I use halaal branded products in my food preparations. And I only use certain brands that have been branded halaal…I grew up…around my mother using Koo right. And this used to be the product brand that every Muslim aunty I knew aspired to having in a kitchen…

Again here, it is seen how consumer loyalty and brand trust play a big role in the purchasing intention of Muslim consumers. Consumer loyalty and brand trust are established through the use of halaal branding semiotics as well as the generational use of certain products. Generational use here refers to the fact that Participant 6 grew up with her mother using Koo products in their household when preparing meals.

The last prominent mode found in halaal branding semiotics is the use of certain colours. The colour ‘green’ holds significant meaning in Islam as the colour is referred to several times throughout Islamic history it was used to represent Muslim soldiers in battle, also used in flags and the Quran, it references to, for example, cushions, garments and the earth across verses of the Quran. On the visible spectrum, green lies between yellow and blue. The mixture of yellow and blue together you get green (Sisters Magazine, 2019). Symbolically, yellow represents the sun, the

heavenly realm, while blue represents earth, the worldly life. According to the Muslim religious interpretation, the earth is also known as the 'blue' planet, because its surface is 70% water (Sisters Magazine, 2019). Humans are a blend of heavenly and earthly attributes, just as green is a mixture of yellow and blue. Green is also associated with life, spring and resurrection. Indeed, the Arabic word for 'paradise', 'Jannah', means 'garden', an image universally associated with green (Sisters Magazine, 2019). Another colour often used is gold. Olesen (n.d.) reports that the colours gold and green mean to represent paradise in Islam.

Participants note that halaal semiotics in foodscapes always has "green", "white" and "yellow" colour scheme, of which Participant 5 is reminded of peace (see Appendix 16). In addition, participants 2, 3, 4 and 7 had the following to add,

Participant 2: I think the colour also matters sometimes it's green. I think, you know, those are just things that we associate or grew up associating with, but more so because we are familiar with the MJC signs.

Participant 3: So the other day I went to Korea Mart…and I found it very interesting that like, for example, when we went to like the fridge and I would automatically assume that all iced-teas, iced-coffees and milkshakes would be halaal…so I asked the employee because I looked for the halaal sign on the products and I couldn't find any…And then the employee told me that all of the products that have like a green label on like is halaal in the ones that, um, don't have a green label on, um, is not halaal.

Participant 4: …the obvious colour on most halaal signs are, is green, which is almost like a "Muslim colour". And then I, I saw on some halaal certificates there's also now the splash of yellow, but, generally green, green, and white. Those are the colours I would look for…

Participant 7: Like there's also colours that's associated to it. So like it's either like a yellow or gold or green…

Participants 2 and 4 states that the colour green is something they have grown to associate with halaal authorities in addition to green being known as a "Muslim colour" (Participant 4). In Participant 3's case, it is interesting to see how the colour green becomes an identifier for halaal food products in a Korean foodscape. The use of this colour could be coincidental, but in this

context, it is clearly resemiotised (Iedema, 2001; 2003) and carries a particular meaning. It seems that this colour-coded label system Korea Mart uses is quite easy to follow and understand. This created an innovative shift in identifying semiotics by using the colour green as the sole label. As Participant 4 stated, green is seen as a 'Muslim colour' and it appears that some foodscapes have made a note of this too.

While the colour green is ever present on the semiotics issued by the halaal authorities, the Korean foodscape in question now also uses this colour to categorise halaal food. Instead of having the colour work together with the Arabic and English discourse or the crescent moon and star symbol, the colour green alone acts as the semiotic for Muslim consumers. This way, if Muslim consumers are shopping at this foodscape, they only need to look for the green label which differentiates the halaal from the non-halaal products. With the repurposing of this colour in foodscapes it is evident that along with the jargon and appearance of individuals, the colour green now acts as a cultural resonance for Muslim consumers and allows for an equal distribution of power for both consumer and foodscape.

Moreover, Participants 6, 9 and 10 noted that seeing this symbol in collaboration with the word 'halaal' resemiotised in foodscapes has brought them a sense of comfort because these foodscapes can cater to their dietary requirements. In spaces outside of their communities, the halaal ideology becomes repurposed as a means to identify halaal food in foodscapes,

Participant 6: …now that I'm older, it gives me a sense of extreme comfort. And it also elevates my spirituality in a way to know that when I see the halaal branding on food, I know that food went through a strict process or strict processes and is of a top, top quality.

Participant 9: …in Cape Town…Muslim consumers are very fortunate to have quite a few places that they know and can trust when it comes to their requirements. Whereas overseas, there would be a bigger struggle. To actually find a place that caters for them.

Participant 10: So it is very comforting for me to see, to pick up a product and see the word halaal on it. And without even thinking about or needing to, again, Google whether it's halaal. I, I will automatically know. And you suddenly, you, you will suddenly be in a, in that space of comfort because, you know, you can actually eat here.

As Muslims, these participants are able to navigate the foodscapes equipped with knowledge on what semiotics to look for but also how they would interpret such semiotics. Their interaction with food in these spaces becomes part of an identity performance which signals ideological consumption practices. The participants claimed that the crescent moon and star sign are recognizable and this tells us that the halaal branding semiotics are learnt through social convention with words or phrases such as "my grandmother would always say" or "growing up" from Participant 5 and the use of "madrassa" (Moslem school) from Participant 7, as evidence of how it was socialised during the participants' formative years. The crescent moon and star, the mosque, the word halaal and the use of certain colours, all hold significant meanings to Muslim consumers. This sign can be seen on the halaal branding semiotics utilised by the certification bodies. Apart from its ties to Islamic history concerning the Ottoman Empire, this sign can also be seen as a link to the lunar calendar. Although the Islamic religion does not condone any form of idol worship or symbolism, this sign instead functions as an additional identifier for halaal food in foodscapes.

It is also noted that some participants prefer to see the word halaal written in foodscapes and on food products, even though the crescent moon and star symbol are commonly accepted signifiers. The reason is that the word halaal gives them this extra sense of security. The colour green specifically also holds significant meaning to Muslims as it is a colour that is mentioned several times in the Quran in addition to having ties to Islamic history. Thus, resemiotisation (Iedema, 2001; 2003) of the word halaal, the crescent moon and star, the image of a mosque as well as the use of the colour green can all be found on halaal branding semiotics in Cape Town.

5.1.3 Challenges faced when accessing halaal food in foodscapes

The lack of halaal food products in foodscapes poses a major challenge to the Muslim minority especially where foodscapes have a wide variety of products available to consumers. When asked about possible challenges when encountering halaal food in foodscapes such as supermarkets and butcheries, participants were divided in their answers. The amount of halaal foodscapes available in foodscapes appears to depend on the presence of a Muslim community in the area. Participants

who are privileged to reside in areas where there are visible Muslim communities and most of the foodscapes are fully halaal said that,

> Participant 7: I'm lucky I stay in Rylands, Southern Suburbs. It's a huge hub for like anything halaal. So I mean, majority of the takeaway, all these Syrian places in my like, close-by surroundings are like fully halaal. And I mean, with regards to shopping, I'll shop at like our major brands in South Africa because of the MJC, like we have accessibility to like products that's been halaal-certified, so I can shop basically anywhere…

> Participant 11: So I have to say that I'm speaking from a place of privilege because I have never had to purchase meat or anything from a supermarket…in my area, there is a butcher and that's where I get most of my meat from. And they all Muslim-owned and do everything by halaal, halaal standard…

While participants who live in less Muslim community-populated areas sometimes have to travel outside their residential areas to acquire halaal food. The data here implies that it becomes difficult to acquire halaal food products, the further one moves away from heavily Muslim-populated areas. For Participant 6, this lack of availability reinforces the fact that halaal food in foodscapes are location-dependent,

> Participant 6: if it's a monthly shopping trip, then…we have to drive to Athlone…So I am located in…on the outskirts of Stellenbosch. So yeah, so I'm located on the outskirts of Stellenbosch…

Due to her geographical location, it is difficult for her to purchase halaal food in her immediate vicinity. This is an extreme case when compared to participants who live in areas where there are equal representations of Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the area. The data here has been conceptualized in theories such as Skinscapes (Peck and Stroud, 2015) and specifically looks at reading the body of the landscape. In areas such as Elsies River, Goodwood, Parow and Kensington, the foodscapes available cater to both Muslim and non-Muslim consumers, below are a few participant excerpts,

> Participant 2: I suppose, proximity to places, like I said…not, not so much in my area… we are spoiled for choice. I mean, I do- We do have your Pick 'n Pays, your Shoprites, your Checkers,

your Woolworths, you know? Um, so it's not like I'm spoiled- I mean I am spoiled for choice where I can shop and every store has halaal products in it. So I don't think I've got a challenge with say the butcher's right around the corner from me…

Participant 9: …like here in Kensington, we have a halaal Spar and it's fully halaal, right? So you go in there and whatever you buy, you've got the peace of mind of, of saying, you know what…you'll buy whatever it is. It doesn't really matter. You go to the bakery, you go to the butcher, you go to the…the warm food section. You go to the, the deli, you know, you buy whatever it is that you want to buy without having that conscious- conscience, that that is not going to be halaal.

Participants 2 and 9 state that even though they reside is a mixed-populated area, the foodscapes available do cater for their demographic. Participant 2 says that she is "spoiled for choice" and Participant 9 shares a similar view to the Spar in Kensington which is fully halaal. However, this is not to say that there are no issues present in these foodscapes, Participant 1 comments on an incident regarding chicken and a halaal-designated fridge,

Participant 1: …there was a time where I went out to buy chicken. And because it was in a halaal-designated fridge, like there's a massive sign that says, halaal, you would assume that all of the meat- all of the chicken in the fridge was halaal. And it wasn't until I got home that I'd noticed that the package didn't actually have a halaal sign.

Despite being granted this privilege and power (Fairclough 1989; Negm, 2014; McWhorter, 2015) in foodscapes with the halaal certificate acting as a blatant sign (Blommaert, 2005) which positions the fridge as a space for halaal poultry products, potential incidents of cross-contamination could still occur. This presents a serious problem in foodscapes such as supermarkets as it poses a risk to the halaal certification they hold.

Participants 3 and 9, talk specifically about the restaurants in Cape Town and how they position themselves as "halaal-friendly" because they serve alcohol, this is a point that was brought up earlier. Participant 3 says that she experienced an instance in Nuri Sushi where they had a "halaal soy sauce and soy sauce that like contained alcohol", and if had not been for the store employee, she would have used the soy sauced that contained alcohol (See Appendix 17). Although Muslim

consumers are “fortunate in accessing halaal” in Cape Town, Participant 9 confirms that when it comes to restaurants the search is “difficult” (see Appendix 18). Participant 4 affirms that the,

> Participant 4: …persons who require halaal are very small minority in most workplaces and I suppose in most stores as a whole. So in certain suburbs, it's obviously easier to find, halaal products, in…‘Muslimly’ suburbs…but in other…less Muslim populated suburbs. It's very difficult and often people misconstrue what halaal means. People just say it's not pork, therefore it is halaal. So you find that in certain suburbs, you actually have to further investigate even if someone says to you, it is halaal.

The ‘Muslimy’ suburbs Participant 4 refers to above are areas such as Athlone, Belgravia, Gatesville and Kenilworth, which are all located in the Southern Suburbs and house a vast Muslim community. Thus, the foodscapes in these areas can efficiently sustain the demographic’s dietary needs.

One more challenge in foodscapes apart from what participants already mentioned is the lack of halaal catering options for Muslim employees when attending work functions. Participant 7 says that the spaces used for company farewells are usually “bars” that “doesn’t necessarily serve halaal”, so the Muslim employee would have to eat the “vegetarian” option (see Appendix 19). In those cases because of their dietary restrictions, they would often avoid these situations which could negatively impact their “like social, like events and mingling and stuff like that…” continues Participant 7 (see Appendix 19).

In the case where they do cater for Muslim employees, Participant 8 says that “the halaal foods…doesn't look like it's of the same quality of the non-halaal foods” and that the quality of halaal food at these type of events “varies across…different vendors” (see Appendix 20). Participant 8 also remarks that once you leave the Western Cape area, there is a significant drop in the quality of halaal foods (see Appendix 20). Participant 4 adds that,

> Participant 4: …as someone who is employed, in the working sector specifically, with, with regards to being at conferences, being at work, having people cater for us, etcetera, it's not very, I dunno, not very accessible…I went to a, a conference, in Durbanville and the gentleman told me, that the chicken, for example, the chicken pie was halaal. And then

> I'm like, but where did you buy the chicken? And then he said, well, I got it from, let's say Rudy's Butcher. And I asked does Rudy's Butcher sell pork? And he said, yes, of course, I bought this bacon there as well. So, you know, what's funny is, is that they just construe any product that is not pork as being halaal.

The most common challenge that participants have drawn upon is the accessibility to halaal food in lesser Muslim-populated areas, catering of work functions and restaurants adopting this 'halaal-friendly' attitude. Above, Participant 4 relays an experience she had when attending a work conference where the chicken from "chicken pie" prepared for her was not acquired from a halaal butchery, which echoes this misunderstanding of what is considered halaal-friendly foodscapes it is evident that they are trying to be inclusive to the Muslim demographic. Apart from that, the food delivery services in Cape Town, also provide halaal food options, but even these are limited. The next section zooms in onto the major themes seen echoed in participant responses.

Although Muslim consumers are given power and privilege in terms of the food available in foodscapes (Fairclough 1989; Negm, 2014; McWhorter, 2015), there are still certain challenges that they face. In foodscapes such as supermarkets, they would often find that the non-halaal meat products are often placed in the halaal-only fridge. This poses a risk to food security as well as the validity of the status of the halaal-only fridge. Another potential risk lies in the shared spaces and placement of halaal meat products in fridges (see Chapter Four). The halaal status of these frozen meats may be compromised due to sharing a space with non-halaal or haram meat products. Some may argue that the meats are packaged, however, it happens where the plastic packaging may have a tear, thus resulting in the juices and sometimes the blood of that product leaking, which is also seen as a form of cross-contamination.

5.1.4 Alternative signs if halaal branding semiotics are not present

Halaal branding semiotics is a set of certificates, logos, stickers and stamps that act as clear indicators of halaal food products for Muslim consumers in foodscapes. In cases where no halaal brand can be found on products, this may pose a threat to the food security of the Muslim consumer group. It is unknown what other kinds of semiotics become resemiotised (Iedema, 2001; 2003) in

these spaces. Participants 1, 2, 4, and 7 agreed to check the ingredient list at the back of a food product,

Participant 1: …I think every Muslim kind of knows, what they should possibly check out for. What I mean is, you know, that if item might contain gelatin, you have to check to see that if it's a vegetable-based gelatin or is it a pork-based based gelatin. So I think, you know, it's a lot easier when it comes to pre-packaged goods because they do already have- they have a very comprehensive list of ingredients. So even if there isn't an halaal stamp on the, you can kind of determine for yourself by going through the list of ingredients whether it's halaal or not…it all depends on the product…you know meat or any type of seafood, chicken and things like that…I typically check if there's pork or pork by-products in, so like gelatin or anything. I also check if it's a vegan or vegetarian. If it's vegan or vegetarian, then you can be a hundred percent sure that it's plant-based and that there's no pork involved where then your only worry is for alcohol…If I find those things, then I think that's safe to say that it's halaal or not halaal….

Participant 2: …Like I say, people, I mean, even some of our popular shops, you have to always check the ingredients of the items you're purchasing. So we also have to hold one another accountable, you know, and if I'm not happy with a certain product, because maybe I know certain things were made, especially a lot of foods that are imported and now, you know, people experimenting with different types of food like Moroccan, or Thai…if you're experimenting with Chinese food, for instance, and using ingredients that you've purchased from a Chinese supermarket, I would be very weary if the person cannot answer what's in the ingredients, I'd rather stay on the safe side and rather not consume...

Participant 4: I usually, for me, I usually check the ingredients label. I check if there are any by-products used, usually I'll check if there's a small V or Vegetarian sign. Yeah, those, those are the things I would look for before purchasing a product.

Participant 7: …I guess I'd go to a different store, but I mean, if it was push comes to shove and you on like a long roadtrip and look, this is the only store you get for miles. And I don't see any certification. I would then just go to the ingredients and actually see what's in the product itself. If I read the ingredients and I can see that, look, it hasn't been contaminated with pork, there's no alcohol in it, there's no meat or chicken or anything like that…

It is imperative to check products which include gelatin, as it could be "pork-based" says Participant 1. With the ingredients listed at the back, it is up to the Muslim consumer's own discretion on whether they would purchase the product or not. Participant 2 commented on the interest and experimentation of food and made an example of "Chinese food". She says that the issue lies in the ingredients available "from the Chinese supermarket", and if the sales assistant confirms where these ingredients are sourced from, she would "rather not consume" the product. This reinforces Wilson and Lui (2010) view on the avoidance of certain products which Muslim consumers practice when they are unsure of the product's halaal status. In addition to reading the ingredients list, Participant 4 would look for a "small V or Vegetarian sign" on a product. The procedure administered when certifying halaal food products is similar to the one undertaken by vegetarian-branded goods. Participant 7 too admits that she would avoid those products and "go to a different store", but if she is met with an unavoidable situation, she would read the product's ingredients list to check that "it hasn't been contaminated with pork" or "alcohol" as well as any other meat by-product.

As seen in Chapter Four, some products included Arabic discourse and, in such cases, it is unclear whether Muslim consumers view this discourse as part of the halaal branding semiotics or not,

> Participant 8: …even if it is Arabic regimen, I still look at the, the, the ingredients. I do search for the word, if, if any of the Arabic is says halaal on there. But otherwise, if it's just an, an address that's written in Arabic That that is not, that is of, that is not of comfort to me. And I will- if I see more products found there and for arguments sake, there's a lot of Arabic on there I will still put it down…It's a language. It doesn't belong to just Muslims.

> Participant 10: …I wouldn't…because not all Arabs are Muslim. So you get Christian Arabs as well… so if it has Arabic writing behind it and there no halaal stamp, it really- it depends on what it is before I take it as, this is halaal, I can consume it…

Similar to how individuals perceive the resemiotised (Iedema, 2001; 2003) crescent moon and star symbol as a sign for Islam, many associate the Arabic language as being a 'Muslim language' because of its ties to the Islamic religion and halaal branding semiotics. Even though it is one of the mediums used in their religious practices, Participant 8 says that "It's a language. It doesn't

belong to just Muslims". Participant 10 adds to this by saying that "not all Arabs are Muslim", so while the product may contain Arabic discourse does not necessarily mean that the product is halaal.

While halaal branding semiotics serves a specific purpose in foodscapes, Participants 8 and 9 in particular, share that they do not find the halaal brand as being a necessity for certain products.

Participant 8: But if you're talking about a packet of Romany Creams or a chocolate bar, and you can see on the ingredients that there's really no animal product that's being used in there, and it's maybe just visible products and normal, then I make the call and then I'm okay with it. I mean, there are certain things that doesn't have to be halaal-certified. Yeah. But I mean, I…I do take time to just, just look at the list of ingredients…But that is obviously when it comes to meat products, then then. Then I don't, but taking it is with the exception being fish, of course, or, or any products that comes from the ocean, you don't need a certificate for that.

Participant 9: I'm not very fussy in terms of whether halaal symbol is there or not, but it depends on the actual thing that I'm trying to purchase. I mean, I'm obviously not going to buy meat…But to me it doesn't, it doesn't matter if there's a halaal sign or not, I wouldn't-on certain of products. Like I said I really don't mind if there's no halaal sign, but as long as the products that I know I'm buying does not contain any animal products or, or any pork or anything.

Above, Participants 8 and 9 say that they do not view the presence of the halaal brand, or the lack thereof as a deciding factor on whether they should purchase a product or not. Participant 8 makes an example of "Romany Creams" and a "chocolate bar" and says that the "ingredients" of these products play a deciding factor in his purchasing. Participant 9, further comments that "it doesn't matter if there's a halaal sign or not" as his purchase intention is swayed by the product ingredients. While this appears to be the case with baked and sweet goods the same cannot be said about meat and seafood products. Participant 1 states that while being firm on only purchasing halaal-certified meat products, there is an underlying grey area when it comes to seafood products,

Participant 1: Why I typically look for a halaal sign on seafood, is to see if it's ethically caught, and to see what they are preserving their seafood in. So sometimes they just use salt water,

> so brine, but other times they do include some form of alcohol. Some of them do include gelatin, a very small amount of gelatin. And so it's not always plant-based gelatin, like agar, but it might be a pork-related gelatin…other reasons are because some seafood, is packaged in the same factory where they do have pork products. So to eliminate the chance of cross-contamination. I just go with a product that is "halaal" certified.

Most of the participants agreed that apart from the halaal semiotics being visible in foodscapes, they would still check the ingredients and menus in addition to asking if the establishment is halaal. Especially in the case of encountering a foodscape that caters to both halaal and non-halaal-consuming clientele. For participants who frequent exclusively halaal foodscapes, they can trust that the food they are about the purchase follows Islamic Shariah Law and that no non-halaal food products are sold there. Despite living in an upcoming "Muslim hub" (see Appendix 7), Participant 2 says that some foodscapes in her residential vicinity do not cater to the surrounding Muslim community and that she and her family are not,

> Participant 2: …fanatical about it. I respect people whose businesses are not um, catering for halaal in the same way that they respect that I cannot support them then. I would love to support you but if you cannot take it for me, then I cannot support you…we don't take it to an extreme, it is recommendations and we try and do it as best as possible. And if I can keep, you know, my family from not consuming unhalaal products and stuff, that's as much as I can do. But I'm not going to force, you know, I'm not going to push for government to open all, you know, places and force people to not have alcohol in restaurants. It's not necessarily for me.

Participant 2 is cognizant of the fact that while she does not live in an Islamic country, her dietary requirements are met. Above she says that her family is not "fanatical" about there being non-halaal foodscapes because there are halaal options available on the market. With halaal food options being accessible to her, she ensures that her family only consumes halaal and would not push the government to mandate halaal foodscapes only.

Despite holding this sense of power and privilege in foodscapes (Fairclough, 1989; Negm, 2014; McWhorter, 2015), Muslim consumers still feel like they are a marginalised group being kept out of certain spaces because their dietary needs will not be catered for in certain spaces. Given that

Islamic ideologies, such as halaal practices in the kitchen are slowly being integrated into non-halaal foodscapes, Muslim consumers still feel the need to see the halaal branding semiotics in foodscapes to assure them. The halaal branding semiotics then act as a level of security for them.

5.2 Experiences and perceptions of Muslim consumers in different foodscapes in Cape Town

This section of analysis aligns with Objective Four (see Chapter One) and focuses on how Muslim consumers deem the term 'halaal brand' in addition to how they view the halaal concept. Furthermore, this section examines their stance on how halaal food is positioned in foodscapes. This analysis closes with the participants' perceptions of the core meaning of halaal foods before the concluding remarks of this chapter.

5.2.1 The 'halaal brand' and Muslim consumers

As indicated in Chapter Two, this study, adopted the definition of the 'halaal brand' as being an all-encompassing or umbrella term that includes semiotics such as the halaal certificate, logo, sticker and stamp. As soon as a food product or foodscape uses halaal branding semiotics it inadvertently positions itself as being a halaal-certified product or foodscape. Across participant interviews, it is evident that they referred to branded food products or eateries as being 'halaal' because these items and spaces cater to their demographic as Muslims. This results in the food product or foodscape now becoming a brand within a brand. For example, one would find both the food producer company and the halaal authority's branding on the packaging of the product. With some restaurants, halaal branding semiotics are used in tandem with the foodscape's signage as seen in the pictorial data of Chapter Four, which resemiotised (Iedema, 2001; 2003) the halaal concept in these contexts in the form of branding semiotics.

When asking the participants' perceptions on the term 'halaal brand', most of my participants did not know what was being referred to within the foodscape context. However, Muslim consumers do not necessarily associate these semiotics with the halaal brand, instead, it only acts as an identifier which enables them to achieve their moral obligation (Ali et al., 2017) by consuming halaal food. Participant 12 said that she "never really thought about it" (see Appendix 21), while

other Participants think that the term 'halaal brand' is just a visible practice of their Islamic dietary rights within the foodscapes. Some of the participants noted that they can easily find products that align with their "morals", "values" (Participant 1) and "beliefs" (Participant 7) as Muslims and they had this to say on what they think the halaal brand is about:

> Participant 1: …when I think of halaal brand or the term halaal brand, to me it means that processes and not just the products, but the actual processes associated with the business was achieved in a lawful, fair, humane, and ethical way that aligns with Islamic Shariah Law. So it's easy for consumers to find a brand that will align with their morals…and values as a Muslim

> Participant 7: For me, it just means that like, it's, it's been like halaal-certified, like and with it being like there isn't, it's not contaminated it's any pork or alcohol…And it's yeah, like it's, it's certified. It's gone through checks, meaning it's okay for us to consume according to our religion or our beliefs.

Participant 4 exclaims that seeing this sort of branding on products can be "construed as both good and bad" as it is "empowering" to see.

> Participant 4: So I think it goes both ways, 'halaal brand' almost symbolizes that it's commercial, you know, not part of a religious sector. So almost like people won't take it as seriously as before, however, 'halaal brand' could also be empowering, like empower young Muslims to look out for certain signs, to look out for halaal certifications and such. So I think it can be construed as both good and bad, but I think I'm leaning more towards the good side. So that things are easily identifiable and more appealing to people, especially the youth.

Power is shaped by relations in the social order and it is usually granted to the dominant group which is subject to possible power struggles in discourse (Fairclough, 1989). Privilege is understood as a set of unearned social benefits that a dominant group possesses (Johnson et al., 2017). With the admission of Participant 4, it is shown how this concept of privilege and power plays a role in foodscapes. However, the use of power and privilege is ambivalent in the South African context regarding foodscapes because the minority group is granted this privilege through pricing, quality and the location of the foodscapes, i.e. foods in affluent markets or malls.

All participants agreed that halaal branding semiotics act as "great" (Participant 9) means to identify halaal food products and foodscapes,

Participant 5: In the 21st century or the newer Muslims, I would say like around my age, 24 or maybe 30, even 40, they…we have come to think of 'halaal' as being a brand…We would go to a halaal-friendly place because…they- all the food is halaal, it's just they sell wine. So that's like, just like a side mark. Oh, they sell wine, but this is Ocean Basket, so it should be halaal. Cause it's fish. But that's why it's kind of a brand. And basically because we, we thinking of it as a brand, it's like an excuse to, to eat there...

Participant 6: I think that halaal has become a brand. As, as someone who many a times prepares the food that is consumed at dinnertime in our home, I can tell you that I use halaal branded products in my food preparations. And I only use certain brands that have been branded halaal.

Participant 9: …in terms of identifying, I mean, it's a great way of identifying the product. It's very important. I think because, I mean one week a product can be non-halaal and the next week, you know, can be halaal. Because maybe, you know, people want to increase their sales on the product and, and now they're making it halaal so that it can be available to, to all consumers, you know? Because that is a big draw card, especially for lots of merchandisers, you know, so that they can sell their product…like pies, for example…Pieman's pies, I mean, when they came in, they kind of changed the whole market because, you know, they became accessible at different service stations...

Participant 9 makes an example of Pieman's Pies and claims that they have "changed the whole market" because they made their product easily accessible at various service stations. Participants 5 and 6's answers to this question were intriguing, as both of these participants stated that they and the younger generation (20 - 30 years of age) treat the halaal brand as a brand. Participant 5 says that foodscapes are branded as either halaal or halaal-friendly based on the food they provide, whereas Participant 6 admits that she only purchases "certain brands" which are certified as halaal.

Power struggles in discourse are defined as being moulded by the relations in the social order and the kinds of interests and inequalities it may seek to generate, legitimate or perpetuate (Fairclough, 1989; Van Dijk, 1993), which Negm (2014) says, is bound together by the hidden effect of power.

Power and privilege are usually granted to the dominant group (Fairclough 1989; Negm, 2014; McWhorter, 2015), however, in the case of food in Cape Town foodscapes, the Muslim minority is granted this level of power and privilege in certain spaces. The discourses surrounding halaal branding semiotics have enabled them to create 'instrumental' power (Blommaert, 2005), afforded to Muslim consumers during accessing food in shared foodscapes in Cape Town. With the above, it is evident how the halaal branding semiotics have recontextualised and repurposed (Iedema and Wodak, 1999) the halaal concept within foodscapes. The halaal branding semiotics serve as a physical representation of the halaal concept to Muslim consumers when purchasing food in foodscapes. This brings new discourses to the food industry and marketing tactics that promote certain ways of life such as the halaal practices which are believed to be similar to kosher standards (Bashir et al., 2019). Furthermore, Bashir et al., (2019) say, that Muslim consumers strive to always consume halaal food as they are more aware of the importance of halaal food, due to their moral obligation influencing their consumption of halaal food (Ali et al., 2017). Although identity can be seen as an individual's religious status (Hussein, 2004; Duderija, 2008), the Muslim food culture cements the expression of an individual's Islamic identity (Tayob, 2012) through food consumption.

Participants 8 and 10 said that while they have no issue with the term halaal brand, the problem comes with the commodification of the halaal concept into a brand and how people are quick to jump onto trends,

Participant 8: …Previously when it came to meat and how our, our animals get slaughtered and so on, and that that's quite significant to us…the meat must be slaughtered in a certain way and so on, but now applying it to a, a packet of sweet or a packet of biscuits the, I don't know…It's supposed to have given us the safe harbor of that, you know, we can, we can eat those. We can eat those products…But now I, I just think it, there's a, this a, this it's very commercialised at this stage from speaking to businesses myself just in the past, because I had- was in business myself and I wanted to buy a halaal certificate. Obviously, it wasn't necessary 'because I was Muslim. But non-Muslims, it can be quite a, an expensive exercise for them. And no, I feel sometimes it feels like the businesses will take the halaal brand to attract Muslims buyers into that particular product. Even though the product might not necessarily need it. Almost like, this, it, it's almost extra advertising to say, okay, you know what; it is also halaal we've done, but they haven't

done anything extra apart from putting the halaal certificate on, because if you take it off, it'll- the product sometimes would not be, not halaal…So yeah, I feel it has become a bit commercialised.

Participant 10: …I don't see it as a brand, I for, for me. And I think for us as Muslim, we don't see it as it being an actual brand. It's more cause of a certified body for us to make sure that we can eat here and there…but I think people, you get, you get people also then take it as a brand and then to follow the clout. Okay, let's all make it halaal and just…let's make a thing out of it. Let's let let's social media take over…There's a lot more to it…People shouldn't run with halaal being a brand and then building onto it. But really learn the history behind it and understand it before you just run with it and think you know what you're talking about. Because then at the end of it all you just end up just making a mockery out of what it really is.

These participants agree with what Wilson and Liu (2010), have said regarding the conceptualisation of the halaal into a brand. In the traditional sense, Participants 8 and 10 say that the halaal cannot be a brand, and when it comes to the certification of food products not everything needs to be halaal certified. Participant 10 instead views the halaal brand as being a visual stamp that was authorised through a "certified body" to authenticate the validity of a foodscape's halaal status. This goes hand in hand with how some products do not necessarily require the halaal brand on their packaging. By placing this brand on almost every type of food product appears to be "making a mockery" and "people shouldn't run with halaal being a brand and then building onto it" without understanding what it means for a food item to be halaal says Participant 10.

The term halaal brand can also be seen as a type of recontextualisation (Iedema and Wodak, 1999) in a theoretical sense or rather as a means to group these kinds of semiotics. Again here the participants show traces of the representational meanings in the use of the term halaal brand by individuals. Halaal semiotics in this context inform Muslim consumers of spaces and products that adhere to their dietary needs. This brings the next point in which the participants share their perceptions on whether the core meaning behind halaal foods has changed compared to its original intention.

As noted in chapter two, the term halaal is complex in nature as it holds significance to several things for Muslims, from the way they live to their dress and even their dietary requirements. Although Participants 1, 3, 4 and 9, answered this question in terms of food, that it is "permissible", and that the animal was slaughtered in a "halaal manner" in addition to the corporate foodscape's adherence to Islamic Shariah Law (see Appendices 22 - 25). Participant 8 included a brief outline of halaal kitchen practices in foodscapes,

> Participant 8: …it's not just about meat. It's also about where you prepare it, how you prepare it. And the where obviously do you prepare in vicinity of other products that's not halaal because a lot, a lot of people that's not familiar with the, the, the broader meaning of halaal, they will say no, no, we bought meat from halaal butcher. But now in the, in the kitchens, they don't have a specific area where halaal meals are being prepared and utensils like knives and, and pots, and gets passed around between all products. So for me, when I see the term halaal…it means that the person understands the whole idea about, that this way of life. You can't cross contaminate there shouldn't. There should be if you have- are you preparing meals where there's non-halaal meat. I'm not always talking about pork, I'm just talking about normal beef, that's not done in a proper way. If that's in the same kitchen, that there is a designated area, they, where halaal meats are prepared and there's no risk of cross-contamination…that's what it means to me when I see that if a business says they're halaal, then I understand that, that research or at least those checks were done by the people giving certificate and the people preparing renewals. They understand that that's how they have to do it.

As the above has shown, if a foodscape positions themselves as halaal or even halaal-friendly for that matter they need to have a designated area where the halaal meals are prepared, equipped with their own cooking utensils, pots and pans. As an extension of halaal semiotics in spaces, crockery and cutlery as well as kitchen practices are unseen to the customer, especially in establishments where non-halaal food may also be prepared. Participant 8 also says that when an establishment positions itself as halaal-certified, he understands that the halaal authorities have a relationship with this business and he is assured that their practices align with his dietary needs. In line with Participant 8's response, Participant 6 says that to her the term halaal means "peace of mind", "belonging" and "acceptance",

Participant 6: …When I think of halaal, most often food comes to mind (laughs) and from this you can hear that I'm a foodie. I mentioned that halaal brings peace of mind, because I know that when I use items that have been branded halaal, that it means that I can consume the items without feeling guilt and feed my family of the food with a clear conscience.

Participant 6 further says that to her halaal means "acceptance" (see Appendix 26) because upon entering a foodscape, she knows that she can find a halaal option for the consumer. Whether it is a food product in a supermarket or foodscapes such as a fast-food takeaway or restaurant. Participant 5, comments on how the term 'halaal' has changed for him from his initial understanding of it. While the Cape Muslim identity is seen as a combination of an individual's national, racial, cultural and religious identity (Brodeur, 2004; Baker, 2009), Participant 5 presents an example of when one's identity would clash with their religious identity and religious ideologies,

Participant 5: …two aspects of that where 'halaal' used to or used to mean when I was younger. Like there's no such thing as "halaal- friendly", we'll only go to a restaurant that does not sell any, wine or has any pork on the menu…But now, nowadays, I think it's slightly changed where, you have your own money, so you don't need to eat where your parents eat (laughs) But also I think, like I said, in the previous question, we are looking more for loopholes…But I think, I think it's a phase, because now as you grow older, now you you're changing again. Okay, you're reverting back to what the old people used to tell you or what your family used to tell you.

While the younger generation of Muslim consumers (aged 20 years and up) are more accepting of halaal-friendly spaces because they have access to their own money and are not obligated to eat or buy from where their parents would. It seems that through frequenting these foodscapes they are trying to elevate their socio-economic status in a sense. Upon reaching adulthood they would decide what they want to eat, and then as they grow older, they revert back to their ways of children. Participant 7, on the other hand, says that she associates halaal with being what is "acceptable" and "good" for Muslims by emphasising the ideological meaning,

Participant 7: …It's like it's the most acceptable thing you can do. So like, if it's halaal, like, you know, it's definitely right, versus if it was makruh or haram, meaning like, you know, we have like different things, like, there's a right, and then there's, look, there's, it's not wrong,

> but rather refrained. And then there's just wrong. So halaal meaning like it's right. Like it's good. And haram meaning it's not. So yeah, like halaal just. You know, it's, what's good for you basically.

It is evident that the halaal ideology is recontextualised (Iedema and Wodak, 1999) to fit into foodscapes. The repurposed halaal ideology now grants Muslim consumers a sense of power and privilege in selected foodscapes in addition to enabling the halaal certificate (Fairclough, 1989; Van Dijk, 1993; Blommaert, 2005) to validate the halaal status of foodscapes such as restaurants and takeaways. Through food consumption, Muslims can express their religious identity (Tayob, 2012). However, identity is subject to being dynamic (Gilliat-Ray, 1998; Cameron, 2001) and the expression of their Islamic identity through food is evident in the foodscape selections of the participants. The identities of the participants are perceived (Thornborrow, 1999) through their food choices as well as appearance. What is also seen is how Muslims are still marginalised in certain spaces through the lack of access to halaal food. This is seen as a power struggle between the minority and dominant groups within the South African context. Especially when looking at how the minority (Muslims) currently holds power over the majority of food available in foodscapes. However, the accessibility of halaal food has shown that it is area and demographic dependent.

Bashir et al., (2019), record that 60% of the food available in foodscapes may be halaal certified, but the public is not aware of the positioning practices these foodscapes use to separate halaal food from haram food. When putting the positioning practices of foodscapes into perspective, Participant 1 states that,

> Participant 1: …it all depends on the establishment and the area that establishment is in. Because in areas with a bigger population, a bigger Islamic population, you tend to find, yeah. That they are more courteous and more cognizant of how they place their food, versus areas that have a lesser Islamic population where you don't always get that same courtesy.

Even though the Muslim demographic accounts for about 2.5% of South Africa's population (Bashir et al., 2019), the government ensures that their dietary requirements are met. This is an amazing feat especially when you factor in the point that South Africa is not an Islamic country,

but they are securing food that this minority group can consume. So while some places are not fully halaal, or operate on a halaal-friendly notion, there are places that Muslims can frequent without having to worry about their food. However, this depends on its geographical location and residents in the surrounding area. But even though there has been this growth, it still seems that Muslims would find difficulty in acquiring halaal food when travelling to certain areas.

> Participant 6: The foodscapes of the Northern Suburbs, are not very welcoming to Muslim consumers, like the fine dining aspect of the Northern Suburbs for Muslims: nonexistent. It is absolutely, absolutely nonexistent.

Participant 6 above says even that though Muslims are granted these privileges in the marketplace (Fairclough, 1989; Johnson et al., 2017), they are still excluded from certain spaces. However, Participant 11 notes that she is privileged because she lives in an area (Rylands) where there is a halaal butchery not far from her residence,

> Participant 11: So I have to say that I'm speaking from a place of privilege because I have never had to purchase meat or anything from a supermarket. I have a, in my area, there is a butcher and that's where I get most of my meat from. And they all Muslim-owned and do everything by halaal, halaal standard. So I've never had to really purchase meat, even meat…when I go into the supermarket, I'm not initially going for meat, I'm just going for whatever odds and ends that I do need.

The only time that Participant 11 would visit the bigger foodscape is if she requires other food or household products. This seems to be the case with most areas that house a dominant, if not equal Muslim to non-Muslim ratio. These areas include Elsies River, Goodwood, Parow, Kensington, Belgravia, Rylands, Kenilworth and Retreat to name a few.

Areas that cater to both Muslim and non-Muslim consumers, the foodscape ensures that strict food positioning policies are put into place. These measures usually include placing halaal meat in a completely separate fridge with the halaal certificate visible to consumers, additionally, signage would be attached to indicate that this is a designated halaal meat section. The signage here includes signs similar to those denoting beef, chicken, lamb and pork products (see Chapter Four) as well as noting that the item is halaal lamb or halaal beef on the shelf label. Again, this appears

to be solely based on the Islamic population in an area as Participant 1 stated above. In a lesser Muslim populated area, only chicken was found to be halaal (see Chapter Four), thus, to acquire other halaal food, they (Muslim consumers) would now need to travel outside of their residing areas. Participants who live in areas that cater to both consumer groups understand the parameters around this and disagree with the positioning practices of foodscapes. They comment on the following below:

Participant 2: I think our society's quite, accommodating, we're quite diverse. So I don't think I have a problem with, I mean, I think yeah, it could be better. Everything can always be better, but the way our food courts for instance, have got options for halaal and how people are respectful. We are not segregated. So we are not also, you know, exclusively halaal et cetera. We are. It is like if I go to Century City, they will be halaal and non-halaal. And the two don't mix and the one caters, like, you know, there'll be enough for me to consume as a Muslim that is halaal and does not make me feel like I'm missing out. It's not like I go to Canal Walk I want to sit in John Dory's, you know, well, I want to sit in Spur…it's for me, it's fine. If I really want to go to Spur, there is an halaal option for me in, you know, in KC or Kenilworth Centre, there I can go and experience that food type…

Participant 3: …not really because I noticed that, like the butcher, for example, it's always at the back and it's also, it's sometimes difficult to look for if you're looking for, like halaal meat and like other halaal products, it's sometimes difficult to find at grocery stores, especially if it's like Pick ‘n Pay or Checkers.

Participant 4: Well, it's very difficult because it really depends on the particular shop itself. Like if, for example, if you go to Woolworths…the halaal section is very distinguishable, so you can clearly identify this is the halaal section. Whereas if you go to Pick ‘n Pay, it's not for me, not necessarily all halaal products in one particular area, it's here and there and everywhere, you understand? So for me, it really depends on the store. If the store is really strict on their halaal measures, then it, then it definitely, will comply or yeah with the requisite standards that it should be. But at the moment, I don't think the stores or the majority of the stores are that strict.

Participant 6: …I don't agree with how it's, positioned or placed, in, for example, like a butchery. Because you'll go to a hypermarket for example, that maybe Muslims only have access

to that place and they would, most of the time it's small sign saying, "Halaal meats" or, this is your halaal, maybe polony, meat stuff that you can purchase…

Participant 7: …I think it could be better not gonna lie. But at the moment, like at least we can actually look at products and see, okay, this is halaal and this isn't. Like if I have to look at a supermarket, that's actually doing like really well other than like the rest it would probably be like Woolworths…where they using their own products or creating their own products. So it's like a Woolworths Food et cetera. And with that being said it, they would make sure that it's labeled halaal, if it's halaal. Whereas if I go into like bigger markets sometimes there is a mix or like a misunderstanding, like you could find like the pork, like meat range is like right next to the halaal meat range. And that's not really like ideal. So there's definitely like work that needs to be done, but I don't think it's completely like far off.

Participant 9: No I don't. I feel that there's sometimes the food gets mixed up with each other. You know sometimes, you know, you're packing…I've, I've experienced this before at Woolworths, for example. Where I've experienced…where halaal meat was being packed next to non-halaal meat…Like next to like, like fridges next to each other. And to me, that wasn't great because what I found also is that the non-halaal meat…some, some customers come by, you know, pick up a non-halaal meat and then decide to pick it up and then drop it into the halaal meat section…

All participants agree that despite having this privilege, the positioning practices of halaal food in foodscapes need to be remediated. Where some foodscapes have a designated halaal section, others have a shared space. In this shared space, halaal meat products can be seen as losing their validity due to being exposed to the same air as non-halaal products. With these products being placed so close to each other in proximity, Participant 9 says that nothing stops consumers from picking up a "non-halaal meat" item and dropping it "into the halaal meat section", and vice versa. Another scenario would be having the halaal meat placed on a shelf below or even next to the non-halaal meat where the risk of cross-contamination in the form of leaked meat juices is quite high. This poses a huge threat to the storage practices of these foodscapes, especially in regard to food positioning and the foodscape losing both their health inspection license and halaal certification.

While corporate foodscapes do cater to the halaal niche market, the halaal food products do not receive the same courtesy as non-halaal food products in these foodscapes. Participant 5 says that

the non-halaal products are displayed in a more visually pleasing manner than the halaal products. Participant 5 further adds that there is a very limited selection of halaal meat products in some foodscapes (see Appendix 27). Participant 6 again says that the Checkers Rylands Village "artfully" displays their hot foods section and that they seem to have a wider variety of halaal cold meats which is placed far from the non-halaal cold meats (see Appendix 28). These two contrasting views on positioning practices showcases the difference in catering to a Muslim-dominant area versus a non-Muslim one. This is evident by the selection of cold meats both halaal and non-halaal available in the foodscapes. However, some foodscapes, for example, Checkers do not seem to cater to halaal niche markets as Participant 8 mentions below when commenting on the storage and positioning practices of Pick 'n Pay and Woolworths:

> Participant 8: I've only really looked at Pick 'n Pay for halaal foods and, and Woolworths and… the way that they've done, their halaal meats are in a separate fridge, or at least it is separately in a separate area that's cordoned off that you can say that it's not…being mixed with non-halaal foods…I've never gone to Spar really. And I know from Checkers…they have a policy of not providing for niche markets. So…Niche markets that that, which, which, which should be halaal. So yeah, I mean…in terms of my experience with those two food stores…I'm okay with that.

This is not to say that all Checkers stores follow this practice, but there are definitely a select few which do. Checkers Rylands Village as mentioned above does cater for both consumer groups whereas the Checkers which Participant 8 frequents does not. This indicates that foodscapes are dependent on the area in which they are situated, as consumers develop a form of loyalty with foodscapes they trust will cater to their dietary requirements. Participant 10 comments on this and she further states that consumers need to be careful of what products foodscapes are promoting and how these plays into her purchasing choices.

Like most participants, Participant 10 brings into question the procedures foodscapes undertake to ensure the status of its halaal food products, particularly in the meat section. She states that she trusts certain foodscapes purely based on their mission to provide quality products to their consumers and feels uncomfortable purchasing from others because she feels as though they provide halaal meat options just to attract Muslim or halaal-consuming clientele even and make a

profit. She also notes the Ramadan and Eid specials some foodscapes promote for their Muslim clientele and says that just because anyone can "throw out" these specials and that "personally" they are not taking the time to fully understand what halaal means regarding food (see Appendix 29). Because of this lack of consideration, Participant 10 would then prefer to shop at trusted foodscapes such as Woolies (Woolworths), Excellent Meat Market, or Busy Corner Butchery.

It is evident based on the above testimonies of Muslim consumers that while halaal food holds a certain privilege in the marketplace due to the certifications (Fairclough, 1989; Van Dijk, 1993; Blommaert, 2005; Negm, 2014; Johnson et al., 2017), there is still this power struggle in terms of lack of consideration and awareness of the halaal in some foodscapes. This is seen in the current level of awareness of halaal foods and how halaal food products are positioned in foodscapes. Apart from this, the halaal-branded items are priced slightly higher than non-halaal-branded items (see Chapter Four). This price difference also factors in and allows for halaal branded goods to hold this premium kind of status almost.

5.2.3 Changes in the core meaning behind halaal food

When reviewing the core meaning behind halaal foods, it is mainly used to ensure the separation of halaal from non-halaal products in the meat section in foodscapes as data (see Chapter Four) has shown, but with globalisation as well as the interest in other cultures and food, the markets are now overflowing with the influx of both local and imported goods where all consumers, depending on affordability and preferences have access to these food products. It was of great importance to document the perceptions and experiences of one of the most defined groups which access particular food in globalised foodscapes. In this case, it was interesting to note that the halaal brand is now placed on some products outside of the meat industry (see Chapter Four) and even participants in this study also noted the repurposed semiotics and changes in meaning as the food is branded. Participants 3, 5, 6, 9 and 10 agreed that the core meaning behind halaal foods has changed to an extent. They made the following comments:

Participant 3: I think it has changed, 'cause like if you're looking at like fast-food places and restaurants, that like are considered halaal friendly in that way the meaning has changed. So like, for example…if a place is halaal, they would usually tell you that it is, but they still have alcohol. So to some people like automatically, you would assume like it is halaal then, but to others again it wouldn't be considered halaal. So I think in that way, I'd say the core meaning of halaal foods has changed and like what we consider halaal.

Participant 5: Yes, definitely. It's- it has been a change. There's many examples, we, I think we, some Muslims, we look at the West or want to become a bit westernised by following their ways. For example, I'm not sure if you do, you know Bavaria…it's like a…alcohol, it's supposed to be an alcohol drink…or beer but then they would say 'non-alcoholic'…So we're not getting drunk, so it must mean that we can, or at is halaal. That's why I definitely…think it has changed to what it was originally intended for.

Participant 6: I do think that the core meaning behind halaal foods has changed in regards to what was originally intended for. I mean…when I was younger…'halaal' meant when we go to the store, halaal meant…meat and chicken, it meant 'essentials'…But now, wow…like any mall you walk into, you are guaranteed to find something- some takeaway or some restaurant that has been branded 'halaal', and that you can go and you can frequent. And I mean, like, halaal started off as a way of indicating which foods are allowed for Muslims to consume. And however, through societal development…like the expansion of areas and a lot of people becoming more aware of the very significant Muslim population that is in South Africa, and how adamant a lot of Muslim people are about eating food that has been halaal branded…locations have become so aware of the fact that listen, we need to brand certain things as halaal and it assigns a certain level of 'welcomeness'.

Participant 9: I don't think it's changed in a, in a bad way. I think it's changed in a, in a more positive way. I mean, like you're saying that there's more products that is more, I mean, with globalisation, you know, there's a demand for halaal products, right?

Participant 10: I think in a positive way it has…they've now been putting halaal stickers on things that doesn't would, you wouldn't think would need it or doesn't need it. And in saying so I think it, for me, I would think that the, the supplier that had put together this product had actually thought about it. And realise that we actually have to put a halaal sticker and halaal stamp on there because you are now catering to a broader market.

Participants 3 and 6 comments on the food now available in foodscapes as well as how foodscapes positions itself as a halaal-friendly establishment. Whereas, Participant 10 says that she can see the thought process behind this from the supplier's perspective because they are catering towards a "broader" consumer market. Participant 9 says that this change in the original meaning is a "positive" one and most likely a result of "globalisation" and consumer demands for "halaal products", while Participant 5 says that it is sometimes the Muslim consumer's interpretation that has led to this change in meaning. Participant 5 makes an example of Bavaria's non-alcoholic drink and says that since "we're not getting drunk," this beverage can be considered as "halaal", this brings into light the fact that Muslim consumers need to be literate when reading the ingredients listed at the back of a product should a halaal brand not be present. Participant 5 said that "it's not the core meaning" that changed but rather the "awareness of what certain products actually contain". This degree of change in its core meaning relies on the interpretation of the Muslim consumer as well as its means to attract Muslim consumers to certain food brands. In this sense, Muslim consumers themselves are recontextualising what halaal means to them.

Participants 4, 7 and 8 on the other hand disagreed and said no. Instead, these participants have noted that some Muslim consumers seem to accept this trend of the halaal-friendly concept, while others are more aware of which foods are fit for their consumption and that foods that are deemed halaal will always be halaal,

> Participant 4: …I think it's not the core meaning that really has changed, but more the awareness of what certain products actually contain. I think […] previously, we weren't really aware of what goes into a particular product. And we were just satisfied with accepting it as is. So I think actually it has intensified the meaning of 'halaal' and made us more aware of what we should look for within a particular brand. I mean, ordinarily one wouldn't check a packet of sweets or a slice of, you know…cake from a cake shop. But now, because people have become more aware of possible halaal certification or possible contaminants of other, animal by-products, we actually become more aware and not safer …more willing- more sensitive to the particular information. And we are able to make choices based on fact, or we hoping fact based on the halaal certification board itself. I think just in general, the whole 'trend' of halaal has changed for most Muslims as such. Although we all know that we should be eating strictly halaal the Muslims, we decide to go halaal-friendly, cause of what's available to us…

Participant 7: No…I don't think so. I just think like, people are becoming a lot more lenient, so it's like they've adopted like a new phase as a halaal-friendly, but I feel like the core halaal, like, meaning hasn't changed, you know? It's just like now you'll start getting different variations of like halaal to suit or cater like different like food sectors, etc. So it's like they still, they still wanna attract Muslims, but they don't wanna not sell alcohol or not a pork, for example…

Participant 8: …I mean, halaal will still mean the same thing to me, which means it's everything has been done to make it fit for my consumption, but like I've said, I do feel it's become a, a marketing tool…That's just exploiting the use of the, of the halaal category.

Themes of the halaal-friendly concept, awareness and commercialisation of the halaal are brought up with regard to the foodscapes. Participant 4 claims that it is not the meaning of halaal that has changed in particular, rather it is the "awareness" of product ingredients. She further states that to "check a packet of sweets" was not a practice in the past, but because Muslim consumers are now "aware of possible halaal certification" or even "possible contaminants of other, animal by-product", they are more "sensitive" to this "particular information". While Muslim consumers do put a certain amount of trust in halaal branding semiotics, they do double-check the ingredients of a product and even the halaal status of foodscapes as noted earlier in this chapter.

Participant 7 states that people have become "a lot more lenient" by adopting this "halaal-friendly" status. In these particular foodscapes, instead of the halaal branding semiotics acting as an extension of the halaal authority, its ideology appears to be exploited to overturn a profit by targeting the wider Muslim consumer base. Participant 8 says that "halaal will still mean the same thing to me" because they can trust that the foodscape is compliant with Islamic Shariah Law. Despite this, Participant 8 does note that the use of halaal branding semiotics has "become…a marketing tool" as it seems like the "halaal category" is being exploited. Thus, the marketisation of this periphery group, especially when looking at how the halaal concept has become commodified and repurposed to fit into foodscape contexts.

Participants 1, 2, 11 and 12 were ambivalent in their answers, while halaal food will always remain halaal, its production is questioned as well as how foodscapes position these foods to Muslim

consumers. Participants 1 and 2, comment on the broader halaal concept as well as the responsibility of foodscapes that position themselves as halaal,

Participant 1: Yes and no. So I think regarding food, halaal has stayed the same and will always stay the same. Halaal food will always mean that it's permissible by Islam. It's permissible to eat for a Muslim…Either the food will be permissible for you to eat…to Islamic Sharia Law or not. But halaal in life, I feel like the word halaal itself has taken on so many meanings over time. It's no longer just to do with food…It's used by establishments to describe how the products are being produced, how their businesses are being run…And I feel like it's not a bad thing…it just…a way for businesses to also find…a customer base that aligns with the Islamic beliefs and the morals and all of those things. So…I think the term halaal has grown to mean a lot more than what it was intended for, but the term halaal food is still true to what it was originally meant to mean.

Participant 2: …for me, it was always intended to be…to advise consumers, um, you know, of halaal items, um, and to also ensure, you know, that, that places are compliant as far as, you know, the process of making food and way they source the stuff that they are accountable for…claiming it's halaal. And I think the purpose for that, I mean, I'm believing that it is still the same because I'm still consuming from places that have halaal certification, assuming or under the assumption that the MJC, is aware of these, the MJC, SAHNA, NIHT, they are aware of the way the food is prepared. Where these places have purchased their products, their by-products from like meat et cetera. That those are all manu-, basically processed in a halaal manner. You know, the slaughtering, everything processed…

Participant 1 says that with regards to food "halaal…will always stay the same", and instead, that it is how "establishments" use it in the production of "products", which allows the concept of halaal in the context of food to grow beyond its original intention. In concern to the core meaning of halaal foods, Participant 2 says that the halaal branding semiotics acts as a means to "advise consumers" of "halaal items" in foodscapes. Moreover, these foodscapes are "accountable" for their claim of selling halaal food to Muslim consumers. Participant 2 further states that she believes the intention behind halaal foods is "still the same" because she is "consuming from places that have halaal certification". Once more, Muslim consumers put their trust in halaal branding

semiotics due to these foodscapes positioning themselves as halaal and compliant with Islamic Shariah Law and Muslim dietary requirements.

Participants 11 and 12 looks at the core meaning behind halaal foods changing due to the socio-economic status of foodscapes,

Participant 11: Yes and no…In the sense that like Muslims will forever hold the standard of halaal, they'll always look out for halaal and try to strive for halaal as much as they possibly can. Where the problem lies in nowadays is that people that say 'halaal-friendly', they cater for halaal and then they have like, you know, liquor in the, the premises and… we go into these restaurants or going to these places and we take it for granted that they are really serving as halaal…We don't know what's going on behind those doors in the kitchen. So there's an issue... How do we know that these there's no cross-contamination happening in these restaurants? You know what I mean? So the, the term halaal has kind of watered down in my opinion, it's no longer proper, you know, cause I mean, anyone, I won't say anyone, but like you do have to go through the MJC to get like your halaal certification…but my thing is also like, you can do it now just for show…

Participant 12: …when I think about things that are being certified halaal and things that are not being certified halaal based on like what I hear from other people mostly, I hear many people saying like, if asked, why is this not halaal, then, then I get an answer of like, it's a money making business. Like, why is this place not halaal then they're like, because they can't afford and whatever. Because they charge so much and stuff. So like taking that into consideration, like, I feel it has shifted from the importance of making something halaal to like making money…

The matter of marketing schemes and halaal-friendly spaces are recurring themes among participants. Participant 11 claims that Muslim consumers would always "strive for halaal" and that they hold the "standard of halaal" in high regard. However, the problem lies in what is available to Muslim consumers in foodscapes. Especially spaces that position themselves as "halaal-friendly" because while they cater for "halaal", they sell alcohol on the premises. This brings into question if instances of cross-contamination may occur. Participant 11 says that the concept of halaal has "kind of watered down" due to the interpretation of individuals in foodscapes.

Similarly, Participant 12 says that the certification of halaal is "a money-making business" and that the "importance" behind the certification has shifted. Participant 12 notes that the certification process is costly and most foodscapes "can't afford" it, which is why they lack the certification, this is evident when comparing halaal-certified products to products that have not been certified (see Chapter Four). While certain items do not require the halaal branding semiotics such as certain food products available in supermarkets, fast-food takeaways and restaurants would require it. The halaal certifications can be viewed in the same light as the health inspection certification.

Lastly, in relation to the core meaning of halaal food, Participant 2, commented on the matter of consumer trust in the halaal authorities and foodscapes in Cape Town. They say:

> Participant 2: …I can really only trust that it is still being adhered to? As far as I know, people do pay to have, you know, to have their product certified and that's- what they're paying for is, you know, the companies that are, you know, checking these products to regularly go out and check, you know…standards are being adhered to…if it's a case that is not being used that way, I think it would be, really quite, quite the scandal. It could lead to a lot of mistrust and people could actually…be very sensitive about this topic and could actually create quite a bit of an uproar if this should be the case that you know, it isn't being used for that purpose. So, yeah, I think it's a lot at stake. So for me…yeah, I don't know if I'm being blind to follow it, but that is what we trust. That is how we…you know, carry on…with our consumption and what we purchase and who we support. And if it comes to it that there's something wrong with that process, then goodness me, we're going to have to start making our own food from scratch every day and eat only what we make.

This sense of consumer trust ultimately influences "what we purchase and who we support" says Participant 2, as she can only "trust that it is still being adhered to" and that it would cause a "scandal" and lead to "a lot of mistrust" in Muslim communities if the halaal standard was not upheld in certified foodscapes. Apart from Muslim consumers placing their trust in halaal branding semiotics which represent halaal authorities, with the admission of Participant 2, this trust extends beyond the Representational Meaning when analysing the halaal branding semiotics, as these consumers are placing their trust in the halaal authorities themselves.

5.3 Chapter summary

This section has provided a rich data set to analyse in terms of the repurposed ideological meanings as well as Muslim consumer perception and consumption experiences. The meanings attached to halaal branding semiotics have now become a part of the Muslim's identity in terms of their food consumption. The specific signs are rooted deep within their religious beliefs. Themes of resemiotisation, recontextualisation and intertextuality are evident both in the halaal branding semiotics as well as the representational and interactive meanings between Muslim consumers, halaal branding semiotics and the halaal authorities. Instances of universalisation are present due to the legal, cultural and economic collaboration which occurs due to the positioning of halaal branding semiotics in globalised foodscapes. The participants gave rich insights on their experiences. With a first-hand account of how they navigate selected foodscapes, the thought process behind each type of Muslim consumer was effectively understood.

In line with this, the matter of halaal ideologies in relation to power and privilege was explored through the views of the participants. Despite being granted this sense of power and privilege in the marketplace, Muslim consumers say that there is still this lack of education and awareness of the halaal when it comes to food. In some instances, it was noted how the power dynamics between the Muslim consumers and the foodscapes they frequent would shift. This chapter has revealed rich insights regarding the foodscapes that Muslim consumers frequent, the way they interact with halaal food semiotics and the challenges thereof when purchasing halaal food. The next chapter contains the concluding remarks as well as the implications of the study.

CHAPTER 6:

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This section draws on the general findings presented in Chapters Four and Five in relation to the study's research objectives. This study has set out to investigate the semiotics used to brand and position halaal food in selected foodscapes, in addition to examining the perceptions and consumption experiences of 12 Muslim consumers in Cape Town. This study used a qualitative-interpretive approach to analyse a variety of halaal branding semiotics and Muslim consumer discourses, as discussed in Chapters Four and Five. This chapter now draws a close on the discussions of this thesis. The chapter is divided into three sections. Section one pertains to the comparative reflections based on the study's objectives, section 2, outlines the general conclusion of the study and section three presents the implications of the study.

6.1 Comparative reflections on the objectives

When reviewing the objectives mentioned in Chapter One, it is evident that to some degree halaal foods are separated from non-halaal foods. The section answers the questions brought up by the objectives in the form of comparative reflections.

6.1.1 The semiotics in branding and positioning halaal food in selected Cape Town foodscapes

The semiotics used to brand and position these foods in foodscapes is evident by markers such as "halaal", "chicken", "beef" and "pork" (see Chapter Four). Halaal branding semiotics such as the halaal certificate, logos and stickers can be seen repurposing the halaal ideology on their respective certificates, logos, stickers, signage and the use of specific colours. With these three modes, it is evident how halaal authorities have created these semiotics to act as key identifiers for Muslim consumers. In line with this, it is clear how halaal food marketisation takes place in foodscapes

which try by all means to be relevant to the Muslim consumers. In some cases, the halaal brand is even extended to products that do not necessarily need the halaal brand on their packaging. With power marketing hold within contemporary markets and ever-changing consumer trends, foodscapes try to remain relevant and cater to the needs and wants of their consumers. In this case, there was a rise in the demand for halaal goods in foodscapes. This is in turn spurred the social phenomenon to take place and grow the halaal consumer market on a global scale.

6.1.2 Ideological meanings in halaal food positioning in selected foodscapes

As discussed in Chapter Four, semiotics such as the word "halaal", the crescent moon and star symbol, and the colour green just to mention a few all have ties connecting Muslims to their religion. The word "halaal", is the English transliteration and this becomes recontextualised to fit how Muslim consumers see food in a foodscape. However, the crescent moon and star symbol holds a historical significance in addition to being visibly present on many Islamic country flags. The colour green again is something that is mentioned a few times in the Quran. Different certificates are also used as the main authentication and assurance of halaal food in different foodscapes. Most foodscapes try by all means to position these certificates where they are easily visible to the consumers. Several semiotics were also reused in most of the halaal food products which makes it easier for the consumers to access the food. Ideological meanings in this case were more related to the ethos of the halaal as a way of life for the Muslims in which halaal food is part of but in some cases, there was obvious repurposing of the halaal as a brand by foodscapes; for instance where the logos were added to food products that do require labelling such as water bottles.

6.1.3 Halaal semiotics, food accessibility and interpretation by Muslim consumers

Their interpretation of the semiotics used to brand and position halaal food in selected foodscapes aligns with the findings in Chapters Four and Five. Participants claimed that seeing Arabic and English discourse as well as the crescent moon and star of food packaging or in a foodscape, brought them this sense of comfort in knowing that their dietary needs will be taken care of. Both the discourse and the symbol are signs ingrained into their memory from childhood. Instead of this

symbol representing Islam as many believed, it is actually a sign of halaal food and acts as a level of security in the South African context at least. It is also noted, that in some cases the interpretation of the meaning behind halaal food may change depending on the values of the Muslim consumer themself. This brings their foodscape choice into perspective and highlights spaces where Muslim consumers are treated as a marginalised group due to their dietary needs. Again, as shown in the analysis (see Chapter Five) the availability of halaal food rests solely on the presence of a Muslim community in the area.

6.1.4 Experiences and perceptions of Muslim consumers in different in Cape Town foodscapes

As discussed in Chapter Five, some individuals and foodscapes do not fully understand what it means for food to be halaal. In order to appease all consumer groups, many foodscapes, restaurants in particular have adopted this halaal-friendly position. Few participants have commented on the marketisation of their consumer group. One consumer said that he does not agree with how the halaal concept is being commercialised (see Chapter Five), whereas another said that these non-halaal establishments are losing profits by not catering to the halaal niche market. This raised topics such as lack of awareness, consideration and understanding of halaal food in Cape Town foodscapes. While some participants voiced their concerns with foodscapes adopting this 'halaal-friendly' notion, others expressed their gratitude to the full-halaal establishment they frequent. They also commented on the clever use of the crescent moon and star symbol used across halaal branding semiotics, as this functions as a quick identifier of a halaal eatery. Generally, all participants are able to look for and read the semiotics associated with halaal as required by their religious beliefs, but they are also able to voice cases in which the semiotics are misplaced and the challenges such misplacements cause.

6.2 General conclusion

With this study, the semiotics used to brand and position these products in foodscapes were explored and analysed in great detail. This thereby adds to the limited literature resources which study the halaal in a South African context. The findings as of late, provide evidence the halaal

concept has now been recontextualised into a brand, thus making the notion of the halaal brand possible. It also allows the halaal brand to act as a brand within the food product's brand. This is done by specific semiotics used which are associated with the food product or foodscape brand. Based on the semiotics already used, the crescent moon and star symbol which is commonly associated with the religion of Islam due to its use by halaal authorities, actually has no significant meaning to the religion at all. In collaboration with participant interviews, the eating habits of the participants differed from one another. Another interesting point was seeing how the integrity of the participants played a role when deciding on a particular food product or foodscape. The participants interviewed have provided amazing insight into Muslim consumer habits regarding food accessibility, perceptions and consumption experiences in selected Cape Town foodscapes. These findings show how the halaal is becoming a brand in terms of associated food products.

They also reveal the experiences of Muslims consuming halaal food in selected different foodscapes in Cape Town and also reveal their perceptions and interpretation of meanings related to the halaal semiotics. The challenges include the one related to the demographic population in which areas with fewer Muslims and many non-Muslims, food availability depends on the demand of the consumer group present. As such, when there are fewer Muslim consumers, there will be few choices on halaal food in contrast to areas where there is a big Muslim community. However, small designated halaal foodscapes around are normally owned by the Muslims who take it upon themselves to make sure that there is a variety of halaal food as compared to the big corporate foodscapes which cater more based on demand. The establishment of these small marginal spaces can also be seen as the minority reclaiming their power over these corporate foodscapes which cater to a variety of consumers. Another challenge is the lack of semiotics or semiotics that are not well positioned and invisible when entering certain foodscapes, which in turn leads the consumers to scan the menu or ask the shop assistant whether the establishment is halaal. Interestingly in some cases, words such as, "shukrans" and "afwans" which mean thank you and you are welcome respectively and other Muslims either as clients or workers in the foodscapes are regarded as meaning-making resources which play a major role in them deciding to buy the food. As Muslims, these participants are able to navigate the foodscapes equipped with knowledge on what semiotics to look for but also how they would interpret such semiotics. Their interaction with food in these spaces becomes part of an identity performance which signals ideological consumption practices.

It is evident that the halaal ideology is recontextualized and repurposed to fit into foodscapes. The repurposed halaal ideology now grants Muslim consumers a sense of power and privilege in selected foodscapes in addition to enabling the halaal certificate to validate the halaal status of foodscapes such as restaurants and takeaways. Through food consumption, Muslims can express their religious identity.

6.3 Implications of study and conclusion

This section focuses more on the researcher's observations when collecting the data, possible points of further study and recommendations regarding the halaal branding and positioning semiotics in foodscapes.

When collecting the data it was noted that major food-producing companies have their goods certified, and a list of these companies, goods and fast-food foodscapes is available to the public via the halaal authority's website. In addition to food company goods, the supermarket's own home brand was certified to an extent except for Spar. Where foodscapes such as Woolworths, Checkers and Pick 'n Pay send their own branded food products to acquire the halaal brand, Spar does not.

Another interesting observation in line with halaal branding semiotics is the logo of the Halaal Food Authority, a UK-based halaal organisation. Now earlier in this study, it was noted that South Africa supplies the continent of Africa with approximately 25% of its halaal goods, which means that it gets exported across the same continent. Then again with most of the food products in South Africa's foodscapes being halaal-certified, it was uncertain to the researcher if South Africa imports other halaal food products too, such as the Quorn food product which is marketed as a vegetarian protein. This product possesses a foreign halaal brand and it is also branded as a vegetarian protein. It is of interest for halaal certification authorities to make sure that the halaal semiotics are justly used and still carry the intended meanings in relation to Islamic values.

In the initial analysis, a point of cross-contamination was raised in regard to the conditions of these 'open' fridges in which the meat is kept. As an energy-saving measure, doors were installed to fridges in a number of foodscapes, however, it also brings to question if this method could

counteract this mixing of frozen meat products. Further study into this would examine how the foodscape staff would manage the situation because halaal meat products need their own space which has not been previously occupied by any non-halaal products as there is a risk of contamination of meat products should they leak any juices or even blood through its packaging.

The Muslim demographic is a minority group in South Africa, with only 2.5% of the country's population being Muslim and 1.98% residing in the Cape Town, area (Bashir et al., 2019). As a result, the foodscapes we have access to make halaal food available. Up to 60% of the food in selected Cape Town foodscapes is halaal-certified (Bashir et al., 2019). With that being said, access and availability of certain products are suburb-dependent, as some areas are less Muslim-populated than others. In terms of positioning practices implemented in foodscapes, specifically with fast-food restaurants, they tend to display the halaal certificate out of view of the customer. This leaves Muslim consumers in a state of confusion in regard to the establishment's halaal status. Another concern raised was the lack of awareness and understanding of what halaal means in the context of food and foodscapes. While Muslims have a somewhat clear understanding of what food they can consume, non-Muslims do not. This type of misunderstanding may cause chaos in the foodscape, especially if they cannot provide food to any Muslim patrons. Additionally, this misunderstanding of the halaal in foodscapes has led to the development of anti-halaal food campaigns. Therefore, there is a need for the foodscapes and halaal certification authorities to also include brief explanations maybe on pamphlets on the associated semiotics and meanings of halaal food as compared to haram food to further educate other non-halaal.

In conclusion, the lack of education on the halaal concept and what it means in terms of food in foodscapes needs to be put into perspective. Moreover, potential points of further study concern the procedures behind the halaal process when certifying food products, the boycotting of halaal-branded goods and the shift in socio-economic status among Muslim consumers when purchasing particular halaal-branded products.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The Group Areas Act - Stage 1, pg. 286

THE GROUP AREAS ACT — STAGE I

A. Introduction

The Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950, envisages three main types of area:

(*a*) *Controlled area.* As soon as the Act is proclaimed to be in operation for a particular area, it becomes a controlled area, in which the acquisition or occupation of immovable property (as defined in section 1 (xi)) by a person of another race than the present owner is prohibited.

(*b*) *Specified area.* When a controlled area is proclaimed as a specified area, the position as to the acquisition of immovable property therein remains the same, save that a lease or sub-lease is no longer defined as immovable property. But the picture changes as regards occupation — thereafter occupation by a person of a race other than that of the present occupier (as distinct from owner) is prohibited.

(*c*) *Group area.* This may be as to (i) ownership, or (ii) occupation, or (iii) both. Broadly put, in case (i), no member of a racial group other than the one the group area applies to, can acquire ownership of immovable property in the area, and there are special provisions to ensure that, if the present owner does not fall within that racial group, the property shall, within a certain time, be disposed of. Where the group area is established in relation to occupation only, the rules as to ownership are the same as in a controlled area, i.e. ownership can only be acquired by a person in the same racial group as the present owner; but as regards occupation from a date fixed in the proclamation, which date must be not less but may be more than one year after the proclamation, occupation becomes prohibited for persons not belonging to the racial group for which the group area is allocated.

Although no group areas have as yet been established in the Union, the Act has been brought into force in part, and such part as has been made effective will have most important effects in regard to ownership and occupation of property generally.

The Act is a veritable legal cat's cradle, and it is felt that the ambition of this article will soar high enough if its aim is to state in broad terms and with due diffidence, the position thought to be created by those parts of the Act now brought into force, disregarding as far as possible those parts which remain still to be made effective at a later date.

Present Position

The position at present is as follows: The Act has been proclaimed to be in operation as from 30th March, 1951, in the Cape Province,

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Appendix 2: Ethical Clearance Letter

26 March 2021

Ms A Seboa Linguistics

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

HSSREC Reference Number: HS21/1/5

Project Title: Globalisation and food positioning semiotics: Halaal food access and perceptions among Muslims in Cape Town.

Approval Period: 23 March 2021 – 23 March 2024

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above-mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval.

Please remember to submit a progress report by 30 November each year for the duration of the project.

The permission to conduct the study must be submitted to HSSREC for record keeping purposes.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse events and/or termination of the study.

Ms Patricia Josias
Research Ethics Committee Officer
University of the Western Cape

Appendix 3: Participant Information Sheet

Title of Research: Globalisation and food positioning semiotics: Halaal food access and perceptions among Muslims in Cape Town.

My name is Ammaarah Seboa and I am a MA student in the Department of Linguistics, at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. I kindly invite to take part in my study as a respondent. The research examines the kinds of semiotics that are used to brand and identify halaal food among those that are haram in addition to how the Muslims in Cape Town perceive these notions by drawing on their experiences in their encounters with food in different globalised foodscapes.

The need for this study arises from the scarce literature in regards to how foodscapes position and brand halaal foods. Therefore, by investigating the kind of semiotics that are used by foodscapes to position and separate the halaal foods from the haram foods; including the perceptions and experiences of the Muslims in accessing halaal food becomes important.

The objectives are:

1. To find out the kinds of semiotics that are used to brand and position Halaal food separate from haram food in selected Cape Town foodscapes
2. To find out how Halaal semiotics and their ideological meanings are repurposed in positioning Halaal food in selected foodscapes
3. To find out how Muslims as consumers interpret such meanings and their effect on food accessibility
4. To investigate the Muslims' experiences and perceptions in encountering Halaal food in different foodscapes in Cape Town

I will collect the data through qualitative research design methods namely: document analysis, observations and stimulus-text interviews in order for this research to be a success I request you to volunteer as part of my interview participants. The document analysis will include semiotics on

food from the foodscapes while observations will be carried out in the foodscapes. Upon capturing images I will make sure not to capture humans but will concentrate on the halaal semiotics. Using purposive sampling, Muslims who frequent the selected foodscapes will be selected for the stimulus-text interviews. The interviews will be based on open-ended questions concerning your perceptions on the halaal semiotics, food accessibility in foodscapes, and the semiotics used in foodscapes.

In line with the Covid-19 regulations, I will conduct one-on-one interviews via WhatsApp and Zoom platforms. With your consent, I will record the interviews, transcribe the audios and save the chats as part of the data.

Also, I will adhere to all ethical procedures when conducting this research. I will give you a brief outline of the study and a consent form that needs to be signed before any data is collected. I will ensure that your identity will remain anonymous and your real name will be substituted with pseudonyms. Your participation remains voluntary throughout the study and should you wish to withdraw from the study, you may do so at any given time. The data collected will be discarded.

If you require any additional information or have concerns, please feel free to contact me or my supervisor at the contact details provided below.

Regards

Ammaarah Seboa
3614518@myuwc.ac.za

Supervisor: Dr. Lynn Mafofo

+27 21 959 3622
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Appendix 4: Participant Consent Form

Consent Form University of the Western Cape

Globalisation and food positioning semiotics: Halaal food access and perceptions among Muslims in Cape Town

Researcher: Ammaarah Seboa

Please initial box

I confirm that I have read and have understood the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project. ☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. (If I wish to withdraw, I may contact the lead researcher at any time) ☐

I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result for the research. ☐

I understand that I may decline to be audio-recorded at any point. ☐

I agree that the data collected from me may be used in future research. ☐

I agree to take part in the above research project. ☐

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant (or legal representative)	Date	Signature

_____	_____	_____
Ammaarah Seboa	Date	Signature

(To be signed and dated in presence of the participant)

Copies: All participants will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet for themselves. A copy of this will be filed and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.

Researcher: **Ammaarah Seboa** **Contact number:** **Email:** **3614518@myuwc.ac.za**	**Supervisor:** **Dr Lynn Mafofo** **Contact number:** **021 959 3622** **Email:** **lmafofo@uwc.ac.za**	**HOD:** **Professor Felix Banda** **Contact number:** **021 959 2978** **Email:** **fbanda@uwc.ac.za**

Appendix 5: Stimulus-text interview open-ended questions

1. When entering places where you get food such as a food court, takeaways or restaurant, are there any types of signs that you look for if the halaal certifications are not easily accessible to you? What are they?
2. What do you think of the signs or symbols used on halaal certifications and brands, for example on these products?
3. What are the meanings that are attached to the signs or symbols i.e. crescent moon and star signs?
4. What do you think of the term 'halaal brand'?
5. What does 'halaal' mean to you?
6. Do you agree with how the 'halaal' food is positioned in foodscapes?
7. What do you do if you do not find an halaal brand on a food product?
8. What are the challenges you encounter in accessing halaal food?
9. Which foodscape(s) do you shop at and why?
10. As a Muslim, do you think that the core meaning behind halaal foods has changed in regards to what is was originally intended for?

Appendix 6: Participant 12

…When it comes to food. Okay. So like, I don't know. I like, I never really thought about it and I know you, you explained it now. So like, I would probably think about that. Cause these are not really things that I think about, you know?...

Appendix 7: Participant 1

…when I think of halaal, I always just think of the actual translation of the word, it literally just means permissible. But in the context of Islam, it means permissible in accordance to Islamic laws and beliefs. So for me, halaal just means that something is permissible for me as a person, according to my beliefs of Islam. It's in alignment with Shariah Law. You know regarding food that it's done in an Islamic method…you know when it's slaughtered, the meat was blessed, and it's slaughtered humanely, drained of all blood. You know, it does- it's not pork, pork related products and these no alcohol or toxins involved. So for me, halaal, when I think of halaal, I typically go back to the textbook meaning of- or the textbook translation of halaal, which is permissible.

Appendix 8: Participant 3

…to me it means that, um, like if something is halaal, then in terms of like food, then it's permissible for us to consume and that there's no haram products or ingredients that was used in the making. And it's also in line with our beliefs…

Appendix 9: Participant 4

Well, for me, halaal means that, any animal which was used or any by-products of an animal, which was used, the animal was slaughtered in a humane and halaal manner. In other words, there was no suffering of the animal, he was- the animal, he or she, the animal was slaughtered in the name of the Almighty. That's what halaal means, and obviously in certain products, if animal by-

products are used, the animals, who were slaughtered for those by-products were slaughtered in halaal means as well.

Appendix 10: Participant 9

Halaal means to me that it's safe to, it's safe to consume you know, without having that, the, with, with having a peace of mind that whatever you have consumed was slaughtered in a permissible way…

Appendix 11: Participant 6

Halaal means peace of mind. Halaal means belonging. Halaal means acceptance. When I think of halaal, most often food comes to mind (laughs) and from this you can hear that I'm a foodie. I mentioned that halaal brings peace of mind, because I know that when I use items that have been branded halaal, that it means that I can consume the items without feeling guilt and feed my family of the food with a clear conscience. Halaal means acceptance because I can walk into nearly any mall, anywhere and I would find halaal branded food that I can purchase…the halaal-certified food, like take-away places that I can purchase from.

Appendix 12: Participant 6

…I would look for the halaal certificate, that one of the certification bodies have allocated to them or issued to them. So usually those certificates are quite visible. It's either on a wall on the left-hand side, but mostly it's on a wall on the right-hand side of the counter where, where you are looking, like at the cash register. So those are usually very easily, like easy to spot. Some…places I have noticed, do put it at quite awkward spaces. So if I'm in a hurry and I don't see the halaal certificate, and then I would just go to a place that has a more, you know, easily visible halaal certificate. But if I have a bit more time and then I would go up to the counter and approach someone and ask them, "Excuse me or you halaal-certified?"…

Appendix 13: Participant 5

I would also ask the, the waiter or at the, the front-desk if they are halaal and why they don't have a sign. But generally if the sign is not present, then, even if they say they are halaal. I wouldn't basically trust it. So basically, we're putting my trust in this piece of paper…I think…generally most, okay- I don't wanna speak for everyone, but everyone that I know or most Muslims, they, they just look for the crescent…moon on the sticker, that says "halaal". And then, that would be basically a symbol for us. Okay, we can purchase this product…

Appendix 14: Participant 6

Okay, so the green and white colour scheme of the halaal symbol or sign, it always reminds me of peace. I grew up knowing that that is the symbol to look for on food and know that I'm allowed to consume these products. And now that I'm older, it gives me a sense of extreme comfort…

Appendix 15: Participant 3

…So a lot of restaurants and food places in Cape Town, are halaal-friendly. So the food may be prepared the halaal way, but they serve products that are not halaal, like alcohol, or even at sushi restaurants, like where the soy sauce may contain alcohol or the meat itself is halaal, but it's prepared in a kitchen where…there's products that aren't halaal. So I think in that way…it's quite challenging as a Muslim, when trying to access halaal food... when I went to Nuri Sushi, I also found it very interesting that they had like, halaal soy sauce and soy sauce that like contained alcohol, because like I had sushi there once and this, um, I didn't even know at the time like that you have like halaal and an unhalaal soy sauce. I just assumed like it's soy sauce. And then on the table, there was like a bottle of soy sauce. And then the employee came up to the table and I quickly switched it and told me like, this is the halaal soy sauce. So, yeah, I found it like very nice, but I was also like surprised, like, because if I never knew, like I would've probably just used it.

Appendix 16: Participant 9

I think in Cape Town we're easy. I mean, we're fortunate, right...We're fortunate in accessing halaal food because there's a lot of places that are halaal. But there's also- not- in terms of, in terms of retailers, yes. But in terms of, in terms of restaurants, that's the, that's the places where you find it difficult…you know, to access, halaal foods. I mean, there's not many restaurants that is halaal, right?

Appendix 17: Participant 7

It's like, it's not hard to like, at least have your meat, like bought at a halaal butcher or slaughtered a specific way…there's nothing wrong with that. So I do feel like at restaurants can offer that. It does become like troublesome, like, you know, sometimes you go to a corporate event or something and the place you at doesn't necessarily serve halaal, so you have to eat like vegetarian food, or you go to like a bar or whatever. Some, some people's farewells and stuff are like at bars and things. It's not really, we can't drink alcohol. So it's like, you either just have you have water or, you know non-alcoholic beverages and stuff, but it's like that just, it just becomes tricky. So instead of actually going, you start avoiding, which could also just like impact, like social, like events and mingling and stuff like that…But I do like see that a lot of places are at least starting to cater for like Muslims and understanding like, look there's different beliefs, et cetera, similarly to how they cater for people that's, for example, gluten free or vegetarian…

Appendix 18: Participant 8

For me sometimes it's about quality. I've, I've gone to, to many work functions where I said I'm halaal, and they cater for me, but now when you get to the, a venue then you see the halaal foods is doesn't look like it's of the same quality of the non-halaal foods. I don't know if that's what you're talking about. So when you do, when you do get access to halaal foods, the quality, quality varies across obviously across different vendors. And then the other part of accessing would be, being from Western Cape and Cape town. There's obviously a lot of access to halaal foods, but as soon as you leave this province, as soon as you go and you end up in say, just. Past George or, or those areas then near Port Elizabeth, then it becomes a struggle. There are, there are places. You can

always find a local mosque to find out who sells halaal meat and where can you buy know certain, certain food stuff that's halaal, but then it becomes a question of quality…if you used to sort of better quality meat product in the area that you live in, as soon as we leave this sort of very heavily populated Muslim area in, in Western Cape, soon as you leave this, the quality of, of what you're getting dropped significantly.

Appendix 19: Participant 1

So I typically tend to stick to bigger name stores, so the bigger brands like…Pick 'n Pay, Woolies, Checkers and stuff like that because you, they are known. So you are guaranteed to find halaal products there. When it comes to a butcher, I either go to one of the big brands that I know have a halaal butcher in-store or I just go to a fully halaal butchery like the one in- Fairfield, in Voortrekker Road. Because they are fully halaal and I am guaranteed to get halaal products there without a worry. And when I go to Pick 'n Pay, and things like that, they do make an exerted effort to designate certain areas to halaal meat. Um, and you can get your groceries there, it's easy. Places like that- bigger establishments like that do have, majority of the products do have very obvious halaal signage. So it's easy to find…and things like that. I also typically tend to stick to smaller Islamically-owned businesses, because again, things are easy to find and I'm all about supporting local businesses. And that way you guaranteed that everything you are receiving is halaal. I actually buy a lot of food online, it's weird. So there's a Korean store called A-Mart and Korean Kitchen, sorry and K- Korean Market that sells halaal Korean food. So besides the ones in my areas, I do source other cultural foods, other cultures, food. What I like about these businesses is they do specifically specify whether the product is halaal or not. And by halaal, I mean, including halaal certification from the…the purveyors

Appendix 20: Participant 2

…for instance, if I go to Food Lover's Market, that whole meat section is not halaal…we've got a giant Excellent right here. But, I was just thinking like, I mean, considering that the people in this area are most are becoming such a big hub, Muslim hub, you know, um, that a place like Fruit and Veg for instance, would have by now catered for halaal meat…I know the Woolies now, um, the

Woolies has got halaal meat, even though it's limited, but they do supply halaal meat in those Woolies fridges, here in Goodwood's, in N1 City Mall…We do have your Pick 'n Pays, your Shoprites, your Checkers, your Woolworths, you know? So it's not like I'm spoiled- I mean I am spoiled for choice where I can shop and every store has halaal products in it…the places that is obviously open for us being like pizza places, your Nando's, KFC's, being specifically gluten-free is also limited. So Simply Asia. So that cuts my foodscapes down a little bit…Kauai, you know, for healthy options, et cetera, yeah, on the days that I'm not so healthy, there's food trucks, you know, markets, the local fish and chips, the one here in Goodwood in Townsend Road is completely halaal. So, yeah…anything from the markets, you know, that we support, so the Saturday market, Oranjezicht market, they've got halaal options, not a lot, but there are a few. And then just your bigger mall places, you know like your Ocean Basket's et cetera. And the Spur in KC and I think there's a Spur in Goodwood that's completely halaal. But yeah. I don't say we do it a lot, but I think the thing we, places we do support a lot is like this small place that makes the Akhni on the Sunday or the, we like the, you know the Pakistanis who make the Tandoori Chicken or Tikka Chicken…Saffraan's in Goodwood that sells your Ruz Bukhari or Akhni…

Appendix 21: Participant 8

…Grocery shopping is mostly limited to, to Pick 'n Pay and, and Woolworths, but not for meat stuff, meat stuff, we will go to obviously Wembley or Excellent. Those are our designated stores, the quality that we're, that we're happy with. So for, for general stuff you know, your cold drinks porridge stuff…you'd go to your, your Pick 'n Pay and Woolies, but not necessarily for any halaal products. That's more when it comes to takeaway, so Kentucky, there is a Nando's, there is a Debonair's, there's a Steer's that's halaal up here. So, but mostly, yeah, we there's we do Kentucky and Nando's and Debonair's. And there's also the fisheries that, that's got a halaal certificate up here. Doesn't really need one, but it's a nice touch. Yeah, so those, those are sort of things that's in my immediate vicinity and obviously Century City / Canal Walk, they've got a lot of halaal places in their food court. Simply Asia, what's it, Subway? Obviously, Kentucky and your Nando's and your Debonair's there's halaal. So, yeah, those are sort of the, the, the stores that we go for halaal food.

Appendix 22: Participant 3

So like in terms of grocery stores, Wembley…stocks, like all halaal products. So I think like a lot of Muslims in general go to Wembley and also everyday grocery stores such as Pick ‘n Pay, Checkers, OK’s, Spar and even Woolworths, like they might, they might not stock like everything that's halaal, but they do have, a, a variety of products that are halaal. In terms of food places? I would say in N1 City, because it's close to where I live and then Canal Walk as well. And then also like food places around like, fast food places, KFC, Nando’s, McDonald’s, is also halaal, in these areas Debonair’s as well. Um, and there's also an Izzy Burger around the corner from here, that's also halaal. So I think there is quite a good selection of food, places that are halaal, that we have access to.

Appendix 23: Participant 5

...we go mostly to Howard Centre in Pinelands…and then, the Spar in Kensington's a new Spar, a Muslim owner. And they basically, it looks like a Woolies, but when you come outside, they still ask for a R2, (laughs) But, but, we would shop at yeah Spar in Kensington, Woolies and there’s a Pick ‘n Pay in Howard Centre. So mostly, we would shop, you know, your normal groceries and stuff, but in, butcher-wise or in meat-wise, I would go to also Kensington there is a butcher called Elite, also Muslim-owned. And funny enough, I've never actually looked if they actually have a “halaal” sign on there. I just assume that they are Muslim, so they should be halaal. But we would buy our meat in- by the butcher and, you know, chicken, we would buy at your normal Woolies or Pick ‘n- Pick ‘n Pay. And I think on the previous question of…maybe of food we buy…I'd say many street vendors, for example…around me or in my close proximity, there's like five different Tikka stalls. So you can have your pick. So there’s also burger stands, gatsbys and stuff like that. You can easily buy, which is halaal as well and halaal…Sorry, Muslim owners or Muslim people that are making it...

Appendix 24: Participant 9

Here in our area is a halaal Spar, so I'll go to Spar because it's convenient. It's close to me…They are a bit more expensive I think, than the other retailers. I would go to the, the Checkers in Rylands… Because I know that when I go there, then I know that the meat, the butcher there at the Checkers is halaal. I won't have an issue in terms of buying from there. Then I yeah. And then I go to, I go to, I like to go to the Pick 'Pay, the Pick 'n Pays in the, in the, in the white areas, the reason being is that I think that the way that they, they display their foods and they display the items and, you know, it's very it's, it's more presentable. I think…You know, they cater for a certain group of people, you know, and for example, the one in Constantia, I like to go to that Pick 'n Pay, and the one in Claremont, I like to go to those ones because I know that the, the bakery there is fully kosher…So kosher is very close to halaal. So you know, we can, we halaal to eat kosher stuf-, kosher food you know, as Muslim because it's, you know, the religions are very close to each other in terms of that…So that's why I don't, I don't mind going to those, to those, to those retailers. In terms of takeaways, I go to I go to Burger King. My kids love Burger King, so that's why I like taking them there. So we'll go to halaal Burger King, the one in N1 City. That's the nicest one, I think. And that's the cleanest one that I've ever been to the Century City one is very, I don't like that one...But that one is fully halaal, the one in N1 City, which is great. And it's, it's close to us, so it's not that far to drive out to go there. And…I go to, you know, there's a lot of halaal takeaways, you know, like your Wembley Roadhouse, your Aneesa's you know, your Golden Dish. I mean, those are your traditional halaal places that people would eat at. Yeah, those are kind of more the, the places that I'll go to.

Appendix 25: Participant 7

I'm lucky I stay in Rylands, Southern suburbs. It's a huge hub for like anything halaal. So I mean, majority of the takeaway, all these Syrian places in my like, close-by surroundings are like fully halaal. And I mean, with regards to shopping, I'll shop at like our major brands in South Africa because of the MJC, like we have accessibility to like products that's been halaal-certified, so I can shop basically anyway, like I'll shop in Checkers to Pick 'n Pay. Like I'm really not burdened, you know, with what's like actually having like, okay, like ease this now though versus someone like, for example, would've nine Northern suburbs.

Appendix 26: Participant 11

…for my non-meat essentials…I shop at Elite and Checkers, and then for my chicken I get at Kekkel en Kraai…And then I get my other chicken from Kariel's Chicken Shop in my area as well…and then I get my meat from Wembley….Literally like five minutes away from each spot. Like Wembley is like a good 5, 10 minutes. Not even 10 minutes. I'm lying, like five minutes away from me. Checkers is across the road from me. Elite is a 2-minute drive up the road from me, Kekkel en Kraai is also like a good 2 minute drive up the road from me. I'm fortunate, alhamdullilah…

Appendix 27: Participant 5

….Whereas you look at the unhalaal meats and stuff, you'll see a wide variety, and most of the time they make that look much better than the halaal meat, and then you'll be like "Huh-ah like, I want to actually buy this", but it's, you know (laughs) it's unhalaal. So for me, they, they, what the, this companies are doing, they're giving you a small section just to keep Muslim, business for Muslims to support, them per se. However, in different areas, obviously it's different. I mean, if you go to- if the area is majority, you know Muslim, you will find that there's just a halaal butchery, for example, by us…okay, I moved to Maitland recently. I- we'll go to Kensington and go to, the Spar in Kensington, which is obviously a, a nationwide store. So it's not only just Muslims that shop there or it's a Muslim place, and they would just sell halaal things and foods that you can buy that's already done. So it depends…

Appendix 28: Participant 6

…I mentioned that, like we would prefer driving to Athlone to go do our shopping or like I would go to…Woolworths in Okuvango Crossing to buy like my ice cream and stuff. And that's because the foodscapes in the Northern Suburbs are not very agreeable. …there are instances where you would be walking into a supermarket and you want to go buy chicken, but the chicken fridge is right next to the pork fridge…Or like I would go and I would go and buy sausage and then someone

threw a pack of bacon onto like the sausage and things. And that, that, that, I, I don't know if there is any way that the, the, the, you know, the meat juices or whatever could have gone from the one package into the halaal food or not…I do feel like many a times, and then people are just putting a halaal fridge in the store to get Muslims, to get off their backs and be like, "Oh, but we put the fridge there for you", but it's not very agreeably positioned. And then, but I have found that in stores where they have their own meat-deli counter, like where you would have cold meats and things like that. That the cold meats are displayed, very artfully, very tastefully, like my hot foods section as well. And here I'm speaking specifically to Checkers Rylands Village, very artfully displayed…their halaal the cold meats section is halaal and it's far away from the pork fridge.

Appendix 29: Participant 10

…if you're frequenting a Pick 'n Pay that you've been going all your life and you know for a fact that their- their food is halaal… But to go into just any Pick 'n Pay, any Checkers, I wouldn't trust that their meat is halaal…I personally don't feel like they're actually taking out the time to make it halaal. It's a different story and anybody can throw out "Eid Mubarak" specials and Ramadan specials…But are you doing that for clout to get feet in your store or did you actually take the time out to see what needs to go on special?...in Pick 'n Pay, I've seen a section, it says "Halaal". You know, and then you go there and you look at the food and its like, oh, well it comes from Excellent Meat. So they, they kind of, you know, they did their homework…Woolies again, I feel like Woolies is a brand on their own. Like they, they promote themselves based on quality and, and a lifestyle and whatever. So with that already comes the background homework that they needed to do to cater to a certain brand. To cater to specifically now people that eat halaal food and Muslim people…I personally don't feel comfortable buying meat from Pick 'n Pay and Checkers, only because…there's so much grey area with them…I would rather then go to an Excellent Meat or a Busy Corner or a butchery in my area to buy meat, because I know for the fact it's fully halaal there. You see the stickers on everything, you see the certification everywhere. So…without thinking twice I'm gonna go and rather buy my meat at a fully halaal butchery…And I think that is also part of the reason why I wouldn't buy meat at Pick 'n Pay or Checkers or…because people will pick up something and just put it anywhere. We don't know what juices joined who here. So you'd rather just not- let's just not get involved in this situation.