Chapter 14

Halaal Food Positioning Practices in Haram Dominant Foodscapes in Cape Town

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The Islamic religion is strict in terms of laws regarding food and defines food that is halaal as lawfully acceptable for consumption, and the food to avoid is termed haram. The term halaal comes from Arabic and refers to what is "lawful" in Islam, while the term "haram" refers to what is "unlawful" (Ali et al. 2018). The terms halaal and haram concern not only a Muslim's dietary habits, but also how they dress, their use of cosmetics, personal care and cleaning supplies, overall, it is how they carry themselves and live (Hyde et al. 2019). In terms of research, little has been written on understanding the concepts of halaal and haram. Whilst the food should be clearly marked halaal, what is unknown to the public is the way halaal foods are branded or positioned within foodscapes, this in turn, refers to the kinds of semiotics that are used. The term foodscape can be seen as a broad concept, since it refers to spaces where one would acquire food (MacKendrick 2014). Within foodscapes, different semiotics are used to position halaal foods. Most of the time the food product would be branded as halaal, however, in the case where the product is not labelled, Muslims must be literate to read the semiotics of food such as certifications, signage or labels. Today, the halaal certification can be found on food products outside of the meat industry (Regenstein, Chaudy and Regenstein 2003). Even though most foods in foodscapes are halaal-certified, it depends on the Islamic presence in the area which determines the type of food that would be available. In a heavily Muslim-populated area, one is more likely to find a fully-halaal foodscape as opposed to a smaller Muslim population residing in the area. What is unknown to the public is the kinds of semiotics used to identify and position halaal food in foodscapes. In cases where not all foods are labelled, Muslims must be literate to read the semiotics of food to determine whether it is halaal or haram.

South Africa is home to more than one halaal certification organisation and due to its richness in diversity, with 2.5 per cent of the country's total population being Muslims (Bashir et al. 2019). For Muslim consumers, the act of purchasing food in a foodscape becomes difficult especially when it comes to the branding semiotics of halaal foods. As there is not one type of semiotic that is used to deem food products as being halaal, this may lead to problems regarding the nation's mission in

food security for the Muslim population. South Africa is one of the African countries where Muslims form part of a religious minority and the Islamic regulatory bodies are tasked with ensuring food security and access to the country's Muslim demographic. There are five certification organisations in South Africa which issue certificates, making six in total, namely: 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 aim of this chapter is to explore semiotics and practices used to position halaal food and separate it from haram food in selected Cape Town foodscapes. Additionally, the halaal semiotics and their ideological meanings which are repurposed in the positioning practices of halaal food in selected foodscapes will also be explored.

The concept of halaal vs. haram

The Holy Quran says that for products to be considered halaal, it must meet the requirements of halaal, according to Islamic law (Bashir et al. 2019; Hyde et al. 2019; Ismoyowati 2015; Wilson and Lui 2010). There is a misconception with some foods and drinks that are considered halaal, however, are clearly stated as non-halaal (haram) or prohibited in the Holy Quran and the prophetic hadith. It is said that, Allah (SWT) commanded His Messenger Muhammed (PBUH), where He says: 'O mankind! Eat of that which is lawful and good 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 haram and not suitable for Muslim consumption. Hyde et al. (2019) expanded the list of haram foods to include not only certain animals and alcohol consumption, but also circumstances regarding the slaughtering of the animals.

The most common haram foods to Muslims would be pork and alcohol. Aside 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 the Quran states that Muslims should avoid the consumption of anything which would cause harm or toxifies the body. The other reason as to why pork is considered haram is because the animal does not have a neck and it cannot be slaughtered the Islamic way— an incision is made in the neck along the animal's carotid artery, jugular vein and windpipe in a single swipe (Meikle 2014), thereafter, the

animal's blood is drained. For meat to be considered halaal, the animal must be alive and well cared for before its slaughter. Meikle (2014) further states that the procedure must be performed by a Muslim. The Islamic method of slaughtering appears more humane to these animals than shocking the animals before their slaughter. However, in the case that a Muslim should find themselves in a situation where there is only pork and no other food available, the Quran states:

> And why should you not eat of that (meat) on which Allah's Name has been pronounced (at the time of slaughtering the animal), while He has explained to you in detail what is forbidden to you, except under compulsion of necessity? (The Quran: 6: 119)

This means that if a Muslim is faced with death by starvation, an exception can be made in their consumption of non-halaal food products (Saloom 2012), as suicide is seen as a sin in Islam. Alcohol is also considered to be haram to Muslims, this too includes any type of food that uses alcohol in its preparation. In addition to pork, Hyde et al. (2019) note that carnivorous animals, birds of prey and land animals without any external ears, are haram for Muslims. 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, however, another haram factor lies in the conditions of the slaughtering of the animal for its meat. The first condition is if the animal is not 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, their meat is considered haram to Muslims. In contrast 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. Wilson and Lui (2010) state that Muslims do not view the halaal term as being a brand, rather as a part of their belief system and moral code of conduct, which is an integral part in their daily life.

Branding: A case of halaal food positioning practices

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 2018: 454). According to Mafofo and Wittenberg (2018), the original concept of branding was connected to the practice of burning an ownership mark onto a product. In the mid-twentieth century, branding became a mainstream social phenomenon. Mafofo and Wittenberg (2018) identify branding concepts such as brand identity, brand positioning, brand awareness, brand association and institutional branding.

Brand identity not only includes the packaging and colour, it also includes the product's image in different types of media. Bashir et al. (2019) posit that a relationship between the brand and the consumer refers to a sense of brand loyalty. Identity in relation to halaal has to do with ethnic identity. Given that the halaal bodies were established with the sole purpose to assure the safety of meat products to Muslim consumers, it thus targets a specific ethnic group of people. Traditionally the term ethnicity has been described in many ways and usually refers to an individual's ancestral heritage, as well as their common descent, beliefs, customs and much more; it is often seen included with the concept of race (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, which according to Rossiter and Percy (1987, 1997), 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.

According to Kotler and Keller (2005), brand positioning focusses on the points of difference which sets a brand apart from its competitors. Here the term positioning may be simply defined as 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" (Marsden 2000, cited in Marsden 2002; Ries and Trout 1982). In relation to foodscapes, it can be seen how an establishment would position themselves as one that caters to Muslim consumers. It is interesting to find out the kind of semiotics that are used to brand or differentiate halaal food products from other food products. However, this does not necessarily mean that the unbranded products are not halaal, instead it tells one that another type of semiotic may be used to create meaning.

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 2018). This is the brand marketer's attempt to create mental associations that are positive and strong, by differentiating their products from competing brands. In the case of halaal foods, Muslim consumers will always remember halaal-certified food brands, since they depend on such foods to survive. Bashir et al. (2019: 3) state that South Africa is 'one of the five' largest manufacturers of halaal goods. Furthermore, Bashir et al. (2019: 3) add that South Africa is also broadly regarded as being the 'gateway' to Africa's halaal food and beverage market. This brand acts as the main symbol of trust and quality for Muslim consumers (Mostafa 2021), since it clearly distinguishes halaal-certified products from non-halaal products. Aside for emphasising the halaalness of a food product, Bashir et al. (2019) go further to say that the halaal brand also serves to identify healthy food from unhealthy food due to the specific food quality, safety and hygienic conditions which must be met.

Commodifying halaal into a brand

It becomes important to investigate the kinds of semiotics used to brand halaal foods in different foodscapes to reveal the practices and meanings regarding such food. 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. Wilson and Liu (2010: 109) state that the 'halaal' cannot be seen as a brand because,

> ...it is a philosophy, which whilst apparent and effective in branding, marketing and product development; stretches much further into disciplines such as management, organizational behaviour, cultural anthropology and sociology.

However, in this study specifically, halaal branding refers to the use of halaal logos and/or symbols that provide assurance (Ali et al. 2018) 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). However, the meaning of the word halaal is derived from the Arabic language, and it means to be lawful, permissible by Islamic Shariah Law (Ali et al. 2018). Ali et al. (2018) further state that halaal is the dietary standard, as well as a religious obligation for Muslims. As such, some scholars argue that the term halaal cannot be a brand denoting commercial products acceptable for Muslims to consume, and this is what makes the term halaal so complex (Wilson and Liu 2010). By trying to shape halaal into being a brand, institutional branding takes place. The mosque is a religious

institution where Muslims pray and it spreads the message of Islam from the Holy Quran (Afnarius, Akbar and Yuliani 2020). Even though institutional branding widely refers to companies, to an extent it would also apply to halaal.

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) and is now adopted by all the pro-Islamic organisations who know of its importance to the Muslim community. At this time, the certificate was limited to the meat industry which 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 SANHA who established itself as South Africa's pre-eminent halaal certification body (Smith 2012). Today, with the inclusion of SANHA, there are six well-established certification organisations in South Africa. However, HFSA is not held in the same regard due to an earlier conflict with a foodscape in Durban where non-halaal food and alcoholic items were sold on the same premises where Muslim patrons would engage in prayer, thus nullifying the act (Shaikh 2018). There are strict rules and regulations that must be followed once an establishment obtains a halaal certificate from a recognised halaal authority (SANHA n.d.) which extends to an inspection of the premises.

Discourses surrounding halaal privilege in the marketplace

Johnson, Thomas and Grier (2017) argue 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 a contrast when looking at halaal-certified foods, since only a small percentage of South Africa's population is Muslim (Bashir et al. 2019). This notion of market privilege dates to the 1860s when the Dutch settlers colonised the Cape and brought Muslim slaves with them (Baderoon 2014; Oppelt 2012). In Baderoon's work, '*Regarding Muslims: From Slavery to Post-Apartheid*', the author 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 2014: 50–51). The Muslim's privilege in the marketplace took precedence when the minority group insinuated themselves within the homes of their Dutch owners. Baderoon (2014: 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 in respect of securing food for the Muslim minority group.

As a result of the different religious and cultural backgrounds in South Africa, foodscapes cater to large demographics and they try to include everyone. This proves to be difficult due to popular food trends and that one's food regime changes because of people's mobility and globalisation. In terms of the halaal concept, statistics show that globally, South Africa supplies the continent of Africa with 25 per cent of their halaal goods (Bashir et al. 2019). Instead of conceptualising the halaal concept, it can be looked at from a Foucauldian perspective in terms of privilege and power (McWhorter 2005). This not only refers to the privilege of having the halaal brand in foodscapes, but also how one can investigate the types of semiotics present in terms of the halaal certification bodies, since these bodies can also be seen as holding a sense of power.

Towards a resemiotisation discourse analysis

The theoretical framework employed is a resemiotisation discourse analysis and includes both aspects of resemiotisation and critical discourse analysis. Iedema (2001: 33) defines resemiotisation as a 'process which produces not exact likenesses, but represents a multi-channel set of directions; that is a (semiotic) metaphors'. Resemiotisation is used to open discussions and mark the shift in meaning-making from different contexts in addition to inviting various modalities of the human experience to open up (Iedema 2003). Furthermore, Iedema (2003) states that resemiotisation provides one with: (1) an analytical lens to view how semiotics is translated across spaces through social transformations and (2) implores one to question why specific semiotics are utilised.

Whereas, the main concern of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is to demystify ideologies and power through a systemic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data, whether it be written, spoken or visual (Wodak and Meyer 2009), 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 (Wodak 1995: 204: cited in Blommaert 2005: 24–25). Whereas the study on CDA by Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) focusses more on the socially constitutive in addition to the socially conditioned. These authors seek to prove discourse as being an 'instrument of power'

(Blommaert 2005: 25) which has demonstrated an increasing importance within contemporary societies. Thus, CDA concerns more than just discourse, since it also looks at the relationship between different domains. As such, Thomas and Selimovic (2015) argue that CDA is able to approach a task by critically situating its analysis of events which surround the discourse.

Methodological approach

This study is qualitative in nature and the data collected primarily consists of images and document analysis. The research sites consist of the foodscapes N1 City Mall, Value Centre, Avonwood Square, Tygervalley Mall, Cape Gate Shopping Centre, Wembley Place, Kromboom Centre and Kenilworth Centre, all situated in Cape Town, South Africa. The data captured was images of the semiotics that supermarket and fast-food foodscapes employ in terms of the resemiotisation of the halaal concept and their positioning practices of halaal goods. A CDA was used to analyse the semiotics to understand the semiotics that are used to position halaal food. Through the resemiotisation discourse analysis, new conclusions can be reached on the state of the halaal concept as well as the level of awareness that these foodscapes possess.

The data collection was conducted inside and outside of the selected foodscapes during the period mid-August 2019 to mid-November 2019. The data set consists of images of various semiotics used to position halaal foods and the data captured consisted of images regarding both inside and outside the selected foodscapes. To avoid a state of confusion, the data captured through the researcher's smartphone's camera were downloaded into folders with the appropriate name and date, and later they were transferred to the researcher's laptop device to be sorted and stored. In addition to the data captured, the researcher's observations in the foodscape were recorded via a smartphone device and verbal consent was given in foodscapes upon being informed of study.

Resemiotisation of halaal positioning semiotics in foodscapes

This analysis aims to explore the instances of resemiotisation through CDA for the semiotics used in the positioning practice of selected Cape Town foodscapes. The semiotics consist mainly of written discourse in the form of the halaal certificate, signage, stickers, shelf labels as well as the crescent moon and star symbol. The analysis below includes a few examples of each semiotic type along with the critique on their position in foodscapes in relation to visibility and accessibility of Muslim consumers.

One of the most prominent and easily recognisable halaal semiotic would be the halaal certificate which is issued to foodscapes to legitimise their halaal status. This certificate can usually be found on or behind the counter of a fast-food establishment as seen in Figures 14.1–14.3. Along with these semiotics, English and Arabic written discourse is also used. By utilising these signs in their positioning practices, foodscapes can clearly communicate that they cater to Muslim consumers.

Figure 14.1: Simply Asia – Cape Gate

The certificate above (Figure 14.1) issued to the foodscape "Simply Asia" in Cape Gate Shopping mall is positioned below the menu (positioned on the wall) and is elevated so that consumers know about the establishment's halaal status.

Figure 14.2: Debonair's Pizza – Tygervalley

The certificate shown in Figure 14.2, was issued to Tygervalley's "Debonairs Pizza" and it is positioned diagonally to the left below 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.

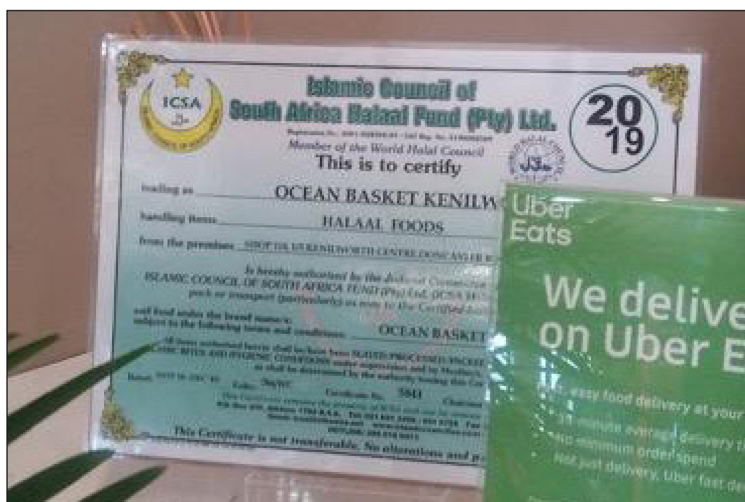

Figure 14.3: Ocean Basket – Kenilworth Centre

The certificate shown in Figure 14.3 is positioned on the counter at "Ocean Basket" in the Kenilworth Centre. 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 which they can order for delivery or pick-up.

Aside from the examples of the foodscapes above which have certificates, there are many Muslim-owned foodscapes that do not have them, however, that does not make them any less halaal. Take note that this does not mean that they did not apply for a certificate, even if they are not required to. For an establishment 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 14.4–14.6).

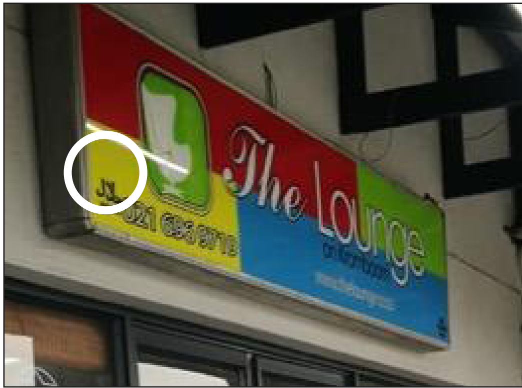

Figure 14.4: The Lounge signage

Figure 14.5: The Lounge menu

Figure 14.6: Spitfire menu

Another example of this type of positioning of halaal foodscapes is Wembley Place in Belgravia (see Figures 14.7–14.9 below).

Figure 14.7: Wembley Place

Figure 14.8: Wembley Place side-wall

Figure 14.9: Bismillah Restaurant

All the foodscapes at Wembley Place are halaal, which is evident by the semiotics positioned on the building as we can see the words "*Bismillah*" (Figure 14.9) on the banner of the Cape to India foodscape and the word "HALAAL" (Figure 14.8) on the "Tai-Chung" sign (see the word written in white). With Figures 14.8 and 14.9, the logo of the "Cape to India" foodscape is a mosque (see the white encircled image); thus, the Muslim's place of worship is used as this foodscape's branding semiotic. Aside from these eateries, there is also a butchery, a market and a takeaway known as "Wembley Road House" (Figure 14.10). Wembley Place is in a majority Muslim-populated community, which is why there are no non-halaal food products sold on their premises.

Figure 14.10: Wembley Roadhouse

Another interesting foodscape found was a supermarket's butchery. The reason being, when the halaal bodies were first established, the halaal certification was only applicable to the meat industry. However, 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 Spar stores visited were 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. Spar A makes use of labels for their beef fridge (Figure 14.11) 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 14.12).

Figure 14.11: Spar A – beef fridge

Figure 14.12: Spar A – cold cuts fridge MJC stamp

A few of the Woolworths foodscapes visited were also located in different areas. Woolworths A is in Goodwood, Woolworths B is in Kraaifontein and Woolworths C is in Kenilworth. What has become a trend among a few Woolworth's foodscapes was the instalment of fridges as part of a power saving scheme. Meaning, the meat products are no longer packed on the same shelves, which previously offered the halaal meat products little protection from non-halaal products. In the Woolworths foodscape, different meat products would be allocated a shelf, but as seen across many other foodscapes, consumers tend to "pick up and put back" products. This is not accusing Woolworths of this act; it is merely an observation that was made while collecting the data. Nonetheless, with this act committed by consumers, 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 be eliminated. The figures below illustrate the fridges available in Woolworths A (Figure 14.13) and B (Figures 14.14 and 14.15).

Figure 14.13: Woolworths A fridge

Figure 14.14: Woolworths B chicken fridge

Figure 14.15: Woolworths B packaged foods fridge

In contrast to Woolworths A and B, Woolworths C did not have the fridges as shown in Figures 14.13–14.15 above, installed in its foodscape. Instead, it still used the open-fridge with the shelves, however, there is an open corridor which separates the halaal meat from the non-halaal meat stocked on the shelves, see Figure 14.16.

Figure 14.16: Woolworths C shelved fridge

On the left side of Figure 14.16 one can find the halaal meat products (Figures 14.17 and 14.18) stocked with the MJC halaal certificate visible. And on the right side the non-halaal meat products (Figure 14.19) are stocked. These fridges also use glass partitions to separate products, which physically positions the halaal and non-halaal meat products separate in these foodscapes both with and without the doors. The initial measures taken by Woolworths are the discourse displayed on the halaal certificates (Figures 14.16 and 14.17), the product's price tag (Figure 14.18) and foodscape packaging stickers (Figure 14.19). The halaal certificates are indicated by the stickers on the top right of the packaging.

Figure 14.17: Halaal fridge and certificate

Figure 14.18: Woolworths label – halaal beef ribs

Figure 14.19: Woolworths sticker – halaal smoked beef viennas

By using the additional semiotics discussed, this foodscape is seen as adhering to and even going beyond the rules and regulation 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 association between brands.

The few Checkers foodscapes visited were also located in different areas, however, for this analysis only two were chosen. Checkers A is in Goodwood and Checkers B is 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 A foodscape sets up appropriate labels like the Spar foodscapes and positions its halaal meat products on one side of a four-sided shelved fridge (Figure 14.20). This fridge only stocks chicken products, such as County Fair chicken as well as Fresh Choice (Checkers' own brand) both of which are halaal certified by the MJC.

Figure 14.20: Checkers A – halaal chicken

The image shown above in Figure 14.20 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 3 November 2020, Checkers no longer have an in-house halaal butchery (Sedick 2020). 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 large neon sign that says "non-halaal" on the wall of the non-halaal butchery (see Figure 14.21 below).

Figure 14.21: Checker B – non-halaal

The semiotics used to position and distinguish the halaal butchery from the non-halaal butchery is the use of halaal certificates, specifically MJC issued certificates (see Figures 14.22–14.23 below).

Figure 14.22: Checkers B – halaal butchery certificate

Figure 14.23: Checkers B – poultry counter halaal certificate

The certificate in Figure 14.22 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 14.23 is positioned on the wall of the fridge in which the halaal chicken is placed. This positioning reinforces the fact that this fridge is for halaal poultry products only. This is also seen as once again providing halaal food products with privilege and power (McWhorter 2005) in the marketplace.

The meanings and implications attached to the resemiotised semiotics

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; McWhorter 2005; Van Dijk 1993). The semiotics discussed are mainly in 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 types of products can be sold to the respective consumers. Despite there being this sense of equality among the products, in some foodscapes there is the case of inequality with regards to the food products available. Despite there being a mosque located not far from Spar A, the halaal meat options are scarce.

The certificate, logo, sticker and other forms of written discourse are seen as the semiotics used to market halaal-certified foods in foodscapes. This act is seen as the commodification of the halaal ideology in relation to a Muslim's diet and food consumption by marketing companies. This is promoted by the resemiotisation of the halaal concept and the semiotics by which it is presented to the material world. Thus, hegemony is employed by the actual marketing strategy which is seen as hiding behind the halaal branded goods that the consumers see.

To an extent, halaal foods do have privilege, however, this privilege has not been gained by traditional means. Foucault's (1977) theory on privilege stated that for there to be privilege, it must 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. With the researcher's extensive data collection in mind, it is believed that the reason for the halaal certificate to be extended to other consumables is a factor of a new-found marketing strategy employed by bigger corporations.

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 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 many times in Islamic literature, because of the Ottomans, many believe that this symbol is used to represent Islam, however, it does not. This symbol is not only seen on the halaal certificates and an organisation's logo, it is also commonly found in Muslim-owned and other halaal foodscapes, such as a takeaway. 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). The distinction between Muslim-owned and other halaal foodscapes is made because most informal foodscapes such as takeaways do not acquire the halaal certificate, although they are a halaal establishment.

On the halaal certificates it is the colour green which is the most dominant across all certificates that catches the eye (Olesen n.d.; Sisters Magazine 2019). While it is the most dominant colour, there are other colours which are seen used on the certificates as well. All 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, the organisations are also seen positioning their certificates differently from each other even though they all display the same content and intention to a Muslim consumer; thus, they are presenting it as a brand.

Intertextuality (Bullo 2017; Koller 2010) is prevalent in the branding semiotics discussed. In cases where there is no certificate, the owners would position the symbol or even the word "halaal" in English or Arabic "حَلال" on either a sign outside the foodscape or inside the foodscape. Aside from the certificates, many halaal certified organisations incorporate the symbol with their halaal brand to distinguish them from other halaal certified organisations. Aside from the word "halaal" being used as the main sign which is repurposed with halaal positioning semiotics, another prominent mode found associated with halaal branding is the symbol of the crescent moon and star symbol " ". Arnold (1928) notes that this symbol has become associated with Islam, in the same way that the cross is associated to Christianity. Even though this mode is associated to Islam through halaal branding semiotics, it has no significant meaning in Islam. Another tie that the symbol has with Islam could be with its relation to the lunar calendar. Ahmed (2006) states that all annual Islamic events, such as Ramadan, Eid and Hajj are dictated by the sighting of the moon, thus, the lunar calendar is of importance to Muslims. The crescent moon and star appeared during the Ottoman (*Umayyad*) Empire, thus linking it to the Muslim world (Zuhudi and Dolah 2018). Despite this, Zuhudi and Dolah (2018: 55) exclaim that it is used as one of the 'core visual elements' for halaal brandings semiotics.

Conclusion

This chapter put the positioning practices of halaal food into practice by problematising the selected foodscapes. Results showed that selected Cape Town foodscapes do use specific semiotics to create halaal branded spaces. Examples of this include poultry fridges as well as fully-halaal establishments as discussed in this chapter. Another notion explored was the meanings and implications of the repurposed signs to Muslim consumers regarding their ideologies. With the

analysis of this chapter, one can see how the ideological meaning behind the halaal concept is now resemiotised and recontextualised in foodscapes, evidence of intertextuality was also found. These repurposed ideological meanings have also contributed to halaal foods being granted a kind of power and privilege in the marketplace. Furthermore, the semiotics discussed have shown that they serve as a kind of universal sign to Muslim consumers in selected Cape Town foodscapes, aside from solidifying its power and privilege in foodscapes.

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