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SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL CHANGES IN HALAL FOOD SALES AND CONSUMPTION
A CASE STUDY OF THE CITY OF DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

by

Sam Roodbar

A thesis submitted to the Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Master of Science
Geography
Western Michigan University
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Thesis Committee:

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SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL CHANGES IN HALAL FOOD SALES AND CONSUMPTION A CASE STUDY OF THE CITY OF DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

Sam Roodbar, M.S.

Western Michigan University, 2018

With a population of 3.2 million and growing in the US, Arab Americans are an integral part of the economy and culture of the United States and the world. The southeast portion of the state of Michigan is home to more than 300,000 Arab Americans. One of the main agents of cultural maintenance and support for the Arab American community are their ethnic food traditions, specifically Halal food. Since the introduction of Halal food in the United States, the sales and consumption of Halal products has increased immensely. This research seeks to answer four related questions focused on the entrance of larger, retail food corporations into this market segment traditionally occupied by smaller scale ethnic food stores.

An online survey of 174 Halal food purchasers collected between June 1st and August 1st, 2017 forms the core of my mixed method research project which also includes informal interviews with store owners, and survey of Dearborn's business directories. This study concludes that regardless of age, gender, or educational background religious reasons are main driver behind people's Halal food purchase. Furthermore, the findings of this research reveals that the smaller, ethnic stores have not been affected by the entrance of the larger food retailers into the Halal market segment. The results of this study are consistent with previous studies indicating the Muslim shoppers as the main agents behind the rise of Halal products. This target market is young, highly educated, and dedicated to their culture and heritage.

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Sam Roodbar

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vi
CHAPTER	
1. Arab Americans and Halal Traditions.....	1
2. Arab Americans in Michigan.....	6
2.1. Migrations.....	11
2.2. Hardship and Revival.....	15
2.3. The Halal Food Tradition of Arab Americans.....	17
2.4. The Growing Popularity of Halal Food.....	21
3. Relevant Research.....	26
3.1. The Definition and the Scope of Halal.....	26
3.2. The Authenticity of Halal Products.....	29
3.3. The Potential and the Growth of Halal.....	31
3.4. Small Stores vs. Large Food Retailers.....	32
4. A Mixed Method Approach.....	34
4.1. Development of a Consumer Survey Exploring Halal Food.....	35
4.2. Qualitative Interviews with Retailers.....	38

Table of Contents – Continued

CHAPTER

4.3. A Survey of Business Directories and the Apparent Growth	43
5. Characteristics of Halal Food Consumption in Southeast Michigan	47
5.1. Results from a Survey of Halal Food Consumers in Dearborn, Michigan	47
5.2. Store Selection	55
5.3. Interviews with Store Owners and Operators	62
5.4. Mapping the Growth of Halal in Dearborn Over Time and Space	67
6. Conclusion	74
6.1. The Customer Base of Halal Food	74
6.2. The Main Motives Behind Purchasing Halal Foods	75
6.3. The Effects of Larger Food Retailers on Smaller Ethnic Stores	77
6.4. The Loyalty of Halal Shoppers	79
6.5. Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research	82

APPENDICES

A. Arabic Translation of the Survey	84
B. Survey Questionnaire	90
C. Interview Questionnaire	103
D. HSIRB Approval Letter	105

BIBLIOGRAPHY	107
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LIST OF TABLES

5.1	Where survey respondents live	50
5.2	Distance traveled to favorite store by survey participants	50
5.3	Reasons for purchasing Halal foods (on a scale of 1 to 5).....	52
5.4	Shopping at larger stores for Halal food and the importance of greater choice	56
5.5	Monthly spending at respondents' favorite ethnic store	58
5.6	Factors affecting the choice of customers when it comes to selecting their favored store.....	59
5.7	Most important shopping items for Halal shoppers	60
5.8	Significance of price when purchasing Halal food and household size.....	60
5.9	Educational attainment and shopping at superstores and convenient stores.....	61

LIST OF FIGURES

2.1	The Arab League.....	10
2.2	Arab American population growth in the U.S.	12
2.3	Orville Hubbard, mayor of Dearborn from 1942 to 1978 in the middle of Michigan Avenue (portrait taken 1960s)	14
2.4	Southend neighborhoods median household income from 1990 to 2015.....	19
2.5	Per capital income 2010 and 2015	20
2.6	Number of Halal food searches from 2004 to 2017.....	22
2.7	Halal food searches per state.....	23
4.1	Arabic Village Market on Dix Avenue, Dearborn.....	39
4.2	Islamic Village Market on Dix Avenue, Dearborn.....	40
4.3	The area of interest, Warren Avenue, Dix Avenue, and Schaefer Road	42
4.4	Dearborn Fresh Supermarket on Schaefer Road.....	43
4.5	A sample of the scanned directories sent from Dearborn Public Library.....	46
5.1	Age distribution of survey takers	48
5.2	Household size of survey participants	49
5.2	Educational attainment of survey takers	49

List of Figures – Continued

5.4	Survey participants' zip codes	51
5.5	The importance of religious reasons and educational attainment.....	53
5.6	The importance of religious reasons and gender	53
5.7	The importance of price when purchasing Halal foods and educational attainment.....	54
5.8	The importance of price between male and female	55
5.9	The importance of better quality products when shopping at larger food retailers.....	57
5.10	Number of years Halal shoppers have been visiting their favored	58
5.11	Greenland Markets in Dearborn, Michigan	63
5.12	Ever Fresh Market in Dearborn Heights is implementing the same tactics as Greenland Market	64
5.13	Area of Interest in Dearborn, Warren Avenue, Dix Avenue	68
5.14	Number of Arab-owned businesses on Warren Avenue over the years	69
5.15	Number of Arab-owned businesses on Dix Avenue over the years	70
5.16	Warren Avenue ethnic stores found on business directories	72
5.17	Dix Avenue ethnic stores found on business directories	73

Chapter 1

Arab Americans and Halal Tradition

Arab Americans have been involved in the economy and culture of southeast Michigan for well over one hundred years. Three distinct waves of immigration from the Middle East to the United States resulted in more than 3.2 million Arab Americans living in the United States, including a significant portion who settled in the southeast portion of the state of Michigan. The Detroit metropolitan area is home to an estimated 300,000 Arab Americans.

According to a study conducted by the Pew Research Center (www.pewforum.org), the Muslim generation (M generation) are on their way to becoming the largest segment of world's population. As stated in the report, while "the world's population is projected to grow 32% in the coming decades, the number of Muslims is expected to increase by 70%." The population of the M generation in the world in 2015 was 1.8 billion, and this number is projected to rise to 3 billion by 2060 (Lipka, 2017). As the population grows, so does their purchasing power. Not only have corporations such as Walmart and Yum started catering to the M generation, but also brands like Nike. This firm started a campaign called "Pro Hijab" directly marketing sportswear to female Muslim athletes (Safronova, 2017). Even luxury brands have begun offering products to Muslim shoppers. Dolce and Gabbana and Haute Hijab both offer consumer goods specifically tailored to the Muslim population (Chrisman-Campbell, 2016; Feller, 2018).

An important part of every culture including those of Arab Americans is food. For most Arab Americans the focus is *Halal* foods. Simply put, Halal can be defined as all foods and products which are permissible for consumption by Muslims all around the world. Arif

and Sidek (2015), define “Halal-ness” of products as based on the idea of “Tayyib” which “refers to clean, pure, safe, harmless and high-quality” products. Furthermore, the concept of Halal encapsulates both tangible and intangible aspects of products. According to Islamic traditions, Halal food is food prepared following Halal requirements, but these foods also need to be beneficial to consumers. Also, the concept of Halal must be applied to foods throughout all stages of product life, from production to transportation to market and the final stages of preparation (Arif & Sidek, 2015). This attention to all stages of production is the reason that Halal is quickly becoming synonymous with fair trade, organic products, and humane treatment of animals.

Since the introduction of Halal food throughout the world, sales and consumption of Halal products have increased immensely. Golnaz et al. (2010), report a rapid increase in annual Halal sales in Moscow, Russia. From 2004 to 2006, sales of Halal products increased by \$25 million (for \$45 million to \$70 million) and this trend is expected to continue. According to Izberk-Bilgin and Nakata (2016), the global Halal market has a \$2.1 trillion potential. Within the United States, the growing purchasing power of Arab Americans and others interested in Halal products have lured larger corporations such as Walmart, Nestle, McDonald’s and even the world-famous marketing agency, Ogilvy and Mather, to this fast-expanding market segment. Recently, many non-Arab consumers have also developed an interest in Halal products. This is because, for some consumers, Halal foods are becoming synonymous with more “natural” foods and more “humane” treatment of animals (Sabír, 2010).

The growth of the Halal food sector in the United States has also been increasing quickly. Perhaps the best evidence of this growth is the introduction of Crescent food products, a Halal food distributor, into five Walmart stores beginning in 2008 near Dearborn,

Michigan. Until 2008, smaller ethnic food stores in the southeast portion of Michigan were the only source of Halal food for Arab Americans and other interested consumers living in the area. Despite modest appearances, these smaller scale operations often serve as wholesale suppliers for ethnic food stores in other areas of Michigan and other states such as Ohio, Indiana, and even as far as New York.

The purchase of Halal foods, then, represents an increasingly important trend in food choice and consumption for many Americans. This research focuses on the changes that come about with the entrance of larger corporations into the market segment now known as the “M” generation, i.e. the Muslim generation. Also, this research examines the driving forces behind the increase in Halal food sales in southeast Michigan, using Dearborn, Michigan as a case study. Furthermore, this research sheds light on the Halal food seekers, their family structure, their educational attainment, and the methods by which they select their favorite stores. The research centers on four specific but related questions:

- 1) Are the patrons of ethnic food stores mostly Arab Americans or has the consumer base expanded in some way in southeast Michigan?
- 2) What are the main reasons for customers to purchase Halal food?
- 3) Have smaller, ethnic stores been inversely impacted by the entrance of larger food retailers into this market segment?
- 4) Has the loyalty of Halal-seeking customers been affected with the advent of more price-competitive, major food retailers?

A mixed methods approach, to be discussed in detail in chapter 4, will demonstrate the value in making direct contact in a variety of ways with Arab Americans and others so as to help better understand many issues related to Halal foods and their consumption. Again, this case study focuses on Dearborn, Michigan. This southeastern city, which neighbors

Detroit, is extremely diverse and unique in its population composition. Prior to the boom of the Ford Motor Company, Dearborn was a majority white town. However, the need for labor during the early 1900s attracted immigrants to this corner of Michigan. Slowly, and through three waves of immigration, the population of Arab Americans in the city has risen to 42,314 or roughly 44% of the total 2016 population. The growth of the Arab American population has been significant and all signs point to a continued growth for the years to come. The abundance of Halal food outlets and Halal food consumers, provides a rich study area for this research.

As mentioned previously, a mixed method approach is implemented in this research. One hundred and seventy-four online surveys form the core of this research. The threshold of acceptance for survey was assigned as 50% complete. In addition to the survey, qualitative informal interviews were utilized to better understand store owners' thoughts, opinions, and insights. Multiple trips allowed me to spend more than two weeks in the study area. During the fieldwork in Dearborn, field observations were recorded as well. Field observations acted as an important window through which unique characteristics of Dearborn and its shopping districts (Warren Avenue and Dix Avenue) were recorded. These observations played a crucial role in the findings of this research and act as a pivotal addition to this research.

The last pillar of this mixed method research was analysis of the historic business directories of Dearborn. To create a clear picture of growth in the area, *Polk's* and *Bresser's* business directories from 1981 to 2014 were scanned for ethnic sounding businesses. The shopping districts of Dearborn were the focus of this inquiry. In order to access these historic directories, trips were made to the Arab American National Museum (www.arabamericanmuseum.org) since their collections include *Polk's* directories from early 1980s to late 1990s. For more recent directories, the Dearborn Public Library (DPL) was

contacted. Although, the DPL didn't have every directory available they have copies of *Bresser's Directories* for 2006 and 2014. Fortunately, the 2006 and 2014 directories are very useful because they have the ability to portray the recent effects of larger retailers selling Halal foods. Walmart started offering Halal products at 5 locations around Dearborn in 2008. Although, simply surveying directories for ethnic sounding businesses might not provide a thorough picture of growth, but this unique approach surely indicates a clear rate of growth or decline for Arab American or Middle Eastern businesses in Dearborn.

This thesis has six chapters. Chapter 2 will briefly summarize the history of Arab Americans in Michigan, and the reasons behind their settlement in this area. Chapter 3 examines the growing body of research surrounding Halal products, whether they are food, cosmetic products or even tourism. Chapter 4 further introduces the mixed method approach that is applied for this research and the steps taken in designing and perfecting this approach. Chapter 5 reports the results. Lastly, chapter 6 provides a comprehensive conclusion of this research.

Chapter 2

Arab Americans in Michigan

The sale and consumption of Halal foods has grown apace with the growth of Arab and Middle Eastern American populations in Michigan and throughout the United States. In 1990, there were an estimated 62,699 people of Arabic descent living in Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb counties of the state of Michigan. This number represented 82% of the 76,773 Arab Americans thought to be living in Michigan at that time. Including the Arab Americans living in the adjacent counties of Washtenaw, St. Clair, Livingston and Monroe, 9 out of 10 Middle Easterners in Michigan live within the southeast corner of the state (Abraham & Shryock, 2000).

The population of Arab Americans in Michigan has grown incrementally, beginning with the migration of families who came to work in the automobile industry in the early years of the last century. This steady growth has not wavered despite the economic problems that challenged Detroit's role as the "Motor City" of the US or the subsequent economic crises that plunged the region deep into financial despair beginning in 1998. According to the U.S. Census, in 2000, 30% of Dearborn's population were of Arab descent. Fast forward to 2016, those of Arab descent make up 44% of Dearborn's population so the numbers continue to increase. Today, according to Arab America, a non-profit organization (www.arabamerica.com), California is the only state home to more Arab Americans than Michigan, with 324,609 and 223,075 respectively. Nationwide, the median income for Arab American households in 2008 was \$56,331, higher than the national average of \$51,369 ("Arab American Community in Detroit Michigan," n.d.). As a consequence of this growth, this growing market segment has attracted the attention of an increasing number of major

food retailers.

Most scholars believe the main motivation for Arab immigration have been economic necessity and a desire for personal advancement. According to Suleiman (1999) although the economy of greater Syria (present-day Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Israel, Jordan, and Iraq), saw clear advancements in the late 19th and early 20th century, the gains were not equally distributed. Two major events triggered mass migrations in the middle of 19th century. First, the opening of the Suez Canal which made the trip to the Far East much easier. Consequently, Japanese silk became a major competitor for Middle-Eastern silk. Second, the ruination of vineyards in the region as a result of an invasive pest, *phylloxera*. Aside from economic and personal freedom, many Arab Americans fled their region to avoid religious, political and civil persecutions (Abraham et al., 1999; Issawi, 1992).

Those who migrated to the United States dispersed throughout the country, but a large group chose Michigan as their new home. Reasons behind this high concentration of Arab Americans in the south east region of Michigan include Detroit's automobile industry and the promise of better paying jobs. This is certainly correct. However, according to Abraham and Shyrock (2000), in 1900 the *Detroit Free Press*, Feb. 6, published a story about 75 to 100 "exotic" migrants, mostly from Lebanon, who were already living in Detroit at the time. Most of these earliest settlers were small store owners and not industrial workers. Since the first wave of immigrants were mostly unskilled workers who only knew the very basics of English language, few jobs were available to them. Farming could not be pursued without capital for purchasing land, and working on the farms of others added to their isolation and loneliness, therefore peddling in Michigan cities and towns presented itself as the most attractive option (Naff, 1993).

However, soon after, this trend changed and other more lucrative positions became

available as Detroit's automobile industry expanded. By 1916, there were 555 Syrian workers alone at the giant Ford Rouge plant. This number increased to 9,000 by 1930 with more employees arriving from more nations. Six thousand were Syrians, and the rest were a mix of Palestinians, Yemenis and Iraqi Chaldeans (Abraham & Shryock, 2000).

The causes given for this unique concentration in the automobile industry vary widely. However, as one story goes, a Yemeni sailor was working on a boat on the Great Lakes in the early 1900s and somehow met the car-making mogul Henry Ford. The story grows uncertain at this point. Some say, after the meeting, Henry Ford sent a ship to Yemen to gather as many workers as he could for his plant. Another version says that word reached Yemen that Henry Ford was paying \$5.00 a day to workers to staff his newly developed assembly lines and this spurred further immigrations. It is also believed that Henry Ford was looking for a labor force that was not interested in joining the newly emerging labor unions. Therefore, it is possible he thought that a lack of English language skills might deter Yemeni workers from joining the emergent union movement (Hassoun, 2005).

Whichever version one accepts, it is undeniable that the Ford Motor Company had a large and early role in attracting the earliest Arab Americans to the southeast portion of Michigan. Their arrival also established a well-trod path that continues to lead citizens of other Arab nations from the Middle East to pursue their dreams in Michigan and northern Ohio. These immigrants are no longer assembly line workers, they are also engineers, designers and product managers working throughout the entire manufacturing sector of the state. Word of mouth and "chain" migration made Michigan one of the states with highest concentration of Arab Americans, but it started with the automobile industry (Hassoun, 2005).

Unfortunately, due to a lack of proper classification in the census, i.e. with no clear

designation for Arabs, it is quite difficult to calculate the actual number of Arab immigrants that have entered the United States after these early years. A U.S. government reclassification of Middle Eastern people in 1952 didn't help. In that year, amidst confusion, people of Arabic descent were told by U.S. census officials to choose "white" as their ethnicity on the census form. This lack of clear classification coupled with immigrant's lack of trust of the U.S. Census Bureau caused the numbers of Arab Americans to be dramatically underreported. This problem becomes more pronounced when it comes to determining the percentage of Arab Americans who are Muslim as well as the percentage who self-report as participants in other religions (Abraham & Shryock, 2000).

To make matters more complicated, the definition of the word "Arab" is quite elusive. Formally speaking, Arab countries are those that are member nations of the League of the Arab States. According to Hassoun (2005), the term Arab is defined as "Semitic, Arabic-speaking people from the Arabian Peninsula, the Middle East, and North Africa. Specifically, the 22 Arab countries include nine in Africa (Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, Somalia, Comoros Islands) and 13 in Asia (Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Oman, Yemen, Djibouti)."

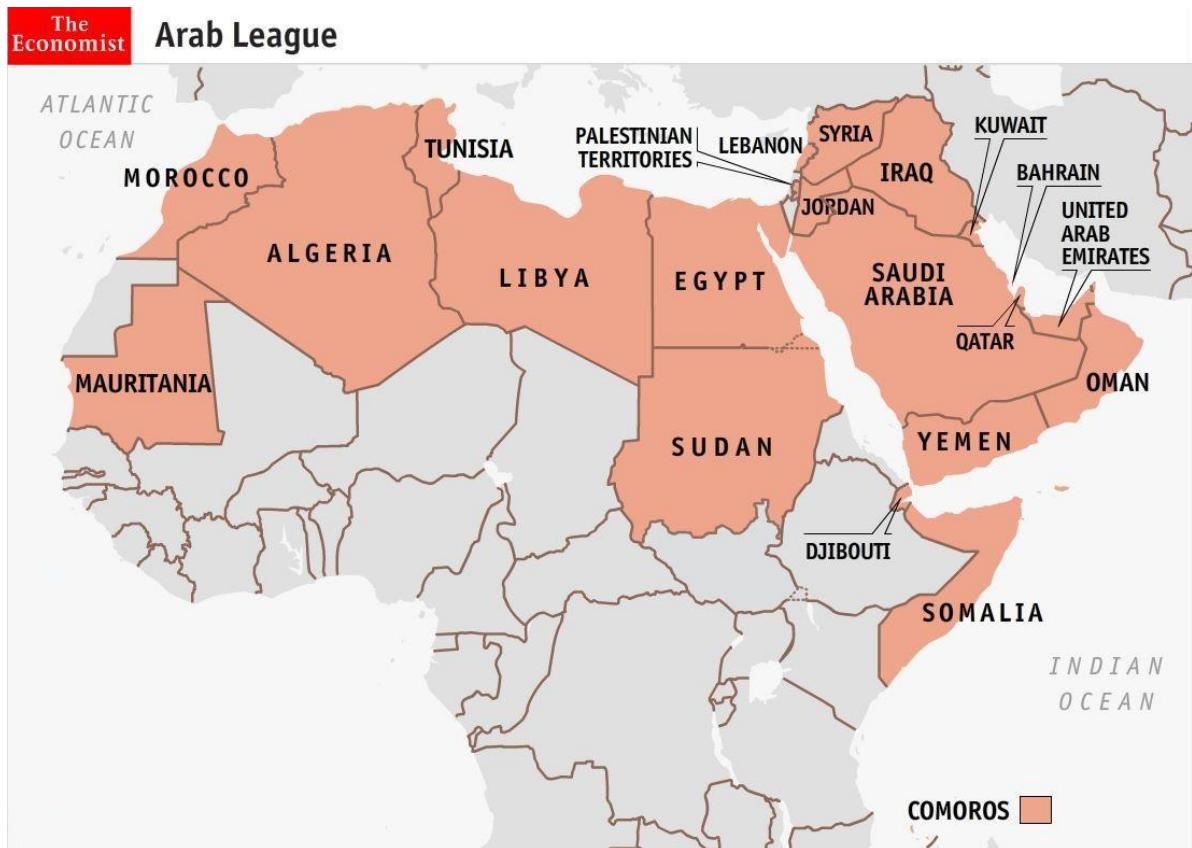


Figure 2.1: The Arab League
 Source: http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/02/arab_league_map

Occasionally, the terms Arab and Muslim might be used interchangeably but that is not correct. It goes without saying that Islam is not the only religion in the Middle East and North Africa, and nor is it the single religion of the Arab American community living in the southeast of Michigan. For instance, there are Chaldean and Assyrian communities from Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, and the Palestinian Territories who are adherents to Christian traditions. There is also a small community of Jewish Arabs both in the Middle East and in Michigan (Hassoun, 2005; Smith, Tang, & Miguel, 2012).

There have been efforts by the Arab American Institute (AAI) (www.aaiusa.org) to correct the systematic underreporting of Arab Americans. The AAI uses the census data provided by the Census Bureau but adds projections from reputable organizations such as Zogby Analytics (www.zogbyanalytics.com) to achieve more accurate estimates. According

to the AAI, the majority of Arab Americans in the state of Michigan live in Wayne County, specifically in and around the greater Detroit metropolitan region. According to the 2010 census, Arab Americans represent one fourth of the total population of Dearborn. However, Zogby International reports that there are 3.2 million Arab Americans living in the United States not the 1.5 million reported by the U.S. Census Bureau (Smith et al., 2012).

Presumably, some of these “uncounted” Arab Americans live in Michigan, especially in the southeast portion of the state.

2.1 Migrations

In general, most of the migration of Arab-Americans to the U.S. and Michigan represent what is known as “chain migration.” In this type of migration, one member of the family migrates to a given destination and, after a while, brings the rest of his or her family to that area. Certain restrictions throughout the years have slowed the rate of chain migration for people of Arabic descent. Regardless of when Arabs migrated to the United States, the reasons behind their migration could be broadly categorized as either war or economic instability in their home countries (Bazzi & Bazzi, 2008).

Historical Arab migrations to the United States can also be summarized as occurring in three distinct and separate waves. The first wave of immigrants, mostly Christian Chaldeans from Lebanon, Syria and Palestine, entered the country between 1880 and 1925. The reason behind their migration was primarily financial hardship. The second wave occurred between 1925 and 1965. During that time only 80,000 Arab newcomers entered the United States because of legal immigration restrictions imposed by the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1924 which excluded nearly all non-European populations. The few Arab migrants that entered during this second period were much more diverse in terms of nation of origin and their reasons for emigrating (Smith et al., 2012).

Arab immigrants who arrived after 1965 are considered the “third wave”. Many were highly-educated professionals from influential urban families in their countries of origin. This third wave of migration was largely influenced by conflicts and wars in the region, most notably the Six Day War in 1967, and the two Gulf Wars in 1990 and 2003. According to the US Census Bureau, the Arab American population increased by nearly 40 percent during the 1990s. Between 1967 and 2003, over 750,000 Arabs, mostly of the Muslim faith, came to the USA from many different countries (Kayyali, 2006; Orfalea, 2006).

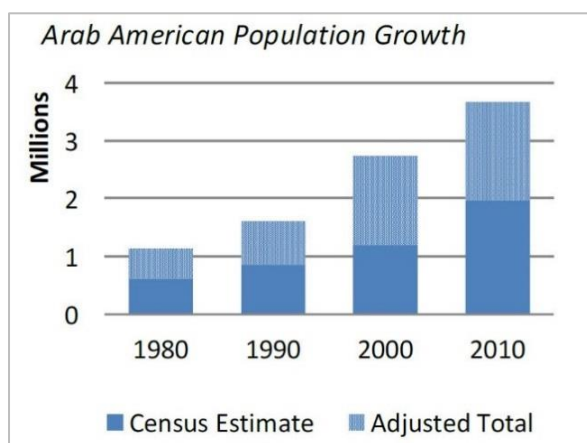


Figure 2.2 Arab American population growth in the U.S.
 Source: <http://www.aaiusa.org/demographics>

The concentration of Arab Americans in southeast Michigan followed similar trends in other parts of the US. Over time, different industries in the United States have had major impacts on the creation and growth of neighborhoods and cities. For instance, Pullman, Illinois, named after the railway tycoon George M. Pullman (1831-1897), created this company town in order to house his employees. George Pullman built the Pullman community both to keep his employees closer to work and at the same time, from his perspective, to lift them above the other working people through the provisions of schools and social clubs (Newcomen, 1998). All of Ford’s workers including immigrants were also subjected to this pattern where by workers were housed near his factories in model neighborhoods.

The growth of the city of Dearborn, MI, was likewise affected by similar planning by the automotive industry. Ford Motor Company's location dictated the first, and marginally the second wave's spatial concentration in southeast Michigan. Many immigrants' first homes were company-built houses located in the shadow of the great Ford Motor Company Rouge Plant (Abraham & Shryock, 2000). The southside and eastside neighborhoods of Dearborn were specifically designated by Henry Ford for workers' housing. Today, much like any other long-term demographic of the population, Arab Americans are no longer concentrated in one part of Dearborn, or even in southeast Michigan. They have relocated based on their religion, cultural, socioeconomic status, education and to a lesser extent even their political affiliations, as is the case for all Americans. Therefore, Arab Americans have settled throughout the state and region. Many however, still live in the city of Dearborn. Since Detroit shares political borders with Dearborn, many Arab Americans opt to live in Detroit or the suburbs and other proximate cities throughout the region while still shopping in Dearborn. The well-educated and wealthier Arab Americans live in either Troy or Warren in close proximity to leading automotive and engineering firms. Other, sometimes less prosperous Arab Americans, live in the Seven Mile/ Woodward area of Detroit (Smith et al., 2012). Many of these citizens still visit Dearborn to shop as the diversity of zip codes in my survey sample clearly indicates.

As more and more Middle Eastern immigrants entered the United States, the need for solidarity and cultural awareness among this population increased. The "Urban Renewal" of the 1960s heightened this need even more. Dearborn's mayor at the time, Orville Hubbard (1903 - 1982), created a plan to expand steel and auto plants within the growing neighborhoods that actually provided the labor force. As a result of this plan, hundreds of houses and small shops were demolished including some owned by the Arab Americans

community. In order to help these new immigrants find new affordable housing, an organization called the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS) was created in 1971. This organization not only assisted with the relocation efforts in the short term, but also continues to help more recent Arab immigrants build their lives in their new country by assisting them in various ways including learning to file for social security, acquiring welfare assistance, settling disputes, while offering English classes.



Figure 2.3: Orville Hubbard, mayor of Dearborn from 1942 to 1978, in the middle of Michigan Avenue (portrait taken 1960s)

Source: <https://reuther.wayne.edu/node/9021>

According to their website, ACCESS today (www.accesscommunity.org) employs more than 100 people and has become a “comprehensive social security agency with a budget of five million dollars annually”. ACCESS community offers English classes and other classes in health care, counseling, and employment services, as well as cultural arts

programming. The 2016 annual report also highlights extraordinary steps taken towards bettering Arab American lives. For instance, in 2015, ACCESS assisted 12,300 individuals access health insurance coverage, served 18,000 job seekers and placed over 4,000 individuals in jobs, while roughly 15,700 individuals received basic needs assistance.

2.2 Hardship and Revival

The massive job losses due to layoffs and automation of the auto industry in Detroit coupled with the national recession that occurred in 2008 are well documented (Austin, 2010; Okrent, 2009). In 2010, the city of Detroit reported a budget deficit of \$155 billion. Also, the census figures in 2010 showed that Detroit's population had plummeted by 25% in the decade from 2000 to 2010 (Smith et al., 2012). Arab-Americans, like many in the region, found new opportunities and became much less dependent on manufacturing jobs, especially those associated with the automobile industry.

The contributions of the Arab population of the Detroit metropolitan region have been some of the most important factors in the city's recent revival. Their resilience and investment in their own cities and neighborhoods has created vibrant business districts such as the Warren Avenue shopping district which has become a popular tourist destination for visitors from all across the city and state. New Arab immigrants in need of a home, buy houses which will, in turn, increase property values within the area and create microeconomic booms. Unfortunately, the importance of Arab-American community has been under reported and has received little attention (Abraham & Shryock, 2000; Smith et al., 2012).

One could easily make the connection between September 11, 2001 attacks and the lack of positive appreciation for these diverse communities. The Arab community in greater Detroit area came under huge scrutiny after the attacks. For instance, according to Smith (2012) in the "first nine weeks following the attack, over 700 incidents of hate crimes were

committed in Michigan against those perceived to be Muslim, Arab, or Arab American. Arab American stores were looted and the fear of Arabs led to a decline and shutdown of many Arab-owned small businesses.” During the same period, Arab Americans reported 800 cases of employment discrimination (Smith et al., 2012). What many failed to realize is that most of the people involved in the hijacking of the planes of that horrendous event were from Saudi Arabia, whereas as the vast majority of Middle Eastern citizens in the United States are not from Saudi Arabia and had no connections to this nation.

However, much like the rest of the US, the terrible events of 9/11 have brought the Arab American community even closer. As of 2011, there are 60 local mosques in the Detroit metropolitan area, about a dozen of which were built after the attacks. Arab-Americans have made many other civic and commercial contributions to civil society. There are now 25 judges and elected officials of Arab descent and 36 others have been appointed to public offices (Abraham, Howell, & Shryock, 2011). Institutions such as the Arab American National Museum (www.arabamericanmuseum.org) have opened with huge fanfare and support. Members of the American Arab Chamber of Commerce own some of the most important businesses in the Detroit metropolitan area (Abraham et al., 2011).

The role of all immigrants from all nations in the economic growth of the United States has been undoubtedly important. For instance, in 2012, the Fiscal Policy Institute (www.fiscalpolicy.org) reported that 18 percent of small business owners in the United States were immigrants. Also, immigrants own 37 percent of all restaurants in the United States. In 2011, recent immigrants started 28 percent of all new businesses. This is particularly impressive given that immigrants constitute only 13 percent of the United States population (Jennings, 2013).

Arab Americans have been involved in the economic success of the southeast

Michigan for well over one hundred years. From past to present, there are many inspiring stories and events that often have gone unnoticed and unappreciated. According to Smith et al. (2012), Arab Americans' economic activities are responsible for supporting and creating between 99,494 and 141,541 jobs in Michigan's southeast counties of Macomb, Oakland, Washtenaw and Wayne in Michigan.

2.3 The Halal Food Tradition of Arab-Americans

Again, an important part of any culture, including that of Arab Americans, is food. According to Abraham and Shyrock (2000), the first Arab restaurant in the region was located in downtown Detroit, owned and operated by Fadel Ganem who was originally from Lebanon. That restaurant, opened after the First World War, had no name on the storefront, and only a small sign in Arabic that read "Arab Food". The Great Depression and the early austerity of WWII forced Ganem to close his restaurant. However, in 1944 he reopened the eatery, in a new location across the street from his old restaurant, and this time he bestowed a name "The Sheik: Syrian Food." The restaurant was so small that he didn't have any helpers in his restaurant, and patrons had to serve themselves from a buffet. As his customer base increased, he had to hire waiters and even additional help in the kitchen. The family-owned Sheik closed in 1987 but left a lasting mark on the community. For many non-Arab customers, the Sheik was their very first exposure to Middle Eastern cuisine. The Sheik's importance as a Detroit icon was recognized by Michigan's then governor, G. Mennen William in 1956, when Ganem received an award, somewhat late, for "Outstanding Immigrant of the Year" (Abraham & Shryock, 2000).

This trend of success continues to the present as well. Countless Arab American entrepreneurs continue to make significant contributions to the economy and culture of the Detroit metropolitan area. For instance, Sam Simon, an Iraqi American, who started his

journey by operating one of Detroit's many gas stations, has owned Atlas Oil Company since 2010. Atlas Oil Company distributes its products to over 20 states and reports annual sales of \$1 billion (Ghosh, 2010).

There are multitudes of high profile Arab American success stories such as that of Sam Simon throughout the United States and Michigan. For instance, Nawal Hamadeh and Tom Gores have left important legacies. Nawal Hamadeh manages three charter schools in Detroit and Dearborn with exceptional results; almost all of the students graduating from these schools go on to attend college. Tom Gores, of Lebanese descent, is another prime example of Arab entrepreneurship. As the CEO of Platinum Equity, he has invested heavily in the Detroit area. He owns the Detroit Pistons and Palace Sports and Entertainment which control both the Palace of Auburn Hills and the DTE Energy Music Theater. Prior to that, in 2009, he saved hundreds of jobs by acquiring and reviving the bankrupt boat manufacturer Four Winns (Zillgitt, 2011).

Although Arab Americans' high profile success stories are found throughout all sectors of the economy, Arab American are less heavily represented in manufacturing and in professional services such as healthcare, education and social services. Instead, there is greater involvement in retail industries, with higher concentrations in small businesses. As mentioned previously, most of the second and third-wave-immigrants were highly educated professionals. When presented with opportunities, Arab Americans brought their skill sets to diverse types of privately owned businesses which help them grow and increased employment opportunities for all Americans. Research conducted in 2010 indicated that 90 percent of stores and gas stations in the Detroit metropolitan area are owned by Arab Americans (Smith et al., 2012).

Since Arab Americans arrived in the United States from many different countries, the

neighborhoods they have created also have their own distinct characteristics. For instance, there are three major business districts that serve the Middle Eastern community in the Detroit metropolitan area: the Southend neighborhood; the Warren-Schaefer district; and the area known simply as Seven Mile. Southend has a more authentic Middle Eastern feel, whereas the Warren-Schaefer community constitutes a busy “life line” of the city with more hustle and bustle. Southend has become a more economically depressed part of the city from which many more stable and successful families have moved away in recent years (Abraham & Shyrock, 2000). The report prepared (Chen, Ignasiak, Nieske, & Whipp, n.d.) by the Michigan State University Practicum group and the City of Dearborn’s Economic Development Director clearly shows that although the Southend or Dix-Vernor corridor, follows the same increasing trend in median household income from 1990 to 2015 as other areas, but households in this area earn significantly less than those in the city of Dearborn, Wayne County or even the state of Michigan.

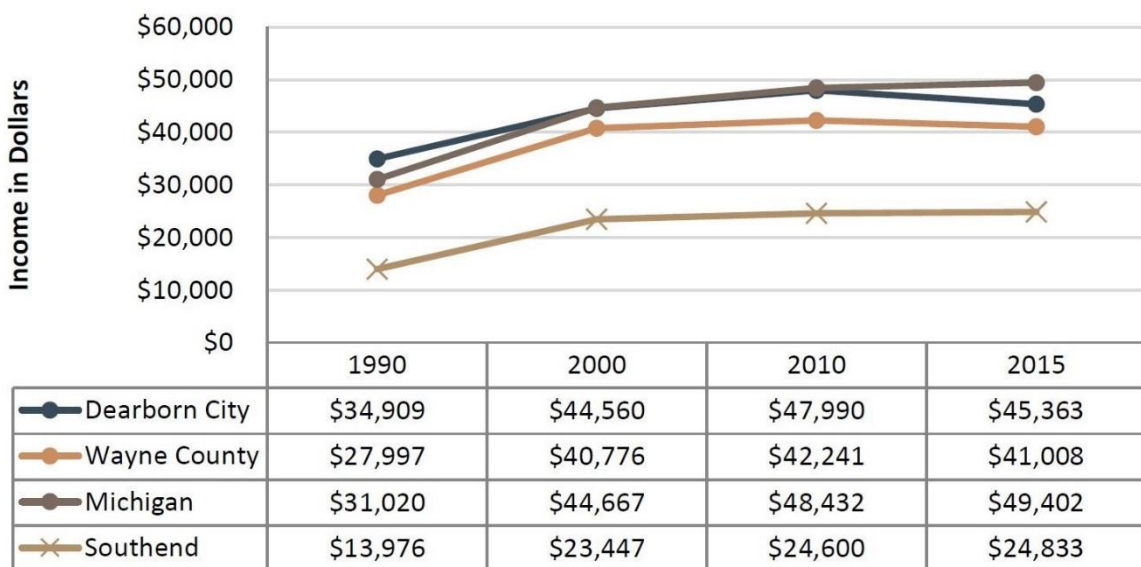


Figure 2.4: Southend neighborhood median household income from 1990 to 2015
 Source: Chen, Ignasiak, Nieske, & Whipp, n.d.

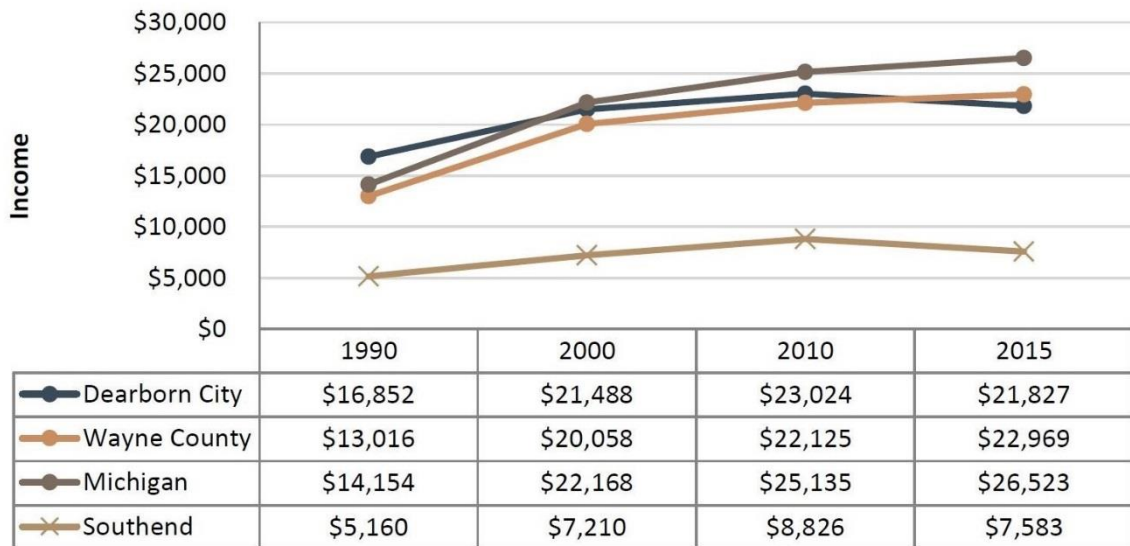


Figure 2.5: Per capita income 1990 to 2015
 Source: Chen, Ignasiak, Nieske, & Whipp, n.d.

The ethnic retail and wholesale food sector and the related supply chains formed in the Dearborn-Detroit metropolitan area have been instrumental in commerce for both in-state and out-of-state populations. Arab markets have become an important part of many communities because they not only serve the Arabic community but usually serve a much broader customer base as well. People from Albania, Romania, Pakistan, India and Armenia can also find some portion of their desired ethnic foods in Middle Eastern food stores (Abraham & Shyrock, 2000). The growth of the Middle Eastern ethnic food retail industry has become so immense that wholesalers for ethnic food stores from other states such New York travel to Michigan to acquire products. According to Khojasteh and Raja (2017), some stores in Buffalo, NY travel twice a month to Detroit where there is a better network of provisions of Arab and regional Middle Eastern ethnic foods.

Aside from the fact that there are so many Arab Americans in the state of Michigan, which historically helped forge these great supply chains, Arab Americans enjoy another unique opportunity that furthers the cause of many entrepreneurs. In addition to the same banking systems and loans available to the rest of the American population, Arab Americans

can obtain seed capital in the form of low-interest to no-interest loans from other more established Arab American business owners living and operating in the area (Smith et al., 2012). Iraqi Americans seem to have embraced this opportunity more than any other subset of the Arab American community. They are the ones that stand out the most, as roughly half work in, or own, gas stations, or retail food and / or liquor stores.

2.4 The Growing Popularity of Halal Food

As the population of Arab Americans grows, so does demand for ethnic foods and other familiar products. Ethnic food sales of all types reached a record \$2.2 billion in 2009 and were projected to increase another 20 percent by 2014 (Jennings, 2013). This has given rise to a new brand of marketing called “faith-based” marketing. According to Izberk-Bilgin and Nakata (2016), large corporations such as Wal-Mart, Nestlé’s and McDonalds call this segment the “one billion market”. Marketing experts believe that this niche segment encompassing a wide range of products for Muslims, from cosmetics to food to tourism, has a \$2.1 trillion potential.

A huge part of this segment is seeking Halal food as discussed in chapter one. Halal refers to the kind of food that is permissible under the Islamic law. This law guides millions of Muslims’ search for products every day. According to Power (2009) the Halal market alone has captured 16 percent of the global food industry, contributing \$632 billion in sales every year. Figures 2.6. and 2.7 provide two measures, Halal food searches in the United States and in the world between 2004 and 2017, and searches for Halal food per state, from Google search engine. There has been a five-fold increase in searches for Halal food on Google since January of 2004.

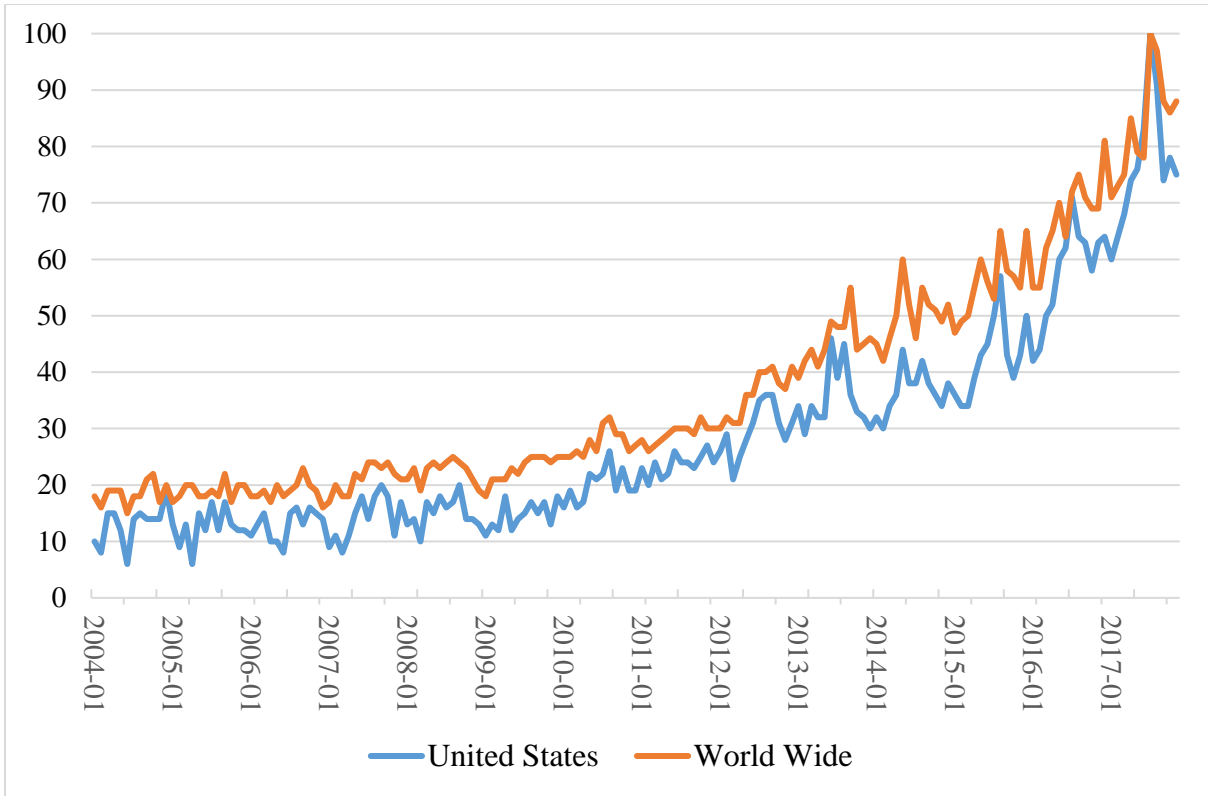


Figure 2.6: Number of Halal food searches from 2004 to 2017;
 100 represents the peak popularity, a value of 50 means the term is half as popular.
 source: <https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=all&q=halal%20food>

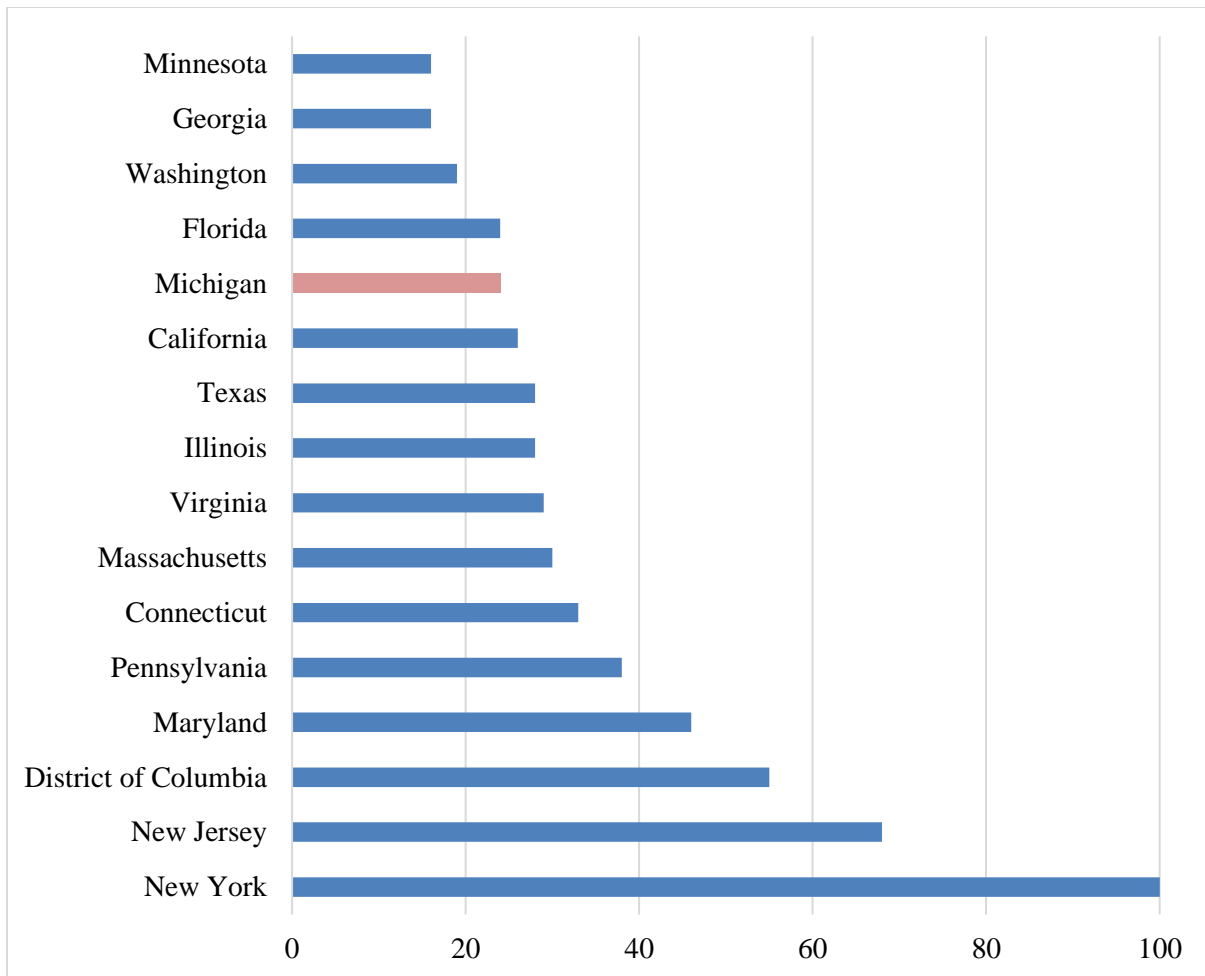


Figure 2.7: Halal food searches per state;
 A higher value means a higher proportion of all queries not an absolute query count. 100 means the location with the most popularity.
 Source: <https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=all&geo=US&q=halal%20food>

Not only have large corporations such as Yum, the operator of KFC, taken notice of this great potential, but financial institutions such as HSBC and TSB Lloyds have started to offer Halal/Islamic accounts at their branches in the UK (Ayyub, 2015). Marketing agencies have also realized the great purchasing potential of Muslims throughout the world. The world-famous marketing agency, Ogilvy and Mather, has created a specific independent agency, Ogilvy Noor, which caters to brands that wish to incorporate “Islamic Branding”. Ogilvy Noor has even gone as far as creating a new generation brand called Generation M: the new Muslim Consumer. According to their website (ogilvynoor.com), the global Muslim population is set to rise from 1.6 billion to 2.8 billion by 2050. These consumers are part of

the fastest growing population in the world. One third of the world's Muslims are under the age of 15 and two thirds are under 30, accounting for 13 percent of world population ("Engaging with Muslim audiences - Islamic Branding for Muslim Consumer Markets & Halal Brands," n.d.).

Since Halal foods are directly related to religious beliefs of a specific market segment, these products pose a unique set of structures and issues. The Islamic laws associated with food and household items, hold a tremendous amount of influence over Muslim shoppers. Unlike almost any other business segment, Halal food companies are not in direct contact with specific religious authorities or "gate-keepers" who can be called upon to interpret the Quran's scripts into laws for Muslims. This lack of official regulations makes Halal food companies unable to ensure their products will hold their appeal throughout the years. Food producers, wholesalers and retail outlets can only stay up-to-date with religious rulings in order to make sure their products are meeting contemporary standards (Izberk-Bilgin & Nakata, 2016). This can be a moving target as tastes and conventions change over time.

Halal foods are not just defined by the lack of alcohol, pork or any other meat that has not been slaughtered according to Islamic law. According to Izberk-Bilgin and Nakata (2016), Halal is far more encompassing. Halal looks for substance and prescribes the consumption of food that is closest to its "natural state". This emphasis on "purity" means products must be free of pesticides, preservatives, and GMOs. These sets of beliefs position Halal foods very close to the Fair Trade and Organic movement. Therefore, increasingly Halal products appeal to more than just Arab Americans who practice Islam. Consumers now include other Middle Eastern populations as well as other segments of the populations seeking natural foods.

The effects of Halal can be indirect. According to Mohsin et al (2016), the Middle

East and North Africa region in 2010 were responsible for almost one third of the world's tourism. In comparison, travelers from North America and Europe together accounted for only 20 percent of the total expenditure. A study by Dinar Standard, a US based consultant firm (www.dinarstandard.com) indicated that in 2011, Muslims spent \$126bn during their travels. Dinar Standard projects that the Muslim populations' spendings will continue to grow and it is expected to reach \$192bn by 2020. The Dinar Standard's survey also revealed that 66 percent of Muslim tourists "cited Halal food as the most significant issue while traveling" (Mohsin et al., 2016).

Halal goods, then, are important in terms of both economy and culture. The next chapter will provide a survey of the existing researches related to Halal food consumption and its central role in Arab American culture.

Chapter 3

Relevant Research

As noted in previous chapters, globally the Muslim population and their purchasing power is increasing steadily and continuously. Numerous studies have been conducted on the subject of Halal products and Halal foods. To serve as a foundation for my research, this chapter provides a comprehensive examination of relevant studies on the topic of Halal. Research on Halal can be broadly categorized into 4 distinct groups; (1) studies on the definition of Halal and different types of Halal products, (2) methods to ensure authenticity of Halal products, (3) the rapid growth of demand for Halal foods and (4) finally the effects of larger food outlets' impact on smaller Arab-owned or Middle Eastern stores.

3.1 The Definition and the Scope of Halal

As mentioned previously, the growing population of Muslims in the world has created a great need for more details about Islamic culture and its traditions. The word “*Halal*” is taken from the Arabic language and simply means permissible by the Islamic law (Haque et al., 2010; Wilson & Liu, 2011). The acceptable or permissible activities are based on the verses of *Quran*. Although, Halal in English is synonymous with Middle Eastern food, in reality, the concept of Halal is much more holistic, and it isn't just related exclusively to food. Halal encompasses other aspects of a Muslim's life such as tourism (Din, 1989; El-Gohary, 2016; Jafari & Scott, 2014; Mohsin et al., 2016; Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2003), fashion and cosmetics (Aoun & Tournois, 2015; Briliana & Mursito, 2017; Gumbri & Noor, 1998; Hassan & Harun, 2016; Mukhtar & Mohsin Butt, 2012), cleanliness or even hygiene of the environment within which the food is grown (Haque et al., 2010).

According to Aoun and Tournois (2015), Muslim consumers globally spend “\$26 billion on cosmetics” in 2012 alone. This number represents almost 6% of the global expenditure on cosmetics and beauty products. Muslim scholars examine the authenticity or Halal-ness of cosmetics and pharmaceutical products because there is a great chance that international brands use enzymes extracted from *Haram* or non-permissible sources, such as pork meat or alternatively use of alcohol as a preservative. In response to these concerns, large international brands such as Colgate-Palmolive or Avon have created Halal certified products for Muslims around the world (Aoun & Tournois, 2015). This increased interest in Halal cosmetics has sparked an entrepreneurial interest in different corners of the world. According to Ghanem (2016), small companies such as Iba Halal Care (www.ibahalalcare.com), a company based in India, has started selling Halal, eco-friendly products. In addition, Amara Cosmetics (www.amaracosmetics.com) followed by Claudia Nour Cosmetics (www.claudianour.com) are two of the very first Halal cosmetic companies operating in North America.

As noted earlier, the concept and the implementation of Halal is far reaching and covers a variety of areas. Another growing area of interest which is influenced by Halal is religious tourism or faith tourism. According to El-Gohary (2016), religious tourism can be defined as “travel with the core motive of experiencing religious forms, or the products they induce, like art, culture, traditions, and architecture.” According to this definition, Halal tourism or Islamic tourism includes not just religious voyages but any form of tourism that is permissible by Quran. The destination of a Muslim tourist is not the defining factor of Halal tourism. However, services and products available during the travel are the defining characteristics (Battour & Ismail, 2016). The importance of Halal tourism or religious tourism is as old as Islam itself. According to the Islamic law all Muslims are required to

travel to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, as a religious obligation (the *Hajj*) (El-Gohary, 2016).

The importance of religious tourism becomes more apparent when we consider the fact that in 2010 the Middle East and the North African region were responsible for one third of the world's tourism. Also, in 2011, Muslims spent \$126 billion during their travels (Mohsin et al., 2016). As a result of this surge of Halal tourism, more resorts and hotels are branding themselves as "Halal friendly" destinations for Muslims. To further increase the availability, Halal travel booking agencies are offering their services to concerned customers. According to Hanna Yusuf (2016) companies such as Halal Booking (www.halalbooking.com) are "preparing tailored packages that take into consideration the culinary needs of the practicing Muslim travelers." Not only have such companies consider the culinary needs of the travelers, they also pay close attention to finer details such as providing prayer locations for both genders. Furthermore, a few hotels in countries such as Turkey are using the slogan of "Sun, sea and Halal!", offering their services while adhering to Islamic principles (Suleaman, 2010). Certain travel agencies such as Crescent Tours (www.crescenttours.com) and Islamic Travels (www.islamictravels.com) have been working with hotels such as Club Familia (www.clubfamilia.com) in Turkey that offer male and female separate beach access (Suleaman, 2010).

However, the most well-known and important topic that the concept of Halal covers is food. Halal food has been gaining a lot more attention due to the increasing population of Muslims in the world and, subsequently, the ever-increasing demand for Halal foods. This increased attention has resulted in a great wealth of research regarding Halal foods. The topics of the studies can range from the consumption patterns of Halal foods (Bonne & Verbeke, 2006; Heiman, McWilliams, & Zilberman, 2004; Mostafa, 2017), to the supply chain side of Halal foods (Ali & Suleiman, 2018; Bahrudin, Illyas, & Desa, 2011; Poniman,

Purchase, & Joanne, 2015; van der Spiegel et al., 2012), to non-Muslims' perception toward Halal foods (Ayyub, 2015; Aziz & Chok, 2013; Haque et al., 2010). The following sections of this chapter are dedicated to the studies on the Halal supply chain and the perception of Halal products around the world.

3.2 The Authenticity of Halal Products

The process through which a product is deemed Halal has such high product safety standards that by itself, acquiring Halal labels have become a form of quality control. Numerous studies have indicated that the Halal process has such high standards that it resembles consumer rights. Concerned shoppers can find assurance in Halal label because Halal products have to be environmentally friendly, have animal welfare in mind, have to be fair trade and free from diseases (Ambali & Bakar, 2014; Haque et al., 2010; Latif, Mohamed, Sharifuddin, Abdullah, & Ismail, 2014). Not only the Halal label assures Muslim shoppers that a certain product has passed the highest production and supply chain standards, but also assures non-Muslim shoppers that the products are organic and fair trade. In addition, as Latif et al. (2014) mentions, the Halal label helps companies with international trade since the logo and the certificate allows Halal products to enter many countries where non-Halal products are not permissible. Furthermore, Muslims are attentive to the contents of their food therefore, the assurance of Halal-ness becomes more vital (Aoun & Tournois, 2015; van der Spiegel et al., 2012).

Since Halal labels hold so much importance and value, it is of utmost importance that studies examine the quality and the authenticity of products that bear the Halal label. To ensure that all Halal products are authentic, all products have to comply with the Halal criteria, such as the nature, origin of the product, and the processing methods (Bonne & Verbeke, 2007; van der Spiegel et al., 2012). This issue has become more vital since the

Halal food supply chain is increasingly getting longer and multi-faceted, which in turn increases the possibility of contamination or fraud. As more ingredients from different countries are used in the production of Halal products, the task of adhering to the following requirements indicated by van der Spiegel et al. (2012) and Ceranic (2009) becomes extremely difficult. The requirements for Halal products are as such:

1. Does not contain elements not allowed according to Islamic law.
2. Has not been in contact with prohibited / not allowed substance during production, transportation, and storage.
3. Is not stored in facilities or premises or transported using transportation vehicles which are not allowed.

The processes before and after these three steps are very important as well. For instance, livestock should not be transported in a crowded and cramped vehicle. In addition, mature livestock should not be separated from its offspring. Furthermore, even the slaughter process should be performed by a Muslim. To ensure that all requirements are met, several organizations have been created to certify Halal products. These organizations are tasked with monitoring “abattoirs, manufacturing and distribution outlets in their handling of the animals and Halal products, and to issue Halal certificates” (Lam & Alhashmi, 2008; van der Spiegel et al., 2012).

It is terribly difficult to ensure that the vast Halal supply chain is complying to this complex set of standards, therefore attempts have been made to ensure the quality of the products inside laboratories. Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia all have access to their “Halal Science Centres” where they perform product tests to ensure the Halal standards are being met (van der Spiegel et al., 2012). Numerous studies have tried to approach the identification of *Haram* (non-Halal) ingredients from different aspects. For instance, efforts have been

made to use DNA to detect pork meat or meat from other animal species (Aida, Man, Wong, Raha, & Son, 2005; Amaral, Santos, Oliveira, & Mafra, 2017; Murugaiah et al., 2009).

Analyses of fat composition has been another method utilized by some researchers (Nurjuliana, Che Man, Mat Hashim, & Mohamed, 2011; van Ruth, Rozijn, et al., 2010; van Ruth, Villegas, et al., 2010). Regardless of the method with which the authenticity of Halal goods is tested and assured, the label of Halal carries a huge weight and enormous potential for growth. The next section will examine the literature chronicles the growth and potential of Halal products.

3.3 The Potential and the Growth of Halal

In previous sections, it has been mentioned that globally the Muslim-population is rapidly increasing. This increasing population is a sign of great potential in the Halal sector. An indicator of growth of Halal products and more specifically, Halal foods, is the perception of non-Muslims toward Halal food. Numerous investigations, in multiple countries, have reported favorable perceptions of non-Muslims toward Halal food. For instance, Abdullah (2007) examined the French non-Muslims' perception of Halal food. The author reported that French non-Muslims "strongly believe that Halal foods are not only tastier, and more hygienic, but also the best treatment for animals." Parallel to Abdullah's (2007) research, Golnaz et al., (2010) conducted a study on Russian non-Muslims. Similar to the French non-Muslims, Russian non-Muslims are strong believers in Halal foods because they believe Muslim food producers "always obey their religious beliefs in their food processing procedures." Other studies that examined the perception of Halal foods in the world have indicated that as individuals become more involved and aware of the food they consume, Halal foods present themselves as attractive alternatives. The reason behind this positive feedback is that Halal's strict adherence to religious laws promises healthier products that

have a known origin, and are produced with higher quality and better overall hygiene (Aziz & Chok, 2013; Golnaz, R., Zainulabidin, M., Mad Nasir, S. and Eddie Chiew, 2010; Haque et al., 2010; Latif et al., 2014; Mathew, Abdullah, & Ismail, 2014) .

To further underscore the growth of Halal food, Aziz and Chok (2013) examined the effect of Halal awareness on the shopping intentions of non-Muslims. Aziz and Chok (2013) concluded that “people’s attitude toward intention to purchase is determined by their level of awareness toward the concept of Halal products.” Simply put, a product that has the Halal label is fit for both the Muslims and non-Muslims. For followers of Islam, Halal label is an indicator that the product has fulfilled the religious requirements. The same product is also fit for non-Muslim shoppers because Halal label signals higher quality, and better hygiene (Aziz & Chok, 2013). The Halal label bears so much importance that a research conducted by Rezai, Mohamed, and Nasir Shamsudin (2012) revealed that in Malaysia, non-Muslims prefer to purchase products with Halal logo for health reasons. This preference for Halal foods saw a surge after “the outbreak of deadly diseases such as bird flu virus and mad cow disease” (Latif et al., 2014).

All this potential for further growth has whetted the appetite of larger corporations, from food retailers to luxury clothing brands, to enter the Halal product market. In the next section the entrance of larger, and better-financed food retailers into the Halal food market will be discussed.

3.4 Small Stores vs. Large Food Retailers

America is a nation of immigrants and these newcomers represent new opportunities and constantly help expand food choices available to all. Reports indicate that Hispanic Americans, much like Arab Americans, increasingly represent enormous purchasing power in the United States. Hispanic Americans’ purchasing power increased from \$1 trillion in 2010

to \$1.5 trillion in 2015 (Campbell, 2013; Shelby Staff, 2011; Waldman, 2012). However, as the purchasing power of any given ethnic minority increases, larger, often multinational corporations start competing with pre-existing venues in these emerging retail segment. This results in constant pressures on small and local food stores and supermarkets. Multiple studies have showed that in 2011, supermarkets accounted for only 51% of the grocery market share, down from 66% in 2001 (Campbell, 2013; Gasparro & Martin, 2012).

As the number of Muslims and Arab Americans of all faiths living in the United States and throughout the world increases, so does the amount of research related directly to Arab-Americans and / or Muslim communities. Although there are ample studies in the field of Halal food and Islamic marketing, there is a clear dearth of knowledge in the area that focuses on the precise intersection of ethnic food sales in Michigan, the type of retail outlets that provide these products and how smaller retail outlets have been imported with the rising allure of Halal food industry. The present study seeks to contribute to the growing body of Halal studies, while trying to address the aforementioned gap in Halal food studies. The next chapter is dedicated to a discussion about the mixed method approach that form this research and the steps taken in designing different aspects of this research.

Chapter 4

A Mixed Method Approach

As noted earlier, a mixed method approach is used for this project. Four distinct types of data are collected. For consumers, a survey (both paper and online formats) is used to collect customer's views of Halal foods. The Arabic and English versions of the survey may be found as appendices A and B. To collect the thoughts and opinions of retail merchants, a series of open-ended interview questions were employed. A copy of this script may be found as appendix C. To better analyze the rate of growth of ethnic businesses in Dearborn, *Polk's* (R. L. Polk & Co, & Polk Directories, 1981, 1992) and *Bresser's* (Bresser's Cross-Index Directory, 2006, 2014) business directories from 1981 to 2014 were comprehensively surveyed for Middle Eastern- or Arabic-sounding businesses. In order to focus the scope of this research, only data from two shopping districts were selected: Warren Avenue and Dix Avenue. The latter part of this chapter will be dedicated to field observations which were made during the week-long research trip to Dearborn, MI. The first trip took place between June 3rd and June 9th, 2017. In order to become more familiarized with the area and visit more stores, additional visits were made before and after this trip as well.

The first portion of this chapter is dedicated to an introduction to the quantitative survey and the steps taken in designing and distributing the consumer survey. More information on the interview questions for store owners is provided in section 4.2. A mixture of convenience and snowball sampling was used to identify owners and employees of the stores, mosques and other institutions who were approached and visited during the course of this research. The Arab American Museum was an initial point of contact and their employees were further consulted about what stores to contact next.

The first visit to Dearborn (June 3rd to June 9th, 2017) coincided with the holy month of Ramadan which proved to be both beneficial and problematic in terms of data collection. During Ramadan, most stores see a rise in the number of patrons and increased sales. Therefore, store owners have to spend more time serving their customers and filling shelves which I found leaves little time for interviews and discussions. On the other hand, the same surge results in higher number of customers learning about the research and the associated survey. To alleviate this lack of participation of store owners, additional visits took place on January 4th and 5th of 2018. The early days of January were chosen for this visit due to presumed lower number of patrons visiting the stores so that owners and operators would have time to talk to me.

4.1 Development of a Consumer Survey Exploring Halal Food

As part of the mixed method approach used in this research, an anonymous survey was distributed among the target population. The survey questions can be assigned to four broad thematic categories: demographic characteristics, psychographic, geographic and behavioral. Each section was designed specifically to help the researcher better understand Halal food consumers, their ethnic background, their shopping habits, the amount of time they are willing to travel to get to their desired store, and the reasons behind their selections. The most important questions of the survey incorporated a set of close-ended, 5-point Likert-type questions. A 27-question survey was mostly short enough so as not to deter people from taking part in this research. The main questions of the survey sought to find the reasons behind purchasing Halal food, the places that individuals look for Halal food, the number of years that their favorite store has been the main source of Halal for those individuals, and questions related to the availability of more price competitive Halal food retailers and if these options captured the shoppers' attention.

The survey was designed with the help of Dr. Ann Veeck, professor of Marketing at Haworth College of Business, and Dr. Gregory Veeck, professor of Geography, both of Western Michigan University. Multiple versions of the survey were prepared and pre-tested in order to assure that it is easily understood. To further improve the survey, it was also sent to the staff of the Arab American Museum in Dearborn, MI for final review. After completing the final version of the questionnaire, approval from the WMU Human Subject Institutional Review Board (HSIRB) was obtained after review to ensure the protection of human subjects. A copy of the HSIRB documentation may be found as Appendix D.

Again, the target population for this survey was any person who had purchased Halal food within the city of Dearborn in the past 12 months. No specific age group, ethnic background or gender was targeted for this research. The entry criterion was simply if the respondent has purchased Halal foods or other Halal products such as cosmetic products. In order to most effectively reach Arab Americans in the area, who constitute almost half of Dearborn's population, the survey was translated to Arabic with the help of the ACCESS Community (www.accesscommunity.org) and the employees of the Arab American National Museum (www.arabamericanmuseum.org). Both paper and online versions, in Arabic and English were made available to respondents. The online version of the survey was prepared using Qualtrics (www.qualtrics.com) to facilitate online survey distribution and help reach a wider audience. Qualtrics also allows for streamlined data collection, with real time data management and the production of visuals.

Physical paper copies of the survey were also made available at all 16 stores visited by the researcher. Customers of stores were asked if they would be willing to take part in the study by completing the survey. Also, to ensure that the maximum number of people were aware of the survey and the study without the direct contact with the researcher, 500

informational cards were also distributed at 16 Middle Eastern grocery stores, 6 mosques, and restaurants in the area. These cards were in English and Arabic, and included a QR code and a tinyurl to the online survey. Since more people attend mosques during the holy month of Ramadan than usual, these invitation cards were also made available at all major mosques in the area. To help promote the survey even further, a few Imams (heads of the mosques) were approached as well. As excited as Imams were about the research, they were reluctant to help with the research lest it opens the floodgates of requests for similar assistances by other researchers and members of their own congregations.

In order to distribute the online survey more effectively, other avenues were also used. The main and most important help came from the ACCESS (Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services), specifically Dr. Matthew Stiffler, the Research and Content Manager at the Arab American National Museum. Dr. Matthew Stiffler paved the way to post the survey on ACCESS's website (www.accesscommunity.org) for two months, from June 1st to August 31st, 2017. The survey was also posted on ACCESS's Facebook webpage. Dr. Matthew Stiffler also suggested posting the survey on the "Dearborn Area Community Members" Facebook page, which is dedicated to all types of events in Dearborn area. This page, with more than 28,000 followers, is organized and operated by Mr. Majed A. Moughni (www.moughnilaw.com), a prominent lawyer from the Dearborn area. After careful examination of the survey, Mr. Moughni agreed to post the survey on the Dearborn Area Community Members' Facebook page. Mr. Moughni's invaluable help in promoting the survey resulted in the majority of the responses.

Contacts were also made with other Middle-Eastern organizations such as the Arab American Institute (www.aaiusa.org), the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (www.ISPU.org), and the Center for Arab American Philanthropy (www.centeraap.org).

However, the Arab American Institute and the Center for Arab American Philanthropy are in constant contact with ACCESS Community and actually share the same communication channels. Also, due to the nature of their organization, leaders of ISPU decided the organization should not distribute the survey. However, some employees of ISPU found the research very relevant and agreed to circulate the survey on their own initiative.

The paper version of the survey was ultimately distributed to 16 stores and 6 mosques. In all, a total of 260 surveys were collected. The online survey was the more successful as online respondents accounted for all completed surveys. Every person who was approached during the data collection period in Dearborn was reticent to complete the survey on the spot and preferred to take the business card in order to take the survey online at their convenience.

The threshold of acceptance for the survey was 50% complete, since the questions regarding the demographic characteristics were placed at the very end of the survey. The demographic characteristics were of utmost importance since most of the statistical analyses used that information. Of the 260 surveys collected, 174 are completed and useable and constitute the most important part of the quantitative data for this research.

4.2 Qualitative Interviews with Retailers

The next part of my mixed method approach consists of semi-structured interviews conducted by the researcher during the stay in Dearborn in early June of 2017. An initial 10 interviews were planned. A script of 17 questions was prepared to shed light on the inner workings of a Halal / Middle Eastern grocery store. Questions ranged from those related to the customer-mix, to issues related to customer retention, to the percentage of the total sales from sales of Halal products, to how the arrival of larger supermarket corporations such as Meijer and Walmart in their area has changed the approach of small store owners in selling

Halal products.



Figure 4.1: Arabic Village Market on Dix Avenue, Dearborn.
Source: Picture taken by author, 2017

The stores were selected at random, and the only criteria for inclusion was if the store offered Halal foods and was owned and run by Arab Americans. I asked the owner or operators to participate by means of “cold-calling” simply by walking to the store and engaging the store owner while purchasing a product from their store. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 depict examples of the general types of stores that I approached during my field work period. The Arab American National Museum also acted at times as a “gatekeeper” to the community and introduced me to one store owner. Unfortunately, due to the unwillingness of many to participate in the research, and the fact that the research period coincided with the holy month

of Ramadan, few interviews were completed as planned. As mentioned earlier, this was probably, at least in part, due to an increased workload due to the surge of customers that stores experience during the holy month of Ramadan. The reason behind this surge is cultural. Ramadan is a month of community and extended visits to family and friends. During Ramadan, Muslims usually invite their friends and extended family for the evening meal, therefore more food is needed than for other times of the year.



Figure 4.2: Islamic Village Market on Dix Avenue, Dearborn.
Source: Picture taken by author, 2017

To gather further information, two additional visits were made on January 4th and 5th, 2018. During these dates, unscheduled visits were made to other grocery stores, Halal butcher shops, and restaurants in Dearborn. The slower pace of the operations in early days of January allowed the owners and operators to spend a few minutes with me. Although the conversations were not allowed to be recorded, these additional visits proved extremely

insightful. Fortunately, the stores owners that were willing to discuss their stores' operations were in different neighborhoods of Dearborn. This geographic diversity proved to add invaluable information to this research. The trend that seemed to emerge when speaking to owners and operators in Dearborn was highly correlated to the locations of the stores. Store owners in different areas have formed different opinions about the entrance of larger food retailers into their market segment and the rates by which customers "flock" to the more price-competitive alternative stores. Aside from the brief, informal conversations with the store owners, visits to all these locations have provided some useful ideas and impressions that were essential to the interpretation of my findings.

During the data collection process, I stayed in the Dearborn area in order to be closer to the commercial district for an extended period of time. This proximity made it possible to get to know the area in detail. The majority of Middle-Eastern / ethnic grocery stores in Dearborn, Michigan are located along two major streets, Warren Avenue and Dix Avenue and to a lesser extent the connecting north-south road, Schaefer Road (figure 4.3). Warren Avenue and Dix Avenue have unique and distinct characteristics. Dix Avenue is situated closer to Rouge Ford plant and has retained its local community "feel". Stores are much smaller and after multiple visits, it was clear that the stores were frequented almost solely by Arab Americans. Another special characteristic of Dix Avenue is mainly formed by the new immigrants. As noted in chapter 2, the new wave of Arab American immigrants usually settle in the Dix Avenue neighborhood. Not only has this neighborhood kept its local roots but also it is home to the main ACCESS Community office. The ACCESS Community organization is one of the main establishments that helps new Arab Americans settle in the United States by providing basic services such as English language training, and help with filing paperwork regarding health insurance, taxes, or social security.

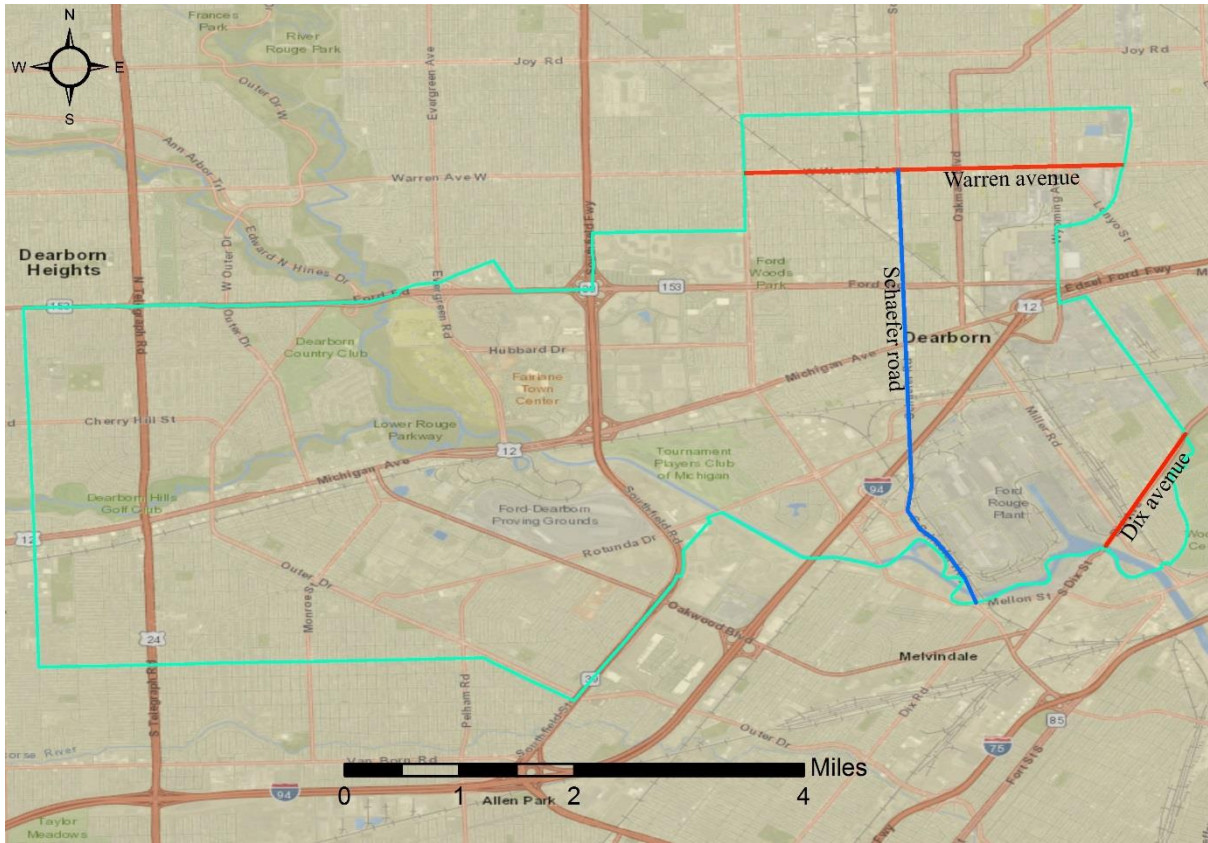


Figure 4.3: The area of interest, Warren Avenue, Dix Avenue, and Schaefer Road.

Source: Created by the author using ArcMap 10.5.1; Data gathered from (<https://www.mcgi.state.mi.us/mgdl/>)

Esri, HERE, DeLorme, USGS, Intermap, INCREMENT P, NRCan, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China (Hong Kong), Esri Korea, Esri (Thailand) Mapmyindia, NGCC, OpenStreetMap contributors and the GIS User Community. Esri DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus DS, USDA, AeroGRID, IGN.

The other unique characteristic of Dix Avenue community is the fact that the community seems to have formed around the activities of the neighborhood mosque, Masjid Dearborn (www.masjiddearborn.org). Neighborhood residents were highly influenced by events taking place at the mosque. For instance, the streets and stores surrounding Masjid Dearborn were visibly empty during the daily noon prayer period, from 12 PM to 1 PM. However, once prayer is over, the neighborhood is again buzzing with activity.

In contrast, Warren Avenue, peppered with a multitude of Middle Eastern restaurants and shops, is still tangibly ethnic but a bit more approachable to outside visitors as well as local residents. Wider streets and more spread out shops with front parking lots give the area a

new dimension; a more “American feel”. Dearborn Fresh supermarket, as shown in Figure 4.4, is located on Schaefer Street and is a clear example of this “American Feel”. There are a few Islamic institutions such as Islamic Council of America or Islamic Institute of Knowledge (www.iiokonline.com) located on the Street, but none of these appear to have as much effect on the communities that surround them as Masjid Dearborn has on the Dix Avenue neighborhood. There are also other, more prominent “American” businesses such as Little Caesars Pizza, Taco Bell and Dollar Tree located along Warren Avenue whereas one would be hard-pressed to find such businesses within the Dix Avenue neighborhood.



Figure 4.4: Dearborn Fresh Supermarket on Schaefer Road, Dearborn.
Source: Picture taken by author, 2017

4.3 A Survey of Business Directories and the Apparent Growth

One of the methods with which one can discern growth or decline of popularity of a service or a product is by looking at the number of establishments providing that service or product (Eckhardt & Shane, 2003). In order to observe the spatial and temporal changes in

Halal food sales and consumption, the *Polk's* (R. L. Polk & Co, & Polk Directories, 1981, 1992) and *Bresser's* (Bresser's Corss-Index Directories, 2006, 2014) business directories were surveyed for Arabic or "ethnic sounding" names. Although, this process is not without its faults, scanning the directories could provide a clear indication in rise or fall of the popularity of Arabic businesses in Dearborn area.

The Arab American National Museum has copies of *Polk's* directories from the early 1980s to the late 1990s. To create a clear picture, years periods from this selection were surveyed for every potential Arab- or Middles-Eastern businesses: 1981 and 1992. For the more recent years, the Dearborn Public Library (DPL) was contacted. Although, DPL doesn't have every copy of these two business directories, they do have two extremely important years for the directories, 2006 and 2014. The importance of these two publications become clear because Walmart entered Halal food market in Dearborn in 2008 with the help of Crescent foods. Attempts were made to borrow the directories. Unfortunately, they were part of a certain non-circulating collection. The staff of DPL agreed to scan parts of the directories and send them to me (figure 4.5).

To further narrow the scope of this part of the research, two main shopping districts of Dearborn were selected to be surveyed, Warren and Dix Avenues. These two streets are different in length but are the most prominent Arab American shopping districts in Dearborn. In order to avoid copy right infringements, Mr. Jerry Bresser of Bresser Information Services (www.bresser.com) was contacted to gain permission to publish the results of the surveyed directories. After careful consideration, Mr. Jerry Bresser granted permission to use their directories in this research.

The directories proved to paint a clear picture. Not only is the growth in certain areas of the city quite clear, these directories also confirm the same diverging trend as the

information resulting from conversations with store owners and operators. As noted earlier in section 4.2, the beliefs of store owners appear dependent on the location of the stores.

Furthermore, the directories clearly reveal that the number of stores on Dix Avenue didn't grow as steadily as the ones on Warren Avenue. Also, both shopping districts saw a small dip in the total number of Middle Eastern businesses between 2006 and 2014, however, Dix Avenue witnessed a greater decrease in the total number of ethnic businesses over that period.

The survey of the Polk's 1981, and 1992 and Bresser's 2006, and 2014 directories resulted in 62 data points or addresses for Dix Avenue and 213 data points for Warren Avenue. The addresses were then geocoded using ArcMap. The data gathered from the survey is analyzed using SPSS software. The findings of the survey data analysis, interviews, and the geocoded locations of the stores will be presented in the following chapter.

14411 XXXX NP
 14422 ★ Alvino's Pizza 00 313-846 - 9420
 14427 ★ Abdullah Hair Salon 00 313-584 - 5555
 14434 XXXX NP
 14438 XXXX NP
 14441 ★ Puzzuolis Auto Service 00 313-584 - 8770
 14450 ★ Edward Schneider Atty 04 313-582 - 8700
 ★ Fordson Management + 313-581 - 4747
 ★ Law Offices Of Ziad A Fadel 00 313-584 - 1900

■ KENDAL AVE
 14507 XXXX NP
 14519 ★ Hallab Bakery 00 313-581 - 9977
 ★ Mercy Market 03 313-581 - 5533
 14526 ★ Dearborn Golden Bakery 00 313-582 - 0000
 14544 ★ Korca's Coney Island 00 313-582 - 5886
 14551 ★ Flouni's Citgo Station 00 313-846 - 9218

■ CHASE RD
 14600 ★ Arabica Bistro 05 313-584 - 5800
 14615 ★ Arabian Towncenter LLC 02 313-582 - 6500
 14620 XXXX NP
 14628 C ★ Mosaic Design Group 00 313-846 - 0980
 14629 ★ Telecom2000 + 313-581 - 6600
 14633 ★ Al-Ajami Restaurant 03 313-846 - 9330
 14650 ★ Al-Najim Pediatrics 03 313-581 - 9446
 ★ Global Mortgage Inc 03 313-581 - 0000
 ★ Hakim Eye Center 00 313-581 - 3888

■ ORCHARD AVE
 14710 XXXX NP
 14716 ★ Bela Vista Pharmacy 05 313-582 - 1350
 ★ Orchard Medical Center 05 313-584 - 0018
 14805 XXXX NP
 14825 XXXX NP

■ STEADMAN ST
 14900 ★ Dearborn Holding 00 313-582 - 8868
 14927 ★ Allen Fence Co 00 313-846 - 9200

■ MEAD ST
 15009 ★ Law Offices Of Farhat & Mashho 00 313-945 - 1600
 15010 Ata Al 03 313-581 - 1555
 ★ Ata Auto Sales 00 313-581 - 4100
 ★ Ata Travel 00 313-581 - 1900
 ★ U-Save Auto Rental 00 313-584 - 3140
 ★ Vantage International Shipping 00 313-584 - 3737
 15011 XXXX NP
 15029 ★ Lions Pizza Inc 00 313-581 - 6288
 15031 ★ Belbeisi Dental Clinic 00 313-582 - 0508
 15038 ★ Express Poultry & Fish-East 00 313-584 - 1020

■ PAYNE AVE
 15100 ★ Colonial Cab Co 00 313-581 - 2323
 ★ Dearborn Lorraine Cab 00 313-582 - 6900
 ★ Lorraine Cab Co 03 313-582 - 6900
 15111 ★ Hometown Group 00 313-581 - 2500
 15115 ★ Hot Perfume Inc + 313-624 - 8620
 15117 ★ Zahraa Clothing & Gifts Co 00 313-582 - 8310
 15123 ★ Takbaer Fashion 00 313-846 - 3547
 15127 ★ Icon Computer Inc 00 313-582 - 3100
 15139 ★ Eternal Youth Salon 04 313-581 - 1433
 ★ Valentino's Hair Design 04 313-846 - 0800
 15143 Dennis Lonnie D. + 313-582 - 7244
 15145 ★ Connie's Party Villa 00 313-846 - 1667

5 Salomon Peter F . . . 96 ● 313-278 - 9331
 6 Lapham Louis S . . . 99 ● 313-277 - 4947
 7 Goll N 84 ● 313-278 - 2853
 8 Vasha Arjan 03 ● 313-792 - 8357
 9 Prygoski Kenneth . . . 94 ● 313-792 - 0520
 11 Boliver John 98 ● NP

0 BUSINESS 8 RESIDENCE

WASHINGTON ST 48124

DEARBORN
 1027-1107 CT574900 \$D

■ GARRISON ST
 1027 XXXX NP
 1029 XXXX NP
 1036 Duncan E 04 313-791 - 3095
 1038 Martin Starlies . . . + 313-563 - 1752
 1039 ★ Angeles D S MD . . 94 313-563 - 1033
 1042 Rammouni Zead . . . + ● NP
 1044 Sikorski Terri H . . . 73 ● 313-562 - 8887
 1105 ★ Performance Management Inc. 00 313-561 - 3700
 1107 ★ Dearborn Federation Of School 00 313-274 - 5900

■ NEWMAN ST
 3 BUSINESS 6 RESIDENCE

WATSONIA ST 48128

DEARBORN
 22028-22367 CT574500 \$A

■ LAWRENCE AVE
 22028 Norwick William . . . 78 ● 313-563 - 1756
 22040 XXXX NP

■ BELMONT ST
 22100 Greenup Lester D . . . 90 ● 313-562 - 8515
 22130 Guido Joseph 03 ● 313-274 - 0266
 22133 Berry Afffeh 98 ● 313-359 - 2241
 22150 Bates Paul 03 ● 313-730 - 9739
 22151 Scherle M 55 ● 313-562 - 6187

■ BEAVER ST
 22201 Seavitt Emily 03 ● 313-278 - 1249
 22214 Khalil Zarifa 03 ● 313-277 - 1317
 22215 Morris Wesley 03 ● 313-563 - 0763
 22231 XXXX NP
 22232 Waha Roger A 03 ● NP
 22245 Dewey Garth 03 ● 313-730 - 9138
 22280 Dabizl A + 313-584 - 8821

■ DACOSTA ST
 22319 Shepard Laurie 02 ● NP
 22331 Fiema Tamara L . . . + ● 313-359 - 4768
 22340 Tringali Terri 03 ● NP
 22341 Monroe George W . . . 79 ● 313-565 - 3835
 22367 Skora Daniel 03 ● 313-562 - 1003

■ WEST CIRCLE ST
 0 BUSINESS 19 RESIDENCE

N WAVERLY ST 48128

DEARBORN
 428-2226 CT574600 \$A

734 XXXX NP
 735 Chimienti Fabio D . . . 00 ● 313-277 - 5842
 742 Do Nhon 03 ● 313-565 - 1597
 743 Warthen David H . . . 58 ● 313-565 - 3040
 750 Hague Thomas 05 ● NP
 751 Klostermeyer Erich . . 01 ● NP

■ SHERIDAN ST
 801 Norris Marlene 03 ● 313-561 - 9772
 804 Elder I 96 ● 313-359 - 0127
 811 Thorpe P 84 ● 313-562 - 9332
 812 Selim Azza + ● NP
 820 Sela Martin E 89 ● 313-562 - 5953
 821 Eloff George L 97 ● 313-274 - 9996
 829 XXXX NP
 830 Monamara E P 84 ● 313-278 - 3277
 837 Oconnell Terence . . . 99 ● NP
 845 Brooks Susan 02 ● NP
 848 Funcles Henry 03 ● 313-562 - 4856
 901 Mayhew William J . . . 72 ● 313-565 - 9739
 908 Parker C 90 ● 313-277 - 6276
 909 Wodzien Stanley P . . 65 ● 313-563 - 4821
 915 Abell James Jr 05 ● NP
 916 Shaw M K 00 ● 313-565 - 7429
 924 Baran James 03 ● NP
 925 Wnetrzak Michael J . . 78 ● 313-561 - 0058
 928 ★ Hamdar Mark + ● NP
 932 Carver Ronald Sr . . . 93 ● NP
 933 Verhulst Paul 98 ● NP
 940 Barkai Greta 02 ● NP
 941 Kumpe Megan A 02 ● 313-792 - 8282
 948 Pachy J J 78 ● 313-561 - 7687
 949 Rench Raymond J . . . 03 ● 313-565 - 6549

■ BUCKINGHAM ST

■ LAWRENCE AVE

1703 Floetke Dave 67 ● NP
 Rumschlag Elmo A . . . 66 313-278 - 6721
 1711 Beaman Thomas E . . . 65 ● 313-278 - 3608
 1718 Ahmad Najie 01 ● 313-274 - 4142
 1719 Norton Ralph 03 ● 313-563 - 1905
 1724 Kochanski Frank . . . 93 ● NP
 1725 Kraska Paul E 62 ● 313-562 - 1915
 1734 Moore Allen + ● NP
 1735 Scanlon Dawn 05 ● NP
 1740 XXXX NP
 1743 Mitchell Michael G . . . 85 ● 313-565 - 7543
 1750 Mattieson Paul V . . . 74 ● 313-563 - 8858
 1751 Stanford M + 313-769 - 6058
 Tennes Paul 03 ● NP
 1759 Guzman Gilbert 88 ● NP
 1760 Schauman D R 90 ● 313-565 - 7655
 1804 Szemak Michael 83 ● 313-565 - 1644
 1805 Cobetto Dino L 73 ● 313-274 - 5255
 1811 Sekely Theodore J . . . 84 ● 313-565 - 7829
 1812 Lapere Willard W . . . 97 ● 313-277 - 8065
 1820 Marzonie Christopher . 01 ● 313-565 - 5945
 Marzonie Karen G . . . 01 ● 313-565 - 5945
 1821 Suber Kevin + ● NP
 1829 Hankins Chris 73 ● NP
 1830 Dorman Barbara 04 ● NP
 Schemm Jeremy 03 313-563 - 2253
 1836 Boyle Thomas 62 ● 313-561 - 0778
 1837 Whiteside Scott 03 ● NP
 1844 Smyth Julie + ● NP
 1845 Belan Jeffrey D 83 ● 313-274 - 4381
 1851 Davis Brian J 02 ● 313-359 - 0484
 1852 Havlik A J 05 ● 313-561 - 7939
 1860 Kelly Eva 03 ● 313-724 - 8634
 1861 Schneider Denise 04 ● 313-565 - 9344
 Schneider Stephen . . . 04 ● 313-565 - 9344

■ DOXTATOR ST

2000 Brown D 01 ● 313-277 - 6144
 2003 Garrity Thomas J . . . 99 ● 313-792 - 9159
 2010 Unger Richard Jr 03 ● NP
 2011 Allevato John 74 ● 313-563 - 0096
 2017 Young John 94 ● NP

Figure 4.5: A sample of the scanned directories sent from Dearborn Public Library
 Source: Bresser's Cross-Index Directory Dearborn and Down River, 2014

Chapter 5

Characteristics of Halal Food Consumption in Southeast Michigan

This chapter presents all findings of my research. The center piece of this research was a mixed method approach and findings from each portion of the work will be discussed sequentially. The first section is dedicated to reporting the findings of my analyses of the survey. This section will be followed by a discussion about the details of the informal discussions with shop owners and operators. Lastly, there will be a summary of the changing street-scape for Warren and Dix Avenues based on my analysis of the surveyed business directories from 1981 to 2014.

5.1 Results from a Survey of Halal Food Consumers in Dearborn, Michigan

As mentioned in chapter 4, 260 online surveys were collected over a two-month period during the summer of 2017. The survey was distributed in and around Dearborn, Michigan with the help of Middle Eastern organizations such as the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS) as well as via 16 ethnic stores and 6 mosques where business cards were distributed informing customers and patrons of the ongoing research. After careful consideration and analysis, 86 surveys were removed from the data set because they were less than 50% completed. The reason behind these omissions is that the demographic questions were placed at the end of the survey as convention dictates but many respondents didn't complete the entire survey. Since all incomplete surveys are completed online, there is no concrete way to discern why so many survey takers elected to leave the survey without finishing. The survey could have been simply too long. Analyses of the remaining 174 surveys constitute the quantitative portion of my mixed methods research.

As discussed in chapter 2, the "M generation" (Muslim generation) is typically young, highly educated and growing in numbers in the U.S. and throughout the world. Reflecting

these demographics, Figure 5.1 indicates that more than 70% of the surveys were completed by individuals between the ages of 20 and 49. Additionally, roughly 75% of the respondents as their primary shoppers in their families were female. As shown in Figures 5.2 and 5.3, most participants' families were large, with 66% reporting four or more people living at home and the sample was highly educated. More than 65% of survey participants have a bachelor's degree or higher (Figure 5.3).

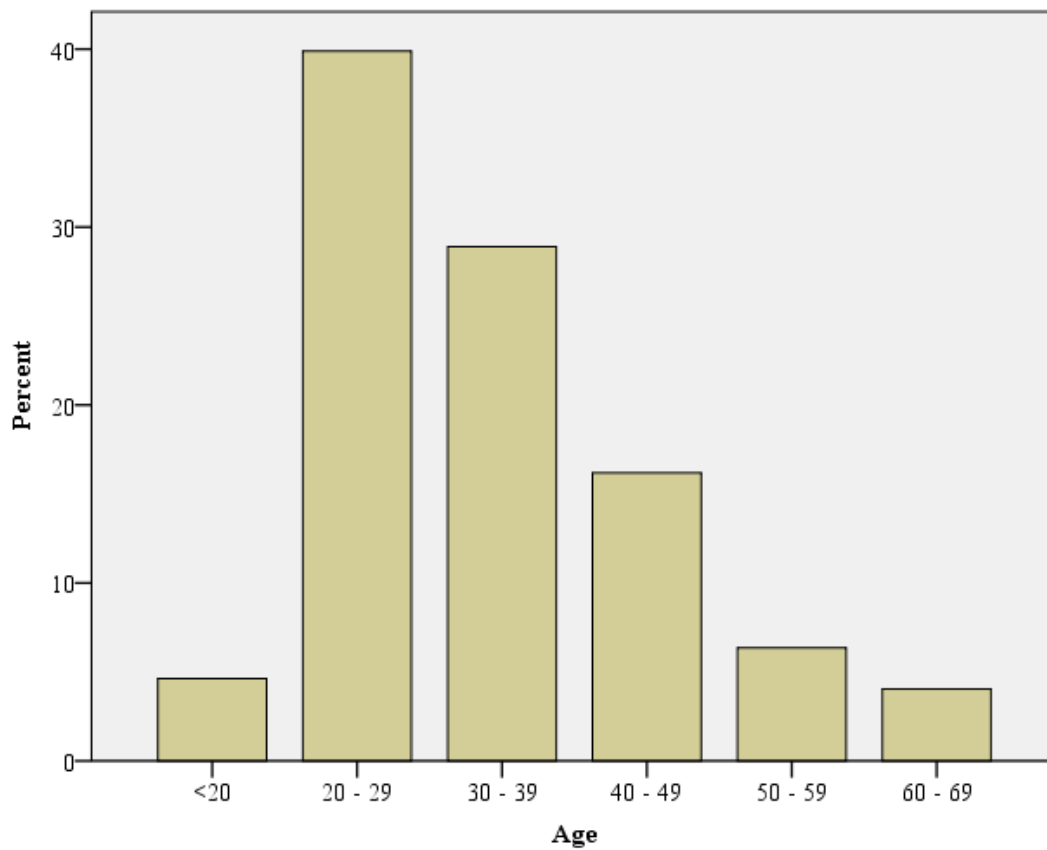


Figure 5.1: Age distribution of survey takers
Source: Derived from the survey

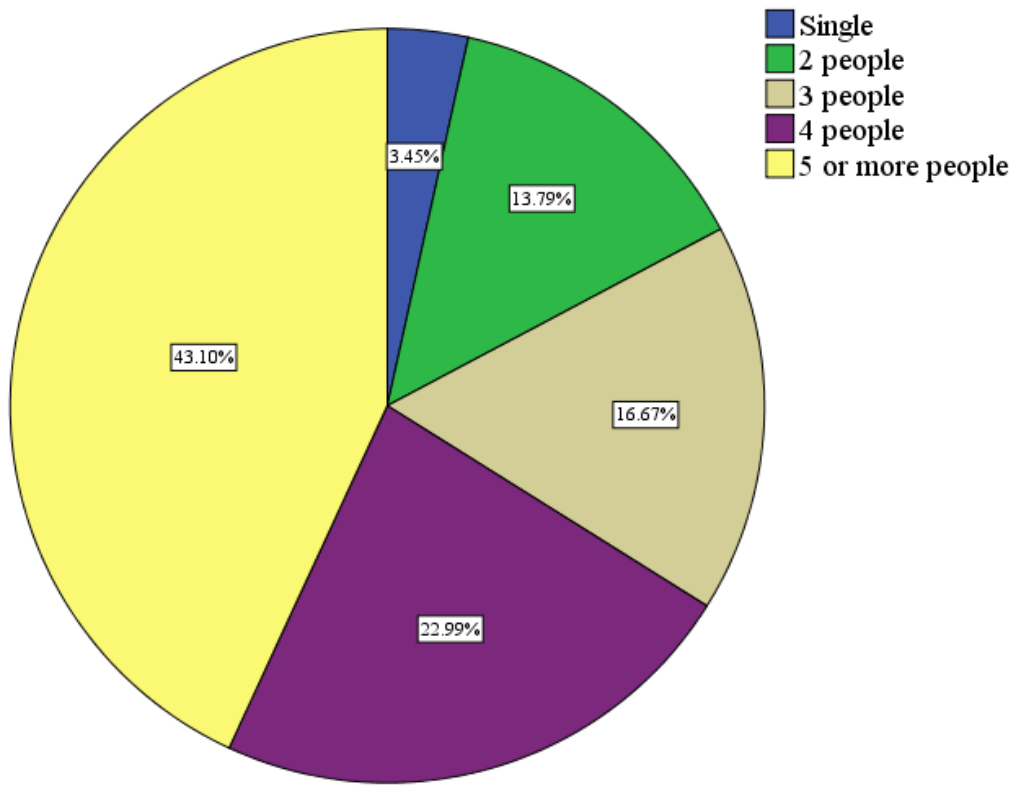


Figure 5.2: Household size of survey participants
Source: Derived from the survey

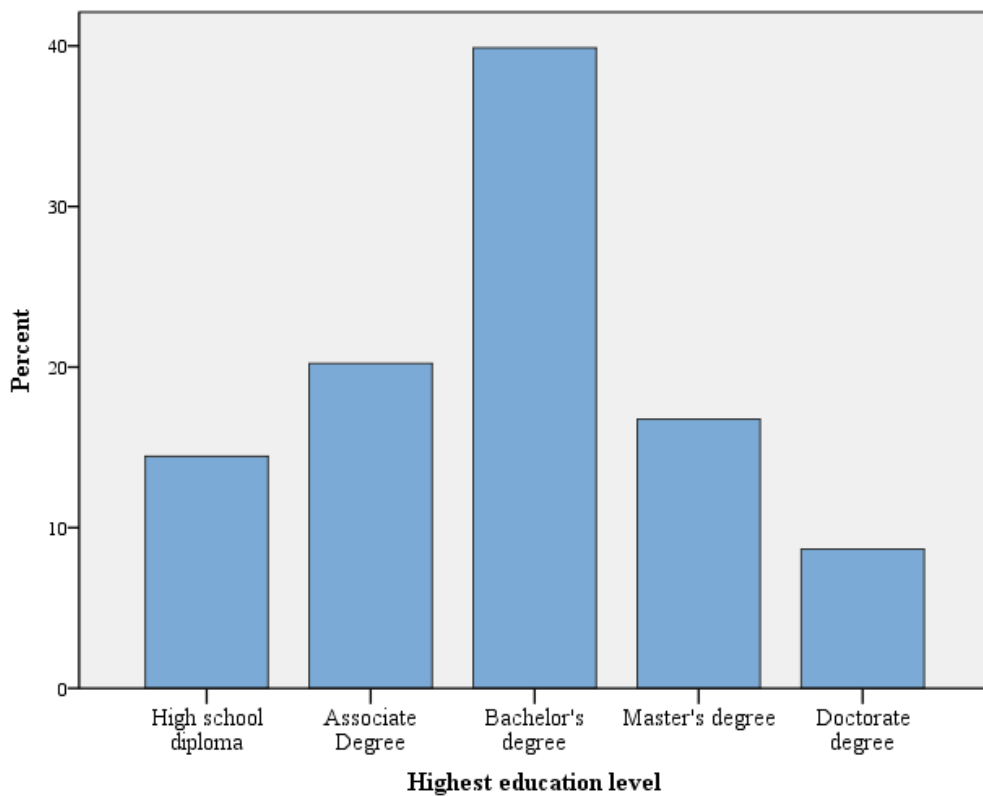


Figure 5.3: Educational attainment of survey takers
Source: Derived from the survey

The online survey allowed for the wide dissemination of the survey. Respondents of the survey came from all corners of southeast Michigan. As shown in Table 5.1, more than half of the responses came from Dearborn and Dearborn Heights. The remainder were from the surrounding area ranging from Kalamazoo, Michigan to Detroit. Figure 5.4 shows the distribution of survey participants' zip codes. Seventy-eight percent of the survey participants reported traveling less than 10 minutes to their favored store and roughly 69% reported driving less than 10 miles to their favorite store (Table 5.2).

Table 5.1: Where survey respondents live

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid Dearborn	69	39.7	39.7
Dearborn Heights	33	19.0	19.0
Other	72	41.4	41.4
Total	174	100.0	100.0

Source: Derived from the survey

Table 5.2: Distance traveled to favorite store by survey participants

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid less than 5 miles	70	40.2	40.7	40.7
5 to 10 miles	48	27.6	27.9	68.6
10 to 15 miles	18	10.3	10.5	79.1
15 to 20 miles	16	9.2	9.3	88.4
more than 20 miles	20	11.5	11.6	100.0
Total	172	98.9	100.0	
Total	174	100.0		

Source: Derived from the survey

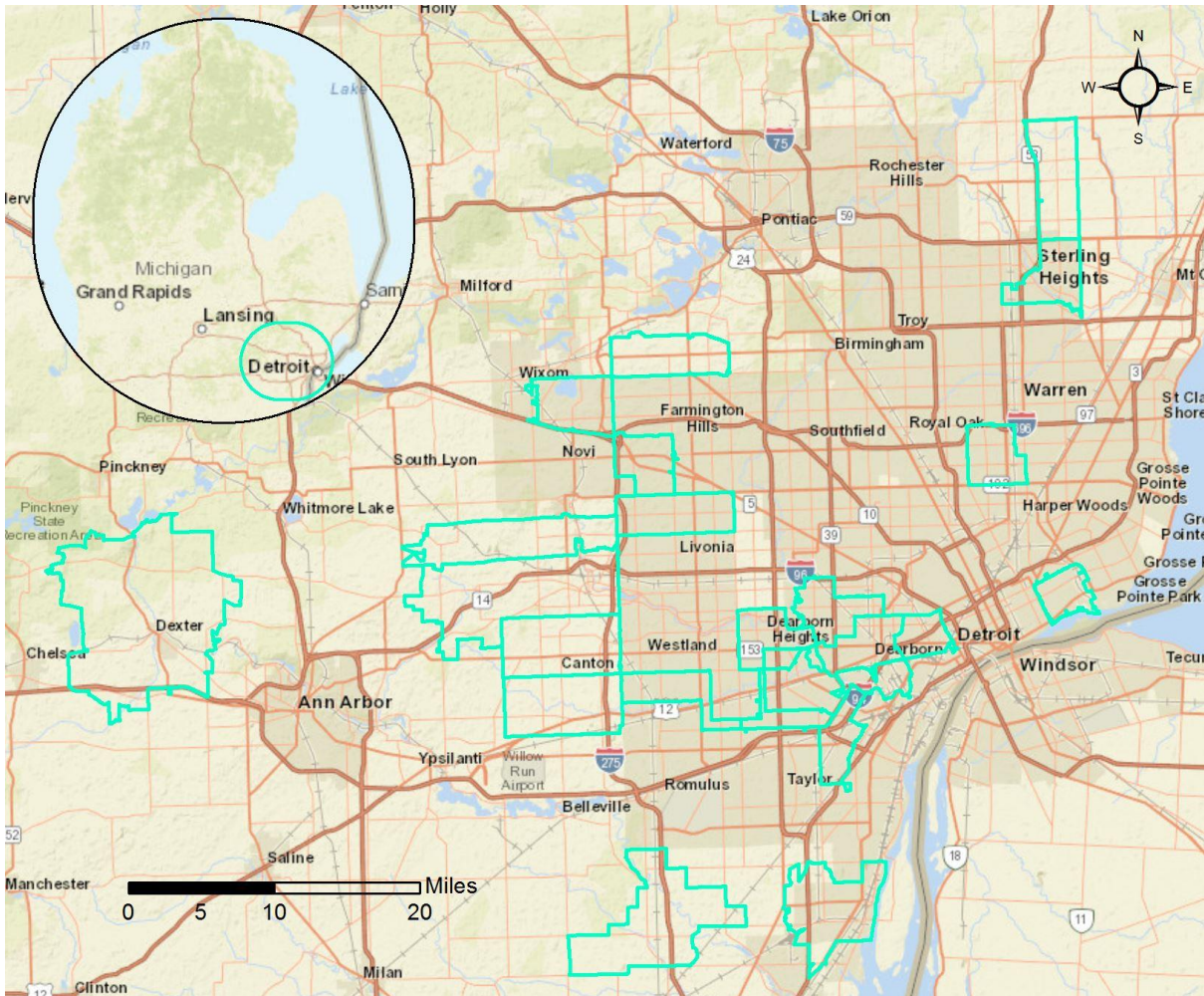


Figure 5.4: Survey participants' zip codes

Source: Created by the author using ArcMap 10.5.1; Data gathered from (<https://www.mcgi.state.mi.us/mgdl/>)

Esri, HERE, DeLorme, USGS, Intermap, INCREMENT P, NRCan, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China (Hong Kong), Esri Korea, Esri (Thailand) MapmyIndia, NGCC, OpenStreetMap contributors and the GIS User Community. Esri DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus DS, USDA, AeroGRID, IGN.

As noted previously in chapter 4, one of the main topics of the survey was designed to reveal the main motivations behind purchasing Halal food. Survey respondents were provided with the following choices: religious reasons, health reasons, taste, animal welfare, price, and convenience. Respondents were asked to rate each choice on a scale of 1 to 5, where 5 represented “very important”, and 1 represented “not at all important”. Respondents overwhelmingly selected “religious reasons” as the main motive reported by respondents in southeast Michigan for the purchase of Halal food. As shown on Table 5.3, after religious reasons, consumers named effect on “health” and a preference for the “taste” of Halal food as the second and the third reasons for purchasing Halal foods.

Figures 5.5 and 5.6 illustrate the importance of religious reasons for Halal shoppers. Analyses show that religious reasons are equally important to all groups regardless of age, gender, educational attainment, or household size. It is interesting that there are no statistically significant differences in opinions across these groups and they surely reveal the trend for Arab American respondents of the survey. Furthermore, individuals who reported religious reasons as “extremely important” are also willing to spend more time driving to more remote shopping venues.

Table 5.3: Reasons for purchasing Halal foods (on a scale of 1 to 5)

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Religious reasons	173	4.45	1.042
Health reasons	174	4.23	1.005
Taste	171	4.01	1.205
Animal Welfare	172	3.98	1.233
Convenience	170	3.52	1.390
Price	172	2.71	1.350

Source: Derived from the survey

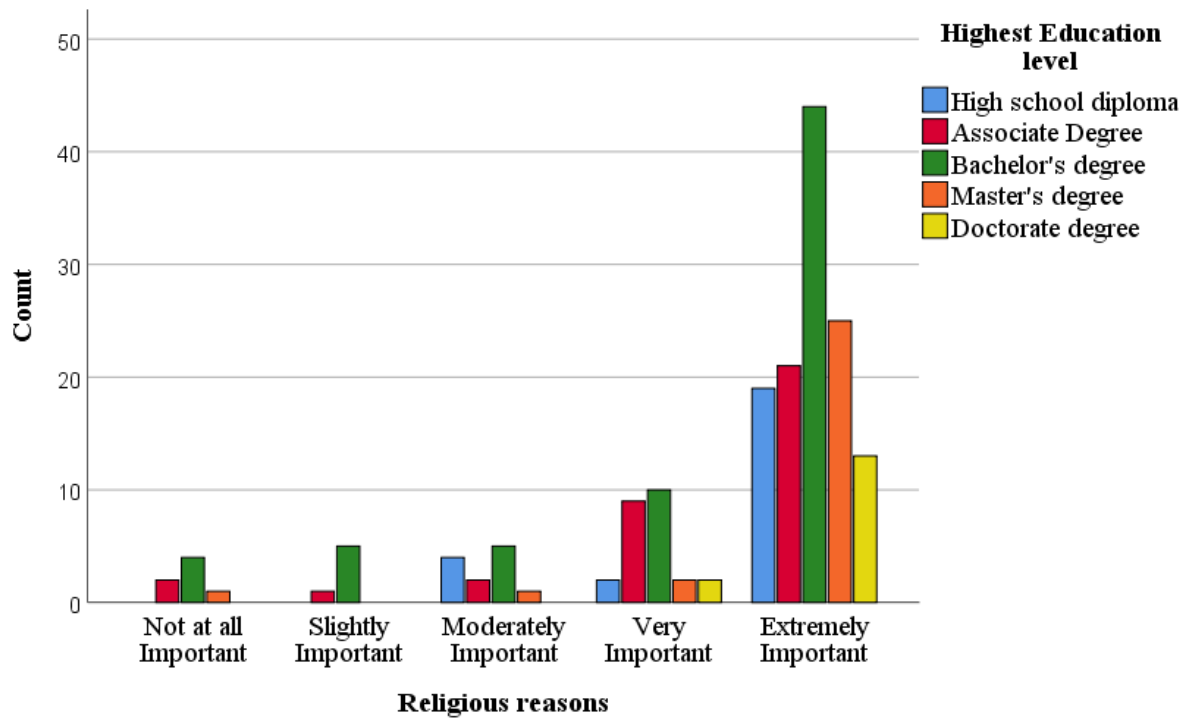


Figure 5.5: The importance of religious reasons and educational attainment
Source: Derived from the survey

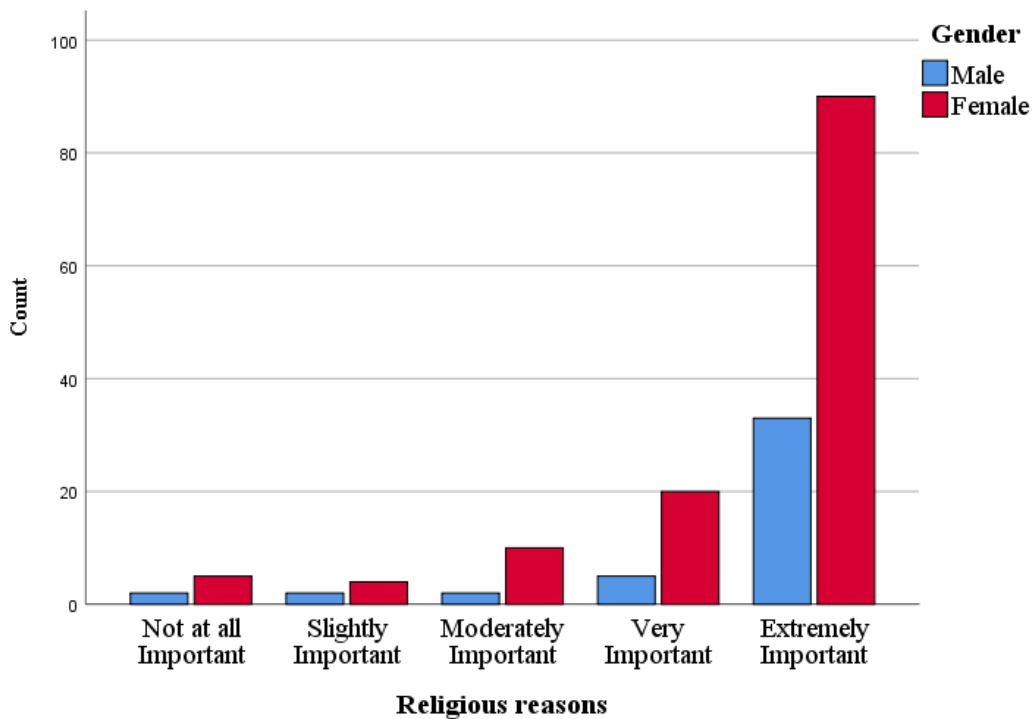


Figure 5.6: The importance of religious reasons and gender
Source: Derived from the survey

Further analysis into the motives fueling the purchase of Halal foods highlights a surprising discovery. Price was ranked as the least important factor (mean of 2.71 out of 5) after religious reasons, health reasons, taste, animal welfare and even convenience (Table 5.3). Figures 5.7 and 5.8, further illustrate the insignificance of price for Halal shoppers. Further analysis indicated that those who are concerned with the price of Halal food do tend to shop at larger grocery stores such as Kroger’s and to a lesser extent at Superstores such as Walmarts and Meijers (A Michigan and Indiana chain) but few respondents reported price as a motivator for purchasing Halal products. Those who select price as an important factor for choosing Halal food, also believed larger supermarkets such as Walmart and Kroger offer “more choices” and that the additional choices offered have better “taste”, “quality and freshness”.

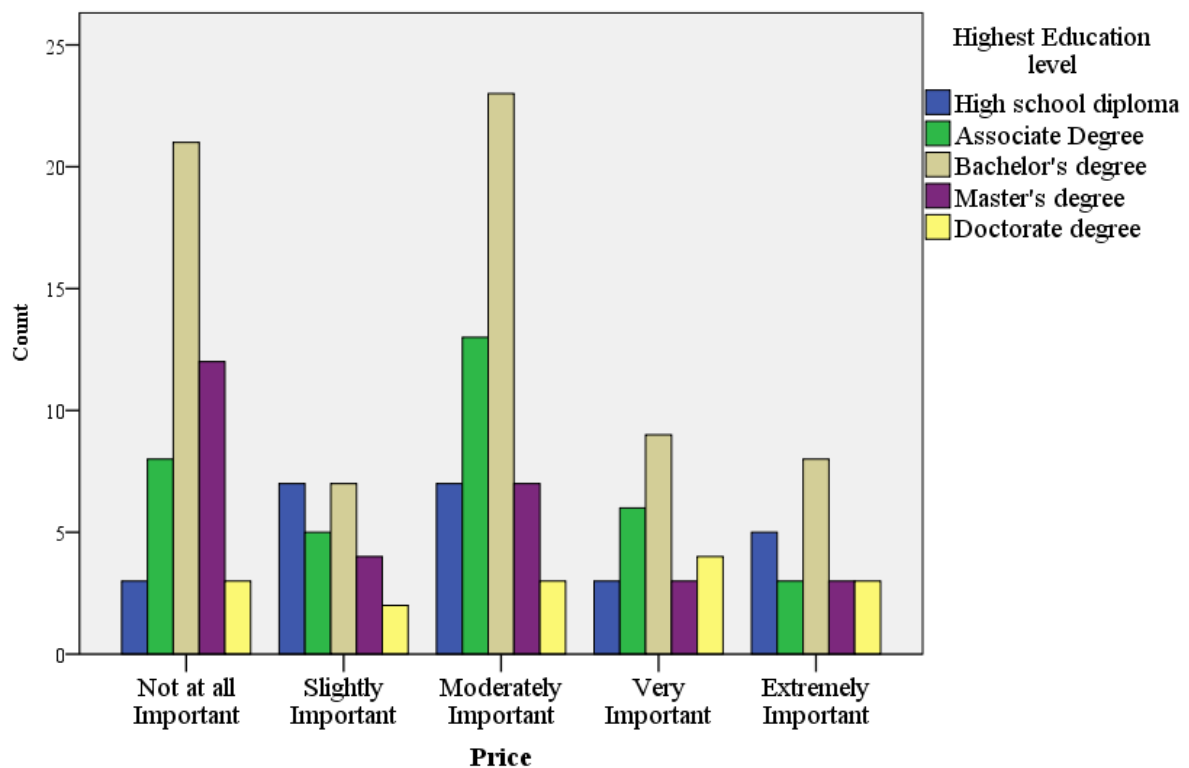


Figure 5.7: The importance of price when purchasing Halal food and educational attainment
Source: Derived from the survey

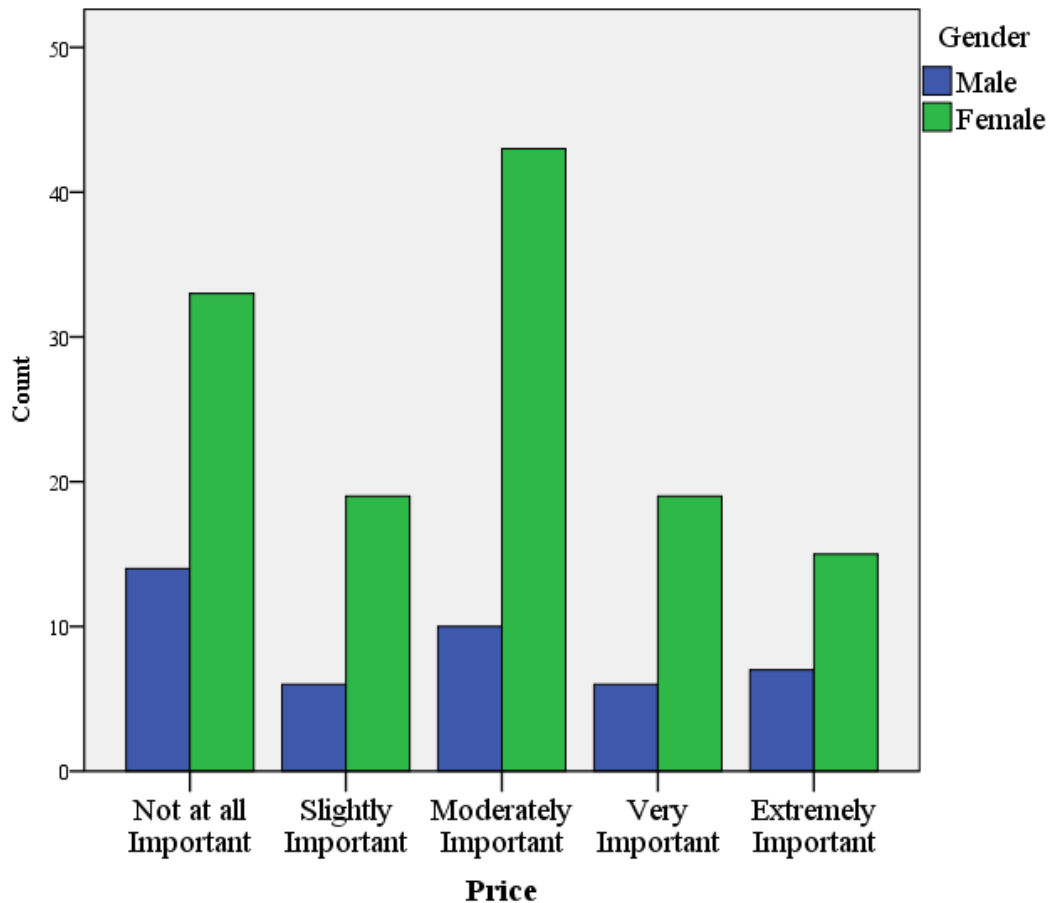


Figure 5.8: The importance of price between male and female
 Source: Derived from the survey

5.2 Store Selection

The other crucial part of the survey sought to detect the types of stores where Halal shoppers frequently visit to purchase Halal products. On average, 65% of the respondents reported they did not shop at larger convenience stores and superstores for Halal food. A test of independence was conducted comparing where survey participants shop for Halal food and the reasons (better prices, availability, and better quality) for their choice of shopping venues. No significant relationship between shopping location and the reasons given for purchasing Halal foods was detected. These included: attraction of better prices ($\chi^2 (4) = 7.128, p < .05$), better quality ($\chi^2 (4) = 4.564, p < .05$), and more choices ($\chi^2 (4) = 7.875, p < .05$). However,

if we consider the level of significance at $p < 0.1$, the importance of greater choice stands out ($\chi^2 (4) = 7.875, p < .096$) (table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Shopping at larger stores for Halal food and the importance of greater choice

			Importance of more choices					Total
			Not at all Important	Slightly Important	Moderately Important	Very Important	Extremely Important	
Shopping at larger stores for Halal food.	No	Count	13	5	18	22	23	81
		Expected Count	9.7	4.8	14.5	27.2	24.8	81.0
		% within More choices	81.3%	62.5%	75.0%	48.9%	56.1%	60.4%
	Yes	Count	3	3	6	23	18	53
		Expected Count	6.3	3.2	9.5	17.8	16.2	53.0
		% within More choices	18.8%	37.5%	25.0%	51.1%	43.9%	39.6%
Total	Count	16	8	24	45	41	134	
	Expected Count	16.0	8.0	24.0	45.0	41.0	134.0	
	% within More choices	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Source: Derived from the survey

The availability of better quality products at larger retail stores didn't have a significance for survey respondents. However, customers who do shop at larger retailers for Halal foods disproportionately believe that the availability of better quality products is very important (figure 5.9).

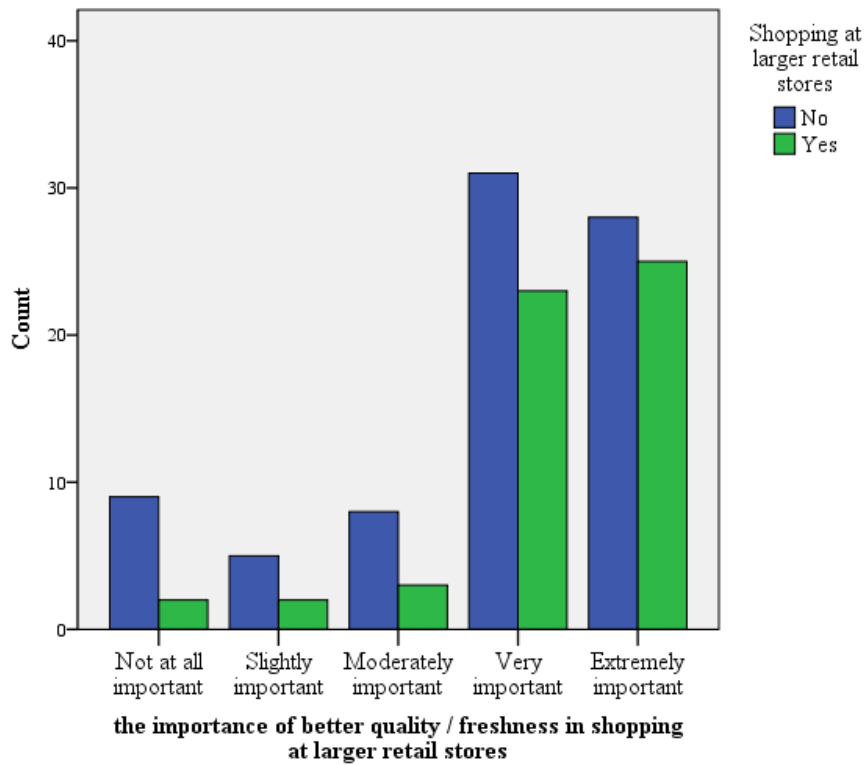


Figure 5.9: The importance of better quality products when shopping at larger food retailers
 Source: Derived from the survey

Another question in the survey collected information regarding participants' preference for one specific Middle Eastern or ethnic store and how they first heard about or saw their favorite store? Of all respondents, 87% reported having a favorite Middle Eastern or Ethnic store in Dearborn. Those individuals who have a favorite store, spend more than half of their monthly grocery allowance at those specific stores. To underscore this finding, figure 5.10 clearly illustrates that individuals who do have a favorite store have been patronizing the same store for three years or longer reflecting a significant degree of loyalty. Forty-two percent of those surveyed reported originally choosing this favorite store based on the appearance of the storefront while 40% chose the store based on favorable reports via "word of mouth" from family members, friends, and colleagues. This finding indicates that once these shoppers find a specific store, they are remarkably loyal. These consumers are also highly affected by "word of mouth" and opinions of their peers. Not only did survey respondents report high levels of loyalty towards their favorite store, they also spend a very

significant portion of their monthly allowance for groceries at those stores. Table 5.5 illustrates that roughly 50% of the survey respondents reported spending more than 60% of their monthly allowance at a single favorite store. Also, more than 50% of respondents reported visiting their favorite store more than twice a week.

Table 5.5: Monthly spending at respondents' favorite ethnic store

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<19%	7	4.0	4.7	4.7
	20-39%	28	16.1	18.9	23.6
	40-59%	40	23.0	27.0	50.7
	60-79%	36	20.7	24.3	75.0
	80%<	37	21.3	25.0	100.0
	Total	148	85.1	100.0	
Total		174	100.0		

Source: Derived from the survey

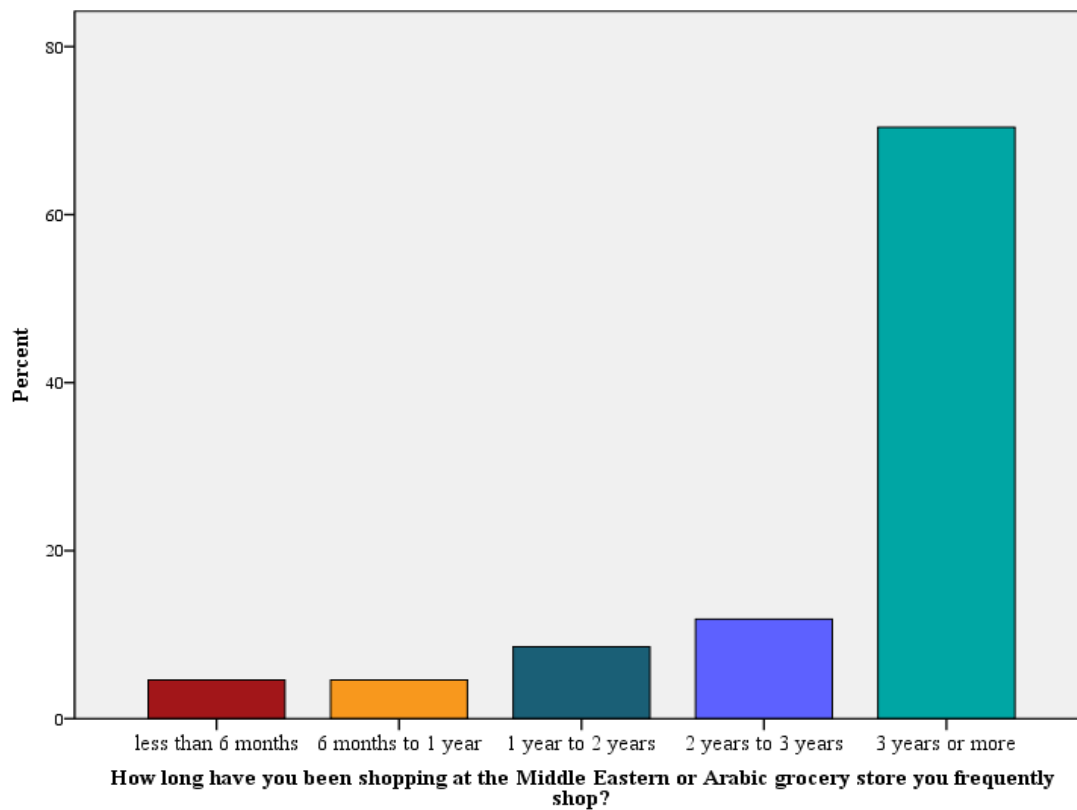


Figure 5.10: Number of years Halal shoppers have been visiting their favored store

Source: Derived from the survey

Survey respondents were also asked about the reasons behind their selection of their favored store. This question was designed as a 5 point Likert-type scale, ranging from “not at all important” to “extremely important”. The choices included cleanliness, assurance of Halal-ness, variety of choice, friendliness, convenience, price, Middle Eastern ownership, and Middle Eastern management. For each choice, respondents were asked to rate the choice on a scale of 1 to 5, where 5 represented “very important”, and 1 represented “not at all important”. Yet again, price received lower ratings than variety of choice, or assurance of “Halal-ness” (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6: Factors affecting the choice of customers when it comes to selecting their favored store

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Cleanliness	152	4.57	.626
Assurance of Halal-ness	148	4.51	.907
Variety of Choice	149	3.99	1.010
Friendliness	148	3.85	1.157
Convenience	149	3.77	1.074
Price	148	3.42	1.063
Middle Eastern Ownership	149	2.85	1.478
Middle Eastern Management	149	2.58	1.443

Source: Derived from the survey

Those who have a favorite Middle Eastern or Middle Eastern store that they consistently patronize, also report purchasing almost the same specific items on each visit. According to the survey, Halal meat and chicken and bread are the most important items that are regularly purchased in Middle Eastern stores. It goes without saying, not every item is available at the small to medium-scale Middle Eastern stores, therefore items such as Halal household goods (soaps, detergents, and cosmetics) and to a lesser extent fruits and vegetables are sometimes purchased from larger superstores such as Walmart or Meijer (Table 5.7).

Table 5.7: Most important shopping items for Halal shoppers

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Halal meat/chicken	174	.80	.398
Bread	174	.62	.487
Vegetables and fruits	174	.54	.500
Household items (Soap, detergent, etc.)	174	.06	.244

Source: Derived from the survey

Data were analyzed using a variety of statistical tests and respondents exhibit a remarkably consistent set of opinions and behaviors. More than 40% of the respondents with 5 or more people in their household reported price as “Not at all important” to “slightly important”. As table 5.8 illustrates, families with 4 members or more reveal the same remarkable disregard for price when it comes to shopping for Halal foods. This might be due to the higher than average incomes of the Middle Eastern Americans living in Dearborn and throughout Michigan.

Table 5.8: Significance of price when purchasing Halal food and household size

			Significance of price when purchasing Halal food					Total
			Not at all important	Slightly important	Moderately important	Very important	Extremely Important	
Household size?	Single	Count	2	0	1	3	0	6
		% within	33.3%	0.0%	16.7%	50.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	2 people	Count	5	4	8	1	5	23
		% within	21.7%	17.4%	34.8%	4.3%	21.7%	100.0%
	3 people	Count	9	3	10	3	4	29
		% within	31.0%	10.3%	34.5%	10.3%	13.8%	100.0%
	4 people	Count	13	6	12	5	4	40
		% within	32.5%	15.0%	30.0%	12.5%	10.0%	100.0%
	5 or more people	Count	18	12	22	13	9	74
		% within	24.3%	16.2%	29.7%	17.6%	12.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	47	25	53	25	22	172
		% within	27.3%	14.5%	30.8%	14.5%	12.8%	100.0%

Source: Derived from the survey

Analysis of the data from the survey also reveals no significant correlation between the price of Halal food and a penchant for shopping at larger grocery stores or convenience stores. Another interesting finding was related to the level of educational attainment or respondents. It is a commonly held belief that people with higher educational attainment rank convenience extremely high. This demand for convenience might translate into shopping at superstores or convenient stores where the pace of operation is much quicker than small, family run stores. A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the results of educational attainment and whether respondents shop for Halal food at larger stores such as Walmart, Meijer and Kroger. No significant relationship was found ($\chi^2 (4) = 7.810, p > 0.05$) (Table 5.9).

Table 5.9: Educational attainment and shopping at superstores and convenient stores

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.810 ^a	4	.099
Likelihood Ratio	9.207	4	.056
Linear-by-Linear Association	.091	1	.762
N of Valid Cases	173		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.12.

Source: Created by the author based on the survey findings

Taken collectively, these findings reveal the underlying reasons behind the success of small ethnic stores in the area despite increasing direct competition from national chains and superstores as discussed in chapter 2. Competitive prices and greater convenience are often cited as reasons consumers shop at major retailers. When tradition and trust are added to the equation, larger retailers don't seem to have an edge when competing with smaller, Middle Eastern stores at least in Dearborn, Michigan. Certain steps, such as hiring more Arab Americans, have been taken by larger competitors such as Walmart, but still Arab Americans

in Dearborn continue to shop at their local and / or favored stores at least most of the time. An Imam of a mosque in Dearborn area expressed his thoughts during a casual conversation that certain portions of the population, or at least within his congregation, believe that they don't have enough assurance that food which is labeled Halal in larger retail venues is authentically Halal. In contrast, they felt food that is purchased from local, ethnic stores is most certainly Halal. Their belief stems from the fact that if a store is operated by a Muslim, surely the owners would provide the same food that they consume.

5.3 Interviews with Store Owners and Operators

The actual reasons that consumers shop at smaller venues become more complicated when interviews with store operators are taken into account. Store owners of smaller establishments in some areas of Dearborn believe the entrance of larger national chains into their market segment is in fact changing their business. Through conversations with store owners in the area, it became clear that many proprietors firmly believe that some small-scale operators are being forced to close their stores because of the entrance of larger retail food chains into their market segment. This belief by store owners is at odds with the findings of the survey. Smaller stores might be closing at a faster rate in recent years, but this faster closing rate could be caused by other issues. For instance, certain ethnic stores in the area have grown at a faster rate than others and these "largest of the small" stores resemble the structure of a "larger retail food corporations". Greenland Market on Warren Avenue in Dearborn, is a prime example of this growth. Greenland Market started as a small ethnic store, but currently ownership has expanded their operations to include three large stores within a few miles of each other (Figure 5.11). Super Greenland Market offers special rates on many products on Wednesdays. This store's promotions have become so successful that on Wednesdays, many Dearborn residents try to avoid the Warren Avenue / Miller road intersection because of traffic jams in the morning when the most enthusiastic shoppers come

to get the freshest products at the lowest prices. Super Greenland Market has been so successful in their business that other stores in the area have started implementing the same “daily special” tactics. As shown in Figure 5.12, a newly opened supermarket on Evergreen Road, the Ever Fresh Market in Dearborn Heights is using the Super Greenland Market’s specials in form of “Wild Wednesdays”.

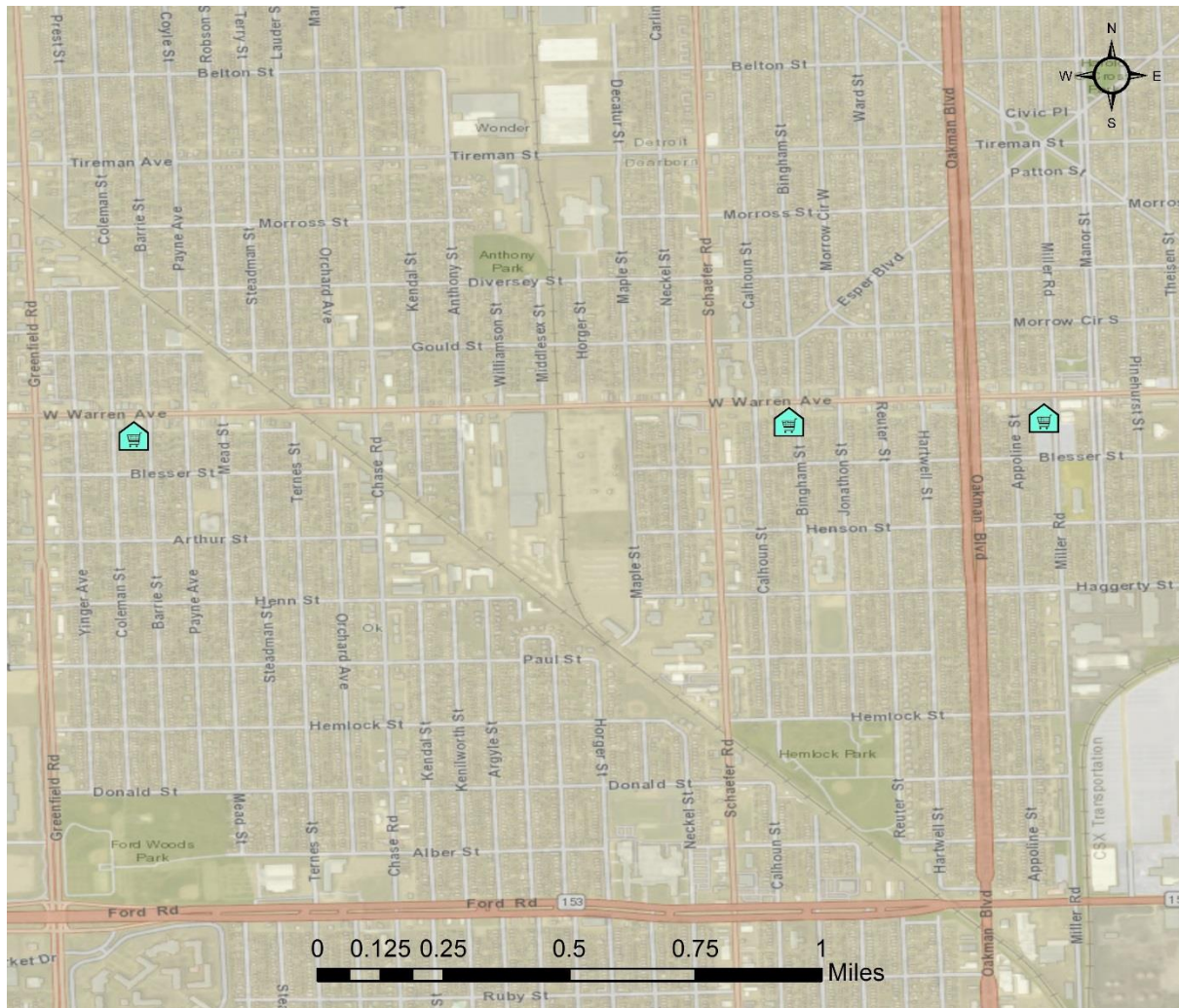


Figure 5.11: Greenland Markets in Dearborn, Michigan

Source: Created by the author using ArcMap 10.5.1

Esri, HERE, DeLorme, USGS, Intermap, INCREMENT P, NRCan, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China (Hong Kong), Esri Korea, Esri (Thailand) Mapmyindia, NGCC, OpenStreetMap contributors and the GIS User Community. Esri DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus DS, USDA, AeroGRID, IGN.



Figure 5.12: Ever Fresh Market in Dearborn Heights is implementing the same tactics as Greenland Market

Source: Picture taken by the author, 2017

Furthermore, conversations with store owners and operators made clear two distinct and conflicting views regarding the entrance of larger retail food corporations into the Halal food sector. These two outlooks are highly affected by the actual location of the stores where the interviews were conducted. As mentioned previously, Arab Americans living in Dearborn, Michigan are geographically concentrated along three major commercial corridors; Dix Avenue, Warren Avenue and Schaefer Street. The feelings of store owners regarding larger food retailers diverge depending on the location of the stores.

One store operator on Dix Avenue believed that the entrance of larger food retailers into the Halal food segment has had terrible repercussions for his business. He used to be the owner of the store where we met, but later was forced to sell the establishment due to financial difficulties. "People go after money, so they go anywhere that gives them better

prices” he explained. Dix Avenue is flanked on the west side by the enormous Ford Rouge plant and on the eastside by the city of Detroit. However, one would be hard pressed to find any other non-ethnic businesses. This lack of business diversity offers few options for potential new customers walking into the Middle Eastern shops looking for basic products by chance. The only customers the stores have are the loyal customers that have been frequenting the store for years. Not only is the customer base ageing with few new customer additions, but the Dix Avenue establishments don’t enjoy the benefits of promotional programs such as Yalla Eat (literally translated into “let’s go eat”) by the Arab American National Museum (www.arabamericanmuseum.org/yallaeat/).

To promote and further familiarize customers with the wonderful Middle Eastern cultures and cuisines, the Arab American National Museum (www.arabamericanmuseum.org/) provides walking tours of Middle Eastern food-based establishments in Dearborn called Yalla Eat. These seasonal-scheduled walking tours are offered throughout the warmer months of the year, with up to 10 individuals per tour. Two separate routes are offered each week depending on number of individuals signing up for the tour. One route starts and ends at the Super Greenland Market on Warren Avenue and the other tour focuses on different establishments on Michigan Avenue, a few block to the south. A survey of the tour takers conducted by the Arab American National Museum between 2012 and 2015 revealed that almost 77% of the participants were white. Dr. Matthew Stiffler from the Arab American National Museum mentioned that these tours are envisioned to expose more individuals to the rich Middle Eastern culture. Yet, none of the stores on Dix Avenue are included in the tours and so are not promoted to non-traditional customers.

As noted in chapter 2, Dix Avenue and adjacent neighborhoods have developed as a home to newer immigrants and lower-income Arab Americans. Abraham and Shyroock (2000) believe that as families climb the societal ladder, they tend to move to other neighborhoods of

Dearborn or even Detroit. Since very few non-traditional customers go to the stores on Dix Avenue and the number of families that live in that area has tended to stay roughly the same, shop owners and operators might misconstrue this stagnation as customers “chasing better prices”, when really the customer base is shrinking.

Perspectives from the Schaefer Street and Warren Avenue stores are on the other side of the spectrum. Conversations with store owners on these streets clearly indicated these proprietors don't believe they are being affected by the recent entrance of larger food retailers in their market segment. This belief was commonly shared amongst many types of businesses including, grocery store operators, butcher shops, and restaurants. In one conversation Mr. Imad Hassan, one of the operators of Super Greenland Market on Warren Avenue, said “although we do get a lot of other ethnicities in our store ... the majority of our customers are Middle Eastern or Muslim; I'd say something around 80 to 85% are Muslim or Middle Eastern.” The floor manager of Papaya Fruit Market on Schaefer road went one step further and said “I'd say 90 to 95% are Middle Eastern, not any other ethnicity.” The same customer composition is consistent for other Halal venues such as butcher shops and restaurants in this area. When asked about the entrance of larger food retailers into their market segment, owners and managers unanimously believe that they are not being affected or if they are, the effects are minimal. When asked about the reasons for their organization's success, Mr. Imad Hassan from Super Greenland Market said “we make sure every item in our store is Halal, that's why people come here because, first they are sure that everything here is Halal ... Who would go to one store for one item and then shop for everything else in another store when you can purchase everything with assurance from one place?”

All interviewees reported that in recent years, Arab Americans have come to take more pride in celebrating their ethnicity in a variety of ways. One butcher believed that “once people came to this country they didn't have Halal so they ate whatever they could and they

worked hard and never asked for anything.” New-comers also wanted to quickly familiarize themselves with the new country and the new environment. By welcoming all that the new country had to offer, one would become “more modern”. It’s a common belief that by adhering to cultural traditions, a sense of community is created and preserved. While speaking to many people, it became clear that in the years past, “being and looking ethnic” was considered to be a sign of “not moving with the times” whereas now, the same behavior fosters pride in one’s own traditions and history.

5.4 Mapping the Growth of Halal in Dearborn Over Time and Space

In order to better grasp the magnitude of the growth of ethnic businesses in the city of Dearborn, the business directories of the city were scanned for “Arab sounding” names of businesses. The directories are published by *Polk* (R. L. Polk & Co, & Polk Directories, 1981, 1992) and *Bresserha* (Bresser’s Cross-Index Directory, 2006, 2014). The Arab American National Museum has copies of *Polk’s* Dearborn business directories dating back to the early 1980s through the late 1990s. The city of Dearborn’s public library has copies of the 2006 and 2014 *Bresser’s* business directories. In order to create a clear picture of change in ethnic businesses in the city of Dearborn, directories for four years were used: 1981, 1992 *Polk’s* (R. L. Polk & Co, & Polk Directories, 1981, 1992), 2006, and 2014 *Bresser’s* (Bresser’s Cross-Index Directory, 2006, 2014). To narrow this portion of the research, only the Dix Avenue and the Warren Avenue commercial districts were surveyed for businesses to assess changes in retail operations for these shopping districts over time (Figure 5.13).

Although this process doesn’t guarantee that every Arab or Middle Eastern business will be identified since certain Arab-owned businesses might choose a non-Arabic name for their firms, it is successful in identifying most. Of course, some owners might use Arab sounding names to appeal to the existing population living in Dearborn and the neighboring cities. Regardless of these types of issues, a survey of the directories provides a revealing

glimpse into the rate of growth of Middle Eastern / ethnic businesses in Dearborn over time.

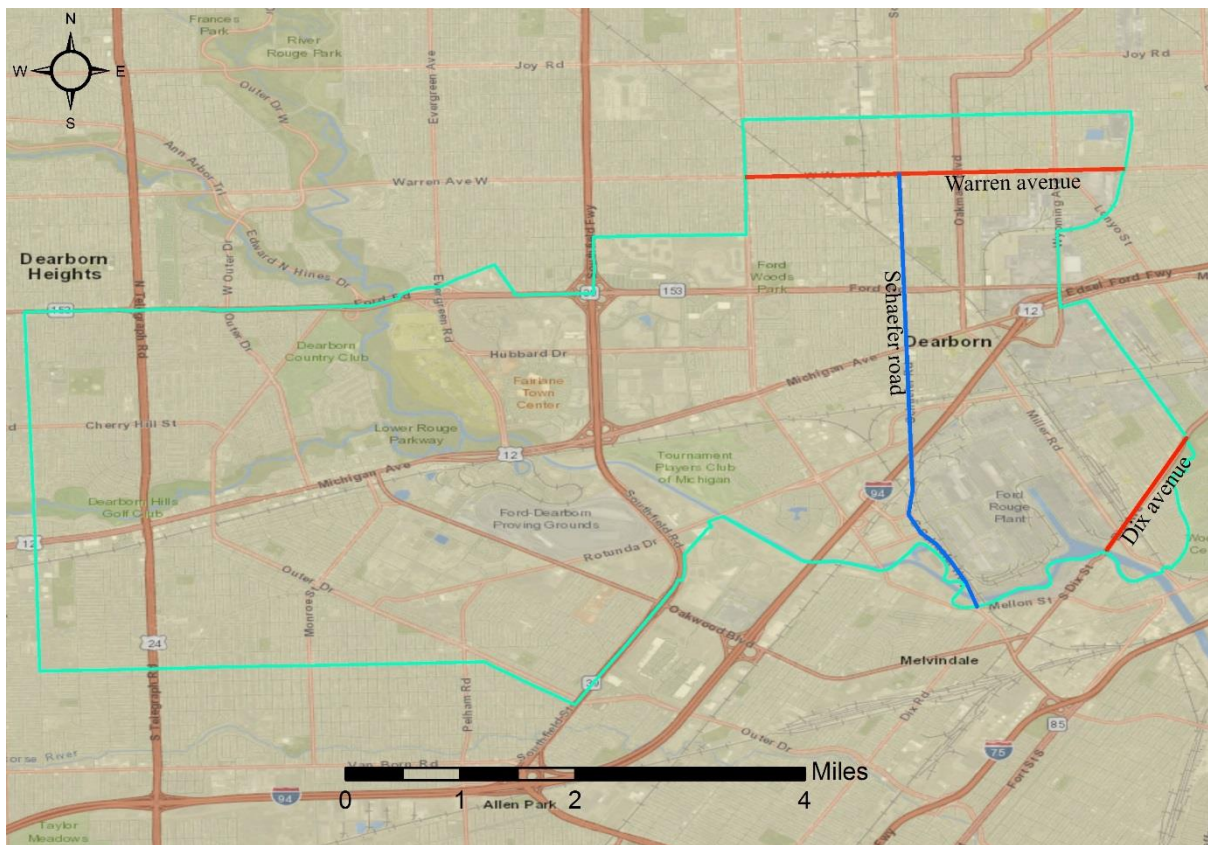


Figure 5.13: Area of interest in Dearborn, Warren Avenue; Dix Avenue

Source: Created by the author using ArcMap 10.5.1

Esri, HERE, DeLorme, USGS, Intermap, INCREMENT P, NRCan, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China (Hong Kong), Esri Korea, Esri (Thailand) Mapmyindia, NGCC, OpenStreetMap.

The analysis of business directories throughout the years further underscores the same diverging paths that became evident when speaking to shop owners and operators within the two commercial districts. Warren Avenue has seen a continuous growth of ethnic businesses from 1981 to 2014. In 1981, Warren Avenue had only 18 ethnic establishments, in 1992 the number jumped to 25, and by 2001 there were 46 establishments, with 22 of them directly food related (grocery store, butcher shops, restaurants, bakeries and sweet shops). In 2006, the number increased yet again to 68, with 33 food related establishments. In percentage terms, ethnic stores continuously gained a greater presence on Warren Avenue over the years included in this study (1981 to 2006). In 1992, ethnic stores accounted for roughly 16% of the

total businesses on Warren Avenue and by 2006, 26%. If just food related businesses are considered, the number has been rising at the same rate (Figure 5.14).

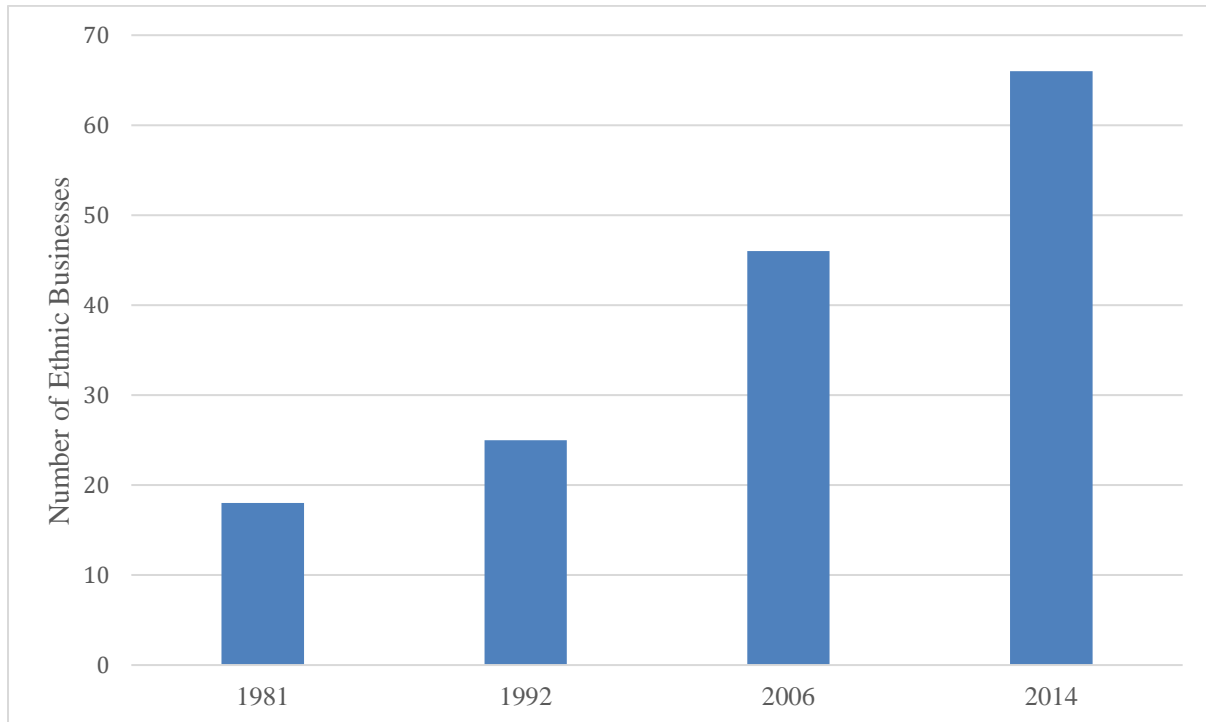


Figure 5.14: Number of Arab-owned businesses on Warren Avenue over the years
Source: Figure created by the author based on the surveyed business directories

Although Dix-Vernor corridor has also seen an increase in the total number of ethnic stores, the growth has not been continuous nor has the increase been as great. For instance, according to Polk's business directory, in 1981 there were only 18 ethnic stores on Dix Avenue. Interestingly in 1981, both shopping districts had the same number of ethnic businesses, which is even more significant since Dix Avenue is far shorter in length than Warren Avenue. Unlike Warren Avenue, Dix Avenue saw a decrease in both the total number of businesses by 1992 (12) and number of food related businesses (8 down from 15) (Figure 5.15).



Figure 5.15: Number of Arab-owned businesses on Dix Avenue over the years
 Source: Figure created by the author based on the surveyed business directories

Larger corporations began their venture into Halal foods in the city of Dearborn, Michigan in 2008. The only business directory available after 2008 was found in the Dearborn Public Library, published in 2014. Although, both business districts show signs of slight decline in the absolute number of ethnic businesses after 2008, their rates of decline are significantly different. In 2006, the Dix-Vernor corridor had a total of 60 businesses (ethnic and non-ethnic), 18 of which were classified as Middle Eastern and of those 11 were ethnic food-related establishments. Fast forward to 2014 and the decline is palpable. Not only has the total number of businesses declined to 53 businesses, but also the ethnic businesses and food-related establishments saw a decline as well (13 and 6 respectively). The same decline is evident for Warren Avenue however, in a different form. Warren Avenue's total businesses in 2014 experienced a rise from 261 to 266 outlets but the number of Middle-eastern businesses decreased from 66 to 58. Food-related establishments recorded the same decline as well, from 33 to 29.

Although survey of the directories suggests a decline in the number of ethnic businesses, the reasons behind this decline could not be put squarely on the shoulders of larger food retailers. Also, the number of ethnic-owned outlets on Dix Avenue had been fluctuating periodically over time, therefore the 2014 declines are nothing new to this area. A variety of factors could be credited for this decline. As mentioned previously, the average median income level of individuals living in Dix Avenue neighborhoods is lower than that of the rest of the city. Families and individuals with less money to spend might be tempted to purchase food from food retail outlets with more competitive prices. At the same time, as families become more affluent they move away from Dix Avenue neighborhood and into other parts of the city such as the neighborhoods more proximate to Warren Avenue.

In search for Middle-eastern businesses on Warren Avenue, 213 addresses or data points were retrieved. Additionally, 62 data points were retrieved for Dix Avenue. To further illustrate the location of the stores and portray them in a map, the data points were then georeferenced using ArcMap 10.5. Figures 5.16 and 5.17, illustrate the results of the survey of the business directories. The stores from 1981 are portrayed as green dots, yellow crosses represent 1992, blue squares represent 2006, and finally, red circles represent stores from 2014.

The next chapter is dedicated to further in-depth analysis of the findings of this research. Additionally, the results of this mixed method research will be juxtaposed against findings of other studies on the topic of Halal. Furthermore, the later part of the following chapter is dedicated to identifying methodological issues that needs to be corrected should the study be replicated at a later date.

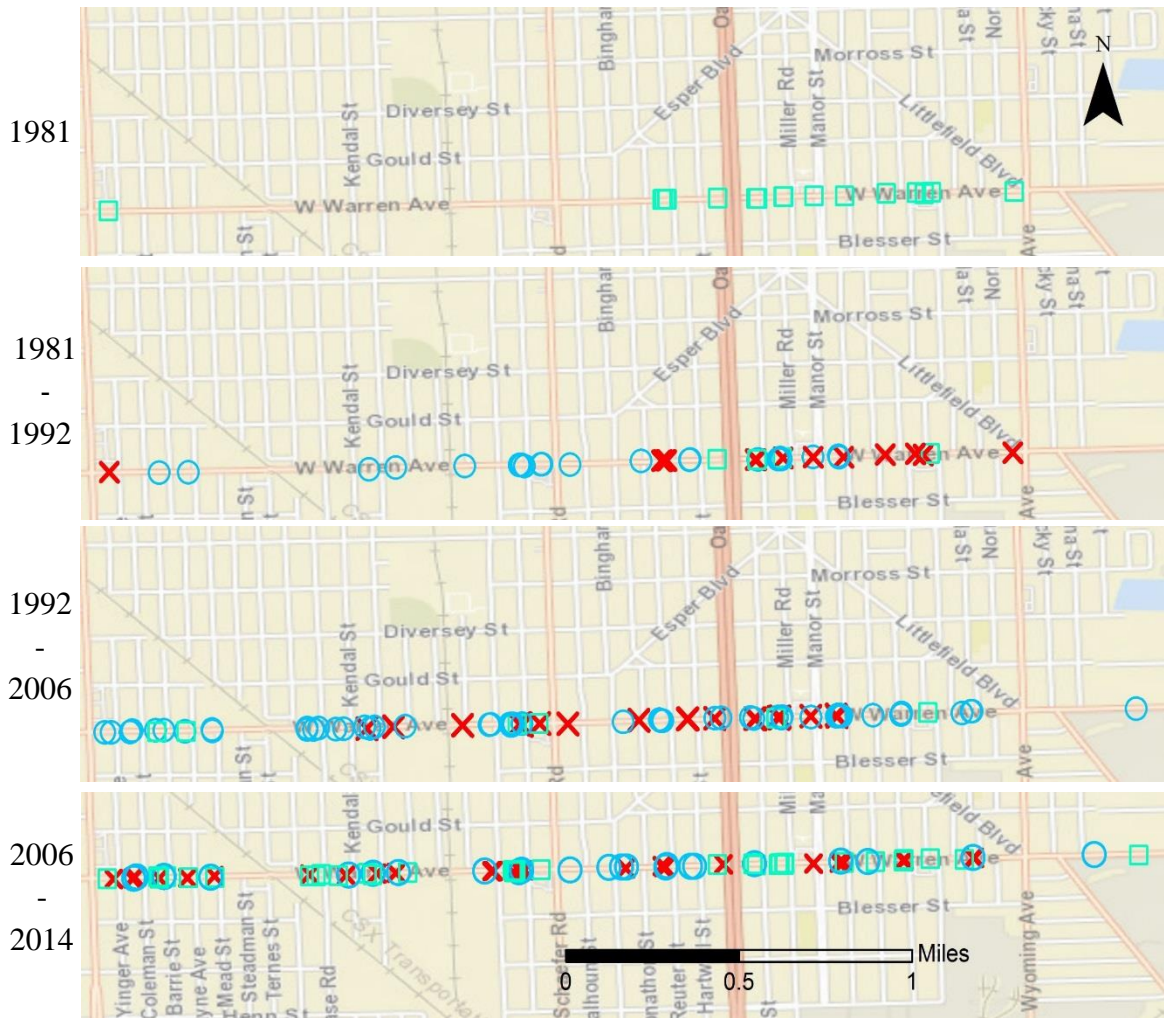


Figure 5.16: Warren Avenue ethnic stores found on business directories; Squares are the remaining stores, Circles are New Stores, and Crosses are the closed stores.
 Sources: R. L. Polk & Co, & Polk Directories, 1981, 1992 and Bresser's Cross-Index Directory, 2006, 2014. Esri, HERE, DeLorme, USGS, Intermap, Increment P, NRCAn, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China, Esri Korea, Esri Thailand, MapmyIndia, NGCC, OpenStreetMap contributors

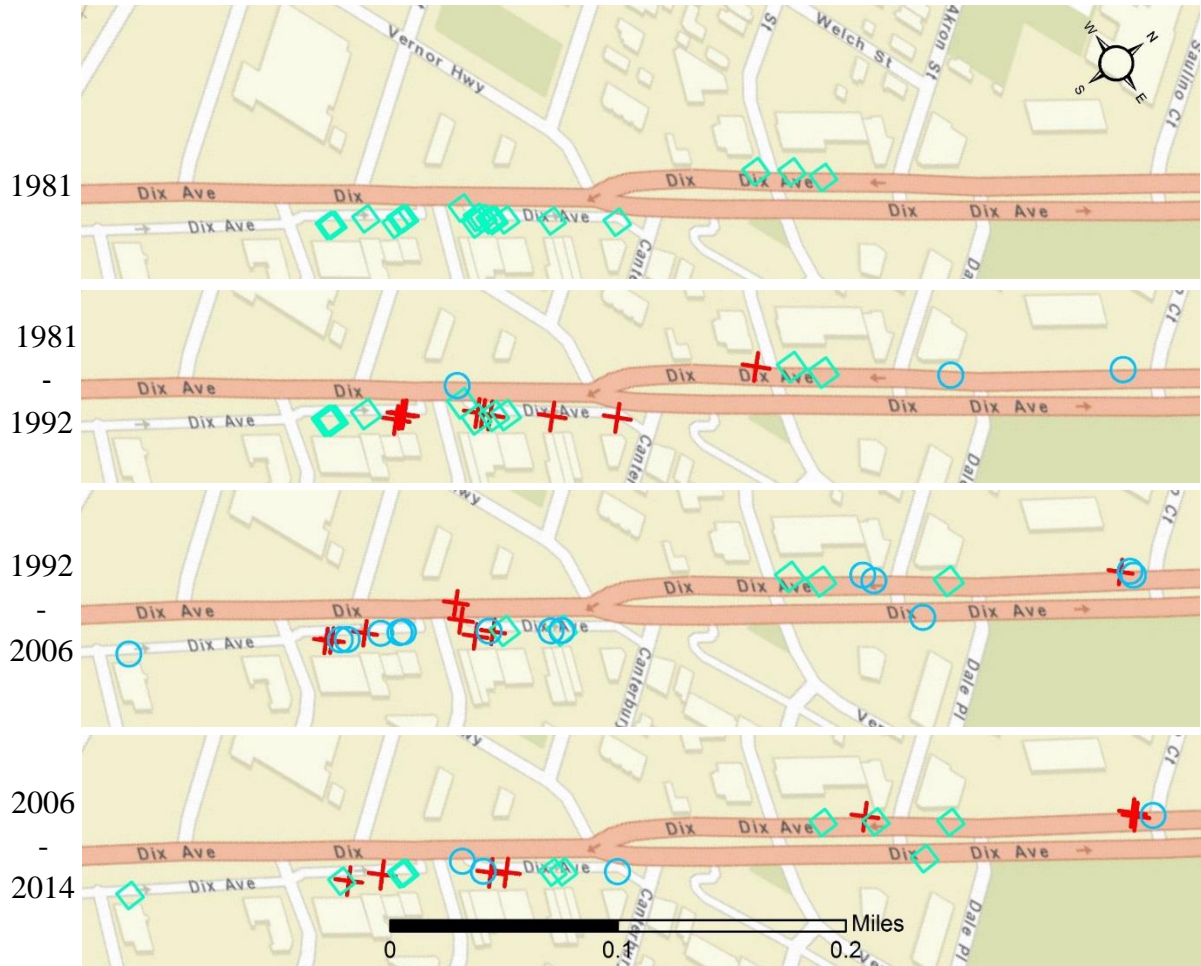


Figure 5.17: Dix Avenue ethnic stores found on business directories; Squares are the remaining stores, Circles are New Stores, and Crosses are the closed stores.

Sources: R. L. Polk & Co, & Polk Directories, 1981, 1992 and Bresser's Cross-Index Directory, 2006, 2014. Esri, HERE, DeLorme, USGS, Intermap, Increment P, NRCAN, Esri Japan, METI, Esri China, Esri Korea, Esri Thailand, MapmyIndia, NGCC, OpenStreetMap contributors

Chapter 6

Conclusion

As noted in Chapter 1, this research sought to answer four related questions in regards to the Halal food sales and consumption in the city of Dearborn, Michigan. The core of this research relied on a mixed method approach. One-hundred and seventy-four completed surveys along with a handful of informal interviews, coupled with analysis of business directories, and field observations all yielded invaluable data for the in-depth analysis. In this chapter each of the four initial questions will be examined and major findings of the study will be discussed in more detail.

6.1 The Customer Base of Halal Food

Dearborn, Michigan, a city with a population of 95,520 is demographically extremely young with a high percentage of the population self-identifying as Arab Americans. This city has been a welcoming haven for immigrants and more specifically for Arab Americans for over a century. Through three waves of migration, the numbers of Arab Americans grew to an estimated 42,314 as of 2016. Arab Americans account for 44% of the population of Dearborn and if the same trends continue by 2034 the Arab American population will double. This growing population has been the reason many companies have taken notice and started offering their services to the Arab Americans.

The 174 completed surveys answer the first question of the research, namely, who are the individuals that purchase Halal food? Nearly, 75% of the survey respondents were female, and almost 70% were under 40 years old. Not only were responding Arab Americans young, but they are highly educated as well (65% with bachelor's degree or higher). Furthermore, 66% of the survey respondents reported having families with 4 or more members. These findings are analogous with the report by Pew Research Center

(www.pewforum.org) mentioned in chapter 1 (Lipka, 2017). According to the report, Muslims worldwide are the fastest growing religious group in the world and they are on track to become the largest segment of the population of the world by the turn of the century. Furthermore, other researchers focused on the Halal shoppers' consumption patterns and behaviors have revealed the same demographic characteristics (Abu-Hussin, Johari, Hehsan, & Mohd Nawawi, 2017; Shah Alam & Sayuti, 2011). The Halal shoppers are predominantly women, young and well educated. Although Bonne et al. (2007), illustrate that male shoppers are largely responsible for Halal meat purchases in France, however, that could be explained by cultural differences. According to Bonne et al. (2007), in most north African countries Halal meat shopping is the responsibility of males, whereas in the Middle Eastern countries this typically will be the responsibility of women.

Much like the findings of the survey, conversations with store owners and operators pointed to the same trend. Owners and operators of ethnic stores believed that their stores are still being patronized by up to 90% Arab Americans. More and more non-Muslims are being introduced to the Middle Eastern cuisines and traditions through programs such as Yalla Eat of Arab American National Museum (www.arabamericanmuseum.org/yallaeat/), but Arab Americans still represent the vast majority of Halal food shoppers and consumers in southeast Michigan.

6.2 The Main Motives Behind Purchasing Halal Foods

Another crucial question of my research was to determine why individuals purchase Halal foods? Overwhelmingly, the main reasons for the purchase of Halal products are religious in nature. Survey respondents were also asked about the reasons behind their selection of their favored store. This question was designed as a 5 point Likert-type scale, ranging from “not at all important” to “extremely important”. The choices included health reasons, taste, animal welfare, convenience, or price. However, the majority of respondents

cited religious reasons. Interestingly, this belief was equally shared between men and women of all ages. There were also no statistical differences found across income or educational attainment groups. This finding is in accordance with the study carried out by Muhamad (2010) which also conclude that “religious orientation captures an individual’s motivation” and will have a significant effect on consumer behaviors. Heiman (2004), Bailey (1993), and Briliana (2017) also indicate the importance of religious affiliation when it comes to shopping habits. For instance, Bailey (1993) found support for viewing religion as an important part of all the decision-making processes and concluded that “religious institutions transmit values which eventually may affect choice and / or choice behavior.” It goes without saying that the impact of religion on food consumption is not absolute and is highly dependent on each individual’s adherence to the teachings of each religion. However, studies have reported that 75% of Muslims in the United States follow their religious dietary laws (Bonne & Verbeke, 2006; Bonne et al., 2007; Hussaini, 1993).

Religious reasons are so significant that individuals ranked it higher than any other factor regardless of their age, educational attainment, gender, or even household size. Those who reported religious reasons as extremely important also revealed their willingness to drive further to shop for Halal food. Store owners in Dearborn believed that this commitment to ethnic stores lies on the fact that a new wave of historic resonance is energizing people of Arab descent in the U.S and throughout the world. According to Bonne et al. (2007), second and third generation Muslims purchase Halal products as a sign of devotion to their heritage and in recognition of their Islamic identity. However, the young Muslims do not simply follow the dietary rules blindly, they make informed decisions which then turn into habits. Furthermore, according to Mukhtar and Mohsin Butt (2012), Muslims living in other countries form strong emotions toward Halal products and become very active in purchasing Halal products. Not only do Halal shoppers travel further to buy Halal products, but they also

take the responsibility of reviewing and verifying Halal products on the internet as a service to all Muslims (Kamarulzaman, Veeck, Mumuni, Luqmani, & Quraeshi, 2016).

The store owners believed that “in the early days when people came to the US, no one wanted to cause any problems or ask for anything ... so they ate whatever was available, Halal or not Halal.” Other studies also suggest that in the years past, Muslims simply didn’t eat the products that were not permissible by the religious rules. The refusal to seek products and goods from the “old-country” stems from the fact that new immigrants were trying to familiarize themselves with the new environment and learn the ways of the new country. This finding corroborates with Faragallah’s (1997) study arguing that many Arab Americans find it difficult to get accustomed to the new culture, especially those affiliated with Islam. However, with the ever growing population of Arab Americans, not only has demand for Halal food skyrocketed, but many other cultural traditions of Arab Americans have increased in popularity as well.

6.3 The Effects of Larger Food Retailers on Smaller Ethnic Stores

Another important question of the research was whether the entrance of larger food retailers into the Halal sector has changed the way ethnic businesses operate to accommodate and even compete with those larger stores. Both the survey and the informal interviews with store owners suggest impacts at least to date are minimal.

Overall, 65% of the respondents reported not shopping at larger food retailers. Furthermore, statistical analyses didn’t reveal a significant relationship between shopping at larger retailers and better prices, availability of options, and availability of (potentially) better quality products. In addition, as mentioned in section 6.2, survey respondents were asked about the reasons behind purchasing Halal foods. Not only were religious reasons the most important factor, but price and convenience were rated the least important factors given for shopping for Halal foods. Competitive prices and convenience are two of the most important

factors which affects individuals' decision making and pull shoppers toward their stores.

Removing those factors leaves larger food retailers with little competitive edge.

Informal conversations with multiple shop owners and operators in Dearborn area provided additional information related to this question as well. These conversations revealed an interesting and spatially different pattern. Some owners and operators believed that they are being forced to lower their prices to compete with larger retailers. Store owners also believed that it is quite natural that people will “chase” better prices. However, this trend was only evident for stores located on Dix Avenue. This street is located on the south side of the city and is home to many new immigrants. Once families familiarize themselves with Dearborn and their incomes rise, they usually move out of the Dix Avenue neighborhood to other parts of Dearborn.

Not only are there few new families moving into this neighborhood, there are few programs such as Yalla Eat of the Arab American National Museum advocating for the stores on this street. Even the authorities of the city of Dearborn have taken notice of this lack of economic activity in and around Dix Avenue. Due to this increased concern, Dearborn's leaders have created a new revival plan for this area. According to the city of Dearborn's website (www.cityofdearborn.org), in March 2016, “the Dix-Vernor Business District Improvement Authority, with the help of Michigan State University Practicum Team, received a matching grant of \$15,000 from the Michigan State Housing and Development Authority (MSHDA) totaling \$30,000.” This grant will be used in different forms such as Tax Increment Financing (TIF) which aims to capture the incremental tax revenues within this Dix-Vernor corridor to use these funds for neighborhood improvements. The proposed plan will fund development of new green spaces and parks, create more safe walking and biking routes to schools, and build additional low-income housing options.

Conversations with store owners located within the other shopping district of Dearborn, the Warren Avenue shopping district, reveals the other side of the story. Every store owner or operator interviewed on Warren Avenue believes that larger retail stores are not yet affecting their business. Furthermore, store owners believe that it is highly unlikely that shoppers would go to a larger store and shop for one or two products when they can shop for every item on their list at the ethnic stores available to them throughout the city. Also, there is the issue of assurance of authenticity. Store owners also believe that when shoppers visit their stores, they can rest assured that every item is Halal since the owners are Muslims themselves and would use the items which are being offered by their business.

An additional aspect of this research was the spatial analysis made possible by the surveys of *Polk's* (R. L. Polk & Co, & Polk Directories, 1981, & 1992) and *Bresser's* (Bresser's Cross-Index Directory, 2006, 2014) business directories from 1981 to 2014. To focus the scope of the research, two main shopping districts of Dearborn, Dix Avenue and Warren Avenue were selected for review. The data from these surveys also underscored the same two-sided story. The location of the stores coupled with the relative socioeconomic well-being of the area dictates and influences the shop owners' perceptions. Both shopping districts in Dearborn, Warren Avenue and Dix Avenue, started with the same number of ethnic businesses. However, over time Warren Avenue saw a steady rise of the number of ethnic stores including food stores. During the same period of time, Dix Avenue saw a fluctuating pattern in terms of number of ethnic businesses. Also, although both shopping districts saw a drop in the number of the ethnic businesses after larger food retailers started offering Halal products, Dix Avenue's drop was more significant compared to Warren Avenue's.

6.4 The Loyalty of Halal Shoppers

The last question investigated by this research was whether Halal shoppers have been swayed by lower cost options presented by large food retailers. For instance, researchers believe that individuals with higher educational attainment tend to rank convenience quite high in their list of requirements (Bernués, Ripoll, & Panea, 2012; Morganosky, 1986). However, the Halal survey respondents proved to be highly loyal to their favorite store despite the fact that more time may be spent shopping at smaller ethnic stores.

According to the survey, 87% of the respondents reported shopping at a single favorite ethnic store. Just to underscore the importance of this devotion, 76% of the participants also reported spending more than half of their monthly grocery allowance at that single store. Another question investigated how shoppers choose their favorite store in the first place. Forty-two percent of those surveyed reported originally choosing this favorite store based on the appearance of the storefront while 40% chose the store based on favorable reports via “word of mouth” from family members, friends, and colleagues. Not only do Halal shoppers value the opinion of their peers highly but also, they are remarkably loyal. Seventy percent of shoppers and consumers reported patronizing their favorite store for 3 years or even longer, pointing to an almost unshakable loyalty. Also, more than 50% of respondents reported visiting their favorite store for more than twice a week.

The findings of this study is in congruence with Shah Alam and Sayuti (2011). The authors indicate that in cultures such as Islamic culture, individuals view themselves as “interdependent with their group.” These individuals pay close attention to each other’s advice and are willing to exert considerable effort and perhaps pay more to obtain Halal foods from a trusted Arab or Middle Eastern source.

Other articles and studies have found the same level of loyalty in Halal shoppers (Al-Hyari, Alnsour, Al-Weshah, & Haffar, 2012; Ireland & Rajabzadeh, 2011; Yousef, 2010).

For instance Ireland and Rajabzadeh (2011), report that Halal shoppers are so loyal that there is almost “no serious impact of the downturn.” The reason behind this loyalty can be traced back to religion. Al-Hyari et al. (2012), conclude that religion acts as a catalyst for customer loyalty because “religion defines and explains the values for life, which in turn are reflected in the values and attitudes of societies and human beings.” Furthermore, researchers such as Abdullah et al. (2013) have indicated that there is a clear correlation between customer loyalty and profit margin. The resolute loyalty of Halal shoppers could be one of the driving forces behind the growth of Halal products.

Halal is a large and growing segment of the food sector in Michigan. An increasing number of programs, such as Yalla Eat, introduce non-Muslims to Halal cuisines and traditions. However, findings of the survey coupled with the informal interviews with shop owners reveal Muslims and Arab Americans remain as the dominant Halal shoppers.

This homogeneity could have been caused, at least partially, by the fact that the survey was advertised and distributed mostly through the Middle Eastern organizations, supermarkets, and online groups resulting in a highly localized and narrow target audience. However, other researchers such as Wilson and Liu (2011), have pointed to a similar homogeneity of Muslim consumers. The authors conclude that behavior of Muslim consumers is largely a cultural construct. This cultural construct creates subtle nuances. To better understand these subtle factors, one has to divide “Muslim shoppers into smaller homogenous segments.”

Interestingly, the other factor which could explain this homogeneity lies in the past. As noted in chapter 2, Arab Americans migrated to the United States, through three waves of migration. Most of those waves were forced by religious, financial, or human rights persecutions. All those hardships coupled with centuries of history and tradition, have created a very strong core around which every individual can gather.

The attention given to the growing M-generation is quite understandable. Growing purchasing power paints a unique and inviting picture, but it might take more than just offering Halal options to sway existing Halal seekers and consumers.

6.5 Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

This research has been successful in analyzing Halal shoppers' motives behind purchasing Halal foods and finding the stores that shoppers frequent most often. Furthermore, this research reveals the reasons behind the success of the smaller ethnic stores in Dearborn, Michigan. However, several methodological issues limited the scope of this research and to a lesser extent, influenced the conclusions of the research. As important as these limitations are, they should not invalidate the findings, but rather serve as a benchmark for improvement for future studies on this topic.

One of the main issues faced during the analyses of this research was caused by the small and homogenous participants. As noted in chapter 4, the target group of the survey was any person who had purchased Halal food in the past month in Dearborn, Michigan. However, the avenues through which the survey was distributed dictated the survey recipients. For instance, visitors of the Arab American National Museum's website and Facebook page are mostly of Arab descent. As noted earlier, there are non-Muslim shoppers who seek Halal products. It would add an additional vantage point to the findings if future researches could capture the attention of non-Muslim, Halal shoppers.

Additionally, the sample size only represented a small fraction of the Dearborn's population. This issue could be alleviated by not only distributing the research through mostly Middle Eastern outlets, but also other, community-driven organizations such as universities and other non-Arab museums such the Henry Ford Museum.

The other constraint on this research was imposed by the lack of formal interviews with store owners and operators in Dearborn. Although most storeowners and operators were

extremely interested in speaking about their day-to-day operations, they preferred to speak in Arabic. Also, the dates selected for the interviews are of utmost importance. Hours and days with fewer customer traffic will fare better than the holy month of Ramadan.

Furthermore, more attention has to be given to the length of the survey questionnaire and its structure. As mentioned previously in chapter 5, 86 surveys had to be discarded simply because the respondents didn't complete the survey. Due to the online nature of the survey, the reasons behind the incomplete surveys remain unknown. However, the length of the survey could be the culprit. This issue could be remedied by testing the survey on a large, independent group of participants.

To gain a better understanding of the nature of the growth of Halal products and more specifically, Halal foods, future research should consider conducting a research with a much larger sample and over a longer extended period of time. Surveys with larger sample sizes and over a longer time period could reveal minor nuances and variations present in Halal food market. It is extremely important to continue to examine the growth of sales and consumption of Halal products as more research on this topic is needed. It is relevant to incorporate all Halal food shoppers such as the non-Muslim, non-Arab shoppers that live in the area.

Such studies will help not only further our understanding of Halal consumers but also help local communities and city planners to incorporate ethnic destinations into economic revitalization plans. It is important to examine the relationship that exists between providers and consumers of such an in-demand product segment. As the population of the M generation continues to grow and as more non-Muslim shoppers get introduced to such products, more knowledge will help facilitate an easy and an inclusive transition.

Appendix A
Arabic Translation of the Survey

إستطلاع متجر الأطعمة الحلال 2017

شكراً جزيلاً لكم لأخذكم الوقت في شهر رمضان المبارك لإستكمال إستطلاع عن الأطعمة الحلال تقوم به دائرة الجغرافيا في جامعة غرب ميشيغان. يقوم بهذا الاستطلاع السيد سام رودبار كجزء من أبحاثه عن شهادة الماجستير، والتي تركز على نمو الأغذية الحلال في ديربورن، ميشيغان. تركز أسئلة الاستطلاع على عادات التسوق الخاصة بك. كل من يُملأ هذا الاستطلاع يبقى مجهول الهوية. إذا شعرت في أي لحظة بعدم الرغبة في مواصلة تعبئة الاستطلاع، لا تتردد في التوقف. إذا كان لديك أي أسئلة عن الاستطلاع، رجاءً إتصل بالسيد sam.roodbar@wmich.edu سام رودبار مباشرةً على العنوان الإلكتروني:

السؤال 1: هل اشتريت طعاماً حلالاً مرة واحدة على الأقل خلال ال 12 شهراً الماضية؟

نعم (1)

كلا (2)

السؤال 2: رجاءً أوضح ما مدى أهمية الأسباب التالية لشراء الطعام الحلال؟

مهم للغاية (5)	مهم جداً (4)	مهم بدرجة معقولة (3)	مهم قليلاً (2)	غير مهم بالمرّة (1)	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أسباب دينية (1)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أسباب صحية (2)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	الملائمة والراحة (3)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	الأسعار (4)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	المذاق (5)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	خير الحيوان (6)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أسباب أخرى (7)

السؤال 3: في الأيام ال 30 الماضية، ما هي الوسيلة التي استعملتها للوصول إلى هذا المتجر؟

السيارة (1)

مشياً على الأقدام (2)

المواصلات العامة (3)

سيارة الأجرة / أوبر (4)

وسيلة أخرى (5) -----

السؤال 4: ما هي المدة الزمنية التي تستغرقها للوصول إلى هذا المتجر؟

أقل من 10 دقائق (1)

من 10 إلى 15 دقيقة (2)

من 15 إلى 20 دقيقة (3)

من 20 إلى 25 دقيقة (4)

25 دقيقة أو أكثر (5)

السؤال 5: كم هي عدد المرات التي قمتَ فيها بالتسوق في هذا المتجر خلال ال 30 يوماً الماضية؟

هذه هي المرة الأولى (1)

من مرتين إلى 3 مرّات (2)

من 4 إلى 5 مرّات (3)

من 6 إلى 7 مرّات (4)

من 8 إلى 9 مرات (5)
10 مرات أو أكثر (6)

السؤال 6: رجاءً أوضح ما مدى أهمية الأسباب التالية لتختار هذا المتجر؟

مهم للغاية (5)	مهم جداً (4)	مهم بدرجة معقولة (3)	مهم قليلاً (2)	غير مهم بالمرة (1)	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	النظافة
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	الأسعار
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	الملائمة والراحة
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	المالكين هم شرق أوسطيين (4)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	الإدارة من قبل شرق أوسطيين (5)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	مجموعة متنوعة من الخيارات (6)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ضمان أن الأطعمة هي حلال (7)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	المعاملة الودية (8)

السؤال 7: هل تجد عادةً جميع ما تحتاجه من أنواع المنتجات التي تبحث عنها؟

نعم (1)
كلا (2)

السؤال 8: ما هي أنواع المتاجر الأخرى التي تتسوق الأطعمة الحلال فيها؟ (ضع إشارة على كل ما ينطبق)

- محلات السوبر ماركت (وول مارت، ماير) (1)
محلات البقالة الكبيرة (كروجر، الخ) (2)
متاجر عائلية / عرقية أخرى (3)
محلات أخرى (4)

السؤال 9: ما هي نسبة إنفاقك الشهري في هذا المتجر؟

السؤال 10: هل هناك منتجات معينة تشتريها في هذا المتجر؟

نعم (1)
كلا (2)

السؤال 11: إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم، ما هي أنواع المنتجات الموجودة؟ (ضع إشارة على كل ما ينطبق)

- اللحوم / الدجاج الحلال (1)
الخضراوات والفاكهة (2)
خبز (3)

الأدوات المنزلية (الصابون ومواد الغسيل والتنظيف وما إلى ذلك) (4)
منتجات أخرى (5)

السؤال 12: كم من الوقت مضى منذ بدأت التسوق في هذا المتجر؟

- أقل من 6 أشهر (1)
 من 6 أشهر إلى سنة (2)
 من سنة إلى سنتين (3)
 من سنتين إلى 3 سنوات (4)
 من 3 سنوات أو أكثر (5)

السؤال 13: كيف سمعت لأول مرة عن هذا المتجر؟

- من فم الناس مباشرة (1)
 إعلان (صحيفة أو إعلان تلفزيوني) (2)
 رأيت واجهة المتجر (3)
 البحث عبر الإنترنت (4)
 أخرى (5)

السؤال 14: بشكل عام، ما هي عدد المرات التي تشتري فيها منتجات حلال من المتاجر التالية؟

3 مرات أو أكثر في الأسبوع (5)	مرتين في الأسبوع (4)	مرة واحدة في الأسبوع (3)	مرة واحدة في الشهر على الأقل (2)	لا اشتري إطلاقاً (1)	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	المتاجر الشرق أوسطية أو العربية التي تبيع منتجات حلال فقط (1)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	المتاجر الشرق أوسطية أو العربية التي تبيع المنتجات الحلال وغير الحلال (2)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	متاجر السوبر ماركت العادية في منطقتك التي تبيع المنتجات الحلال (3)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	متاجر أخرى (4)

السؤال 15: إذا كنت تشتري منتجات الحلال من محلات السوبر ماركت الكبيرة (وول مارت، ماير، وما إلى ذلك)، يرجى الإشارة إلى مدى أهمية ما يلي في قرارك للتسوق في تلك المخازن؟

مهم للغاية (5)	مهم جداً (4)	مهم بدرجة معقولة (3)	مهم قليلاً (2)	غير مهم بالمرة (1)	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أفضل الأسعار (1)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أفضل نوعية / طازجة (2)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	المزيد من الخيارات (3)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	توافر المنتجات (4)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	المذاق (5)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	الموظفون ودودون (6)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	أسباب أخرى (7)

السؤال 16: هل اشتريت طعاماً حلالاً عبر الإنترنت خلال الـ 30 يوماً الماضية؟

نعم (1)

كلا (2)

السؤال 17: إذا كان الجواب "نعم"، ما هو اسم المتجر على الإنترنت؟

السؤال 18: هل لديك أي تعليقات أخرى بشأن شراء الطعام الحلال في الولايات المتحدة؟

السؤال 19: الجنس:

ذكر (1)

أنثى (2)

آخر (3)

السؤال 20: أعلى مستوى تعليمي توصلت إليه

دبلوم المدرسة الثانوية / هاي سكول (1)

AA Degree (2) دبلوم من كلية المجتمع /

بكالوريوس / ليسانس (3)

درجة الماجستير (4)

درجة الدكتوراة (5)

السؤال 21: ما هو العرق الذي هو أكثر ما تُعرَف به عن نفسك؟

جنوب آسيا (الهند وباكستان وبنغلاديش وأفغانستان وغيرها) (1)

جنوب شرق آسيا (ماليزيا، إندونيسيا، تايلاند، الخ) (2)

- الشرق الأوسط أو شمال أفريقيا (3)
- شرق آسيا (الصين وكوريا واليابان وغيرها) (4)
- أفريقي أمريكي (5)
- الإسباني أو اللاتيني (6)
- القوقازي (7)
- أخرى (8) _____

السؤال 22: ما هو إنتمائك الديني؟

- الإسلام (جميع الطوائف) (1)
- المسيحية (جميع الطوائف) (2)
- اليهودية (3)
- الهندوسية (4)
- آخر (5) _____

السؤال 23: ما هو الرمز البريدي في منطقة سكنك؟ -----

السؤال 24: هل لديك أي تعليقات حول هذا الاستطلاع؟

مرة أخرى، شكرا جزيلا لك على أخذ الوقت لاستكمال هذا الاستطلاع. إذا كان لديك أسئلة أو مخاوف أو تعليقات حول المسح أو
أو أستاذي المُشرف، sam.roodbar@wmich.edu المشروع البحثي، فلا تتردد في الاتصال بي مباشرة على بريدي الإلكتروني:
(gregory.veeck@wmich.edu) 269-387-3420 غريغوري فيك، على بريده الإلكتروني:

رمضان مبارك

Appendix B
Survey Questionnaire

Start of Block: Default Question Block

Thank you very much for taking the time in the holy month of Ramadan to complete the Western Michigan University Department of Geography's Halal food survey. This survey is being conducted by Sam Roodbar as part of his Master's degree research, which is focused on the growth of Halal food in Dearborn, MI. Questions of the survey are focused on your Halal shopping habits. The survey is anonymous. If at any moment you feel you do not wish to continue the survey, feel free to stop. If you have any questions about the survey please contact Sam Roodbar directly at sam.roodbar@wmich.edu

Page Break

Q1 Have you purchased Halal food at least once in the last 12 months?

Yes

No

Q2 Please indicate how important the following reasons are for purchasing Halal food?

	Not at all important	Slightly important	Moderately important	Very important	Extremely Important
Religious reasons	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Health reasons	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Convenience	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Price	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taste	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Animal Welfare	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q3 In the past 30 days, How have you commuted to your Middle Eastern or Arabic grocery stores?

- Drive
- Walk
- Public Transportation
- Taxi / Uber
- Other _____

Q4 What is your commute time to the nearest Middle Eastern or Arabic grocery store that sells Halal food?

- less than 10 minutes
 - 10 to 15 minutes
 - 15 to 20 minutes
 - 20 to 25 minutes
 - 25 minutes or more
-

Q5 In the past 30 days, on average, how many miles per trip have you traveled to purchase Halal products?

- less than 5 miles
 - 5 to 10 miles
 - 10 to 15 miles
 - 15 to 20 miles
 - more than 20 miles
-

Q6 Do you buy your Halal products at a preferred Middle Eastern or Arabic store?

- Yes
- No

*Skip To: Q17 If Do you buy your Halal products at a preferred Middle Eastern or Arabic store?
= No*

Q7 If yes, what is the name of the store?

Q8 Please indicate how important are the following reasons for you to choose your preferred store?

	Not at all important	Slightly important	Moderately important	Very important	Extremely important
Cleanliness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Price	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Convenience	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Middle Eastern Ownership	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Middle Eastern Management	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Variety of Choice	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Assurance of Halal-ness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friendliness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q9 How many times in the past 30 days have you shopped at your preferred store?

- 1-2 times
- 3-4 times
- 5-6 times
- 7-8 times
- 9 times or more
-

Q10 Do you find all the items you are looking for at the store you mentioned?

- Yes
- No
-

Q11 In what other stores do you look for Halal foods? (Check all that applies)

- Superstores (Wal-Mart, Meijer)
- Larger grocery stores (Kroger's, etc.)
- Other family-run / ethnic stores
- Other _____
-

Q12 What percentage of your monthly spending is done at your Middle Eastern / Arabic grocery store?

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Please slide the bar



Q13 Are there specific items that you purchase at the Middle Eastern or Arabic grocery store you frequently shop?

- Yes
- No

Skip To: Q15 If Are there specific items that you purchase at the Middle Eastern or Arabic grocery store you freq... = No

Q14 If yes, what type of items are they? (Select all that applies)

- Halal meat/chicken
- Vegetables and fruits
- Bread
- Household items (Soap, detergent, etc.)
- Other _____

Q15 How long have you been shopping at the Middle Eastern or Arabic grocery store you

frequently shop?

- less than 6 months
 - 6 months to 1 year
 - 1 year to 2 years
 - 2 years to 3 years
 - 3 years or more
-

Q16 How did you first hear about this store?

- Word of mouth
 - Advertisement (newspaper or TV advertisement)
 - Saw the store front
 - Online search
 - Other _____
-

Q17 In general, how often do you purchase Halal products from the following stores?

	Never	At least once a month	Once a week	Twice a week	3 or more time a week
Middle Eastern or Arabic stores that sell only Halal products	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Middle Eastern or Arabic stores that sell both Halal and non-Halal products	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Regular supermarket in your area that sells Halal products	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q18 If you buy Halal products from big supermarkets (Wal-Mart, Meijer, etc.), please indicate

how important are the following in your decision to shop at those stores.

	Not at all important	Slightly important	Moderately important	Very important	Extremely important
Better prices	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Better quality / freshness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
More choices	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Availability	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taste	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friendliness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Others	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q19 Have you purchased Halal food online in the past 30 days?

- Yes
 No

Skip To: Q21 If Have you purchased Halal food online in the past 30 days? = No

Q20 If so, what is the name of the store?

Q21 What other comments would you like to add about purchasing Halal food in the U.S.?

Q22 Age

- <20
- 20 - 29
- 30 - 39
- 40 - 49
- 50 - 59
- 60 - 69
- 70 - 79
- 80

Q23 Gender

- Male
- Female
- Other

Q24 Highest education level

- High school diploma
 - Associate Degree
 - Bachelor's degree
 - Master's degree
 - Doctorate degree
-

Q25 What is your current household size?

- Single
 - 2 people
 - 3 people
 - 4 people
 - 5 or more people
-

Q26 What is the zipcode of your residence?

Q27 What is the ethnicity that you most identify with?

- South Asian (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, etc.)
 - Southeast Asian (Malaysian, Indonesia, Thailand, etc.)
 - Middle Eastern or North African
 - East Asian (China, Korea, Japan, etc.)
 - Black or African American
 - Hispanic or Latino
 - Caucasian
 - Other _____
-

Q28 What is your religious affiliation?

- Islam (All sects)
 - Christianity (All sects)
 - Judaism
 - Hinduism
 - Others _____
-

Q29 Any comments about the survey?

Appendix C
Interview Questionnaire

1. What is the customer mix? Are there more Arab-American customers or other ethnicities?
2. Do you sell a lot of Halal food and does Halal food account for most of your sales?
3. What are some of your highest selling items? Why do you think that is?
4. Where do you purchase your Halal products from?
5. Have you tried adding Fairtrade and Organic to your store and how do your customers respond to that?
6. Has the introduction of bigger stores like Walmart, affected your store?
7. How have you tried to change your business to accommodate their introduction?
8. Is it possible to change your wholesale distributor?
9. Do you believe your location helps you with your sales?
10. Do your children think about keeping the family business?
11. Do you get help from family members, what do they do at the store?
12. Have you ever thought about expanding your business? (if yes but he or she was unable)
What are some of the reasons that you decided not to do?
13. Do you wish that your children keep the family business or expand it?
14. How many employees work in your store?
15. Have you always been at this location or have you moved?
16. If you have moved, why?
17. How many hours a day and how many days per week do you work in your store?

Appendix D
HSIRB Approval Letter


WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY



Human Subjects Institutional Review Board

Date: March 28, 2017

To: Gregory Veeck, Principal Investigator
Sam Roodbar, Student Investigator for thesis

From: Amy Naugle, Ph.D., Chair 

Re: Approval not needed for HSIRB Project Number 17-03-30

This letter will serve as confirmation that your project titled "Spatial and Temporal Change in Halal Food Sales and Consumption: A Case Study of the City of Dearborn, Michigan" has been reviewed by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (HSIRB). Based on that review, the HSIRB has determined that approval is not required for you to conduct this project because marketing research does not meet the Federal definition of human subject.

45 CFR 46.102 (f) Human Subject

(f) *Human subject* means a living individual **about whom** an investigator (whether professional or student) conducting research obtains

- (1) Data through intervention or interaction with the individual, or
- (2) Identifiable private information.

Intervention includes both physical procedures by which data are gathered (for example, venipuncture) and manipulations of the subject or the subject's environment that are performed for research purposes. Interaction includes communication or interpersonal contact between investigator and subject. *Private information* includes information about behavior that occurs in a context in which an individual can reasonably expect that no observation or recording is taking place, and information which has been provided for specific purposes by an individual and which the individual can reasonably expect will not be made public (for example, a medical record). Private information must be individually identifiable (i.e., the identity of the subject is or may readily be ascertained by the investigator or associated with the information) in order for obtaining the information to constitute research involving human subjects.

"About whom" – a human subject research project requires the data received from the living individual to be about the person.

Thank you for your concerns about protecting the rights and welfare of human subjects.

A copy of your protocol and a copy of this letter will be maintained in the HSIRB files.

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CAMPUS SITE: 251 W. Walwood Hall

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