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# Halal and Muslim-Minority Countries: A Systematic Literature Review

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**Abstract:** *Muslim-minority countries have emerged among the largest exporters of halal products for the Muslim market and received significant numbers of inbound Muslim travellers. The global nature of the halal industry value chain calls for a thorough understanding about halal, particularly in the context of Muslim-minority countries. To gain this understanding, a systematic literature review was conducted to explore the themes of halal research in Muslim-minority countries. A total of 22 empirical research articles were analysed based on a review protocol adapted from ROSES. The articles were sourced from the Scopus and Web of Science, with Google Scholar as a supplementary database. The study generated five main themes that synthesise the scholarly knowledge about halal in the context of Muslim-minority countries at the consumer, organization, and institution levels of analysis. The findings illustrate the lack of understanding about halal among the industry players and consumers, as well as the lack of central governance and policymaking within the halal industry in Muslim-minority countries. Based on the findings, the study provides future direction for research and practice.*

***Keywords:*** Systematic literature review; SLR; Halal; Muslim-minority countries; Institutionalization of halal; Management of halal
***JEL Classification:*** F60, O10, M19, L50, P00

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## 1. Introduction

The halal industry, or the Muslim-friendly market, is one of the largest global markets. It is emerging because of the growth of the Muslim population worldwide and their rising purchasing power and consumption levels. In 2022, the value of the global halal industry, which includes halal food, halal pharmaceutical, Muslim-friendly travel, media and recreation, Islamic finance, and halal cosmetics, was estimated to be worth USD 2.29 trillion (DinarStandard, 2023). This number is expected to increase to USD 3.1 trillion by 2027, with halal food market segment alone contributing USD 1.89 trillion (DinarStandard, 2023). This enormous growth makes the global halal industry lucrative not only for Muslim countries but also for Muslim-minority countries. In fact, industrialised Muslim-minority countries in Asia such as Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan have strategised to capture Muslim-friendly tourism market (Adham et al., 2020; Razzaq et al., 2016) as well as the halal exports (Fazira, 2020; MOEA, 2018). The situation is similar in the West, where the increased Muslim population in the United Kingdom (UK) has increased interest among manufacturers, producers, and local halal certification bodies to serve the halal market (Bambridge-Sutton, 2023).

Halal products or services can be defined from the perspective of both consumers and product or service providers. From Muslim consumers' perspective, halal product or service consumption refers to the purchase of products and/or engagement with objects or activities that adhere to Islamic teachings or facilitate the religious practices of Muslims (Battour & Mohd Nazari, 2016). Meanwhile, from the perspective of manufacturers and providers, halal products or service offerings refer to the supply of products and the provision of services that meet the needs of Muslims and conform to Islamic teachings. These definitions suggest that the development and offering of halal products and services must be guided by Islamic principles and values. Hence, the conduct of consumers, manufacturers, and providers of products and services throughout the entire value chain must adhere to the religious rules and regulations of Islamic teachings.

Issues related to halal products or services are of particular concern, as increasing numbers of product manufacturers and service providers are from Muslim-minority nations. For example, Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan have made significant investments in their own brands of halal products and services and have introduced various strategies to attract the

interest of Muslim consumers. These efforts have also manifested at the national level, as evident in one of the elements of Taiwan's Southbound Policy, launched in late 2016, aimed to increase the country's market share in the global halal industry, targeting both halal tourism and halal export markets (MOEA, 2018). Another industrialised economy, Japan, has also advanced plans to attract more Muslims to travel to the country. In recent years, city councils in Japan have continuously supported the development of ecosystems conducive to the halal tourism industry, driven by Japan's deep-rooted culture of caring for guests known as *omotenashi* (Yusof & Shutto, 2014). Similarly, in recent years, the government of South Korea has developed a policy that promotes halal exports and focuses on the "Muslim-friendly Tourism Korea" concept, which aims to entice Muslim travellers from Southeast Asia and the Middle East to visit the country (Cochrane, 2017; Marlinda et al., 2023).

### *1.1. Research gap leading to the selection of the review topic*

Given this rising interest of Muslim-minority countries in the halal industry, a thorough understanding of the status of knowledge concerning halal in the context of Muslim-minority countries is called for. The rapid development of the competitive halal industry, fronted by relatively emergent players of Muslim-minority countries, poses an interesting yet important concern. These countries are among the largest exporters of meat, among other products and services, into Muslim markets, and they have received many inbound Muslim tourists (Hashem, 2024; Lima, 2024; O'Connor, 2018; Salaam Gateway, 2023).

The global nature of the halal supply chain means that it is necessary to examine the existing knowledge base about halal in Muslim-minority countries. Therefore, the objective of this review was to explore the themes of halal research in the context of Muslim-minority countries, which was guided by this research question: What are the themes of empirical research on halal that has been conducted in the context Muslim-minority countries? To achieve this objective, a systematic literature review was conducted. This approach allowed a systematisation of the analysis of existing knowledge about halal in these countries. Understanding this existing knowledge serves as a vehicle for identifying emerging themes and knowledge gaps which lead to identification of avenues for future research and practice.

A systematic review was specifically selected because it overcomes some of the limitations of the traditional literature review (Kraus et al., 2020). According to Kraus et al. (2020), traditional reviews are usually hampered by the lack of systematic selection of articles for inclusion in the review, which is an issue in terms of the method of data collection. The process of conducting this type of review also lacks transparency, which reduces the possibility of replication. Such issues can lead to problems, such as researcher subjectivity and bias. In their critique, Robinson and Lowe (2015) highlighted other issues related to the conduct of a traditional literature review, such as a lack of comprehensiveness, a lack of a systematic procedure for quality assessment, and researcher bias. This article overcomes the issues of traditional literature review by conducting a systematic review.

## 2. Methodology for the Systematic Literature Review

The methodology for this systematic literature review is designed to ensure a systematic and comprehensive review of existing articles. This section outlines the step-by-step procedure of the review, starting with the decision to use Haddaway et al.'s (2018) Reporting Standards for Systematic Evidence Syntheses (ROSES) framework to facilitate the review process. The formulation of the research question for the study was assisted by the PICo tool (Population or Problem, Interest, and Context) which uses specific criteria to ensure relevance and focus (Pollock & Berge, 2018; Murdoch University, 2020). Following ROSES, a systematic searching strategy was then employed to identify, screen, and determine the eligibility of articles. Then, using the Mixed-Methods Appraisal Tool (MMAT) by Hong et al. (2018), the quality of the selected articles was appraised, and then data was extracted from these articles and analysed to generate themes and sub-themes. The following sub-sections provide an in-depth explanation of each step in the methodology.

### *2.1. The review protocol, based on ROSES*

The systematic literature review in this study was guided by ROSES, a review protocol designed specifically to facilitate systematic reviews. ROSES was selected because its strengths matched the needs of the systematic review and overcome some of the weaknesses of PRISMA

(Haddaway et al., 2018), as well as it ensures a higher standard of reporting by adding more details in its data requirements.

Based on the ROSES review protocol, the researchers first formulated a research question that guided the conduct of the systematic literature review. The research question for this systematic literature review was derived from researchers' understanding of the current discussions in the related literature. Based on this, the researchers established the need to understand the current body of knowledge on halal in Muslim-minority countries, which led to the formulation of the study's research question and the selection of the systematic literature review, specifically the ROSES protocol, as the research methodology.

ROSES protocol for SLR defines the content to be included in a systematic literature review article and provides a step-by-step procedure for conducting the review (Haddaway et al., 2018). The ROSES protocol consisted of four parts: formulation of the research question, systematic searching strategies, quality appraisal, data extraction and analysis as shown in Figure 1.

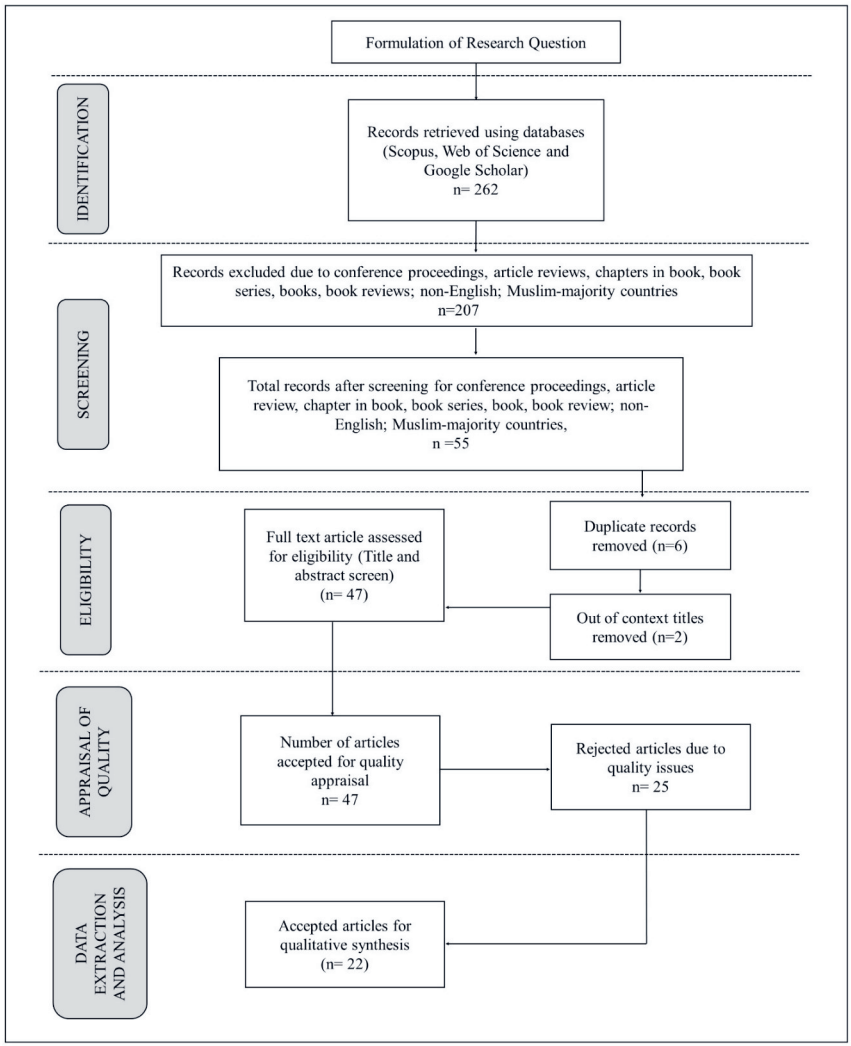
### *2.2. Formulation of the research question that guided the systematic literature review*

The formulation of the research question for this study was guided by the PICo tool, as described by Pollock and Berge (2018) and Murdoch University (2020). PICo assists researchers in developing suitable research questions(s) when conducting a systematic literature review by determining the most suitable Population or Problem, Interest, and Context. Based on these concepts, the researchers specified the three main aspects of the review, namely research (Problem), halal (Interest) and Muslim-minority countries (Context). These three aspects provided the basis on which the researchers formulated the main research question for this review: What are the themes of empirical research on halal that has been conducted in the context of Muslim-minority countries? The main research question provides a basis for the selection of suitable keywords for the systematic literature search.

### *2.3. Systematic searching strategies*

The systematic search strategies adopted in this study involved three main stages: identification, screening, and eligibility.

**Figure 1**: Summary of Process of Systematic Searching of Literature




Source: Authors, based on Haddaway (2018).

*2.3.1 Identification*

The first step in identification or search stage was to identify the keywords to be utilised for searching. These keywords were derived from the research question, the researchers' understanding of the current literature, their familiarity with the topic of halal, and the keywords suggested by Scopus. The main keywords used were "halal industry" and "muslim-minority countries". Then, synonyms and related terms, as well as variations in the keywords were identified and utilised to ensure that the search process for the articles using the keywords is exhaustive and a comprehensive list of articles can be gathered. The synonyms for "muslim-minority" were "minority Muslim" and "non-Muslim", while terms related to "halal industry" were "halal food", "halal status", "halal industry", "halal logo", "halal certification", "halal tourism", "halal logistics", and "muslim-friendly".

The search was conducted using two leading databases: Scopus and Web of Science (WoS), first, because they are among the largest academic document repositories and they have instituted article quality controls (Martín-Martín et al., 2018; Gusenbauer & Haddaway, 2020). Second, both databases allow advanced literature searching, as they provide advanced functions that include the ability to use Boolean operators and phrase searching. Third, both databases allow the selected databases to be exported in a user format for ease of analysis, retrieval, and storage. Google Scholar was used as an additional database as it offers open access to researchers and is the largest academic database (Gusenbauer, 2019), which could have potentially included many reference sources on Muslim-minority and halal topics.

For the Scopus database search, a full search string using Boolean operators, phrase searching, truncation, wild cards, and field code functions was used. For the WoS search, researchers developed a full search string using Boolean operators, phrase searching, and field tag functions. In the Google Scholar database, the search was conducted using Boolean operators and the "allintitle" field codes of allintitle: "halal" AND "muslim-minority". Table 1 lists the databases and search strings used in the search process and shows the total number of articles derived from each database.

**Table 1**: Databases and Search Strings Utilised in Identification Stage

| Databases | Search String utilised for the identification stage | Number of Articles Generated |
|---|---|---|
| Scopus | *TITLE-ABS-KEY (( "muslim-minority" OR "minority muslim" OR "non-muslim" ) AND ( "halal" OR "halal food" OR "halal status" OR "halal industr*" OR "halal logo" OR "halal certif*" OR "halal tourism" OR "muslim-friendly" ) )* | n=159 |
| Web of Science | TS= (("muslim-minority" OR "minority muslim" OR "non-muslim" ) AND ( "halal" OR "halal food" OR "halal status" OR "halal industr*" OR "halal logo" OR "halal certif*" OR "halal tourism" OR "muslim-friendly" ) ) | n=101 |
| Google Scholar | allintitle: "halal" AND "muslim-minority" | n= 2 (both are non-Scopus), there was one on the context of Indonesia, therefore rejected. |
| | Total number of articles generated in identification stage | n=262 |

Source: Authors, based on Scopus, WoS, and Google Scholar.

### *2.3.2 Screening*

In the Scopus database, the screening process was conducted using the "limit to" and "excluded" functions. The researchers screened 159 articles from Scopus using these sorting functions and generated 33 articles. In the WoS database, the screening process was conducted through the "refine" function. The researchers screened 101 articles from WoS using the refined function and generated 20 articles. Only articles published in English were included in the review, as all researchers were proficient in English. Since the aim of this study is to analyse the themes of original research, the review only included empirical papers, and excluded reviews, conceptual articles, and book reviews, books or book chapters as well as conference proceedings. All years up to 2020 were included as part of the inclusion criteria, so that all articles were captured regardless of the time frame. The search was completed in December 2020, the cut-off point of articles included in the review. Table 2 lists the databases and search strings used during the screening stage for each database, and shows the total number of articles after screening, which was 55, all of which were used in the eligibility stage.

**Table 2**: Databases and Refinement Criteria Utilised in Screening Stage

| Database | Refinement Criteria | Number of Articles Generated |
|---|---|---|
| Scopus | *Limit to* Document Type: Article<br>*Limit to* Subject Area: Business, Management and Accounting, Social Sciences, Economics, Econometrics and Finance, Agricultural and Biological Sciences, Arts and Humanities<br>*Exclude* Subject Area: Engineering, Computer Science, Environmental Science, Decision Sciences, Mathematics, Energy, Psychology, Multidisciplinary, Medicine, Materials Science, Multidisciplinary, Veterinary, Pharmacology, Nursing, Biochemistry, Genetics and Molecular Biology, Physics and Astronomy, Earth and Planetary Sciences<br>*Limit to* Language: English<br>*Limit to* Countries: United Kingdom, Australia, United States, Spain, Canada, China, India, South Africa, Italy, Netherlands, Russian Federation, Thailand, Austria, Denmark, Hong Kong, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Singapore, South Korea<br>*Exclude* Countries: Malaysia, Indonesia, Kuwait, Turkey | *n=33* |
| Web of Science | *Refine* Language: English<br>*Refine* Document Types: Article<br>*Refine* Indexes: SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI | n=20 |
| Google Scholar | allintitle: "halal" AND "muslim-minority" | n= 2 |
| | Total number of articles generated after screening | N=55 |

Source: Authors, based on Scopus, WoS, and Google Scholar.

### *2.3.3 Eligibility*

In the eligibility stage, the researchers reviewed all titles and abstracts of the 55 articles to ensure that all the selected articles met the predetermined criteria for inclusion in the review. During eligibility assessment, six duplicates were excluded and subsequently, another two articles were excluded because a) they applied to non-focus countries, that is, Muslim countries, b) the focus of the studies was different, as they discussed Islamic banking and finance, rather than halal, and c) the articles were literature reviews. A total of 47 articles were retained after these exclusions.

## *2.4 Quality appraisal*

In appraising the quality of the articles, first, articles were categorised into qualitative and quantitative studies. Second, all articles were screened based on the questions suggested by Hong et al. (2018) as presented in Table 3.

Third, once the articles passed the screening process, their suitability for use in qualitative studies was assessed based on the Mixed Methods Appraisal Tool (MMAT) (Hong et al., 2018) (refer Table 4 and Table 5). All researchers reviewed all articles, with each researcher conducted a detailed review of each article and then made individual decisions on the quality of the article. Each researcher answered (yes/no) for each question on the checklist devised by Hong et al. (2018) and made decision to accept or reject (yes or no) the articles. The final decision to accept or reject the articles was made through consensus of all researchers.

**Table 3**: Dimensions Used for First Screening of Overall Quality of Articles

| **Screening Questions for Quality Criteria** | **Responses of Reviewers** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes | No | Can't tell | Comments |
| S1. Are there clear research questions or research objectives? | | | | |
| S2. Do the collected data allow the research questions to be addressed? | | | | |

Source: Adapted from Hong et al. (2018).

**Table 4**: Dimensions Utilised for Assessing Quality of Qualitative Studies

| **Questions for Appraising Quality Criteria of Qualitative Studies** | **Responses of Reviewers** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Yes** | **No** | **Can't tell** | **Comments** |
| Q1. Is the qualitative approach appropriate for answering the research questions? | | | | |
| Q2. Is the research methodology clearly specified? | | | | |
| Q3. Are the qualitative data collection methods adequate to address the research question? | | | | |
| Q4. Are the findings adequately derived from the data? | | | | |
| Q5. Is the interpretation of the results sufficiently substantiated by data? | | | | |
| Q6. Is there coherence between the qualitative data sources, collection, analysis and interpretation? | | | | |

Source: Adapted from Hong et al. (2018).

**Table 5**: Dimensions Utilised for Assessing Quality of Quantitative Studies

| Questions for Appraising Quality Criteria of Quantitative Studies | Responses of Reviewers | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes | No | Can't tell | Comments |
| Q1. Is there a study framework? | | | | |
| Q2. Are there theories underpinning the framework? | | | | |
| Q3. Are the theories underpinning the framework appropriate? | | | | |
| Q4. Is the sampling strategy relevant to addressing the research questions? | | | | |
| Q5. Is the sample representative of the target population? | | | | |
| Q6. Are the measurements appropriate? | | | | |
| Q7. Is the risk of non-response bias low? | | | | |
| Q8. Is the statistical analysis appropriate for answering the research questions? | | | | |

Source: Adapted from Hong et al. (2018).

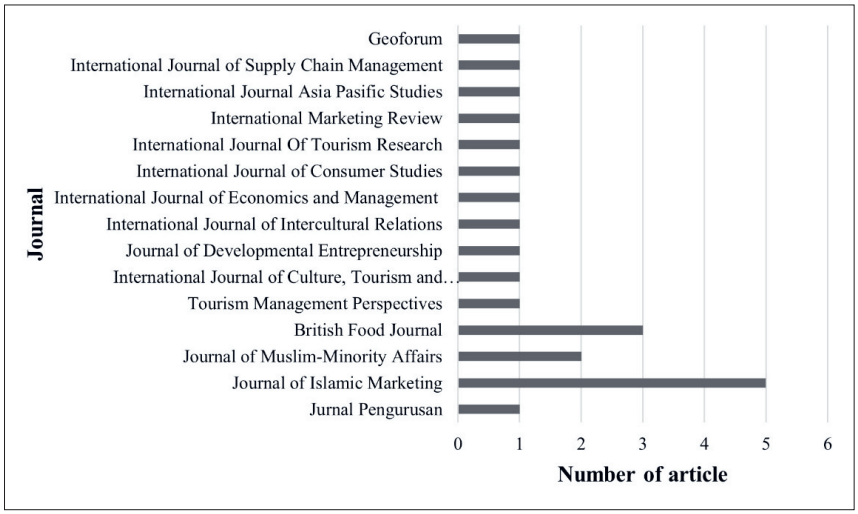
The decision to include an article in the review required all the researchers to agree that the quality had to be at least moderate. Any disagreement in the ranking of the articles was discussed among the researchers before the decision to include or exclude articles in the quality appraisal stage was made. Issues related to the quality of the articles include articles that used an ambiguous methodology, had unclear or inconsistent research objectives, used an unclear research design, lacked a framework or underpinning theories, or provided inconsistent information. This process led to the exclusion of 25 articles, which resulted in 22 as the final number of articles included in this review.

### *2.5 Data extraction and analysis*

In extracting the data from the selected articles for review, all 22 empirical articles were read, focusing on extracting descriptive information about the articles, and research themes of halal in Muslim-minority countries. The results of this descriptive analysis are presented in Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5.

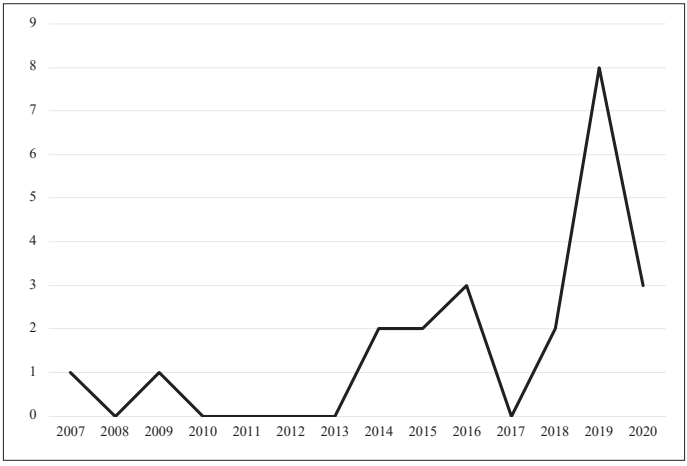
Subsequently, thematic analysis was conducted through group discussions, which involved all researchers and followed several steps as recommended by Merriam and Tisdell (2016). The first step began with the researchers reading the first article, after which the major study findings were divided into pieces that comprised the open codes (open coding). Once all the open codes for this article were derived, the researchers grouped the similar, complementary, or related. i.e., that seemed to go together into categories or themes using axial or analytical coding. This coding was an abstraction of the open codes, which gave meaning to the codes as a group.

**Figure 2**: Sources of Articles



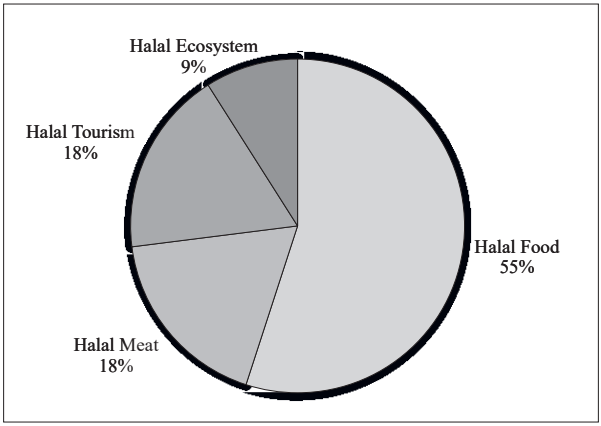

Source: Authors, based on Scopus, WoS, and Google Scholars.

**Figure 3**: Year of Publication and Number of Articles



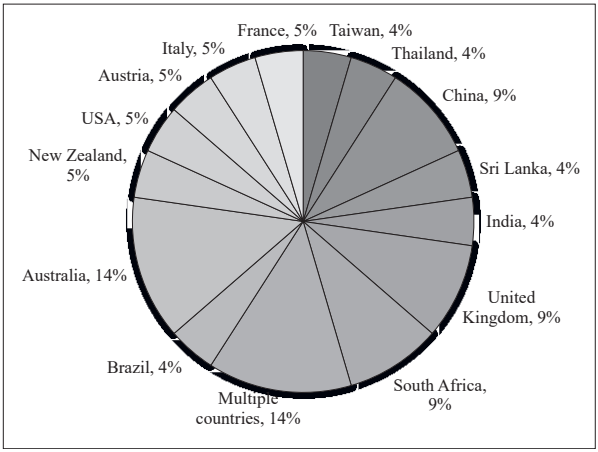

Source: Authors, based on Scopus, WoS, and Google Scholars.

**Figure 4**: Articles Based on Sectors Studied




Source: Authors.

**Figure 5**: Countries of Study




Source: Authors.

In the second step, after completing the open coding of and categorising the codes from the first article, the researchers moved to analyse the second article. In this step, the tentative categories or themes derived from the first article were checked against the data in the second article. This is the process in which categories in the second article were generated deductively (based on the items and categories generated from the first article), while new

categories were generated inductively. Once all the open and axial codes for this second article were derived, the researchers repeated the same steps with the subsequent articles until all 22 articles had been analysed.

The final categories or themes generated after extracting data from the major findings of each article constituted the emergent themes of the current study. The researchers re-examined these categories against the sub-themes or items to check the accuracy of the categories and the corresponding themes that defined or characterised them. The researchers then affirmed the naming or labelling of the themes to ensure that the themes and corresponding sub-themes were accurately represented. All researchers agreed on the finalised themes and sub-themes. This process generated five main themes, and 18 subthemes as presented in Table 6. Once the analysis was completed, the themes and sub-themes were presented for evaluation by a panel of two experts in qualitative methodology and halal research. Both experts agreed on the generated themes and subthemes.

## 3. Findings

This section provides descriptive information and discussion of the themes and sub-themes.

### *3.1 Descriptive Analysis of the Selected Articles*

The descriptive analysis of the articles included the source and year of publication, focus sector, and context of study.

#### *3.1.1 Sources of Publication*

The analysis of the sources of publication showed that the Journal of Islamic Marketing (JIMA) had published five articles on halal research in Muslim-minority countries, the British Food Journal, three articles, and the Journal of Muslim-minority Affairs, two articles. The remaining journal titles each published one article.

**Table 6**: Themes and Sub-Themes Generated in this Study

| No. | Author (Year) | Country | Consumer behaviour towards halal consumption | | | | | | | Halal assurance practices | | | Management of halal business operations | | Governance of the halal industry | | | | Issues affecting the halal industry in Muslim-minority contexts | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | ICRBHFP | ABCHSP | CPAH | LAAHAEC | CAHC | BM | CVAHANM | RHCB | MCHCB | HCR | LAKAHAPL | PSPSMC | LGHMMC | GPRHIP | LRRHIP | IFHGIP | MHRPHMMC | EIRHCB |
| 1 | Adham et al. (2020) | Taiwan | | | | | | | | / | / | / | | | / | / | / | | | / |
| 2 | Jumani and Sukhabot (2019) | Thailand | / | | / | / | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | Ali et al. (2020) | Mainland China | / | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Hewege and Perera (2020) | Sri Lanka | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | / | | | |
| 5 | Hassan and Sengupta (2019) | India | / | | | | | | | | | | | | | / | | | | |
| 6 | Salnikova and D'Arcus (2019) | Inverness, Scotland, UK | | / | | | | / | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | Bashir (2019a) | South Africa | / | | | / | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | Bashir (2019b) | South Africa | / | | / | / | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9 | Wilkins et al. (2019) | Canada, Spain, UK | | | / | | / | | / | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | de Araújo (2019) | Brazil | | | | | | | | | | | | | / | | | | / | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | Zulfakar et al. (2019) | Australia | | | | | | | | / | | | | | | / | | / | | | | |
| 12 | Zulfakar et al. (2018) | Australia | | | | | | | | / | | | | | | | | / | | | | |
| 13 | Alserhan et al. (2018) | Multiple countries | | | | | | | | | | | | | / | | | | / | | | |
| 14 | Razzaq et al. (2016) | New Zealand | | | / | | | | | | | / | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 | Dubé et al. (2016) | China and Malaysia | | | | | | | | | / | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 16 | Ayyub (2015) | UK | | / | | | | / | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 17 | Shakona et al. (2015) | USA | | | | | / | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 18 | Schlegelmilch et al. (2016) | Austria | | / | | / | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 19 | Halkias et al. (2014) | Italy | | | | | | | | | | | | | / | | | | | | | |
| 20 | Wu et al. (2014) | China | / | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | Wan Hassan and Awang (2009) | Australia | | | / | | | | | | | / | | / | | | | | / | | | |
| 22 | Bonne et al. (2007) | France | / | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Codes: ICRBHFI=Intention of consumers related to buying halal food products, ABCHSP=Actual behaviour in consumption of halal supplies or products, CPAH=Consumer perception of halal, LAAHAEC=Level of awareness of halal amongst end consumers, CAHC=Consumer acceptance of halal certification, BM=Behaviours of Muslims, CVAHANM=Causes of variations or correlations or factors in the acceptance/reaction to halal among non-muslims, RHCB=Roles of halal certification bodies, MCHCB=Models or characteristics of halal certification bodies, HCR=Halal certification as a resource, LAKAHAPL=Level of awareness and knowledge about halal amongst providers are generally low, PSPSMC=Practices of service providers in serving Muslim consumers, LGHMMC=Level of governance of halal in Muslim-minority countries, GPRHIP=Government policy related to the halal industry and halal practices, LRRHIP=Laws and regulations related to the halal industry and halal practices, IFGHIP=Influential factors in governance of the halal industry and halal practices, MHRLIMMC=Muslim human resources or labour issues in Muslim-minority countries, EIRHCB=Endorsement of internationally recognised halal certification body

Source: Authors.

*3.1.2 Year of Publication*

The earliest published article (out of the 22 articles included in this review), was on halal meat consumption in France (Bonne et al., 2007), followed by a study focusing on restaurant operators in New Zealand (Wan Hassan & Awang, 2009). After 2009, there seemed to be a hiatus for some years, before the number of published articles rose rapidly from 2014 onwards. In 2014, based on a sociological perspective, Wu et al. (2014) studied religious individuals' responses to in-group members' defections from the sacred norms of Islam, including eating non-halal food, in the context of China. In 2015, Schlegelmilch et al. (2015) also utilised the perspective of sociology to study the reactions of Austrian Christians to halal endorsement. After 2015, there was a surge in the number of studies from 2018 to 2020. Over time, the studies have also increased in sophistication, as demonstrated by one included study that took a systemic perspective in 2020. The peak years of publication were 2019 and 2020, with eight articles published in the former and four in the latter.

*3.1.3 Focus Sectors*

Halal food product studies comprised 55% of the articles, while halal meat and halal tourism studies accounted for 18% each, and the remaining articles investigated halal ecosystems, 9%.

*3.1.4 Contexts of Study*

The articles discuss topics related to halal within the contexts of Muslim-minority countries. Over time, the number of countries studied increased continually, from a single digit in 2011 to a total of 16 Muslim-minority countries that had been studied by 2020 (including Canada and Spain in one cross-country study).

### *3.2 Emerging themes and sub-themes*

Based on the analysis, the study generated five themes: 1) consumer behaviour toward halal consumption, 2) halal assurance practices, 3) management of halal business operations, 4) governance of the halal

industry, and 5) issues affecting the halal industry in Muslim-minority countries, and 18 sub-themes. Table 7 presents the themes and sub-themes generated in this study.

### *3.2.1 Consumer behaviour towards halal consumption*

Of the 22 articles reviewed, approximately 40% focused on consumer behaviour, with the individual consumer as the unit of analysis. These consumer studies are mainly quantitative, utilising the questionnaire as the main method of data collection, whereas the theory of reasoned action (TRA) appears to be the most popular underpinning theory. The theme of consumer behaviour toward halal consumption comprised seven (7) sub-themes:

#### 3.2.1.1 Intentions of consumers to buy halal food products

Consumer perception is one of the focus areas of halal research in Muslim-minority countries. Within this body of knowledge, consumers' intentions to buy halal food products were studied. These studies were conducted in the contexts of Hat Yai, Thailand (Jumani & Sukhabot, 2019), mainland China (Ali et al., 2020), India (Hassan & Sengupta, 2019), and Cape Town, South Africa (Bashir, 2019a; 2019b).

Bashir (2019a; 2019b) conducted interviews, while others used quantitative surveys. Three groups of respondents were involved in these perception studies. For example, Ali et al. (2020), Salnikova and D'Arcus (2019) studied Muslims consumers exclusively, while Bashir (2019a; 2019b) studied the non-Muslims. At least one study compared the behaviours of Muslims and non-Muslims (e.g., Jumani & Sukhabot, 2019).

The findings of Jumani and Sukhabot (2019) showed that Muslims' intentions to buy products with a halal logo were shaped by the culture and family expectations. Further, Ali et al.'s (2020) study on the intention to purchase halal foods among Chinese Muslim students found that halal brand image had a significantly positive influence on the perceived quality of, satisfaction with, trust in, and loyalty to halal brands. In turn, these four features significantly influence consumer purchase intentions in relation to halal brands. These studies highlight the importance of the halal logo and brand image in shaping consumer intentions and behavior regarding halal products.

#### 3.2.1.2 Actual behaviour in the consumption of halal supplies or products

Bonne et al. (2007) found that halal meat consumption was determined by a positive attitude, the pressure of others, and perceived control, whereas perceived availability did not influence halal meat consumption. This finding indicates a difference in the decision-making process of halal meat consumption compared to regular meat consumption.

Salnikova and D'Arcus (2019) revealed that access to a local halal meat shop at the mosque helped Muslims maintain their identity as Muslims in Inverness, Scotland, indicating halal meat consumption is closely related to one's Muslim identity. Bashir (2019b)'s study in Cape Town, South Africa, found that the factors of halal awareness, halal logos, and attitudes had a significant influence on foreign customers' intention to buy halal products and their subsequent purchases of the products.

Wu et al. (2014) studied the responses of Hui Chinese Muslims to those who did not follow Islamic religious norms in their diets. They found that any deviation by co-religionist Hui Muslims from these religious norms resulted in negative reactions in the form of sadness, anger, and disgust from religious Hui Muslims. However, Hui Muslim respondents did not expect non-Muslims to comply with their religious norms.

#### 3.2.1.3 Consumer perceptions of halal (halal is quality, neutral or negative)

Studies based on the perceptions of Muslim and non-Muslim consumers (Bashir, 2019b; Jumani & Sukhabot, 2019) found that halal food was perceived as high-quality. In fact, Jumani and Sukhabot (2019) found that consumers perceived food with a halal logo to be of better quality than items without a logo. They also found that, in terms of consumer preference, specifically in Hat Yai, Southern Thailand, non-Muslims who did not have religious obligations perceived products with the halal logo to be of better quality (than items without the logo) and 50% of non-Muslims intended to buy products with the halal logo in the future. Similarly, Ayyub's (2015) study in the UK found that non-Muslims in the country generally had positive perceptions of the quality of halal foods.

In the case of restaurant businesses, Wilkins et al. (2019) found that non-Muslim consumers in Canada, Spain, and the United Kingdom had no objections to consuming halal food, but they preferred to be aware of it

before consumption; otherwise, they had negative perceptions. This finding contrasts with that of a study in Austria, where non-Muslim consumers' perceptions of halal were negative. Based on social identity and social dominance theory, Schlegelmilch et al. (2016) studied the reactions of Christian consumers (in-group) in Austria toward halal packaged food products designed for or endorsed by Muslim consumers (out-group). Their findings revealed that halal labelling could create hostility and animosity among Christian consumers and create acrimony among the in-group toward both the products and the out-group.

#### 3.2.1.4 Level of awareness of halal amongst end consumers

Studies have been conducted on the awareness and acceptance of the halal concept among end-consumers (Bashir, 2019a; 2019b; Jumani & Sukhabot, 2019) and business operators (Razzaq et al., 2016). Variations were identified in the levels of halal awareness and acceptance of the concept among consumers in Muslim-minority countries.

Regarding consumers' perspectives, the levels of halal awareness and the acceptance of the halal concept in Muslim-minority contexts varied across contexts from high awareness to low awareness. High awareness of halal labels was found in Hat Yai, Thailand, given that the halal label is well known among non-Muslims. In their study, Jumani and Sukhabot (2019) sampled cross-religion 7-Eleven consumers, who could be foreign, local, Muslim, or non-Muslim. The findings indicated that all Muslim respondents had positive attitudes toward halal brand products and would make a purchase; non-Muslims displayed very highly positive attitudes, with 80% having positive attitudes, while 55% would make a purchase if they saw a halal product.

Bashir (2019a) studied the knowledge of halal awareness, awareness of the halal logo, and attitudes toward halal that influenced purchase intentions and actual purchases of halal food products. The study aimed to examine whether religion was a matter of concern in the consumption of halal products. Bashir (2019a) found high levels of awareness of halal products and the halal logo, as well as positive attitudes toward halal products, among Christian non-Muslims who were non-citizens (i.e., not South African). The findings indicated that, for non-citizen non-Muslim customers in South Africa, increased awareness of halal products, positive attitudes toward halal

products, and increased awareness of the halal logo positively influenced the actual purchase of halal products.

In another study of foreign consumers in South Africa on the awareness of the halal logo, attitudes toward halal purchase intentions, and the actual purchase of halal foods, foreign consumers were found to be aware of, and knowledgeable about the halal concept and halal food's benefits (Bashir, 2019b). In fact, non-Muslims' levels of awareness regarding halal food products in South Africa were even higher than those of Muslims, as indicated by Bashir's study (2019a), who were mostly Christians.

Ali et al. (2020) found high awareness of halal brands among Muslim students in China. Specifically, halal brands have a significant influence on the perceived quality of products, brand satisfaction, brand trust, and brand loyalty. If products involve a halal branding, this brings positive outcomes, namely perceived quality of products, brand satisfaction, brand trust, and brand loyalty. Bonne et al. (2007) found that Muslims had positive attitudes toward the consumption of halal meat. Furthermore, increased peer pressure influenced the increased consumption of halal meat and perceived control over the consumption of halal meat.

In contrast, awareness of the halal concept in India was found to be very low, as many individual respondents in one study were still unaware of the concept (Hassan & Sengupta, 2019).

#### 3.2.1.5 Consumer acceptance of halal certification

A low level of acceptance of halal certification has been found among non-Muslim consumers in Austria (Schlegelmilch et al., 2016). Based on the cognitive dissonance perspective, Wilkins et al.'s study (2019) in Canada, Spain, and the UK found that, in the restaurant context, non-Muslims have no issues with consuming halal foods in restaurants, but they preferred to be informed about this before consumption. If they consumed such foods without knowing them, they felt that they were being deceived, which resulted in negative perceptions of the experience. If they developed this negative perception, they would not repeat their consumption or purchase. This means that consumers in these countries were open to consuming halal foods.

#### 3.2.1.6 Behaviours of Muslims on halal food and halal tourism are embedded in Islamic culture

Muslims in a Muslim-minority context, such as the USA, need access to halal foods (Salnikova & D'Arcus, 2019). For this group of respondents, consuming halal food maintained their Muslim identity. In another study, Shakona et al. (2015) found that Islamic beliefs and practices influence the leisure and travel behaviours of Muslims in the USA. The determinants of the leisure and travel behaviours of Muslims included a) the importance of mosques, b) the need to travel with a Mohram, c) the need to abide by Islamic dress codes for men and women, d) avoiding alcohol and being in places where alcohol is served, e) avoiding pork, f) practices in the month of Ramadan, and g) practices of Dabiha (Shakona et al., 2015).

#### 3.2.1.7 Causes of variations or correlations and factors related to the acceptance of reaction to halal among non-Muslims

Three studies discussed the causes or correlations related to the acceptance of or reaction to the halal notion among non-Muslims. Consumers in Canada, Spain, and the UK were open to consuming halal foods, but they needed to be informed about this; otherwise, they had negative perceptions. Hence, Wilkins et al. (2019) concluded that information transparency was key to acceptance; non-Muslim consumers were open to the consumption of halal food if they were informed about it.

In a study conducted in the UK, Ayyub (2015) found that positive and negative reactions to the halal notion were moderated by respondents' levels of acculturation and multi-cultural openness. According to Ayyub (2015), non-Muslims in multi-cultural societies, such as the UK, were generally more open to accepting inter-cultural practices. He found that acculturation and multi-cultural openness acted as moderators of consumer reactions to the halal notion and concluded that consumer reactions to halal foods depended on acculturation and multicultural openness. Furthermore, Ayyub's (2015) study found that some non-Muslims in the UK who reacted negatively to halal foods assumed that halal slaughtering practices involved cruelty to animals. Hence, this group's concerns about animal welfare brought about negative perceptions and assumptions about halal.

### *3.2.2 Halal assurance practices*

The theme of halal assurance practices constitutes three sub-themes:

#### 3.2.2.1 Roles of halal certification bodies

In the Muslim-minority context of Taiwan, local halal certification bodies are responsible for implementing the certification process. These halal certification bodies were generally staffed by local-born Muslims who operate their offices in mosques (Adham et al., 2020). The certification bodies also actively seek endorsement from recognised international certification bodies, including that of Malaysia and Indonesia. This practice enables the products they certified to be allowed to enter the two Muslim countries.

#### 3.2.2.2 Models or characteristics of halal certification bodies

Halal certification bodies in the Muslim-minority context of Taiwan are mainly private companies, while central government involvement in halal matters is low (Adham et al., 2020). Taiwan has multiple certification bodies, several of which are business-oriented, while the others are community-based. In terms of halal certification practices, the process is smooth because of the considerable readiness of manufacturers and service providers to embrace halal practices. In Taiwan, this high level of readiness in the manufacturing sector is possible using advanced manufacturing technologies, halal-certified ingredients, and organised documentation (Adham et al., 2020). In the context of Australia, government authorities play a full-fledged role, while specific government policies provide mechanisms that ensure that halal integrity is maintained throughout the halal meat supply chain (Zulfakar et al., 2018; Zulfakar et al., 2019).

#### 3.2.2.3 Halal certification as a resource

Two studies found that halal certification is a resource to companies. The halal certification system can serve as a resource for the internationalisation of firms (Dubé et al., 2016) or business expansion in terms of allowing market entry into Muslim markets (Adham et al., 2020).

### *3.2.3 Management of halal business operations*

Of the 22 articles reviewed, four articles were concerned with the management aspects of halal business operations in Muslim-minority countries from the perspective of service providers. The sub-themes are:

#### 3.2.3.1 Levels of awareness and knowledge of halal amongst providers were generally low

Razzaq et al. (2016) found that the level of awareness of halal from the perspective of service providers was low. Specifically, the extensive website study that was conducted in New Zealand revealed a lack of knowledge about halal tourism and hospitality among service providers. This was measured based on the low visibility of halal tourism-related information on the websites of service providers in New Zealand (Razzaq et al., 2016).

#### 3.2.3.2 Practices of service providers serving Muslim consumers

Wan Hassan and Awang (2009) found that nearly a quarter of restaurant operators perceived that Muslim tourists were not significant to their businesses. Moreover, approximately one-third of the operators were reluctant to inform their patrons that their food was halal, while less than half used halal signage in their shops. Similarly, Alserhan et al. (2018) maintained that transparency was required of Islamic businesses, but the study found that in practice, the hotels that regarded themselves as 'Islamic' did not provide full information on the extent of their service facilitates their Muslim customers. They suggested the need for the regulation of the hotel industry to ensure transparency of information and protect the rights of Muslims to practice their religion. Halkias et al. (2014) focused on the management and marketing aspects of hotel businesses in Italy. The study found that the triggering factor for halal or Muslim-friendly tourism could be internal or external. Meanwhile, the ways Muslim tourists were served by providers in Muslim-minority countries were found to be more reactive than proactive.

### *3.2.4 Governance of the halal industry*

This theme has four sub-themes:

#### 3.2.4.1 Level of governance of halal in Muslim-minority countries

The emergent sub-theme shows that the governing structures of halal practices range from proper governance to a total lack of governance. A study in Taiwan found that religion is a private affair in the country; therefore, the governance of the halal industry rests with the private sector (Adham et al., 2020). No government was involved in controlling the halal certification system. A study in India also revealed that there was no proper governance structure for halal in that country (Hassan & Sengupta, 2019), and no government regulatory authorities that specifically addressed halal certification practices.

According to de Araújo (2019), the halal industry in Brazil faced issues of variations in halal standards, forcing firms to adapt to uncertain situations. NGOs fulfilled the role of halal certification, while the government's function in halal industry development seemed absent. Brazil also faced shortages of Muslim workers in slaughterhouses, leading to issues related to human trafficking. Such issues are indicative of a lack of governance structures in the Brazilian halal industry. Such practices were found to have negatively impacted Brazil, with malpractice and abuse occurring in the halal meat mass production industry, although the industry's operations were said to be based on halal standards.

A contrasting situation was identified in Australia, where the federal government took control of the governance of the halal industry. Among other roles, the federal government of Australia acts as the governing body and halal certifier for the private sector. Australia has devised a governance structure that regulates halal meat production, specifically for the export market, to ensure the fulfilment of religious obligations while maintaining trust in importing Islamic countries (Zulfakar et al., 2019). This program involved the implementation of the Approved Islamic Organisation (AIO) certification status by the federal government (AQIS). By 2019, all 21 halal certifiers had gained the AIO status. These 21 certifiers were given the responsibility of the federal government to supervise and certify halal meat production for export purposes.

#### 3.2.4.2 Government policy related to the halal industry and halal practices

Australia has established a government policy for halal meat production (Zulfakar et al., 2019); the heavy involvement of the government authorities protects the integrity of the halal meat supply chain operations (Zulfakar et al., 2018; 2019). By contrast, there seems to be no government policy for halal industry development in Taiwan (Adham et al., 2020).

#### 3.2.4.3 Laws and regulations related to halal industry and halal practices

There seem to be no laws or regulations regarding halal industry development in Taiwan (Adham et al., 2020). Meanwhile, India has no government regulatory authority for halal certification, such that any individual or organisation can issue a halal certificate in India (Hassan & Sengupta, 2019). Similarly in New Zealand, in 2009, there were no statutory or legislative regulations or guidelines for halal food. A halal certification system specific to restaurants is also lacking (Wan Hassan & Awang, 2009). However, this may have changed over time. Alserhan et al. (2018) suggest the need for regulations governing the Islamic hotel industry, which would serve as a control mechanism for policymakers and managers to ensure the transparency of operations that would protect consumers' rights.

#### 3.2.4.4 Influential factors in the governance of the halal industry and halal practices

Governance in Sri Lanka was influenced by its hegemonic structure. In this multi-cultural society, the governance of the halal supply chain is influenced by social and contextual factors, particularly the dominant religio-cultural institutions in which it operates (Hewege & Perera, 2020).

### *3.2.5 Issues affecting the halal industry in Muslim-minority contexts*

The issues affecting the halal industry in Muslim-minority countries include:

#### 3.2.5.1 Muslim human resources or labour issues in Muslim-minority countries

Among the issues highlighted by de Araújo (2019), the halal industry in Brazil faced several difficulties in adhering to halal practices for meat

production. These included variations in halal standards, which forced firms to operate in uncertain situations, as well as shortages of Muslim workers in their slaughterhouses, which led to abuse of manpower or even problems of human trafficking, as well as migrants undignified working conditions in slaughterhouses.

3.2.5.2 The endorsement of internationally recognised halal certification bodies

One issue in Taiwan for example, the manufacturers had identified that there was the need for the endorsement of halal certification bodies by JAKIM, the main authority of Islamic affairs in Malaysia which would allow Taiwanese products to enter the Malaysian market or other Muslim markets that recognised JAKIM's certification (Adham et al., 2020).

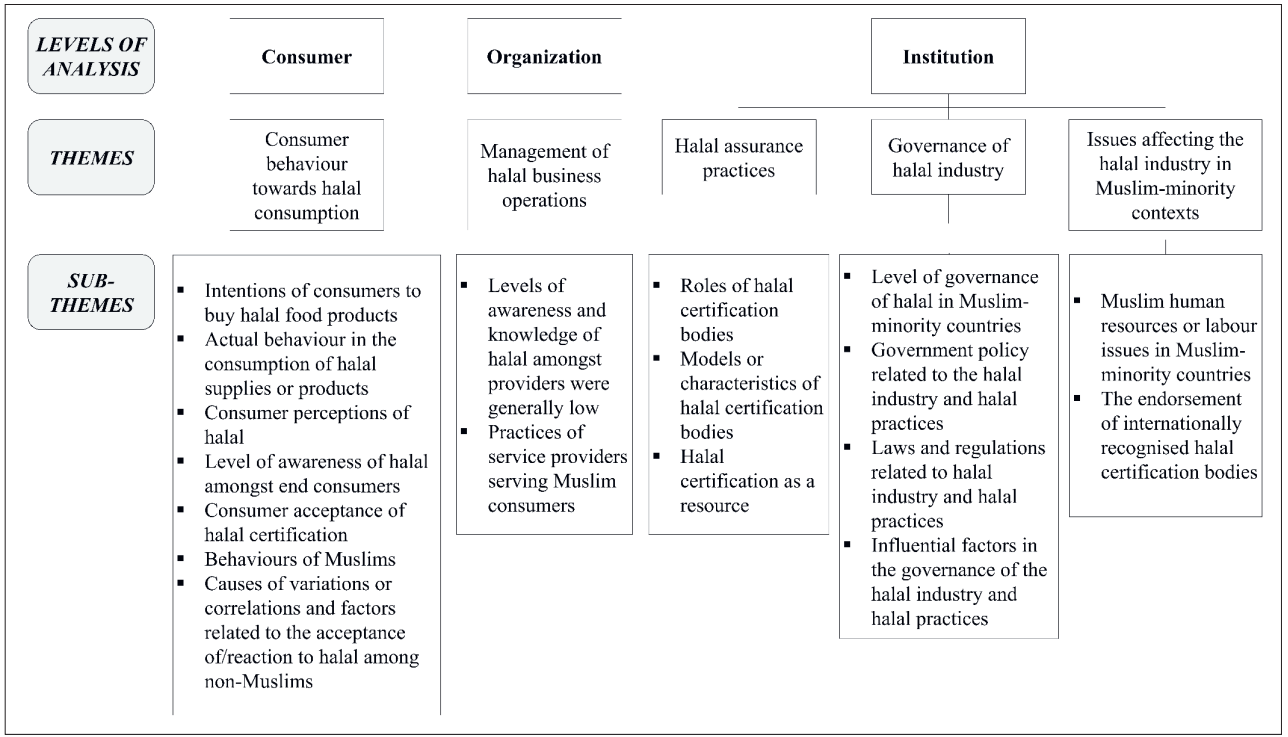
## 4. Discussion

The study generated five main themes and 18 sub-themes that synthesise the scholarly knowledge of halal in the context of Muslim-minority countries. These themes can be classified broadly based on the levels of analysis: consumer, organization, and institution. Figure 6 which shows the themes, sub-themes, and the respective levels of analysis, presents a diagrammatic representation of the body of knowledge of halal research in Muslim-minority countries. This structuring of emergent themes enables the classification of halal studies within the larger body of knowledge of management and marketing.

In the category of consumer, variation in the levels of awareness of halal were one of the themes that emerged from this analysis. While the awareness of halal is high in some Muslim-minority contexts, such as Hat Yai, Thailand, and Cape Town, South Africa, it is low in other contexts such as India (Bashir, 2019a; Hassan & Sengupta, 2019; Jumani & Sukhabot, 2019). Several studies have found that halal food is generally perceived by the consumers to be associated with good quality (Bashir, 2019b) while food with a halal logo is perceived to be of high quality (Jumani & Sukhabot, 2019).

This review found that information transparency is key to the consumption of halal products or services, whether by non-Muslims (Wilkins et al., 2019) or Muslims (Alserhan et al., 2018). This review also highlights the low level of awareness of halal from the perspective of service providers,

**Figure 6**: Halal Research in Muslim-Minority Countries




Source: Authors.

the low level of information transparency, and the reactive or less than active stance of the providers regarding serving their Muslim customers (Alserhan et al., 2018; Halkias et al., 2014; Razzaq et al., 2016).

Regardless of the levels of analysis, the use of Islamic beliefs and values as the underpinning perspectives of some studies, as well as the use of qualitative methodologies in five articles, e.g., Salnikova and D'Arcus (2019), Shakona et al. (2015), and Wu et al. (2014), generated rich data and captured useful details of the study contexts, particularly the uniqueness of the behaviours of Muslims in Muslim-minority contexts (de Araújo, 2019). Some interesting findings include the way Muslims perceive that eating halal meat represents Muslim identity (Salnikova & D'Arcus, 2019) and that Muslims were not prejudiced against non-Muslims who do not practice Islamic teachings, as Muslims did not use themselves as the benchmark for those of other religions (Wu et al., 2014). In the aspect of organisational analysis, Alserhan et al. (2018) highlighted the behaviours of hotel industry service providers and suggested possible causes for the mismatch between Islamic teachings and actual behaviours. These studies that utilized Islamic beliefs and values, as well as Islamic teachings and Shariah perspectives related to diet and tourism, had strong theoretical foundations to explain their findings.

With a few exceptions, such as Jumani and Sukhabot (2019) and Bashir (2019b), overall, the application of theory in the studies about halal in Muslim-minority contexts are somewhat rudimentary, so the findings are not generally built on strong theoretical support. There is value in underpinning discussions of Muslim consumers, whether individual or group behaviours, with foundations that utilise Islamic beliefs and values to generate findings that are meaningful and well-supported. Integrating the Islamic perspectives would highlight the unique aspects of Muslim consumers' or providers' behaviour toward issues related to halal.

One of the findings of this review is that halal food is embedded in Islamic culture (Jumani & Sukhabot, 2019), which further illustrates the consumption behaviour of Muslims. This requires businesses to adapt to the inherent requirements of Muslim consumers when meeting their needs and addressing their concerns. Under the category of institution, which refers to the halal ecosystem, one article highlighted the need for specific policies for the governance of halal assurance systems in countries that are committed to pursuing the global halal market (Adham et al., 2020). Moreover, in

Muslim-minority contexts, halal certification practices are mainly prerogative of the private sector, with little or no government involvement. This is true in all contexts included in the current review, except Australia, which has a structured government policy for governance of the halal industry (Zulfakar et al., 2018; Zulfakar et al., 2019; de Araújo, 2019). The findings highlight the variation in the levels of governance of the halal industry or practices, which range from proper governance to total absence. At least in one country, the lack of governance seemed to lead to issues of abuse of manpower and deplorable working conditions (de Araújo, 2019). At the fundamental level, more information is needed to identify the root cause of the problem, whether there is a lack of knowledge about Islam in society, too few competencies in implementing the halal concept, or other reasons, and the dynamics of these factors.

The findings of a study in Taiwan highlight the need for local halal certification bodies to gain endorsement of other established, internationally recognised halal certification bodies, which would allow Taiwanese products to enter Muslim consumer markets, such as that of Malaysia, showing the highly networked nature of the global halal supply chain (Adham et al., 2020). Manufacturers may also use other avenues to enter the Muslim markets, including obtaining certification directly from the international body (Global Haltech, 2021; JAKIM, 2021). Hence, all sides–service providers, manufacturers, and halal certification bodies–need to coordinate their efforts, while at the institutional level, the monitoring mechanisms need to be instituted to ensure the best practices of halal industry (Adham et. al., 2017; Adham et. al, 2020).

This current review focused on analysing the themes only from selected empirical halal research conducted in Muslim-minority countries. Going forward, there are two recommendations for future research. Firstly, future researchers should carry out a bibliometric analysis to investigate the evolution, patterns, and trends in the literature within this context. This approach offers a broader, bird-eye view of halal research in Muslim-minority countries, unlike the narrow focus of a systematic literature review. Secondly, given that the current study only reviews the literature up to year 2020, future researchers could replicate this study by conducting a systematic literature review of empirical articles published post-2020. This would allow understanding the latest developments of the body of knowledge on halal in the context of Muslim-minority countries.

## 5. Conclusion and Future Direction

The body of literature on halal in Muslim-minority contexts has provided a snapshot of the unique settings related to halal consumption and production. The findings identified the close relationship between halal consumption and the identity of Muslims, while halal branding has gained traction amongst non-Muslims as well. Therefore, national-level strategies and approaches can be undertaken by countries to leverage opportunities provided by global halal markets. Beyond these discussions, coordination between relevant units as well as the existence of specific policies and state-level governance systems, which include laws, regulations and monitoring mechanisms, would help protect the integrity of the halal concept and contribute to the overall development of a competitive halal industry in Muslim-minority contexts.

Based on the major themes generated by the review, four important gaps in the current literature about halal in Muslim-minority countries were identified: a) lack of integration of Islamic perspectives in halal studies, b) lack of perspectives of service providers and product manufacturers, particularly at an organisational level, c) lack of discussion on aspects of government policy, and d) lack of discussion on governance related to the halal industry and halal practices.

To address the first three gaps, more research that integrate the Islamic perspectives in halal studies are imperative to guide the scholarly discussion in unravelling the truth. In addition, future research exploring the perspectives of service providers and product manufacturers are needed, because global halal markets are driven by multinational corporations, which are the largest exporters of halal products and services. Beyond the industry players' perspective, at the country level, research on human resources or labour issues in the halal industries of Muslim-minority countries is required. The absence of the perspectives of product manufacturers, service providers, and policymakers must be addressed to obtain a comprehensive view of the halal industry at the country level as well as to gain a holistic view of the situation at the global level.

At the institutional level, there is an absence of centralized governance within the halal industry in certain Muslim-minority countries, which accentuates the challenge of information asymmetry at various levels—consumer, organizational, and institutional. To address this, a holistic approach is essential, that is, institutionalizing the halal value chain by

integrating technological innovations to ensure the transparency and integrity of the supply chain and information. Another way to institutionalize halal is through establishing institutions that act as transformative social agents to disseminate the teachings of Islam and to institute the best practices of halal in the industry. Such approach would facilitate the effective dissemination of information, thereby upholding righteous business practices and integrity in serving Muslim consumers, particularly in Muslim-minority contexts.

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