

“Halal as a Way of Life”

Circulation and Transformation of Islamic Normativity in Muslim and Non-Muslim World

6 September 2019 | 10:00-18:00

EHESS, Room BS1_28

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Nowadays, the Islamic market is prospering on the global scale, in particular, in Asia where the hub of its dynamism takes place in the South East-Asian countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, or Singapore. As the term Halal means originally what is “permitted” or “licit” according to the Islamic prescriptions, this notion penetrates in the consumers’ daily life, and we have observed the emergence of a wide range of the Shariah-compliant products and services, such as food, finance, tourism, transportation, fashion, cosmetics, sport, well-being, education and so on. Halal, to be understood as one of today’s most significant Islamic normativity, orients consumers’ interpretation on “Islamic way of life.” It has also come to shape the Islamic market as the notion circulates in the globalized public sphere.

What kinds of products or services are especially aspired by consumers to be Halal? How do Shariah Boards and agencies of Halal certification interpret Islamic normativity, and do producers elaborate Shariah-compliant products or services based on their expertise? And how is Islamic normativity circulated within each industry? Also, to what extent, how this normative space, religiously-oriented market, interacts within the global economic system and non-Islamic economic actors? Finally, how would Islamic normativity itself be transformed as people’s practices renew the meaning of what “Islamic way of life” is?

This conference is organized by the Fondation France-Japon de l’EHESS in the framework of the research project “Global Islamic Market: Asian Perspectives on the Diversity of Capitalism” funded by PSL Global Studies. It explores how the Islamic normativity interpreted and creates the normative space of Islamic market in different societies: Islam friendly or secular ones. It aims to analyze the specificity of the Islamic market based on the religious economy in the context of the global neo-liberal market.

Steering Committee: Sébastien Lechevalier (EHESS, CCJ-FFJ), Yana Pak (EHESS, CetoBac), Mayuko Yamamoto (EHESS, Cespra)

Programme

10:00 | Opening Remarks

Sébastien Lechevlier (EHESS, FFJ)

Session 1 | Halal Market: Construction and Transformation of Islamic Economy and Normativity

Chair: Fatiha Talahite (CNRS, Cresppa)

10:15 | Global Halal Market: the Invention of a Tradition

Florence Bergeaud-Blackler (CNRS, GSRL)

During this conference I will present analyses of the globally constructed 'halal' norm. I am interested in analysing the social, political, religious and economic co-construction of the halal norm, its meanings and uses. My sources are: all public discourses and practices, political, economical, religious, whatever they may be, or come from, which say something about the halal standard or norm.

10:45 | Muslim Piety as Economy: Markets, Meaning and Morality in Southeast Asia

Johan Fischer (Roskilde University, Department of Social Sciences and Business)

This talk is about the edited volume *Muslim Piety as Economy: Markets, Meaning and Morality in Southeast Asia* by Johan Fischer and Jeremy Jammes (Routledge 2019). The first volume to explore Muslim piety as a form of economy, this book examines specific forms of production, trade, regulation, consumption, entrepreneurship and science that condition – and are themselves conditioned by – Islamic values, logics and politics. With a focus on Southeast Asia as a site of significant and diverse integration of Islam and the economy – as well as the incompatibilities that can occur between the two – it reveals the production of a Muslim piety as an economy in its own right. Interdisciplinary in nature and based on in-depth empirical studies, the book considers issues such as the Qur'anic prohibition of corruption and anti-corruption reforms; the emergence of the Islamic economy under colonialism; 'halal' or 'lawful' production, trade, regulation and consumption; modesty in Islamic fashion marketing communications; and financialisation, consumerism and housing. As such, it will appeal to scholars of sociology, anthropology and religious studies with interests in Islam and Southeast Asia.

11:15 | Economics in Command: Islam's Normative Space in China

Michael Brose (Indiana University, Department of Central Eurasian Studies)

The Chinese Communist Party announced a more rigid approach to managing religious affairs in the 19th Party Congress back in 2017, and this included a demand that all religions in China should be Chinese in orientation and should serve to promote a socialist society. What does this mean for Islam and Muslims in China? As everyone knows, Islam has come under special scrutiny for many years well before that meeting because of the government's focus on the Uyghur ethnic minority in China's northwest. Now, that same treatment is extending to other Muslim groups across China, most notably the Chinese Muslim Hui who have up to now been considered mainstream. Some of the recent attacks on the Hui have centered on the growth of the halal food industry and fears of a spread of Islam in China. As a result, the government has forced some Hui mosques to close, and Muslim businesses to remove Arabic writing on signs.

At the same time that this pressure on Muslims and Islamic lifestyle is growing in China, demand for and consumption of halal food products is growing in China and around the world. Part of this phenomenon is due simply to the growth in Muslim communities by birth. Demand for halal food products in China is also driven by fears among the Chinese public of food contamination and the assumption that halal food products are safe because they have to meet rigid standards for purity and cleanliness. Chinese domestic halal food producers are stepping up to meet this domestic demand, and they are also demanding access to new international markets that are being opened up by China's new Belt and Road Initiative. China is thus schizophrenic in its response to Islam; on the one hand the State demands that all Muslims conform to its version of "Chinese Socialist" characteristics, but at the same time the State supports domestic halal producers who wish to cash in on this new market demand. In particular, the Chinese government seems to see domestic halal food production as a positive economic activity that can and should be promoted as part of China's growing trade with Muslim-majority states who are part of the Belt and Road Initiative. Economics really does seem to be in command, at least when it comes to China's new foreign policy initiative. This paper presents a few examples that illustrate the power of halal food products as parts of important economic circuits that are absolutely supported by the Chinese state.

11:45 | Discussion

12:15 | Lunch Break

Session 2 | “Halal as a Way of Life”: Consumption, Practice and Management

Chair: **Silvia Serrano** (Sorbonne Université, Eur’Orbem-Cercec)

13:30 | The Rise of Halal Market: Consumer Opposition in the Age of Ethno-Religious Tensions

Özlem Sandikci (University of Glasgow, Adam Smith Business School)

Contemporary marketplaces are characterized by ethnic diversity and are subject to a multiplicity of social, cultural, and religious flows. Such multicultural environments bring opportunities as well as threats. In this paper, we focus on the dynamics and implications of consumer opposition toward the halal market in the West. In recent years, the halal market has expanded from food and beverages to several other sectors including cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, logistics, fashion, and tourism and from Muslim-majority to Muslim-minority contexts. However, parallel to the proliferation of halal products in Muslim-minority contexts, anti-halal campaigns are also on the rise. Many brands find themselves under fire for getting halal-certified and become targets for boycotts. Through an ethnographic study of major anti-halal campaigns, we identify the triggers of anti-halal activism and explore the strategies that opposing consumers utilize in expressing their resistance. The study contributes to the existing knowledge on marketing in multicultural environments, consumer adversary, and market dynamics.

14:00 | Beyond the ‘Curry Mile’: Tracing the Development of Halal Consumption and Practice in Manchester

John Lever (University of Huddersfield, Department of Management)

Manchester’s connections with Islam and with diverse Muslim communities can be traced back to the industrial revolution and to the city’s central role in the global cotton industry. But it was not until migration from the Indian subcontinent increased rapidly during the mid 20th century that the city’s Muslim population began to expand from its initial settlement south of the city centre near the university. It was here, as the south Asian community expanded, that numerous cafes and restaurants emerged on Wilmslow Road in Rusholme on what would eventually become known as the ‘Curry Mile’. In this paper, I trace the development of halal consumption and practice in Manchester over the last 50 years or so, exploring how, as the global halal market expanded, and the ‘Curry Mile’ was transformed, the pressures facing Muslim consumers increased significantly. In conclusion, I argue that in secular societies subject to the disciplinary force of the market, Muslim consumers must justify their halal food practice in every more complex ways.

14:30 | From ‘Halal’ Marketing to ‘Islamic’ Management?: The Case Study of the Halal Supermarket ‘Le Triangle’ in France

Ayang Utriza Yakin (Ghent University - UCLouvain)

The paper is to describe the current evolution in the halal economy, based on ethnographic research conducted in the North of France. It seeks to document how social and economic ascension, as it implies an entrepreneurial ethic, displaces and transforms the relationship to Islamic normativity (halal). In doing so, it will seek to identify the crucible for the formation of halal norms in marketing, management, and halal economy in general. From the Ethnomethodological approach, we will focus on how, in the context of social mobility based on economic success, the reference to Islam and Muslims’ tradition can serve as a regulator in the process of standard-setting.

The article tries to answer such questions: what relationships and convergences/divergences are there between ethics (halal), ethnic (the identity of a specific group), and etiquette in the halal market? More fundamentally, without focusing solely on the merchandising and deployment techniques of a halal market, how can we detect, measure, and question the effects of this commodification on the management methods of the personnel involved? Does the halal trade generate or not specific Islamic management mechanisms? If so, which ones and in what terms? What is the relationship between ethics and ethnicity in the “Islamic” inspired economy? Do they create “halal marketing” and how do they influence customer relations?

The assumptions that support the article are of several kinds. We will try to delineate how the halal supermarket has “commodified” Islam which follows the concept of “commercialization/religious marketing” by Pattana Kitiarsa (2008) and the concept of “market Islam” by Patrick Haeni (2005) to better understand the phenomenon of the “halal supermarket.” In this piece, it argues that the “halal supermarket” in France is not the result of religious conservatism or (neo) fundamentalism, but rather the combination between, on the one hand, the spirit and ethics of the economy modern, and on the other hand Islamic religiosity and Maghreb culture. Their concept and practice of halal commerce, halal marketing, and halal management are therefore based on the concept and practice of the modern economy, “colored” by Islamic ethical and moral values.

15:00 | Discussion

15:30 | Coffee Break

Session 3 | Gender and Aesthetics: Halal Cosmetics, Veil, Modest Fashion

Chair: **Kae Amo** (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

15:50 | Purifying Beauty: Halal Cosmetics and Affective Biopower in Indonesia

En-Chieh Chao (National Sun Yat-Sen University, Department of Sociology)

Beauty in neoliberal times has produced specific forms of biopower that manage the body in particular ways. As scientific halal certification has been deployed to stabilize the precarity of purity amid the sea of manufactured goods, halal cosmetics help expand the authority of religious rulings over the skin, the pores, and the delicate ways of ritual ablution. Aided by scientific innovation and experimental results, certified halal cosmetics brand such as Wardah confidently responds to the recent concern with the hinderance of makeup to the validity of ritual ablution by featuring products that are simultaneously waterproof and water permeable. All these dazzling developments only appeared in 2012, and Wardah as the first cosmetics self-identified as halal in Indonesia started no earlier than 1995.

This paper explores the discursive practices that have made possible the birth and takeoff of halal cosmetics in Indonesia. Drawing from conversations with long-term informants in Central Java and a content analysis of Wardah's commercials and user reviews, I discuss the ways in which the act of purifying beauty, through using halal cosmetics, readjust the relation between beauty, piety, and the corporeal body. I argue that the change in the meanings attributed to purified beauty does not represent the triumph of a cold demand from religious orthodoxy over the passionate, pleasurable and improvable qualities of Muslim bodies. Rather, it is the allures and affects generated among a multiplicity of individual bodies that eventually amounts to a pious form of biopower, one that is built upon a recent history of life certified, and upon an economy of affects, holiness and the community.

16:20 | Beyond the Veiling – Trend of Muslim Fashion in Indonesia

Yo Nonaka (Keio University, Faculty of Policy Management)

Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world and Islam seems to be more obvious in many areas in the society nowadays. In the presentation I will talk about the trend of Muslim fashion among young Muslimah in Indonesia and clarify its meaning for them.

Unlike the condition in the Middle East, Islamic veil had not been popular in Indonesian except among the limited religious communities. You hardly saw a woman covering her head with a veil until 1980s. It was surprising for the society when some female students in universities including Bandung Institute of Technology, University of Indonesia, and Gajah Mada University, which had been considered as top 3 prestigious universities in the country, started wearing it spontaneously. It has been more than 30 years since then and now you can see so many female wearing hijab. It is often very colorful and looks fashionable. This phenomenon seems to be brought by the fact that Islamic value has spread and has been taken more seriously among the society. It is also very much related to the recent democratization and economic growth in Indonesia.

16:50 | Loose-Fitting Fashion and Converting Concepts: Integrating the “Islamic Market” into the Japanese Market

Emi Goto (The University of Tokyo, Network for Education and Research on Asia)

The “Islamic market” is often divided and separated from other markets. The products for this industry are packaged under the names of “halal foods and goods,” “Islamic tourism,” “Islamic finance,” “Muslim fashion,” etc. These products also usually feature detailed guidelines and manuals (of food, goods, tourism) or consolidated images (fashion) of what constitutes Islamic normativity. In Japan, where the Muslim population is very small and knowledge about Islam is not well-known, if a company wishes to reach Muslim consumers, it makes references to or relies on the “packages” of other countries.

In this presentation, I seek a different approach to connecting the Japanese market and the “Islamic market.” The idea comes from a new trend in the Japanese fashion industry, which values loose-fitting items similar in style to so-called “Islamic fashion.” With the examples of hats and swimsuits, this paper examines the advertisement terms and their contexts in contemporary Japanese society to highlight that loose-fitting fashion is assimilating into “Japanese normativity.” In the end, this paper argues that dividing the “Islamic market” and other markets or differentiating between the evolving Islamic normativity and other social models may be regarded as meaningless in the future of the connected global market.

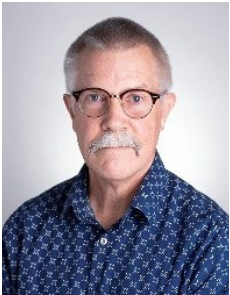
17:20 | General Discussion

Speakers



Florence Bergeaud-Blackler

Florence Bergeaud-Blackler is a CNRS (HDR) researcher at [GSRL](#) (EPHE/CNRS) at PSL University Paris. I hold a PhD in anthropology. My research draws inspiration from the pragmatic sociology and the 'socio-economics of conventions' to analyze the relationships between economics, religion and politics in a globalized world. As an observer (and historical witness) of the recent emergence of a globalized market for 'halal' products and services, I have been interested since 2000 in the way the religious norm fits into the worldwide industrial system in our neo-liberal era; and how, in return, the globalization of free trade impacts religious norms, institutions and practices. The quality standards that apply to most of the objects and services we daily use do not just standardize their external characteristics, their contours, leaving us the choice of their uses. They are increasingly orienting their uses by conveying imperceptible political, ethical and religious values. My work published in [books and peer-reviewed journals](#), based on numerous surveys conducted within [national and international research projects](#), shows that the global halal market carries both neoliberal and fundamentalist values.



Michael Brose

Michael Brose is a historian of China whose research includes two areas, the social history of Mongol China, and the history and current status of Islam among Chinese Muslims in Southwestern China. He is currently the Director of the East Asian Studies Center at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana USA, and affiliated faculty in the Department of Central Eurasian Studies.



En-Chieh Chao

En-Chieh Chao is a cultural anthropologist holding her Ph.D. from Boston University, currently Associate Professor of Sociology Department at National Sun Yat-sen University in Taiwan. Her research interests focus on the intersections between religion, gender, race, and modernity. Her book *Entangled Pieties: Muslim-Christian Relations and Gendered Socialities in Java, Indonesia* was released from Palgrave Macmillan in August 2017. More recently, Chao undertakes a project to study Islam with science, technology and society in the Indo-Malay world. She explores the overlooked multi-species sciences of halalness -the dynamics of Islamic ritual purity in modern life involving animal physiology, molecular biology, and oil chemistry- to expose the social contingencies that gave birth to certain scientific practices and religious understandings in the late 20th and 21st centuries.

Her peer-reviewed articles (written either in English or Chinese) investigate issues including: the cultural history of inter-religious lives in Java; Islamophobia and cyber-racism in the US; young female hijab designers' social influence in Indonesia ; and the relationship between global Islamic jurisprudence, animal welfare and the meat industry in New Zealand during the 1980s and onwards.



Johan Fischer

Johan Fischer is Associate Professor in the Department of Social Sciences and Business, Roskilde University, Denmark. His work focuses on modern religion and markets. More specifically, he explores the interfaces between class, consumption, market relations, religion and the state in a globalized world. A central focus in this research is the theoretical and empirical focus on the globalization of religious commodities and services. He is the author of *Proper Islamic Consumption: Shopping among the Malays in Modern Malaysia* (NIAS Press 2008), *The Halal Frontier: Muslim Consumers in a Globalized Market* (Palgrave Macmillan 2011), *Islam, Standards, and Technoscience: In Global Halal Zones* (Routledge 2015), *Halal Matters: Islam, Politics and Markets in Global Perspective* (Routledge 2015), *Religion, Regulation, Consumption: Globalising Kosher and Halal Markets* (Manchester University Press 2018), *Kosher and Halal Business Compliance* (Routledge 2018), *Muslim Piety as Economy: Markets, Meaning and Morality in Southeast Asia* (Routledge 2019) as well as articles in journals and edited volumes. He is Editor of the Routledge book series *Material Religion and Spirituality* and on the Editorial Boards of *British Food Journal*, *International Journal of Asia Pacific Studies* as well as *Research in Globalization*. Currently, he works on a research project that explores the relationship between vegetarian and non-vegetarian (food) markets in India.



Emi Goto

Emi Goto is an Associate Professor in the Network for Education and Research on Asia and the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia at the University of Tokyo. She received her doctorate (Ph.D.) in 2011 from Department of Area Studies, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, The University of Tokyo. Her book, titled *Veils for God: Egyptian Women and Islam* (2014, in Japanese), discusses how the dissemination of religious discourses brought about an increase in the veiled population of women in contemporary Egypt.



John Lever

John Lever has been conducting research on the global halal food market for over a decade. He written and published extensively on a range of related issues in Europe, South East Asia and the Middle East, including numerous academic journal articles; a jointly edited book collection with Florence Bergeaud-Blackler and Johan Fischer; and a jointly authored book and business compliance volume, both with Johan Fischer.



Yo Nonaka

Yo Nonaka is an Associate Professor at Faculty of Policy Management, Keio University, Japan. She received her Master's degree on the Recent Movement for Jilbab (hijab) among Secular High-educated Muslim Women in Indonesia in 2005 and got her PhD on the History and Thoughts of Student Dakwah Movement in Indonesia in 2011 both from the Graduate School of Media and Governance, Keio University. Her research interests includes muslim's lifestyle in Indonesia and Southeast Asia especially among women and young people. She has studied them from the various aspects including women's fashion, student Islamic movement, Islamic novels and films, the Halal issues, etc. Her major publications are "Muslim Fashion in Indonesia – Why did the veils of Indonesian muslimah become colorful?" (in Japanese, Fukumura Shuppan, 2015) and "Islamic Novels: Popularizing Islamic Values", Aiko Kurasawa and William Bradley Horton eds. *Consuming Indonesia – Consumption in Indonesia in the Early 21st Century: 193 – 215*, Jakarta: Gramedia, 2015.



Özlem Sandıkcı

Özlem Sandıkcı is Professor of Marketing at the Adam Smith Business School, University of Glasgow, UK. She completed her Ph.D. in Marketing at the Pennsylvania State University, USA in 1999. Her research addresses sociocultural dimensions of consumption and focuses on the relationship between globalization, marketing, and culture. Her work is published in journals including the *Journal of Marketing*, *Journal of Consumer Research*, *Journal of Business Research*, *Marketing Theory*, *Journal of Macromarketing*, *Business History Review*, *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, and *Fashion Theory* and in various edited collections. She is the co-editor of the *Handbook of Islamic Marketing* (Edward Elgar, 2011) and *Islam, Marketing and Consumption: Critical Perspectives on the Intersections* (Routledge, 2016). She received the Franco Nicosia ACR Competitive Paper Award (2003), the Emerald Literati Network Highly Commended Paper Award (2012), CCT Conference Best Special Session Award, Lille, France (2016), and The Stanley A. Shapiro Best Reviewer for the Journal of Macromarketing Award (2019). She was a visiting professor at York University, Schulich School of Business in Toronto, Canada and Faculty of Economics, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.



Ayang Utriza Yakin

Ayang Utriza Yakin is Invited Professor in Arabic and Islamic Studies at Ghent University, Belgium, from September 2019 and a postdoctoral researcher at the research institute of "Religions, Spiritualities, Cultures, Societies" (RSCS), Université Catholique de Louvain (UCLouvain), Belgium, December 2016 to December 2019. He graduated BA in Islamic law from the Faculty of Sharia and Law of the State Islamic University in Jakarta (1996-2001) and studied Islamic law at the University of al-Azhar, Cairo (2001-2002). Yakin obtained MA (2003-2005) and Ph.D. (2008-2013) in History and Philology from the *École des hautes études en sciences sociales* (EHESS), Paris. He was a Visiting research fellow at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies (OXCIS) of the University of Oxford (spring, 2012); a visiting fellow at the Islamic Legal Studies Program (ILSP) of Harvard Law School, the University of Harvard (spring, 2013), and a fellow at the Asia Leadership Fellow Program (ALFP), Tokyo, Japan, in September-October, 2016. He is actually co-editing two books (on Rethinking Halal and Islamic Divorce) and co-authoring two articles with his mentor Baudouin Dupret on "Homosexuality in the Majority Muslim Countries" and on "Mental Illness and Psychiatry in Egypt."