

DRIVERS OF MUSLIM GENERATION Z MEN'S PURCHASE DECISIONS TOWARD NON-HALAL-CERTIFIED LOCAL PERFUMES IN BANDUNG

Anita Yuliana Rahayu¹, A Jajang W Mahri¹, Ripan Hermawan¹, Rifka Aulia¹

¹Fakultas Pendidikan Ekonomi dan Bisnis, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Jalan Dr. Setiabudi No.229
E-mail: anitayulianarahay@upi.edu; ajajangwmahri@upi.edu; ripanhermawan@upi.edu; rifkaaulia@upi.edu

ABSTRACT

The increasing popularity of locally produced perfumes reflects the growing concern among men regarding personal appearance and self-expression. However, the presence of local perfumes without halal certification raises questions about the extent to which halal considerations influence purchasing decisions. This study aims to examine halal awareness, product quality, price, social media influencers, and purchasing decisions related to non-halal-certified local perfumes. It also analyzes the influence of halal awareness, product quality, price, and social media influencers on purchasing decisions. This research employs a quantitative approach with a causal design and descriptive analysis. The relationships between variables were analyzed using Partial Least Squares–Structural Equation Modeling (PLS-SEM) with SmartPLS 4. Data were collected from 220 Muslim male respondents from Generation Z residing in Bandung City. The descriptive results indicate that product quality, price, social media influencers, and purchasing decisions fall into the high category, while halal awareness is moderate. Hypothesis testing shows that halal awareness has a negative and insignificant effect on purchasing decisions, whereas product quality, price, and social media influencers have positive and significant effects. These findings highlight a paradox between religious awareness and functional considerations among Muslim Generation Z male consumers and emphasize the need for stronger collaboration to enhance halal strategies and digital transformation in the local industry.

Key words: Halal Awareness, Local Perfume, Price, Product Quality, Social Media Influencers

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays body care is no longer exclusive to women only (Yang & Shih, 2019). Many men began to be interested in taking care of the body to improve self-performance (Nghah et al., 2023). So there was an expansion of the cosmetics market for men. A cosmetic product that is in great demand among men is perfume. The wider access to various products in the era of globalization has driven the growth of perfume sales in e-commerce in 2024 to reach a transaction value of around Rp 487 trillion (Katadata, 2024). Globalization also brings the value of sustainability and ethical consumption in line with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), especially point 3 and point 12 (United Nation, 2024). Perfume buying decisions are not just a matter of lifestyle or religiosity, but rather part of contributing to realizing healthy, ethical and sustainable consumption patterns. According to the Fortune Business Insights report, the value of the world perfume market in 2025 will reach USD\$ 52.4 billion (Perfume, 2023). In Indonesia, perfume sales through e-commerce in 2022 increased by 69% (Insight, 2024). In addition, fragrance sales in the Indonesian market in 2025 are expected to be dominated by local perfume products (International, 2023). The local perfume industry plays an important role in supporting the growth of the National Creative Economy, which in 2024 will absorb nearly 25 million workers (Antara, 2024) and record exports worth US\$ 27 billion (Tempo, 2024). The projected revenue for the men's perfume segment is 2.69% per year in the 2023-2027 forecasting period (Insight, 2022). The growth in sales of men's perfumes occurs in large cities with a strong influence from influencers and social media (Insight, 2022). However, the majority of local perfumes circulating in the community are still not halal certified. According to the manager of International Halal LPPOM MUI, in 2024 only 26% of Indonesian cosmetic products including perfumes are halal certified. Not a few people ignore the halal products spread in the market (Irfan et al., 2024). Products not yet halal certified are still popular among muslim consumers (Nghah et al., 2023). Consumers tend to buy products assuming that the products are halal because they are produced in Islamic majority countries by Muslim producers (Dewi & Cuandra, 2023).

Local perfume products are not certified halal is a serious problem because the majority of people in the city of Bandung are Muslims. In 2024 the number of residents in the city of Bandung is 2,591,763 people with an Islamic population of 2,394,265 people (DISDUKCAPIL, 2024). In addition, the city of Bandung is a student city as evidenced by the large number of universities (BPS Kota Bandung, 2021). Thus creating a potential market for men's perfume products. Students tend to be more concerned about their appearance because it is very influential on student self-confidence (Nursela & Warastri, 2024). In general, currently students are in the age category of Generation Z, which is known to grow along with the development of digital technology (Kotler et al., 2024). Generation Z is actively looking for perfume recommendations that match her image. This is reinforced by the initial findings of 33 young men in the city of Bandung, obtained indications that consumers tend to prioritize the quality of perfume products compared to halal labels. Most of the respondents also showed doubts about the level of knowledge regarding the halal products.

This study is based on the theory of consumer behavior, which studies the individual or group in choosing, buying, and using products or services to meet their needs and desires (Kotler et al., 2020). In this context, internal variables are represented by halal awareness, external factors by social media influencers, and marketing efforts through product quality and price. Halal awareness is the consumer's understanding of halal products and ensuring that the products are in accordance with Islamic principles (Nurhayati & Hendar, 2020). Several previous studies

confirm that halal awareness positively influences halal product purchasing decisions (Hasan et al., 2024; Rachmawati et al., 2022; Rafiki et al., 2023). However, Jaiyeoba et al. (2020) found that lack of knowledge about halal can weaken such awareness. The product quality factor is also decisive in the purchase decision. Product quality is the ability of a product to display its functions (Then & Johan, 2021). However, Rehman dan Elahi (2024) state that consumers may degrade the quality of their choices in favor of more affordable prices. Price is the amount of value for a product or service that consumers sacrifice for the benefits of owning or using the product or service (Kotler et al., 2020). In the context of price, research by Misra (2024) and Al-Dmour et al. showed that price has a positive effect on purchase intention. However, Usman et al. (2023) found that the additional cost of halal certification led to more expensive prices and decreased buying interest. Furthermore, social media influencers also play an important role in shaping purchasing decisions through credibility and shared content (Tazlia et al., 2023; Widyanto & Agusti, 2020). Social media influencers are social media users who have built a large network of relationships with certain qualities and have influence on stakeholders through content production, content distribution, interaction and appearance on social media (Borchers, 2025). However, the study of Kumar et al. (2024) and Supriani et al. (2024) underline that content inauthenticity can decrease the influence of influencers on consumers.

Thus, research is important because perfume is not just a cosmetic but has a religious dimension and acts as a symbol of lifestyle and self-expression. From the economic aspect, the local perfume industry which is developing rapidly and contributing to the growth of the national creative economy, is still faced with the challenge of low halal certification can affect consumer confidence and competitiveness in the global market. If the purchase interest in local perfume decreases, then the impact can weaken the contribution of the perfume industry to the creative economy, reduce the income of local businesses, and open up opportunities for the dominance of imported products in the domestic market. This condition indicates that important research is done, because it involves aspects of consumer religiosity as well as the sustainability of the competitiveness of the National Creative Economy. In addition, based on the phenomenon, theory and research gap of factors influencing purchasing decisions that show the results are not aligned this study is important to analyze in depth the factors that influence the purchase decision of local perfume is not halal certified by Generation Z Muslim men in the city of Bandung. The novelty of this study is the renewal of the object that this study will focus on the male consumer market. In addition, this study will also examine the influence of influencers on perfume purchase decisions in men who are still rare to be studied.

METHOD

The research method used in this study is a quantitative method. This method is used because the study uses survey techniques by taking several samples from the population and using questionnaires as a data collection tool. The sample taken in this study is Generation Z muslim men in Bandung totaling 220 people. The sampling technique uses non-probability sampling technique with purposive sampling. While the measurement of the instruments developed will be measured using a numeric scale of 1-5 with 33 questions. As for testing the consistency of the instrument measurement results, reliability tests were carried out by looking at the value of Cronbach's coefficient (Hair, et al., 2022). The instrument can be said to be reliable if the value of Cronbach's Alpha > 0,7. The analysis tool used is Partial Least Square-Structural Equation Modeling using SmartPLS4.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results showed that each variable has a different level of influence on the decision to purchase local perfume is not halal certified. A summary of the results of the analysis is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Path Coefficients Direct Effect

	Original sample	T statistics	P values
Halal Awareness - > Purchase Decision	-0.110	1.772	0.038
Product Quality - > Purchase Decision	0.230	3.381	0.000
Price - > Purchase Decision	0.193	3.077	0.001
Social Media Influencers - > Purchase Decisions	0.446	5.823	0.000

Source: SmartPLS Processing Results (2025)

Halal awareness variable has a negative and significant effect, meaning that the higher the level of halal awareness of respondents, the tendency to buy local perfumes without halal certificates decreased. This implies that Generation z muslim male consumers with a high level of halal awareness tend to be more selective in product selection so that they will avoid local perfumes that are not halal certified. This finding can be explained through the perspective of consumer behavior theory (Schiffman & Kanuk, 2000) that purchasing decisions are not only influenced by belief or knowledge factors, but also by emotional factors, value perceptions, and promotional appeal. Consumer decisions tend to involve many steps that are influenced by a number of factors including social, lifestyle, and cultural values (Mothersbaugh et al., 2020) this finding is in line with research by Nurhayati and Hendar (2020) showing that halal product awareness positively influences halal product purchase decisions. Knowledge of halal products accompanied by clear product information and the presence of halal labels can influence a person's purchasing decision. These results are reinforced by the research of Jaiyeoba et al. (2020) which shows that halal awareness without an in-depth understanding of halal standards can negatively impact purchasing decisions. Consumers may be aware of the importance of halal, but do not make it a deciding factor in purchasing when understanding or information is limited. This is also supported by Mahri et al. (2024) which found that some consumers do not know for sure the content of cosmetics that are prohibited in Islam, so they still make purchases even though the product does not have a halal certificate.

In addition, purchasing decisions according to consumer behavior theory can be influenced by marketing efforts in the form of products, prices, places and promotions (Kotler et al., 2020). Consumers generally evaluate products based on various aspects including quality as a subjective assessment of product excellence (Zeithaml, 1988). Trihudyatmanto et al. (2022) consumers prefer perfume brands that fit the concept of self-personalization. Research by Shafi et al. (2024) stated that product quality has a significant influence on health supplement purchasing decisions because it is considered safe and beneficial for consumers. Trihudyatmanto et al. (2022) confirms that the higher the quality of halal products offered, the greater the loyalty of consumers and their desire to make repeat purchases. In consumer behavior theory consumer decisions can also be influenced by marketing efforts in the form of price, (Kotler et al., 2020). Price is one of the main indicators in the perception of consumer value. Generation Z tend to have limited purchasing power but consumptive of lifestyle products, will prefer products that offer a combination of good quality at an affordable price. Kowalczyk & Mitchell (2022) explain that consumers often associate higher prices with the perception of better quality. Meanwhile, Kaur et al. (2021) affirms that discounts, promotions and rational prices are important indicators in purchasing decisions, especially in daily consumption products. When prices are considered reasonable and competitive, consumers will be more encouraged to make purchases, even if the product does not yet have a halal certificate. Social media influencers also have an important role to play in shaping the purchasing decisions of Generation Z Muslim male consumers in the city of Bandung, especially in the context of local perfumes that are not halal certified. Consumers in this group tend to respond positively to the credibility, attractiveness, and quality of content displayed by influencers, such as the way information is delivered, the clarity of scent descriptions, and usage testimonials. This finding is reinforced by the results of tazlia's (2023) research which states that the credibility of influencers affects consumers' assessment of products. When influencers are seen as competent, honest, and in line with the identity of their target audience, the message becomes more persuasive. Widyanto & Agusti (2020) also showed that social media influencers have a positive influence on purchase intentions, especially if the influencer has expertise in the field of the product being promoted. This creates a fit between the values adopted by consumers and the image and lifestyle of influencers, so that confidence in the information provided increases.

Descriptively, halal awareness is in the relatively low category, while product quality, price, and social media influencers are in the high category. This condition reflects the imbalance between religious factors and functional and social factors in consumption decisions. Product quality variables, product prices and social media influencers significantly drive the decision to purchase local perfumes that are not halal certified. Conversely, halal awareness will reduce the purchase decision of non-halal certified local perfume. Theoretically, the research findings reinforce the relevance of consumer behavior theory in the context of halal products, especially in the male segment of Generation Z Muslims living in urban areas such as Bandung. The finding of negative influence of halal awareness on the decision to purchase local perfumes that are not halal certified indicates that consumers with a high level of halal awareness are more likely to avoid products that do not have halal certificates. This implies that although halal labeling is not yet a consideration, the perception of halal still plays an important role in influencing certain consumer behavior. Although in practice there are still many Generation Z Muslims who have not avoided the use of non-halal certified products despite having high halal awareness.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of research through descriptive analysis, it was found that product quality, price and social media influencers showed a high level while halal awareness was at a low level. The characteristics of Generation Z muslim men in Bandung are dominated by the age range of 23-28 years, highly educated (D4/S1 and S2/S3), have a well-established job and middle to high income, especially those domiciled in IV. This shows that the majority of respondents with greater purchasing power, higher education levels, and better access to information as well as modern lifestyles are more encouraged to buy local perfumes even though they are not halal certified. Halal awareness is proven to have a negative and significant effect on purchasing decisions, meaning that the higher the halal awareness, the lower the tendency to buy perfume without halal certification. In contrast, product quality, price and social media influencers were shown to have significant positive effects, suggesting that marketing and social elements are more dominant in shaping consumption preferences. In the context of purchasing decisions for local perfumes that are not halal certified, these characteristics indicate that Generation Z muslim men in Bandung tend to consider more functional aspects such as affordable prices, aromas that suit their tastes, and promotional influences from social media than halal aspects of the product. The need for perfume as part of a modern lifestyle and self-expression are the main factors driving purchases even though they are not yet halal certified.

As a recommendation, local perfume manufacturers are advised to improve product quality as a whole, including in terms of aroma, packaging, and durability, in order to remain competitive in the market. On the other hand, although halal labeling is not yet a dominant factor, manufacturers should start considering halal certification to expand the market and build long-term trust, especially as religious awareness among consumers is expected to increase as well as to expand muslim market segmentation both domestically and abroad. The marketing strategy should be directed towards collaboration with social media influencers who are relevant to the lifestyle of the younger generation. Institutions such as BPJPH are also expected to expand education and socialization on the importance of halal products, especially in the non-food sector such as perfume, through digital media that are close to the lives of the younger generation. For people, especially Muslim Z generation men, it is important to start increasing literacy and awareness of the halal nature of products, so that consumption decisions not only

consider the price or aesthetic aspects, but also the underlying spiritual values. Further researchers are advised to expand the coverage area, enrich the model with additional variables, and improve the measurement instruments so that the research results are more comprehensive and applicable.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to thank the Islamic Economics and Finance Study Program, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, for the support of facilities and academic guidance provided during this research process.

REFERENCES

- Al-Dmour, H., Al-Qawasmi, S., Al-Dmour, R., & Basheer Amin, E. (2022). The role of electronic word of mouth (eWOM) and the marketing mix on women's purchasing intention of children's dietary supplements. *International Journal of Pharmaceutical and Healthcare Marketing*, 16(3), 376–391. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJPHM-08-2020-0066>
- Borchers, N. S. (2025). How social media influencers support political parties in achieving campaign objectives, according to political communicators in Germany. *Public Relations Review*, 51. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2024.102532>
- BPS Bandung. (2021). The number of academies / universities in the city of Bandung in 2020-2021. Retrieved April 19, 2025 <https://bandungkota.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/2/NDEwIzI=/jumlah-akademi-perguruan-tinggi-di-kota-bandung.html>
- Dewi, M. S., & Cuandra, F. (2023). The influence of halal products on consumer choices in shopping in indonesia. *Journal Of Business Economics Informatics*, 5(4), 1297-1305. <https://doi.org/10.37034/infv5i3.578>
- DISDUKCAPIL. (2024). Total population of bandung. Retrieved March 24, 2025 from <https://opendata.bandung.go.id/dataset/jumlah-penduduk-kota-bandung>
- Hair, J. F., Hult, G. T. M., Ringle, C. M., & Sarstedt, M. (2022). *Partial Least Squares Structural Equation Modeling (PLS-SEM) Using R*. Swiss: Springer.
- Hasan, S., Faruk, M., Naher, K., & Hossain, S. (2024). Influence of halal marketing on intention towards halal cosmetics: halal awareness and attitude as mediators. *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, 15(7), 1783–1806. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-03-2023-0100>
- Indonesia, U. N. (2024). *Sustainable Development Goals | United Nations in Nigeria*. <https://nigeria.un.org/en/sdgs>
- Insight, C. D. M. (2022). Aroma victory top 7 best selling men's perfume brand in Indonesia. Retrieved 13 April 2025 from <https://compas.co.id/article/parfum-pria-terlaris/>
- Insight, C. M. (2024). Trends in e-commerce 2024 : who leads the perfume & fragrance market is increasingly in demand, sales increased by Rp1.4 trillion. Retrieved 13 April 2025 from <https://compas.co.id/article/tren-di-e-commerce-2024/>
- International, E. (2023). *Fragrances in Indonesian*. Retrieved 19 April 2025 from <https://www.euromonitor.com/fragrances-in-indonesia/report>
- Irfan, I., Safriani, N., Sari, I. P., & Moulana, R. (2024). The influence of brand awareness and perception of halal labels on the purchase decision of personal care products for men. *Journal Of Business And Management Applications*, 10 (1), 288-300. <https://doi.org/10.17358/jabm.10.1.288>
- Jaiyeoba, H. B., Abdullah, M. A., & Dzuljastri, A. R. (2020). Halal certification mark, brand quality, and awareness: Do they influence buying decisions of Nigerian consumers? *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, 11(6), 1657–1670. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-07-2019-0155>
- Katadata. (2024). Majority of Indonesia's Population is Muslim in The First Half of 2024. *Katadata*. Retrieved 19 April 2025 from <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2024/08/08/mayoritas-penduduk-indonesia-beragama-islam-pada-semester-i-2024>
- Kaur, P., Dhir, A., Talwar, S., & Ghuman, K. (2021). The value proposition of food delivery apps from the perspective of theory of consumption value. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 33(4), 1129–1159. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCHM-05-2020-0477>
- Kotler, P., Armstrong, G., Harris, L. C., & He, H. (2020). *Principles of marketing: Eighth european edition*. United Kingdom : Pearson Education Limited.
- Kotler, P., Kartajaya, H., & Setiawan, I. (2024). *Marketing 6.0: The future is immersive*. Canada : John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Kumar, N., Nawaz, Z., & Samerguy, P. (2024). The power of social media fitness influencers on supplements: How they affect buyer's purchase decision? *International Journal of Pharmaceutical and Healthcare Marketing*, 18(1), 27–46. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJPHM-04-2022-0037>
- Mahri, A. J. W., Juliana, J., Monoarfa, H., Rohepi, A. P., & Karim, R. (2024). Integrating country of origin, brand image and halal product knowledge: The case of the South Korean skincare in Indonesia. *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, 15(1), 244–259. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-12-2021-0390>
- Misra, P. (2024). Purchase intention toward e-pharmacy: The consumption value perspective. *International Journal of Pharmaceutical and Healthcare Marketing*, 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJPHM-12-2023-0107>
- Mothersbaugh, D. L., Hawkins, D. L., & Kleiser, S. B. (2020). *Consumer Behavior : Building Marketing Strategy, Fourteenth Edition*. United States : McGraw Hill.
- Ngah, A. H., Tuan Mansor, T. M., Gabarre, C., Rahi, S., Khan, S., & Ahmad, R. (2023). I love my cosmetics: Educated young muslim's behaviour of non-halal certified cosmetics. *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, 14(11), 2798–2820. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-06-2021-0196>

- Nurhayati, T., & Hendar, H. (2020). Personal intrinsic religiosity and product knowledge on halal product purchase intention: Role of halal product awareness. *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, 11(3), 603–620. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-11-2018-0220>
- Nursela, N., & Warastri, A. (2024). The relationship of consumptive behavior on online shopping in fashion and the self-image of overseas students in Yogyakarta. *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Penelitian Dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat*, 2(28), 592–602.
- Perfume, M. (2023). *Tren market parfum tahun 2025*. Diakses tanggal 19 April 2025 dari <https://mandalikaperfume.co.id/tren-market-parfum-tahun-2025/>
- Rachmawati, E., Suliyanto, & Suroso, A. (2022). A moderating role of halal brand awareness to purchase decision making. *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, 13(2), 542–563. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-05-2020-0145>
- Rafiki, A., Hidayat, S. E., & Nasution, M. D. T. P. (2023). An extensive effect of religiosity on the purchasing decisions of halal products. *PSU Research Review*, 8(3), 898–919. <https://doi.org/10.1108/PRR-07-2022-0093>
- Rehman, A. U., & Elahi, Y. A. (2024). How semiotic product packaging, brand image, perceived brand quality influence brand loyalty and purchase intention: A stimulus-organism-response perspective. *Asia Pacific Journal of Marketing and Logistics*, 36(11), 3043–3060. <https://doi.org/10.1108/APJML-12-2023-1237>
- Santoso, A. (2024). Indonesia's creative economy a model for others, says minister. *Antara*. <https://en.antaranews.com/news/327539/indonesias-creative-economy-a-model-for-others-says-minister>
- Schiffman, L., & Kanuk, L. L. (2000). *Perilaku Konsumen Edisi Ketujuh (Terjemah)*. Yogyakarta : PT Indeks.
- Shafi, S., Saidi, F. S., Mohamed, K. W., Damaianti, I., & Salleh, H. S. (2024). Understanding consumer insights: Exploring health supplement products preferences in Malaysia. *International Journal of Design and Nature and Ecodynamics*, 19(2), 649–656. <https://doi.org/10.18280/ijdne.190231>
- Supriani, I., Ninglasari, S. Y., & Sri, I. (2024). How social media influencers form muslim consumers' halal cosmetics purchase intention: Religiosity concern. *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, 16(2), 502–525. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-02-2024-0085>
- Tazlia, I., Nurfadilah, D., & Pratama, S. (2023). Purchase intention of halal local beauty brand during covid-19: The role of influencers' credibility and halal awareness. *Journal of Islamic Monetary Economics and Finance*, 9(3), 397–418. <https://doi.org/10.21098/jimf.v9i3.1623>
- Then, N., & Johan, S. (2021). Effect of product quality, brand image, and brand trust on purchase intention of SK-II skincare products brand in Jakarta. *Jurnal Manajemen Bisnis Dan Kewirausahaan*, 5(5), 530–535. <https://doi.org/10.24912/jmbk.v5i5.13327>
- Trihudiyatmanto, M., Prananditya, A., & Iqbal, M. A. (2022). Brand image islamic: Halal food product quality in relationship to repurchase intention. *Journal of Digital Marketing and Halal Industry*, 4(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.21580/jdmhi.2022.4.1.8291>
- Usman, H., Chairy, C., & Projo, N. W. K. (2023). Between awareness of halal food products and awareness of halal-certified food products. *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, 14(3), 851–870. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-07-2021-0233>
- Widyanto, H. A., & Agusti, C. R. (2020). Beauty influencer in the digital age: How does it influence purchase intention of generation Z? *Jurnal Manajemen Dan Pemasaran Jasa*, 13(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.25105/jmpj.v13i1.5453>
- Yang, C. M., & Shih, C. S. (2019). Symbolic consumption of advertisements for male perfumes: Effects of advertising appeals and product involvement on advertising effectiveness. *Research in World Economy*, 10(3), 160–173. <https://doi.org/10.5430/RWE.V10N3P160>
- Zeithaml, V. A. (1988). Consumer perceptions of price, quality, and value: A means-end model and synthesis of evidence. *Journal of Marketing*, 52(3), 2–22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002224298805200302>