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Proceedings of the International Workshop on
Halal Food Consumption in East and West (with
Appendix of Survey Report)

March 2018

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Table of Contents

Preface v

Proceedings of the International Workshop on Halal Food Consumption in East and West

Introduction 3
1. Halal Certification and Attracting Foreign Muslim Tourists: A Comparison between Pro- and Anti-Certification Groups 7 Shuko TAKESHITA
2. Lifestyle Transformation of Hui Muslims in China: Halal Food Consumption among Hui Muslim Students 13 Atsuko SHIMBO
3. Muslim-friendly Restaurant in Taiwan: Certification and practice 23 Yukari SAI
4. Getting Halal Food in the Netherlands: from Indonesian consumers’ perspective 35 Mariko ARATA
5. Correlates of Halal Food Consumption in East Asia and Western Europe 49 Hiroshi KOJIMA
6. Halal Food Consumption among Muslim Housewives and Students in Korea 63 Hée Soo LEE
7. Localization and Sinicization: Understanding Qingzhen and Halal in China 77 Jianfu MA
8. Halal Hunters: Food Translation and Web3.0 among Indonesian Muslim Graduate Students in Taiwan 105 En-Chieh CHAO
9. Halal Food Consumption among the Indonesian Muslim Minority in Belgium
Ayang Utriza YAKIN and Ima Sri RAHMANI
10. The Halal Industry of Hui Muslims under the Socialist Regime: Changes in Traditional Knowledge in Modern China (Special Contribution in Japanese: 濵井充生「社会主義を経験した回民のハラール産業？近現代中国における伝統知の変容？？」) Mitsuo SAWAI

**Appendix. Report of the Survey on Halal Food Consumption among Hui Students and Their Mothers in China (2017)**
Preface

This is the No.5 of Research Paper Series of the Institute for Asian Muslim Studies, Waseda University. It consist of the Proceedings of the International Workshop on Halal Food Consumption in East and West (with a contributed Japanese paper) held at Waseda University on February 26, 2018 and the Report of the Survey on Halal Food Consumption among Muslim Students and Their Mothers in China (2017) conducted by the Institute.

The Institute for Asian Muslim Studies is a project research institute established by the late Prof. Dr. Tsugitaka SATO in June 2010 under the auspices of the Organization for University Research Initiatives (OURI) to study Muslim minorities in Asia and to help improve the life of Muslim minorities and non-Muslim majorities through the social integration. The Institute had been also supported by the Organization for Islamic Area Studies (OIAS) and it was transferred from the OURI to the OIAS as of April 1, 2015. The Institute for Asian Muslim Studies has mainly conducted research and surveys on Muslims in East and Southeast Asia, but it also tried to broaden the scope by including the west end of Eurasia in the workshop and the preceding research. We would like to thank the participants of the international workshop, particularly those coming from abroad.

This workshop and the survey of which results are included in this volume were funded by the FY2015-2017 JSPS grant-in-aid No.15H03417 (FY2015-2017 Kiban (B), “Correlates of Halal Food Consumption Behaviors among Muslim Minorities: Comparative Study of East Asia and Western Europe” (PI: Hiroshi KOJIMA, Waseda University). This research project aims to clarify and compare the variations and correlates of halal food consumption and other dietary practices among Muslim minorities in East Asia (Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and China) and Western Europe (Belgium, France, Germany and the Netherlands) and to explore policy implications for the social integration of Muslims and Non-Muslims. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are used for the study.

March 12, 2018

Hiroshi KOJIMA, Ph.D.
Director, Institute for Asian Muslim Studies
Proceedings of the International Workshop on Halal Food Consumption in East and West (with contribution in Japanese)
Introduction

This is the Proceedings of the International Workshop on Halal Food Consumption among Muslim Minorities in East and West, which was held on 26 February 2018 at Waseda University in Tokyo. The final program is attached below. As it indicates, the first half (Part I) of the workshop is the presentation of achievements of the research project supported by the JSPS grant-in-aid No.15H03417 (FY2015-2017 Kiban (B), “Correlates of Halal Food Consumption Behaviors among Muslim Minorities: Comparative Study of East Asia and Western Europe (PI: Hiroshi KOJIMA, Waseda University). Prof. Takeshita’s study is based on her field work in Japan. Prof. Shimbo’s paper is based on the analysis of the halal food consumption survey in China (cf. Part II of this volume) even though she conducted field work in China. Dr. Sai’s paper is based on her field work in Taiwan. Prof. Arata’s paper is based on her field work among Indonesians in the Netherlands. Prof. Kojima’s paper is the statistical analysis of the survey data from Japan, Korea, Taiwan and China as well as Belgium and France in the 1990s.

The first paper in Part II in the program, “Halal Food Consumption among Muslim Housewives and Students in Korea” by Prof. Hee Soo LEE (Hanyang University, Korea) also presents the achievement of this research project. Prof. Lee is the research collaborator who kindly conducted survey on halal food consumption in Korea in 2016. It was based on the questionnaires which was originally designed by Prof. Kojima for the survey on halal food consumption among Turkish students and their mothers in Belgium. Only the pretest of the survey was conducted in Belgium due to unexpected incidents and conditions. The survey in China in the Part II of this volume was also based on the same set of questionnaires.

Other papers in Part II of the program was kindly contributed by the leading scholars who has been studying various aspects of halal food consumption in China, Taiwan and Belgium. Dr. Yakin has also conducted research on halal food consumption among Indonesians in Japan, but its results were not presented this time. Actually, there were three papers (Prof. Arata, Prof. Chao and Dr. Yakin) directly related to Indonesian Muslims. Chinese Muslims are mainly studied by Prof. Shimbo, Dr. Sai and Prof. Ma and partly by Prof. Kojima. The following 9 chapters consist of the papers presented at the workshop and the last paper on Chineses Muslim in Japanese was contributed by Prof. Mitsuo SAWAI of Tokyo Metropolitan University (collaborator).

Hiroshi KOJIMA
International Workshop on Halal Food
Consumption among Muslim Minorities in East and West: Final Program

Date and Time: February 26 (Monday), 2018, 9:30-17:00
Venue: Building No.3, Room #301 (3rd floor), Waseda Campus, Waseda University
(Prayer Room: #306)
https://www.waseda.jp/top/en/access/waseda-campus

Program:
9:30-10:00 Registration
10:00-10:10 Opening Remarks… Hiroshi KOJIMA, Director, Institute for Asian Muslim Studies, Waseda University
PART I: Presentation of Project Achievements
10:10-10:30 JSPS Research Project and Papers in absentia
   Project Summary…Hiroshi KOJIMA
   “Halal Certification and Attracting Foreign Muslim Tourists: A Comparison between Pro- and Anti-Certification Groups”…Shuko TAKEHITA (Aichi-Gakuin University) (in absentia)
10:30-11:00 “Halal and Muslim-friendly Service in Taiwan”…Yukari SAI (Waseda University)
11:00-11:10 Break
11:10-1140 “Halal Meat Industry and Halal Certification in the Netherlands: How do Indonesian Muslim expatriates get 'Halal' foods?”…Mariko ARATA (Ritsumeikan University)
11:40-12:10 “Correlates of Halal Food Consumption in East Asia and Western Europe”…Hiroshi KOJIMA
12:10-12:30 Discussion
12:30-14:00 Lunch Break
PART II: Presentation by International Scholars
14:00-14:30 “Halal Food Consumption among Muslim Housewives and Students in Korea”...Hee Soo LEE (Hanyang University, Korea)
14:30-15:00 “Localization and Sinicization: Understanding Qingzhen and Halal in China”...Jianfu MA (Northern University of Nationalities, China)
15:00-15:30 “Halal Hunters: Food Literacy and Web 3.0 among Muslim Indonesian Muslim Students in Taiwan”...En-Chieh CHAO (National Sun Yat-Sen University, Taiwan)
15:30-1540 Break
15:40-16:10 “Halal Food Consumption among the Indonesian Muslim Minority in Belgium” Ayang Utriza YAKIN and Irma Sri RAHMANI (Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium/Indonesia)
16:10-16:50 General Discussion
16:50-17:00 Final Remarks...Hiroshi KOJIMA

18:00-20:00 Reception at Chinese Halal Restaurant (蒙古肉餅) at Takadanobaba

This workshop is supported by the JSPS grant-in-aid No.15H03417 (FY2015-2017 Kiban (B), “Correlates of Halal Food Consumption Behaviors among Muslim Minorities: Comparative Study of East Asia and Western Europe (PI: Hiroshi KOJIMA, Waseda University).
1. Halal Certification and Attracting Foreign Muslim Tourists:  
A Comparison between Pro- and Anti-Certification Groups  

Shuko TAKESHITA  
Aichi Gakuin University  

Japan has experienced a surge of inbound business from Muslim countries in recent years, and this has sparked a “halal certification boom” as restaurateurs, hoteliers, and others in the hospitality and food service industry have scrambled to obtain halal certification. The halal issue first surfaced in Japan in the 1990s to meet the needs of resident Muslims, but being a small minority, the needs of these Muslims were largely ignored (Nojiri 2016: 421). But now if we fast forward to the present, the significance of halal certification has clearly been discovered. Today there are hundreds of halal consultants and halal certification organizations in Japan all with the goal of making Japan a more agreeable tourist destination for Muslims and developing export markets in Muslim nations. One can say that halal certification has moved away from its original religious context and today is approached more as a business (Takeshita 2014).  

Resident Muslims in Japan concur that the business of halal certification has gotten out of control, giving one the impression that without certification food cannot be considered halal (Maeno, 2016), and many of these Muslims have shed doubt on the whole “halal certification boom.” The scholarly community too has expressed reservations about relying too much on halal certification (e.g., Tawada 2012; Namikawa 2013, 2014 a, 2014 b, Takeshita 2014; Kawabata 2015; Yasuda 2015). Others have suggested that if our goal is to bring in and attract more tourists to Japan, then we should not just focus on the dietary rules of Islam but extend consideration to the dietary preferences of other religions, vegetarians, and vegans (Kawabata 2015; Sugiyama 2017).  

Rather pointed views have been expressed regarding halal certification, but there have also been sharp differences of opinion in the way certification is perceived, especially the response to Muslim tourists at Japanese sightseeing areas. This study highlighted these differences of opinion through comparative analysis of a pro-certification group and an anti-certification group at two different popular tourist destinations in Japan. I focused on the various factors influencing these different strategies: the pro-certification group represented by the Halal Certification Subsidy Initiative, a ward-sponsored project in Taito, Tokyo to attract more Muslim tourists, and the anti-certification group represented by a strategic private initiative in the city of
Takayama in Gifu Prefecture aimed at attracting Muslim tourists without relying on halal certification. By examining the reality and the effects, then comparing the advantages and disadvantages of these two approaches, I explored what is really needed to attract Muslim tourists while offering some suggestions for dealing with inbound marketing and business in the future.

The subjects of this study were Muslim tourists from South East Asia such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and Thailand, and ranged in age from teens to 60s. In Taito Ward, I interviewed 45 tourists and 9 Indonesian travel agents between July and November 2017 with the help of a halal ramen shop and a vegetarian restaurant. For the Takayama subjects, I was introduced to Muslim tourists by the Hida Takayama Muslim Friendly Project. There were people who visited the project facebook site, and contacted or posted inquires to the site. When they visited Japan, I interviewed 34 Muslim tourists over a meal at a restaurant in Takayama between November 2015 and July 2016. While conducting these surveys, I also interviewed management and service personnel as well as chefs and cooks from the restaurants in Taito and Takayama.

In Taito Ward, the Halal Certification Subsidy Initiative was established on October 1, 2015 to attract more Muslim tourists to Taito and to help revitalize the local economy. Essentially, the subsidy pays half the cost of certification (not to exceed ¥100,000) the first time a restaurant becomes halal certified. Taito Ward is the first municipality in the country to subsidize halal certification. The subsidy is available regardless of the certifying organization, but to date as of November 1, 2017, 18 out of 24 restaurants obtained their certification from the Japan Halal Foundation (the Okachimachi Mosque) which is located in Taito Ward. The Okachi-machi Mosque agreed to assume this certifying role at the request of Taito Ward office. Note there is no uniform certification standard, and this has created some confusion among restaurant owners as to where they should go to get certified. Here Taito Ward office stepped in, and hold seminars and set up website that assures restaurant owners with a clear step-by-step explanation of the certification process. Essentially, the Taito Certification Initiative is mediated by three entities (1) the Taito Ward office, (2) the Japan Halal Foundation as the halal certification organization, (3) a non-Muslim halal consulting company that provides advice on halal-related issues and the combination of these three has driven the expression of the Taito initiative.

On the other hand, the Hida Takayama Muslim Friendly Project was established in June 2014 by eight young owners and managers of restaurants, lodging facilities, and a food wholesaler with the goal of attracting Muslim tourists. The main idea was to set the minds of Muslim tourists at ease regarding dietary issues and religious practices, while
at the same time enhancing their satisfaction and enjoyment of time spent in Takayama. A secondary goal of the project was to expand business opportunities for restaurants, lodging facilities, and food wholesalers. Before the project got underway, members of the team made several trips to the nearest mosque in Nagoya where they got a basic education regarding halal food rules and Islamic religious practices. This knowledge and information was then passed along to the owners of restaurants and accommodations so that they might entice more Muslim tourists to Takayama.

Here I would point out two key strategies of the project. First, was the decision to not pursue halal certification, but rather to give individual consumers the information they need to determine whether food is halal or not by clearly disclosing ingredients on menus. The second strategy was to disseminate information about Takayama’s offerings through adroit use of social networking services (SNSs). Muslim tourists who saw the project Facebook page came to Takayama and found they were able to enjoy local cuisine that contained no alcohol or pork. These people then posted photos and spread the word to friends back home and around the world through their own Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram accounts, which created a benevolent cycle bringing in even more Muslim tourists to Takayama. Essentially, this strategy was to simply go with the flow by exploiting social networking services to get the biggest public-relations bang for the buck at minimal cost.

In this study, I found three points motivating the different strategies to attract Muslim tourists adopted by Taito and Takayama. First is the different perspectives of their respective advisors. The consulting company for Taito approached the Ward government with the suggestion that restaurants in Taito should obtain halal certification. The advisor for halal-related issues in Takayama is the Nagoya Mosque. The mosque has been concerned about a pervasive notion that “without certification, food isn’t halal and can’t be consumed by Muslims” among restaurants in Japan. It was this issue that prompted a representative of the Muslim Friendly Project in Takayama to visit the Mosque for a consultation. The second point motivating different strategic responses is the vastly different scales of the two areas as tourist destinations. The difference is very apparent when you consider that Takayama only gets about 460 thousand international tourists a year compared with Taito that sees 8.3 million. In other words, Takayama is a relatively small town, where every resident knows everyone else. And it is only because of this small town intimacy that the Project could be initiated and running on behalf of the community quickly. Finally, the third point of contrast is the
types of food offered in the two areas. Takayama caters to the Muslim tourists looking
to try local Takayama cuisine, while Taito offers a whole range of halal-compliant
foods. This diversity reflected in these two very different tourist destinations is a good
thing, for the interests and needs of Muslim tourists is equally diverse.

The different approaches advocated by the pro- and anti-certification groups both
have advantages. For example, certification makes it immediately apparent to Muslim
tourists who don’t speak Japanese that a restaurant provides halal food, while clearly
disclosing the ingredients in the restaurant’s offerings allows Muslim customers to
determine for themselves whether the food is halal or not. Of course, the two positions
also have disadvantages. Over-reliance on certification restricts the range and types of
food that are available, while having to check the ingredients every time you sit down at
a restaurant can be tiresome.

There are many things that could be done to attract Muslim tourists besides
electing restaurants to obtain halal certification. First and most obvious is simply to
gain knowledge and understanding of Islam. Second, would be to recognize that there
are different interpretations of what foods are halal, so trying to adjust to the strictest
ideas would make it difficult to host Muslim tourists. It’s important to start simply with
what can be easily accomplished. And third, restaurants might, with a little ingenuity,
create an atmosphere that Muslims can freely convey which foods they should stay
away from. Even without halal certification, there are certainly many restaurants that
can cater to Muslims. A little consideration and thoughtfulness on the part of
restauranters can enhance the probability of attracting Muslim tourists.

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2. Lifestyle Transformation of Hui Muslims in China: Halal Food Consumption among Hui Muslim Students

Keywords
China, Hui students, Halal food, Muslim, school education, everyday practice, identity

Introduction
China has experienced dramatic changes throughout the last 40 years. Economic development has deeply affected the lifestyle of China’s Muslims. The Hui are one of 10 Muslim ethnic nationalities in China. Their ancestors were Arabs, Persians, and Turks who migrated from the Middle East and Central Asia to China during the Tang and Yuan Dynasties. Even though the Hui Muslim native language is Chinese, they differ from Han Chinese in terms of ethnic origin and religious identity. Many Hui people live in the northwest of China.

The Chinese economy changed after the 1980s from a planned socialist economy to a market economy. The surging wave of modernization reached even the northwest of China, and the Hui people are inevitably caught up in the spread of globalization. Hui people have experienced changes since the 1980s; for example, a great number of Hui students gained access to school education with the compulsory education law that was enacted in 1986.

The purpose of this study was to examine religious education at home and the influence of Islamic rules on everyday practice, especially identity and the consumption of Halal food. An additional goal of this study was to investigate how post-1980s modernization changed the lifestyles of Hui Muslim students compared with their parents’ generation.

The survey was administered by the Institute for Asian Muslim Studies in January 2017 in Xian. The questionnaire was administered to 240 participants: 120 respondents were Hui Muslim students (male 55%; female 65%) from junior high school to university and 120 respondents were mothers of the student respondents. The author carried out follow-up interview surveys of the Hui students from 9 to 15 September 2017.

I have provided summary statistics from the survey and one case study of a Hui female student below.
1. Survey of students in Xian

1.1 Social relationships and status: friends and mass media

Survey responses shows that participants who live in Xian have many Han friends. While respondents have friends of Hui origin, they have more Han friends than Hui friends. Almost all respondents are of Hui origin; however, some (3.3%) have no Muslim friends.

Respondents do not often eat lunch or dinner out with friends, but when they do so, many respondents eat with Muslim friends at halal restaurants.

In 2016, 50.8% of respondents did not participate in any of the activities of organizations such as student or religious associations or organizations related to mosques.

How long do the respondents watch Chinese or Islamic TV programs? Half (50.0%) watched for 1–9 hours per week. Just under a quarter (22.5%) of the respondents who were mothers reported watching TV 30 hours or more per week. This indicates that students watch TV for less time than their mothers, because they are studying.

More than four-fifths (86.7%) of respondents reported that they never watched Islamic TV.

1.2. Identity of Muslims in Xian

The research indicates that 54.2% of the Muslim students feel their Xian identity very strongly. In comparison, 43.3% of respondents felt their Hui identity very strongly and 43.3% felt it strongly.

Figure 1 To what extent do you feel Xi’an
Almost half (48.3%) of respondents feel their identity as Muslim very strongly and 30% feel it strongly. Hui Muslim students in Xian identify strongly as Xian residents, Hui people, and Muslims.

![Bar chart showing satisfaction levels](image)

Figure 2 To what extent do you feel Muslim

The survey shows that 98.3% of respondents are either “satisfied or extremely satisfied” with their lives overall, family lives, food, and health in Xian.

Many wanted to adopt the Xian culture and way of life as much as possible outside their homes. The proportion of those who want to adopt the Xian culture is higher for students than for mothers.

About 60% of respondents wanted to maintain the Hui culture and way of life at home, but some students (2.5%) did not want to maintain Islamic culture, even at home.

![Bar chart showing cultural adoption levels](image)

Figure 3 To what extent do you feel Hui-descendent
1.3. Worship at the mosque

The fathers of a third (33.3%) of the student respondents visited a mosque or attended religious services or meetings once a week or more when the respondents were children. Fathers visited mosques more frequently than students (26.7%). Quite a few respondents’ mothers visited a mosque. In general, male Muslims visit the mosque and female Muslims do not visit the mosque. About 21.7% of respondents’ mothers and 13.3% of their fathers seldom go to the mosque.

The proportion of those who seldom or never visit the mosque or attend religious services is growing among the younger generations in the Xian Hui community. About half the respondents (49.2%) pray only on religious holidays, while 26.7% of respondents pray daily.

1.4. Observance of Islamic duties/rules in Xian

About 62.5% of respondents followed Islamic duties/rules fairly strictly or very strictly. The majority of respondents reported that their religious faith had not changed since entering secondary school, while about 20% reported that their religious faith had weakened.

One-eighth (12.5%) of female respondents reported that they wore a headscarf outside the house, while 87.5% did not. Many respondents do not wear a headscarf, because they feel that wearing it is inconvenient, it is their free personal choice, and not wearing it allows them to better integrate themselves into Xian society.

The majority (59.2%) of respondents fasted most of the time during Ramadan, although this depended on the situation (40.0%). More than 50% of respondents think highly of Ramadan, while quite a few of those in the younger generation (27.5%) considered it “not that important” to fast during this time.

Figure 4 How important is it to you to fast during the Ramadan
1.5. Preference for Halal foods

In summary, many respondents stated that they do not eat or drink Xian/Han foods. Students and parents consider the same foods prohibited based on religion and cultural traditions.

Specifically, 95.8% of respondents had eaten halal foods during 2016, 65.8% eat halal foods every day and halal foods were mostly eaten at their homes. Cultural traditions and religion are therefore the main reasons for eating Halal foods.

Two-thirds (63.3%) of respondents reported that they always respected food prohibitions. The proportion of mothers who always respect food prohibitions is 73.3%, which is a much higher proportion than students (10.0%).

The menu for daily meals with the family is decided by the mother (95.8%), respondents themselves (71.7%), or the father (40.0%). Almost all Muslim mothers prepare Muslim dishes every day. Almost nine out of 10 (89.2%) of respondents prepare Hui dishes in their daily lives and almost all (79.2%) respondents prefer to eat Hui dishes. Many mothers (86.7%) prefer to eat Muslim dishes in their daily lives.

Almost half (48.3%) of respondents eat meat two or three times a week. Respondents and their families consumed beef (66.7%), mutton or lamb (99.2%), chicken (2.5%), and other types of meat (25.0%) during a week. Preferred meats were mutton, lamb, and beef. The majority (74.2%) of respondents reported eating snacks more than two or three times a week. The types of snacks respondents reported eating were fruit and vegetables (78.3%); nuts, grains, and beans (77.5%); and dairy products (72.5%). Reported favorite snacks were nuts, grains, and beans (50.8%); fruit and vegetables (50.0%); dairy products (49.2%); and Hui (traditional) snacks (12.5%).

Student respondents drink juice (79.2%), carbonated water (70.8%), milk and related drinks (69.2%), mineral water (64.2%), and hot drinks (36.7%) in their daily lives. Their mothers reported drinking milk (80.8%), juice (54.2%), and carbonated water (18.3%). Students prefer juice and carbonated water more than their mothers do.

1.6. Use of Halal markets and Halal restaurants

Mothers did the grocery shopping for 95.8% of respondents, 27.5% reported that their fathers did the shopping, and 14.2% did the grocery shopping themselves.

The frequency of shopping was probed to determine the use of Halal markets, and half the respondents prefer to buy Halal meat “always” or “most of the time,” whereas 29.2% of respondents reported going to Halal markets “less often.” Respondents identified Hui and Halal butchers as the most trustworthy places to buy meat. About 40% of respondents tends to buy their non-meat products at Halal grocers; thus, respondents
tend to buy their food mostly at Halal and Hui grocers. Almost half the respondents tend to check the Halal sign or logo inside or outside the store when buying Halal meat. About 40% of respondents check the Halal label or logo on the package “always or most of the time” when buying processed products.

Respondents and their families visit Hui restaurants, Halal restaurants, and cafeterias “less often.” They prefer Halal restaurants to any others and many respondents (44.2%) never go to Han restaurants or cafeterias.

1.7. Recognizing and consuming Halal foods

Many (76.7%) respondents acknowledged eating Halal meat in accordance with the rules of their religion. When asked the basis of their preference for Halal foods and their meaning, 78.3% reported family tradition, 70.8% reported Hui tradition, 63.3% religious tradition, and 51.7% daily dishes.

Student respondents identified their parents (94.2%) as the people who encouraged them to eat Halal food. Respondents identified eating Halal food as “important” (55.8%) or “very important” (30.8%). In addition, Xian Hui people think highly of eating Halal food.

![Figure 5 How important it is to you to eat Halal foods](image)

2. Case study

M is female, 24 years old, and a university student. She is Muslim and attended Arabic classes as a child; therefore, she understands Arabic a little. All her classmates at junior
high and senior high school were Hui. Some of her classmates at university are Muslim. She lives with her mother and grandparents.

2.1. Social relationships and status: friends and mass media

M has several Han friends, as well as quite a few friends of Hui and ethnic minority origin. M has a few Muslim friends.

M eats lunch or dinner out with her friends “less often.” When M eats lunch or dinner out, she eats with a female Han, Hui, or Muslim friend or with male Muslim friends.

M did not participate in any activities of organizations such as student associations, religious associations, or associations related to the mosques in 2016.

M watches 30 hours or more of television per week. M has never watched Islamic TV.

2.2. Identity of Muslims in Xian

M has a strong Ningxia identity. M feels her identity as one of the Hui people very strongly. M rates her identity as a Muslim very strongly. M is very satisfied with her family’s lives, food, and health. She wants to maintain the Hui culture and way of life as much as possible at home and outside the home.

2.3. Worship at the mosque

M’s father visited a mosque once a week or more when she was a child. M’s mother visited a mosque only on religious holidays when she was a child. M visits a mosque or attends religious services or meetings only on religious holidays. M prays only on religious holidays. She does not pray every day.

2.4. Observance of Islamic duties/rules

M follows Islamic duties/rules fairly strictly. M’s religious faith has no changed since entering secondary school. M wears a headscarf outside the home because of religious obligation and Hui tradition. She says wearing the headscarf reinforces her trust in her family, and helps her to avoid gossip and disrespectful behavior. She says it is an important part of Muslim identity, and it is convenient and fashionable. M fasted most of the time during Ramadan, although this depended on the situation. Fasting during Ramadan is important for M.

2.5. Preference for Halal foods

M does not eat or drink Han foods. M and her parents consider the same foods prohibited based on religion or cultural traditions. M eats Halal food at her home,
restaurants, school, work, at her parents’ or family’s home, and at friends’ homes. M ate Halal food every day during 2016.

M’s reasons for eating Halal food include cultural tradition, religious reasons, better taste, better for her health, and being more certain of hygiene practices.

M always respects food prohibitions. The menu for daily meals in M’s family is decided by her mother and herself. Daily meals in the family are prepared by M’s mother, father, and herself. In terms of the dishes in everyday life, M prepares Hui dishes in their daily lives and prefers to eat Hui dishes.

M seldom eats fish and meat. M’s family eats beef, chicken, and lamb. M seldom eats snacks. M drinks juice, carbonated water, milk and related drinks, mineral water, and hot drinks.

2.6. Use of Halal markets and Halal restaurants

M’s mother does the grocery shopping. M goes shopping “less often” than her mother. M’s family always prefers to buy Halal meat from the grocery store. The most trustworthy places for M’s family to buy meat are Hui and Halal butchers. M always or most of the time tends to buy non-meat products at Halal grocers. M tends to check the Halal sign or logo inside or outside the store when buying Halal meat. M checks the Halal label or logo on the package “always or most of the time” when buying processed products. M seldom visits Hui or Han restaurants. She goes to Muslim restaurants when she eats lunch or dinner out.

2.7. Recognizing and consuming Halal foods

M eats Halal meat in accordance with the rules of her religion. M’s preference for Halal foods and understanding of their meaning is based on Hui, religious, and family traditions, and daily dishes. Eating Halal food is very important to M. There is a Muslim restaurant for students at college, but not so many restaurants.

Conclusion

The purposes of this survey were to examine how religious education at home and observance of Islamic rules influence everyday practice, especially the consumption of Halal food and the maintenance of a Muslim identity. An additional goal of the study was to investigate how post-1980s modernization has changed the lifestyle of Hui Muslim students compared with their mother’s generation.

The majority of respondents are very satisfied with their overall life in China. Students want to maintain the Hui culture and way of life as much as possible at home. Students
think highly of eating Halal food and regard eating Halal food as very important. Students eat lunch or dinner outside the family home “less often” than XXXX, but when they do so, they select Hui restaurants. Students fasted most of the time during Ramadan, although this depended on the situation. They think that Ramadan is important for Muslims.

Hui Muslims identify very strongly as Xian; at the same time, they identify strongly as Hui and Muslim.

There are some difference between them and their mother’s generation. These are summarized below.

Hui students have many Han friends and they are likely to have many Han classmates. Some Hui students do not want to maintain the Hui culture and way of life, even at home. Many female students do not wear the headscarf outside their home. Fasting during Ramadan depends on the situation and the mothers’ food prohibitions are stricter than the students’ prohibitions.

In general, however, Hui students maintain their lifestyle as Hui through home education.

This paper identifies how the spread of modern school education has influenced the transformation of the lifestyle of the younger generation of Hui Muslims in China. The current study’s clarification of the lifestyle of Hui students is a contribution to this field of study. The results of the survey of Hui students demonstrate that they have maintained their lifestyle and identity as Muslims through education at home. As a consequence of receiving a modern school education, these Hui students appear to live in a secular world that is largely disconnected from their religious practice as Muslims. There is also a tendency for the younger generation of Hui to become estranged from Muslim traditions. I hope to continue my investigation of this issue in the future.
3. Muslim Friendly Restaurant in Taiwan: Certification and practice

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Introduction

The Chinese Muslim Association (CMA) launched its Muslim-friendly restaurant certification in conjunction with the government Tourism Bureau in 2011 in Taiwan. At the beginning in 2012, ten restaurants were certified as Muslim restaurant (MR) and six restaurants certified as Muslim-friendly restaurant (MFR). The number of certified establishments by the CMA has increased to a total of 102 in June 2017. How, what for, for whom Muslim friendly certification introduced, and how dose restaurant certification work? This short paper is still work on process, however, the paper will focus on development of Muslim-friendly restaurant certification by the CMA, then discuss about concept and practice of Muslim friendly service in Taiwan. The research questions here are how modern halal is interpreted and consumed in Taiwanese context, what do halal and Muslim friendly mean in inbound tourism in Taiwan, what kind of food service is created after introduction of the certification.

Based on ethnographic fieldwork and documents review, this short paper argues that the interpretation and provision of halal food in inbound tourism in Taiwan is premised on the government’s inbound tourism, the hope of the new consumers and encourage non-Muslim service provider involved more. Even if personal attitudes and understanding of halal practice are varied (Sai and Fischer 2015), emerging new menu embodies the process of negotiation between global values and local food culture.

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1 The original title of presentation was ‘Halal and Muslim-friendly Service in Taiwan: Muslim-friendly certification and its practice’. This research enabled by the Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (ref. 15H03417, 25870825) and the Asia and Africa Science Platform Program, both offered by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.
This short paper is divided into five sections. Following this introduction, I will review Muslims in Taiwan and Halal certification initiatives in Taiwan and its international connection before moving on to discuss inbound tourism strategy and restaurant certification. The next sections explored focus on MFR certification by the CMA, then explore the lines between Muslim and non-Muslim. The final section shows a case of food service for Muslim tourists and potential of food menu.

1. Muslims in Taiwan: Introduction

The number of Muslims in Taiwan is estimated using several sources because of a lack of overall statistics. The Muslim population in Taiwan is stated as about 8,000 in government statistics, although these only cover people registered by CMA. The numbers of so-called Taiwanese Muslims,$^2$ namely the Hui people, who are categorized into four groups: 1) Those who migrated from Hokkien before the early twentieth century, who are now mainly non-Muslim; 2) Those who migrated to Taiwan after 1949; 3) Those who migrated via Myanmar and Thailand from Yunnan (Kimura, 2016); 4) Others who converted or migrated from other areas such as Malaysia. In addition to Chinese Muslims, the number of Muslim foreigners residing in Taiwan has increased recently. According to the government statistics on foreign residents, about 710,000 foreigners reside in Taiwan and 33 percent of them were from Indonesia in 2017. Total Muslim migrants are calculated about 250,000.$^3$

There are six mosques in Taiwan, the five of which now under the umbrella of the CMA and the one of which generally called ‘Indonesian mosque’. Masjids have been provided information where to eat and where to buy food and materials. Some of these mosques conducted halal certification in answer to requests by SMEs which export their

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2 Kimura (2016) estimated about 10,000 Taiwanese Muslim in Taiwan.
3 According to the government statistics (2017), 24 percent of Indonesian migrants is male, within whom 53 percent is workers such as manufacturing worker, crews.74% of Indonesian migrants is female. within whom 92 percent is engaged in domestic works such as caregiver for elderly people and housekeeper.
products to Muslim countries. In Taiwan, halal is referred to as ‘清真 qīngzhēn’ or ‘哈拉 hālā’ in Chinese, ‘halal’ in Arabic or in the Roman alphabet.

Food in daily life, they shop at the ordinal shops and markets. Access to halal meat, Masjids keep and distribute halal certified meat imported from Australia and New Zealand. Halal chicken and beef also produced in Taiwan. Taipei grand masjid opens mini market selling meat and other halal food on every Fridays. Another option, informants told me that they make a phone call to a person who selling halal meat, they visit near by customer’s’ house by truck. Taiwanese informants told me that they rarely use Indonesian halal shop. There are several options eating out; ordinal restaurants and stalls, vegetarian restaurants, Muslim restaurants and so on. Muslim restaurants in Taiwan provide various types of halal cuisine, including Chinese cuisine such as beef soup noodles and Yunnan-Thai food run by Hui people, and foreign cuisine run by migrants such as Thai, Indian, Turkish, Indonesian, Moroccan, and Middle Eastern cuisine. For example, halal beef soup noodle is a distinctive light meal or snack in Taiwan and Yunnan-Thai food is local/ethnic cuisine of the south part of the mainland China (Kawabata and sai 2012). Addition to these existed Muslim restaurants, CMA certified establishments that serve Taiwanese style shaved ice, fried chicken, hot pot, teppan-yaki, and Japanese and Italian cuisine as likes after certification launched.

II. Halal certification initiatives in Taiwan and its international connection.

Halal certifications in non-Muslim countries is conducted by private organizations (Bergeaud-Blackler 2015, 109), it is simultaneously developing by transnational/domestic, Muslim/non-Muslim, governmental/private sectors, with religious, cultural, and economic concerns. I provide a brief review of halal certification initiatives in Taiwan.

There was, historically, the special card for Hui people called ‘牛票 niúpiào’. In 1990s, request for halal certificate from food manufacturers increased, then Masjids
started to sign contracts with manufacturers, then Masjids issued "Halal’ or ‘Muslim food’ label for export products. Masjids conduct halal certification through 2000s⁴. In 2011, Taiwan Halal Integrity Development Association (THIDA) was established to unify management of halal certification in Taiwan. Taipei Ground Mosque Foundation (TGMF) strengthens certification activities in 2015. In 2017, Taiwan Halal Center (THC) , organized by the Bureau of Foreign Trade and implemented by The Taiwan External Trade Development Council (TAITRA) was established. THC is a promotion center, not certification body. Its aims are to ‘work(ing) towards creating a welcoming environment in Taiwan for Muslims from all over the world’, and ‘to establish closer ties with Muslim communities and promote a network of professional contacts’⁵. Now THC lists THIDA, CMA, TGMF, and Sincung Halal for Taiwan Co.,Ltd⁶ as Certification bodies in Taiwan⁷.

As for transnational corporation and collaboration, THIDA is a member of transnational halal organizations, such as International Halal Integrity Alliance (IHI), World Halal Food Council (WHFC). Besides, THIDA is recognized as halal certification body (HCB) by the overseas HCBs, such as JAKIM (Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia), MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia), and MUIS (Majils Ulama Singapura), further exchanges Memorandum with the Ministry of Environment and Water, UAE and International Islamic Halal Organization, Saudi Arabia.

Knowledge and experiences of halal certification are transmitted, shared through international and transnational connections. Participation of international halal exhibitions and conferences held in abroad and home is one of typical activities. The exhibition ‘Halal Taiwan’ has organized as a part of Food Taipei from 2013, and

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⁴ For example, Taichung masjids recognized as a halal certification body (HCB) by HCB of Malaysia-JAKIM and Singapore-MUIS, listed HCB list of JAKIM until 2014.
⁵ The texts from Page 1 of a leaflet distributed at the booth of THC in Halal Taiwan 2017. The leaflet entitled ‘Enjoy Muslim life in Taiwan: Muslim Friendly Environments Guide’, which distributed English and Indonesian version.
⁶ Sincun Halal for Taiwan Co., Ltd, an agency which conducts halal certification of MUI in Taiwan, Indonesia, established in 2017. They participated in Halal Taiwan 2017.
Kaohsiung Food from 2016.

III. Inbound tourism strategy and restaurant certification

CMA locates the official beginning for preparation for welcoming Muslim tourist to Taiwan when the Taiwan tourism Bureau established Tourist service office at Kuara Lumpur, Malaysia in 2007 (CMA 2012a, 2). Project Vanguard for Excellence in Tourism by Ministry of Transportation and Communications indicated ‘Muslim world’ as a one of new market (Ministry of Transportation and Communications 2009, revised 2011). Meanwhile, Promotion of Muslim tourist visiting Taiwan: Report on improving host environment for Muslim tourist (2009) by Taiwan’s Tourism Bureau stated collaboration between the bureau and CMA, learning from precedent of case in Malaysia at the same time. Four plans were suggested to improve circumstances for serving Muslim tourists at a seminar for travel agencies8; a. Accommodation (including Muslim meal) includes qiblat, room requirement, designated area for Muslim food and eating, and prayer room; b. Halal restaurants (including available vegetarian restaurants) include halal restaurant plan and other circumstances which is able to offer Muslim to eat vegetarian and complete seafood; c. Halal food and commodity shop with certified halal product made in Taiwan; d. Tourist agency (TVA, 2009, 9-14).

Based on this strategy, the CMA launched its ‘Muslim-friendly restaurant’ certification in conjunction with the Tourism Bureau in 2011. The aims of the certification are:

1) To provide hospitality service for Muslim tourists at the focused tourist spots (CMA 2012a, 3)

2) To spread halal food ways in Taiwan, encourage non-Muslim restaurants owners to join halal food market (Jiang 2012, 16; interview, 2012)

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8 The seminar organize by the Tourism Bureau and implemented by TVA.
9 CMA launched tour guide training course at the same time. I joined it last year but I will focus on restaurant serves in this paper.
The first aim indicates improvement of service for international Muslim tourists as guest from the viewpoint of host side. The second shows encouragement for non-Muslim service providers to join halal food market in Taiwan as host side\textsuperscript{10}.

One of remarkable change is the title of the restaurant’s list provided at CMA. Previously, the list was headed ‘Halal Restaurants’ but after the introduction of the certification, the list was renamed ‘Muslim Restaurants’ and some of those certified as halal by the CMA are marked with ribbon in 2012. The question is why do they use ‘Muslim Friendly’, neither qi\textsuperscript{\textregistered} nor halal. When I was joining a study group in a Friday morning at a masjid. Group member included Taiwanese Muslims and a Indonesian Student. At the meeting, using a magazine published by CMA, read the article aloud and discuss together. The topic of the day is halal in Taiwan, an ahong (imam) explained about the new project to certify Muslim friendly restaurants, ‘because of lack of understanding of halal in general in Taiwan, it named Muslim friendly restaurant not halal restaurant. To use the words Muslim friendly, we’ld like to improve this situation, let Non-Muslim come to know more about halal step by step then we will set up halal in the future\textsuperscript{11}. This narrative supports the second aim of the certification I mentioned above. In another interviews a person who engaged certification told me that ‘Muslim friendly’ means special consideration to Muslim way of life\textsuperscript{12}. It suggests being Muslim friendly is the attitude to host Muslim tourists.

IV. MFR certification by the CMA: Lines between Muslim and non-Muslim

As described above, and following the introduction of MFR certification by the CMA highlights the lines between MR/MFR and Muslim and non-Muslim.

\textsuperscript{10} An article ‘the main purpose of the certification was to let Muslims around the world know that there are Muslims in Taiwan as well.’ (Salama, 2012, Taiwan: Bureau seeks to attract more Muslim tourist, Halal Focus, http://halalfocus.net/taiwan-bureau-seeks-to-attract-more-muslim-tourists/, Retrieved 5th March, 2017).

\textsuperscript{11} Interview at Taichung, May 2012, Muslim, Chinese, male, born in Myanmar, and studied in Saudi Arabia

\textsuperscript{12} Interview at TWCC, June 2016, Muslim, Taiwanese, male, born in Taiwan.
a. Ownership and category
There are two types of certification at the beginning: one is ‘Muslim restaurants’ and the other is ‘Muslim-friendly restaurants’. A Muslim restaurant is a restaurant owned by Muslims whereas a Muslim-friendly restaurant is for run by non-Muslim owners. For non-Muslim owners, a halal training workshop is included within the certification procedure. At the beginning in 2012, ten restaurants certified as ‘halal’ and six restaurants certified as ‘Muslim-friendly’, then the number of certified restaurants have been increased, total 59 restaurants, kitchens, and hotels in September 2014. Besides, its category also detailed Muslim restaurant (MR), Muslim Friendly restaurants (MFR), Muslim friendly tourism (MFT, 2014-), Muslim snack shop (MSS), and Halal kitchen (HK). In June 2017, total 102 establishments listed, which includes as 28 MR, 17 MFR, 13 MFT, 4 HK, 40 both acquired MFR and MFT by the CMA. In this way, the number of certified establishments and the categories increased. Interestingly enough, the category MSS, applied to the shop run by Indonesian Muslims before, integrated into MR.

b. Logo
We can see the distinct line of ownership in the Logo design. The MR logo certified by CMA, which is green and white colored, ‘halal’ in Arabic and Chinese characters ‘清真’ are appeared. In contrast, the MFR logo is green and orange colored, Muslim friendly restaurant in English and ‘Salam’ in both Arabic and English. Significance of who manage the restaurants is embodied into the appearance of these two logos.

c. Similarity and difference in certification process of MR and MFR

13 In addition to those by CMA, the website of the Tourism bureau lists five hotels certified Muslim Convenient Hotel (MCH) by the TGMF in 2017. Islamic Association of Taiwan (IAT), Hualien also listed as ‘accreditation organization’ on them. I am not able to catch up recent updates. This would need more research on activities of IAT and MCH by TGMF.
This section focuses on the citification process and requirements in both MR and MFR based on document review of the texts as CMA requirements and condition for Muslim restaurant certification. It distributed at the exhibitions and also opened for public on the website of CMA before reconstruction of the web site. The Condition (CMA 2012b) includes about application, target, certification requirements, audit, result, certificate and logo, application for certification of changes, continuation and promotion. Certification requirements include Kitchen, meat, additives, utensils, storage, eating circumstances, restaurant management, and staff Management. It emphasize on training programme at the same time.

Basic requirements and the flowchart of certification are common between MR and MFR restaurant. Differences between condition for MR and MFR are on additional description for MFR. The focal points are three as follows; 1) Mutual honest and trust; 2) Additional example for edible/unsuitable food materials; 3) Partition and separation.

The first point, mutual honest and trust, is about attitude for certification. Responsibility, mutual honest and trust are the basic and significant essence of dealing halal matters. The first description about certification requirement declares ‘for Muslim consumers of inside and outside in Taiwan, after certification by us, the restaurant run by non-Muslim owners serve foods and beverages according to sharia, Muslims are able to eat with relief. To guarantee of food lawfulness (HALAL) for Muslims in the world, to undertake strict religious responsibility, CMA conducts certification strictly. Both practitioners and CMA should cooperate under the principle of 誠實互信 mutual honest and trust. ∎ (Condition 3.1.)

The second point is that the specific examples for edible/unsuitable food materials are additionally written for MFR in it. Condition 3.2.2 is for the definitions of meat, animal and seafood and its products, then eel, Asian swamp eel, and gobies are

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14 Significance of honest and trust is not only about certification but also every day life in Muslim. For example Sai and Fischer (2015) described the case in Fujian, China.
added as examples which Many Muslims avoid eating on MF. Condition 3.2.3.1 is about definitions of food additives as follows: ‘food additives are any things that are added during food processing such as seasoning, sauces, oils, and vinegar, etc.’ The last item of example, ‘vinegar’ is only for MFR and not listed in regiments for MR. The note ‘All completely vegetable oils are edible’ is also added for MFR in condition 3.2.3.1.

The third point is about spatial and visual separation in preparation and eating circumstance. Separation and partition to avoid cross contamination with non-halal materials are common between MS and MFR, however, several specific instructions are additionally written for MFR. The condition for MFR denotes applied kitchen should be independent, separated, with exclusive and effective partitioned cooking circumstance (3.2.1.1), ‘Qingzhen food materials which used in the restaurants should be in the specific kitchen. If the storage is located outside of the restaurant, it should be exclusive use of qingzhen materials, should not mix with non-qingzhen food materials (3.2.5.1.), and ‘If the restaurant is certified with separated partition, exclusive compartment, effective separated areas, or partitioned area with movable wood partitions between the other customers in eating areas.’(3.2.6.5) . Further conditions denotes about consideration about decoration and clothing, as ‘when restaurants practitioners print or publish any printed matters, should not use any pictures or texts which are not suitable for Islam or offensive for Muslims’(3.2.6.1), and clothing of chefs in the applied kitchen shall be better to use different color and distinguish from other kitchen (3.2.8.3).

In this way, additional descriptions for MFR are based on both food culture and knowledge about halal food of non-Muslim in the Taiwanese context. The texts in conditions as ‘should be...’, ‘If..., or...,’ and ‘shall be better...’ works as instruction further enables non-Muslim service providers to improve services. These notes are buffer to practice being Muslim friendly, rather as ‘flexibility’ as Jiang (2012) indicated.
V. A Case: Muslim Friendly service at a restaurant in hotel

A hotel A is located one of the shopping area in Taipei. They are listed as a certified both MFR and MFT in the list of the CMA’s Muslim Taiwan Hospitality Guide and Tourism Bureau’s Dining & Accommodation for Muslim. The Hotel A offers set and group meals of western foods in lunch and dinner, buffet in breakfast at the restaurant, and accommodation with qiblat in the room. They dose not put up the MFR/MFT logos or notice at both restaurant and reception of the hotel. The hotel practices two main strategy to host expecting ‘new’ customers at the restaurant. One is to provide food information; the other is to provide special menu.

a. Food information

At the buffet, each food is served with pictogram and mark, which indicates meat and other food such as chicken, pork, shrimp, and soya beans. The grand menu book not only put the marks, but lists food material, oil and seasoning, ingredients in both Chinese and English under the name of the menu. Remarkable points is these food information is integrated into the design and layout of menu book with picture. The menu book is well designed and useful for who has food allergens, vegetarian, and other food choice.

b. Special menu

Special menu list ‘Muslim Halal Food Menu’ is served on the request. There are three items; two are spaghettis and one is hamburger menu. To eat these foods, customer should order in advance, otherwise she/he have to wait 30-40minites. I tried spaghetti with chicken & Nyonya curry sauce. Nyonya food is a Malaysian food which created historically fusion with Chinese home cooking with Malaysian ingredients and style. Then now it remixed again with western food, spaghetti, become one of special menus

targeting for Muslim tourist in a hotel with Muslim friendly restaurant. This is another
dimension of ‘modern halal’, which emerge new field of commercial activity. The noodle
was nice, pimientos are fresh, chicken is good, but it did not have any taste. It is neither
Nyonya, Italian, nor Taiwanese taste. This somewhat strange taste (or tasteless) of the
dish suggests on the process for serving ‘others’ through trial and error, further, these
menu creations are as one of social event which is embodied process and efforts of
negotiation between global/ local, Muslim/non-Muslim values\textsuperscript{16}.

\textbf{Conclusion}

This paper explored the concepts and practices of the Muslim friendly certification by the
CMA in Taiwan. Halal citification introduced transnational/domestic, Muslim/non-
Muslim, governmental/private sectors, with religious, cultural, and economic concerns.
MFR certification is premised on the government’s inbound tourism, introduced for
international tourists from the viewpoint of host side, and further encourage non-Muslim
service providers to join halal food market. It highlights the lines between MR/MFR.
Differences in requirements focus on principal of mutual honest and trust, based on both
food culture and knowledge about halal food of non-Muslim in the Taiwanese context.
Additional notes in condition and requirement are buffer to practice being Muslim
friendly. Meanwhile, a case of MFR shows their practice to host customers with not only
rely on certification, but providing food information and new menu.

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\textsuperscript{16} Similar negotiation is observed in the Japanese context (Sai 2015, 2017).


(C): Written in Chinese.
4. Getting Halal Food in the Netherlands - from Indonesian Muslim consumers' perspective

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Introduction and background

This short paper aim is to clarify elements that makes Muslims' food life difficult or easier mainly from interviews to Indonesian Muslim expats residing in the Netherland, comparing with the situation in Japan.

The Netherland (NL) and Japan are both non-Muslim countries, but the NL seems to have several factors that makes Muslim easier to find Halal food, although it is experiencing some atmosphere of Anti-Islam/Anti Muslim immigrants like other countries in Europe.

Firstly, Muslim population ratio in the NL is significantly higher than in Japan. Japan has no official statistics of population by religion. Tanada estimated Muslim population in Japan by multiplying numbers of expat residents by percentage of Muslims in their country of origin and concluded that it is approximately 110,000 (Tanada 2013, 2015). That is only 0.64% to the total population of approximately 127 million. In the meanwhile, Muslim population ratio in NL is 6% in 2010 according to Pew Research Center, approximately 1 million to the total population of 16,574,989, and still increasing.

Graph 1. Population of foreign residents in Japan by country of origin (10 largest in 2015)
Source: Made by Arata using data from Statistics Bureau of Japan

Japan is highly secularized after WWII and most Japanese people are ignorant to Muslim food taboos. The vast majority of Japanese are leading their lives without

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touching any religious food taboo other than occasional encounter to vegetarianism. Most foreign residents in Japan come from Muslim minority countries. Graph 1 shows foreign residents in Japan from the ten largest countries of origin in 2015: China, Korea, the Philippines, Brazil, Vietnam, Nepal, United States, Taiwan, Peru and Thai. None of them are Muslim majority countries. Indonesia (35,910 persons) appears in the 11th. For Japanese people, the most typical foreign neighbors are those who come from East Asian countries such as China/Korea/Taiwan, second/third generations of Japanese immigrant re-migrated to Japan from Brazil/Peru, Americans, Non-Muslim South-East Asian countries such as Vietnam, the Philippines, and Thai.

In the meantime, in the NL, the five largest countries of origin except for Dutch in 2016 are: Turkey, Morocco, Indonesia, Germany, and Suriname (Graph 2). Turkey, Morocco, and Indonesia are Muslim majority countries. Suriname's major ethnicities are Hindustani, Creole, and Java. It has 15% of Javanese residents migrated from Dutch Indies called Java-Suriname, whose religion is mainly Islam, and some of them re-migrated to the NL. This means that in the NL the most typical residents with foreign backgrounds are Muslims. In fact, the NL society is also experiencing so-called Islamization. Consequently, Dutch people are more familiar with the presence of Muslim residents in their daily life.

Graph 2. Population of NL by origin by generation (five largest in 2016)
Source: Made by Arata using CBS statistics of the Netherlands

The NL has also long history of relationship with Muslim majority countries. It has colonized Dutch Indies (Present Indonesia) since 17th century and has received many immigrants from former colonies; Indonesia and Suriname (Dutch Guiana) in mid 1940's to 1960's (first wave), and many more from Morocco and Turkey in mid 1960's to 1980's (second wave). As is shown in Graph 2, many immigrants from Muslim majority countries have been residing in NL for generations.

As shown in Graph 3, immigrants from Turkey and Morocco are significantly increasing, while Indonesians and Germans are decreasing.
Graph 3. Transition of population of NL by origin since 2009 to 2016 (5 largest except for Dutch)

Source: Made by Arata using CBS statistics of the Netherlands

- Outline of research

  The author carried out survey in March 2017 as follows\(^{18}\).
  - Place and date: Amsterdam: 1~6 Mar 2017, Den Haag: 7~13 Mar 2017
  - Method: Interviews, observation, and participant observation
  - Respondents: Indonesian expats: 29 persons (age 25~62), Java Suriname expat: 1 person
  - Directors and staff from 2 halal certification bodies, 1 organizer of Halal Food Festival

  Interviews were half-structured. Not all the questions were asked to all the respondents due to time restrictions. Indonesian respondents include 7 students and 5 restaurant staff (owners, chefs, and other), 1 auditor of a Halal certification body.

- Contents of survey and findings

1. Socialization in P.P.M.E. and masjid:

   Both in Amsterdam and in Den Haag, at first, I visited the office building of P.P.M.E. (Persatuan Pemuda Muslim Se Eropa, European Muslim Youth Union) branch to find respondents of local Indonesian expats. I also joined and observed regular meetings there, watched how foods and beverage are provided at such places. In Amsterdam, I visited P.P.M.E. Al Ikhlash, observed a 'pengajian' (recitation and study of al Quran), Friday prayer, monthly meeting, and interviewed some participants in group and some members of committees. In Den Haag I visited Masjid Al Hikmah /P.P.M.E. office, observed Friday prayer, 'pengajian', and interviewed some members.

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\(^{18}\) Funded by JSPS 'Correlates of Halal Food Consumption Behaviors among Muslim Minorities: A Comparative Study of East Asia and Western Europe'
According to an interview to an organizer of P.P.M.E., Al Ikhlash in Amsterdam is not a masjid by definition, but a culture center (mostly because considering neighbors' feelings toward a Masjid/Islam), while P.P.M.E. Den Haag's building is registered as a Masjid named Al Hikmah. P.P.M.E. and Masjid have a role of community center for Indonesian Muslim expats. Social networks through P.P.M.E. often function to circulate information related to Halal such as a list of halal/haram/mashbooh(doubtful) ingredients, e-number list etc. However, not all Muslim expats are equally involved in the activities of P.P.M.E. and/or Masjid. Core members are first-generation old comers and some newcomer university students. Most youth of second generations seemingly are not so active in P.P.M.E.

2. Buying Halal meat and Butcheries:

According to respondents, it was very difficult to get Halal meat 30 - 40 years ago when they first came to the NL. Certain butchers/shops started selling halal meat maybe about 20 years ago, but it was still very limited. One respondent told that she went to certain district of Amsterdam to buy halal meat once a month because there was no place to buy halal meat in her neighborhood in suburban area at that time.

However, Muslim butchers are rapidly increasing in these 10 years, and now it is very easy to get fresh halal meat in everywhere in the city. These butcheries are mostly run by Turkish and Moroccans. Their halal meat is very popular among both Muslim and non-Muslim consumers because of its reasonable price and high quality. As a result, ordinary non-halal Dutch butcheries are decreasing.
This situation is very different from Japan, where Muslim butcheries are very rare. Instead, Indonesian Muslim consumers in urban Japan usually buy frozen imported Halal meat and other Halal food materials through internet shopping, Masjid, chained supermarket named 'Gyoumu Super', and/or ethnic food shops/ peddler (Lestari 2017, Yamaguchi 2017 etc.). Fresh Halal poultry/meat made in Japan is considerably expensive than ordinary ones and often not affordable for daily use.

According to observation, there are two types of Muslim butcheries in the NL. One is independent butchery that sells mainly meat product only, another is butchery inside ethnic food material shops (picture 3). Halalness of these butchers' goods are shown by: 1) sign that explicitly written 'Halal', '100% Halal', or 'Halal slagerij' (Halal butchery) in alphabet and/or Arabic, 2) sign that shows 'Islamitische slagerij' (Islamic butchery) (picture 4 - 10). Consumers also take notice of 3) Halal certificate and/or 4) the ethnicity of the owners/workers of the shops. When respondent mention Turkish/Moroccan butchers, their religions are considered Islam as a matter of course. There is an implicit assumption that if a person is/ looks like a Turkish or a Moroccan by ethnicity, he/she must be a Muslim.

Some consumers believe that these butcheries’ halalness are controlled by Dutch government because they have a sign of official registration as a butchery. However, according to the director of Halal Correct, government’s recognition to butcheries are only from hygienical point of view, not from Halal perspective.

Further survey is needed regarding the source of these Halal meat. Some consumers believe livestock is from inside the Netherland. One of Indonesian restaurant owners said that he always studies the Halal certificates when purchasing meat and found
that most of them are from German slaughterhouses.

3. Buying other foodstuffs:

   Observation was done regarding Halal food availability and information disclosure method to appeal Halalness in ethnic food shops, convenience stores, supermarkets, hypermarkets, and traditional markets.

   Asian(-African) ethnic food shops are not always Halal shops, but they usually carry Indonesian/ Malaysian/ Singaporean/ Thai halal-certified goods such as instant noodles, spice mix, sweets, snacks etc. As for Indonesian foods, there are some local products made in NL. Indonesian consumers assume that they are halal because ingredients are all vegetarian and seafood even though they are not halal-certified.

   Some ordinary shops (CVS/supermarket) have halal sections especially for ham/sausage from halal meat. Most consumers mentioned the name of 'Albert Heijn' supermarket. Name of 'Wahid' brand also frequently mentioned. On its package, letters of 'Halal Guarantee' are printed, not Halal logo of certification body, though they are in fact halal-certified by Halal Correct. In the package it is written "Wahid powered by Anur". 'Anur' is a Dutch manufacturer of highly processed ready-to-eat packaged food such as cheese puff pastry, burger, kebab, and meat ball (Picture 11-14).

![Halal Product](image1)

**Picture 11-14**: Beef salami of Wahid brand (front and back). Made in Giessen, Germany.

Besides 'Wahid', 'Marhaba' brand was often observed in supermarket. Halal logo of Halal Certification Germany is printed in their package (picture 15-17).
4. Eating out

Kebab is the most popular and easiest way to eat out halal. Besides that, there are some ethnic restaurants/food stalls that carry halal foods, such as Indonesian, Moroccan, Uyghur etc. Recently Halal options appeared in fast foods, such as 'Halal Fried Chicken', 'Halal Burgers' etc.

Indonesian restaurants are not always Halal, since there are non-Muslim Indonesians. I visited three Indonesian restaurants and interviewed their owners and/or staff, two of them run by Muslim. If the owner of an Indonesian cuisine restaurant is a Muslim, he put halal sign in Arabic letters, and/or write "Halal" or "100% halal" in alphabet on the door/window/menu and it is considered sufficient to guarantee their foods' Halalness both by staff and consumers (picture 18-29). No certification needed.

One Indonesian restaurant are run by a non-Muslim owner. It sells both 'Halal menu' and non-Halal menu such as pork and alcohol. 'Halal menu' means foods that use halal materials only, usually using halal slaughtered meat. This restaurant does not show off that it sells Halal foods by a written/printed sign, but use personal communication; i.e.
its staff just answer "Yes, we can prepare halal food for you" or "We use halal meat for this menu" etc. if asked by consumers if they carry any Halal food.

Some non-halal restaurants post photo-copy of halal certificate for meat in front of the restaurants to show that they are using Halal-certified meat for certain menus (picture 30-32). However, this often causes confusion to consumers because most of them do not read it in detail. They misunderstand that the restaurant is halal-certified while it is selling pork. It arouses strong doubts to the shop and CB.

According to the director of Halal Correct, they never issue Halal certificate to either restaurants nor retail shops. It only works with factories/slaughterhouses because these products can be well controlled. They almost weekly send warn letter to those restaurants that shows their Halal certificate in front.

During this survey, only one eating place was observed to have been Halal-certified. It was a food stall of meat plate in De Haagse school. They post a certificate from "the Netherland Egypt Halal Information Consultant Company" and it is written that:

This certificate was awarded after fulfilling the conditions of Islamic Research at Al AZHAR AL SHARIF of Cairo

That these products are Halal, the press of storage, transport and preparation was taken in consideration.

Further survey is needed on this "the Netherland Egypt Halal Information Consultant Company".

5. The first Halal Food Festival in Utrecht

Three days before Dutch general election day of 15th March 2017, the first Halal Food Festival was carried out in Utrecht on 12th March. It was not too long since Donald
Trump was elected as a president of the United States on 8th November 2016. Dutch populist politician Geert Wilders, the leader of far-right party PVV (Freedom Party) has been strongly against Islamization of the NL and was quite popular according to the result of poll, though they did not win the election as a result.

In the meanwhile, the atmosphere of the festival was very cheerful and crowded, with no shadow of anti-Islamic movement in Dutch society. I visited this festival together with three Indonesian Muslim families, each of them bringing small children. According to an interview to Mr. A, one of the organizers, this was the first consumer-oriented Halal food festival in Europe. Mr. A has migrated to NL from Morocco 30 years ago, when he was 2 years old. He and his sister like to visit various food festivals in the NL, but it was difficult to find Halal foods. That was why he wanted to organize own festival with all Halal Food. He worked together with his brother and two sisters to realize this idea, although they had no experience in organizing events at all, but they just kept going. They started from August or September 2016 from preparing website and hiring venue. They had 5000 visitors in one day, 36 food tracks, live cooking show, various entertainment such as live music and child play spot. Event staff are their families and friends working as unpaid volunteers.

Mr. A explained the purpose of this event as follows, "What I believe what I'm doing today, we live in the Netherland, in the time we almost have election here, and there is very..., there is this whole thing going on between Moslems and Non-Moslems, we have Geert Wilders, probably you know the name, who is against everything that greets Islam, even if it's hijab, or if it's halal food, or if it's Quran, or if it's mosque, he wants to ban everything and I thought to myself... what is the best response to someone like him? We could go out on street, we could shout, we could yell, we could even fight, but I think
the best response to someone like him is to show that this is Halal. This is Moslem. How can somebody be afraid of something like this, if there is a lot of people peaceful, enjoying the time, having good food, and going home? I think this is the best answer to someone who is afraid of Islam.”

6. Certification Bodies (CB)

I visited the offices of two major certification bodies: Halal Correct (in Leiden) and Halal Quality Control (in Den Haag) and interviewed the directors. These two CBs are both internationally recognized by foreign organizations such as JAKIM, MUI, and GCC, thus strongly influenced by their standard/criteria. Halal Correct(HC) and Halal Quality Control (HQC) have different strategy in their standard; HC has its own standard though it is not disclosed to public, while HQC use each country’s standard (such as JAKIM, MUIS, MUI, ESMA, GCC) according to the place the product is going to be exported. HC is not accepting certificate from HQC, because their system is very flexible.

According to the director of HC, many companies get Halal-certified in order to export their products to Muslim countries, but do not use halal logo on package. This is because they are afraid of anti-Islamic attack. Halal certification in the NL is not controlled by government, but CBs are registered to the Dutch Chamber of Commerce. HC has representative offices in France and UK, issuing certificate in 12 countries.

At present HC has 110 customers, among them 70% are processed foods, 30% are meat products. Number of customers are increasing year by year: it was 60 in 2014, 80 in 2015, 110 in 2016, maybe 150 or more in 2017. Cost of certification depends on kinds of product, amount, and risk, but it ranges around 3,000 to 10,000 euro/year. High risk products must be checked by every batch/product number, unlike low risk products made by small companies, which can get certified more easily.

7. Muslim consumers perspective:

Detail of Muslim consumers’ varieties of attitude and understanding towards halal would be further discussed in another paper, but outline is as follows.

Most old-comers who came to the NL before 1990s were not so much conscious of the matter of halal slaughtering at that time. They just avoided pork, and had chicken, mutton, beef without thinking if it is halal meat or not. Some years after arrival they learned it by chance from friends/neighbors, then some of them pay great effort to buy Halal meat, while some still accept non-halal meat as long as it is not pork.

All respondents agreed that it is very easy to buy halal meat in these 10 years,
because there are many Muslim butchers from Morocco/Turkey, and supermarkets also sell halal meat products.

There are various attitude and understandings toward food Halalness, just as the author once had found in Indonesian Muslim consumers in Indonesia (Arata 2017), especially when thinking about khamr (alcoholic drink). Some avoid alcohol so strictly that they check even small amount of alcohol added as an additive in seasoning, while some accept using alcoholic drink such as wine or sake as seasonings. One respondent clarified her opinion regarding alcohol used as an additive in seasoning that functions to prevent over-fermentation or rotting, and she said she thinks it is Halal because it is not meant to intoxicate. One student told about his experience when he tried pouring wine to shells following Dutch customs.

It seems that those who are frequently coming to Masjid/P.P.M.E. activities pay more attention to additives and/or alcohol compared to those who are not. Since this research was started from P.P.M.E./Masjid network, results of interview might be biased. Yet among them, there are variety of attitude. One of the leaders of Masjid Al Hikmah told me that he always advises Indonesian Muslim friends/students how to get along with Dutch people. When visiting their home or participating parties, he just take soft drinks and pork-free food, not investigating ingredients in detail.

In the end of survey, I have interviewed some respondents who was introduced through a network other than P.P.M.E., and their answer was remarkably more flexible in choosing places of eating out. One of them said she likes to go find various delicious restaurants together with her husband even though she knows these restaurants are not Halal. She said 'Kami tegah (We dare with strong intention)' with a smile.

Many of high conscious consumers (not only young-generation new comers, but also some first-generation old comers) use smartphone application such as 'Halal e number' to get information related halal ingredients. When eating out, choices are: kebab, seafood, halal fried chicken, halal burgers, halal ethnic restaurant such as Indonesia/Turkey/Morocco/Uighur, halal Italy/Thai/Sushi restaurants run by Turkey owners etc. They usually accept simple Dutch style dish such as fried fish, fried potatoes, smoked fish, pickled herring etc. as Halal. Some said that it is not difficult to choose food here in the NL because Dutch cooking is very simple and not complicated like Japanese cuisine.

Second generations have had very different experiences when growing up compared to the new-comers, even though they are in similar age and may be learning at same university. They might have different attitude toward halal food. This can be a topic for further survey.
According to a second-generation respondent, in Dutch primary school there were special one-month program to learn about Christianity, Hindu, Jew, and Islam, using one week for one religion. This kind of program makes Dutch people understand others. When invited to a friend's house, he was asked if he would eat ordinary meat (not halal-slaughtered). He answered he does not care if it is pork free since his family is not so strict about that matter. His friend's family prepared non-pork menu, and there was no problem. Other respondent said no in similar situation, and his friends prepared halal meat for the party. This shows that these Dutch people understand Muslim's basic needs and also respect their individual choice.

Whereas in Japan, when Japanese people who first contact with Muslim, some people just do not notice nor care Islamic food taboo at all, while some react excessively and get rid of everything that might be a seed of trouble without asking, preparing all vegetarian food etc. This is because most Japanese people are ignorant about food taboo. When they try to learn about food taboos through internet, recently it is full of information on halal certificate and its strict criteria, which makes them afraid of offering foods.

VI. Conclusion

As I mentioned in the beginning, Muslims are minority in the Netherland as they are in Japan. Yet, most Indonesian expats do not feel big difficulties when getting/choosing halal food in NL.

The reason is:
1) Muslim butchers that sell fresh Halal meat have rapidly increased in these 10 years.
2) Ordinary shops/supermarkets also sell halal meat products in halal section.
3) In general, Dutch people are ready to communicate with regards of food taboo. They are familiar with Muslims and know their basic needs and possibility of various choice from experience and education.
4) Unlike Japanese cuisine that frequently use khamr in cooking, most Dutch foods are so simple that it is easy to tell if it is halal or not.
5) Halal restaurants are increasing in number and kinds.

As for non-Halal restaurants which offer some menu using halal meat, there should be a better answer to overcome misunderstandings. How can they show their good intention without causing trouble or doubt? The same question is asked in Japan.

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5. Correlates of Halal Food Consumption in East Asia and Western Europe

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1. Introduction

The author has been interested in Muslim population in Japan since the early 2000s (e.g., Kojima 2006, 2007) before focusing on the correlates of halal food (which Muslims are allowed to eat) consumption behavior and related religious practices among Muslim migrants in East Asia in the early 2000s (e.g., Kojima, 2013, 2014, 2015a, 2015b, 2016a) as well as its effects on the their self-assessed integration (Kojima, 2016b). More recently, he started the secondary analysis of Islamic dietary practices (halal food consumption, fasting during Ramadan and related behaviors) among Muslim migrants and their descendants in Western Europe (e.g., Kojima 2016c, 2017a 2017b). But he hesitated to compare the analysis results of surveys in East Asia and those in Western Europe due to the differences in the nature of dependent variables related to dietary practices and possible independent and control variables. Moreover, most of the available surveys in East Asia were conducted among the first-generation male Muslim migrants while some available surveys in Western Europe were conducted among women and the second-generation Muslim migrants. Another problem is the difference in the timing of survey in relation to the large influx of Muslim migrants which differs vastly across societies.

This study analyzes the correlates of halal food consumption behaviors among male migrant Muslims in Japan (2005-2006), South Korea (2011) and Taiwan (2012-2013) as well as male Chinese Muslims in Taiwan and China (2011). It also analyzes the correlates of religious dietary practices among male migrant Muslims in Belgium (1994-1996) and those among both sexes in France (1992), using similar models. Then, it tries to broadly compare the results.

In this study there are no specific hypotheses because the diversity of data sets does not allow the author to use the theoretical model such as the one constructed by Bonne (2008). But it may roughly follow the model for determinants of religious behaviors proposed by Cornwall (1989). This study partly draws on Kojima (2013).

2. Data and Methods
The analysis uses the microdata of male Muslim international migrants in Japan (mainly, Tokyo Metropolitan Area), drawing on the Social Survey of Muslim Population in Japan conducted in 2005 and 2006 by Prof. Hirofumi TANADA, Waseda University. The survey was conducted between November 2005 and June 2006 through the 7 large masjids (mosques) in Tokyo and Kanagawa Prefecture, using mainly self-enumerated questionnaires in 7 languages. Usable cases have turned out to be 149. This is not a representative sample of male Muslim migrants even in Tokyo Metropolitan Area. For details, please refer to the first report (Waseda University 2006).

We modeled on the Japanese survey and asked Prof. Hee-Soo LEE of Hanyang University to conduct the “Survey on Muslims in Korea-2011” in the Seoul Metropolitan Area. The survey was conducted between April and September, 2011 in Iteawon District (a city center with the Seoul Central Masjid) and Ansan City (a suburban city with a few smaller masjids). The survey was conducted through interviews by Korean graduate students, using the comparable questionnaire (with that of Tokyo) in four languages and the translators if necessary. The usable cases have turned out to be 148. For details, please refer to Lee (2012).

We also asked Prof. Wen-Ban KUO of Taipei National University to conduct a similar survey, “An Explorative Study on the Taiwanese Muslim (2012/2013)” in Taipei Metropolitan Area. The survey was conducted between December 2012 and January 2013 mainly near the Central Masjid in Taipei. The survey was conducted through interviews, using the comparable questionnaire (with that of Japan) in three languages by Taiwanese and Indonesian graduate students. The usable cases have turned out to be 367 for migrant Muslims and 150 for Chinese Muslims (internal/international migrants and non-migrants of Taiwanese, Chinese and Myanmarese origin). For details, please refer to Kuo (2013). The Survey of Muslim Consumers (2011) was conducted by a marketing survey company for the Institute for Asian Muslim Studies among male Hui Muslims in a large Chinese city (internal migrants and non-migrants) with usable cases of 300.

We compare the analysis results of the four survey data sets from East Asia and the two data sets from Western Europe (MHSM and MGIS) in the 1990s. MHSM (Migration History and Social Mobility, 1994-1996) is a national survey conducted among males of Moroccan and Turkish origin in Belgium. Only males are available in MHSM. Male first-generation immigrants aged below 40 (717 cases) are selected for this analysis. For details about MHSM, refer to Lesthaeghe (2000). Another data set was from MGIS (Mobilité Geographique et Insertion Sociale, 1992) which was a French national survey conducted jointly by INED (Institut National d’Etudes Demographiques) and INSEE (Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques). MGIS included sub-surveys of “immigrants,” “natives of France” and “control group,” but only the microdata for the “immigrants” (of Algerian/Moroccan origin with religion)
are used for this study. Male and female first-generation immigrants aged below 40 are selected for this analysis (515 males and 649 females). For details, refer to Tribalat (1996).

Both bivariate and multivariate analyses are applied to survey micro-data. Bivariate analysis includes cross-tabulations by age group and by years of first entry (the division into entry-year groups varies by society). The binomial logit model (SAS/CATMOD Procedure) or logistic regression model (SAS/LOGISTIC) were used for multivariate analysis. Independent variables include dummies for age, marital status (assortative mating), year of first entry (migrant status), national origin, education, employment status and the housing type. The frequency distribution of independent variables is found in the Appendix 1 for East Asia and Appendix 2 for Western Europe.

The dependent variables for Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and China derive from the following 5-point scales for choices of answer to the questions on the frequency of visits to halal shops and restaurants: 1) Not at all; 2) Less than once a month; 3) Twice a month; 4) Once a week; 5) Twice a week or more. They are collapsed into the following two categories: 1) Once or more a week; 2) Others.

The dependent variables for Belgium are two binary ones: 1) whether or not the respondent fast during Ramadan; and 2) whether or not the respondent experienced ritual lamb sacrifice. The dependent variables for France are four binary ones: 1) whether or not the respondent always fast during Ramadan, 2) whether or not the respondent always follow the dietary restrictions; 3) whether or not the respondent follow the food restrictions, and 4) whether or not the respondent follow the drink restrictions. In French case a few choices are collapsed into two.

3. Results

1) Bivariate Analysis

Table 1 shows the frequency of visits to halal shops and restaurants by age group for male migrant Muslims in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan and the frequency by age for male Chinese Muslims in Taiwan and China. The frequency of visits to halal shops and restaurants tends to be low in Japan and high in South Korea while it tends to be in-between in Taiwan for male migrant Muslims. But the frequency of visits to halal shops tends to be very high, but the frequency of visits to halal restaurants tends to be low among male Chinese Muslims in Taiwan, while both are very high among Chinese Muslims in China.

Among male migrant Muslims, the frequency of visits to halal shops is the lowest at ages 25-29 in Japan and Taiwan, but it is the lowest at ages 15-24 in South Korea. The frequency of visits to halal restaurants is the lowest at ages 30-34 in Japan, but it is the lowest at ages 15-24 in
South Korea and Taiwan. Among Chinese Muslims in Taiwan the frequency of visits to halal shops and restaurants is extremely low at ages 18-29 in Taiwan and it is low at ages 50-59 in China.

Table 2 shows the frequency of visits to halal shops and restaurants by entry-year group for male migrant Muslims in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan and the frequency by entry-year group for male Chinese Muslims in Taiwan and China. But it is difficult to detect any general tendency partly because the division of periods is different for each society and ethnicity.
Table 3 shows the frequency of observing religious dietary practices among migrant Muslims by age in Belgium and France. In Belgium younger people are more likely to fast during Ramadan but less likely to have experienced ritual lamb slaughtering. But ritual lamb slaughtering might have become more difficult more recently as shown in Table 2b. In France both ages 15-24 and ages 35-39 have higher percentages to follow religious dietary restrictions among males, but such age pattern is not observed for females.
Table 4 reveals that old comers or their descendants are least likely to observe dietary restrictions among both males and females. It indicates that females are more likely to observe dietary restrictions than males. As for fasting during Ramadan, Belgian Muslims are more likely to observe than French counterpart.

2) Multivariate Analysis

Table 5 presents the results of binomial logit analysis for correlates of visits to halal shops and restaurants among male migrant and Chinese Muslims in East Asia. The first panel for Japan shows that white-collar employment has a positive effect and living in owned house has a negative effect on visits to halal shops among male migrant Muslims. It also reveals that self-employment has a positive effect on visits to halal restaurants once or more per week.

The second panel for male migrant Muslims in South Korea shows that Indonesian origin has a positive effect on visits to halal shops and that ages 15-24 or 24-29 and high-school or less education have negative effects. It also reveals that South Asian origin has a positive effect on visits to halal restaurants and that junior college education and living in company housing have negative effects.
The third panel (Table 5) for male migrant Muslims in Taiwan shows that living in owned housing has a positive effect on the visit to halal shops and that South Asian origins and white-collar employment have negative effects. It also reveals that intermarriage with a Taiwanese woman and living in owned house have positive effects on visits to halal restaurants and that entry in 2007-2008 or 2012, Indonesian and South Asian origin, high-school or less education, and employment as a whole have negative effects.

The fourth panel for male Chinese Muslims in Taiwan shows that ages 30-39 or 60 and
above, marriage with a Muslim woman, G1 (first-generation) entry in 1980-1989 or 1990-1999, and senior high-school or college education have positive effects on visits to halal shops and that married to a non-Muslim woman and living in owned house or apartment have negative effects. It also reveals that all ages 30 and above, married to a non-Muslim woman, G1 entry in 1945-49, 1990-1999 or 2000 and after, and self-employment have positive effects on visits to halal restaurants and that married to a Muslim woman and living in owned house have negative effects. It is notable that the sign of marriage with a non-Muslim woman and a Muslim woman changes to the opposite direction in the two columns.

The fifth panel (Table 5) for male Chinese Muslims in China shows that junior high-school education has a positive effect on visits to halal shops and that ages 40-49 or 50-59 have negative effects. It also reveals that married to a Hui woman and junior high-school education have positive effects on visits to halal restaurants and that ages 30 and above and migration in 2005-2009 has a negative effect.

Table 6 shows the correlates of religious dietary practices among migrant Muslims in Belgium and France. The first column reveals that married to a Belgian or compatriot woman and entry in 1990-1991 have positive effects on fasting during Ramadan and that Turkish origin has a negative effect among male migrant Muslims in Belgium. The second column shows that married to a Belgian or compatriot woman, self-employment, manual employment and living in owned house have positive effects on the experience of ritual lamb slaughtering and that entry in 1992-1994 and Turkish origin have negative effects. Cohort effect seems prominent for ritual lamb slaughtering. Income effects also appear for ritual lamb slaughtering among male migrant Muslims in Belgium.

The third to sixth columns show the correlates of dietary practices among male migrant Muslims in France while the seventh to tenth columns show those for female migrant Muslims. The third column for fasting during Ramadan reveals that ages 15-24, married to a compatriot woman, entry in 1983-1992, Moroccan origin, living in owned or company housing have positive effects and that married to a French woman and tertiary education have negative effects among male migrant Muslims in France. The effects of age seems similar to those among Belgian male migrant Muslims in the first column, but the effect of marriage with a native woman is the in the opposite direction. Correlates of other dietary restrictions among male migrant Muslims in France in the fourth to sixth columns have largely similar effects to those in the third column except that living in public housing comes to have a positive effect on drink restrictions while marriage with a compatriot woman weakens its positive effect.

The seventh column (Table 6) for fasting during Ramadan among female migrant Muslims in France reveals relatively similar results with the third column for male Muslims, but marriage with a compatriot man does not have a significant effect, while the negative effects of education
is much stronger and living in public housing comes to have a positive effect. The gender differences are similar for other dietary restrictions.

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### 4. Conclusion

It is difficult to summarize the results for specific correlates partly because of difficulty to
obtain internationally comparative survey data on dietary restrictions among Muslim minorities in East Asia and Western Europe and partly because Muslims are a tiny minority in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. Even though there is an increasing number of internationally comparative survey data on Muslims in Western Europe, they tend to be on the descendants of Muslim population and they have a relatively large share of population. But these European surveys do not necessarily ask about Islamic dietary practices and the supply of halal food is much different from the three East Asian societies where the demand is much more limited both numerically and spatially. Even in Belgium and France where survey periods can be comparable, the correlates do not necessarily have the similar effects except those related to religiosity in the author’s past analyses possibly because of variations in the number, composition and spatial distribution of Muslim population in somewhat different socio-cultural contexts.

Some demographic and family-related correlates often have significant effects but occasionally in the different directions. In this analysis, age, marital status and ethnicity often have significant effects which tend to have similar effects on different dietary behaviors in one survey. But it is difficult to generalize across surveys and societies. Therefore, it is also difficult to compare the dietary practices among Muslim minorities in East Asian societies particularly because the religious and socio-economic contexts (affecting the demand and supply of halal food) are vastly different within and across the region. Comparative surveys of Muslims in East Asia provide baseline information for the comparative study of male Muslim population in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and China even though they are not nationally representative. We may need more cooperation in conducting more targeted surveys across Eurasia.

Acknowledgements

The Migration History and Social Mobility (MHSM) data and documentation were obtained from Prof. Karel Neels (Antwerp University) and Mr. Johan Surkyn (VUB) and the surveys were coordinated by Prof. Ron Lesthaeghe (VUB). French data source is acknowledged: Mobilite geographique et l’insertion sociale (MGIS)-version complète-1992, INED, INSEE [producers], ADISP-CMH [distributor].

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| Machine | QC #1 | QC #2 | | QC #3 | QC #4 | QC #5 | QC #6 | QC #7 | QC #8 | QC #9 | QC #10 | QC #11 | QC #12 | QC #13 | QC #14 | QC #15 | QC #16 | QC #17 | QC #18 | QC #19 | QC #20 |
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6. Halal Food Consumption among Muslim Housewives and Students in Korea

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Preface

In an immigrant country, notably, home-based religious communities play an important role such as seeking comfort and support, exchanging social information, enhancing social status and fulfilling religious obligations.19 As a consequence, trans-migrants tend to attend home-based religious communities. In addition to being a part of home-based religious communities, religious and cultural everyday practices, religious discipline at home and religious education at school, and participation in formal places of worship shape the identities and activities of not only trans-migrants but also their second and third generations.20 Accordingly, the purposes of this survey are to examine how religious education at school or at home and observance of Islamic rules influence on everyday practice, especially, consumption of Halal food and identity of Muslim immigrants in Korea.

The respondents participated in the survey are Muslim immigrants living in Korea. The survey was administered by graduate and undergraduate students from the Anthropology Department at Hanyang University, Korea. Following our research plan, the survey was supervised in order to avoid an overlap between survey regions and survey respondents. Undergraduate students administered the survey primarily to international students

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20 Steven Vertovec, 2009, ibid, p. 139.
studying in Korea while graduate students focused on surveying respondents who live within the two representative Muslim communities in Korea – Ansan and Itaewon. The survey was carried out during a five-month period from April to August of 2016. Using a one-on-one interview method, the survey was conducted in order to get precise responses to each question. After the survey was completed, information on both the respondent and the circumstances of the survey were recorded.

The questionnaire was administered to a total of 240 respondents; 120 respondents were Muslim students and 120 respondents were Muslim housewives residing in Korea. In the case of particular questions being not answered, the reasons were noted. The statistical program SPSS was used for the analysis and report. During the survey process, the most common complaint from the respondents was that there were too many questions and some questions such as family members’ ages and marriage status were very private. While surveyors were striving to receive as faithful responses as possible, because of the issue of the length of the survey, there were cases when no answer was given. In spite of such problems of the survey research, this survey report might be useful for understanding the relationship between Muslim identity and consumption of Halal foods of Muslims in Korea.

1. General Conditions

1. Age of respondents

The survey was performed on 240 Muslim housewives and students residing in Korea. The study shows that out of 120 respondents of housewives, 35.8% are in their twenties, 47.5% in their thirties, 12.5% in their forties, 3.3% in their fifties and 0.8% in their sixties. It tells us that the majority of the respondents (83.3%) were in their twenties and thirties. While the student respondents showed similar ration in age group. 58.3% of respondents are in their twenties, 26.7% are in their thirties, 12.5% are teenagers and 2.5% are in their forties. The majority of the respondents (85%) are in their twenties and over thirties.
2. Country of origin of respondents and their husbands (partners)

The survey shows that the country of origin of respondents is 25.8% Korea (housewives), 68.3% Muslim countries and the other countries 5.8%, except Korea and Muslim countries. It can be seen from the study that Pakistan at 28.3% is the highest. Following Pakistan, Korea has a share of 25.8%, Indonesia 8.3%, Bangladesh 5.8%, both Jordan and Malaysia 5% and Uzbekistan 4.2%. Results below 4% include countries such like Turkey, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Egypt, Morocco, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, India, Nigeria, Ghana, and Uganda.

Table 1. Country of origin of respondents (Housewives)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>Korea</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>Indonesia</td>
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<td>Bangladesh</td>
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<td>Jordan</td>
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<td>Malaysia</td>
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<td>Uzbekistan</td>
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<td>Turkey</td>
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<td>Kazakhstan</td>
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<td>India</td>
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<td>1.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
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<td>7.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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**Table 2. Country of origin of respondents' husbands (partners)**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<td>Egypt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Others</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
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**Table 3. Country of Origin of respondents (students)**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<td>9.2</td>
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<td>Country</td>
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<td>Korea</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td><strong>100</strong></td>
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According to the survey, it is confirmed that 77.5% of student respondents’ is not married, 16.7% ‘married (spouse present)’, 2.5% ‘married (spouse absent)’, and 1.7% both ‘cohabiting (with a registered partner)’ and ‘divorced’.

3. **Family income of respondents**

From the survey, it was found that 4.2% of the respondents had far above average income and 15.8% of them had above average income in comparison with that of a Korean family. In addition, 55.8% had average income, 20.8% had below average income, and 3.3% had far below average income in comparison with that of a Korean family. From this result, it can be said that about half of the respondents had an average income in comparison with that of a Korean family.

4. **Length of stay in Korea**

The survey reported that 29.3% of respondents have been living in Korea between two to five years, 27.6% of respondents being born and have been living in Korea, 24.1% of respondents have been living in Korea for less than two years, 12.9% of respondents have been living in Korea between five to ten years, and 6% of respondents have been living in Korea for ten or more than ten years. In case of the student respondents, 58.4% having
lived in Korea for less than two years, 29.7% between three to five years, 2.0% between six to ten years, 7.9% between ten to fifteen years, and 2% for twenty or more years

5. Current occupation

The survey stated that 45.8% of respondents were currently employed (including part-time jobs), while 54.2% of respondents were full-time housewives. Among employed respondents, 24.2% were having part-time job and 14.2% were fully employed. Accordingly, 31.2% of employed respondents were working in industry production, 22.1% of them were working in education, and 13% of them were working in restaurant, hotel and bar. In addition, 9.1% working in retail/stores/market, 5.2% in commercial services, 2.6% working in each agriculture/fishing and transportation/communication and (health) care, 1.3% working in both bank/insurance and construction, and 7.8% in other services. Finally, 7.5% of the respondents were self-employed.

II. Religious Life and Halal Foods

1. Observance of Islamic duties/rules in Korea

The share of respondents who followed Islamic duties/rules ‘fairly strictly and very strictly’ are 39.2% and 21.7% in respective, while 29.2% of them do not practice Islamic duties/rules ‘strictly’, 5.8% do not follow it at all and 4.2% are non-Muslim. On the other hand, 38.3% and 23.3% of respondents’ husbands reported ‘fairly strict and very strict’ observance of Islamic duties/rules. 23.3% of them do not fulfill Islamic duties/rules ‘strictly’, 6.7% do not follow it at all and 8.3% are non-Muslim. As a result, the majority of respondents and their husbands showed ‘fairly strict or very strict’ observance of Islamic duties/rules. In general, housewives in Korea follow their husband in fulfilling Islamic duties.

In case of students, the study determined that 25% and 46.7% of respondents followed Islamic duties/rules fairly strictly and very strictly, while 21.7% of them do not observe Islamic rules strictly, 5% of them do not follow it at all, and 1.7% of them are non-Muslim.
Therefore, the majority of respondents showed fairly strict or very strict observance of Islamic duties/rules.

2. Daily prayer

The survey shows that 35.7% of respondents practice daily prayer five times a day, 22.5% do it daily and 12.5% do it once a week. The shares of respondents’ husbands for daily prayer reported with 38.3% ‘five times a day’, 20% daily and 20.8% once a week. In case of students, 37.5% of respondents do daily prayer five times, 35% do it daily, 10.8% do it once a week and 6.7% do it only on religious holidays. Only 9.2% never do daily prayer and 0.8% are not applicable (no religion).

3. Fasting during Ramadan

One of the Islamic duties is to fast during Ramadan for a month. 39.2% of respondents answered this question with ‘always’, 19.2% reported ‘most of the time’, 14.2% ‘never’, 10.8% ‘occasionally’, 9.2% being ‘non-Muslim’ and 7.5% ‘depends on situation’. As a result, the majority of respondents fast always or most of the time during Ramadan. Students answered that 51.7% ‘always’, 18.3% ‘most of the time’, 10.8% ‘never’, 10% ‘occasionally’, 7.5% ‘depends on situation’ fast during Ramadan, and 1.7% are ‘non-Muslim’.

4. Change in religious faith

It was asked to respondents if there was any change in their religious faith after having a child. 40.3% of respondents reported “did not change”, 25.2% and 18.5% “became stronger and fairy stronger”. In the case of respondents’ husbands, 51.3% reported “no change in their religious faith after having a child”, where else 19.3% and 15.1% “became stronger and fairy stronger”. In conclusion, respondents and their husbands showed that their religious faith did not change or become stronger after having a child.

5. Satisfactory level of overall life
The survey shows that 32.5% respondents are ‘very satisfied’ with their overall life in Korea and 54.2% ‘satisfied’, 10.8% ‘not satisfied’, and only 2.5% ‘not at all satisfied’. We can see that over 86.7% of respondents are either ‘satisfied or extremely satisfied’ with their overall life in Korea. The research on students shows similar result. Satisfactory level is high. 44.2% ‘very satisfied’, 50% ‘fairly satisfied’, 2.5% ‘fairly unsatisfied’ and 3.3% ‘very unsatisfied’.

39.2% of respondents answered to satisfactory level of religious life ‘very satisfied’, 48.3% ‘fairly satisfied’, 8.3% ‘fairly unsatisfied’ and 4.2% ‘very unsatisfied’. In terms of satisfactory level of housing and neighborhood, 34.2% of respondents claimed ‘very satisfied’, 50.8% ‘fairly satisfied’, 11.7% ‘fairly unsatisfied’ and 3.3% ‘very unsatisfied’. In regards to being satisfied with foods, 34.2% of respondents reported ‘very satisfied’, 40.8% ‘fairly satisfied’, and 12.5% both ‘fairly unsatisfied’ and ‘very unsatisfied’. The satisfactory level of health condition of respondents reported 41.7% ‘very satisfied’, 44.2% ‘fairly satisfied’, 9.2% ‘fairly unsatisfied’ and 5% ‘very unsatisfied’.

In regards to financial condition, 29.2% of respondents answered ‘very satisfied’, 54.2% reported ‘fairly satisfied’, 14.2% reported ‘fairly unsatisfied’ and 2.5% reported ‘very unsatisfied’. In terms of employment(if applicable), 32.1% of respondents responded ‘very satisfied’, 44.6% ‘fairly satisfied’, 16.1% ‘fairly unsatisfied’ and 7.1% ‘very unsatisfied’.

In general, 45% responded that they were very satisfied with their overall life in Korea, 46.7% satisfied, 7.5% not satisfied, and only 0.8% not at all satisfied. It can be claimed that the majority of respondents are either satisfied or extremely satisfied with their overall life in Korea.

6. Identity of Muslim housewives-students in Korea

The research shows that Muslim housewives’ answers to the feeling of Korean identity. 40% of them feels Korean ‘strongly’, 16.7% ‘not strongly and not weakly’ and 42.5% ‘weakly’. In comparison, identity as homeland’s people, 80.9% of respondents were feeling homeland’s people ‘strongly, 9.2% of them were feeling homeland’s people ‘not strongly and not weakly, and 10% ‘weakly’. In regards of identity as Muslim, 65% of
respondents were feeling Muslim ‘strongly’, 17.5% of them was ‘not strongly and not weakly’, and 17.5% ‘weakly’. It shows that identity as homeland’s people is the strongest feeling among Muslim immigrants in Korea.

In case of students, the survey shows that 18.3% of respondents are feeling Korean ‘strongly’, 23.3% ‘not strongly and not weakly’, and 58.3% ‘weakly’. In the terms of identity as homeland’s people, 78.3% are feeling homeland’s people strongly, 13.3% of them are feeling not strongly and not weakly, and 8.3% weakly. In regards of identity as Muslim, 82.5% of respondents feels ‘strongly’, 11.7% ‘not strongly and not weakly’, and 5.8% ‘weakly’. It shows that identity as Muslim is the strongest feeling among Muslim students in Korea.

III. Halal Food Consumption

1. Preference of Halal foods

In reviewing some results, the survey shows that 85.8% of the respondents do never take some foods or drinks violating religion or cultural traditions. These foods are 26.8% non-Halal or Haram, 26.8% Korean/Western (traditional), 12.2% products without Halal certification, 4.9% Korean/Western (fast food/beverage), and 12.2% Halal (fast food/beverage). The majority of respondents answered that they do not have or drink products without Halal certification and Haram.

In case of students, the survey shows that in daily life, 68.3% of respondents respected food prohibition ‘always’, 11.7% ‘most of time’, 9.2% ‘depend on the situation’, 5.8% ‘occasionally’, 4.2% ‘never’ and 0.8% ‘not applicable(no religion)’. It shows that the majority of respondents tried to respect food prohibition such as eating Halal foods.

2. Meaning of halal foods in respondents

The reasons eating halal foods reported 35.9% religious reasons; following 17.1% cultural tradition, 14.2% being good for health, 10.3% being surer from sanitary
perspective, 7.1% better taste, 5.7% having no other choice, and 5% reported inviting some people who eat halal foods. The reasons below 3% were cheap price and other.

3. Places buying Halal foods

The places preferred to buy halal meat or meat reported as follows; 31.0% Halal butchers, 31.4% Halal grocers, 10.0% Homeland’s butchers, 12.4% Homeland’s grocers, 8.1% Korean grocers, 2.4% Homeland’s supermarkets, 1.9% Korean butchers, 2.4% Korean supermarkets and 0.5% other such as vegetarian.

In case of students, 46.5% of respondents buy non-meat Halal grocery ‘always’ and 17.5% “on the situation” when they buy non-meat grocery. Other respondents reported 14.9% ‘most of time’, 12.3% ‘occasionally’ and 8.8% ‘never’. The majority of respondents tend to buy Halal grocery ‘always or most of time’ when they buy non-meat grocery. Moreover, 54.5% of respondents ‘always’ and 22.3% of them ‘most of the time’ check the Halal label or logo on the package when they buy processed foods. Respondents’ preferences of places for Halal grocery are Halal grocers at 37.8% with the highest share. Next, 20.1% Homeland’s grocers, 15.3% Korean supermarket, 13.9% Homeland’s supermarkets, 12.4% Korean grocers.

4. Use of Halal restaurant

The survey shows that 38.3% of respondents tend to use ‘less often’ Halal restaurants (cafeterias) with the Halal sign or logo. Others reported the use of Halal restaurants with 24.2% ‘once a month’, 22.5% ‘two or three times a month’, 5.8% ‘twice or more a week and once a week’, and 2.5% ‘never’.

In case of students, the survey shows that 25% of respondents eat ‘less often’ at Halal restaurants (cafeterias) with the Halal sign or logo. With a small difference, 24.2% ‘once a month’ and 19.2% ‘two or three times a month’, 15% ‘twice or more a week’, 11.7% ‘once a week’ and 0.8% ‘never’ to eat at Halal restaurants (cafeterias).

5. Recognition about Halal foods and its consumption

In the study, it is asked that the recognition about Halal is related to religion, personal choice, taste and health. According to the results, 58.3% and 22.5% of respondents
‘totally agreed’ and ‘agreed’ that eating Halal meat is something they do to obey their religion. 34.2% and 29.2% personal choice. 35% and 15% Halal meat has better taste than non-Halal meat, where else 35% of respondents ‘neither agreed nor disagreed’ and 13.3% ‘disagreed’ on it. 46.7% and 19.2% of respondents questioned stated ‘totally agreed and agreed’ that Halal meat is healthier. 53.3% and 20.8% shares of respondents ‘totally agreed and agreed’ that Islamic slaughter is less painful to animals.

In case of students, the survey shows that 71.7% and 11.7% of respondents ‘totally agreed and agreed’ that eating Halal meat is something they do to obey their religion. 47.5% and 22.5% personal choice. 40.8% and 25.8% Halal meat has a better taste than non-Halal meat, while 27.5% of respondents ‘neither agreed nor disagreed’ on it. 51.7% and 25.8% of respondents ‘totally agreed and agreed’ that Halal meat is healthier. 59.2% and 16.7% of respondents ‘totally agreed and agreed’ that Islamic slaughter is less painful to animals.

In regards to consumption of Halal products, 21.7% and 15% of respondents ‘totally agreed and agreed’ that Halal products are readily available, while 25.8% and 31.7% of respondents ‘neither agreed nor disagreed’ and ‘disagreed’ on it. On the other hand, 27.5% and 12.5% of respondents ‘totally agreed and agreed’ that there are a lot of choices in Halal products, while 32.5% and 10% of respondents ‘disagreed and totally disagree’ on it. Moreover, 30% and 31.7% of respondents ‘totally agreed and agreed’ that Halal products are more expensive than other food products, while 8.3% and 5% of them ‘disagreed and totally disagree’ on it. In terms of sufficient information available on Halal products, 21.7% reported ‘totally agree’, 13.3% reported ‘agree’, 37.5% reported ‘neither agree nor disagree’, 18.3% reported ‘disagree’ and 9.2% reported ‘totally disagree’.

**Conclusion**

The respondents consist of housewives with Muslim husbands and Muslim students in Korea. The majority combination is Korean housewives and Pakistani husbands. The age group is focused on twenties and thirties. The income and financial condition of the
respondents are little bit higher than Korean people’s average; 71.1% of them answered that ‘average and above average’ comparing to Koreans. Regarding to the occupation, 66.3% of the respondents are working at industry production, educational affairs and service business (restaurants, hotels and bars).

In the religious life in Korea, the majority of respondents and their husbands showed ‘fairly strict or very strict’ observance of Islamic duties/rules. In general, housewives in Korea follow their husband in fulfilling Islamic duties. The survey shows that 70.2% of respondents practice daily prayer five times a day, and at least more than once a week. Meanwhile Muslim students show less ratio than housewives in daily prayer with 52.5%. In the fasting obligation, 58.4% of respondents answered ‘always’ and ‘most of the time’. Students answered 70% is ‘always’ and ‘most of the time’. The survey shows that Korean housewives married Muslim husbands in Korea feel dual identity as Koreans and Muslims as well. 32.5% of respondents feel ‘very satisfied’ with their overall life in Korea and 54.2% ‘satisfied’.

In Halal consumption pattern and life in Korea, the survey shows that 85.8% of the respondents do never take some foods or drinks violating religion or cultural traditions. The majority of respondents answered that they do not have or drink products without Halal certification and Haram. In case of students, the survey shows that in daily life, 68.3% of respondents respected food prohibition ‘always’, 11.7% ‘most of time’, 9.2% ‘depend on the situation’, 5.8% ‘occasionally’, 4.2% ‘never’ and 0.8% ‘not applicable (no religion)’. It shows that the majority of respondents tried to respect food prohibition such as eating Halal foods.

The reasons eating halal foods reported *35.9% religious reasons; following *17.1% cultural tradition, *14.2% being good for health, *10.3% being surer from sanitary perspective, *7.1% better taste, *5.7% having no other choice, and 5% reported inviting some people who eat halal foods.

The places preferred to buy halal meat or meat reported as Halal butchers, Halal grocers, Homeland’s butchers, Homeland’s grocers than Korean grocers and supermarkets. Moreover, absolute majority of respondents ‘always’ and ‘most of the time’ check the Halal label or logo on the package when they buy processed foods. The survey shows that
the use of Halal restaurants with 52.5%(58.4% students) more than ‘once a month’.

About recognition about Halal foods and its consumption, 80.8% (83.4%-students) of the respondents agreed that eating Halal meat is something they do to obey their religion, 64.1%(70%-students) listed personal choice. 50% (66.6%-students) believes that Halal meat has better taste than non-Halal meat. 65.9% (77.5%-students) agreed that Halal meat is healthier. 74.1% (75.9%-students) agreed that the way of Islamic slaughter is less painful to animals.

In regards to consumption of Halal products, 36.7% of the respondents agreed that Halal products are readily available, while 57.58% disagreed. On the other hand, 40% of the respondents agreed that there are a lot of choices in Halal products, while 42.5% disagreed on it. Moreover, 61.7% of the respondents agreed that Halal products are more expensive than other food products, while 13.3% disagreed on it. With increasing number of Muslim immigrants to Korea and marriage with Muslim partners, Halal consumption became pivotal issue to be solved in Korean society. We hope that this survey shall contribute to designing effective strategies in approaching Halal issue in Korea and neighboring Asian countries as well.
7. Localization and Sinicization: Understanding Qingzhen and Halal in China

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Introduction

In recent years, with the development of globalization and urbanization in China, more and more village based country people moved out to look for jobs in cities around China, more or less, for the limitation of their education and technical training, their resettlement in urban society is doomed to be labor-divided only suitable for some labor Kuli work, dwelling on the grassroots level for making a living (Wei 2017,06: 132-146).

After years of hanging in the cities, they are reluctant to go back home to recapture their simple agricultural life. Rationally, they calculated their income, although being felt not at home, they would rather floating in the cities, yet they felt nostalgic of their traditional simple, easy and comfortable life at home (Todaro & Smith 2010). In this large migrating group, ethnic minorities living in northwest China are not absent. Encouraged by the state funded policies of subsidies for guaranteeing their basic life consumption, they abandoned their field lands for recovering the used to be green grasslands and forestry, namely environmental protection, and actively moved into cities(Tian 2001 01:87-89), rented temporary rooms and found part-time jobs with relatively low wages to make a living, for their own consideration, living like citizens(Wu 2013.10.18).

Some labor workers, after years of adaption and self-adjustment, they seek to transform
their labor servants identities to managers or bosses by years of apprenticeship, imitating of the management in their respective industries, of course it is impossible for them to grasp the high technique field, they were still restricted their earlier divisions of labor fields, but the identities were changed (Hao&Chen 2014). Becoming the managers or bosses, doesn’t mean they have left the labor work, they are still work with multi-identities, participating in all layers of their work environment, for instance, for their earlier coming and working in the restaurants as chefs, after transformation, they didn’t leave the positions, but added more responsibilities. Under the background above mentioned, as an ethnic minority group, Hui Muslims are included in the migrant worker groups. Here I will only take Hui Muslims from northwest China Ningxia, Gansu and Qinghai these three provinces into my consideration to make an analysis of the points related to the topic “Localization and Sinicization : Understanding Qingzhen and Halal in China”.

Qingzhen Food and Hui Muslims Migrant Workers’ Localization in the Urban Society

Most of the Hui migrant workers, when they resettled themselves in the cities, being lack of education, experiences, skills or the system of ways of living as locals, they were not easily accepted by or suitable for the positions required, cannot but take up their familiar careers, opening restaurants, selling simple home food such as steamed buns, fried bread, at street corner food stands with advertising plates of Qingzhen, which is the sign of emphasizing the food they sold were halal, made by Muslims in the name of Bisiminlia, and fit for Islamic shariah (Ma 2011 02:77-91). Before their coming, in fact there were some restaurants labeled as Qingzhen restaurants all around cities, because Hui people
were almost scattered in every city, inhabiting in a community with the surrounding of mosques. But they were not thought to be problematic, they were exist there, serving for all locals with welcoming, as long as they entered into. People go to Muslim restaurants to enjoy the exoristic delicacy and to experience the different culture. Qingzhen (halal) food, for consumers, they chose for their respective motivations and needs, no one would refuse because it was made by Muslims. The same thing happened at the early stage of Hui migrant workers. They were widely welcome and accepted by locals, because their coming with their service, and their special tastes of food with relatively lower price, enriched locals’ lives with convenience(Wang 2014). Once I was in Beijing for a short period of training, I frequently went to a Qinghai Salar restaurant for three meals everyday, I encountered an aged Beijing local, he was enjoying the food in the restaurant as well. He told me that he felt very thankful for the open of this restaurant. After finding the restaurant, about 10 minutes walk away from his home place, he did not employ a domestic helper any longer, whom he had to pay over 3000 yuan each month as bell worker, because he could walk over and enjoy the delicious food with abundant choices and lower prices. The payment he gave to the domestic helper cost much more than his three meals in the restaurant. This case was not simply rare in Beijing on this aged man.

People living in the urban societies shared the same sense of convenience, which resulted in the more and more Qingzhen restaurants opened in the cities, and Hui migrant labors made some money. It became an industry in northwest provinces. Seeing these people resettled in the urban societies and made good money, others imitated them and followed suits. In a short few years, almost in each city, hundreds of Lanzhou Beef Noodle restaurants with Qingzhen plates were opened, although the managers were not all coming
from Lanzhou (Wu 2010 02:93-96). They developed the business the same as chain stores. The other day I went to Singapore and changed the flight in Guangzhou, when I was worrying about where to find a Qingzhen restaurant for a meal, I was reminded to use baidu map, and I typed “Qingzhen Canguan”, “Halal Restaurant” or “Lanzhou Beef Noodles”, to find the nearest restaurant to enjoy the meal. It was true and very convenient, I found the restaurant run by a Qinghai Hualong county Halal restaurant, only 5 minutes walk.

While undergoing the rapid development of this industry, quite a number of Hui migrant labors were simultaneously settled down in their respective venues, working as chefs, helpers, and some came with their whole family as well. These people came to the urban societies, not only with their labors, skills of food manufacturing, but also brought their culture, their ethnic and home culture as well. More or less being termed as Northwest Hui Muslim culture. Hui migrant labors came to the urban societies, they inevitably encountered some horizontal competitions in various positions, and food industry was one. Besides, when they were trying to get adjust to the urban life, their Muslim identity was widely embodied through their everyday life behavior, for instance, Muslim dressing with a white cap, thick beard, or women with hijab and long gowns. And they also went to the nearby mosques for five time prayers, or gatherings during festivals (Zang 2007 ). Although they came individually to the cities, yet gradually they came together as a group because of the identities of home background(Cohen 1969), in Chinese Laoxiang (from the same home place), or ethnic and same business backgrounds.

In a not long while, people in the cities as locals, started to get aware of these Muslims coming, staying and contesting. Under the background of globalization and negative
images of Islam and its practitioners Muslims, that is to say, the Islamophobia, locals, the majorities Han Chinese in particular, felt uncomfortable of the increasing amount of Hui Muslims population. Being learned or informed through media about the negative images of Muslims, especially the influence of the international terrorism, Hui Muslims were closely associated with the same identities, they were also Muslims, they were possible to become extremists, terrorists. They believed there was potential risk incubated in their life. Hui Muslims migrant labors, their counterparts started to make rumors through their predominant wechat, weibo (the same as international twitter or facebook) and other public medias to influence other netizens and consumers not to eat in the Qingzhen restaurants. The rumors were made in the name of Islamic violence, terrorism and extremism, such as if you eat Qingzhen, you are supporting terrorism. Qingzhen Restaurants were proliferated with the motivation of developing Islam in China, which was humiliated as lūhua zhonggong “Greening China”, because Islam with symbolic color of green. Netizens led by some influential scholars and network big Vs (weibo company provided reputable people with symbolic names), in the name of protect China, defending being Islamicized. At the early stage, it was only discussed and debated among virtual media world, it was like the rumor came out in 1768, which was researched by Kuhn(Kuhn 1990 ). Later on, it started to come out to the factual societies, even some governments began to interfere and investigate “the development of Islam” in China. In the scholastic society, scholars knew this was resulted from the identity politics(Hekman 2004), the universally existing populism and nationalism. Among civilians, it is true, but once it is discussed by authorities, it becomes quite complicated. As soon as the Qingzhen related rumors were discussed among authorities, the local government and relevant departments actively started their investigation. Their conclusion was that the Qingzhen
Proliferation was true, should be restricted. Qingzhen and Halal had the tendency of close ties with Islam. After a long period of observation and research, I found, in terms of localization and Sinicization, Qingzhen and Halal in China were not clearly represented both among academia and people’s everyday life. I need to write an article to clarify directed by my education background, the anthropological theory and research methods.

Qingzhen, in Traditional Chinese Culture

Qingzhen, the term Chinese Hui Muslims most frequently used in their everyday life, was not originated from this Islam practice group, or created by them, although it is simply referred to the food reached the regulations of Islamic shariah Halal. In Classic Chinese culture, Qingzhen denoted the meaning purity, simplicity, honesty, perspicuity and cleanness in the thoughts of Taoism. Qingzhen had nothing related to Islam, exited much earlier than the coming into being of Islam. In Tang dynasty poet Li Bai’s poems, the term qingzhen with the meanings of purity, honesty and perspicuity in his poems. 21 Poet Yao He’s poem also denoted the qingzhen as purity, 22 fasting for being pure. Lu You, the Song dynasty poet praised the flower plum as 23 the plum keeps to be pure and different although other flowers blossom competitively. Huang Tingjian, the Song dynasty poet also had the word qingzhen in his poems. The famous book *A New Account of the Tales of the World* had the sentence with qingzhen referred to the meaning of simplicity.

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21 梦歌《从翁清・五莲山房》昨昨景梦里人 － 手弄素月清潭日。白枕席非碧山，白身西望阻秦日。麒麟上春日早，著却伊伊好。青松来只吹古道，白中白花覆烟草。我家仙翁・清真，才雄草·凌古人，欲白间世。言微茫在何日，五莲峡水横一路。身披翠云裳，抽拂紫烟去，去白白留少少，相思折三花。22 《寄不出院僧》，姚合，不行好地方，戒得清真。青霞来好山，深居定身。朝昼常傍佛，起坐省逢人。非独心常白，衣无一点白。23 《中中梅》，游，尽千葩百卉春，此花味独清真。江池雪愁夜，日上日香入人。炙眼白苞初白信，回白青子又生仁。白游佛年白迷，徒倚白千一神。
Qingzhen was even named as the title of the book. North Song dynasty scholar Zhou Bangyan had the book Qingzhen Collection. All these implementation of qingzhen had nothing related to Islam, the understanding of qingzhen was with its literal sense or original meaning, qing, purity, zhen, authenticity. Qingzhen was also introduced to the religion of Taoism, for the temple, as qingzhenguan, qingzhen Taoist Temple. Qingzhen was even borrowed by Judaism in China. In 1489, the Ming dynasty, the Judaism church as named as qingzhensi(Ding 2017: 156-166).

Qingzhen, Inheriting of Tradition and Enlarging the Meaning

Earlier while the Islam was introduced to China, it was named variously, such as dashifa, Arab Law, dashijiao, Arab Religion, Huihuijiao, Huihui Teachings, Qingjingjiao, Purity and Peace Religion, Huijiao, Hui Teachings. In Ming dynasty, the emperor Zhu Yuanzhang, indexed in the book by Liuzhi, Tianfangzhishengshilu with the sentence and mentioned the religion was addressed as qingzhen, since then, the Islam was namely localized as , and the qingzhen its meaning was more closely tied with Hui Muslims and Islam in China, and its earlier meaning was rarely used in Chinese cultural context. Qingzhensi, also had different varieties, not quickly and unanimously addressed with one name, even today, the names are with multiple presentations, such as the mosque in Yinchuan as mingxinsi, Mingxin mosque, named with a late sufi leader Ma Mingxin’s name. Si, in Chinese, generally refers to the

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24 出《南朝 宋· </p> 《世·新···誉》: 山公·阮成·吏部郎, 时曰: 清真寡欲, 万物不能移也。
25 《清真集注》(上·下·) 分上·下, 是一部·北宋著名文学者周邦彦·存·、·文新·精理·注的·著。·注者··先生·香港大学中文系教授,·期从事中国古典文学教研究工作,·周邦彦·的·研究·用力·深。 上·下·注,·以宋·元·注的·片·集·台,·重·排·注·行·注,并收集····以供参考。此外,·撰·附··,·以探求·写作·地。中··文·注,·而周邦彦的·文·久·失·。由·教授·从·浩繁的·典籍中·收集··,·共得稿·余·,·又·余篇,·一并加以·年·注。下·注·参考·科,·内容·包含周邦彦的·事迹、·著述、·序·、·版本等。
temple, the synonyms like tang, guan. Hui Muslims introduced both the qingzhen and si from Chinese language terms to the localization of Islam into China by its name, qingzhen and qingzhensi, even today, the Islamic countries and Arab world cannot understand the meaning of qingzhen and qingzhensi in the discourse of Chinese cultural and language context. If we translate qingzhen as Purity and Authenticity, qingzhensi as Purity and Authenticity temple or church, not replaced by halal and mosque, it is not easy for them to understand what it really means. From the examples mentioned above, we know that Islam, since its introducing into China, the process of Islamic localization was inevitably started with both Muslims adaptation into Chinese culture and society, and their paraphrasing Islam with Chinese philosophy, tradition and social systems as backgrounds (Ding 2017 01: 156-166).

Since the formation of Huizu, Hui Muslims as an ethnic minority group in late Yuan and early Ming dynasties, Qingzhen was ascribed with a variety of denotative and connotative meanings, for instance, in Ming dynasty, Hui Muslims termed the mosque as qingzhensi, then Islam as qingzhenjiao. Hui Muslim scholars such as Wang Daiyu, Liu Zhi and Ma Zhu borrowed traditional Chinese culture ethics from Taoism and Confucianism and integrated into the understanding of Islam, and paraphrased the connotations of Islam in the context of Islam in China, which was considered as the integration of two civilizations Chinese traditionality and Islamism. By their in-depth comprehension and paraphrase, works such qingzhen daxue (comprehensive of Islam), qingzhen zhinan (guidance of Islam) and qingzhenshiyi (Interpretation of Islam) were published, considered the theoretical and ideological localization of Islam in China. Late in the Republic of China, the connotation of qingzhen was more widely comprehended and introduced to the field
of cultural education under the background of cultural awareness in China (Murata & Chittick, 2000). Hui Muslim elites started to use qingzhen for the names of news papers and journals, such as qingzhenhuibao (the bell of Islam), qingzhen yuekan (Monthly of Islam). qingzhen was even used as names of some organizations, such as qingzhen middle school, qingzhen press, qingzhen studies committee, and on food as qingzhenshipin, from which we can conclude that qingzhen was already widely integrated into Hui Muslims’ every corner of their lives. From this brief background, we know that the integration of qingzhen into their everyday life, was the process of construction of Hui cultural system in the discourse and environment of Chinese Han cultural structures (Ding, 2017:156-166).

**Qingzhen, Foodways and Identity Construction in Hui Muslims Everyday Life**

During the process of the localization of Islam in China, Qingzhen as a term borrowed from traditional Chinese culture and was ascribed with more meanings in certain context. Islam in China was, on the one hand, was practiced by all walks of Muslims in China, and was paraphrased by Muslim scholars with Chinese Philosophic thoughts, while interacting with majority Han Chinese people and other ethnic minorities as well, Non-Muslims also tried to understand Islam, which resulted in the integration of the sense of propriety, justice, honesty and honour, with the recognition of the monotheism, and formed characteristic Hui Muslim culture in China. Hui Muslim culture, as explained by Ma Zhu, the scholar written the book qingzhenzhanan, the guidance of Islam in China, was both ingrown with Chinese traditionality and the spirit of Islam. He summarized with symbolic meaning, Hui Muslims lived in China as Chinese, it was difficult to master both, but with spirit of Islam without traditionality, the same as the
sprout was not vigorous, with traditionality without the spirit of Islam, was the same as vigour without fruit. He encouraged Hui Muslims should actively get involved into the education of Chinese to understand Chinese philosophy, as well as the sincerity to the practice of Islam (Liang 2005 02:78-82).

When I was studying my PhD degree of anthropology in the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK), I had some local Chinese Muslim friends. Most of their families came to Hong Kong before 1949, the founding of PRC from different provinces and cities in mainland China. At the time, there were a few restaurants managed by Hui Muslims, such as Beijing Niurouguan (Beef Restaurant) in Kowloon, Aiqundao Mosque restaurant in Wanchai, and some Indian and Pakistani restaurants in Chongking mansion of Tsim Sha Tsui. Meeting with Hong Kong Chinese Muslims, they suggested we had some meals in vegetarian restaurants managed by those who believed in Buddhism. At the beginning, I felt reluctant and could not eat, because I didn’t see the plate of Qingzhen or halal. In my growing cultural background, food not cooked by Muslims, not with Qingzhen or halal plates, should not be eaten, should be tabooed, or namely the haram. But my Hong Kong Muslim friends accepted. They told me this didn’t start from Hong Kong Muslims, actually in the Republic of China in mainland, Muslims did have their meals in non-Muslims’ restaurants as long as the restaurants didn’t mixed-use the utensils. Followed suit with them, I started to have vegetarian food in different restaurants. Later on, I checked some literature and found some interesting stories about how Hui Muslims keep them religious habits in their everyday life. Restaurants managed by Chinese Han people, some Hui dieters came and asked if it was one side or two sides, one side meant only provided food for Chinese Han people, two sides meant for both Hui and Han, although
they didn’t provide the symbolic plates, such as a blue camouflage, a piece of blue clothes or a picture with kettle. In some other places, people differed restaurants as qingzhen or not, by defining them as one side or two sides, not by asking if it is qingzhen halal or not. This difference only worked for Hui Muslims, while for Chinese Han, they could go to both restaurants. In some places, Han restaurants provided two sides food with two different utensils or two kitchens for attracting more dieters to consume. For qingzhen restaurants, mostly they had blue clothes or a kettle, some Hui food stands simply used a piece of wood plate with Chinese characters qingzhen huihui, qingzhen gujiao, xiyu huihui etc. as symbols of identifications of qingzhen halal food. At that time, Hui Muslim food and restaurants had good reputation and rich business, attracted quite a lot of consumers to come and eat, which made their counterparts, the same business practitioners felt envious and imitated with similar symbols to attract consumers to eat their foods. As it was easy to make the same symbols, some Han restaurants either put a plate with words 纯洁 or pure and clean or employed some Hui Muslims worked for them making the restaurants as qingzhen. From these cases we could conclude that generally if there was no qingzhen food, Hui Muslims at that time accepted the vegetarian food in Non-qingzhen restaurants. Qingzhen food business with good reputation attracted consumers to accept not considering qingzhen or not, only judged by the taste of the food. Besides, there were some “fake” qingzhen food existed at the time. The boundary of identity through food became obvious and things were extraordinarily re-existed, this also happens today. In the follow paragraphs, I shall go deeply into how people understand qingzhen and halal today((Ding 2017 01: 156-166)).

We have to be frank that Chinese Non-Muslims their imitation of qingzhen food by using
qingzhen plate or similar signs, was not to deliberately humiliate Hui Muslims, or intended to offend the Islamic taboos to create some clashes. Their motivations were to make more money by using qingzhen plate to attract consumers to buy their food, including Hui and Han consumers, because generally the Hui food was considered more delicious, cheaper and safer in terms of food taste, price and security. These business people actually didn’t have the intention to sell tabooed food such as pork or lord oil contained food, they only wanted to use the qingzhen plate to make more money, and their understanding of qingzhen is without pork. Hui Muslims, knowing that the misuse or the imitation of the qingzhen plate was because of the lack of the cultural communication between Hui and Han, then they organized scholars to write a couple of articles or pamphlets such as the Some Issues on Hui Muslims Food, Basics of Muslim Diets, The Choice of Hui Muslims to Food, Some Food Taboos of Hui Muslims. These publications helped Hui Muslims understand the rationale of Islamic food taboos, and also helped Han people to know the reasons why Hui Muslims keep their food choices. Apart from the food Hui Muslims needed to be qingzhen, they gradually reinforced their boundaries(Barth 1969) to make sure what they touched were not “polluted” by pig and pork related stuff. They required the qingzhen tea leaves, because the tea leaves not be fried in a pot ever cooked pork or lard. For sugar, bread, cake or jams, the same requests. For the soap, after their knowing might contain lard, they started to emphasize the materials and resources of the products. The brush should not be made with pork hair, the leather shoes should not be made of pork skin. The detailed and careful requests were not to isolate them from Chinese Han people, it was on the one hand, their complying with the Islamic shariah, on the other hand, the cultural awareness (Fei 1998) of Hui Muslims identities. Living among large population of Chinese Han people, they were easy to get
assimilated, the emphasis on the taboos were to protect them, and their awareness of being different.

This kind of boundary reinforcement, strengthening and emphasis became more obvious after cultural revolution 1966-1976, when the freedom of religions practice was permitted. Hui Muslims in some areas began to recapture their lost traditions, while reconstructing their identities, they persisted on differing by similarities, and seeking for the similarities from distinctive differences (Ding 2011 03: 112-117). During the 10 years of limitation, quite a few Hui Muslims gave up their practice of Islam, and quite a lot of Hui Muslims didn’t know the details of being a Muslim. They regulated with more different concepts of qingzhen. I would like to take my hometown as a case to share the process.

When I was talking with my parents generation villagers about the issues of feeding pigs at home, they didn’t take that as a bitter memory of history, on the contrary, once mentioned about it, they shared the stories for fun. They still remembered how they treated pigs provided by the government, whose pig was fat and got awarded, whose pig was thin and got punished. They didn’t show how they hated the one who advocated Hui Muslims should keep pigs at home for improving the economic situation, because keeping pigs was easy to have more fertilizers for agriculture, and the pigs grew quickly to sell with good price. Also they admired the chairman Mao Zedong, and whatever he ordered should be fully accepted and implemented. For Hui Muslims, the same as Muslims in other areas, had the taboo of pig and the pork, but under the background of that period of China, all walks of civilians had no choice but fully obey the orders from the government, and from Mao in particular. My villagers’ reaction or memory to that issue, didn’t mean
they were unconscious, they understood the positive motivation of the government was to help them live a better life, not as a way of forcing them to be assimilated by feeding pigs. The problem was, during the cause of cultural revolution, the ethnic and religious identities and esteem was randomly ignored.

Even so, for maintaining the sincerity to the belief of the religion and in case of being assimilated, to our generation, they seemed to forget that period, but started to emphasize how dirty the pork was. The discourse made to answer the question why we didn’t eat pork, because the pig was ugly, and the pork was dirty. The discourse was repeatedly emphasized and spread among our generations and next generations inside the communities. Besides, the aged Hui Muslims began to understand qingzhen with a more careful and strengthened boundaries, the meaning of qingzhen was practiced not narrowly in therms of food, but the spiritual qingzhen(Ma 2015 08 18). The food Hui Muslims ate, first of all, should be cooked by Hui Muslims with clean body, women should not touch or cook food if they were on period, those who cook food should have Ghusl and wudu, otherwise the food was not considered as qingzhen, or the people ate the food without ghusl and wudu were not qingzhen, might pollute their bodies, and hurt their Imani. Under this circumstance, Hui Muslims formed a habit that they seldom ate the food outside in the restaurants, because they didn’t trust the chef had ghusl and wudu, and the food, especially the meat cooked in the restaurants of the standard of being qingzhen was not guaranteed. Besides, the qingzhen was even elevated to their everyday life. Those who were really qingzhen, would not quarrel with others, speak no dirty words, never share rumors with others, and should not have negative reactions to others. To some extent, the qingzhen was comprehended as toyyiban, a larger concept in Islam referring to a pure and
wholesome living not only in terms of diet, but also speech, thoughts, actions and deeds. In the arena of food, toyyiban includes not just halal foods but also nutritious, wholesome and hygienic foods (Dorairajoo, Ma, 2016).

Our parents generation, after 1978, the policy of reform and open, the earthbound Hui Muslims, the same as Han Chinese, began to leave their fields and do some business outside of their familiar communities. They didn’t know the situation outside, they were afraid of not being able to eat qingzhen food, they prepared some fried wheat powders with mutton or beef, brought with them bags of baked breads, and ate with hot water like soups. This happened, because Hui Muslims seldom came out, they focused more on their religious life than the secular involvement with business life. But the great change happened to younger generations. When my parents generation started their business life, they learned the skills of driving after being trained with driving licence, they learned with each other and bought trucks and lorries to do the transportation business. Mostly their transportation routes were in northwest China, because it was convenient for them to find qingzhen restaurants and qingzhen food. They were reluctant to go to south or other provinces with few Hui Muslims or qingzhen restaurants. With the development of business, some people started to open restaurants on the ways of transportation for providing food for them, and took the opportunities to make some money.

To our generations, the steps of secularization was sped up because of the frequent interactions with outside. I remembered before I left my hometown Haiyuan county, a Hui Muslims with 75% inhabited area, no restaurants sold beer or alcohol, those Hui Muslims who smoked in public would be criticized, and it was shameful to smoke. Only in a few years, after my graduation from the university, I went back and saw a lot of
restaurants started to sell beers and alcohol openly, even though they were rumored that
the money they made was dirty. What was interesting that the bosses of the restaurants
explained that their selling of alcohol and beers was to attract more consumers, if not,
they had no business. The money they made from alcohol and beers were kept away from
their clean money. They would not mix their clean money with polluted money. Smoking
became open, and people more or less the same age as me, because of their long distance
driving, as excused from them, they needed to smoke to keep them awake at night for
driving, although they didn’t admit they were smokers, and never ever smoked at the
presence of their parents generations. I discussed this case, because Hui Muslims
considered smoking and drinking as haram, was very seriously prohibited among the
communities. But the rhythm of secularization was even more sped up, because more and
more Hui Muslims younger generations came out of their communities, where people not
only helped, but also supervised with each other. After coming out and floating in the
society, they were no longer restricted by religious doctrines and local regulations of
being “good” Muslims. Drinking was not longer a serious taboo, although
psychologically they felt dislike this kind of ways of life. The choice of food with
qingzhen plates was still maintained and practiced. Taking advantages of the freedom
marketing economic policies, the same as Han Chinese people, Hui Muslims actively
participated into the changing of their economic lives. Their business was altered with the
opportunities of economic policies. Hui Muslims made good money in opening
restaurants in urban cities, national wide transportation, logistics, mines and other
business as long as they were satisfied with government policies. After over 20 years of
development, almost in every big cities, Hui Muslims with their business were existed.
Sinicization, Islamophobia, Halal Proliferation and Ritually Returning of Islam

Today, if we go to some Hui Muslim inhabited areas, such as provincial religions, prefecture cities or counties, it is very easy to find a qingzhen restaurant, or we might feel surprised of so many food and food stores are labeled with plates, on which written in bilinguals 清真□□, qingzhen restaurant and Arabic words ۙ؟؟پ ۙ؟پ . It also happens in urban societies, it is not difficult to find a qingzhen restaurant or qingzhen food in the super markets or food stands. Hui Muslims go out for a tour or doing business, they don’t bring fried wheat powders or baked breads any more. Citizens also feel convenient to enjoy the food cooked by Hui Muslims. As is said, their coming make the foodways prosperous and more choice. As mentioned above, Hui Muslims resettle in the urban societies, they take advantages of their specialties, they have no other skills to get involved into the urban life, which result in the opening of qingzhen restaurants here and there.

When China government advocated the policy of Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI), provincial governments almost in all provinces and business people with their companies, actively started up their business with Arabic world and Islamic countries etc., to make more profits under the background of BRI. For Islamic countries and Arabic world, the products they need are required to be certified with halal certification. The tissues, medicine, food, cosmetics in their countries are generally labeled with the sign of halal, which is to guarantee the satisfaction of Islamic shariah. Chinese companies and factories, while trying to sell the products to them, they have to both be certified with and make their products halal. What is problematic is, they personally believe halal is the same as
qingzhen, the products they make are all labeled with qingzhen together with the Arabic words. Some products are certified by the office of qingzhen management of Local Ethnic and Religion Department, such as meats related products. Other products are flexibly labeled with qingzhen, such as mineral water, food oil, wheat powders, rice, medicine, toilet tissues(Ma 2016 08:16-19). Some of these products are labeled only for exports, but the companies find out the potential power of sales, which is, Muslims have more priorities with products labeled with qingzhen, comparing with same products without qingzhen label. But for non-Muslims, with or without qingzhen, some of them have no ideas, and some intend to purchase the qingzhen labeled. In their minds, Hui Muslims have religion, there is a God they feel fear of, and they dare not to put additives, or make fake or bad quality products by fair means or foul. Because of this, qingzhen is labeled randomly, which arose some uncomfortable reactions, in addition, the international Islamphobia spread like virus, came into Chinese people’s mind as well. Qingzhen started to be questioned with the discourse of qingzhen fanhua 爱爱爱 , halal proliferation(He 2016 05:57-59 ). Some netizens, through wechat and weibo, wrote some articles about the negative effect of qingzhen, although in their daily life, they consumed qingzhen food. The qingzhen was rumored as its proliferation was a way to develop Islam in China (Xi Wuyi’s weibo). Some even wrote reports to the government to stop the sales of the qingzhen related products, like what they said, if you consume qingzhen, it is an indirect way to support IS, to support terrorism. The report was confirmed and the regulations and restrictions came out shortly. Qingzhen was questioned, and the negative reaction extended to Islam and Hui Muslims, even to Arabic language. For instance in Ningxia, before the regulations came out, Yinchuan is agreed
to have Sino-Arab Expo once two years, which is a way to develop the economic and
cultural interactions and cooperation. In order to make the guest visitors from Arab world
feel at home, or leave an image of cultural identity, Ningxia government change the
information boards, street advertisements and tourists sites information guidance into
English, Chinese and Arabic three languages, which was considered as a way to
desinicization. The netizens led by a few Big Vs, very active in the internet virtual
societies, while seeing the renovation of Hui Muslims mosques, they questioned the
architectures of the mosques were a way to desinicize by Arab and Saudi styles. Unlike
them, no doubt it is the result of Islamphobia. People started to anti-Islam, and Hui
Muslims became the scapegoats because of their imagination of being fashionable.
Thomas Ericksen said, the characteristics of globalization is the identity politics (Ericksen
2003), the impact of Islamphobia, Chinese Han seek to reconstruct their identities of “who
are we” by differing others from them. Hui Muslims became their easiest counterpart.

Are Hui Muslims really desinicizing? With this question, I have a couple of interviews
and observations through anthropological fieldwork. I basically focused on the
architectural styles of mosques, the qingzhen proliferation and Hui Muslims’ identity
construction.

In the globalization period, the pursuit of fashion or being fashionable and smart, people
in different areas or with different ethnic identities, in their minds, have respective
imagination, in some developed countries, people ‘s concepts of being fashionable are
to return to tradition, they might borrow cultures from more traditional and less developed
areas, while for majority Chinese, influenced by materialism and the motivation of
capitalism and consumerism, their ideal type of ways of life is similar to people in the
west countries, the used to modernization or modern life with electric lamps, telephones and living in the skyscrapers buildings, is changed to have enough savings in the bank, the unlimited purchases and travelling wherever they want at whenever they would like to. For Hui Muslims, their ideal type of fashion, apart from the points the same as Chinese Han, they have their fashion, influenced by Muslim identity, of seeing like Muslims. They take Muslims’ life in Malaysia, the ways of practicing Islam in Arab world and Islamic countries, to be more devoted to the religion and to culturally look like fashionable and “authentic” Muslims. This is why their mosques were renovated with Malaysia styles. But in Malaysian guests I interviewed mind, they were not Malaysian styles, although seeing like Malaysian Mosques styles. Traditionally, after nearly 1400 years of localization, Muslims their cultural points were localized, the mosques looked the same as other buildings. If there is no crescent hung above the building, seeing from outside, nothing different. But during the cultural revolution, most mosques were demolished. In early 1980s, mosques built were simply similar to folk houses or vernacular dwellings. After more than 30 years of development, Hui Muslims have enough money to be collected together to build new mosques. The collective building of mosques, conceptually, it is from traditional Chinese culture, the public building of a village or a community is the face of the community members. That is why the Buddhism temples and clan ancestral temples are renovated as soon as the members have enough money. When Hui Muslims are renovating their mosques, they are in dilemma, they do want to follow the tradition to have big mosques the same as they used to have, which were fully built with wood and traditional skills without nails. But it would cost a lot and it is difficult to find carpenters who keep the skills. Influenced by economic rationality and imagined community identities (Anderson 1991), Hui Muslims turn their visions to the Islamic style.
What is ironic is, they invited Han carpenters to download mosques pictures online and ask them to design according to the pictures provided with lowest cost and most beautiful styles. When one mosque was built reached their requirements, other communities imitated. In a short period, renovated mosques were built up. These buildings were prominently different from other buildings and seeing like very Islamic. Chinese Han and government felt very uncomfortable, and left a very strong misconception that Islam has been badly developing in China.

Qingzhen, if we don’t go deeply to understand its meaning in Chinese cultural context after undergoing hundreds years of localization, is easy to be equally or same treated as halal. In fact, with regards to the Islamic doctrines and shariah, in this layer, qingzhen is the same as halal. For qingzhen and halal certification, is in accordance with the shariah. But qingzhen has more cultural and social meaning in the discourse of Chinese circumstance. I have analyzed the qingzhen in the previous paragraphs. In the following I would take more cases on a political issue of the legislation of qingzhen regulations. The background is, in the past years, the food security became very hot topic among Chinese people, because they encountered the fake products, poisonous milk powders, genetically modified food and swill-cooked dirty oil. To some degree, products with qingzhen label are more trustworthy and accepted. The wide acceptance and consumption of qingzhen products attract manufacturers to applying for the certification. The qingzhen certification regulations have strict rules for participation. Those who have Hui Muslim identities are easy to have it. Non-Muslim manufacturers employed Hui Muslims to justify that they are fit for the rules. Or they cooperated with Hui Muslims to carry out their business together. Or they just personally made a certificate. They don’t understand
the religious meaning of qingzhen, and believe it is only a market access. In the market, there came out various qingzhen products without being correctly slaughtered or manufactured. Even the qingzhen pork was sold openly in the market. Some retailers and food stands sellers, when they realized the good sales of qingzhen products, they went to the decorating companies and made a plate with the pictures of mosques, qingzhen words in both Chinese and Arabic. Consumers didn’t know the details either, if they didn’t question the authenticity, they would purchase. What’s more, in some barbecue and clubs, they even had the plates of qingzhen beer. The qingzhen market was seriously mixed without fitting for the regulations. Some representatives, with the motivation of protecting the qingzhen in case the religious and ethnic conflicts happened, and maintaining the good opportunities of doing business with Muslims abroad, they submitted report to the government through PC and CCPC representatives meeting. They requested the legislation of qingzhen food management regulations, but it was questioned and denied, because in China, no customs, or religion be particularly protected, if yes, how about other ethnic minorities and religions? Afterwards. More questions came out. Muslims in China had strong identity of their religious identities, their dressings, their ways of lives, their consciousness on Islamic shariah, as Chinese, and under the Communist atheism, these should not be prominently embodied. Also Hui Muslims were questioned to be influenced by Wahhabism, which was thought to be manipulated by IS, easy to train Hui Muslims to be extremists and terrorists. Then different regulations came out to discuss what Chinese Muslims’ images should be. As Chinese Muslims, having been localized, should not have the dressing the same as Saudis, or seeing like weird terrorists. It is true, Hui Muslims’ dressings have been changed by the concept of being fashionable Muslims, women have their hijab, men with long pullovers. I understand it as a way of imitation,
not ideologically followed suit with Saudis or Malays, it is a phenomenon of reinforced identities construction. Because of this “tendency”, the religion should be matched with the China’s socialism road was advocated a policy for Hui Muslims to support CPP’s leadership and to develop with the guidance of socialism road, the Sinicization.

After more than 30 years of secularization and cultural assimilation, Hui Muslims younger generations also realized their loss of the practice of Islam, this vacancy forced themselves to recapture their identities by reinforcing their rituals. Their adherence to the religion was far less than their parents generation. By constructing their identities, or by recovering and supplementing their mind sincerity to the religion, the everyday behavior of being a good Muslim is performed. The food they eat should be qingzhen, although some of them smoke and drink. They would say salam when greeting in public. And their collective consciousness and identities were exaggerated by habitual behaviors. Besides, they kept a white cap, beard and moustache to embody their identities as Muslims, with these obvious images, which made non-Muslims very uncomfortable, how come so many Muslims suddenly come into their life? All these complicated backgrounds resulted in the anti Islam and Muslims both in the internet communities and actual societies.

Conclusion

Jonathan N. Lipman, rhetorically addressed Hui Muslims in China majority society as “familiar strangers”(Lipman 1997), which tried to go back to the history of how Hui as an ethnic group was formed. It is true, a number of them came to China as merchants, their interaction with Chinese, both formed a social relation with Chinese Han people, culture and society, and localized a group of people becoming one of ethnic minorities in
China. Although these people shared the same space in different areas and societies, they had some transactions, Hui Muslims even played roles as middle-men between Han and other ethnic minorities, but their cultural strangeness was not beyond their boundaries for their practice of different religions. Dru Gladney (1997) took for cases of Hui Muslims inhabited areas in China, from which we could understand the diversity of Hui Muslims in China although they were identified as a minority minzu. Qingzhen, as way of life, as well as a way for Hui Muslims to keep their sincerity to the religion Islam they believe in, what is more, a symbolic meaning for keeping them as a different group from other groups ethnically, religiously or socially. Qingzhen for Hui Muslims, inherited Chinese traditional cultural meaning of purity and authenticity, developed the new meaning in the context and discourse of China and being Chinese in terms of belief protection, social adaptation, religious localization and ideological integration. If we understand the qingzhen is same as halal, it is only the meaning of Islamic shariah, because qingzhen in China is already endowed with social, cultural and even political meaning. Internally Hui Muslims, because of her diversity, qingzhen is comprehended variously with multi-layers of meaning, and being practiced respectively as well. Qingzhen includes Hui Muslims’ ways of life, world view, outlook on life, sense of worth and ethnic identities. But during the course of sinicization, qingzhen is more commercialized as a symbol of being trustworthy, and its religious meaning of being suitable for Islamic shariah is less emphasized. As is required, the religion should be adjusted to the China’s Socialist road, which means, religious meaning of qingzhen should be kept indoors among Muslims internally in the community, not exposed to the socialist society. And Hui Muslims should practice the qingzhen in dietary and foodways level. This is resulted from the globalization, Islamophobia, identity politics and the urbanization of Hui Muslims in China.
Halal is also required to be sincized with economic meaning. The BRI needs the development of economic interactions with Islamic countries and Arab world, but the meaning of halal, certified in accordance with the Islamic shariah by Malaysia certification organizations or companies is accepted in China for exporting the products. Chinese people generally think qingzhen and halal are the same, only referring to the food without pork. Food without pork is qingzhen or halal is being widely known, which brings the chaotic market that the manufacture of qingzhen or halal food is randomly labeled with the symbol. Factories manufacturing food, for better sales, they put qingzhen symbols without the approval of the relevant organizations, that is why meat not being corrected slaughtered is sold in the market, and even the pork is labeled in Hong Kong food market provided by a Chinese Malaysian.

Identity Politics, globalization and Islamophobia made Chinese Hui Muslims restricted their boundaries of practicing their identities, social relations and self-awareness. This happened after a long period of secularization and the reinforcement of State policy of being sinicized and adjustment to the socialist road. The policy requested to play more roles the same as the majorities, and reduce the particularities from the minority. Politically, people practice religions will follow suit as the State requested, while identically they would more ideologically construct the concept of “who are we”. Qingzhen and halal, as a media of cultural communication and social interaction, in China, is still a quite complicated topic to research. If we understand the food security level, it is still meaningful for people to consume, once it is related to the religion Islam, for fear of extremism, terrorism and IS, people will hesitate and question the possible rumors they read and heard of. More detailed paraphrases and interactions are needed to be analyzed.
There is no doubt, the steps of urbanization of Hui Muslims and the consumption of qingzhen food in the market economy cannot be blocked. Therefore, more academic researches are needed for understanding qingzhen and halal from different perspectives.

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8. Halal Hunters: Food Translation and Web3.0 among Indonesian Muslim Graduate Students in Taiwan

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Abstract
This paper discusses Indonesian Muslim graduate students’ halal food practices in Taiwan, a country with a pork-heavy culinary culture. Based on participant observation and interviews conducted between 2014 and 2017 at various sites, I demonstrate Indonesian Muslim graduate students’ food strategies and highlight their agency in recreating local and global food networks. Empirically, I explore the influence of Indonesians on Taiwan and the ways to open up a halal food space both via face-to-face interactions and via smartphone technology. Theoretically, I present a case study which illustrates how religion and technology are mutually reinforcing, facilitating a specific cultural project of faith and engineering in the field of Islam and Web 3.0.

Research questions
This short paper concisely discusses the ways Indonesian Muslim graduate students in Taiwan shape and reshape a halal food network. The research questions include:

1) How do Indonesian Muslim grad students accommodate their Islamic dietary code in Taiwan’s pork-heavy culinary context?
2) How do they translate their religious dietary code in Taiwan and, in turn, change the local food landscape?
3) How do they combine religion and technology in their amplification of the halal food network through smartphones and Web 3.0?

These research questions help us further understand the diversity of the life that expatriate Indonesians experience beyond that of migrant workers, and explore the influence of Indonesians on Taiwan, instead of merely readdressing Taiwan's influence on them. Specifically, this study narrates the process in which Muslim students opened up a halal food space on one particular campus, and further on the Internet via a new
Muslim company called Halal XYZ that develops halal apps on smartphones. Overall, this paper highlights the agency of Muslim Indonesian students in Taiwan to reshape the food landscape and Islamic practices in Taiwan, and provides some useful clues to both public and private institutions to encourage the establishment of Muslim-friendly facilities.

**Notes on digital Islam**

In the past two decades, the intersection of Islam and the Internet has been a fruitful site of research. Eickelman and Anderson’s edited volume (1999) pioneered the study of the new Muslim public spheres online, and many other scholars have investigated the rise of new Islamic knowledge, authorities and identity via websites, blogs and social media (Rogan 2006, Turner 2007, Campbell 2007, Hosen 2008, El-Nawawy 2009, Sands 2010). Bunt’s *Muslims: Rewiring the House of Islam* (2009) is perhaps the most comprehensive study of the diverse developments in digital Islam, from the demographics of Muslim web users and censorship, to democratic voices and Jihad recruitment online.

Despite the abovementioned literature, most research about digital Islam focuses on celebrities and fails to include ethnographic observation of ordinary people. The discussion is also often limited to predominantly Muslim areas, leaving out the practices of Muslim minorities. Moreover, the exploration of the application of Web 3.0 for Islamic purposes remains rare. Hence, this short paper presents some preliminary data of a Muslim minority group in order to further the discussion of the complexity and creativity of middle class Muslims in the age of digital Islam.

**Methods**

Participant observation and interviews between 2014 and 2017 were conducted at various sites including mosques (two in Taipei, one in Taichung, and one in Kaohsiung) and halal restaurants. During these sessions I observed and documented the dietary life of Muslim Indonesian students in Taiwan.

Research sites
Research process:

- Participant observation:
  I conversed with my respondents in Indonesian, of which I have a good command. I didn’t carry a notebook with me, and instead I focused on chatting with them informally and becoming their friends first. I dined with them on campus, halal restaurants and mosques. Only after I became more familiar with them did I start to interview them and record our conversations with their permission.

- Verbatim transcript
  The interviews were transcribed and translated into Mandarin. The transcription includes the pauses, non-complete sentences and bodily expression (if applicable).

- Encoding
  On the basis of the verbatim data, I classified and reorganized according to their relevance to the research questions, and readjusted my research questions if the data demonstrated that the questions were inadequate to addressing the respondents’ concerns. I then marked the most useful terms, sentences and concepts, and proceeded to the following steps of research.
• Analysis
On the basis of the encoding, I developed relevant themes systematically and outlined a story line of the data, making sure that the data and research questions were not only compatible but also convincing.

• Findings
On the basis of the analysis, I presented the findings in a systematic way and connected them to important questions that concern scholars and activists in related fields.

Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonyms</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Degree Program</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nur</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>PhD science and engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosma*</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Other Master degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanisha</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>PhD science and engineering</td>
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<tr>
<td>Najib</td>
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<td>MS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Rosma is the only respondent whose campus is in Taichung rather than NTUST.

Findings

1) How do Indonesian Muslim grad students practice and accommodate their Islamic dietary code in Taiwan’s pork-heavy culinary context?

Many Indonesian Muslim international students in Taiwan are concentrated at National Taiwan University of Science and Technology or NTUST. There are more than 2000 of
them each year. For the past decade, the most active international Muslim organization at NTUST was NTUST-IMSA. This group often organizes events with other international and local Muslim communities, creating some multi-racial sites in Taiwan characteristic of Islamic practices. These sites include the two mosques in Taipei, Taipei Grand Mosque (nicknamed “Big Mosque,” which provides free dinner during the Ramadan) and Taipei Cultural Mosque (nicknamed “Small Mosque,” which provides free food every Friday after the noon prayer and free dinner during Ramadan), along with the Indonesian deli shops nearby them, Indian or Pakistani halal restaurants, and other Indonesian stores near main train stations throughout Taiwan. Below I summarize a few strategies for getting halal food among Muslim Indonesian students at NTUST.

**Strategy 1. Regular consumption on campus cafeteria and convenience stores**  
*(about how NTUST introduced a halal cafeteria on the campus, please see below)*

Examples:
Azib: There are three restaurants available [at NTUST]: vegetarian, halal buffet, and the Mediterranean. [I] often [eat at the school cafeteria] for lunch and dinner.

(Field notes 2015 January 8)

Ismail: [After I] came here I had 7-eleven for breakfast…..sometimes I only eat plain bread or those with jams for breakfast, and go to the school cafeteria for lunch and dinner.

(Field notes 2016 January 21)

Nur: In my lab there are 15 students, 4 Taiwanese, 2 German, 3 Vietnamese, and the rest are all Indonesians. Working inside the lab….pretty busy….one day the advisor [professor] suddenly emailed us ordering us to have a meeting at 9:30 in the morning….very sudden! And then everyone’s schedule was interrupted….I could only bring an onigiri to the lab, the fish flavor.

(Field notes 2016 January 25)

**Strategy 2. Grand Mosque and Small Mosque and the Indo shops nearby**
Examples:
Nur: Usually I choose to go to Small Mosque, because there are fewer people there. During Ramadan I would eat nice and slow with other NTUST students, sitting at the same table.

(Field notes 2016 July 5)

Azib: Occasionally I would go to the Cultural Mosque or the Indo shop next to Grand Mosque…The free meal at Small Mosque is always very good.

(Field notes 2015 January 8)

Agus: Every Friday noon (jumatan) if I have time I would go to Grand Mosque or Small Mosque to have lunch.

(Field notes 2015 January 8)

**Strategy 3. Cooking.**

Nur: I like cooking (masak) by myself the most…when we do cook, usually we buy vegetable and fish at Yong-He Market (a traditional market) [because it is cheaper]…for meat we go to Grand Mosque. Sometimes if there is a guy (such as Agus) I ask him to get raw food, I cook, and then we share the food. Here we often share food…Some time (kapan-kapan) I shall cook some for you, mbak
Enji [referring to me].

(Field notes 2016 January 8)

Ismail: At the boys’ dormitory it’s hard to cook, because some are without kitchens!

(Field notes 2016 January 21)

Rosma: At my university [in Taichung] there are only 8 Indonesian students. Among them five are Muslim, two Christian, and one Buddhist. We always cook and eat together. We cook everyday.

(Field notes 2016 June 29)

It is noteworthy that Indonesian students and spouses (married to Taiwanese) often cook together before some large-scale Indonesian Muslim events in Taiwan. The photo below was taken at Taichung Mosque on 2015 March 8, when Indonesian students and a spouse were preparing food they would eat on the road to a large Islamic preaching seminar in Chungli, Taoyuan. All the food they prepared were home-made, such as tempe goreng (fried soybean cake). From here we can see that Indonesian students often utilize mosques in Taiwan to facilitate their needs, and would use the mosques as bases to expand their Indonesian networks.

On March 8th of 2015, some Indonesian students were cooking together at the kitchen of Taichung Mosque. The event on the following day was to attend a seminar given by a star Indonesian Islamic preacher (ustadz) Ahmed Al-Habsyi at the Chungli Mosque.
Strategy 4. Halal certified or other supposedly (Insya Allah) halal stuff

Aziz: If sometimes I want something different [other than vegetarian food on campus or the halal cafeteria]….I would go to Ximen, where there is a beef noodle soup restaurant…..which is certified as halal by the Chinese Muslim Association. …..I often buy [halal] dumplings there, too, and in the morning I would cook dumplings plus one egg for breakfast…… How do you know that I only eat 5 dumplings in the morning? …….That’s right, speaking of eating, I am really not picky.

(Field notes 2016 January 8)

Rosma: In Taiwan, it is thrilling to find any halal logo, it feels extraordinary, as if one finds some real good thing……but sometimes our Mandarin is limited so
we ask the staff at 7-Eleven, asking “Does this have lard or pork?”

(Field notes 2016 June 29)

Agus: On the Facebook fan page of Halal Hunters, everyone would share their experiences with some halal restaurants or halal products.

…in [Metro Station] Nanshijao area there is a Myanmar complex, and some of the residents are Muslim and they have many restaurants that are Insya Allah Halal. Many have signs of “HALAL.” Note that not every restaurant in the Myanmar complex is halal, so it requires crosscheck in advance.

(Field notes 2014 Dec 15)

Nur: [At Metro station] Sun Yat-sen, [there is a beef noodle soup restaurant] over there [and] we have asked about the source of meat and how they cooked it, making sure that everything is without pork, lard or alcohol…so at Sun Yat-sen [Metro Station] that [restaurant] is also counted as safe (termasuk yang aman), we can eat there.

(Field notes 2016 January 6)

**Strategy 5: Vegetarian Restaurants**

Every respondent has expressed that they have eaten at vegetarian restaurants in the absence of halal restaurants. Vegetarian restaurants are common in Taiwan, given that there is a large population of Mahayana Buddhists.

In general, many female Indonesian Muslim students like to cook by themselves, because the choice of halal food is limited. Even though there are three kinds of places to go on campus at NTUST, they feel that it is more diverse and economical to cook. They can only go to Muslim-friendly restaurants occasionally, because food is much more pricey at these places. Also, every time when they recommend some place or product, they would utter “Insya Allah this is halal” because they often cannot know for sure that the food that they recommend is absolutely halal (and also because God knows
the best as always). Due to the lack of choices and the price concern, they feel the most secure way is still to cook by themselves. Of course, some do not bother and would just put pork aside and eat the rest of the bento, since it is explicitly said in the Qur’an that if one is forced to eat non-halal food under certain circumstances, there is no sin despite consuming the food. So, there indeed is a wide spectrum of approaches to observing the dietary code among Muslims in Taiwan. Yet, this situation only highlights further the reality of the lack of choices for Islamic dietary.

2) How do they translate their religious code in Taiwan and avoid non-halal sources of food, and how do they change the local food landscape?

When semesters start, more experienced students from IMSA (which is predominantly run by Indonesian students) would teach international Muslim students some key words in Mandarin, especially pork 豬, meat 肉, and alcohol 酒. Some other words include Vegetarian 素食, bacon 培根, and lard 豬油. Further, they would give newcomers a Halal Card, as below.
Hi, I am a Muslim. I do not eat anything that contains pork or blood, such as pork, lard, bacon, ham, and pork blood cake. I cannot eat any food or drink that contains alcohol. If you have to use the pot that has touched pork to cook my food, please wash the pot clean before you do it. I can’t eat any chicken, duck, goose, beef, lamb that is derived from non-halal slaughter. Thank you!

Halal Card. Source: IM SA

A snapshot of halal food map in part of Taipei
The students also created halal food maps to share with each other. Other than Indonesian shops, one of the achievements of NTUST IMSA was the introduction of a halal food cafeteria on campus.

Tanisha: It was primarily because of Azib’s advocacy that we had the halal cafeteria on campus.

Mukti: That’s right. You should ask Azib.

Azib: Well it was not all me! I was working together with all the friends from IMSA…..Actually there was no IMSA yet, we just recommend to the Office of Student Affairs, about the year of 2011. And then it was about August that we started to have the halal buffet. As to the Mediterranean restaurant…..it was opened by an Algerian, whose wife is Taiwanese.

If I am not mistaken I think it was around April of 2014…Firstly it was a friend from NTU, a Phd student from Jordan, he introduced this Algerian boss to me. The boss said he wanted to sell halal bentos, on NTUST, because there were enough Muslim students at NUTUST. So we sold those halal bentos for him. And then he said he wanted to change it into a restaurant, of course we supported it! .....Turned out that the boss’s wife already contacted the school, and then in June the Mediterranean resto was opened!

…Professor Alicia D. Lloyd IMSA advisor and also Director of Student Affair Section ) , she often discussed these [halal] affairs at high-level meetings at the university. She is very attentive to international students’ needs (although she herself is not a Muslim)……..[I think] the professor and Head of Student Affairs often get ideas from Professor Lloyd.

(Field notes 2016 July 4th)
3) How do they use smartphone technology or Web 3.0 to facilitate the construction of the halal food network?

The mobile nature of using the app wherever the user goes is the feature of Web 3.0, whereas user-generated content is the feature of Web 2.0. Smart phones with apps that connect people and the information they share are the essential example of Web 3.0 (with Web 2.0). All the respondents in this research have smart phones with apps. They all use an app called Muslim Pro to determine the direction of Mecca and the times for prayer, when they are not near the mosque. I have mentioned above that they also use a Facebook fan page for sharing halal food information in Taiwan. They also created interactive halal maps via google map, sharing it and adding info on it.

More recently, a few former NTUST PhD students have plans to design three smart phone apps, Halal Taiwan, Halal Hunter, and Halal Hero. So far, Halal Taiwan can be downloaded and already has more than five thousand installations, and is highly rated. The developers formed a Muslim company in Taiwan in 2016 named Halal XYZ. Even though the founder and his business partner are all Indonesian, their motivation is Taiwan-based, and has a strong spirit of **dawa** (Islamic proselytization). As their own words narrate:

Muslims in Taiwan desperately needs something that can enhance their faith and to make them proud as a Muslim. With only 0.2% of Taiwan’s total population, Taiwanese Muslims have been forgotten and disappeared from the society. The 3rd generation of Taiwanese Muslims is lost in their search for Islam in Taiwan. Moreover, there is only handful of Halal foods, Islamic clothing, and Muslim friends [that] can be found in their environment. Thus, **Halal XYZ was born to help the Taiwanese Muslims** live their life as a proud Taiwanese Muslim. By doing so helping [sic] them increasing the capacity building of the entire **umrah** to contribute to the whole society in Taiwan.

... The vision of Halal XYZ is simple, the center of Islamic information in Taiwan that is focused on the Islamic teachings and Halal food with the intent to make Taiwanese Muslims out of their bubble and establish a “Digitalized **Umrah**”.

[bolded and italic words are my own emphasis]

Halal XYZ envisioned three apps for different age groups, in which X represents the

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26 The quote is from their business proposal, privately given to the author.
age between 35 and 50, Y between 21 and 34, and Z under 20 years old. Halal Taiwan is simply an app to give users a Halal Authorized Directory and get halal food or Islamic shops via their GPS searching. Halal Hunter incorporates user-generated contents of halal products and restaurants. Halal Hero is the most ambitious one, an app that utilizes Augmented Reality games, letting players learn Islamic teachings via getting precious wahayu (divine revelation) whenever they visit halal restaurants or Islamic-themed places, just like Pokemon Go. So far, however, due to the difficulty of the implementation of Augmented Reality games, only Halal Taiwan was available in the App Store since November 2016, and later the Google Play Store, whereas Halal Hunter is under construction. Below is a map of the users of Halal Taiwan. A huge share of the users is travelers who install the app before they come to Taiwan. Most users are Taiwan-based. Thus, while the initial motivation is to help Taiwanese Muslims, the app turns out also useful for all Muslims around the world to travel to Taiwan.
Halal.TW Subscribers at this Moment

5299
Number of Installs as of 8 January 2018
Source: Halal XYZ Operational Report

Explore Halal in Taiwan

Taipei Grand Masjid
Distance from you: 1.67 km
Travel time: 8 min(s) by car

Call Now  Get Directions

Check Info Details
Conclusion
In this paper, I have described the practices of offline food translation and online apps that have been developed by Indonesian Muslim graduate students in Taiwan. By highlighting the intersection between religiosity, a minority experience, and technology, I hope to demonstrate the agency of a Muslim minority group in a pork-heavy culinary place and the specific creativity generated by this particular context. In the years to come, there will be many more opportunities to witness the intersections of Islam, diasporic piety, and new media technologies.

Reference


9. Halal Food Consumption among the Indonesian Muslim Minority in Belgium

Ayang Utriza YAKIN and Ima Sri RAHMANI
Researchers at the Research Institute of Religions, Societies, Cultures, Spirituality (RSCS), Université Catholique de Louvain (UCL), Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium.

Abstract:
The objective of this study is to examine and explain the determinant factors related to halal food consumption within the Indonesian Muslim minority group living in Belgium. The research used the quantitative methodology, the theory of planned behavior (TPB) and Islamic religiosity (IR) as a conceptual framework. Questionnaires were collected between December 2017 and January 2018, in Antwerp, Leuven, Gent, and Brussels, during the Islamic community gathering (pengajian), the Friday prayer (jumatan), and the periodic community gathering (arisan). Descriptive statistics were used to explain the Indonesians’ socio-demographic characteristics. Correlations and multiple regression analyses were employed as a basis for the application of TPB, IR and consuming intention. This research is the first to apply the TPB framework to Indonesian Muslims as a religious minority group living in Belgium regarding the issue of halal food consumption.

Keywords:
Halal Food Consumption, Theory of Planned Behavior, Islam, Indonesian Muslim, Belgium, Student, Employee/Worker, Attitude.

Introduction
According to the statistical report of the Turkish Council, Ismail Hakki Bey Tevfik in Antwerp, there were 60 Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium of the 5,751 Muslims with Belgium’s total population of 7,874,601. The majority of these Muslims were from North Africa (Algeria, 3,033; Morocco, 1,291; Tunisia, 560), but also immigrants from non-Arab countries, such as Albanians (346), Kurds (105), Bosnians (70), Tatars (55),

27 The paper was previously presented at the international workshop on “Halal Food Consumption among Muslim Minorities in East and West,” organized by the Institute of Asian Muslim Studies, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan, on Monday 26 February 2018. This paper is part of the on-going research project on halal in Europe francophone (funded by the Marie-Curie Actions of the European Union Commission, 2016-2019), which still carries imperfections.
28 This report is made available thanks to the translation from German to French by Professor Yahya Michot (published originally in Der Islam, 1928, t. 18, pp. 319-20), see Michot, 1996, p. 33.
Indians (32), Congolese (28), Persians (19), and converted Belgians (12). They were mainly Sunnites, with only 38 Shiites (from India and Iran). The report reveals that Indonesian Muslims constitute a very small religious minority group even within Muslim group itself, far smaller than the North African Muslims and those in the Balkans. The Indonesian Muslims represented only 1% of all Belgian Muslims in 1928. This figure remains small, although there was a huge increase in Belgium’s Muslim population from around 5,000 in 1928 to almost 800,000 by 2015.

The majority of these 800,000 Belgian Muslims originated from two major ethnic groups, from North Africa and Turkey, respectively. Unfortunately, the immigration report issued by the government fails to state the number of Indonesian immigrants. Therefore, it remains unclear exactly how many first and second generation Indonesian immigrants are already Belgian citizens. In practice, during our questionnaire collection, we found Indonesian immigrants with Belgian nationality from the first and second generations, but these are too few in number to merit specific research. Accordingly, the research topic became “Indonesian Muslims Living in Belgium”. This is more general, in the sense that the category includes every Indonesian living in Belgium, citizen or resident, from any background (employee, worker, student, housewife and so forth) or generation. This means that a sufficient sample of individuals is available to observe and interview for this research.

It should be noted that, although the number of Muslims in Belgium is increasing, the number of Indonesian Muslims remains small compared with Muslims with North African, Turkish or Balkans origins. According to the Indonesian Embassy in Brussels, there were approximately 2,242 Indonesians living in Belgium in 2017, of whom about 1,500 are male and 700 female, and 1,900 are the above age of legal majority (over 17 years old). The majority of these Indonesians (2,200) live in the four largest cities in Belgium: Antwerp, Brussels, Leuven, and Gent, of whom 11% are professional employees (IT and aviation technology experts and consultants, bankers, financiers, managers, doctors, nurses, architects, etc.); 14.2% are entrepreneurs; 26.1% are

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30 The Myria (Centre Federal Migration) published annually a report entitled ‘La migration en chiffres et en droits.’
31 This includes children below 17 years old who hold dual nationality and Indonesians married to Belgians who hold a permanent residence permit.
housewives; 28.4% are married to Belgians (no occupation is mentioned); 5.7% are
students; and 14.6% have a miscellaneous profession.\textsuperscript{32}

Regarding the approximately 2,200 Indonesians living in Belgium, the Indonesian
Embassy does not hold any data pertaining to their religious affiliation. Accordingly, we
cannot establish the exact number of Indonesians Muslims living in Belgium. However,
according to Baktiar Hasan, Chair of the Indonesian Muslims Association in Belgium
(KPMI), there are approximately 1,000 Indonesians Muslims\textsuperscript{33}. This number seems too
small if we consider that Indonesia is a Muslim majority country (85% of the 260 million
population) since, logically, at least 85% of these 2,200 Indonesians would be Muslim.
As another estimation, according to Arief Wibowo and Singgih Cahyono, Chair and Vice-
chair of the Nahdlatul Ulama special branch in Belgium, there are around 1,500
Indonesian Muslims\textsuperscript{34}, so the estimated number of Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium
would appear to lie somewhere between 1,000 and 1,500 individuals.

They live in Belgium, where the culture, ethnicity, and religion differ from those of
Indonesia. Generally speaking, in Indonesia, it is ‘\textit{innate}’ and unquestionable that
Indonesian Muslims will consume halal food, since their family members, neighbors,
friends and colleagues are all Muslims also. They live in a majority Muslim country and
are surrounded by other Muslims in almost all cases, so they assume that all of the food
with which they come into contact with is halal, as it has been purchased, processed (in a
restaurant or at home) and provided by Muslims. Accordingly, Indonesians Muslims
believe that people will only serve halal food and feel secure about consuming any food
they encounter\textsuperscript{35}. Now, in Belgium, they are exposed to numerous obstacles with regard
to food consumption (it includes drink as well), if they observe their religious commands.

Based on this explanation, it is important to examine how these Indonesian Muslims,
living as a minority group, behave regarding their food consumption in a non-Muslim
country. How do Indonesian Muslims act towards halal in a minority context? What
drives Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium to consume halal food? The situation in
Belgium is very different to what they were accustomed to while living in Indonesia, so

\textsuperscript{32} Written interview with Mr. Ivan Mahdiyat, the First Secretary of the Embassy of the Republic of
Indonesia in Brussels, Friday 8 December 2017.

\textsuperscript{33} Informal private discussion on Saturday 9 December 2017.

\textsuperscript{34} Interview on Friday 15 December 2017 in Brussels and informal personal talk on Friday 9 February
2018.

\textsuperscript{35} This belief for some cases may be unfounded. One case may illustrate this, for instance, in the case of
Ajinomoto in the late 1990s, when certain products were found to contain pork derivative.
how do they regard halal food consumption now that they live in Belgium? When they consume halal food, what is the reason for this? Does it mark as their religiosity? How do they perceive halal? To answer all of these questions, the research adopts quantitative as the methodology.

The paper will proceed as follows. First, it provides a general introduction. Second, it will discuss the literature review on the theme of halal in a minority Muslim context. Third, it will explain the conceptual framework on halal consumption, the theory of planned behavior, and Islamic religiosity. Fourth, it will outline the methodology consisting of instruments and respondents; namely Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium. Fifth, it will discuss the findings, which consist of descriptive analysis, correlation, and multiple regression analysis, and then discuss how these relate to the study findings, and expose the limitations of the research. The paper will conclude by presenting a summary of the findings.

**Halal in a Minority Muslim Context**

There has been an abundant amount of research on halal food consumption over the past twenty years using many theories, approaches, and frameworks in the fields of both the social sciences and science and food technology. In a similar vein, there exists extensive literature on halal (purchase and consumption) using the theory of planned behavior (TPB) in majority and minority Muslim contexts. Within the context of a majority Muslim society, considerable research has been carried out using the TPB as a conceptual framework, mainly in Malaysia, Indonesia and Pakistan. The research in question deals with a minority Muslim context, focusing on Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium. In a context of this kind, there is also a growing body of literature that employs the TPB to determine the intention to purchase and consume halal food. Some of this work should be mentioned here to identify what this paper may eventually contribute to the discourse on this field and fill the gap within the existing literature.

Belgian and French researchers were among the first to apply the TPB in halal food research. Bonne, Vermeir, Bergeaud-Blackler and Verbeke authored an article entitled

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38 See for example: Khan, Asad, and Mehboob, 2017.
“Determinants of Halal Meat Consumption in France”\textsuperscript{39}. The article is based on a survey of 576 Muslims, living in France, who originated from North Africa. They found that a positive attitude, the influence of family and friends, and perceived behavioral control regarding halal meat consumption could predict the intention to consume halal meat among Muslims. Two other determinants, Muslim self-identity and migration, also have a positive influence on North African Muslims with regard to halal meat consumption in France. The same team minus Bergeaud-Blackler (Bonne, Vermeir and Verbeke) conducted a survey in the Belgian context, and published an article entitled “Impact of Religion on Halal Meat Consumption Decision Making in Belgium”\textsuperscript{40}. The article investigated the major factors regarding halal meat consumption among Belgian Muslims. The research entailed conducting a survey of 367 people who originally came from North African countries. One of the research findings was that Muslims have a very positive and strong attitude towards halal meat, as it is very healthy, which is one of the determinant factors in the consumption of halal meat. They added two further determinants, self-identity as a Muslim and acculturation in the host country, that have also had an influence on the attitude of North African Muslims regarding halal meat consumption.

The aforementioned researchers focused on North African Muslim populations in France and Belgium, and some assessed Turkish immigrants in particular. Hall and Sevim published an article entitled “Halal Food consumption by Turkish Immigrants”\textsuperscript{41}. The article investigated Turkish immigrants in the city of Cologne, Germany. Based on a survey of 550 Turkish Muslims, they found that attitude, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control are efficient predictors of Muslim consumers’ behavior. However, social pressure from family members, friends, and colleagues (subjective norms) has a greater influence on the intention to consume halal food. This is due to the societal characteristic of Muslim Turkish immigrants living in Germany. In line with the research on Turkish immigrants, Hiroshi Kojima planned to conduct a survey on “halal food consumption among Turkish-origin students and their mothers in Belgium”, that should be held between February-April 2016, for a project entitled “Correlates of Halal Food Consumption among Muslim Minorities: A Comparative Study of East Asia and Western Europe”\textsuperscript{42}.

\textsuperscript{39} Bonne, Vermeir, Bergeaud-Blackler, and Verbeke, 2007.
\textsuperscript{40} Bonne, Vermeir, and Verbeke, 2008.
\textsuperscript{41} Hall and Sevim, 2016.
\textsuperscript{42} Unfortunately, Prof. Hiroshi Kojima told us in both formal and informal way that the survey was annulled due to many reasons, Tokyo, 26-27 February 2018.
Researchers in the UK undertook the same path using the TPB in halal food research. Soon and Wallace wrote an article entitled “Application of Theory of Planned Behavior in Purchasing Intention and Consumption of Halal Food”\(^{43}\) based on an internet survey of 296 Muslim and non-Muslim consumers in the UK. They found that attitude has a significant influence on the intention to purchase halal food. Both the Muslims and non-Muslims agreed upon animal welfare, but held different perspectives of animal welfare with regard to halal meat production. In relation to other research performed in Scotland, Elseidi published “Determinants of Halal Purchasing Intentions: Evidences from UK,”\(^{44}\) based on a survey of 400 Muslim consumers from an Arab background living in Scotland. He found that subjective norms (from TPB) and Islamic religiosity (other determinant) are the most influential determinant of the intention to purchase halal food products.

Some of the study has focused on Asian Muslim minority countries, such as Singapore and China. Husin, Johari, Hehsan, and Nawawi wrote an article entitled “Halal Purchase Intention among the Singaporean Muslim Minority”\(^{45}\), based on a survey of 332 Singaporean Muslims. They found that the TPB variables have a positive and significant influence on the intention to purchase halal products. The research team from China, who investigated Chinese Muslims, produced a similar result. Ali, Ali, Xiaoling, Sherwani, and Hussain published an article entitled “Expanding the Theory of Planned Behavior to Predict Chinese Muslims Halal Meat Purchase Intention”,\(^{46}\) based on a survey of 378 Chinese Muslims living in the cities of Beijing and Xian. They found that the variables of the TPB are positive and significant determinants of the intention of Chinese Muslims to purchase and consume halal meat.

Pertaining to religiosity, there is an ample literature on its role in the behavioral consumption of believers in or adherents to certain religions or faiths, much of which discusses this phenomenon from many aspects in majority and minority Muslim contexts. Several investigations have carried out in majority Muslim countries, such as Malaysia and Pakistan, a few of which will be outlined here.

\(^{43}\) Soon and Wallace, 2017.
\(^{44}\) Elsaidi, 2018.
\(^{45}\) Husin, Johari, Hehsan, and Nawawi, 2017.
Several past research articles concentrating on Malaysia are relevant to our current study. Firstly, Zulkifli, Chai, and Lung (2008) published an article entitled “Religiosity as a Predictor of Consumer Ethical Behavior: A Comparative Study between Public and Private University Students in Malaysia,” based on a survey of 278 university students in Malaysia regarding the role of religiosity in determining their attitude toward consumption. The research found that religiosity was a positive determinant of young consumers’ ethical beliefs. Subsequent to this, Mokhlis (2009) published “Relevancy and Measurement of Religiosity in Consumer Behavior Research.” This study reveals that religiosity might be a determinant and significant in predicting consumer behavior, as he found that religiosity played the most prominent role in explaining variations in aspects of consumer behavior with regard to shopping orientation in Malaysia. He suggested that religiosity should be included as a predictor of consumer behavior. Finally, Alam, Rohani, and Hisham (2011) published “Is religiosity an important determinant on Muslim Consumer Behavior in Malaysia?” based on a survey that explored the effect of religiosity on the consumer behavior and purchasing decisions of 232 Muslims living in Malaysia. The researchers found that religiosity played an important role in determining and predicting significantly Muslim behavior with regard to product purchase and consumption.

Previous studies that focused on Pakistan are also connected here. First, Rehman and Shabir (2010) published “The Relationship between Religiosity and New Product Adoption” that investigated the relationship between religiosity and new products among Muslim consumers. Based on a survey of 300 respondents in Pakistan, they found that religiosity affected the Muslim consumers’ behavior. Their Islamic belief influenced how they consumed the new products that they purchased. Second, Mukhtar and Butt (2012) published “Intention to Choose Halal Products: The Role of Religiosity,” based on their investigation of the effect of religiosity on Muslim consumers in Pakistan. Based on 150 respondents, they found the religiosity had a positive influence on the consumers’ attitudes and intention to choose halal products.

The aforementioned authors found that religiosity played a significant and positive role in influencing consumer behavior in majority Muslim countries. The same result has also been demonstrated in a minority Muslim context; for example, Razzaque and Chaudry (2013) published “Religiosity and Muslim Consumers’ Decision-Making Process in a Non-Muslim Society,” based on a study which found that religiosity had a significant influence on the Muslim consumers’ purchase decision-making process in Sydney,
Australia. More specifically, the religious dimension has a determinant and positive (mainly towards association with brand decision involvement).

In light of the existing literature, no study has been performed to research Indonesian Muslims living in a minority Muslim country although; two on-going studies are focused on Indonesian Muslim minorities. Mariko Arata conducted research on an Indonesian Muslim minority in the Netherlands entitled “Halal Meat Industry and Halal Certification in the Netherlands: How do Indonesian Muslim expatriates get ‘Halal’ foods?” while En-Chieh Chao focused on halal food consumption among Indonesian Muslims living in Taiwan entitled “Food Literacy and Web 3.0 among Muslim Indonesian Students in Taipei.” However, to date, no study has been conducted on this group within the Belgian context, and most of the research on halal food consumption in the Belgian context focuses solely on North African and Turkish Muslims. In the same line for religiosity, it is clear that the influence of religiosity on Indonesian Muslims’ consumer behavior either with regard to halal products in Indonesia or in a Muslim minority country, has not been the focus of research hitherto. Thus, it can be concluded that a research gap exists regarding halal food consumption within the Indonesian Muslim minority in Belgium, which the current research aims to fill.

**Halal Consumption, Theory of Planned Behavior, and Religiosity**

The objective of the current research is to investigate the determinant factors that influence the intention of members of the Indonesian Muslim minority living in Belgium to consume halal food. The research employs the theory of planned behavior (TPB) from Icek Ajzen, which was first introduced in 1985, then expanded in 1988 (2005) and 1991. In fact, the TPB provides a useful conceptual framework for dealing with the complexities of human social behavior, including attitudes toward halal food consumption. Effectively, this theory is designed to predict and explain human behavior. The TPB proposed a concept consisting of three independent determinants of intention: attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control.

Ajzen explained these three determinants as follows: “The first is the attitude toward the behavioral. It refers to the degree to which a person has a favorable or unfavorable

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evaluation or appraisal of the behavior in question. The second is a social factor. It refers to the perceived social pressure to perform or not to perform the behavior. The third is a perceived behavior control. It refers to the perceived ease or difficulty of performing the behavior and it is assumed to reflect past experience as well as anticipated impediments and obstacles". These three variables in the TPB are found to forecast behavioral intentions with a high degree of accuracy. Ajzen highlighted that “people intend to perform a behavior when they evaluate it positively, when they experience social pressure to perform it, and when they believe that they have the means and opportunities to do so”. Therefore, in conceptualizing the determinants that influence halal food consumption in this research, attitude means the person’s positive or negative evaluation and assessment regarding the consumption of halal food; the subjective norm refers to the individual’s perception of social pressure to consume halal food or not; and perceived behavioral control is the ability and capacity of a person to consume halal food based on the opportunities to do so and its availability in Belgium.

By adopting the TPB, the research attempts to identify the intention of Indonesian Muslims in Belgium to consume halal food. In this context, in order to understand this behavior, it is first important to establish why Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium as a religious minority group consume halal food. In fact, the intention can capture the motivational factors that drive them to do so. These provide hints and indications regarding how effort it takes these Indonesian Muslims to consume halal food. In addition to the three determinant factors from the TPB, the researchers added one more: Islamic religiosity.

Religiosity is defined as “the degree to which a person adheres to his or her religious values, beliefs, and practices, and uses them in daily living” or “the degree to which beliefs in specific religious values and ideals are held and practiced by an individual”. This religiosity has been defined as consisting of five dimensions, according to Charles Y. Glock, ideological, ritualistic, intellectual, consequential, and experimental. Glock stated that the ritualistic dimension “encompasses the specifically religious practices expected of religious adherents. It comprises such activities as worship, prayer,

52 Ajzen, 1991, p. 188.
54 Ajzen, 2005, p. 118.
57 Delener, 1990, p. 27.
participation in special sacraments, fasting, and the like. Based on this explanation, the meaning of religiosity used in this study is characterized by its ritual dimension in Islam. As a result, Islamic religiosity is defined here as performing and observing ritual obligations commanded by God and His Prophet in the Quran and Hadith as an expression of the believer’s devotion and veneration. It has been argued that Islamic ritual practices (such as prayer, fasting, reading the Quran, etc.) are dimensions for measuring Islamic religiosity. Therefore, the study argues that Muslims who perform the religious duties and commands are more religious than those who do not. The Islamic religiosity items employed in this study were adopted from the “Islamic Religiosity Index” created by M.S. Shabbir and from Kojima, then some items developed by the researchers. This Islamic religiosity determinant attempts to assess the influence of religiosity as a Muslim on how individuals perform and observe Islamic ritual practices towards halal food consumption.

The conceptual framework yields the following hypothesis: first, there exists a significant positive relationship between attitude, subjective norm, perceived behavioral control, and the Islamic religiosity of Indonesian Muslims in Belgium and their intention to consume halal food; second, the four variables (ATT, SN, PBC, and IR) together can predict this intention significantly; and, third, each variable can uniquely predict significantly the intention of Indonesian Muslims regarding halal food consumption. To test these hypotheses, the questionnaire was designed based on the TPB, and contained one additional variable (IR). The previous research, as explained above, indicated the success and usefulness of predicting intentions and behavior using the TPB.

**Indonesian Muslims Living in Belgium**

The instrument of this research was developed using the guidelines by the researchers. The TPB framework was used to create the questionnaire, which consists of seven sections. The first section is the socio-demographic information about the respondents, such as their age, ethnicity, education, family status, and the like; the second is attitude; the third is the subjective norm; the fourth is perceived behavioral control; the fifth is behavioral intention; the sixth is Islamic religiosity; and the last is open questions. The

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60 Alam, Rohani, & Hisham, 2011, p. 90.
61 Rehman and Shabbir, 2010, p. 66.
62 2016.
63 We based the questionnaire for this study on the work of many researchers who used the TPB as a conceptual framework within halal purchase and consumption intention research in both majority and minority Muslim countries.
respondents in this research are Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium. The structured questionnaire was written in Indonesian to make it easier for the respondents to complete. For this quantitative research, the ideal number of respondents is 100 to 150, based on the number of Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium (1,000-1,500). As they are dispersed across Belgium, it would be too challenging to distribute a questionnaire to all Indonesian Muslims.

Data were collected during only two months, December 2017-January 2018, using the **purposive sampling method** in four Belgian cities where there exists a large Indonesian community; namely, Brussels, Antwerp, Gent, and Leuven. The participants were recruited mainly during Islamic community gatherings (**pengajian**) and periodically social gatherings (**arisan**). They were invited to spend around 30-45 minutes completing the self-administered questionnaire. If the respondents did not understand the questions, the researcher offered an explanation. The respondents answered each item by choosing one of five alternatives (1-5), a format proposed by Likert, known as a five point Likert scale, to measure the independent and dependent variables ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”, and Islamic religiosity ranging from “always” to “never”. The reliability of the items employed in this study was verified by computing the Cronbach’s Alpha.

Due to all of the constraints and limits, ultimately, we had only 54 respondents. Although this is a relatively small sample size and does not represent the whole Indonesian Muslim population in Belgium, at least it can reveal something about which factors drive the participants’ intention to consume halal food within the framework of the TPB. Due to the limited number of respondents, this research used a research instrument (questionnaire) that had been tested for validity and reliability.

**Findings: Result and Discussion**

The collected data were analyzed using SPSS software, as follows. First, the descriptive statistics were analyzed to explore the respondents’ socio-demographic details. Second, correlation was used to analyze the relationship between the independent variables and

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64 Likert, 1932.
65 Three questionnaires were rejected due to inconsistency of responses and were not analysed with the TPB framework.
66 The questionnaire was based on previous research that employed the TPB as a conceptual framework in halal purchase and consumption intention research in both majority and minority Muslim countries, such as: Bonne, Vermeir, Bergeaud-Blackler, and Verbeke, 2007; Soon and Wallace, 2017; Hall and Sevim, 2016; Khalek, 2014; Khalek and Ismail, 2015; as well as Kojima, 2016.
the dependent variable used in this study. Third, multiple regression was used to analyze
the determination of each variable. The results of these statistics will be discussed later.

I. Descriptive Analysis
Characteristics of the respondents
Table I presents the respondents’ sociodemographic information. Of the 54 respondents,
the majority were women (34 individuals or 63%), which is noteworthy, and due to the
fact that the data were collected during the pengajian (Islamic community gatherings)
and arisan (periodically social gatherings), the attendants at which tended to be female,
who appear to enjoy attending these gatherings more than men. The majority of the
respondents are adult and (socially) active, aged 25-60 (43 persons or 79.6%) and all are
Indonesian by nationality apart from five, who held Belgian nationality. The two main
Indonesian ethnic groups in Belgium are the Javanese and the Sundanese. Most of them
are married (44 persons or 81.5%) and had moved to Belgium before 2000. Those who
arrived after 2010 are students. Strikingly, 36 of the participants (66.6%) had obtained a
bachelor and master’s degree, which suggests that the Indonesians who move to Belgium
tend to be highly educated. Moreover, they majority (92.6%) had attended a public school
for their elementary and secondary school education. They had received a formal Islamic
religious education since elementary school (87%), which seems normal, since religious
education is compulsory in Indonesia.

Table I.
Sociodemographic characteristics of the Indonesian Muslims

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic profiles</th>
<th>Number of respondents (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>N=54</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>20 (37%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>34 (63%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-25 years</td>
<td>4 (7.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-45 years</td>
<td>26 (48.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-60 years</td>
<td>17 (31.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Group</td>
<td>Count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 60 years</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Citizenship/Nationality**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesian</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>61.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesian &amp; Belgian Permanent Res</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesian &amp; Belgian Temporary Res</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Arrival Year in Belgium**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1990</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-2000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-2010</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 2010</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Education**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma-3 Vocational</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-1 (Bachelor)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-2 (Master)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-3 (Doctorate)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Type of School**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madrasah (Islamic school)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sekolah (General education school)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>92.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Profession**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee/Worker</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher/Lecturer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other 10 (18.5%)

**Monthly Income (in Euro)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Level</th>
<th>Count (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1,000</td>
<td>2 (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000-1,500</td>
<td>14 (25.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,500-2,000</td>
<td>10 (18.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 2,000</td>
<td>7 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>19 (3.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Marital Status**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Count (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td>6 (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>44 (81.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow/widowed</td>
<td>2 (3.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2 (3.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**First Formal Religious Education**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Count (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SD/MI (elementary school)</td>
<td>47 (87%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMP (junior high school)</td>
<td>1 (1.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMA (senior high school)</td>
<td>2 (3.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>1 (1.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3 (5.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table II** demonstrates the mean scores and standard deviations for the major variables used in this research, following the Theory of Planned Behavior. The mean scores are presented based on a five point Likert scale (1-5). Overall, the respondents’ attitude was rated at 4.18, the subjective norm at 3.80, perceived behavioral control at 3.33, behavioral intention at 4.13, and Islamic religiosity at 3.92. Based on this finding, attitude had the highest mean score, at 4.18, followed by Islamic religiosity, at 3.92. The mean score for behavioral intention is substantially high, at 4.13 (between agree and strongly agree).

**Table II. Statistics relating to the Descriptive of the Major Variables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variabel</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective Norm</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>1.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Behavioral Control</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioral Intention</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Religiosity</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table III.** on the attitude variable, shows the result of reliability analysis for each item. It indicates that the coefficient of the Cronbach’s Alpha ranges from 0.863 to 0.210. Four items have a coefficient above 0.7, indicating stronger reliability. This reveals that the Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium have a positive attitude toward halal food because they consider it to constitute safe, healthy, clean products. It is striking that the respondents have that attitude when confronted with non-halal products. The table also shows that the lowest mean score is 3.24 and the highest 4.73. This means that the mean scores represent the respondents’ overall attitude toward the items.

**Table III. Attitude**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coef</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Halal food is safer to consume than non-halal food</td>
<td>0.863</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>.862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halal food is healthy</td>
<td>0.855</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>.891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halal food is healthier than non-halal food</td>
<td>0.817</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>.895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halal food is cleaner than non-halal food</td>
<td>0.767</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>.990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halal food is safe to consume</td>
<td>0.693</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>.932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel more confident about consuming halal food than non-halal food</td>
<td>0.682</td>
<td>4.53</td>
<td>.612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halal food is clean</td>
<td>0.665</td>
<td>4.33</td>
<td>.816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choosing halal food is a good idea</td>
<td>0.634</td>
<td>4.73</td>
<td>.493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating halal food is important to me</td>
<td>0.574</td>
<td>4.69</td>
<td>.510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am willing to pay more for food that has the halal logo on it</td>
<td>0.572</td>
<td>4.49</td>
<td>.612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals do not feel any pain when they are slaughtered</td>
<td>0.292</td>
<td>4.53</td>
<td>.612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halal food products are more expensive than other food products</td>
<td>0.279</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>.790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halal food/products are available and ready to consume</td>
<td>0.253</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>1.045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a wide choice of halal food/products available</td>
<td>0.210</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>1.033</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table IV.** on the variable of subjective norms, displays the results of the reliability analysis for each item. It indicates that the coefficient of the Cronbach’s Alpha ranged from 0.862 to 0.238. Three of the items possess a coefficient above 0.7 that signifies stronger reliability. The three items, comprising family, friends and others, have a social influence on the respondents’ consumption of halal food. It should be noted that encouragement, advice and suggestions are more influential than support alone. The table
also shows that the mean scores range from 2.80 to 4.65, indicating that they represent the respondents’ overall attitude toward the items.

**Table IV. Subjective Norms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coef</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My family’s encouragement/advice/ suggestions influence me to eat halal food</td>
<td>0.862</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>1.296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My friends’ encouragements/advice/ suggestions influence me to eat halal food</td>
<td>0.839</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>1.246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People can influence me to consume halal food</td>
<td>0.725</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>1.068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My children’s encouragement/advice/suggestions influence me to eat halal food</td>
<td>0.697</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>1.588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My spouses’ encouragement/advice/suggestions influence me to eat halal food</td>
<td>0.660</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>1.440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Muslim community’s encouragement/advice/suggestions influence me to eat halal food</td>
<td>0.650</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>1.237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My family supports me to consume halal food</td>
<td>0.555</td>
<td>4.61</td>
<td>.493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My family members prefer halal food</td>
<td>0.532</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>.559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My religious teachers/leaders’ (ustaz/imam/ali) encouragement/advice/suggestions influence me to eat halal food</td>
<td>0.505</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>.960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My friends would think that I should choose halal food</td>
<td>0.433</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>1.124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My family members eat halal food</td>
<td>0.395</td>
<td>4.49</td>
<td>.784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My family stresses the importance of me eating halal food</td>
<td>0.375</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>1.255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My friends always eat halal food</td>
<td>0.281</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>1.086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of the people who are important to me choose to eat halal food</td>
<td>0.238</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>.966</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table V**, on the variable of perceived behavior control, displays the results of the reliability analysis for each item. It indicates that the coefficient of the Cronbach’s Alpha ranges from 0.866 to 0.377. Five items possess a coefficient reliability above 0.7, indicating that the main behavioral control with regard to the respondents’ consumption of halal food are the availability and opportunities to access halal products within the neighborhood, workplace, and campus/school. Accordingly, the availability, facility, and diversity of halal products determine halal food consumption among Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium.
Table V. Perceived Behavioral Control

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coef</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is a wide choice of halal food within my neighborhood</td>
<td>0.866</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>1.217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a wide choice of halal food within my workplace</td>
<td>0.837</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>1.140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is easy to find halal food in my neighborhood</td>
<td>0.790</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>1.134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is easy to find halal food in my workplace</td>
<td>0.782</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>1.249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a wide choice of halal food within my campus/university</td>
<td>0.720</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>0.917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is to find halal food within my campus/university</td>
<td>0.636</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>1.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is easy to find halal food in Belgium</td>
<td>0.620</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>0.993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I always have an opportunity to eat halal food</td>
<td>0.377</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>0.849</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table VI shows the Cronbach’s Alpha for the variable of behavioral intention, providing the reliability coefficient for each item. It indicates that all of the items used in this research can be measured using the Cronbach’s Alpha, and range from 0.934 to 0.394. Overall, the respondents agreed that they consume halal food. It is noteworthy that, although the items are valid, three items possessed the lowest reliability of coefficient. This means that no general tendency exists and that the respondents were relatively unconcerned about determining that their food was halal (at the rate 0.552) and/or had not been combined with non-halal ingredients during its preparation (at the rate 0.394), prior to purchasing it.

Table VI. Behavioral Intention

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coef</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I will only eat halal food</td>
<td>0.936</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>.821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will eat food, even if I am unsure it is halal</td>
<td>0.824</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>.728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will ensure that food is halal before I consume it</td>
<td>0.809</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>.740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will only buy halal food</td>
<td>0.804</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>.879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will not eat food that it not halal</td>
<td>0.794</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>.832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will only eat in halal food outlets</td>
<td>0.689</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>.932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will ensure that food is halal before I purchase it</td>
<td>0.552</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>.939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will not consume food if it is prepared using any non-halal ingredients, such as alcohol, wine, or kitchen utensils that have been used with pork</td>
<td>0.394</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table VII, on Islamic religiosity, shows the result of the reliability coefficient for each item, with a Cronbach’s Alpha ranging from 0.740 to 0.284. Islamic religiosity is rated the lowest, at 0.284, but the mean score is high (4.71), and the highest mean score at 4.84.
### Table VII. Islamic Religiosity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Coef</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I undertake the recommendatory prayers (such as duhā, tahajjud, rawātib, etc.)</td>
<td>0.740</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>.871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I undertake the obligatory prayer five times a day</td>
<td>0.690</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>.827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I read the Holy Quran</td>
<td>0.647</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>.887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I observe the recommended fasting (such as Monday-Thursday fasting, prophet David fasting, arafah fasting, asyura fasting, etc.)</td>
<td>0.640</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>.895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I attend the mosque or Islamic community gatherings (pengajian)</td>
<td>0.640</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>.674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I observe and follow the Islamic rules and precepts in my life</td>
<td>0.570</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>.676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I observe the obligatory Ramadan fasting</td>
<td>0.351</td>
<td>4.84</td>
<td>.418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I consider myself a Muslim</td>
<td>0.284</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td>.460</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hypothesis Testing**

**II. Correlation**

The first hypothesis, namely that “there exists significant positive relationship between attitude, subjective norm, perceived behavioral control, and Islamic religiosity of Indonesian Muslims in Belgium and their intention in consuming halal food,” was tested using a Pearson correlation analysis. Table VIII demonstrates that a positive relationship exists among each variable. The results regarding these correlations are presented in the following table.

### Table VIII. Correlations

**Table: Correlations regarding TPB and IR with Intention (N=51)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ATT</th>
<th>SN</th>
<th>PBC</th>
<th>IR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intention (In)</td>
<td>.636**</td>
<td>.229</td>
<td>.357*</td>
<td>.568**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude (ATT)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.289*</td>
<td>.256</td>
<td>.460**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective Norm (SN)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.249</td>
<td>.154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Behavioral Control (PBC)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Religiosity (IR)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. **Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

A Pearson product moment correlation was conducted to examine the relationship between intention, attitude, subjective norm, perceived behavioral control, and Islamic religiosity and halal food consumption within the Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium.
Based on the result of the correlation analysis, it emerges that intention has the strongest positive relation respectively toward attitude r (49)=.636; p<0.01, Islamic religiosity r (49)=.568; p<0.01, and perceived behavioral control r (49)=.357; p<0.05. Accordingly, the more attitude, Islamic religiosity and perceived behavioral control are present, the greater the intention to consume halal food. Moreover, this finding indicates, on the one hand, that attitude is the strongest variable for explaining the intention to consume halal food (at 0.626; p<0.01) compared with the Islamic religiosity and perceived behavioral control variables. On the other hand, Islamic religiosity is a stronger variable for explaining the intention to consume halal food (at 0.568; p<0.01) compared with perceived behavioral control. There is no relationship between intention and the subjective norm.

III. Multiple Regression Analysis

The second hypothesis, namely that the four variables (ATT, SN, PBC, and IR), combined, can predict the intention of Indonesian Muslims to consume halal food, and the third, that each variable can uniquely predict this significantly, were tested using multiple regression analysis. The results are presented in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Std. Error of the Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.726*</td>
<td>.527</td>
<td>.486</td>
<td>6.95775</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Predictors: (Constant), RI, SUB_NORM, PBC, ATT

The above table shows that the result of the multiple regression analysis is $R^2 = 0.527$ (p<0.001). Accordingly, it may be concluded that all of the independent variables (attitude, subjective norms, perceived behavioral control, and Islamic religiosity) can predict about 53% of the behavioral intention to consume halal food, while the rest (47%) is determined by other factors that lie outside the scope of this research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regression</td>
<td>2480.596</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>620.149</td>
<td>12.810</td>
<td>.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Residual</td>
<td>2226.871</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>48.410</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4707.467</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a. Dependent Variable: INTENTION
b. Predictors: (Constant), RI, SUB_NORM, PBC, ATT

Based on the table of ANOVA (analysis of variance), it appears that all of the independent variables can predict the dependent variable significantly, as shown by the rate of significance (p < 0.05). This suggests that the independent variables (ATT, SN, PBA, and IR) used in this study can predict significantly the dependent variable (behavioral intention) at a significance rate of 5% F (2.57) = 12.810.

IV. Coefficients
The third hypothesis was also tested (namely, that each variable can uniquely predict significantly the intention of Indonesian Muslims to consume halal food). The following table shows the results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Std. Error</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>1.009</td>
<td>7.899</td>
<td>.128</td>
<td>.899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATT</td>
<td>.444</td>
<td>.120</td>
<td>.441</td>
<td>3.713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SUB_NORM</td>
<td>.011</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td>.097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBC</td>
<td>.168</td>
<td>.109</td>
<td>.166</td>
<td>1.545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IR</td>
<td>.357</td>
<td>.127</td>
<td>.325</td>
<td>2.817</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows that the matrix coefficient can be used to predict each variable uniquely, and so is a significant predictor of each variable’s influence on the research participants’ behavioral intention to consume halal food. The table reveals that attitude (sig. 0.001) and Islamic religiosity (sig. 0.007) can significantly predict halal food consumption at the rate of p value < 0.05. It may therefore be assumed that halal food consumption by Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium can be predicted by attitude and Islamic religiosity.
Attitude and Islamic Religiosity regarding HFC

The study shows that the components of the TPB are significant influential factors regarding halal food consumption among Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium. This outcome confirms the previous research on minority Muslims’ halal food consumption in Singapore and China (Husin et al., 2017; Ali et al., 2018). It should be noted however that, although the components of the TPB can predict significantly the behavioral intention regarding halal food consumption, only the attitude (sig.001, p<0.01) variable is a determinant factor in this regard among Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium. It is noteworthy that this study involved a multiple regression analysis with and without Islamic religiosity (IR). When analyzed without IR, the regression coefficient of the elements of the TPB was 44.5% (R2 = .445) and was rated significantly (sig. p < 0.01). Afterwards, the researchers added a further variable (Islamic religiosity -IR-) to the multiple regression analysis. Combined with the variables of the TPB, the determination becomes stronger, at 52.7% (R2 = .527). As can be seen, there is a strong change of significant determination by the four variables (ATT, SN, PBC, and IR) with regard to predicting halal food consumption behavior. This finding also displays the unique significant determination of Islamic religiosity (sig. 007, p<0.05) for Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium. Having said this, this research reveals the determinant factors that influenced the intention of Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium to consume halal food, which were attitude and Islamic religiosity. The result demonstrates that a positive attitude towards halal food and an Islamic religiosity are important influences on the behavioral intention to consume it. This finding confirms partially the previous research (Bonne et al., 2007, 2008; Soon & Wallace, 2017; Elseidi, 2018) that found that attitude and Islamic religiosity were important factors in predicting the intention to consume halal food.

This study identified two major phenomena. First, the behavioral intention to eat halal food of Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium is determined by their personal attitude toward the concept of halal itself. Broadly speaking, the Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium who participated in this research ate halal food as a personal choice. Social pressure and a sense of self-efficacy or ability to consume halal food (both are external factors) might be considerations, but do not always influence their behavioral intention to consume halal food. Second, Islamic religiosity is important for Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium. They have a tendency to consume halal food as a part of their religiosity. This explains why Islamic religiosity became an influential and determinant factor to predict their behavioral intention in consuming halal food. It thus can be said
based on this finding that the more Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium observe and perform Islamic ritual practices, the more they pay attention to what they consume. This phenomenon leads us to assume that Islamic religiosity is an important element in strengthening their self-image as a religious person as Indonesian Muslims live as a minority group in Belgium.

The researchers found that the subjective norm has no influence and so cannot be used as a predictor variable for determining the behavioral intention of Indonesian Muslims to consume halal food. This finding conflicts with those of Hall and Sevim (2016) and, partly, Elsaidi (2018), who found that subjective norms played an important role in influencing the behavioral intention of minority Turkish Muslims living in Germany and Arabic Muslims living in Scotland, respectively. Accordingly, the variable of subjective norm can only predict the behavioral intention regarding halal food consumption if accompanied by other variables. The current study also finds that perceived behavioral control (PBC) has a positive and significant relationship with intention. However, like the subjective norm, perceived behavioral control cannot predict the behavioral intention to eat Halal food of Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium. The variable of PBC would become a determinant factor if accompanied by other variables.

There are at least three factors that explain why the subjective norm and perceived behavioral control cannot predict the Indonesian Muslims’ behavioral intention towards halal food consumption. First, there were only 54 respondents, selected from the approximately 1,500 Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium. The collected data explain merely the condition of the obtained samples, so the findings of this study represent factors relating to a limited number of the group under study.

Second, the majority of the respondents are well-educated, with a bachelor or master’s degree, as indicated in Table I on socio-demographics. In fact, education will influence individuals’ way of thinking when reading a reality. As Fetzer and Soper (2003) and Wilkins-Laflamme (2018) demonstrated in their research, the level of education contributes (as a socio-demographic variable) toward suppressing the influence of social pressure. In this way, the Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium consume halal food based on their personal considerations (attitude), which reflects their independent act and

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67 Fetzer & Soper and Wilkins-Laflamme’s research does not pertain to halal but to prejudice against a minority group: Muslims in Western Europe (Britain, France, and Germany) and LGBT in Canada, respectively. They found that, the more people are educated, the more their personal considerations play an essential role in the behavioral intention, which is pertinent to our current research.
decision. The reasoning why they choose halal should be read as a result of their educational background. In fact, it has been argued that the extent to which external factors can affect behavior is also determined by the quantity of knowledge possessed.\(^{68}\) Consequently, the control from outside cannot directly affect their intention to consume halal food. Therefore, the significant factor of attitude in this study is strongly influenced by the fact that the majority of respondents have completed their higher education. However, it should be noted that almost all of respondents attended a general public school for their primary and secondary education (where religious education is taught for only 2-4 hours per week, contrary to a madrasah system of Islamic Schools, where religious education is the main subject taught to pupils). Based on this explanation, it is vital to take into account the influence of demographic factors on halal behavioral intention.

Third, the majority of the respondents are Indonesian Muslims who have been living in Belgium for a long period of time, so it may be assumed that the Belgian context has influenced the way of their thinking to some degree. They may have become more individualist, in the sense that the individual is the central decision-maker regarding personal matters. Indeed, the social condition and situation in Belgium differ from those in Indonesia, where society ‘takes’ a bigger role in individual decisions. Moreover, the legal sphere in Belgium is neutral regarding religion, and the State cannot intervene in religious affairs while, in Indonesia, the State administers religious matters. Indeed, it has been argued that, in human development, the environment where an individual lives will influence his/her considerations, thinking, and decisions as a human being.\(^{69}\) Therefore, the Belgian environment, where individual freedom of thought and expression are guaranteed, has influenced the Indonesian Muslims. They are more individualistic in their thinking, decisions, and considerations, and thus personal considerations (attitude) is more important in this research to Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium than external factors (social pressure and opportunities).

Needless to say, this study suffers from several limitations. First, the number of respondents was relatively small, at only 54 and, second; the data collection period was limited to only two months. In future, research of this nature might include more respondents and cover a longer period.

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\(^{68}\) Sniehotta, 2009.

\(^{69}\) Dajani, 2017.
Conclusion
This study examined the determinant factors regarding halal food consumption among Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium, and is the first to employ ethnography and statistics within a TPB framework. The study is also the first study on Indonesian Muslims as a religious minority group living in Belgium regarding their halal food consumption. The study revealed that attitude, subjective norms, perceived behavioral controls, and Islamic religiosity have a significant influence at the level of 52.7% in predicting the intention to consume halal food, where \( R^2 = 0.527 \) \( (p < 0.001) \). However, the variables of attitude and Islamic religiosity are respectively more influential significantly, at \( \text{sig. 0.001} \) \( (p < 0.05) \) and \( \text{sig. 0.007} \) \( (p < 0.05) \), with regard to predicting this intention compared with both subjective norms and perceived behavioral control. In other words, favorable personal considerations (attitude) and Islamic ritual practices (religiosity) outweigh social pressure (subjective norms) and resources and opportunities (perceived behavioral control) with regard to influencing the behavioral intention of Indonesian Muslims living in Belgium to consume halal food. ***

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10. The Halal Industry of Hui Muslims under the Socialist Regime: Changes in Traditional Knowledge in Modern China (Special Contribution in Japanese by Mitsuo SAWAI)

社会主義を経験した回民のハラール産業

近現代中国における伝統知識の変容

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はじめに

中国でハラールは「清真70」という語彙で表現されることが多く、「清真」にまつわる概念や実践は中国・台湾などでムスリムと非ムスリムを差別化する文化装置として理解されてきた。例えば、改革開放政策の導入後、中国の回族を最初に調査したアメリカの文化人類学者D・グラドニーは「清真」という概念を回族アイデンティティの表徴とみなし、pure and authenticと翻訳した【Gladney 1991：7】。正確な訳語としてはclean and authenticとなるが、中華世界に誕生した回民が「清真」という民衆概念を使用し、周囲に不思議な存在を意識しながら自文化の清潔性、真正性、優位性を巧みに表現してきたこととは間違いいない。現在、「清真」の標示やそれが印刷された食品はイスラームにおける食の禁忌を意味するものとして中国各地で広く認識されている71。

しかし、回民のハラール産業72は近代以降、順風満帆に歩みを進めてきたわけではない。中華人民共和国の成立後、伝統的なハラール産業従事者は中国共産党が発動した社会主義改造によって大打撃を受け、老舗業者の事業業、経営方針、会社形態などが根底から変革された。その結果、地域によっては老舗のハラール食品を生産する技法、すなわち伝統知識73の継承が途絶えてしまい、また、改革開放期には非ムスリムの漢族がハラール産業に少なからず参画しているため、ハラール食品の安全性をめぐって混乱が生じている。

このような状況をふまえて、本稿では、回民が近現代中国において従事してきたハラール産業の特徴およびその変容を俯瞰し、回民がいかにしてハラール性

70 「清真」という用語は道教や仏教でも使用されていたが、明代以降、イスラームで広く使用されるようになったと考えられている。例えば、明末清初のイスラーム学者王岱舆は「清真」を「純潔無染之謂清、誠一不二之謂真」と表現している。
71 ハラールを意味する用語として「哈拉利」という民俗語彙も稀に使用されるが、「清真」の方が多用されている。
72 本稿ではハラール産業という用語を畜産業、酪農業、漿畜業、食品加工業、飲食業など含む広義の概念として使用する。
73 ここでいう伝統知識とは「近代中国以前から回民が形成・継承してきたハラール性を確保するための技法」を意味する概念として定義しておく。
（halalness）を確保してきたのかを検討する。まず近代中国におけるハラール産業の特徴を俯瞰し、次に現代中国における社会主義改造、改革開放期におけるハラール産業の活性化を紹介し、最後にグローバル化するハラール認証制度の余波、ハラール食品をめぐる揉め事などを取り上げ、伝統知の継承の困難さを指摘する。

□ 近代中国のハラール産業

1 日本人が観察した回民の職業

近代中国のハラール産業については、断片的であるが、中国の文史資料や日本軍占領期の史料に記述されている。まず、回民の日常生活を見聞きしたトルコ語学者小林元の報告を紹介しておこう。

じつさい、満支蒙の回民らもまた家畜を中心として生計を立ててゐる場合が少なくない。極言を用ひれば、かれらの多数は家畜にちなんで生と死とを経験し、それを操つて富と貧とを体得してゐるときへもいへる。すなはち、かれらは多くの場合、なんらかの意味で家畜に関係する職業をえらんである。たとへば、かれらは畜業者、肉店経営者、肉類飲食店業者、毛革業者、畜類仲買業者、牛馬車業者、駱駝運送業者、その他の家畜利用者として立つるのであらう。かりに、北京の実例を調べれば、その市府の肉類関係業者たちのうち、回教系のものは城内および城外を合せて、476 戸ほどに達するであろう。さらに、北京屠宰場に出入する回教徒たちも、おびただしい [ 小林 1940 : 213-214 ]。

実は、中国には「囲戦両把刀：一把売羊肉、一把売切刀」という諺がある。日本語に翻訳すれば、「回民には二本の包丁がある。一本は羊を売るときによし、もう一本はケーキを売るときに使う」となるが、これは精肉業や菓子業に従事する回民が多かったことを言い表している。例えば、日本軍占領下の内モンゴルの回民を調査した歴史学者岩村忍は「内蒙回教徒においても職業的偏航が存在することは、他の地域における回教徒の場合と同様である。回教徒の職業として、内蒙において多いのは輸送業、仲買業、飲食業、旅館、肉業、皮革業等である」と指摘している [ 岩村 1950 : 22-23 ]。1940 年代に北京回民を調査した仁井田岡も北京市では牛羊の家畜販売業、畜業、精肉販売業などの大部分が「回教徒の独占といって差し支えない。羊肉業でも店の主人は勿論、店員もすべて回教徒であるようである」と報告している [ 仁井田 1944 : 19 ]。このように、日本軍占領期の記録を一瞥しただけでも中国北方にくらす回民には家畜仲買業者、畜業者、精肉販売業、飲食業、毛革業、駱駝運送
業などに従事する者が多く、また、地域によっては特定の職業を独占するほどの大きな存在感を示していたことが窺える。

2 フフホトの伝統的なハラール産業
ここからは調査地の内モンゴル自治区フフホト市（旧帰化）に目を向けてみたい。フフホトはモンゴル人のアルタン・ハーンに建設され、明朝との貿易で栄えたが、満洲人に支配されると、「綾遠城」、「帰化城」が建設され、「内地」、西北、モンゴルを繋ぐ国境貿易で繁栄した。本来、モンゴルはラクダ、馬、驢馬、牛、羊などの家畜が豊富な地域であり、「内地」や西北へ家畜を供給していた。例えば、清朝期には帰化城は家畜交易の中心となっており、雍正帝の時代には10万頭の軍馬、40万頭の羊が購入されていたという [政治協商会議呼和浩特市回民区委員会ほか（編） 1994: 127]。中華民国期には内モンゴルのアルシャー、オチナ、ウランチャブ、イケジョーがラクダ、牛、馬、驢馬、羊などの代表的な産地であった [馬忠 2001: 257]。ラクダ購入者は河北省張家口、綾遠省帰化、西北諸省、馬と驢馬の購入者は山西省、河北省、山東省、河南省、牛と羊の購入者は北京、天津に多かった [馬祥 1987: 148]。仁井田陸も内モンゴルや山東省から牛を購入する者が目立っていたと報告している [仁井田 1944: 260]。ただし、畜産業者はモンゴル人が多かったが、漢人や回民の畜産業者もおり、単一の民族によって独占されていたわけではない。

さて、畜産業者は家畜を販売する際、購入者に直接販売せず、家畜仲買業者に委託していた。かつてフフホトでは家畜仲買業者は「牙紀」といい、牛を売買する業者は「牛牙子」、馬を売買する業者は「馬牙子」、ラクダを売買する業者は「駝牙子」、羊を売買する業者は「羊牙子」と呼ばれていた。フフホトの家畜交易市場は「牛橋」、「羊橋」、「馬橋」といい、「牛橋」は慶銘橋（現在の清真北寺の西南）、「羊橋」は羊橋子（現在の伊利広場付近）に開設されていた。いずれの交易市場も回民が集住する地域にあった。

「牙紀」の繁忙期は春夏ではなく秋・冬で、家畜の肉質は初霜が降った頃から大雪までの時期が最も良いくわされていた。「牙紀」は「客人（購入者）」と「販子（畜産業者）」の仲介役に相当し、「客人」と「販子」の意向を確認し、

74 華北地方には老舗のハラール料理店がいくつも存在し、中国料理の多様性に彩りを添えていた。例えば、北京市には東来順、爆肚馮、月盛齋などのように回民が創業したハラール料理店が現在も存在する。東来順は清朝末期の1903年、爆肚馮は清朝光緒年間、月盛齋は清朝乾隆40年に創業されており、老舗のハラール料理店が清朝期から成功していったことを物語っている。中国文学家の竹内好は1940年代、北京の東安市場にあった東来順で食事し、創業者丁德貞氏と面会している [竹内 1942: 42-43]。李香蘭こと山口淑子は東来順で食事する機会が多く、北京ダックの老舗全聚徳よりも東来順の羊肉料理の方が気に入っていたと述懐している [山口・藤原 1990: 88-89]。
双方が納得できる金額で家畜を売買することが理想とされていた。購入者が支払った代金から畜産業者の販売価格を差し引いた差額が「牙紀」の手数料に相当する。「牙紀」は店舗を必ずしも所有する必要がなく、少額の資本で開業できるため、誰でも簡単に従業できた。もちろん家畜の肉質や健康状態を目利きする能力は必要だったが、専門技術を事前に習得する必要はなかった。当時の様子を知る回民の古老によれば、「失業した下中が仲買業に就いていた」という（王友三 1989：269）。なお、回民が羊を購入する場合、黒頭、白身、黒蹄子、鬚角的①（頭部が黒く、体が白く、蹄が黒く、角が長い）の羊を好む（写真）。

フフホトにはモンゴル人や漢人の「牙紀」もいたが、回民の「牙紀」が非常に多かったという報告が多い。例えば、当時、フフホトには「牙紀公会」という同業者団体が存在し、400名から500名の「牙紀」が所属していた。ごく少数の漢人を除けば、会員の多くは回民であった。フフホトでその名を知られた「牙紀」は清真大寺近くの水渠辺の韓興茂、韓興岐（牛牙紀）、東順城街ぶ巷子的馬長命、馬年子、馬賢（馬牙紀）、張恒、拜文秀、拜文祥（驪騅牙紀）らである［政治協商会議呼和浩特市回民区委員会ほか（編） 1994：128］。フフホトで同業者団体を調査した今堀誠二は「回民の売客と買客は、食事および習慣の相違から牛羊店に近づくことができず、回教徒経営の家畜仲買業に投宿して万事を依頼したのである」[今堀 1955：176]と記し、回民の売客・買客がおなじ回民の「牙紀」を優先していたことに言及している。店舗経営の「牙紀」の場合、必要に応じて売客・買客に対して食事や宿泊を提供することもあり、イスラームの食の規範に対する配慮から回民の売客・買客がおなじ回民の「牙紀」を選んだことは不自然なことではない。

写真 1 犠牲祭のために購入された羊（2014年フフホト市で撮影）
家畜は売買された後、屠畜業者によって解体・加工される。フホトでは郡
化城の北門外にあった馬蓮滝（現新民街）に屠畜業者が集中していた。フホト
では、馬蓮滝。能宰能挫と呼ばれるように、馬蓮滝には屠畜業者が非常に
多く、彼らの大多数は清真東寺に入出しする回民であった。屠畜業者は毎年の
暦の中秋節から年末が繁忙期で、まず牛橋や羊橋などで家畜を購入し、自分た
ちの店舗へ運搬していた。屠畜業者は「下刀阿」75という宗教指導者を清真
東寺から呼び寄せ、チャリーラ（イスラーム法）に則った方法で家畜の頸動靜
脈・気管・食道を切断し、自分たちで解体し、精肉、内臓、骨、皮な
どを処理・販売していた。最盛期、馬蓮滝には108軒の屠畜業者があったと
いう [政治協会会議呼浩浩市回民区委員会ほか (編) 1994: 135 ]。甘絨清
真礼拝堂（現清真北寺）の祖である、1949年頃、フホトの回民集住地域
には72軒の屠畜業者が存在し、このうち漢人の屠畜業者は2軒のみであった
[白慧中 2002: 229 ]。フホトでは回民が牛・羊の屠畜業をほぼ独占してい
たと考えることができる。

実は、屠畜業者は精肉販売業を兼業することが多かった。内モンゴルでは
1937年以前、牛羊肉などは北京、天津、河北省、河南省、山西省などに販売さ
れていた [馬忠 2001: 257 ]。特に羊肉は北京、天津からの顧客が大量に購入
していた [郷九武 2015: 1 ]。フホトの精肉販売業者は屠畜業者が集中して
いた馬蓮滝、東寺巷、大馬路南巷子、剪子巷、丁茶館などに多かった [政治協
会会議呼浩浩市回民区委員会ほか（編） 1994: 135 ]。牛羊肉加工食品を販
売する店舗としては大召前にあった三合義肉舗、大什字にあった白懷礼・白懷
信の店舗、劉華・劉忠義親子の宝勝永がその名をよく知られている [政治協会
会議呼浩浩市回民区委員会ほか（編） 1994: 136 ]。羊肉販売店としては李
旺、楊発永、麻存宝の店舗が大手の販売者で、羊肉を特殊な方法で包装し、冷
凍羊肉を山西省、河南省、山東省などの遠方にも運送していた [郷九武
2015: 1 ]。今堀誠二は「回民の肉屋の場合には、回民の屠殺業者が一定の方
式で殺した牛羊などの生肉だけを販売していた」 [今堀 1955: 264 ]と記してお
り、回民の精肉販売業者がハラール肉を慎重に扱っていたことが読み取れる。
なお、当時、精肉販売業は細分化されており、精肉以外に家畜の毛皮、内臓、
骨・血、脂などを販売する業者がいくつも存在し、毛皮は皮革業者、脂は石鹸
業者、骨・血などが肥料業者に販売されていた。

75 下刀阿（帯刀阿）は清真寺で正規のイスラーム教育を受けたが、「教長」とは異な
り、屠畜業務を専門とする宗教指導者である。家畜を頻繁に屠畜する性格上、下刀阿・は集
団礼拝の際は最後尾に並ぶ。アザーンを担当することができないなどの禁忌を遵守せねば
ならなかった。なお、下刀阿は早ければ1958年の宗教制度民主改革、遅くとも文化大革
命の頃にその役職を廃止され、現在は存在しない。
新鮮なハラール肉を調理・販売するのは飲食業者である。中国ではハラール料理店は「清真館」「清真食堂」「回民館」「回民店」などと呼ばれ、西北の新疆を除けば、「内地」では基本的には回民が営む飲食店を指す。ハラール料理といえば、東北、華北、内モンゴル、西北、華南などに地方色満載の料理が存在し、一括して論じることはできないため、本稿ではハラール料理の種類や調理法ではなく、飲食店にみられる特徴を指摘するに留めておく。

フフホトでは老舗のハラール料理店は南北古豊軒、德豊軒、聚豊軒、新発春、餡餅粥、天興園、德和楼、東来順などが有名であった。最も古い老舗は回民の豪商白維礼、白松峰が清朝末期に創業した北古豊軒で、帰化城の北門外にある西順城街東口に位置した。北古豊軒は「绥遠第一家」と称される高級料理店であった。白維礼らはほどなく南古豊軒を開店し、寧夏回民軍閥の馬福祥、绥遠省主席の傅作義のような政治家が南店で宴席の際によく利用していたという[政治協商会議呼和浩特市回民区委員会ほか（編）1994：130-131]。なお、フフホトでは「内地」と同様、ハラール料理店のほか、茶館がよく利用されていたが、フフホトの茶館ではレンガ茶、素母（羊肉のシューマイ）が提供されることが一般的で、茶館においても羊肉がよく消費されていたことが大きな特徴である。

回民のハラール料理店では店頭に独特なデザインの「招幌」という標識を掲げることが一般的であった。漢人が赤色の「招幌」を使用するのに対して、回民は藍色または緑色の「招幌」を使用し、それらは「藍幌子」または「白紙幌子」と呼ばれていた。回民の「招幌」はアラビア文字または漢字で定型句が木版などに刻印されたもので、その店舗で提供される料理がハラール料理であることを一目で確認できるようになっていた。アラビア文字ではイスラームの聖句、例えばパスマラ（ビスミッラー・アル＝ラフマーニ・アル＝ラヒミ
76）カリマ・アル＝タイバの一部（ラー・イラーア・イッラー77）、漢字では「清真」、「回民」、「西域回回」、「京都回回」などが明記されていた（写真2）。なお、このような伝統的なデザインの「招幌」は1950年代の飲食業者の集団化によって使用されなくなった（後述）。

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76「慈悲深く慈愛あまねきアッラーの御名において」という意味の聖句である。
77「アッラーのほかに神はいない」という意味で、信仰告白の聖句などの一部である。
写真 2 1945 年以前のハラール料理店の「招帳」（天理大学所蔵）

ハラール料理店では回民が調理を担当し、なお回民から購入したハラールの牛肉、羊肉、鶏肉などをシャリーやで定められた戒律に則って調理する。豚脂、豚肉、酒類などようにイスラームにおいてハラーム（禁忌）とされる物が調理場や店内に持ち込まれることはなかった。今堀誠二によれば「清真（回教）料理の飲食店と酒飯行の飲食店では、同業といえない程の相違点もあったわけで、原料の仕入先、原料の種類、料理の方法、顧客の範囲などにわたって相違していた」という [今堀 1955：384]。飲食店の経営方針にもなるが、非回民（主に漢人）の利用客が豚肉由来の食品を店内に持ち込むことはも禁止する店舗もあり、現在も西北や華北の回族の料理店においても珍しいことではない。

現代中国における社会主義改造と市場経済化

1 ハラール産業の公私合営・国営化

中国共産党は建国後、土地改革、三反五反運動、反右派闘争、宗教制度民主改革、文化大革命などを中国各地で展開し、1950 年、建国初期の経済改革としで私営工商業に対する社会主義改造を提唱し、家畜、毛皮、穀物などを一括管理を実施した。これは計画経済の端緒である。1950 年頃から中国共産党は「公私合営」に着手し、私営企業の国営化を画策した78。内モンゴルでは私営企業は 1956 年にはほぼ消滅している [内蒙古卷編纂委員会（編） 1991：14]。そのほか、1952 年の五反運動では資本家の贈賄、脱税、国家資材の横領、手抜きや材料のごまかし、国の経済情報の漏洩に対する反対運動が展開され、資本家に対する取り締まりが強化された。例えば、ファホトでは日本軍の経済統制

78 「公私合営」の企業は 1966 年には国営化された。

157
に協力した回族の屠畜業者が投獄されている（ 2017 年内モンゴル自治区フフホト市におけるインタビュー調査）。
このような集団化は私営企業だった老舗のハラール産業にも少なからず打撃を与えた。例えば、北京回族の老舗料理店のひとつ、東来順飯荘は 1955 年の公私合営化の結果、「民族飯荘」と改名され、経営方針や調理方法が変更された。そのため「資本主義の羊肉は社会主義改造の後、美味しくなくなった」と思われるようになり、毛沢東が 1956 年に国務会議の席上で指摘したほどである。本来、東来順では子羊しか使っていなかったが、公私合営化以降、山羊肉、老いた羊肉なども使い始め、また、労働効率を向上させるため羊肉を厚く切るようになり、味が落ちたという（ 2009 年 9 月 22 日の凤凰网による報道）。

写真 3 は甘肅省で撮影された公私合営の集会の様子。
写真 3 甘肅省で 1956 年に開催された公私合営の集会
出典：『中国資本主義工商業的社会主義改造 甘肅巻』（ 1992 ）

フフホトにおいても中国共産党が発動した公私合営化は回族のハラール産業に対して大きな打撃を与えた。中国共産党は回族集住地域に対して「回民工作組（ 組長：馬志新 ）」を派遣し、少数民族党員の選抜・推薦・育成、伝統職業の集団化などを展開した 80 。回族の共産党員（ 馬志新 ）を組長とする回民工作組は「帰绥市回民生産供應社」を組織し、1951 年頃から本来は私営企業

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80 回族のため職場の公私合営化では回族の代表者を交えて会議を開くこと、回族の「招幟」や聖地メチャの図像などの扱いに配慮することが検討されたが [ 内蒙古書紀編纂委員会（ 編 ） 1991 : 469]。公私合営化によって個人経営の店舗が消滅し、伝統的な「招幟」は新しい職場では必然的に使用されなくなったという（ 2017 年内モンゴル自治区フフホト市におけるインタビュー調査 ）。
家だった畜産業者、家畜仲買業者、酪農業者、屠畜業者、飲食業者らを新たな職場（例えば公私合営の合作社、国営の会社、工場）へ再配置した。表1は社会主義改造の対象となった主要なハラール産業を整理したものである。

表1 フフホトにおける社会主義改造とハラール産業

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>時期</th>
<th>出来事</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950年</td>
<td>回民工作組（組長: 馬志新）&lt;br&gt;帰绥市回民生産供応社（主任: 馬志新）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951年</td>
<td>屠畜業者の転職・転属&lt;br&gt;・食品公司・百貨公司&lt;br&gt;・牛羊下費小組&lt;br&gt;・骨血腸衣合作社</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956年</td>
<td>フフホト市飲食公司（公私合営）・前身は清真肉類加工廠&lt;br&gt;1958年 回民二食堂を開業&lt;br&gt;1959年 回民食堂を開業（前身は古豊軒）&lt;br&gt;1960年 回民第三食堂、富泉涌清真飯店、回民飯店（同和軒）、回民飯店（慶春元）、国営回民肉食商店を開業</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


ここで屠畜業の事例を紹介しておく。フフホトでは1951年頃、公私合営化の結果、馬蓮灘に集住する回民の屠畜業者は自営業者ではなくなり、大多数が路頭に迷うこととなった。例えば、回民の牛羊肉業者は1950年の時点では281軒存在したが、1953年の時点では124軒へと減少したのだが [馬珍
2003：36-39]、これは公私合同化の結果である。中国共産党・政府の救済措置として、屠畜業者の青年層新製食品会社や百貨店（例えば、百貨公司、連

com商店、新華書店）などへ配属され、精肉販売業者や内臓処理業者は「牛羊下

w貨組」で精肉加工食品を生産・販売し、その他の業者は「骨血合作社（筆者

z注：骨血腸衣合作社）」に異動し、肥料や石鹸などの生産・加工に従事すること

ととなった [白慧中 2002: 231-232]

ここでいう食品会社や百貨店は新しい国営企業であり、屠畜業の職人たちのは
国営企業の部署に配属され、新たな職場で共産党組織の管理下に置かれ、その
指示に従うことになった。つまり、馬蓮灘の屠畜業者といえば、先祖代々屠畜
業を営んでいた回民たちであり、イスラーム派の屠畜業家は殺生の目利き能力
が培われ、そのような伝統知が祖父から父へ、父から子へと継承されていた
が、公私合同化の結果、屠畜業という職業は家業として継承されなくなったの
である。例えば、馬蓮灘で父親が屠畜業を営んでいたユースフ氏（回族）は屠
畜業者の公私合同化について次のように説明する。

1955 年、私の父親は公私合営化の後、国営の食品会社に配属された。その当
時、食品会社は市全体の精肉食品を扱う大型の会社であった。父親は食品会
社内にあった第一廠（筆者注：回族の屠畜場）という新たな職場に配属さ
れ、そこで屠畜業の技術や経験を活かすことができた。1980 年代に病気で退
職するまでずっと勤務した。自分の一族は馬蓮灘で先祖代々屠畜業を営んで
きたから、屠畜業で培われた父親の技術は非常に高く、家畜の目利きはなかなか
なかのもので、食品会社では技術科という部署で家畜売買を担当していた。
ちなみに、当時、綿羊は 500 グラムで 0.5 元ほど、山羊肉は 500 グラムで 0.5
元以下、牛肉は 1.5 キログラムで 1 元ほどで、職員の月給は最低金額 40 元、
最高金額 100 元ほどで、屠畜担当者は 70 元から 90 元ほどの月給を賄ってい
た (2017 年内モンゴル自治区フホト市におけるインタビュー調査)。

ユースフ氏の個別の見解としては、彼の父親は屠畜業で培った技術を新し
い勤務先においても活かすことができたため、中国共産党の公私合同化に対し
て肯定的な見解を抱いていない。かくいうユースフ氏自身は大学卒業後、屠畜
業や食品加工業とはまったく関係のない国営企業に就職している。ユースフ氏
は子どもの頃、父親が食品会社に配属されたため、屠畜業のノウハウを父親か
ら教わったことがないため（屠畜の場面を普段見せてもらえなかった）、家業
の継承を考えたことがなかった (2017 年内モンゴル自治区フホト市における
インタビュー調査)。

160
屠畜業が家業として衰退したとはいえ、屠畜技術の伝統知りそれ自体が完全に消滅してしまったわけではない。実際、屠畜の伝統的な技術はどちらかといえば正確に継承されている。写真4はイスラムの犠牲祭の日に宗教指導者が羊の頸動脈・気管・食道を切断する様子を撮影した写真である。フフホトでは家畜の屠畜に関しては、まず、一般信徒ではなく、イスラム諸学に精通した人物（例えば宗教指導者やその弟子の学生）に屠畜を依頼すること、家畜を乱暴に扱わないこと（むやみに傷つけたり、殴打したりしない）、足を二本・四本ではなく、三本を紐で縛ること（奇数の重視）、恐怖心を抱かせないように家畜の目を布で覆うこと、屠畜する際は家畜の頭を南に向けること、鋭利な包丁などで頸動静脈・気管・食道を一刀両断することなどがルールとして語り継がれており、現在もおおむね継承されている81。興味深い点は、一般信徒であってもイスラムの作法を知る者は技術的には屠畜をおこなえるはずなのだが、清真寺でイスラム諸学を学んだ知識人が屠畜しないかぎり、正統な方法とは認められないことである82。

写真4 犠牲祭。頸動静脈・気管・食道を切る（2014年フフホト市で撮影）

ただし、ひとつ付け加えておくと、近年、フフホト市のような都市部にくるす回族には犠牲祭で屠畜を怖がる人々、屠畜の方法を一切知らない人々（主に

81 2000年、寧夏回族自治区銀川市で実施された犠牲祭では喫煙者（回族）が羊を解体しようとした際、周囲の人々から制止されていた。喫煙についてイスラム法の解釈に統一的見解はみられず、ハラーム（禁止行為）ではなく、マクルーフ（履行しても処罰の対象とはされない忌避行為）と解釈されることが多いが、筆者が調査した時期の寧夏回族自治区では宗教指導者は実質的にハラームだと判断していた。

82 仁井田谷民の屠畜方法について次のように記録している。「各々の家に屠宰師即ち老师傅（刀師傅）を呼んできて、所定の方式に従ひこれを屠殺した。たとへ回教徒と雖も、老师傅の手によらば各人勝手に殺したときは、その肉は食用に供し得ないばかりか、何にも使ひものにならない。」[ 仁井田谷 1944：257 ]
青年層）をよく見かけるようになった。おそらく農業が日常生活のなかで身近な出来事ではなくなくなったことが最大の原因であろう。実際、農業業者は都市の生活圏から消え去り、現在は郊外の精肉会社が農業を担当している。また、下記のような宗教的な理由から、宗教的な意味での農業が農業を目にする機会がほとんどない。毛沢東時代に計画経済や食料不足などの影響から犠牲祭のときださえ牛や羊を農業できなかったため（選時は鶏を農業していた）。自分自身で農業できる人々が多数派になわけではない。

2 改革開放期におけるハラール産業の誕生と食品管理

2-1 ハラール産業の復活

文化大革命が終息すると、中国共産党の新指導部は改革開放政策の導入を決定した。中国国内の経済政策が従来の計画経済から市場経済へと転換された結果、人民公社や単位制度が瓦礫し、私営企業や個人事業家が各地に誕生した。改革開放政策が軌道に乗ると、それまでに公営合営化または国営化された回族のハラール産業が徐々に復活し、中国国内の観光産業の後押しもあり、ハラール産業の市場が拡大した。

フフホトの場合、改革開放政策が軌道に乗った1990年代以降、ハラールの酪農業、農業、精肉販売業を営む企業が登場した。その代表例として、ここでは伊利実業集団、蒙伊薩金山食品有限公司を挙げておこう。最初の伊利実業集団は牛乳、ヨーグルト、アイスキャンディーなどの商品を生産・販売する一大企業である。伊利実業集団は北京オリンピックの公式スポンサーとなったことも全国的に知られている。伊利実業集団は1993年2月に国営の乳製品加工場が伊利実業集団に改ざんされた企業であり、同年6月、内モンゴル伊利実業株式会社として登記された。その前身の乳製品加工場とは1956年に成立した回民区養牛作業組合で、白姓回族の農家を中心とした酪農家集団であった。回族の酪農家が数多く勤務していたからか、伊利実業集団の経営（兼実業家）は漢族（潘剛）であるが、ハラール食品を生産・販売しており、包装紙にはイスラーム教協会の標章が印刷されている。同社のハラール商

83 北京では文化大革命の時期、下刀師傅が「封建勢力の代表」として廃止された [ 彦年（編） 1996：301 ]。84 伊利の社名の語源には諸説があるが、社名の意味は「イスラームの利益」であるとフフホト在住の回族が説明することが多かった。伊利の前身では白姓回族の酪農家が中心的な存在だったことを考えると、そのような説明がなされるのも不自然ではない。85 フフホトでは回民の酪農業は清朝期に始まり、水渠の習近平、韓德、韓礼、韓興元、通県街の邸二、晉陽楼街の劉忠義、新県街白家街の白明たちがその名を知られており、そのなかでも白姓回族が酪農業の発展に大きく貢献している。白姓回族は清朝期に河南省等県域産地から隋化地へ移り住み、白明という人物が酪農業を始めたという [ 政協呼和浩特市回民区委員会・呼和浩特回族史編纂委員会（編） 1994：129 ]。
品はムスリム経営の企業ではないが、内モンゴルにとどまらず、他地域のムスリム諸民族から信頼を獲得できている。

その次のハラール企業は 2006 年に創業された蒙伊薩金山食品有限公司である。蒙伊薩は牛・羊の飼育・屠畜、牛羊肉の加工・販売で成功した。内モンゴルの武川県、通遼に牧場を所有し、毎年 10 万頭の牛、20 万頭の羊を屠畜している。代表的な商品は「風干牛肉」というビーフジャーキーで、全国各地で販売されている。創業者の鳥成はフホト市出身の回族で、彼は起業する前に北海道で酪農業の研修を受けた経験があり、海外の技術を自社に積極的に導入している（例えば精肉加工技術はスペイン式である）。創業者は敬虔なムスリムであり、ハラール食品の扱いには慎重で、自社工場内の重要な部署には回族を配置している（2017 年内モンゴル自治区フホト市におけるインタビュー調査）。伊利と同様、蒙伊薩もイスラーム教協会からハラール食品監督証明書を取得しており、商品に対する信頼度は高い。

このように、伊利実業集団と蒙伊薩は創業者の民族的出自が異なるが、安全性の高いハラール食品を生産している点が回族の間で高く評価されている。ただし、改革開放期におけるハラール食品会社の活躍を理解するにあたって注目すべきはハラール食品の生産・流通・販売などの側面だけでなく、行政機関（宗教事務局）や宗教団体（イスラーム教協会）のような第三者機関による監督業務（食品管理、証明書発行）などの外的要素である。

2-2 第三者機関によるハラール食品の管理

改革開放政策の導入後、中国国内におけるハラール産業の展開・拡大にともない、中国共産党・政府は行政機関および宗教団体にハラール食品の管理・監督を担当させている。現在、中国国内では行政機関の宗教事務局（地域によっては民族事務委員会）、宗教団体のイスラーム教協会が中国国内で生産されたハラール食品の管理・監督、ハラール飲食店に対する営業許可証の発行などを請け負っている。中国共産党・政府は文化大革命の混乱を反省し、1979 年頃からムスリム諸民族に対する特別措置を検討し、地域差はあるが、行政機関・学校・企業・列車・旅客機・病院などにおけるハラール料理の提供またはハラール食堂の開設、ムスリム諸民族に対する食料補助費の支給、年中行事の際の小麦粉・油などの配布などを実施してきた。1980 年代後半から 1990 年代にかけては中国各地でハラール食品がかわる規定が制定され、ムスリム諸民族に対する権利保障が法制化されている。例えば、西北地方の寧夏回族自治区では 1988 年 6 月 6 日、「少数民族慣習の尊重にかかわる規定」がいち早く公布されている[寧夏回族自治区民族事務委員会・宗教事務局（編） 2000：123]。
第5条 清真飯館、牛羊肉の冷蔵庫（倉庫）、清真食品の工場、商店、売店などには清真または回民を明示した標識を掲げ、主要な従業員を回族とし、容器・輸送手段なども区別せねばならない。
第6条 回族ではない個人経営者は清真食品を生産してはならない。
清真食品を非回族が卸売する場合、当該地域の民族工作部門の許可を得ねばならない。
第7条 各種清真標識は各級の民族工作部門が責任をもって監督する。
（寧夏回族自治区府關於尊重少数民族風俗習慣的規定）

寧夏回族自治区では1991年9月27日、「銀川市清真食品管理規定」が人民代表大会において採択され、1988年の規定より詳細な規定が公布されている。寧夏および銀川市のハラール食品管理規定は中国国内では最も早い時期に制定されており、他地域の規定の雛形となった可能性が高い。

第2条 本規定の清真食品は回族（またはその他のムスリムの習俗を継承する少数民族）の生活習慣に合わせて生産した食品を指す。
第3条 本規定は本行政区域内にある清真（または回民、ムスリム、イスラームなど）という名義で食品を生産・販売する単位および個人に適用される。
第4条 本規定は民族宗教行政主管部門および工商行政部門の責任のもとで実施される。
第5条 回族に提供される、清真食品を生産原材料の牛羊肉はアホン（筆者注：宗教指導者）によって屠畜され、それに加えてマークを付けてはならない。回族が食すことのできるその他の家畜は本市に居住する回族が公認する慣習に則って屠畜しなければならない。清真食品を生産・販売する単位および個人が購入する精肉は原産地を明示しなければならない。
第6条 ハラール精肉業者の職場では回族の従業員は従業員全体の75パーセント以上を占めなければならない。清真飲食業者・副食業者の職場では回族の従業員は従業員全体の40パーセントを占めねばならない。清真商工業者の職場では回族の従業員は従業員全体の30パーセント以上を占めなければならない。清真食品を生産・販売する単位では主要な責任者を回族とし、要件を満たさない場合でも最低1名の回族が加わっていかなければならない。清真食品関連業者の各部門には回族の従業員が業務を担当すること。清真食品を生産・販売する個人経営者は回族であること。
（銀川市清真食品管理規定）

寧夏回族自治区および銀川市のハラール食品にかかわる規定にみられるように、中国国内ではハラール食品の生産・販売に対する行政機関の監督は1980年代後半から1990年代にかけて制度化されており、中国共産党・政府による特別措置は高く評価されるべきである。1990年代以降、中国国内のハラール産業の経営者は省（自治区）・市などの宗教事務局（または民族事務委員会）に対して「清真牌証」というハラール食品販売の許可証を申請し、宗教事務局（または民族事務委員会）が厳正な審査を行い、「清真牌証」を申請者に対して発行している（写真5）。

当然のことながら誰もが「清真牌証」を取得できるわけではない。ハラール産業の経営者は「清真牌証」の取得に際していくつかの要件を満たさねばならない。例えば、その要件としては、責任者に回族名が含まれており、従業員に一定数の回族がいること、販売・調理師・倉庫管理・廃棄各部門に回族がいること、販売・生産・運送・販売などの方法が回族の慣習に合致することなどである。ここでいう一定数の回族とは、例えば、フフホト市の「清真食品管理弁法」（1998）ではハラール肉業者の場合が40パーセント以上、ハラール飲食業者の場合が30パーセント以上と定められている。

写真5 行政機関が発行した清真牌証

● ハラール認証の普及と食品の安全性
1 ハラール認証制度のグローバル化

近年、東南アジア諸国を中心としたハラール認証制度のグローバル化にともない、中国国内においても海外のハラール認証機関・団体（例えば、マレーシアのJAKIM、インドネシアのMUI、シンガポールのMUIS）と連携する動きがみられるようになっている。例えば、インドネシアのMUIは上海にある回族
経営の企業をハラール認証の代理機構として認定し、海外輸出向け商品に対するハラール認証を積極的に推進している。

東南アジアから迫り来る潮流に対して中国側は手をこまねいているわけではない。中国国内のイスラーム教協会は具体的な対策を講じている。例えば、2013年、中国イスラーム教協会は輸出用ハラール食品に対する「清真証書（ハラール証明書）」の発行を決定した。この制度では、中国イスラーム教協会が「清真証書」を申請した企業に対して監督員を派遣し、ハラール食品の生産過程および品質管理に対する監督を実施し、中国イスラーム教協会が最終的に「清真出口認証証書（ハラール輸出許可証明書）」を発行する。有効期限は1年とされている。中国イスラーム教協会が輸出許可証明書の発行を決断した主な理由は、中国国内のハラール食品企業が中東や東南アジアなどのムスリムが多数派を占める諸外国へ目を向け、ハラール産業の市場を開拓すべきだと判断したからであろう。

そのほか、省（自治区）のレベルでハラール産業の市場開拓に積極的に取り組む地域がある。それは西北地方に位置する寧夏回族自治区である。例えば、寧夏回族自治区では2014年9月19日、「寧夏清真食品国際貿易認証センター」の成立が批准された。寧夏ハラール食品国際貿易認証センターは中国国内初のハラール食品認証機構として位置づけられており、バーレーン、カタール、ヨルダン、エジプト、マレーシア、アメリカ、オーストラリア、ニュージーランド、インド、ロシア、シンガポールなどの諸外国が認証業務の協定を締結している（2016年6月27日の報道86）。2015年4月、寧夏ハラール食品国際貿易認証センターはシンガポールの認証機関MUIに対して申請手続きを行い、同年6月17日、MUIの理事会において公認のハラール認証機関としてすでに承認されている（2015年6月30日の報道87）。寧夏回族自治区という地方自治体（省レベル）が中国共産党・政府の協力のもとでハラール食品の認証業務を実施することは国内では非常に特殊な事例であるが、寧夏回族自治区はハラール認証のグローバル化に確実に参画しつつある。

2 ジハリアル認証の普及に対する反応

中国国内におけるハラール産業、第三者機関によるハラール認証制度の普及にはともない、ハラール食品が中国各地で広範囲に生産・流通・販売されるようになるにつれ、中国国内ではごく一部の非ムスリムの人々がハラール食品やハラール認証の普及を「清真化（pan-halalization）」として非難し、中国国内の

87 国家民族事務委員会 http://seac.gov.cn/art/2015/6/30/art_3983_230550.html (2018年2月6日最終閲覧)。
ムスリム諸民族に対する誹謗中傷をインターネット上に投稿するようになって。彼らは「穆黑」と呼ばれており、中国国内のムスリム諸民族に対するイスラモフォビアは爆発させている88。「穆黒」は「抹黑穆斯林（ムスリムの顔に泥を塗る）」という表現に由来するが、「穆黒」は中国国内におけるハラール認証の普及、ハラール食品の増加、標識・看板におけるアラビア語の使用、イスラーム服の着用などに対して強烈な嫌悪感を抱いている。このような「穆黒」の言論に対し、中国共産党・政府やイスラーム教協会は注意喚起を行っているが、完全には取り締まることは難しい89。

中国国内で燃え上がるイスラモフォビアに対する警戒心からか、中央・地方のイスラーム教協会がハラール食品の監督に関して次のような通知を送付し、中国イスラーム界を驚かせた。2017年2月17日、中国イスラーム教協会は「関於停止清真監制認証事務工作的通知（ハラール食品に対する監督・認証業務の停止に関する通知）」を公布し、ハラール食品管理を強化し、規範化するという指導精神にもとづき、「清真概念改組」を防止すると述べた（写真5）。ここでいう「清真概念改組」とはpan-halalizationを指す。中国イスラーム教協会は精肉輸出品に限定して監督証明書を発行し、その他の商品に対する監督・認証業務を停止すると発表したのである（写真5）。これは全国レベルの通知であるが、実は同じ日、中国イスラーム教協会はハラール食品に対する監督を続行しないことを内モンゴルの伊利実業集団に対して通知し、「中国イスラーム教協会監督」や「清真」などの標示を今後は使用してはならないと命じた。

88 近年、中国国内でイスラモフォビアが表面化した主な原因は、中国国内におけるウイグル人による無差別テロ事件（例えば、天安門車突入事件、昆明事件）、中東における「イスラーム国」による自爆テロ事件などが中国国内で報道され、一部の人々が異教徒のムスリムに対して抱く嫌悪感・不信感・恐怖心などをインターネット上で表現するようになったからであろう。2016年9月15日、Foreign Policyには法人類学者M・エリー（Matthew Erie）の記事“In China, Fears of ‘Creeping Sharia’ Proliferate Online”が掲載され、イスラモフォビアが紹介されている。http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/09/15/in-china-fears-of-creeping-sharia-proliferate-online-muslims-islam-islamophobia/（2018年1月23日最終閲覧）。
89 例えば、2017年2月17日、対外経済貿易大学外語学院副院長の丁隆（図集）の文章「“穆黑”言論破壊民族团结」が中国イスラーム教協会の公式ホームページ(http://www.chinaislam.net.cn/cms/zzjyjyds/jyjy/201702/27-10840.html)に掲載されている（2018年1月23日最終閲覧）。
写真5 中国イスラーム教協会の通知（2017年2月17日）

伊利実業集団は1993年の創業以来、ハラール乳製品を生産・販売する一大ブランド企業としてすでに市場を開拓しているが、それにかもしかわらず、中国イスラーム教協会が横間を入れてきたわけである。2017年3月3月、伊利実業集団は行政機関のフフホト市清真食品監督管理局事務室に対して自社のハラール食品監督・標示使用に関する報告をおこない、まず中国国内のハラール産業に対する自社の活動および貢献について言及し、そして、中国イスラーム教協会の要求に応じ、今後、「中国イスラーム教協会監制」という標示を同社の商品に印刷しないと回答した。それと同時に、伊利実業集団は「中国イスラーム教協会監制」という標示の削除には同意するが、「清真」の標示は今後も使用し続けると明示し、大企業の意地を見せた（2017年3月3日内モンゴル伊利集団股１有限公司）。中国イスラーム教協会が「清真概念強化」を防止すべきだとなぜ判断したのか、同協会がハラール乳製品の生産に実績のある内モンゴルの伊利実業集団に何事前を向けたのか、現時点では確認できないが、おそらく中国イスラーム教協会が中国国内に台頭した「穆黒」の攻撃を危惧した可能性が高い。

3 疑わしきハラール食品
改革開放後、中国国内のハラール産業にムスリムだけでなく、非ムスリムも参画するようになったわけであるが、非ムスリムの経営者や従業員がハラール食品の意味を正確に理解できていないためにトラブルを招いたことがある。
えば、内モンゴル自治区で最も有名な事件は 2002 年 8 月に発生した蒙牛事件である。蒙牛とは内モンゴル自治区で 1999 年に創業された乳製品会社で、中国国内では伊利実業集団のライバル会社のひとつである。

2002 年 8 月 15 日、蒙牛公司的商品配送車両がハラール食品会社に商品を届けた際、豚肉や鶏肉が車両に載せられているのを一部の回族が発見し、フホト市および回民区の両政府に調査および処分を要求した。8 月 16 日、両政府は政府関係者、蒙牛公司、回族の代表者を集め、座談会を開催した。結果、蒙牛公司は回族の民衆に対して謝罪をおこなない、蒙牛はハラール食品の生産・販売をおこなう資格を失い、「清真」のマークを使用できなくなった。蒙牛公司の配送車両でハラールではない精肉を運送した人物は個人経営の運送業者らしく、蒙牛公司ではなく、他の業者から精肉の運送を依頼され、秘密裏に配送をおこなっていたらしいが、ハラール食品を非ハラール食品とともに運送することの問題性を本人はまったく気付いていない。

蒙牛事件にかぎらず、非ムスリム（主に漢族）がハラール食品の扱いを誤ると、類似の事件は容易に起こりうる。例えば、漢族が豚肉をハラール食品として販売したことに端を発し、回族と漢族のあいだに衝突が起きたことがある。ラジオ・フリー・アジアの報道によれば、2000 年 9 月、山東省陽信県河流鎮の商店街で回族と漢族が衝突し、人命を奪う殺傷事件へと発展した。衝突の原因は漢族が豚肉を「清真豚肉」と名付けて販売したことである。「清真豚肉」の販売に警戒した回族たちが経営者を含む漢族に暴行を加えたため、地元警察が回族数名を拘束した。その後、12 月、ラマダンの最中、清真寺の前に豚の頭を漢族が思しき人物によって置かれたため、回族の怒りに火をつけ、他省の回族が応援に駆けつけ、警察・武警と衝突した。武警が回族の抗議者に発砲し、少なくとも 6 名が死亡した（2000 年 12 月 18 日ラジオ・フリー・アジアの報道 91）。

一説によれば、店舗の所有者は本来は回族だったらしいが、その後、漢族が回族の店舗を買い取り、なお店舗で豚肉を販売していたとも言われている。いずれにしても、陽信事件は、漢族が「清真」という言葉をハラールではない食品に不用意に使用したことで発生した民族間衝突であり、「清真」という概念が中国回族の生活規範や集団的帰属意識と密接に関わっていることを如実に物語っているといえる。

□ おわりに

90 この人物の民族戸籍についてまったく言及されていないが、メディア報道の内容を読んだが、回族であるとは考えにくい。
91 陽信事件 http://www.rfa.org/mandarin/yataibaodao/46861-20001218.html（最終閲覧 2018 年 1 月 25 日）
近現代中国の歴史を絞解れば、ハラール食品を生産・提供する人々の職場環境が現代中国の社会主義改革を契機として大きく変容したことがよくわかる。1949年以前、中国国内におけるハラール産業は回民を中心とするムスリム諸民族が従事してきた業界であり、漢人が参入することは不可能であった。ハラール食品は回民が生産・販売する商品であり、漢人が取扱うことはありえない。例えば、ハラール肉の生産・販売・調理の場合、回民の屠畜業者がジャリーやに別れた方法で熟知し、実るべき家畜の屠畜を宗教指導者に依頼し、回民の精肉販売業者がハラール肉を回民の屠畜業者から仕入れて販売し、回民の飲食業者がハラール肉をジャリーやに別れた方法で加工・調理していた。このように、ハラール食品を確実に生産・販売するという伝統知が回民社会で広く共有されていた。

しかし、1950年代に社会主義改革が全国的に展開されると、伝統的なハラール産業は公私合営化を余儀なくされ、抜本的に改革された。老舗のハラール産業は私営企業ではなくなり、回民の「資本家」は自分たちの経営権を外部者に奪われ、国営の工場や企業に勤務する労働者へと転落した。毛沢東が北京の東来順飯庄について嘆いたように、社会主義改革によって老舗の味が悪くなったという話は現在でもよく耳にする。最大の原因は、公私合営化・国営化が合理化・効率化を追求したあまり、老舗料理店の伝統を継承しきなかったからである。国営企業では少数民族の「資本家」が主導権を掌握することなど不可能なことであった。改革開放政策の導入後、私営企業や個人経営の飲食店がハラール産業界にも再び誕生し、現場復帰した職人は存在するが、ごく一部の老舗飲食店（例えばフフホト市の萬勝永、北京市の金生隆）を除けば、伝統的な技術が確実に継承されているとは言い難い。

ここまでみたように、改革開放政策の導入後、中国国内のハラール産業は急激な企業化、食品生産の機械化、チェーンストア展開などを導入しながらその市場を拡大させている。地域や企業によっては東南アジア諸国から押し寄せる国際的なハラール認証制度への参画も徐々に進められてつつあり、ハラール産業

92 小林元が回民のハラール屠畜の厳格さを詳細に記述している [小林 1940: 22-222]。
93 萬勝永はフフホト市において現在も醤牛肉を生産・販売している老舗である。万勝永は清朝道光年間の1845年頃に劉寛（河北省滄州出身）が創業した老舗である。劉寛はその父と河北省から帰化城に移り住み、最初は牛羊肉の屠畜業・醤肉販売業に従事した。その後、二代目の劉国梁が牛肉の醤油煮込みを考案した。万勝永の牛肉の醤油煮込みは香辛料（例えばフェンネル、桂皮、花椒など）を豊富に使用し、冷凍肉ではなく、新鮮な赤身しか使わないため、臭みが一切なく、食感もよい。1990年代に五代目が営業を再開し、伝統的な調理法を受け継いでいる。
のグローバル化は時代の趨勢ゆえ避けがたくなるかもしれない。しかしながら、ハラール産業の発展化はともに、食品産業の機械化、非ハラールの参入などが普通化しつつあり、ムスリム自らがハラール性をどのようにして確保し続けるのかという問題が表面化している。

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94 日本の場合、一部の日本人ムスリム学者が過剰なハラール認証制度に対して警鐘を鳴らしている。例えば、拓殖大学の武藤英臣はサウジアラビアで開催された会議でムスリムの出席者が日本では非ムスリムがハラール認証をおこなっていることに驚いた話を紹介し、ムスリムこそがハラール判定をおこなうべきだと主張している [武藤 2014：6]。
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Appendix.

Report of the Survey on Halal Food Consumption among Hui Students and Their Mothers in China (2017)
# Contents

1. Survey Outline 3
   Hiroshi KOJIMA

2. Survey Questionnaires and Frequency Distribution 5
   1) Frequency Distribution for Hui Mothers 6
   2) Frequency Distribution for Hui Students 34
   Hiroshi KOJIMA

3. Survey Results 59
   1) Results for Relevant Basic Characteristics 59
   Hiroshi KOJIMA
   2) Results for Core Questions 67
      Survey Results of Mothers 67
      Results of the Survey on Students 78
   Atsuko SHIMBO
1. Survey Outline

Hiroshi KOJIMA

The Survey on Halal Food Consumption among Hui Students and their Mothers in China was conducted by the INTAGE China for the Institute for Asian Muslim Studies (IAMS) with the funding from the FY2015-2017 JSPS grant-in-aid No. 15H03417 (FY2015-2017 Kiban (B), “Correlates of Halal Food Consumption Behaviors among Muslim Minorities: Comparative Study of East Asia and Western Europe” (PI: Hiroshi KOJIMA, Waseda University). This research project aims to clarify and compare the variations and correlates of halal food consumption and other dietary practices among Muslim minorities in East Asia and Western Europe and to explore policy implications for the social integration of Muslims and Non-Muslims.

The survey questionnaire partly draws on the questionnaire of the Social Survey of Muslim Population in Japan (2005-2006) and that of the ALEPS (Alumni Look East Policy Society) Survey (2007). Both surveys were conducted by the IAMS member, Prof. Hirofumi TANADA of the Faculty of Human Sciences, Waseda University. It also draws on the questionnaire for the Survey on Muslim Students in Japan (2013-2014) conducted by the IAMS as well as the questionnaires of various surveys asking about halal food consumption and other dietary practices in Western Europe and elsewhere.

The original questionnaires were designed for Turkish population in Belgium while Prof. Kojima was on his sabbatical leave at the Sociology department, Ghent University, Belgium between August 2015 and August 2016. The host scientist was Prof. Ronan van Rossem who helped me greatly with questionnaire design and its translation. The pretest of the draft questionnaire was conducted in Ghent, but the larger-scale survey was not conducted for unexpected incidents and situation. Then, the larger-scale survey was conducted in Korea for the IAMS by Prof. Hee-Soo Lee of Hanyang University in 2016, but the original survey design for a mother-child pair was not realized due to the shortage of secondary-school-age children born in Korea.

The final questionnaires for Hui mothers and students (mother-child pairs) in Chinese and the English versions with the frequency distribution are found in Chapter 2 of Part II, even though the format for English version is slightly modified to accommodate figures for frequencies. The original questionnaire consists of the instruction at the beginning (deleted in English versions) and 12 batches of questions for Hui mothers and 11 batches for Hui students as follows:

Hui Mother Questionnaires

(Instructions)
1) Demographics: Q1-Q6
2) School: Q7-Q17
3) Work: Q18-Q21
4) Father: Q22-Q28
5) Mother: Q29-Q38
6) Marriage and Husband: Q39-Q51
7) Husband’s Family: Q52-Q63
8) Family and Children: Q64-Q70
9) Housing and Neighborhood: Q71-Q79  
10) Social Relations and Identity: Q80-Q91  
11) Culture and Religion: Q92-Q102  
12) Dietary Practices: Q103-Q128  

Hui Student Questionnaires  
(Instructions)  
1) Demographics: Q1-Q7  
2) School: Q8-Q18  
3) Secondary School: Q19-Q28  
4) Work: Q29-Q32  
5) Father: Q33-Q40  
6) Mothers: Q41-Q47  
7) Family: Q48-Q52  
8) Housing and Neighborhood: Q53-Q63  
9) Social Relations and Identity: Q64-Q76  
10) Culture and Religion: Q77-Q84  
11) Dietary Practices: Q85-Q110  

The details of survey procedure was not disclosed. First, the questionnaires in English for Turkish Muslims in Belgium were translated into Chinese and adapted to Hui Muslims in China by the INTAGE China and they were reviewed by Prof. Kojima. It conducted the mother survey among 120 or more Hui mothers of secondary-school (or post-secondary or tertiary level) students and then the student survey among 120 or more students (one school-age child for each mother) in Xi’an between January and February 2016. The minimum data cleaning was applied to the 120 usable questionnaires by the INTAGE China.
2. Survey Questionnaires and Frequency Distribution

Hiroshi KOJIMA

The survey questionnaires were originally designed as the mother questionnaire and the student questionnaires for the Survey on Halal Food Consumption among Turkish-Origin Students and Their Mothers in Belgium by Prof. Hiroshi KOJIMA at the end of 2015. They were translated into Chinese and adapted to the Chinese situation by the INTAGE China at the end of 2016. The survey questionnaires for Hui mothers and students in English with frequency distribution are found below.
1) Frequency Distribution for Hui Mothers (N=120)

Demographics
Q1. When were you born? AGE: 35-39 29.2% 40-44 31.7% 45-49 31.6% 50+ 7.5%

[ ]/ [ ]/ [ ]
(DD)/(MM)/(YYYY)

Q2. In which region were you born?
1. Xi'an | GOTO Q3 92.5%
2. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region 5.0%
3. Other (specify: ) 2.5%

SQ2. At what age did you move to Xi‘an?
Age: ___ years old 18 33.3% 20 33.3%

Q3. What is your registered residence?
1. Urban 87.5% 2. Rural 12.5%

Q4. Which level of Chinese language do you command?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fluency</th>
<th>Very good</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Not Good</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listening and Speaking</td>
<td>1 33.3%</td>
<td>2 57.5%</td>
<td>3 9.2%</td>
<td>4 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>1 29.2%</td>
<td>2 54.2%</td>
<td>3 16.7%</td>
<td>4 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>1 14.2%</td>
<td>2 44.2%</td>
<td>3 37.5%</td>
<td>4 4.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q5. Which level of Arabic language do you command?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fluency</th>
<th>Very good</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Not Good</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listening and Speaking</td>
<td>1 0.8%</td>
<td>2 6.7%</td>
<td>3 70.0%</td>
<td>4 22.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>1 0.8%</td>
<td>2 4.2%</td>
<td>3 52.5%</td>
<td>4 42.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>1 0.8%</td>
<td>2 1.7%</td>
<td>3 40.8%</td>
<td>4 56.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q6. What is your religion?

1. Islam (Sunni) 50.8% 5. Christianity 0.8%
2. Islam (Shi‘ite) 10.0% 6. Judaism 0.0%
3. Islam (Aleve) 3.3% 7. No religion 3.3%
4. Islam (Other: 31.7% (DK 47.4%, Old 52.6%)) 8. Other (specify: 0.0%)
Q7. Did you attend KeLanJing (Koran) lessons when you were a child?

1. Yes 36.7% 2. No 63.7%

Q8. To what level of education does your highest diploma or certificate correspond?

0. No diploma 0.0%
1. Primary education 4.2% | E GO TO Q18 (Work)
2. Special education 0.0%
3. Lower secondary (vocational) 11.7%
4. Lower secondary (technical, artistic or apprenticeship) 1.7%
5. Lower secondary (general or academic) 12.5%
6. Higher secondary (vocational) 5.8%
7. Higher secondary (technical, artistic or apprenticeship) 2.5%
8. Higher secondary (general or academic) 35.0%
9. Lower tertiary (non-university or vocational) or higher post-secondary 20.0%
10. Higher tertiary (university or higher) 6.7%

Q9. Was your secondary education of religious orientation?

1. Yes (Catholic) 0.0% 3. Yes (Other: ) 0.0%
2. Yes (Islamic) 29.6% 4. No (municipality, province, state, etc) 70.4%

Q10. Did you attend classes on religion in secondary school?

1. Yes (Islam) 24.4% 3. No 75.7%
2. Yes (Other: 0.0% )

Q11. How many of your classmates in secondary school were of Hui origin?

1. (Almost) none 17.4% 4. A majority 13.0%
2. A minority 40.1% 5. (Almost) all 1.7%
3. About half 21.7%

Q12. How many of your classmates in secondary school were Muslims?

1. (Almost) none 18.3% 4. A majority 11.3%
2. A minority 48.7% 5. (Almost) all 0.9%
3. About half 20.9%
Q13. What kind of lunch did you often eat when you were in secondary school?  Choose as many as apply.

1. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch ordered or provided at school 18.3%
2. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch brought from home at school 63.5%
3. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch bought from outside shops at school 27.8%
4. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch at home 73.4%
5. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch at outside cafeterias or shops 7.0%
6. The other kind of lunch ordered or provided at school 3.5%
7. The other kind of lunch brought from home at school 24.4%
8. The other kind of lunch bought from outside shops at school 14.8%
9. The other kind of lunch at home 29.6%
10. The other kind of lunch at outside cafeterias or shops 3.5%
11. No lunch 0.0%
12. Other (describe: ) 0.0%

Q14. What kind of snacks did you eat after school when you were in secondary school?  Choose as many as apply.

1. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks brought from home 50.4%
2. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks bought at school 47.8%
3. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks bought at outside shops or cafeteria 31.3%
4. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks after going back home 45.2%
5. The other kind of snacks brought from home 30.4%
6. The other kind of snacks bought at school 14.8%
7. The other kind of snacks bought at outside shops or cafeteria 4.4%
8. The other kind of snacks after going back home 27.0%
9. No snacks 6.1%
10. Other (describe: ) 0.0%

Q15. How important was it to you to take Halal (Muslim-friendly) foods and drinks when you were in secondary school?

1. Very important 27.8% 3. Not important 9.6% 5. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 0.9%
2. Important 60.0% 4. Not important at all 1.7%

Q16. Did you argue with your parents about Halal (Muslim-friendly) foods or drinks when you were in secondary school?

1. Never 72.2% 3. Often 2.6% 5. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 0.9%
2. Occasionally 24.4% 4. You avoided the subject 0.0%
Q17. How often did you fast during the Ramadan when you were in secondary school?

1. Never  7.8%  
2. Occasionally  23.5%  
3. Depending on the situation  33.0%  
4. Most of the time  29.6%  
5. Always  6.1%  

Work

Q18. Do you currently hold remunerated employment?

1. Yes (employed)  49.2%  
2. Yes (self-employed)  45.8%  
3. Yes (other specify)  0.0%  
4. No | GO TO Q19  5.0%  

SQ18-1. How many hours per week do you work on average?

1. 1-10 hours  0.0%  
2. 11-20 hours  0.0%  
3. 21-30 hours  4.4%  
4. 31-35 hours  16.7%  
5. 36-40 hours  24.6%  
6. 41-50 hours  43.9%  
7. 51 hours or more  10.5%  

SQ18-2. In which sector do you work?  Choose as many as apply.

1. Bank/insurance  5.3%  
2. Construction  1.8%  
3. Agriculture and fishing  0.9%  
4. Transportation and communication  6.1%  
5. Retail, stores, market  24.6%  
6. Restaurant, hotel, bar  21.9%  
7. Industry/mineral production  4.4%  
8. Education  1.8%  
9. Public administration (Ministry, Municipality, Province, court, police, army)  4.4%  
10. Commercial services (accountancy, cleaning, IT company)  6.1%  
11. (Health) care  4.4%  
12. Other services  18.4%  

SQ18-3. How many of your direct colleagues (working with you daily) are of Hui origin?

1. (Almost) none  32.5%  
2. A minority  35.1%  
3. About half  8.8%  
4. A majority  9.7%  
5. (Almost) all  14.0%  

Q19. Are you currently looking for a (another) paid job?

1. Yes  7.5%  
2. No  92.5%  

- 9 -
Q20. Did you hold a (another) paid job before?

1. Yes (employed)  56.7%  3. Yes (other:)  14.2% )
2. Yes (self-employed)  29.2%  4. No  0.0%

Q21. How is your health condition?

1. Excellent  16.7%  4. Fair  5.0%
2. Very good  51.7%  5. Poor  0.0%
3. Good  26.7%

Father

Q22. When was your father born?  AGE:  1. 59  5.8%  60-64  20.0%  65-69  22.5%
2. 70-74  20.8%  75-79  20.0%  80+  10.8%

(MM)/(YYYY)

Q23. In which region was your father born?

1. Xi’an  80.0%
2. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region  11.7%
3. Other (specify:)  8.3% (Henan 30%, Shanxi 20%)

Q24. Were your grandparents on father’s side born in Xi’an?

1. Both grandparents were born in Xi’an  50.0%
2. Only grandfather was born in Xi’an  25%
3. Only grandmother was born in Xi’an  0.0%
4. No grandparents were born in Xi’an  47.5%

Q25. How is your father’s health condition?

1. Excellent  5.8%  4. Fair  29.2%
2. Very good  19.2%  5. Poor  2.5%
3. Good  20.0%  6. Deceased | É Answer about his last characteristics.  23.3%

Q26. In which region does your father live?

1. Xi’an  90.8%
2. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region  5.0%  | É GO TO Q27
3. Other (specify:)  4.2%  |

[If your father moved to Xi’an]

SQ26. At what age did your father move to Xi’an?

Age: ___ years old  1-10  78.0%  11-20  12.8%  21-30  9.2%
Q27. What is your father’s nationality?

1. Hui  99.2%
2. Han  0.8%
3. Other (specify: )  0.0%

Q28. What is your father’s religion?

1. Islam (Sunni)  50.0%
2. Islam (Shi’ite)  9.2%
3. Islam (Alevite)  4.2%
4. Islam (Other: 35.0% (DK 47.6%, Old 52.4%))  8.0%
5. Christianity  0.8%
6. Judaism  0.0%
7. No religion  0.8%

Mother

Q29. When was your mother born?  AGE:  -59  7.5%  60-64  25.0%  65-69  28.3%
      70-74  18.3%  75-79  16.7%  80+  4.2%

/ (MM)/YYYY)

Q30. In which region was your mother born?

1. Xi’an  79.2%
2. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region  10.8%
3. Other (specify: )  10.0% (Henan 50.0%, Hebei 16.7%)

Q31. Were your grandparents on mother’s side born in Xi’an?

1. Both grandparents were born in Xi’an  49.2%
2. Only grandfather were born in Xi’an  0.8%
3. Only grandmother were born in Xi’an  0.0%
4. No grandparents were born in Xi’an  50.0%

Q32. How is your mother’s health condition?

1. Excellent  3.3%  4. Fair  28.3%
2. Very good  23.3%  5. Poor  4.2%
3. Good  27.5%  6. Deceased  (É Answer about her last characteristics)  13.3%

Q33. In which region does your mother live?

1. Xi’an  90.8%
2. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region  5.8%  (É GO TO Q34
3. Other (specify: )  3.3%  |
SQ33. At what age did your mother move to Xi'an?

Age: ___ years old  1-10 67.9%  11-20 29.3%  21-30 2.8%

Q34. What is your mother's nationality?

1. Hui 96.7%
2. Han 3.3%
3. Other (specify: 0.0%)

Q35. What is your mother's religion?

1. Islam (Sunni) 49.2%  
2. Islam (Shi’ite) 9.2%
3. Islam (Alewife) 4.2%
4. Islam (Other: 35.0% (DK 50.0% Old 50.0%))
5. Christianity 0.8%
6. Judaism 0.0%
7. No religion 1.7%
8. Other (specify: 0.0%)

Family of Origin

Q36. How many brothers and sisters do you have? Fill in the number for each type of siblings and the total (0 if none).

___ older brother(s) 0 52.5% 1 32.5% 2 11.7% 3 2.5% 4 0.8%
___ older sister(s) 0 59.2% 1 31.7% 2 6.7% 3 2.5%
___ younger brother(s) 0 55.8% 1 35.8% 2 8.3%
___ younger sister(s) 0 72.5% 1 23.3% 2 3.3% 3 0.0% 4 0.8%
Total: ___ siblings 0 10.0% 1 25.0% 2 35.0% 3 15.8% 4 9.2% 5 4.2% 6 0.8%

Q37. Who lived with you at your parents' home when you were 12 years old? Choose as many as apply

1. Yourself 100.0% 8. Grandparent(s) on father’s side 22.5%
2. Father 98.3% 9. Grandparent(s) on mother’s side 1.7%
3. Mother 98.3% 10. Other relative(s) on father’s side 5.0%
4. Older brother(s) 47.5% 11. Other relative(s) on mother’s side 0.8%
5. Younger brother(s) 41.7% 12. Non-relative(s) 0.0%
6. Older sister(s) 39.2% 13. Other (specify: ) 0.0%
7. Younger sister(s) 25.8% 14. Both parents were deceased | È GOTO Q38 0.0%

SQ37. How many persons lived at your parents' home when you were 12 years old?

___ persons 2 5.0% 3 5.8% 4 26.7% 5 26.7% 6 14.2% 7 6.7% 8 5.8% 9 3.3% 10 1.7% 11+ 4.2%
Q38. How many minutes does it take you to go to your parents' home from your house?

1. 0-9 minutes  18.3%  2. 10-19 minutes  10.0%  3. 20-29 minutes  19.2%
4. 30 minutes or more  38.3%  5. Other region  5.8%  6. Both parents are deceased  8.3%

Marriage (Cohabitation) and Husband (Partner)
Q39. What is your marital/partnership status?

1. Married (husband present)  99.2%
2. Married (husband absent)  0.8%
3. Cohabiting (with a registered partner)  0.0%
4. Divorced  | | É Answer about his latest characteristics  0.0%
5. Widowed  | | É Answer about his last characteristics  0.0%
6. Never-married  | | É GO TO Q64 (Family and Children)  0.0%

Q40. When did you marry or start cohabitation?

Year: _____  1981-89  8.3%  1990-94  16.7%  1995-99  44.2%  2000-04  30.8%

Q41. When was your husband (partner) born?  AGE: 35-39  20.0%  40-44  31.7%
45-49  32.5%  50+  16.8%

/  /
(MM) (YYYY)

Q42. In which region was your husband (partner) born?

1. Xi'an  90.8%  | | É GO TO Q43
2. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region  4.2%
3. Other (specify:  )  5.0% (Henan 50.0%)

SQ42. At what age did your husband (partner) move to Xi'an?

Age: ____ years old  18  36.4%

Q43. What is your husband's (partner's) registered residence?

2. Urban  88.3%  2. Rural  11.7%

Q44. Is your husband (partner) of Hui origin?

1. Yes  93.3%  2. No  6.7%
Q45. What is your husband’s (partner’s) religion?

1. Islam (Sunni) 52.5%  
2. Islam (Shi’ite) 8.3%  
3. Islam (Alevite) 3.3%  
4. Islam (Other: 29.2% (DK 48.6%, Old 51.4%))  
5. Christianity 0.0%  
6. Judaism 0.0%  
7. No religion 6.7%  
8. Other (specify: 0.0%)

Q46. Did your husband (partner) attend Ke Lan Jing (Koran) lessons when he was a child?

1. Yes 35.8%  
2. No 64.2%

Q47. To what level of education does your husband’s (partner’s) highest diploma or certificate correspond?

0. No diploma 0.8%  
1. Primary education 1.7% | É GO TO Q48  
2. Special education 0.0%  
3. Lower secondary (vocational) 11.7%  
4. Lower secondary (technical, artistic or apprenticeship) 5.8%  
5. Lower secondary (general or academic) 46.7%  
6. Higher secondary (vocational) 3.3%  
7. Higher secondary (technical, artistic or apprenticeship) 3.3%  
8. Higher secondary (general or academic) 0.0% (numbered 5)  
9. Lower tertiary (non-university or vocational) or higher post-secondary 16.7%  
10. Higher tertiary (university or higher) 10.0%

SQ47. Was your husband’s (partner’s) secondary education of religious orientation?

1. Yes (Catholic) 0.0%  
2. Yes (Islamic) 29.1%  
3. Yes (Other/speficy: 0.0% )  
4. No (municipality, province, state, etc.) 70.9%

Q48. Does your husband (partner) hold remunerated employment?

1. Yes (employed) 46.7%  
2. Yes (self-employed) 50.8%  
3. Yes (other: 0.0% )  
4. No 2.5% | É GO TO Q49

SQ48-1. How many hours per week does your husband (partner) work on the average?

1. 1-10 hours 0.0%  
2. 11-20 hours 0.9%  
3. 21-30 hours 0.9%  
4. 31-35 hours 15.4%  
5. 36-40 hours 24.8%  
6. 41-50 hours 40.2%  
7. 51 hours or more 18.0%
SQ48-2. In which sector does your husband (partner) work? Choose as many as apply.

1. Bank/insurance 2.6%
2. Construction 17.1%
3. Agriculture and fishing 0.0%
4. Transportation and communication 10.3%
5. Retail, stores, market 12.8%
6. Restaurant, hotel, bar 25.6%
7. Industry/mineral production 6.0%
8. Education 3.4%
9. Public administration (Ministry, Municipality, Province, court, police, army) 1.7%
10. Commercial services (accountancy, cleaning, IT company) 1.7%
11. (health) care 2.6%
12. Other services 16.2%

SQ48-3. How many of your husband’s (partner’s) direct colleagues (working with him daily) are of Hui origin?

1. (Almost) none 37.7% 4. A majority 11.1%
2. A minority 31.6% 5. (Almost) all 12.8%
3. About half 6.8%

Q49. Is your husband (partner) currently looking for a (another) paid job?

1. Yes 5.8% 2. No 94.2%

Q50. Did your husband (partner) hold paid a (another) paid job before?

1. Yes (employed) 60.0% 3. Yes (other: 0.0%) 5. (Almost) all 12.8%
2. Yes (self-employed) 33.3% 4. No 6.7%

Q51. How is your husband’s (partner’s) health condition?

1. Excellent 11.7% 4. Fair 3.3%
2. Very good 51.7% 5. Poor 0.0%
3. Good 33.3% 6. Deceased 0.0%

Husband’s (Partner’s) Family
Q52. When was your husband’s (partner’s) father born?
AGE: ≤64 11.7% 65-70 26.7% 70-74 20.0% 75-79 19.2% 80-84 10.8% 85+ 11.7%

/MM/YYYY
Q53. In which region was your husband’s (partner’s) father born?

1. Xi’an 75.8%
2. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region 11.7%
3. Other (specify: ) 12.5% (Henan 60%)

Q54. In which region does your husband’s (partner’s) father live?

1. Xi’an 73.3%
2. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region 6.7%
3. Other (specify: ) 4.2%
4. Deceased | Î Answer about his last characteristics. 15.8%

Q55. What is your husband’s (partner’s) father’s nationality?

1. Hui 91.7%
2. Han 8.3%
3. Other (specify: 0.0%)

Q56. What is your husband’s (partner’s) father’s religion?

1. Islam (Sunni) 50.8%
2. Islam (Shi’ite) 7.5%
3. Islam (Alevide) 2.5%
4. Islam (Other: 30.0% (DK 47.2% Old 52.8%)) 8. Other (specify: 0.0%)
5. Christianity 0.8%
6. Judaism 0.0%
7. No religion 8.3%

Q57. When was your husband’s (partner’s) mother born? AGE

AGE: -64 17.5% 65-70 29.2% 70-74 20.8% 75-79 15.8% 80-84 8.3% 85+ 8.3%

/ (MM) / (YYYY)

Q58. In which region was your husband’s (partner’s) mother born?

1. Xi’an 77.5%
2. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region 10.0%
3. Other (specify: ) 12.5% (Henan 53.3%)

Q59. In which country region your husband’s (partner’s) mother live?

1. Xi’an 71.7%
2. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region 6.7%
3. Other (specify: ) 3.3%
4. Deceased | Î Answer about his last characteristics. 18.3%
Q60. What is your husband's (partner's) mother's nationality?

1. Hui 90.8%
2. Han 9.2%
3. Other (specify: 0.0%)

Q61. What is your husband's (partner's) mother's religion?

1. Islam (Sunni) 60.0%
2. Islam (Shi‘ite) 7.5%
3. Islam (Alevide) 2.5%
4. Islam (Other: 31.7% (DK 50.0% Old 50.0%))
5. Christianity 0.0%
6. Judaism 0.0%
7. No religion 0.3%
8. Other (specify: 0.0%)

Q62. How many brothers and sisters does your husband (partner) have? Fill in the number for each type of siblings and the total (0 if none).

___older brother(s) 0 49.2% 1 40.0% 2 9.2% 3 1.7%
___older sister(s) 0 47.5% 1 35.0% 2 15.8% 3 8.8% 4 0.8%
___younger brother(s) 0 56.7% 1 35.0% 2 5.0% 3 3.3%
___younger sister(s) 0 67.5% 1 28.3% 2 4.2%
Total: ___siblings 0 9.2% 1 17.5% 2 34.2% 3 21.7% 4 11.7% 5 5.0% 6 0.8%

Q63. Who lives at your husband's (partner's) parents' home? Choose as many as apply.

1. Yourself 13.3%
2. Your husband (partner) 13.3%
3. His father 60.0%
4. His mother 61.7%
5. His older brother(s) 15.0%
6. His younger brother(s) 12.5%
7. His older sister(s) 6.7%
8. Younger sister(s) 3.3%
9. His grandparent(s) on father's side 0.8%
10. His grandparent(s) on mother's side 0.0%
11. His other relative(s) on father's side 2.5%
12. His other relative(s) on mother's side 0.0%
13. Other relative(s) 10.8%
14. Non-relative(s) 0.8%
15. Other (specify: None ) 1.7%
16. Both parents are deceased 15.8%

SQ63-1. How many persons live at your husband's (partner's) parents' home?

___ persons 1 4.0% 2 43.7% 3 7.9% 4 7.9% 5 23.8% 6 3.0%
7 2.0% 8 3.0% 9 1.0% 10 1.0% 11+ 3.0%

SQ63-2. How many minutes does it take you to go to your husband's (partner's) parents' home from your house?

1. 0-9 minutes 15.8% 2. 10-19 minutes 18.8% 3. 20-29 minutes 16.8%
4. 30 minutes or more 38.6% 5. Other region 9.9%
Family and Children
Q64. Who live with you at your home? Choose as many as apply.

1. Husband (Partner) 99.2%  7. Brother(s)-in-law 2.5%  13. Other relative(s) 2.5%
2. Child(ren) 100.0%  8. Sister(s)-in-law 0.0%  14. Non-relative(s) 0.0%
3. Father-in-law 10.8%  9. Brother(s) 0.0%  15. Other (specify): 0.0%
4. Mother-in-law 10.8%  10. Sister(s) 0.0%
5. Father 3.3%  11. Grandparent(s) 0.0%
6. Mother 4.2%  12. Grandchildren 0.0%

Q65. How many persons live with you at your home?
___ persons 2  44.2%  3  35.8%  4  10.0%  5  6.7%  6  0.8%
8  0.8%  9+  1.7%

Q66. How many children do you have?
___ children 1  76.7%  2  20.8%  3  2.5%

Q67. What are their gender and age? Circle the GENDER and fill in the AGE for each child.

1. First child (N=120) Gender: Male 45.0% Female 55.0%
   Age ___ years old 10-14  29.25%  15-19  40.0%  20-24  24.3%  25+  6.7%
2. Second child (N=28) Gender: Male 57.1% Female 42.9%
   Age ___ years old 5-9  28.6%  10-14  28.6%  15-19  21.4%  20+  21.4%
3. Third child (N=3) Gender: Male 33.3% Female 66.7%
   Age ___ years old 10-14  33.3%  15-19  33.3%  20+  33.3%
4. Fourth child Gender: Male/Female Age ___ years old
5. Fifth child   Gender: Male/Female Age ___ years old
6. Other (specify: )

Q68. How many of them live with you?
___ children living with you 1  82.5%  2  16.7%  3  0.8%

Q69. Which children live with you? Choose as many as apply.

1. First child 94.2%  4. Fourth child
2. Second child 21.7%  5. Fifth child
3. Third child 2.5%  6. Other (specify: )

Q70. Compared with Xi’an families in general, what would you say about your family income?

1. Far above average 0.0%  3. Average 73.3%  5. Far below average 0.0%
2. Above average 10.8%  4. Below average 15.8%
Housing and Neighborhood

Q71. Who is the owner of your place of residence?

1. You or your husband (partner) **80.8%**
2. Your parents or your relative **0.8%**
3. Your parents-in-law or their relative **12.5%**
4. A bureau of social housing **1.7%**
5. A private owner or bureau of private housing **4.2%**

Q72. Is your place of residence an apartment or a detached house?

1. Apartment **66.7%**
2. Detached house **33.3%**
3. Other (specify): **0.0%**

Q73. If you think of all the people living in your neighborhood, how many of them are of Hui origin?

1. (Almost) none **33.3%**
2. A minority **38.3%**
3. About half **6.7%**
4. A majority **10.8%**
5. (Almost) all **10.8%**

Q74. How many minutes does it take you to go to the nearest mosque from your home?

1. 0-9 minutes **0.8%**
2. 10-19 minutes **35.8%**
3. 20-29 minutes **22.5%**
4. 30 minutes or more **40.8%**

Q75. How many minutes does it take you to go to the nearest Halal supermarket from your home?

1. 0-9 minutes **2.5%**
2. 10-19 minutes **27.5%**
3. 20-29 minutes **35.0%**
4. 30 minutes or more **35.0%**

Q76. How many minutes does it take you to go to the nearest Halal butcher from your home?

1. 0-9 minutes **23.3%**
2. 10-19 minutes **35.8%**
3. 20-29 minutes **29.2%**
4. 30 minutes or more **11.7%**

Q77. How many minutes does it take you to go to the nearest Halal grocery store from your home?

1. 0-9 minutes **16.7%**
2. 10-19 minutes **34.2%**
3. 20-29 minutes **30.8%**
4. 30 minutes or more **18.3%**

Q78. How many minutes does it take you to go to the nearest Halal restaurant or cafeteria from your home?

1. 0-9 minutes **26.7%**
2. 10-19 minutes **40.0%**
3. 20-29 minutes **17.5%**
4. 30 minutes or more **15.8%**
Q79. How many minutes does it take you to go to the nearest ordinary supermarket from your home?

1. 0-9 minutes 22.5%  2. 10-19 minutes 49.2%  3. 20-29 minutes 21.7%  
4. 30 minutes or more 6.7%

Social Relations and Identity

Q80. How many of your friends are of Han origin?

1. None 0.0%  3. Quite a few 50.0%  5. Most of them 24.2%  
2. One or a few 3.3%  4. A large number of them 22.5%

Q81. How many of your friends are of Hui origin?

1. None 0.0%  3. Quite a few 59.2%  5. Most of them 14.2%  
2. One or a few 10.0%  4. A large number of them 16.7%

Q82. How many of your friends are of other origins?

1. None 55.0%  3. Quite a few 10.8%  5. Most of them 0.0%  
2. One or a few 33.3%  4. A large number of them 0.8%

Q83. How many of your friends are Muslims?

1. None 1.7%  3. Quite a few 50.8%  5. Most of them 17.5%  
2. One or a few 19.2%  4. A large number of them 10.8%

Q84. How often do you eat out lunch or dinner with your friends?

1. Twice or more a week 10.0%  4. Once a month 13.3%  
2. Once a week 11.7%  5. Less often 40.8%  
3. Two or three times a month 17.5%  6. Never | È GO TO Q85 6.7%

SQ84-1. Which friend(s) do you eat out with?  Choose as many as apply.

1. Han-origin friend(s) 63.4%  3. Other-origin friend(s) 4.5%  
2. Hui-origin friend(s) 95.5%  4. Muslim friend(s) 35.7%

SQ84-2. At which restaurants (cafeterias) do you eat out with?  Choose as many as apply.

1. Ordinary (Han) restaurants (cafeterias) 33.0%  3. Hui restaurants (cafeterias) 89.3%  
2. Halal restaurants (cafeterias) 91.1%  4. Other (specify:  ) 0.0%
Q85. Did you participate in the activities of the following organizations in 2016? Choose as many as apply.

1. Student or parent association 70.8%
2. Religious or mosque-related association 60.0%
3. Political party 0.8%
4. Leisure association, such as a sports club, or youth association 6.7%
5. Trade union 4.2%
6. Women's association 1.7%
7. Association against racism or for minorities 1.7%
8. Socio-educational group, neighborhood association, or gathering of inhabitants 10.8%
9. Other (specify: ) 0.0%
10. None | Ê GO TO Q86 16.7%

SQ85. Among the above organizations that you choose, which one's activities were mainly targeting Hui population in Xi'an? Circle the numbers as many as apply.

Organizations:  1 2.0% 2 68.0% 3 0.0% 4 1.0% 5 3.0%
6 2.0% 7 2.0% 8 3.0% 9 0.0% (10 24.9%)

Q86. How many hours per week do you watch Mandarin television?

1. 0 hour (never) 0.8% 4. 20-29 hours 19.2%
2. 1-9 hours 30.0% 5. 30 hours or more 22.5%
3. 10-19 hours 27.5%

Q87. How many hours per week do you watch Arabic television?

1. 0 hour (never) 78.3% 4. 20-29 hours 0.8%
2. 1-9 hours 19.2% 5. 30 hours or more 0.8%
3. 10-19 hours 0.8%

Q88. To what extent do you feel Xi'an resident?

1. Very strongly 55.0% 4. Weakly 5.0%
2. Strongly 27.5% 5. Very weakly 3.3%
3. Not strongly not weakly 9.2%

Q89. To what extent do you feel Hui-descendant?

1. Very strongly 55.8% 4. Weakly 0.0%
2. Strongly 34.2% 5. Very weakly 0.0%
3. Not strongly not weakly 10.9%
Q90. To what extent do you feel Muslim?

1. Very strongly 40.8%  4. Weakly 0.8%
2. Strongly 41.7%  5. Very weakly 0.0%
3. Not strongly not weakly 15.8%  6. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 0.8%

Q91. In general, are you satisfied with your life?

1. Very satisfied 15.8%  3. Not satisfied 3.3%
2. Satisfied 80.8%  4. Not satisfied at all 0.0%

Culture and Religion
Q92. Do you agree or disagree to each of the following statements?

a) Outside home, I want to adopt the Xi’an/Han culture and way of life as much as possible.

1. Totally agree 7.5%  4. Disagree 11.7%
2. Agree 41.7%  5. Totally disagree 0.0%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 39.2%

b) At home I want to adopt the Xi’an/Han culture and way of life as much as possible.

1. Totally agree 10.8%  4. Disagree 18.3%
2. Agree 31.7%  5. Totally disagree 8.8%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 38.3%

c) Outside home, I want to maintain the Hui culture and way of life as much as possible.

1. Totally agree 19.2%  4. Disagree 0.0%
2. Agree 47.5%  5. Totally disagree 0.0%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 33.3%

d) At home I want to maintain the Hui culture and way of life as much as possible.

1. Totally agree 24.2%  4. Disagree 0.0%
2. Agree 59.2%  5. Totally disagree 0.0%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 16.7%

e) Outside home, I want to maintain the Islamic culture and way of life as much as possible.

1. Totally agree 19.2%  4. Disagree 3.3%
2. Agree 41.7%  5. Totally disagree 0.0%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 35.8%  6. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 0.0%
f) At home I want to maintain the Islamic culture and way of life as much as possible.

1. Totally agree 20.8%  4. Disagree 0.8%
2. Agree 58.3%  5. Totally disagree 0.0%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 20.0%  6. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 0.0%

Q93. When you were a child, how often did your father visit a mosque or attend religious services or meetings?

1. Once a week or more 55.8%  4. Seldom 10.0%
2. Once or twice a month 18.3%  5. Never 0.0%
3. Only on religious holidays 15.0%  6. Not applicable (No religion) 0.8%

Q94. How often do you visit a mosque or attend religious services or meetings?

1. Once a week or more 26.7%  4. Seldom 21.7%
2. Once or twice a month 17.5%  5. Never 1.7%
3. Only on religious holidays 31.7%  6. Not applicable (No religion) 0.8%

Q95. How often does your husband (partner) visit a mosque or attend religious services or meetings?

1. Once a week or more 32.5%  4. Seldom 13.3%
2. Once or twice a month 21.7%  5. Never 4.2%
3. Only on religious holidays 26.6%  6. Not applicable (No religion) 1.7%

Q96. How often do you do daily prayer?

1. Five times a day or more 3.3%  4. Only on religious holidays 40.8%
2. Daily 30.0%  5. Never 7.5%
3. Once a week 17.5%  6. Not applicable (No religion) 0.8%

Q97. How often does your husband (partner) do daily prayer?

1. Five times a day or more 5.0%  4. Only on religious holidays 38.7%
2. Daily 27.5%  5. Never 9.2%
3. Once a week 20.0%  6. Not applicable (No religion) 1.6%

Q98. How much do you follow Islamic or religious rules in your daily life?

1. Very strictly 13.3%  3. Not strictly 15.0%  5. Not applicable (No religion) 1.7%
2. Fairly strictly 70.0%  4. Not at all 0.0%
Q99. How much does your husband (partner) follow Islamic or religious rules in his daily life?

1. Very strictly  15.0%  
2. Fairly strictly  65.0%  
3. Not strictly  15.0%  
4. Not at all  0.0%  
5. Not applicable (No religion)  5.0%

Q100. Has your faith changed since you had a child?

1. Became stronger  0.8%  
2. Became fairly stronger  4.2%  
3. No change  72.5%  
4. Became fairly weaker  20.8%  
5. Became weaker  0.8%  
6. Not applicable (No religion)  0.8%

Q101. Has your husband’s (partner’s) faith changed since you had a child?

1. Became stronger  0.8%  
2. Became fairly stronger  5.8%  
3. No change  85.0%  
4. Became fairly weaker  6.7%  
5. Became weaker  0.0%  
6. Not applicable (No religion)  1.7%

Q102. Do you wear a headscarf outside the house?

1. Yes | Ê  GOTO SQ102a  34.2%  
2. No | Ê  GOTO SQ102b  65.8%

[If YES]
SQ102a. What are the reasons for wearing a headscarf?  Choose as many as apply.

1. Because it is a religious obligation.  56.1%  
2. Because this is a free and personal choice.  22.0%  
3. Because this is an important part of Muslim identity in Xi’an.  43.9%  
4. To avoid gossip and disrespectful behaviors.  29.3%  
5. To reinforce trust in the family.  39.0%  
6. Because it is a Hui tradition.  73.2%  
7. Because it is convenient.  2.4%  
8. Because it is fashionable.  0.0%  
9. Other (specify: )  0.0%

[If NO]
SQ102b. What are the reasons for NOT wearing a headscarf?  Choose as many as apply.

1. Because it is not a religious obligation.  3.8%  
2. Because this is a free and personal choice.  53.2%  
3. Because this is better to insert oneself into society.  48.1%  
4. To avoid discrimination and disrespectful behaviors.  3.8%  
5. Because men and women have the same right.  11.4%  
6. Because it is not a Hui tradition.  0.0%  
7. Because it is inconvenient.  74.7%  
8. Because it is unfashionable.  8.9%  
9. Other (specify: )  0.0%
**Dietary practices**

Q103. How often did you fast during the last Ramadan?

1. Always 11.7%  4. Occasionally 16.7%
2. Most of the time 35.8%  5. Never 5.0%
3. Depends on the situation 30.0%  6. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 0.8%

Q104. How important is it to you to fast during the Ramadan?

1. Very important 24.2%  3. Not important 14.2%  5. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 0.8%
2. Important 60.0%  4. Not important at all 0.8%

Q105. Are there foods or drinks which you never take, whether it is for the respect of religion or cultural traditions?

1. Yes 60.8%  2. No | Œ GO TO Q106 39.2%

SQ105. What kind of foods or drinks are they? Choose as many as apply.

1. Xi'an/Han (traditional) 69.9%  6. Halal (fast food/beverage) 0.0%
2. Xi'an/Han (fast food/beverage) 68.5%  7. Non-Halal or Haram 39.7%
3. Hui (traditional) 0.0%  8. Products without Halal certification 58.9%
4. Hui (fast food/beverage) 0.0%  9. Other (specify: Pork) 1.3%
5. Halal (Non-Hui) 2.7%

Q106. Are there foods or drinks which you never take but your parents take?

1. Yes 41.1%  2. No | Œ GO TO Q107 95.9%

SQ106. What kind of foods or drinks are they? Choose as many as apply.

1. Xi'an/Han (traditional) 66.7%  6. Halal (fast food/beverage) 0.0%
2. Xi'an/Han (fast food/beverage) 0.0%  7. Non-Halal or Haram 0.0%
3. Hui (traditional) 66.7%  8. Products without Halal certification 0.0%
4. Hui (fast food/beverage) 0.0%  9. Other (specify: ) 0.0%
5. Halal (Non-Hui) 0.0%

Q107. Are there foods or drinks which you take but your parents never take?

1. Yes 10.0%  2. No | Œ GO TO Q108 90.0%
SQ107. What kind of foods or drinks are they? Choose as many as apply.

1. Xi’an/Han (traditional)  58.3%  6. Halal (fast food/beverage)  0.0%
2. Xi’an/Han (fast food/beverage)  41.7%  7. Non-Halal or Haram  8.3%
3. Hui (traditional)  0.0%  8. Products without Halal certification  8.3%
4. Hui (fast food/beverage)  8.3%  9. Other (specify: )  0.0%
5. Halal (Non-Hui)  8.3%

Q108. Have you eaten Halal foods during 2016?

1. Yes  98.3%  2. No  1.7%  GO TO Q109

SQ108-1. How often have you eaten Halal foods?

1. Everyday  70.3%  4. Two or three times a month  5.1%
2. Two or three times a week  22.0%  5. Once a month  0.0%
3. Once a week  0.9%  6. Less often  1.7%

SQ108-2. Where have you eaten Halal foods? Choose as many as apply.

1. At your house  98.3%  4. At restaurants (diners)  61.0%
2. At your parents’ or family’s house  50.9%  5. At work place or school  8.5%
3. At your friend’s house  16.1%  6. Other (specify: )  0.0%

SQ108-3. Why have you eaten Halal foods? Choose as many as apply.

1. Because it is cheaper  4.2%  7. Because there were no other choices  4.2%
2. Because it tastes better  30.5%  8. Because I invited some people (I accompanied some people) who eat Halal foods  4.2%
3. Because it is surer from sanitary perspective  31.4%  9. By chance, that I do not mind  0.9%
4. Because it is good for health  30.5%  10. Other (specify: )  0.0%

Q109. In your daily life, do you respect food prohibitions, whether it is for the respect of religion or cultural traditions?

1. Always  73.3%  4. Occasionally  1.7%
2. Most of the time  18.3%  5. Never  0.0%
3. Depends on the situation  6.7%
Q110. Who decides the menu for daily meals in your family?  
Choose as many as apply.

1. Yourself 95.2%  
2. Husband (Partner) 44.2%  
3. Daughter(s) 18.3%  
4. Son(s) 12.5%  
5. Mother-in-law 4.2%  
6. Father-in-law 3.3%  
7. Mother 3.3%  
8. Father 1.7%  
9. Sister(s)-in-law 0.0%  
10. Brother(s)-in-law 0.0%  
11. Sister(s) 0.0%  
12. Brother(s) 0.0%  
13. Grandparent(s) 0.0%  
14. Other relative(s) 0.0%  
15. Non-relative(s) 0.0%  
16. Other (specify: ) 0.0%

Q111. Who prepares the daily meals in your family?  
Choose as many as apply.

1. Yourself 96.7%  
2. Husband (Partner) 21.7%  
3. Daughter(s) 1.7%  
4. Son(s) 0.0%  
5. Mother-in-law 0.8%  
6. Father-in-law 0.0%  
7. Mother 2.5%  
8. Father 0.8%  
9. Sister(s)-in-law 0.0%  
10. Brother(s)-in-law 0.0%  
11. Sister(s) 0.0%  
12. Brother(s) 0.0%  
13. Grandparent(s) 0.0%  
14. Other relative(s) 0.8%  
15. Non-relative(s) 0.0%  
16. Other (specify: ) 0.0%

Q112. What kind of dishes do you (your family) prepare in your daily life?  
Choose as many as apply.

1. Hui 99.2%  
2. Xi'an/Han 29.3%  
3. New/Exotic 7.5%  
4. Mixture of Hui and Han 24.2%  
5. Other (specify: Chicken ) 0.8%

SQ112. Among the above dishes that you choose, which are your favorite ones?  
Circle the numbers as many as apply.

Dishes: 1 86.7% 2 17.5% 3 5.0% 4 8.3% 5 0.8%

Q113. How often do you (your family) eat fish in your daily life?

1. Everyday 2.5%  
2. Two or three times a week 16.7%  
3. Once a week 31.7%  
4. Two or three times a month 15.8%  
5. Once a month 5.0%  
6. Less often 28.3%  
7. Never 0.0%

Q114. How often do you (your family) eat meat in your daily life?

1. Everyday 30.0%  
2. Two or three times a week 48.3%  
3. Once a week 6.7%  
4. Two or three times a month 4.2%  
5. Once a month 5.8%  
6. Less often 5.0%  
7. Never | É GO TO Q115 0.0%
SQ114-1. Which meat do you (your family) eat in your daily life? Choose as many as apply.

1. Mutton/Lamb 96.7%  3. Chicken 65.0%  5. Other (specify: fish) 20.0%
2. Beef/Veal 100.0%  4. Other Poultry 3.3%

SQ114-2. Among the above meat that you choose, which are your favorite ones? Circle the numbers as many as apply.

Meat: 1 63.3%  2 70.8%  3 25.0%  4 0.8%  5 9.2%

Q115. How often do you eat snacks in your daily life?

1. Everyday 30.8%  5. Once a month 2.5%
2. Two or three times a week 25.0%  6. Less often 17.5%
3. Once a week 5.8%  7. Never | E GO TO Q116 18.3%
4. Two or three times a month 0.0%

SQ115-1. What kind of snacks do you eat in your daily life? Choose as many as apply.

1. Fruits and vegetables 94.4%  7. Xi’an/Han (fast food) 3.1%
2. Nuts, grains and beans 89.8%  8. Halal (Non-Hui) 18.4%
3. Dairy products 83.7%  9. Halal (fast food) 18.4%
4. Hui (traditional) 54.1%  10. Products with Halal certification 26.5%
5. Hui (fast food) 29.6%  11. Products without Halal certification 1.2%
6. Xi’an/Han (traditional) 8.2%  12. Other (specify: ) 0.0%

SQ115-2. Among the above snacks that you choose, which are your favorite ones? Circle the numbers as many as apply.

Snacks: 1 75.5%  2 55.1%  3 44.9%  4 12.2%  5 4.1%  6 0.0%
7 4.1%  8 5.1%  9 9.2%  10 0.0%  11 0.0%  12 0.0%

Q116. What kind of drinks do you take in your daily life? Choose as many as apply.

1. Carbonated drinks 18.3%  3. Juice (and related) 54.2%  5. Hot drinks 28.3%
2. Mineral water 53.3%  4. Milk (and related) 80.0%  6. Other (specify: syrup, tea) 1.7%

SQ116. Among the above drinks that you choose, which are your favorite ones? Circle the numbers as many as apply.

Drinks: 1 0.0%  2 22.5%  3 33.3%  4 62.5%  5 10.0%  6 1.7%
Q117. How often do you (your family) go grocery shopping?

1. Everyday 4.2%  3. Once a week  44.2%  5. Once a month 11.7%  
2. Two or three times a week 30.0%  4. Two or three times a month  7.5%  6. Less often 2.5%

Q118. Who goes grocery shopping in your family?  Choose as many as apply.

1. Yourself  100.0%  7. Mother  4.2%  13. Grandparent(s)  0.0%  
2. Husband (Partner) 27.5%  8. Father  1.7%  14. Other relative(s)  0.0%  
3. Daughter(s)  3.3%  9. Sister(s)-in-law  0.8%  15. Non-relative(s)  0.0%  
4. Son(s)  1.7%  10. Brother(s)-in-law  0.0%  16. Other (specify: )  0.0%  
5. Mother-in-law  1.7%  11. Sister(s)  0.0%  
6. Father-in-law  0.0%  12. Brother(s)  0.0%

Q119. When you (your family) buy meat, do you buy Halal meat?

1. Always  81.7%  4. Occasionally  1.7%  
2. Most of the time  13.3%  5. Never | E GO TO Q120  0.0%  
3. Depends on the situation  3.3%

SQ119-1. Where do you (your family) buy Halal meat? Choose as many as apply.

1. At Hui butchers  88.3%  6. At Han grocers  4.2%  
2. At Halal butchers  92.5%  7. At Halal supermarkets  18.3%  
3. At Han butchers  4.2%  8. At Han supermarkets  2.5%  
4. At Hui grocers  7.5%  9. Other (specify: )  0.0%  
5. At Halal grocers  5.8%

SQ119-2. Among the above venders that you choose, which ones are very trustworthy? Circle the numbers as many as apply.

Venders:  1  72.5%  2  71.7%  3  0.8%  4  0.8%  5  0.0%  
6  0.0%  7  6.7%  8  0.0%  9  0.0%

Q120. When you (your family) buy non-meat grocery, do you buy Halal grocery?

1. Always  60.8%  4. Occasionally  7.5%  
2. Most of the time  19.2%  5. Never | E GO TO Q121  2.5%  
3. Depends on the situation  10.0%

SQ120-1. Where do you (your family) buy other Halal grocery? Choose as many as apply.

1. At Hui grocers  76.9%  4. At Halal supermarkets  59.0%  
2. At Halal grocers  78.6%  5. At Han supermarkets  20.5%  
3. At Han grocers  6.8%  6. Other (specify: )  0.0%  

- 29 -
SQ120-2. Among the above venders that you choose, which ones are very trustworthy? Circle the numbers as many as apply.

Venders: 1 59.8% 2 56.4% 3 0.9% 4 42.7% 5 7.7% 6 0.0%

Q121. How often do you (your family) go shopping for Halal grocery including meat?

1. Everyday 8.3% 5. Once a month 11.7%
2. Two or three times a week 50.0% 6. Less often 2.5%
3. Once a week 26.7% 7. Never | E GO TO Q122 0.8%
4. Two or three times a month 11.7%

SQ121-1. When you (your family) buy Halal meat do you check the Halal sign or logo inside or outside the store?

1. Always 75.8% 4. Occasionally 3.3%
2. Most of the time 15.0% 5. Never 0.8%
3. Depends on the situation 5.0% 6. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 0.0%

SQ121-2. When you (your family) buy processed foods, do you check the Halal label or logo on the package?

1. Always 74.2% 4. Occasionally 5.8%
2. Most of the time 18.3% 5. Never 0.0%
3. Depends on the situation 1.7% 6. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 0.0%

SQ121-3. When you (your family) buy processed foods, do you check the content to make sure that they do not contain non-Halal ingredients (such as animal gelatin, alcohol or pork)?

1. Always 66.7% 4. Occasionally 8.3%
2. Most of the time 20.0% 5. Never 1.7%
3. Depends on the situation 3.3% 6. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 0.0%

Q122. How often do you (your family) eat at Hui restaurants (cafeterias)?

1. Twice or more a week 10.0% 4. Once a month 18.3%
2. Once a week 11.7% 5. Less often 34.2%
3. Two or three times a month 20.8% 6. Never 5.0%

Q123. How often do you (your family) eat at Halal restaurants (cafeterias) with the Halal sign or logo?

1. Twice or more a week 10.0% 4. Once a month 17.5%
2. Once a week 13.3% 5. Less often 41.7%
3. Two or three times a month 13.3% 6. Never 4.2%
Q124. How often do you (your family) eat at Han restaurants (cafeterias)?

1. Twice or more a week 0.8% 4. Once a month 4.2%
2. Once a week 9.2% 5. Less often 36.7%
3. Two or three times a month 2.5% 6. Never 46.7%

Q125. Do you agree or disagree to each of the following statements?

a) Eating Halal meat is something I do to obey my religion.

1. Totally agree 33.3% 4. Disagree 0.0%
2. Agree 49.2% 5. Totally disagree 0.0%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 17.5%

b) Eating Halal meat is a personal choice.

1. Totally agree 23.3% 4. Disagree 2.5%
2. Agree 64.2% 5. Totally disagree 0.8%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 9.2%

c) Halal meat has better taste than non-Halal meat

1. Totally agree 20.8% 4. Disagree 1.7%
2. Agree 39.2% 5. Totally disagree 0.8%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 37.5%

d) Halal meat is healthier.

1. Totally agree 22.5% 4. Disagree 4.2%
2. Agree 50.0% 5. Totally disagree 0.0%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 23.3%

e) Islamic slaughter is less painful to animals.

1. Totally agree 12.5% 4. Disagree 5.8%
2. Agree 35.8% 5. Totally disagree 0.0%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 45.8%

f) Halal products (except meat) are readily available.

1. Totally agree 9.2% 4. Disagree 16.7%
2. Agree 35.8% 5. Totally disagree 0.0%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 38.3%
g) There are a lot of choices in Halal products (except meat).

1. Totally agree 14.2% 4. Disagree 9.2%
2. Agree 43.3% 5. Totally disagree 0.0%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 33.3%

h) Halal products (except meat) are more expensive than other food products.

1. Totally agree 10.0% 4. Disagree 10.8%
2. Agree 48.3% 5. Totally disagree 0.0%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 30.8%

i) There is sufficient information available on Halal products (except meat).

1. Totally agree 11.7% 4. Disagree 2.5%
2. Agree 63.3% 5. Totally disagree 0.0%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 22.5%

j) I (my family) buy more Halal products (except meat) than a few years ago.

1. Totally agree 14.2% 4. Disagree 9.2%
2. Agree 53.3% 5. Totally disagree 0.0%
3. Neither agree nor disagree 23.3%

Q126. What does the Halal food mean to you? Choose as many as apply.

1. Religious tradition 80.0% 6. Daily dishes 50.0% 11. Fashionable food 1.7%
2. Hui tradition 90.8% 7. Heavy dishes 10.8% 12. Convenient food 5.8%
3. Family tradition 75.8% 8. Light dishes 12.5% 13. Inconvenient food 0.0%
4. Personal Identity 5.8% 9. New food 6.7% 14. Certified food 2.5%
5. Festive dishes 18.3% 10. Exotic food 5.8% 15. Other (specify: ) 0.0%

Q127. Whose encouragements have affected you in eating Halal foods? Choose as many as apply.

1. Husband (partner) 55.0% 7. Islamic community in general 17.5%
2. Parent(s) or parent(s)-in-law 62.5% 8. Religious authorities 20.0%
3. Grandparent(s) 15.0% 9. Mass media 0.0%
4. Brother(s) or sister(s) 8.3% 10. No encouragements 24.2%
5. Child(ren) 13.3% 11. Other (specify: ) 0.0%
6. Friend(s) or neighbor(s) 3.3% 12. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 0.0%

Q128. How important is it to you to eat Halal foods?

1. Very important 42.5% 3. Not important 0.3% 5. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 0.0%
2. Important 56.7% 4. Not important at all 0.0%
2) Frequency Distribution for Hui Students (N=120)

Demographics
Q1. What is your gender?
1. Male 45.8%  2. Female 54.2%  3. Other (specify:  ) 0.0%
Q2. When were you born?  AGE: 11-14  30.8%  15-19  42.5%  20+  26.7%
             /    /    /  
             (DD)/(MM)/(YYYY)
Q3. In which region were you born?
4. Xi’an  |  É  GO TO Q4  97.5%
5. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region  0.8%
3. Other (specify:  )  1.7%
SQ3. At what age did you move to Xi’an?
Age: ___ years old  2  33.3%  3  33.3%  5  33.3%
Q4. What is your nationality?
1. Hui  92.5%
2. Han  7.5%
3. Other (specify:  )  0.0%
Q5. Which level of Chinese language do you command?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fluency</th>
<th>Very good</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Not Good</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listening and Speaking</td>
<td>1  60.8%</td>
<td>2  35.8%</td>
<td>3  3.3%</td>
<td>4  0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>1  55.0%</td>
<td>2  45.0%</td>
<td>3  5.0%</td>
<td>4  0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>1  35.8%</td>
<td>2  52.5%</td>
<td>3 11.7%</td>
<td>4  0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q6. Which level of Arabic language do you command?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fluency</th>
<th>Very good</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Not Good</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listening and Speaking</td>
<td>1  0.8%</td>
<td>2  2.5%</td>
<td>3 43.3%</td>
<td>4 53.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>1  1.7%</td>
<td>2  0.8%</td>
<td>3 30.0%</td>
<td>4 67.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>1  0.8%</td>
<td>2  2.5%</td>
<td>3 24.2%</td>
<td>4 72.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q7. What is your religion?

1. Islam (Sunni) 45.0%  
2. Islam (Shi’ite) 6.7%  
3. Islam (Alevide) 3.3%  
4. Islam (Other: 25.8% (DK 41.9%, Old 58.1%))  
5. Christianity 0.0%  
6. Judaism 0.0%  
7. No religion 19.2%  
8. Other (specify 0.0%)

School
Q8. Did you attend Ke Lan Jing (Koran) lessons when you were a child?

1. Yes 20.0%  
2. No 80.0%

Q9. To what level of education does your highest diploma or certificate correspond?

0. No diploma 0.0%  
1. Primary education 0.83%  
2. Special education 0.0%  
3. Special needs secondary 0.0%  
4. The first level of secondary 25.0%  
5. The second level of secondary (vocational) 0.8%  
6. The second level of secondary (technical or artistic) 0.0%  
7. The second level of secondary (general) 12.5%  
8. The third level of secondary (vocational) 1.7%  
9. The third level of secondary (technical or artistic) 0.8%  
10. The third level of secondary (general) 20.0%  
11. Lower tertiary (non-university) or higher post-secondary 9.2%  
12. Higher tertiary (university) 29.2%

Q10. What level of education are you following?

1. Special needs secondary 0.0%  
2. The first level of secondary 20.0%  
3. The second level of secondary (vocational) 0.8%  
4. The second level of secondary (technical or artistic) 0.0%  
5. The second level of secondary (general) 7.5%  
6. The third level of secondary (vocational) 3.3%  
7. The third level of secondary (technical or artistic) 0.8%  
8. The third level of secondary (general) 21.7%  
9. Lower tertiary (non-university) or higher post-secondary 6.7%  
10. Higher tertiary (university) 30.2%
Post-Secondary/Tertiary School
Q11. How many of your classmates in post-secondary/tertiary school are of Hui origin?
   4. (Almost) none  56.4%  3. About half  1.8%  5. (Almost) all  0.0%
   5. A minority  41.8%  4. A majority  0.0%

Q12. How many of your classmates in post-secondary/tertiary school are Muslims?
   1. (Almost) none  54.6%  3. About half  1.8%  5. (Almost) all  0.0%
   2. A minority  43.6%  4. A majority  0.0%

Q13. Are the following Muslim-friendly facilities and services available in post-secondary/tertiary school?
   a) Daily prayer space
      1. Not available  90.9%  2. Available but inadequate  1.8%
      3. Available and adequate  0.0%  4. Don't know  7.3%
   b) Meeting room for Friday prayer
      1. Not available  90.9%  2. Available but inadequate  0.0%
      3. Available and adequate  0.0%  4. Don't know  9.1%
   c) Ablution facility
      1. Not available  52.7%  2. Available but inadequate  7.3%
      3. Available and adequate  29.1%  4. Don't know  10.9%
   d) Halal or Muslim-friendly dishes for lunch
      1. Not available  16.4%  2. Available but inadequate  43.6%
      3. Available and adequate  40.0%  4. Don't know  0.0%
   e) Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks
      1. Not available  16.4%  2. Available but inadequate  52.7%
      3. Available and adequate  21.8%  4. Don't know  9.1%
Q14. What kind of lunch do you often eat after you entered post-secondary/tertiary school? Choose as many as apply.

1. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch ordered or provided at school 69.1%
2. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch brought from home at school 27.3%
3. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch bought from outside shops at school 50.9%
4. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch at home 25.5%
5. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch at outside cafeterias or shops 23.6%
6. The other kind of lunch ordered or provided at school 20.0%
7. The other kind of lunch brought from home at school 9.1%
8. The other kind of lunch bought from outside shops at school 29.1%
9. The other kind of lunch at home 20.0%
10. The other kind of lunch at outside cafeterias or shops 7.3%
11. No lunch 0.0%
12. Other (describe) 0.0%

Q15. What kind of snacks do you eat after you entered post-secondary/tertiary school? Choose as many as apply.

1. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks brought from home 45.5%
2. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks bought at school 63.6%
3. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks bought at outside shops or cafeteria 40.0%
4. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks after going back home 29.1%
5. The other kind of snacks brought from home 23.6%
6. The other kind of snacks bought at school 30.9%
7. The other kind of snacks bought at outside shops or cafeteria 21.8%
8. The other kind of snacks after going back home 16.4%
9. No snacks 5.5%
10. Other (describe) 0.0%

Q16. How important is it to you to take Halal (Muslim-friendly) foods and drinks after you entered post-secondary/tertiary school?

1. Very important 27.3% 3. Not important 14.6% 5. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 1.8%
2. Important 52.7% 4. Not important at all 3.6%

Q17. Do you argue with your parents about Halal (Muslim-friendly) foods or drinks after you entered post-secondary/tertiary school?

1. Never 65.5% 3. Often 3.6% 5. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 1.8%
2. Occasionally 27.3% 4. You avoid the subject 1.8%
Q18. How often do you fast during the Ramadan after you entered post-secondary/tertiary school?

4. Never 20.0% 4. Most of the time 14.6%
5. Occasionally 16.4% 5. Always 0.0%
6. Depending on the situation 49.1%

Secondary School
[If you are in POST-SECONDARY or TERTIARY school, answer about your secondary school days in this section.]
Q19. Is (Was) your secondary education of religious orientation?

1. Yes (Catholic) 1.7% 3. No (municipality, province, state, etc.) 91.7%
2. Yes (Other/specify: Islam) 6.7%

Q20. Have you attended classes on religion in secondary school?

3. Yes (Islam) 10.0% 3. No 90.0%
4. Yes (Other/specify: ) 0.0%

Q21. How many of your classmates in secondary school are (were) of Hui origin?

1. (Almost) none 32.5% 3. About half 14.2% 5. (Almost) all 0.0%
2. A minority 49.2% 4. A majority 4.2%

Q22. How many of your classmates in secondary school are (were) Muslims?

1. (Almost) none 35.0% 3. About half 13.3% 5. (Almost) all 0.0%
2. A minority 47.5% 4. A majority 4.2%

Q23. Are (Were) the following Muslim-friendly facilities and services available in secondary school?

a) Daily prayer space

1. Not available 91.7% 2. Available but inadequate 3.3%
3. Available and adequate 1.7% 4. Don’t know 3.3%

b) Meeting room for Friday prayer

1. Not available 92.5% 2. Available but inadequate 2.5%
3. Available and adequate 0.8% 4. Don’t know 4.2%
c) Ablution facility

1. Not available 89.2%
2. Available but inadequate 2.5%
3. Available and adequate 4.2%
4. Don't know 4.2%

d) Halal or Muslim-friendly dishes for lunch

1. Not available 46.7%
2. Available but inadequate 34.2%
3. Available and adequate 15.0%
4. Don't know 4.2%

e) Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks

1. Not available 44.2%
2. Available but inadequate 38.3%
3. Available and adequate 10.8%
4. Don't know 6.7%

Q24. What kind of lunch do (did) you often eat (in your secondary school days)? **Choose as many as apply.**

1. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch ordered or provided at school 22.5%
2. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch brought from home at school 52.5%
3. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch bought from outside shops at school 34.2%
4. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch at home 64.2%
5. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch at outside cafeterias or shops 13.3%
6. The other kind of lunch ordered or provided at school 5.0%
7. The other kind of lunch brought from home at school 14.2%
8. The other kind of lunch bought from outside shops at school 15.8%
9. The other kind of lunch at home 31.7%
10. The other kind of lunch at outside cafeterias or shops 3.3%
11. No lunch 0.0%
12. Other (describe)  0.0%

Q25. What kind of snacks do (did) you eat after school (in your secondary school days)? **Choose as many as apply.**

1. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks brought from home 45.8%
2. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks bought at school 42.5%
3. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks bought at outside shops or cafeteria 37.5%
4. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks after going back home 50.0%
5. The other kind of snacks brought from home 15.0%
6. The other kind of snacks bought at school 18.3%
7. The other kind of snacks bought at outside shops or cafeteria 13.3%
8. The other kind of snacks after going back home 33.3%
9. No snacks 3.3%
10. Other (describe)  0.0%
Q26. How important is (was) it to you to take Halal/Muslim-friendly foods and drinks (in your secondary school days)?

1. Very important 22.5%  3. Not important 15.8%  5. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 2.5%
2. Important 58.3%  4. Not important at all  0.8%

Q27. Do (Did) you argue with your parents about Halal/Muslim-friendly foods or drinks (in your secondary school days)?

1. Never 70.0%  3. Often 1.7%  5. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 1.7%
2. Occasionally 25.0%  4. You avoid(ed) the subject 1.7%

Q28. How often do (did) you fast during the Ramadan (in your secondary school days)?

1. Never 13.3%  2. Occasionally 12.5%  3. Depended on the situation 15.8%
4. Most of the time 50.8%  5. Always  7.5%

Work

Q29. Do you currently hold remunerated employment?

1. Yes (employed)  0.0%  4. Yes (other/specify:   )  0.0%
2. Yes (self-employed)  0.0%  5. No | E GO TO Q30 100.0%
3. Yes (paid internship) 0.0%

SQ29-1. How many hours per week do you work on the average?

1. 1-10 hours  4. 31-35 hours  7. 51 hours or more
2. 11-20 hours  5. 36-40 hours
3. 21-30 hours  6. 41-50 hours

SQ29-2. In which sector do you work? Choose as many as apply.

1. Bank/insurance
2. Construction
3. Agriculture and fishing
4. Transportation and communication
5. Retail, stores, market
6. Restaurant, hotel, bar
7. Industry/mineral production
8. Education
9. Public administration (Ministry, Municipality, Province, court, police, army)
10. Commercial services (accountancy, cleaning, IT company)
11. (health) care
12. Other services
SQ29-3. How many of your direct colleagues (working with you daily) are of Hui origin?

1. (Almost) none 3. About half 5. (Almost) all
2. A minority 4. A majority

Q30. Are you currently looking for a (another) paid job?

1. Yes 5.0% 2. No 95.0%

Q31. Did you hold a (another) paid job before?

1. Yes (employed) 0.0% 3. Yes (other/specific: ) 0.0%
2. Yes (self-employed) 0.0% 4. No 100.0%

Q32. How is your health condition?

4. Excellent 20.8% 4. Fair 15.0%
5. Very good 63.3% 5. Poor 0.8%
6. Good 15.0%

Father
Q33. When was your father born? AGE: -39 19.2% 40-44 32.5% 45-49 31.7% 50+ 16.7%

Q34. In which region was your father born?

1. Xi’an | E GO TO Q 35 90.8%
2. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region 4.2%
3. Other (specify: Henan 50.0%) 5.0%

SQ34. At what age did your father move to Xi’an?

Age: ___ years old AGE: -14 36.4% 15-19 45.4% 20+ 18.2%

Q35. In which region does your father live?

1. Xi’an 99.2%
2. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region 0.0%
3. Other (specify: ) 0.0%

Q36. How is your father’s health condition?

4. Excellent 11.7% 4. Fair 3.3%
5. Very good 51.7% 5. Poor 0.0%
6. Good 33.3% 6. Deceased | E Answer about his last characteristics. 0.0%
Q37. What is your father's nationality?

1. Hui  93.3%
2. Han  6.7%
3. Other (specify:  0.0%  )

Q38. Which level of Chinese language does your father command?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fluency</th>
<th>Very good</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Not Good</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listening and Speaking</td>
<td>1 28.3%</td>
<td>2 61.7%</td>
<td>3  10.0%</td>
<td>4  0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>1 25.0%</td>
<td>2 56.7%</td>
<td>3  18.3%</td>
<td>4  0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>1 16.7%</td>
<td>2 45.0%</td>
<td>3  34.2%</td>
<td>4  4.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q39. Which level of Arabic language does your father command?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fluency</th>
<th>Very good</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Not Good</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listening and Speaking</td>
<td>1  1.7%</td>
<td>2  6.7%</td>
<td>3  72.5%</td>
<td>4  19.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>1  0.8%</td>
<td>2  2.5%</td>
<td>3  59.2%</td>
<td>4  37.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>1  0.8%</td>
<td>2  46.7%</td>
<td>3  52.5%</td>
<td>4  0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q40. What is your father's religion?

1. Islam (Sunni)  52.5%
2. Islam (Shi’ite)  8.3%
3. Islam (Alejite)  3.3%
4. Islam (Other: 29.2% (DK 37.1%; Old 62.9))
5. Christianity  0.0%
6. Judaism  0.0%
7. No religion  6.7%
8. Other (Other: specify  0.0%  )

Mother

Q41. When was your mother born?  AGE:  -39 25.8%  40-44 34.2%  45-49 32.5%  50+  7.5%

/ (MM) / (YYYY)

Q42. In which region was your mother born?

1. Xi'an  92.5%
2. Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region  5.0%
3. Other (specify:  2.5%

SQ42. At what age did your mother move to Xi'an?

Age: ___ years old  AGE:  -14 25.0%  15-19 37.5%  20+ 37.5%
Q43. How is your mother's health condition?

1. Excellent 16.7%  4. Fair  5.0%
2. Very good 51.7%  5. Poor  0.0%
3. Good 26.7%

Q44. What is your mother's nationality?

1. Hui 100.0%
2. Han 0.0%
3. Other (specify: 0.0%)

Q45. Which level of Chinese language does your mother command?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fluency</th>
<th>Very good</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Not Good</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listening and Speaking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Q46. Which level of Arabic language does your mother command?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fluency</th>
<th>Very good</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Not Good</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listening and Speaking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q47. What is your mother's religion?

1. Islam (Sunni) 50.8%
2. Islam (Shi’ite) 10.0%
3. Islam (Alevite) 3.3%
4. Islam (Other: 31.7% (DK 47.4%, Old 52.6%))
5. Christianity 0.8%
6. Judaism 0.0%
7. No religion 3.3%
8. Other (Other: specify 0.0%)

Family

Q48. Who live with you at your home? Choose as many as apply.

3. Father 99.2%
4. Mother 100.0%
3. Older Brother(s) 4.2%
4. Older Sister(s) 0.8%
5. Younger Brother(s) 7.5%
6. Younger Sister(s) 6.7%
7. Spouse (Partner) 0.0%
8. Child(ren) 0.0%
9. Grandfather 14.2%
10. Grandmother 15.0%
11. Great grandparents 0.0%
12. Other relative(s) 2.5%
Q49. How many persons live with you at your home?

___ persons  2  44.2%  3  35.8%  4  10.0%  5  6.7%  6+  3.3%

Q50. How many brothers and sisters do you have? Fill in the number for each type of siblings and the total (0 if none).

___ older brother(s)  0  95.0%  1  5.0%  0  95.0%  1  4.2%  2  0.8%
___ older sister(s)  0  95.0%  1  5.0%  0  95.0%  1  4.2%  2  0.8%
___ younger brother(s)  0  91.7%  1  8.3%  0  91.7%  1  8.3%  2  0.8%
___ younger sister(s)  0  93.3%  1  6.7%  0  93.3%  1  6.7%  2  0.8%
Total: ___ siblings  0  76.7%  1  20.8%  2  2.5%

Q51. Among them, how many live with you at your home? Fill in the number for each type of siblings and the total (0 if none).

___ older brother(s)  0  96.8%  1  4.2%  0  96.8%  1  4.2%  2  0.8%
___ older sister(s)  0  99.2%  1  0.8%  0  99.2%  1  0.8%  2  0.8%
___ younger brother(s)  0  95.2%  1  4.8%  0  95.2%  1  4.8%  2  0.8%
___ younger sister(s)  0  93.3%  1  6.7%  0  93.3%  1  6.7%  2  0.8%
Total: ___ siblings living with you  0  81.7%  1  17.5%  2  0.8%

Q52. What is your marital/partnership status?

7. Married (spouse present)  0.0%
8. Married (spouse absent)  0.0%
9. Cohabiting  0.0%
10. Divorced  0.0%
11. Widowed  0.0%
12. Never-married  100.0%

Housing and Neighborhood
Q53. Who is the owner of your place of residence?

4. You or your spouse (partner) 0.0% 
5. Your parents or your relative 95.8% 
6. Your parents-in-law or their relative 0.0%
4. A bureau of social housing 0.83% 
5. A private owner or bureau of private housing 3.3%

Q54. Is your place of residence an apartment or a detached house?

1. Apartment  66.7% 
2. Detached house  33.3%
3. Other (specify:  0.0%
Q55. If you think of all the people living in your neighborhood, how many of them are of Hui origin?

1. (Almost) none 33.3%  3. About half 6.7%  5. (Almost) all 10.8%
2. A minority 38.3%  4. A majority 10.8%

Q56. How many minutes does it take you to go to your secondary school from your home?

1. 0-9 minutes 3.3%  2. 10-19 minutes 32.5%
3. 20-29 minutes 34.2%  4. 30 minutes or more 30.0%

[If you are in POST-SECONDARY or TERTIARY school]

Q57. How many minutes does it take you to go to your post-secondary or tertiary school from your home?

1. 0-9 minutes 1.82%  2. 10-19 minutes 1.82%
3. 20-29 minutes 5.45%  4. 30 minutes or more 90.9%

Q58. How many minutes does it take you to go to the nearest mosque from your home?

1. 0-9 minutes 0.83%  2. 10-19 minutes 35.8%
3. 20-29 minutes 22.5%  4. 30 minutes or more 40.8%

Q59. How many minutes does it take you to go to the nearest Halal supermarket from your home?

1. 0-9 minutes 2.5%  2. 10-19 minutes 27.5%
3. 20-29 minutes 35.0%  4. 30 minutes or more 35.0%

Q60. How many minutes does it take you to go to the nearest Halal butcher from your home?

1. 0-9 minutes 23.3%  2. 10-19 minutes 36.8%
3. 20-29 minutes 29.2%  4. 30 minutes or more 11.7%

Q61. How many minutes does it take you to go to the nearest Halal grocery store from your home?

1. 0-9 minutes 16.7%  2. 10-19 minutes 34.2%
3. 20-29 minutes 30.8%  4. 30 minutes or more 18.3%

Q62. How many minutes does it take you to go to the nearest Halal restaurant or diner from your home?

1. 0-9 minutes 26.7%  2. 10-19 minutes 40.0%
3. 20-29 minutes 17.5%  4. 30 minutes or more 15.8%
Q63. How many minutes does it take you to go to the nearest ordinary supermarket from your home?

1. 0-9 minutes 22.5%  2. 10-19 minutes 49.2%
3. 20-29 minutes 21.7%  4. 30 minutes or more 6.7%

Social Relations and Identity
Q64. How many of your friends are of Han origin?

1. None 0.0%  3. Quite a few 40.8%  5. Most of them 30.0%
2. One or a few 0.0%  4. A large number of them 29.2%

Q65. How many of your friends are of Hui origin?

1. None 3.3%  3. Quite a few 50.0%  5. Most of them 8.3%
2. One or a few 24.2%  4. A large number of them 14.2%

Q66. How many of your friends are of other origins?

1. None 57.5%  3. Quite a few 10.0%  5. Most of them 1.7%
2. One or a few 30.0%  4. A large number of them 0.8%

Q67. How many of your friends are Muslims?

1. None 4.2%  3. Quite a few 47.5%  5. Most of them 10.0%
2. One or a few 31.7%  4. A large number of them 6.7%

Q68. How often do you eat out lunch or dinner with your friends?

4. Twice or more a week 14.2%  4. Once a month 13.3%
5. Once a week 9.2%  5. Less often 28.3%
6. Two or three times a month 15.8%  6. Never | Ê GO TO Q69 19.2%

SQ68-1. Which friend(s) do you eat out with? Choose as many as apply.

3. Male Han-origin friend(s) 67.0%  5. Male other-origin friend(s) 6.2%
4. Female Han-origin friend(s) 69.1%  6. Female other-origin friend(s) 7.2%
5. Male Hui-origin friend(s) 70.1%  7. Male Muslim friend(s) 19.6%
6. Female Hui-origin friend(s) 65.0%  8. Female Muslim friend(s) 19.6%

SQ68-2. At which restaurants (cafeterias) do you eat out? Choose as many as apply.

3. Han restaurants (cafeterias) 44.3%  3. Hui restaurants (cafeterias) 85.6%
4. Halal restaurants (cafeterias) 94.9%  4. Other (specify: ) 0.0%
Q69. Did you participate in the activities of the following organizations in 2016? Choose as many as apply.

11. Student or parent association  36.7%  
12. Religious or mosque-related association  25.0%  
13. Political party  0.8%  
14. Leisure association, such as a sports club, or youth association  9.2%  
15. Trade union  0.0%  
16. Women’s association  0.0%  
17. Association against racism or for minorities  2.5%  
18. Socio-educational group, neighborhood association, or gathering of inhabitants  0.0%  
19. Other (specify: )  0.0%  
20. None  50.8%  

SQ69. Among the above organizations that you choose, which one(s) activities were mainly targeting Hui population in Xi’an? Circle the numbers as many as apply.

Organizations: 1  4.2%  2  25.0%  3  0.8%  4  1.7%  5  0.0%  6  0.0%  7  2.5%  8  0.0%  9  0.0%  (10  70.0%)

Q70. How many hours per week do you watch Mandarin television?

4. 0 hour (never)  3.3%  4. 20-29 hours  9.2%  
5. 1-9 hours  50.0%  5. 30 hours or more  18.3%  
6. 10-19 hours  19.2%  

Q71. How many hours per week do you watch Arabic television?

4. 0 hour (never)  54.2%  4. 20-29 hours  2.5%  
5. 1-9 hours  30.0%  5. 30 hours or more  1.7%  
6. 10-19 hours  11.7%  

Q72. To what extent do you feel Xi’an resident?

1. Very strongly  54.2%  3. Not strongly not weakly  11.7%  5. Very weakly  1.7%  
2. Strongly  30.0%  4. Weakly  2.5%  

Q73. To what extent do you feel Hui-descendant?

1. Very strongly  43.3%  3. Not strongly not weakly  10.0%  5. Very weakly  0.8%  
2. Strongly  43.3%  4. Weakly  2.5%
Q74. To what extent do you feel Muslim?

1. Very strongly 30.0%  3. Not strongly not weakly 18.3%  5. Very weakly  1.7%
2. Strongly 48.3%  4. Weakly 1.7%

Q75. How satisfied are you with the following at present?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Satisfaction</th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly unsatisfied</th>
<th>Very unsatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Study</td>
<td>1 24.2%</td>
<td>2 70.0%</td>
<td>3 5.8%</td>
<td>4 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Family life</td>
<td>1 40.0%</td>
<td>2 59.2%</td>
<td>3 0.8%</td>
<td>4 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Religious life</td>
<td>1 19.2%</td>
<td>2 70.0%</td>
<td>3 10.8%</td>
<td>4 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Housing and Neighborhood</td>
<td>1 17.5%</td>
<td>2 81.7%</td>
<td>3 0.8%</td>
<td>4 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Foods</td>
<td>1 34.2%</td>
<td>2 63.3%</td>
<td>3 2.5%</td>
<td>4 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Health condition</td>
<td>1 43.3%</td>
<td>2 55.8%</td>
<td>3 0.8%</td>
<td>4 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Financial condition</td>
<td>1 17.5%</td>
<td>2 64.2%</td>
<td>3 17.5%</td>
<td>4 0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) Relation with Han-origin people</td>
<td>1 25.0%</td>
<td>2 73.3%</td>
<td>3 1.7%</td>
<td>4 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) Relation with Hui-origin people</td>
<td>1 25.0%</td>
<td>2 70.8%</td>
<td>3 4.2%</td>
<td>4 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) Relation with Muslims</td>
<td>1 22.5%</td>
<td>2 74.2%</td>
<td>3 3.3%</td>
<td>4 0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11) Employment (if applicable)</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q76. In general, are you satisfied with your life?

3. Very satisfied 10.8%  3. Not satisfied 1.67%
4. Satisfied 87.5%  4. Not satisfied at all 0.0%

Culture and Religion

Q77. Do you agree or disagree to each of the following statements?

f) Outside home, I want to adopt the Xi’an/HAN culture and way of life as much as possible.

1. Totally agree 10.8%  3. Neither agree nor disagree 42.5%  5. Totally disagree 0.0%
2. Agree 40.0%  4. Disagree 6.7%

g) At home I want to adopt the Xi’an/HAN culture and way of life as much as possible.

1. Totally agree 10.8%  3. Neither agree nor disagree 31.7%  5. Totally disagree 0.0%
2. Agree 40.0%  4. Disagree 17.5%
h) Outside home, I want to maintain the Hui culture and way of life as much as possible.

1. Totally agree 10.0%  3. Neither agree nor disagree 46.7%  5. Totally disagree 0.0%
2. Agree 39.2%  4. Disagree 4.2%

i) At home I want to maintain the Hui culture and way of life as much as possible.

1. Totally agree 9.2%  3. Neither agree nor disagree 30.8%  5. Totally disagree 0.0%
2. Agree 57.5%  4. Disagree 2.5%

j) Outside home, I want to maintain the Islamic culture and way of life as much as possible.

1. Totally agree 12.5%  3. Neither agree nor disagree 54.2%  5. Totally disagree 0.0%
2. Agree 29.2%  4. Disagree 4.2%

f) At home I want to maintain the Islamic culture and way of life as much as possible.

1. Totally agree 10.0%  3. Neither agree nor disagree 34.2%  5. Totally disagree 0.0%
2. Agree 50.0%  4. Disagree 5.8%

Q78. When you were a child, how often did your father visit a mosque or attend religious services or meetings?

4. Once a week or more 33.3%  4. Seldom 13.3%
5. Once or twice a month 15.0%  5. Never 3.3%
6. Only on religious holidays 32.5%  6. Not applicable (No religion) 2.5%

Q79. When you were a child, how often did your mother visit a mosque or attend religious services or meetings?

1. Once a week or more 33.3%  4. Seldom 17.5%
2. Once or twice a month 12.5%  5. Never 0.8%
3. Only on religious holidays 34.2%  6. Not applicable (No religion) 1.7%

Q80. How often do you visit a mosque or attend religious services or meetings?

4. Once a week or more 13.3%  4. Seldom 30.0%
5. Once or twice a month 0.0%  5. Never 10.8%
6. Only on religious holidays 41.7%  6. Not applicable (No religion) 4.1%

Q81. How often do you do daily prayer?

1. Five times a day or more 0.0%  3. Once a week 1.7%  5. Never 15.8%
2. Daily 26.7%  4. Only on religious holidays 49.2%  6. Not applicable (No religion) 6.7%
Q82. How much do you follow Islamic or religious rules in your daily life?

3. Very strictly 10.0% 3. Not strictly 30.8% 5. Not applicable (No religion) 0.0%
4. Fairly strictly 52.5% 4. Not at all 6.7%

Q83. Has your faith changed since you entered secondary school?

4. Became stronger 0.0% 4. Became fairly weaker 23.3%
5. Became fairy stronger 1.7% 5. Became weaker 2.5%
6. No change 66.7% 6. Not applicable (No religion). 5.8%

Q84. [For FEMALE] Do you wear a headscarf outside the house?  
[For MALE] Do you want your girlfriend (spouse/partner) to wear a headscarf outside house?

Yes | E    GO TO SQ84a  12.5%
No | E   GO TO SQ84b  87.5%

If YES
SQ84a. What are the reasons for wearing a headscarf? Choose as many as apply.

10. Because it is a religious obligation. 60.0%
11. Because this is a free and personal choice. 26.7%
12. Because this is an important part of Muslim identity in Xi’an. 26.7%
13. To avoid gossip and disrespectful behaviors. 53.3%
14. To reinforce trust in the family. 60.0%
15. Because it is a Hui tradition. 80.0%
16. Because it is convenient. 6.7%
17. Because it is fashionable. 0.0%
18. Other (specify: ) 0.0%

If NO
SQ84b. What are the reasons for NOT wearing a headscarf? Choose as many as apply.

10. Because it is not a religious obligation. 4.8%
11. Because this is a free and personal choice. 59.1%
12. Because this is better to insert oneself into society. 36.2%
13. To avoid discrimination and disrespectful behaviors. 5.7%
14. Because men and women have the same right. 20.0%
15. Because it is not a Hui tradition. 2.9%
16. Because it is inconvenient. 74.3%
17. Because it is unfashionable. 27.6%
18. Other (specify: ) 0.0%
Dietary practices
Q85. How often did you fast during the last Ramadan?

4. Always 2.5% 4. Occasionally 24.2%
5. Most of the time 16.7% 5. Never 11.7%
6. Depends on the situation 40.0% 6. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 5.0%

Q86. How important is it to you to fast during the Ramadan?

1. Very important 10.0% 3. Not important 27.5% 5. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 5.8%
2. Important 56.7% 4. Not important at all 0.0%

Q87. Are there foods or drinks which you never take, whether it is for the respect of religion or cultural traditions?

4. Yes 59.2% 2. No | É GO TO Q88 40.8%

SQ87. What kind of foods or drinks are they? Choose as many as apply.

1. Xi’an/Han (traditional) 66.2% 6. Halal (fast food/beverage) 0.0%
2. Xi’an/Han (fast food/beverage) 57.8% 7. Non-Halal or Haram 54.9%
3. Hui (traditional) 1.4% 8. Products without Halal certification 52.1%
4. Hui (fast food/beverage) 0.0% 9. Other (specify: ) 0.0%
5. Halal (Non-Hui) 0.0%

Q88. Are there foods or drinks which you never take but your parents take?

2. Yes 5.8% 2. No | É GO TO Q89 94.2%

SQ88. What kind of foods or drinks are they? Choose as many as apply.

1. Xi’an/Han (traditional) 26.6% 6. Halal (fast food/beverage) 0.0%
2. Xi’an/Han (fast food/beverage) 14.3% 7. Non-Halal or Haram 14.3%
3. Hui (traditional) 14.3% 8. Products without Halal certification 14.3%
4. Hui (fast food/beverage) 14.3% 9. Other (specify: ) 0.0%
5. Halal (Non-Hui) 0.0%

Q89. Are there foods or drinks which you take but your parents never take?

2. Yes 9.2% 2. No | É GO TO Q90 90.8%
SQ89. What kind of foods or drinks are they? Choose as many as apply.

1. Xi’an/Han (traditional) 27.3% 6. Halal (fast food/beverage) 9.1%
2. Xi’an/Han (fast food/beverage) 36.4% 7. Non-Halal or Haram 36.4%
3. Hui (traditional) 0.0% 8. Products without Halal certification 0.0%
4. Hui (fast food/beverage) 0.0% 9. Other (specify: ) 0.0%
5. Halal (Non-Hui) 0.0%

Q90. Have you eaten Halal foods during 2016?

2. Yes 95.8% 2. No | È GO TO Q91 4.2%

SQ90-1. How often have you eaten Halal foods?
1. Everyday 68.7% 4. Two or three times a month 7.0%
2. Two or three times a week 15.7% 5. Once a month 0.0%
3. Once a week 4.4% 6. Less often 4.4%

SQ90-2. Where have you eaten Halal foods? Choose as many as apply.

4. At your house 97.4% 4. At restaurants (diners) 49.6%
5. At your parents’ or family’s house 18.3% 5. At school or work place 26.1%
6. At your friend’s house 12.2% 6. Other (specify: ) 0.0%

SQ90-3. Why have you eaten Halal foods? Choose as many as apply.

11. Because it is cheaper 4.4%
12. Because it tastes better 23.5%
13. Because it is surer from sanitary perspective 25.2%
14. Because it is good for health 22.6%
15. For religious reasons 67.8%
16. By cultural tradition 78.3%
17. Because there were no other choices 9.6%
18. Because I invited some people (I accompanied some people) who eat Halal foods 6.1%
19. By chance, that I do not mind 4.4%
20. Other (specify: ) 0.0%

Q91. In your daily life, do you respect food prohibitions, whether it is for the respect of religion or cultural traditions?

4. Always 63.3% 4. Occasionally 12.5%
5. Most of the time 14.2% 5. Never 0.8%
6. Depends on the situation 8.3% 6. Not applicable (No religion) 0.8%
Q92. Who decides the menu for daily meals in your family? Choose as many as apply.

7. Yourself 28.3%  6. Older Brother(s) 0.8%  11. Other relative(s) 0.0%
8. Spouse/Partner 0.0%  7. Younger Sister(s) 0.0%  12. Non-relative(s) 0.0%
9. Mother 95.8%  8. Younger Brother(s) 1.7%  13. Other (specify: ) 0.0%
10. Father 40.0%  9. Grandmother 5.0%
11. Older Sister(s) 0.0%  10. Grandfather 3.3%

Q93. Who prepares the daily meals in your family? Choose as many as apply.

1. Yourself 6.7%  6. Older Brother(s) 0.0%  11. Other relative(s) 0.0%
2. Spouse/Partner 0.0%  7. Younger Sister(s) 0.0%  12. Non-relative(s) 0.0%
3. Mother 96.7%  8. Younger Brother(s) 0.0%  13. Other (specify: ) 0.0%
4. Father 19.2%  9. Grandmother 2.5%
5. Older Sister(s) 0.0%  10. Grandfather 0.0%

Q94. What kind of dishes do you prepare in your daily life? Choose as many as apply.

1. Hui 89.2%  3. New/Exotic 10.8%  5. Other (specify: ) 3.3%
5. Xi'an/Han 33.3%  4. Mixture of Hui and Han 20.8%  6. Never 0.0%

SQ94. Among the above dishes that you choose, which are your favorite ones? Circle the numbers as many as apply.

Dishes: 1 79.2%  2 25.0%  3 6.7%  4 9.2%  5 0.0%

Q95. How often do you eat fish in your daily life?

5. Everyday 2.5%  5. Once a month 5.0%
6. Two or three times a week 15.0%  6. Less often 28.3%
3. Once a week 28.3%  7. Never 0.0%
4. Two or three times a month 20.8%

Q96. How often do you eat meat in your daily life?

1. Everyday 28.3%  5. Once a month 3.3%
2. Two or three times a week 48.3%  6. Less often 5.0%
3. Once a week 9.2%  7. Never | È GO TO Q97 0.0%
4. Two or three times a month 5.8%

SQ96-1. Which meat do you eat in your daily life? Choose as many as apply.

3. Mutton/Lamb 95.0%  3. Chicken 66.7%  5. Other (specify: ) 25.0%
4. Beef/Veal 99.2%  4. Other Poultry 2.5%
SQ96-2. Among the above meat that you choose, which are your favorite ones? Circle the numbers as many as apply.

Meat: 1 65.0% 2 63.3% 3 25.0% 4 8.3% 5 –

Q97. How often do you eat snacks in your daily life?

1. Everyday 54.2% 5. Once a month 0.8%
2. Two or three times a week 20.0% 6. Less often 12.5%
3. Once a week 5.0% 7. Never | E GO TO Q98 6.7%
4. Two or three times a month 0.8%

SQ97-1. What kind of snacks do you eat in your daily life? Choose as many as apply.

7. Fruits and vegetables 83.9% 7. Xi’an/Han (fast food) 2.7%
8. Nuts, grains and beans 83.0% 8. Halal (Non-Hui) 17.9%
9. Dairy products 77.7% 9. Halal (fast food) 26.8%
10. Hui (traditional) 49.1% 10. Products with Halal certification 22.3%
11. Hui (fast food) 31.3% 11. Products without Halal certification 1.8%
12. Xi’an/Han (traditional) 16.1% 12. Other (specify: ) 0.0%

SQ97-2. Among the above snacks that you choose, which are your favorite ones? Circle the numbers as many as apply.

Snacks: 1 53.6% 2 54.5% 3 52.7% 4 13.4% 5 5.4% 6 1.8%
7 0.9% 8 3.6% 9 3.6% 10 7.1% 11 0.0% 12 0.0%

Q98. What kind of drinks do you take in your daily life? Choose as many as apply.

3. Carbonated drinks 70.8% 3. Juice (and related) 79.2% 5. Hot drinks 36.7%
4. Mineral water 64.2% 4. Milk (and related) 69.2% 6. Other (specify: ) 0.8%

SQ98. Among the above drinks that you choose, which are your favorite ones? Circle the numbers as many as apply.

Drinks: 1 40.8% 2 23.3% 3 53.3% 4 37.5% 5 13.3% 6 0.8%

Q99. Who goes grocery shopping in your family? Choose as many as apply.

1. Yourself 14.2% 6. Older Brother(s) 0.8% 11. Other relative(s) 0.8%
2. Spouse/Partner 0.0% 7. Younger Sister(s) 0.0% 12. Non-relative(s) 0.0%
3. Mother 95.8% 8. Younger Brother(s) 0.0% 13. Other (specify: ) 0.0%
4. Father 27.5% 9. Grandmother 1.7%
5. Older Sister(s) 0.0% 10. Grandfather 0.8%
Q100. How often do you go grocery shopping?

1. Everyday 0.0%  5. Once a month 2.5%
2. Two or three times a week 7.5%  6. Less often 29.2%
3. Once a week 10.8%  7. Never | É GO TO Q104 32.5%
4. Two or three times a month 17.5%

Q101. When you buy meat, do you buy Halal meat?

4. Always 48.2%  4. Occasionally 9.9%
5. Most of the time 23.5%  5. Never | É GO TO Q102 11.1%
6. Depends on the situation 7.4%

SQ101-1. Where do you buy Halal meat? Choose as many as apply.

6. At Hui butchers 90.3%  6. At Han grocers 2.8%
7. At Halal butchers 87.5%  7. At Halal supermarkets 18.1%
8. At Han butchers 8.3%  8. At Han supermarkets 9.7%
9. At Hui grocers 8.3%  9. Other (specify: ) 0.0%
10. At Halal grocers 2.8%

SQ101-2. Among the above vendors that you choose, which ones are very trustworthy? Circle the numbers as many as apply.

Venders: 1 75.0%  2 70.8%  3 2.8%  4 1.4%  5 0.0%
6 0.0%  7 5.6%  8 4.2%  9 0.0%

Q102. When you buy non-meat grocery, do you buy Halal grocery?

4. Always 37.0%  4. Occasionally 16.1%
5. Most of the time 22.2%  5. Never | É GO TO Q103 8.6%
6. Depends on the situation 16.1%

SQ102-1. Where do you (your family) buy other Halal grocery? Choose as many as apply.

4. At Hui grocers 71.6%  4. At Hui supermarkets 50.0%
5. At Halal grocers 77.0%  5. At Han supermarkets 21.6%
6. At Han grocers 10.8%  6. Other (specify: ) 0.0%

SQ102-2. Among the above vendors that you choose, which ones are very trustworthy? Circle the numbers as many as apply.

Venders: 1 51.4%  2 54.1%  3 4.1%  4 19%  5 6.8%  6 0.0%
Q103. How often do you go shopping for Halal grocery including meat?

5. Everyday 3.7% 5. Once a month 1.2%
6. Two or three times a week 21.0% 6. Less often 23.5%
7. Once a week 14.8% 7. Never | E | GO TO Q104 13.6%
8. Two or three times a month 22.2%

SQ103-1. When you go shopping for Halal meat do you check the Halal sign or logo inside or outside the store?

1. Always 52.9% 4. Occasionally 10.0%
2. Most of the time 27.1% 5. Never 1.4%
3. Depends on the situation 8.6% 6. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 0.0%

SQ103-2. When you buy processed foods, do you check the Halal label or logo on the package?

1. Always 57.1% 4. Occasionally 11.4%
2. Most of the time 18.6% 5. Never 1.4%
3. Depends on the situation 10.0% 6. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 1.4%

SQ103-3. When you buy processed foods, do you check the content to make sure that they do not contain non-Halal ingredients (such as animal gelatin, alcohol or pork)?

1. Always 41.4% 4. Occasionally 22.9%
2. Most of the time 21.4% 5. Never 4.3%
3. Depends on the situation 9.6% 6. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 1.4%

Q104. How often do you eat at Hui restaurants (cafeterias)?

1. Twice or more a week 10.8% 3. Two or three times a month 20.8% 5. Less often 35.8%
2. Once a week 9.2% 4. Once a month 11.7% 6. Never 11.7%

Q105. How often do you eat at Halal restaurants (cafeterias) with the Halal sign or logo?

1. Twice or more a week 9.2% 3. Two or three times a month 20.0% 5. Less often 40.0%
2. Once a week 7.5% 4. Once a month 11.7% 6. Never 11.7%

Q106. How often do you eat at Han restaurants (cafeterias)?

1. Twice or more a week 5.8% 3. Two or three times a month 10.0% 5. Less often 30.0%
2. Once a week 4.2% 4. Once a month 5.8% 6. Never 44.2%
Q107. Do you agree or disagree to each of the following statements?
a) Eating Halal meat is something I do to obey my religion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Totally agree</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agree</td>
<td>55.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Disagree</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Totally disagree</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

b) Eating Halal meat is a personal choice.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Totally agree</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agree</td>
<td>59.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Disagree</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Totally disagree</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

c) Halal meat has better taste than non-Halal meat

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Totally agree</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agree</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>58.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Disagree</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Totally disagree</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
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</table>

d) Halal meat is healthier.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Totally agree</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agree</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Disagree</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Totally disagree</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

e) Islamic slaughter is less painful to animals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Totally agree</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agree</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Disagree</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Totally disagree</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

f) Halal products (except meat) are readily available.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Totally agree</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agree</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Disagree</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Totally disagree</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

g) There are a lot of choices in Halal products (except meat).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Totally agree</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agree</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>38.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Disagree</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Totally disagree</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

h) Halal products are more expensive than other food products (except meat).

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<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agree</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Disagree</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Totally disagree</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i) There is sufficient information available on Halal products (except meat).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Totally agree</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agree</td>
<td>51.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Disagree</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Totally disagree</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
j) I buy more Halal products (except meat) than a few years ago.

1. Totally agree 8.3%  3. Neither agree nor disagree 30.0%  5. Totally disagree 0.0%
2. Agree  51.7%  4. Disagree  10.0%

Q108. What does the Halal food mean to you? Choose as many as apply.

6. Religious tradition 63.3%  6. Daily dishes 51.7%  11. Fashionable food 0.8%
7. Hui tradition 70.8%  7. Heavy dishes 11.7%  12. Convenient food 4.2%
8. Family tradition 78.3%  8. Light dishes 14.2%  13. Inconvenient food 0.0%
9. Personal Identity 3.3%  9. New food 7.5%  14. Certified food 3.3%
10. Festive dishes 20.8%  10. Exotic food 3.3%  15. Other (specify:) 0.0%

Q109. Whose encouragements have affected you in eating Halal foods? Choose as many as apply.

1. Parent(s) 94.2%  7. Islamic community in general 10.8%
2. Grandparent(s) 32.5%  8. Religious authorities 13.3%
3. Brother(s) or sister(s) 5.8%  9. Mass media 0.0%
4. Boyfriend/Girlfriend (Spouse/Partner) 0.8%  10. No encouragements 4.2%
5. Classmate(s) or teacher(s) 3.3%  11. Other (specify:) 0.0%
6. Friend(s) or neighbor(s) 3.3%  12. Not applicable (Non-intentional eater) 0.0%

Q110. How important is it to you to eat Halal foods?

1. Very important 30.8%  3. Not important 12.5%  5. Not applicable (Non-Muslim) 0.8%
2. Important 55.8%  4. Not important at all 0.0%
3. Survey Results

1) Results for Relevant Basic Characteristics
Hiroshi KOJIMA

The first half of the questionnaires for the Survey on Halal Food Consumption among Hui Students and their Mothers in China asks mainly about basic characteristics. In the Hui mother questionnaire it is from Q1 to Q79 and in the Hui student questionnaire it is from Q1 to Q63. Since the frequency distribution for all the questions (including those in the latter half) in each questionnaire is presented in the previous section and mostly self-explanatory for basic characteristics, only the relevant questions for Islamic dietary practices will be discussed in this section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>Q2</th>
<th>Q3</th>
<th>Q4</th>
<th>Q5</th>
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In the Hui mother questionnaire Q13 asks in the multiple choice way about the kind of lunch the mother had when she was at the secondary school. In Table 1 the largest majority (73.0%) chooses “4. Halal or Muslim-Friendly lunch at home” which is somewhat low at ages 35-39. At ages 35-39 the largest majority (76.5%) chooses “2. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch brought from home at school.” Other choices have relatively lower percentages, but at ages 45+ the majority (51.2%) chooses “9. The other kind of lunch at home.” The other kind of lunch (choices 6-10) has somewhat higher percentages at ages 45+.
Q14 asks in the multiple choice way about the kind of snacks the Hui mother had when she was at the secondary school. Table 2 shows that “1. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks brought from home” (50.4%), “2. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks bought at outside shops or cafeteria” (47.8%) and “4. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks after going back home” (45.2%) are popular choices. Older mothers aged 45+ tend not to choose “1,” “2” and “4,” but “4” is also less likely to be chosen by younger mothers aged 35-39.

Q15 asks about the importance of halal foods and drinks when the Hui mother was at the secondary school. Table 3 indicates that the majority (60.0%) chooses “2. Important” but “1. Very important” is the second largest choice (27.8%) and that the combined percentage is the highest at ages 35-39.
Table 4 for Q16 shows that the large majority of Hui mothers (72.2%) never argued with parents about halal foods or drinks when they were at the secondary school, but the percentages of mothers with argument increases as they age. Table 5 for Q17 indicates that the frequency of fasting during Ramadan has an inverted U-shaped curve and that the most mothers fasted more or less. But the frequency declines with age.

Q75 to Q78 ask Hui mothers about the distance to the nearest halal shops and restaurants while Q79 asks about the distance to the nearest ordinary (Han) supermarket. A comparison of Table 6 for halal supermarket and Table 10 for ordinary supermarket indicates that the ordinary supermarket is much closer than the halal supermarket and that younger mothers aged 35-39 tend to live closer to the ordinary supermarket but farther from the halal supermarket.
Table 7 for the halal butcher indicates that it is located nearly as close as the ordinary supermarket for most Hui mothers, but younger mothers tend to live farther. Table 8 for the halal grocery store shows that it is located somewhat farther than the halal butcher and that younger mother aged 39-39 tend to live farther. On the other hand, Table 9 indicates that the halal restaurant is more closely located than the halal shops and the ordinary supermarket and that younger mothers aged 35-39 tend to live farther.

In the Hui student questionnaire, the same questions for the Hui mothers are asked. In addition, the availability of halal or Muslim-friendly lunch and snacks at the secondary school is asked in Q23d and Q23e. Since the age range is smaller for students than mothers and the Hui students include both sexes, the tabulation is made by sex. Table 11 for the availability of lunch at the secondary school (Q23d) shows that the halal lunch is “1. Not available” for about a half of students and that one third regard it as “2. Available but adequate” while only one seventh regard it as “3. Available and proper.” Female students are much more likely to choose “1. Not available” and less likely to choose “3. Available and proper.” Similar patterns are found in Table 12 for halal or Muslim-friendly snacks.
In the Hui student questionnaire Q24 asks in the multiple choice way about the kind of lunch the students have (had) when they are (were) at the secondary school. In Table 13 the largest majority (64.2%) chooses “4. Halal or Muslim-Friendly lunch at home” which is much lower among males. The percentage for female students is similar to the percentage for their mothers. The second largest majority (53.5%) chooses “2. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch brought from home at school” and the gender difference is rather small. Other choices have relatively lower percentages, but about one third chooses “3. Halal or Muslim-friendly lunch bought from outside shops at school” and “9. The other kind of lunch at home” and both percentages are somewhat higher for female students.
Q25 asks in the multiple choice way about the kind of snacks the Hui students have (had) when they are (were) at the secondary school. Table 14 shows that “4. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks after going back home” (50.0%), “1. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks brought from home” (45.8%), and “2. Halal or Muslim-friendly snacks bought at outside shops or cafeteria” (42.5%) are popular choices and that female students tend to have somewhat higher percentages. The popular choices are also similar to those of their mothers.

Q26 asks about the importance of halal foods and drinks when the Hui students are (were) at the secondary school. Table 15 indicates that the majority (58.3%) chooses “2. Important” but “1. Very important” is the second largest choice (22.5%) and that the combined percentage is higher for female students.
Table 16 for Q27 shows that the large majority of Hui students (70.0%) never argue (argued) with parents about halal foods or drinks when they are (were) at the secondary school as their mothers and that the percentage is lower for female students. Table 17 for Q28 indicates that about a half of Hui students fast most of the time during Ramadan, which is markedly different from the inverse U-shaped observed for mothers. Moreover, male students are more likely to fast than female students, which is also different from the case of other dietary practices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Percentage of Students Who Fast Most of the Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q59 to Q62 ask Hui students about the distance to the nearest Halal shops and restaurants while Q63 asks about the distance to the nearest ordinary (Han) supermarket. A comparison of Table 18 for halal supermarket and Table 22 for ordinary supermarket indicates that the ordinary supermarket is much closer than the halal supermarket as in the case of Hui mothers. Female students are more likely to regard the halal supermarket to be farther but the ordinary supermarket to be closer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Distance to Nearest Halal Shop (km)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>5.0 km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>10.0 km</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Distance to Nearest Ordinary Supermarket (km)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.0 km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3.0 km</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 65 -
Table 19 for the halal butcher indicates that it is located nearly as close as the ordinary supermarket for most Hui students and that the gender difference is small in this case. Table 20 for the halal grocery store shows that it is located somewhat farther than the halal butcher and that the gender difference is relatively small. On the other hand, Table 21 indicates that the halal restaurant is more closely located than the halal shops and the ordinary supermarket and that male students are more likely to regard it closer.
2) Results for Core Questions  
Atsuko SHIMBO

Survey results of mothers

1. Social relationships and status: friends and mass media  
1.1 Communication with friends  
Q80  
The survey shows that of the respondents residing in Xian, 50.0% have quite a few Han friends, 24.2% report that most of their friends are Han, 22.5% have a lot of Han friends, and 3.3% have one or a few Han friends. This indicates that a sizable proportion (46.7%) of Muslim mothers enjoy communication with Han.

Q81  
With regards to Muslim friends, 59.2% respondents report having quite a few friends of Muslim origin, 16.7% have a lot of Muslim friends, 14.2% report that most of their friends are Muslim, and 10.0% report having one or a few Muslim friends. Since only 14.2% respondents report that most of their friends are of Muslim origin, it implies that there are few Muslim whose friendships are entirely limited to people of Muslim origin.

Q82  
In comparison to having Han and Muslim friends, 55.0% respondents report having no friends from ethnic minorities. It can be understood that the minority population in Xian is not large and the majority of respondents prefer to communicate with Han and Muslim friends.

Q83  
Finally, 50.8% respondents report having quite a few Muslim friends, 19.2% have one or a few Muslim friends, 1.7% have no Muslim friends, and 0.8% have a lot of Muslim friends. This indicates that respondents do not have many Muslim friends.

Q84  
With regard to frequency of going out for lunch or dinner with friends, the survey shows that 40.8% of respondents do not dine out often with their friends, 17.5% eat out with their friends two or three times a month, 13.3% go out for meals with their friends once a month, 11.7% eat out with friends once a week, 10.0% go out for lunch or dinner with their friends twice a week or more, and 6.7% never go out to eat with their friends.

Of the respondents who dine out with their friends, 89.2% go out for lunch or dinner with their Muslim friends, 59.2% dine out with Han friends, 40% visit restaurants with Muslim friends and 4.2% eat out with other friends.

The restaurants they visit for lunch or dinner include Halal restaurants (85.0%), Muslim restaurants (83.3%), and Han restaurants (30.8%). They do not eat out often together, but when they do, many respondents eat at halal restaurants when they are with their Muslim friends.
Q85
When asked about the types of activities in which they participated in 2016, 70.8% respondents report participating in activities organized by student or parent associations, 60.0% take part in activities organized by religious or mosque-related associations, 10.8% participate in activities related to socio-educational groups, neighborhood associations, or gatherings of inhabitants, 6.7% take part in activities through leisure associations, such as sports clubs, or youth associations, 4.2% participate in trade unions, 1.7% participate in activities organized by women’s associations, 1.7% participate in activities through associations against racism or for minorities, and 0.8% participate in political party activities. From this we can infer that many respondents participate in student or parent associations or religious or mosque related associations. In addition, 16.7% of respondents report participating in no activities.

1.2 Consumption of mass media
Q86
Respondents were asked how many hours they watched Chinese or Islamic television programs. With regard to Chinese television programs, 0% respondents report that they never watch Chinese television, 30.0% watch for 1-9 hours per week, 27.5% watch 10-19 hours per week, 19.2% watch 20-29 hours per week, 22.5% watch 30 hours or more per week. In addition, 18.3% student respondents report watching 30 hours or more per week. According to the survey, it is clear that mothers watch Chinese television programs for longer hours than students.

Q87
With reference to Islamic television programs, 78.3% respondents answered never watching Islamic television, 19.2% watch for 1-9 hours per week, 0.8% watch 10-19 hours per week, 0.8% watch 20-29 hours per week, and 0.8 watch 30 hours or more per week. This shows that the majority of respondents watch between 1-9 hours of Chinese and Islamic television programs a week, and a large percentage of respondents never watch Islamic television programs at all.

2. Identity of Muslim mothers residing at Xian
Q88
The research shows that 55.0% of Muslim mothers identify themselves very strongly as Xian, 27.5% identify themselves strongly as Xian, 9.2% feel not strongly and not weakly Xian, 5.0% feel weakly Xian, and 3.3 % don’t identify with being Xian at all. This illustrates that many Muslim mothers identify themselves very strongly or strongly as being Xian.

Q89
When Muslim mothers were surveyed about their identity, 55.8% of respondents identify very strongly as Muslim, 34.2% feel strongly Muslim, 15.8% feel not strongly and not weakly Muslim, and 10.0% identify weakly with Muslim people. This shows that many respondents identify themselves very strongly or strongly as Muslim people. In comparison, when students were surveyed, 43.3% respondents reported that they feel very strongly that they are Muslim people, so it is evident that mothers identify with being Muslim more strongly than students do.
With regard to Muslim identity, 41.7% respondents feel strongly Muslim, 40.8% identify very strongly as Muslims, 15.8% feel not strongly, and not weakly Muslim. This reveals that the identity of respondents as residents of Xian and as Muslim people is stronger among Muslims in Xian.

3. Satisfaction level with overall life in Xian
Q91
The survey shows that 15.8% respondents are very satisfied with their overall life in Xian, 80.8% are satisfied, 3.3% report being not satisfied, and no one was not at all satisfied with their overall life in Xian. By this, we can see that 96.6% respondents are either satisfied or extremely satisfied with their overall life in Xian.

4. Adaptation of the Xian culture and religion
Q92
Respondents residing in Xian answered questions related to adaptation of Xian culture. Of the respondents, 7.5% totally agree that outside home they want to adopt the Xian culture and way of life as much as possible, 41.7% agree, 39.2% neither agree nor disagree and 11.7% disagree with wanting to adopt the Xian culture and way of life outside home.

B
When they were surveyed about adopting Xian culture and way of life at home, 10.8% totally agree with wanting to adopt the Xian culture as much as possible, 31.7% agree, 38.3% neither agree nor disagree, 18.8% disagree and 0.8% strongly disagree with wanting to adopt Xian culture and way of life at home.

C
On the other hand, 19.2% respondents totally agree with wanting to maintain the Muslim culture and way of life as much as possible outside home, 47.5% agree, 33.3% neither agree nor disagree and none disagree. This reveals that more than half the respondents want to maintain the Muslim culture and way of life as much as possible, even outside home.

D
Moreover, 24.2% respondents totally agree with wanting to maintain the Muslim culture and way of life as much as possible at home, 59.2% agree, and 16.7% neither agree nor disagree. This demonstrates that a large proportion of respondents want to maintain the Muslim culture and way of life as much as possible at home.

E
Finally, of the respondents surveyed, 19.2% totally agree that outside home, they want to maintain the Islamic culture and way of life as much as possible, 41.7% agree, whereas 35.8% neither agree nor disagree, and 3.3% disagree. This illustrates that half of the respondents want to maintain the Islamic culture and way of life as much as possible, outside home.

F
In addition, 20.8% respondents totally agree that they want to maintain the Islamic culture and
way of life at home as much as possible, 58.3% agree, 20.0% neither agree nor disagree, and 0.8% disagree. This demonstrates that more than half the respondents want to maintain the Islamic culture and way of life at home as much as possible.

5. Religion
5.1 Worship at mosque
Q93
When questioned on how often their fathers visited mosques or attended religious services or meetings when they were children, 55.8% respondents reported once a week or more, 18.3% said once or twice a month, 15.0% reported only on religious holidays, 10.0% said seldom, and 0.8% said it did not apply. In the survey, 55.8% respondents said their fathers visit mosques or attend religious services or meetings once a week or more, while 32.5% respondents said their husbands also visit mosques or attend religious services once a week or more. It is clear that respondents’ fathers visit mosques more often than their husbands.

Q94
When respondents were asked how often they themselves visit mosques or attend religious services, 31.7% visit only on religious holidays, 26.7% visit once a week or more, 21.7% seldom visit a mosque, 17.5% go once or twice a month, 1.7% never visit, and 0.8% are non-Muslim. More than a quarter of those surveyed visit mosques or attend religious services once a week or more, while a few respondents never visit mosques.

Q95
When surveyed about how often their husbands visit mosques or attend religious services, 32.5% respondents said once a week or more, 26.7% report only on religious holidays, 21.7% said once or twice a month, 13.3% and 4.2% had husbands who seldom or never visit mosques, respectively, and 1.7% had non-Muslim husbands. These results show that married men worship at mosques more frequently than married women.

5.2 Daily prayer
Q96
The survey shows that 40.8% of respondents pray only on religious holidays, 30.0% pray daily, 17.5% pray once a week, and 3.3% pray five times a day or more.

Q97
When questioned about their husbands’ prayer patterns, respondents’ reported that 36.7% pray only on religious holidays, 27.5% pray daily, 20.0% pray once a week, and 5.0% pray five times a day or more. This reveals that the percentage of respondents and their husbands who are reported to pray only on religious holidays is about 40%.

6. Adaptation to life in Xian
6.1. Observance of Islamic duties/rules in Xian

Q98
Respondents who followed Islamic duties/rules fairly strictly and very strictly are 13.3% and
70.0%, respectively, while 15% do not strictly practice Islamic duties/rules, 1.7% do not follow it at all, and 0.8% are non-Muslim. This reveals that the majority of respondents follow Islamic duties/rules fairly strictly or very strictly.

Q99
With regard to observance of Islamic duties/rules, 15.0% and 65.0% of respondents’ husbands were reported to be fairly strict and very strict, respectively, 15.0% did not fulfill Islamic duties/rules strictly, none of them reported not following it at all and 5.0% are non-Muslim. Results show that the majority of respondents and their husbands are fairly strict or very strict in their observance of Islamic duties/rules.

6.2. Change in religious faith
Q100
Respondents were asked if there was any change in their religious faith after having children, and 72.5% said there was no change, 0.8% and 4.2% reported that their religious faith became stronger and fairly stronger, respectively, while 20.8% and 0.8% reported that their religious faith became fairly weaker and weaker, respectively. This reveals that the majority of respondents had no change in their religious faith, while about 20% reported that their religious faith became fairly weaker or weaker after having children.

Q101
In the case of their husbands, with regard to a change in their religious faith after having children, 85.0% respondents reported no change, 0.8% and 5.8% reported that their religious faith became ‘stronger and fairly stronger’ respectively, while 6.7% said their religious faith became fairly weaker. In conclusion, most respondents and their husbands did not experience a change in their religious faith after having children, while some housewives reveal their religious faith became fairly weaker after having children.

6.3. Wearing headscarves
Q102
The research shows that 34.2% women respondents report wearing headscarves outside the house, while 65.8% do not.

The main reason for wearing a headscarf was Muslim tradition (25.0%), followed by religious obligation (19.2%), important part of Muslim identity in Xian (15.0%), reinforcement of trust in the family (13.3%), avoidance of gossip and disrespectful behaviors (10.0%), free and personal choice (7.5%), and convenience (0.8%).

On the other hand, among reasons for NOT wearing a headscarf, inconvenience was highest (49.2%), followed by free and personal choice (35.0%), a way to better integrate into Xian society (31.7%), men and women having the same rights (7.5%), unfashionable (5.8%), and other reasons including non-religious obligations, and avoidance of discrimination and disrespectful behaviors (2.5%). Over half of the respondents do not wear headscarves because they feel it is inconvenient, or it is a free and personal choice, or a means to better integrate into Xian society.

- 71 -
6.4 Fasting during Ramadan
Q103
One of the Islamic duties is to fast for a month during Ramadan. When they were asked whether they observe the fast, 35.8% respondents said they observe it most of the time, 30.0% said it depends on the situation, 16.7% fast occasionally, 11.7% always observe the fast, 5.0% never fast during Ramadan, and 0.8% do not fast since they are non-Muslim. These results show that the majority of respondents always observe the Ramadan fast, or fast depending on the situation.

Q104
On being surveyed about how important it was for respondents to fast during Ramadan, 24.2% answered very important, 60.0% said it was important, 14.2% answered not important, 0.8% said it was not important at all, and 0.8% replied that it was not applicable (non-Muslim). This illustrates that many respondents understand the importance of Ramadan.

7. Preference for Halal foods
Q105
The survey shows that 60.8% of the respondents never consume certain food or beverages based on religious or cultural traditions. These include traditional Xian/Han food (42.5%), Xian/Han fast food/beverages (41.7%), products without Halal certification (35.8%), non-Halal or Haram food (24.2%), and non-Muslim Halal food (1.7%). According to the survey, many respondents do not eat or drink Xian/Han food products.

(SQ106, 107)
Only three respondents report never consuming certain foods or drinks, which their parents take.

Q108
In the survey, 98.4% respondents report having eaten Halal foods in 2016; 69.2% eat Halal foods every day, 21.7% eat Halal food two or three times a week, 5.0% eat Halal food two or three times a month, 1.7% report eating it less often, 0.8% report eating it once a week.

Locations where respondents consumed Halal foods include their houses (96.7%), restaurants (60.0%) and their parent’s houses (50.0%). A large proportion of respondents ate Halal foods in 2016.

Q108-3
The largest reason for eating Halal foods includes cultural tradition (80.8%), followed by religious reasons (76.7%), more certainty from the sanitary perspective (30.8%), good for health (30.0%), better taste (30.0%), having no other choice (4.2%), inviting people who eat halal foods (4.2%), and cheaper prices (4.2%). The largest reasons for eating Halal foods are cultural tradition and religious reasons.

Q109
Concerning food prohibitions in daily life, related to religious or cultural traditions, 73.3% respondents report always respecting food prohibitions, 18.3% most of the time, 6.7%
depending on the situation, and 1.7% occasionally. A large proportion of respondents respect food prohibitions. While 63.3% of student respondents report always respecting food prohibitions, the proportion of student respondents respecting food prohibitions is less than mother respondents.

Q110
In addition, respondents themselves largely decide the menu for daily meals in their family (92.5%), followed by their husbands or partners (44.2%). As mentioned above, the majority of respondents and their husbands are Sunni Muslims (Islam).

Q111
With regards to preparing dishes in everyday life, respondents themselves largely prepare the daily meals in their family (96.7%), followed by husbands (21.7%), mothers (2.5%), daughters (1.7%), mothers-in-law (0.8%), and fathers (0.8%).

Q112
When asked about the kinds of dishes they prepare in everyday life, 99.2% of those who filled in the questionnaire said they prepare Muslim dishes, 29.2% prepare Xian or Han dishes, 24.2% prepare a mix of Muslim and Han dishes, 7.5% prepare new/exotic dishes, and 0.8% prepare other kinds of dishes. Almost all Muslim mothers prepare Muslim dishes every day.

QSM112
The preference for the dishes mentioned above was as follows: 86.7% respondents prefer to eat Muslim dishes in daily life, 17.5% prefer Xian or Han dishes, 8.3% like a mix of Muslim and Han food, 5.0% prefer new exotic dishes. It is evident that a large number of mothers prefer to eat Muslim dishes in daily life.

Q113
The questionnaire results show that 31.7% respondents eat fish once a week, 28.3% consume fish less often, 16.7% eat fish two or three times a week, 15.8% eat fish two or three times a month, 5.0% eat fish once a month, and 2.5% eat fish every day.

Q114
With regards to frequency of eating meat, 48.3% respondents eat meat two or three times a week, 30.0% eat meat every day, 6.7% consume meat once a week, 4.2% eat meat two or three times a month, 5.8% eat meat once a month, and 5.0% eat meat less often.

Q114-1
The kinds of meats eaten by respondents and their families include beef (100%), mutton or lamb (96.7%), chicken (65.0%), fish (15.0%), shrimp (5%) and other meats (3.3%).

Q114-2
As for preference for kind of meat, 70.8% respondents like beef or veal, 63.3% prefer mutton or lamb, 25.0% like chicken, 5.0% prefer fish, and 4.2% like other meats such as shrimp. In general, the survey shows that respondents prefer meat to fish and among meats they prefer to
eat beef or veal, or mutton or lamb.

Q115
Finally, the study shows that 30.8% of respondents eat snacks every day, 25.0% eat snacks two or three times a week, 5.8% eat snacks once a week. This indicates that the majority of respondents report eating snacks more than two or three times a week. When students were surveyed, it was found that 54.2% respondents ate snacks every day. It is evident that students eat more snacks than mothers.

The kinds of snacks which respondents eat are fruits and vegetables (77.5%), nuts, grains and beans (73.3%), dairy products (68.3%), traditional Muslim snacks (44.2%), Muslim fast food (24.2%), products with Halal certification (21.7%), Halal snacks (non-Turkish) (15.0%), Halal fast food snacks (15.0%), traditional Xian/Han traditional snacks (6.7%), Xian/Han fast food (2.5%), and products without Halal certification (0.8%). This indicates that favorite snacks include fruits and vegetables (61.75%); nuts, grains, and beans (45.1%); dairy products (36.7%); and traditional Muslim snacks (10.0%).

Q116
Respondents were asked what they drink in daily life. The responses included milk (80.0%), juice (54.2%), mineral water (53.3%), hot drinks (28.3%), carbonated water (18.3%), and other beverages (1.7%).

In addition, the kinds of favorite drinks respondents prefer in their daily life were milk and milk-related beverages (62.5%), juice and related beverages (33.3%), mineral water (22.5%), hot drinks (10.0%), and other drinks (1.2%). When student respondents were asked what their favorite drinks were, 79.2% said they prefer juices, and 70.8% said carbonated waters. From this is evident that students prefer to drink juice and carbonated water more than mothers.

8. Use of Halal markets and Halal restaurants
8.1 Use of Halal markets
Q117
In order to determine the use of Halal markets, respondents were asked how frequently they go grocery shopping: 42.2% go once a week, 30.0% go two or three times a week, 11.7% go once a month, 7.5% go two or three times a month, 4.2% go every day, and 2.5% go less often. This makes it clear that above 70% respondents go grocery shopping more than once a week.

Q118
When respondents were asked about their shopping patterns, 100% reported doing the grocery shopping themselves, 27.5% are accompanied by their husbands, 4.2% go with their mothers, and 1.7% are accompanied by their daughters, sons or fathers. It is evident that shopping for groceries is primarily the mother’s role.

Q119
One of the products bought from the grocery store that is mentioned in the survey is Halal meat. According to the results, 81.7% of respondents always buy Halal meat, 13.3% buy it most of the
time, 3.3% buy it depending on the situation, 1.7% buy it occasionally, and 0% never buy meat. In other words, the majority of respondents answered that they always or most of the time prefer to buy Halal meat. A large proportion of respondents always buy Halal meat from the grocery.

Q119-1
The places respondents prefer to buy Halal meat or meat are at Halal butchers (92.5%), followed by Muslim butchers (88.3%), Halal supermarkets (18.3%), Muslim grocers (7.5%), Halal grocers (5.8%), Han grocers (4.2%), Han butchers (4.2%), and Han supermarkets (2.5%). It is clear that respondents prefer to buy Halal meat or meat at Halal butchers.

Q120
The survey shows that when respondents buy non-meat groceries, 60.8% always shop at Halal grocers and 19.2% buy from Halal grocers most of the time, 10.0% buy at Halal shops depending on the situation, 7.5% buy at Halal grocers occasionally and 2.5% never buy from Halal grocers. More than half the respondents tend to always, or most of time, buy non-meat groceries from Halal grocers.

SQ120-1
The places respondents buy Halal (non-meat) groceries include Halal grocers (76.7%), followed by Muslim grocers (75.0%), Muslim supermarkets (57.5%), Han supermarkets (20.0%), and Han grocers (6.7%).

Rating the grocers on trustworthiness, 58.3% found Muslim grocers very trustworthy, followed by 55.0% and 41.7% who trusted Halal grocers and Halal supermarkets, respectively, and 7.5% who trusted Han supermarkets. The survey shows that respondents tend to buy non-meat Halal groceries mostly from Halal and Muslim grocers.

Q121-1
Moreover, when respondents buy Halal meat, 75.8% of respondents always check the Halal sign or logo inside or outside the store, and 74.2% check most of the time. It means that the majority of respondents tend to check the Halal sign or logo inside or outside the store when they go to buy Halal meat.

SQ121-2
Moreover, 74.2% of respondents always check the Halal label or logo on the package when they buy processed foods, and 66.7% check most of the time. In other words, the majority of respondents always or most of time check the Halal label or logo on packages when they buy processed foods.

9. Use of Halal restaurants
Q122
The survey shows that 34.2% respondents tend to use Muslim restaurants (cafeterias) less often, 20.8% go two or three times a month, 18.3% go once a month, 11.7% go once a week, 10.0% visit twice or more a week, and 5.0% never go. This indicates that respondents do not eat at Muslim restaurants (cafeterias) very often.
Q123
With regards to Halal restaurants (cafeterias) displaying the Halal sign or logo, the survey shows that 41.7% respondents tend to go less often, 17.5% go once a month, 13.3% go two or three times a month, 10.0% go twice or more a week, 13.3% go once a week, and 4.2% never go. This indicates that when they go to restaurants and cafeterias, respondents prefer to use Halal restaurants (cafeterias).

Q124
The survey shows that 46.7% respondents tend to never eat at Han restaurants (cafeterias), 36.7% tend to visit less often, 9.2% go once a week, 4.2% visit once a month, 2.5% visit two or three times a month, and 0.8% visit twice or more a week. Nearly half the respondents of the survey never use Han restaurants (cafeterias).

10. Recognition of Halal foods and its consumption
Q125
In the study, it is stated that the recognition of Halal is related to religion, personal choice, taste, and health. According to this, 33.3% and 49.2% of respondents totally agree and agree, respectively, that eating Halal meat is something they do to obey their religion. A large number of respondents recognize eating Halal meat is something they do to obey their religion.

B
When asked whether eating Halal meat is a personal choice, 23.3% and 64.2% of respondents totally agree and agree, respectively. This indicates that they acknowledge that eating Halal meat is a personal choice.

C
Respondents were asked whether Halal meat was better tasting than non-Halal meat: 20.8% and 39.2% totally agree and agree, respectively, 37.5% neither agree nor disagree and 1.7% disagreed. This reveals that 60% respondents feel Halal meat has a better taste than non-Halal meat.

D
When asked whether Halal meat is healthier, 22.5% and 50.0% respondents totally agree and agree, respectively.

E
When asked their opinion on whether Islamic slaughter is less painful to animals, 12.5% and 35.8% respondents totally agree and agree, respectively, while 45.8% neither agree nor disagree.

F
With regards to whether Halal products are readily available, 9.2% and 35.8% of respondents totally agree and agree, respectively that, while 38.3% neither agree nor disagree and 16.7% disagree.
G
When asked whether there are a lot of choices in Halal products 14.2% and 43.3% respondents totally agree and agree, respectively, while 33.3% and 9.2% neither agree nor disagree and disagree, respectively.

H
With relation to Halal products being more expensive than other food products, 10.0% and 48.3% respondents totally agree and agree, respectively, while 30.8% and 10.8% of them neither agree nor disagree and disagree, respectively.

I
When they were asked whether there was sufficient information available on Halal products, 11.7% and 63.3% respondents totally agree and agree, respectively, 22.5% neither agree nor disagree, and 2.5% disagree.

J
When respondents were asked whether they buy more Halal products than a few years ago, 14.2% and 53.3% respondents totally agree and agree, respectively, and 23.3% and 9.2% neither agree nor disagree, and disagree, respectively.

Q126
The results of preference for and meaning of Halal foods for respondents are reported as follows: 90.8% Muslim tradition, 80.8% religious tradition, 75.8% family tradition, 50.0% daily dishes, 12.5% light dishes, 6.7% new food, 5.8% convenience food, 5.8% personal identity, 5.8% exotic food, 2.5% certified food, and 1.7% fashionable food.

When respondents were asked who had the greatest influence on their consumption of Halal foods, 62.5% mentioned parents and parents-in-law, 55.0% said husbands, 20.0% mentioned religious authorities, 17.5% reported the Islamic community in general, 15% said grandparents, 13.3% said children, 8.3% said brothers and sisters, and 3.3% said neighbors. On the other hand, 24.2% reported that no one encourages them to eat Halal food.

With regard to eating Halal food, 42.5% and 56.7% of respondents feel it is important and very important, respectively. Results also indicate that Muslim people think highly of eating Halal food.
Results of the Survey on Students

1. Social relationships and status: Friends and the mass media

1.1 Communication with friends

Q64
The survey shows that of the respondents residing in “Xian,” 40.8% have quite a few Han friends, 30.0% have mostly Han friends, and 29.2% have a lot of Han friends. As such, respondents have a lot of Han friends and most of their friends are Han.

Q65
In comparison to Han friends, 50.0% of respondents reported having quite a few friends of “Hui” origin, 14.2% had a lot of friends of Hui origin, and 8.3% reported that most of their friends are of Hui origin. Furthermore, 10.0% reported having one or a few friends of Hui origin and 3.3% had no friends of Hui origin. Therefore, while respondents have friends of Hui origin, they have more Han friends than those from Hui.

Q66
In comparison to Han and Hui friends, 57.5% of respondents reported having no friends of ethnic minority origin. Therefore, the majority of respondents prefer to communicate with friends from Han and Hui.

Q67
Finally, 47.5% of respondents reported having quite a few Muslim friends, 31.7% reported having one or a few Muslim friends, 6.7% reported having a lot of Muslim friends, and 4.2% of respondents claimed to have no Muslim friends. Almost all respondents are of Hui origin; however, some have no Muslim friends.

QM68
Regarding the frequency of eating lunch or dinner out with friends, the survey indicates that 28.3% of respondents eat lunch or dinner out with their friends “less often,” 19.2% “never,” 15.8% “two or three times a month,” 14.2% “twice or more times a week,” 13.3% “once a month,” and 9.2% “once a week.”

In addition, 56.7% of respondents eat lunch or dinner out with their Hui male friends, 52.5% with their Hui female friends, 55.8% with their Han male friends, 54.2% with their Han female friends, 19.6% with Muslim male friends, 15.8% with Muslim female friends, 5.0% with minority male friends, and 5.8% with minority female friends. Regarding the restaurants they eat at for lunch or dinner, 85.0% of respondents eat at Halal restaurants, 83.3% at Hui restaurants, and 30.8% at Han restaurants. They do not eat out often, but when they do, many respondents eat with Muslim friends at halal restaurants.
Male Han friend(s): male 34, female 31
Female Han friend(s): male 26, female 41
Male Hui friend(s): male 38, female 30
Female Hui friend(s): male 23, female 40
Male other friend(s): male 3, female 3
Female other friend(s): male 2, female 5
Male Muslim friend(s): male 6, female 13
Female Muslim friend(s): male 4, female 15

Most female respondents eat lunch or dinner out with their Han male or female friends.

Q69
Concerning participation in the activities of organizations in 2016, the survey shows that respondents participated in activities held by student or parent associations (36.7%), religious associations or associations related to the mosques (25.0%), leisure associations such as sports clubs or youth associations (9.2%), and associations against racism or for minorities (2.5%). Furthermore, 50.8% of respondents did not participate in any activities of organizations such as student or parent associations, religious associations and associations related to the mosques in 2016.

1.2 Contact with the mass media
Q70
Respondents were asked for how long they watch Chinese or Islamic TV programs. Of the respondents, 3.3% reported “never” watching Chinese TV, 50.0% watched for “1–9 hours per week,” 19.2% for “10–19 hours per week,” 9.2% for “20–29 hours per week,” and 18.3% for “30 hours or more per week.” Furthermore, of the respondents who were mothers, 22.5% reported watching TV “30 hours or more per week.” This indicates that students watch TV for a shorter period than their mothers, because they are studying.

Q71
On the other hand, 86.7% of respondents reported that they “never” watched Islamic TV, and 13.3% watched for “1–9 hours per week.” As such, the majority of respondents do not watch Islamic TV programs.

32 Identity of Muslims in Xian
Q72
Regarding the feeling of having an Xian identity, the research indicates that of the Muslim students, 54.2% feel this identity “very strongly,” 30.0% “strongly,” 11.7 “not strongly and not weakly,” 2.5% “weakly,” and 1.7% do not feel this identity at all. Thus, Muslim students have a strong Xian identity.

Q73
In comparison, regarding their identity as Hui people, 43.3% of respondents felt this identity
“very strongly,” 43.3% “strongly,” 10.0% “not strongly and not weakly,” 2.5% “weakly,” and 0.8% do not feel this identity at all. Numerous respondents identified as Hui people strongly or very strongly.

Q74
Regarding identity as a Muslim, 48.3% of respondents feel “very strongly” Muslim, 30% feel “strongly,” 18.3% feel “not strongly and not weakly,” 1.7% feel “weakly” Muslim, and 1.7% do not feel Muslim. This indicates that Hui Muslim students in Xian identify strongly as Xian residents, Hui people, and Muslim.

4. Level of satisfaction with life overall
Study
Very satisfied (24.2%), Fairly satisfied (70.0%), Fairly unsatisfied (5.8%)

Family life
Very satisfied (40.0%), Fairly satisfied (59.2%), Fairly unsatisfied (0.8%)

Religious life
Very satisfied (19.2%), Fairly satisfied (70.0%), Fairly unsatisfied (70.0%)

Housing and neighborhood
Very satisfied (17.5%), Fairly satisfied (81.7%), Fairly unsatisfied (0.8%)

Food
Very satisfied (34.2%), Fairly satisfied (63.3%), Fairly unsatisfied (2.5%)

Health condition
Very satisfied (43.3%), Fairly satisfied (55.8%), Fairly unsatisfied (0.8%)

Financial situation
Very satisfied (17.5%), Fairly satisfied (17.5%), Fairly unsatisfied (17.5%), Very unsatisfied (0.8%)

Relation with people of Han origin
Very satisfied (25.0%), Fairly satisfied (73.3%), Fairly unsatisfied (1.7%)

Relation with people of Hui origin
Very satisfied (25.0%), Fairly satisfied (70.8%), Fairly unsatisfied (4.2%)

Relation with Muslims
Very satisfied (22.5%), Fairly satisfied (74.2%), Fairly unsatisfied (3.3%)

Q76
The survey shows that 10.8% of respondents are “very satisfied” with their overall life in Xian, 87.5% are “satisfied,” 1.7% are “not satisfied,” and no one reported being “not at all satisfied”
with their lives in Xian. As such, 98.3% of respondents are either “satisfied or extremely satisfied” with their lives in Xian. Respondents also reported being “satisfied or very satisfied” with their family lives, food, and health.

3. Culture and religion

Q77
To the question on adopting the Xian culture, respondents residing in Xian “totally agreed” (10.8%) and “agreed” (40.0%) that outside the home, they wanted to adopt the Xian culture and way of life as much as possible. Furthermore, 42.5% of respondents said that they “neither agree nor disagree,” while 6.7% disagreed to adopting the Xian culture and way of life outside home.

B
In addition, 10.8% and 40.0% of respondents respectively “totally agreed” and “agreed” that at home, they wanted to adopt Xian culture and way of life as much as possible. Here, 31.7% reported that they “neither agree nor disagree,” and 17.5% disagreed in terms of adopting Xian culture and way of life at home.

C
On the other hand, 10.0% and 39.2% of respondents respectively “totally agreed” and “agreed” that outside the home, they wanted to maintain the Hui culture and way of life as much as possible. Furthermore, 46.7% reported that they “neither agree nor disagree,” and 4.2% said that they disagreed. The proportion of those that neither agree nor disagree is higher for students than for mothers.

D
Moreover, 9.2% and 57.5% of respondents respectively “totally agreed” and “agreed” that at home, they wanted to maintain the Hui culture and way of life as much as possible. Here, 30.8% reported that they “neither agree nor disagree,” and 2.5% disagree. About 60% of respondents wanted to maintain the Hui culture and way of life at home.

E
Outside the home, 12.5% and 29.2% of questioned respondents respectively “totally agreed” and “agreed” that they wanted to maintain the Islamic culture and way of life as much as possible. However, 54.2% “neither agreed nor disagreed,” and 4.2% disagreed. The proportion of students who neither agree nor disagree is higher than that obtained for mothers. Many students neither agree nor disagree in terms of maintaining the Islamic culture and way of life outside home.

F
Finally, 10.0% and 50.0% of respondents respectively “totally agreed” and “agreed” that at home, they want to maintain the Islamic culture and way of life as much as possible. In addition, 34.2% “neither agree nor disagree,” and 5.8% “disagree.” Some students did not want to maintain the Islamic culture, even at home.

4.1 Worship at the mosque
Q78
Of the respondents, the fathers of 33.3% visited a mosque or attended religious services or meetings “once a week or more” when the respondents were children, 32.5% “only on religious holidays,” 15.0% “once or twice a month,” 13.3% “seldom,” 3.3% “never,” and 2.5% responded that this was “not applicable: no religion.”

Q79
The mothers of 34.2% of the respondents visited a mosque or attended religious services or meetings “only on religious holidays” when the respondents were children, 33.3% “once a week or more,” 12.5% “once or twice a month,” 17.5% “seldom,” 0.8% “never,” and 1.7% reported that this question was “not applicable: no religion.” As such, quite a few respondents’ mothers visited a mosque.

Q80
According to the research, 41.7% of respondents visited a mosque or attended religious services “only on religious holidays.” Next, 30.0% of respondents reported attending a mosque “seldom,” 13.3% attended “once a week or more,” 10.8% “never,” and 4.2% reported being non-Muslim. About 21.7% of respondents’ mothers and 13.3% of their fathers seldom go to the mosque. The proportion of those who seldom and never visit the mosque or attend religious services is growing among the young generation in the Xian Hui community.

4.2 Daily prayer
Q81
The survey shows that 49.2% of respondents pray “only on religious holidays,” 26.7% pray “daily,” 1.7% “once a week,” and 6.7% indicated the question was “not applicable: no religion.” About half the respondents pray “only on religious holidays,” while quite a few pray daily.

III. Adaptation to life in Xian
1. Observance of Islamic duties/rules in Xian

Q82
The share of respondents who followed Islamic duties/rules “fairly strictly” and “very strictly” was 52.5% and 10.0% respectively, while 30.8% do not practice Islamic duties/rules “strictly,” 0% at all, and 6.7% are non-Muslim. About 62.5% of respondents followed Islamic duties/rules “fairly strictly and very strictly.”

2. Change in religious faith
Q83
Respondents were asked if there had been any change in their religious faith since entering secondary school. Of the respondents, 66.7% reported that their religious faith had not changed, 1.7% reported that their religious faith became stronger, while 23.3% reported that their religious faith became weaker after entering secondary school. The majority of respondents reported that their religious faith did not change after entering secondary school, while about 20% reported that their religious faith weakened.
3. Headscarf
Q84
According to the research, 12.5% of female respondents reported that they wore a headscarf outside the house, while 87.5% did not. (Male students answering this question indicated whether they hoped their girlfriends or wives wore a headscarf outside the house.)

Responses in terms of the reasons for wearing a headscarf indicated doing so as part of “Hui tradition” (10.0%), followed by “religious obligation” (7.5%), to “reinforce trust in the family” (7.5%), to “avoid gossip and disrespectful behavior” (6.7%), to be “free and as a personal choice” (3.3%), and because it is an “important part of Muslim identity in Xian” (3.3%). Furthermore, 0.8% of respondents wore the headscarf for “convenience.” On the other hand, reasons for NOT wearing a headscarf were “inconvenience” (65.0%), followed by “free and personal choice” (51.7%), to “better insert oneself in Xian society” (31.7%), “men and women have the same rights” (17.5%), and because it is “unfashionable” (24.2%). Other reasons included that it was not a religious obligation (4.2%), it helped to avoid discrimination and disrespectful behavior (5%), and it is not a Hui tradition (2.5%). Many respondents do not wear a headscarf, because they feel that wearing it is inconvenient, and they feel it is their free and personal choice and allows them to better insert themselves into Xian society.

4. Fasting during Ramadan
Q85
One Islamic duty is to fast during Ramadan for a month. Regarding fasting, 40.0% of respondents answered that it “depends on the situation,” 24.2% “occasionally” fasted, 16.7% fasted “most of the time,” 11.7% “never” fasted, while 2.5% “always” fasted. Furthermore, 5.0% “never” fasted, and 0.8% were “non-Muslim.”
Clearly, the majority of respondents fasted most of the time during Ramadan, although this depended on the situation.

Q86
The survey highlights the importance respondents attach to fasting during Ramadan. Of the respondents, 10.0% said fasting was “very important,” 56.7% said it was “important,” 27.5% thought it was “not important,” and it was not applicable for 5.8% (non-Muslim). As such, more than 50% of respondents think highly of Ramadan, while quite a few of those in the young generation considered it not that important to fast during this time.

5. Preference for Halal foods
Q87
The survey showed that 59.2% of the respondents never eat certain foods in accordance with religion or cultural traditions.
Of these foods, 39.2% are Xian/Han (traditional), 34.2% Xian/Han (fast food/beverages), 32.5% non-Halal or Haram, 30.8% are products not certified as Halal, and 0.8% are Hui (traditional) foods. Many respondents responded that they do not eat or drink Xian/Han foods.
Q88, Q89
In total, 7 respondents (5.8%) mentioned that their parents eat certain of the foods they do not. Only 11 respondents (9.2%) reported that they never partake in some foods or drinks, although their parents do. As such, students and parents consider the same foods prohibited based on religion or cultural traditions.

Q90
Specifically, 95.8% of respondents had eaten halal foods during 2016, 65.8% eat halal foods every day, 15.0% two to three times a week, 6.7% two or three times a month, and 4.2% once a week or once a month. A large portion of respondents ate halal foods during 2016. Respondents noted where they consumed halal foods. As such, 93.3% ate halal foods at their homes, 47.5% at restaurants, 25.0% at school or work, 17.5% at their parents’ or family’s home, and 11.7% at friends’ homes. Therefore, halal foods were mostly eaten at their homes.

Q90-3
Finally, the reasons respondents eat halal foods are cultural tradition (75.0%), religious reasons (65.0%), being more certain of hygiene practices (24.2%), it is better for the health (21.7%), has a better taste (22.5%), have no other choice (9.2%), they invited people who eat halal foods (5.8%), and because it was cheaper and they do not mind eating it (4.2%). Cultural tradition and religion are therefore the main reasons for eating Halal foods.

Q91
Regarding foods prohibited in daily life for religious or cultural reasons, 63.3% of respondents reported that they “always” respected food prohibitions, 14.2% respected them “most of the time,” 8.3% said it “depended on the situation,” 12.5% “occasionally” respected them, 0.8% “never” respected them, and 0.8% were not Muslim. In addition, 73.3% of the respondents’ mothers reported always respecting food prohibitions. Thus, the proportion of mothers who respect food prohibitions is much higher than that of students.

Q92
In addition, the menu for daily meals in the family is decided by the mother (95.8%), respondents themselves (71.7%), or the father (40.0%).

Q93
The daily meals in the family are prepared by respondents’ mothers (96.7%), fathers (19.2%), respondents (6.7%), grandmothers (2.5%), and the grandmothers of a spouse (0.8%). Almost all Muslim mothers prepare Muslim dishes every day.

Q94
In terms of the dishes in everyday life, 89.2% of questionnaire respondents prepared Hui dishes in their daily lives, 33.3% Xian/Han dishes, 20.8% a mixture of Hui and Han dishes, 10.8% new or exotic dishes, and 3.3% other styles of dishes. Therefore, many mothers prefer to eat Muslim dishes in their daily lives.

- 84 -
QSM96-2
As preferred dishes, 89.2% of respondents prefer to eat Hui dishes in their daily lives, 33.3% Xian/Han dishes, 20.8% a mixture of Hui and Han dishes, 10.8% new or exotic dishes, and 3.3% other styles of dishes. Almost all respondents prefer to eat Hui dishes.

Q95
The results of the questionnaire indicate that 28.3% of respondents eat fish “once a week,” 28.3% “less often,” 20.8% “two or three times a month,” and 15.0% “two or three times a week.” Moreover, 5.0% ate fish “once a month” and 2.5% “every day.”

Q96
Regarding the frequency of eating meat, 48.3% of respondents responded “two or three times a week,” 28.3% “every day,” 9.2% “once a week,” 5.8% “two or three times a month,” 3.3% “once a month,” and 5.0% “less often.”

Q96-1
Respondents and their families consumed beef (66.7%), mutton or lamb (99.2%), chicken (2.5%), and other types of meat (25.0%).

Q96-2
Regarding preferences, 65.0% of respondents liked mutton or lamb, 63.3% beef or veal, and 25.0% liked chicken. In general, respondents prefer meat to fish. The preferred meat was beef, veal, and mutton or lamb.

Q97
Finally, the study shows that 54.2% of respondents eat snacks “every day,” 20.0% “two or three times a week,” 5.0% “once a week,” 12.5% “less often,” and 0.8% “once a week or once a month.” Furthermore, 6.7 % “never” eat snacks.
The majority of respondents reported eating snacks “more than two or three times a week.”

The types of snacks respondents reported eating are fruit and vegetables (78.3%); nuts, grains, and beans (77.5%); dairy products (72.5%); Hui (traditional) snacks (45.8%); Hui (fast food) (29.2%); certified Halal products (20.8%); Halal foods (non-Turkish) (16.7%); Halal (fast food) snacks (25.0%); Xian/Han (traditional) snacks (15.0%); Xian Han (fast food) (2.5%); and non-certified Halal products (1.7%). Thus, 50.8% of the reported favorite snacks is nuts, grains, and beans; 50.0% fruits and vegetables; 49.2% dairy products; and 12.5% Hui (traditional) snacks.

Q98
Regarding drinks consumed in daily life, respondents noted juice (79.2%), carbonated water (70.8%), milk (and related drinks) (69.2%), mineral water (64.2%), and hot drinks (36.7%). Respondents’ favorite drinks in daily life were juice (and related products) (53.3%), carbonated water (50.0%), milk (and related drinks) (37.5%), and mineral water (23.2%). For the same question, mothers reported drinking milk (80.8%), juice (54.2%), and carbonated water (18.3%). Therefore, students prefer juice and carbonated water more than do their mothers.
6. Use of Halal markets and Halal restaurants
4.1 Use of Halal markets

Q99
For grocery shopping, 95.8% of respondents reported that their mothers did the grocery shopping, 27.5% reported that their fathers did the shopping, 14.2% did the grocery shopping themselves, 1.7% noted that their grandmothers or grandmothers of a spouse did the shopping, 1.0% noted their brothers, and 0.8% reported that their grandfathers or grandfathers of a spouse did the shopping.

Q100
For the frequency of shopping, which was probed to determine the use of Halal markets, 29.2% of respondents reported going “less often,” 17.5% “two or three times a month,” 10.8% “once a week,” 7.5% “two or three times a week,” 2.5% “once a month,” and 7.5% “never” go grocery shopping.

Q101
In the survey, it is stated that one of the products bought from the grocery store is halal meat. According to the results, 32.5% of respondents “always” buy Halal meat, 15.8% buy it “most of the time,” 5.0% says it “depends on the situation,” 6.7% “occasionally” buy it, and 7.5% “never” buy halal meat. In other words, half the respondents prefer to buy Halal meat “always” or “most of the time.”

Q101-1
Preferred places to buy Halal meat or meat is Hui butchers (54.2%), Halal butchers (52.5%), Halal supermarkets (10.8%), Halal supermarkets (10.0%), Hui grocers (5.0%), and Han butchers (5.0%). The most trustworthy places to buy meat are Hui and Halal butchers.

Q102
Concerning buying non-meat products at the grocery store, the survey indicates that 25.0% of respondents “always” buy food at Halal grocers and 15.0% “most of time.” On the other hand, 10.8% stated that it “depends on the situation,” 10.8% “occasionally” buy at Halal grocers, and 5.8% “never” buy at Halal grocers. About 40% of respondents tend to buy their non-meat products at Halal grocers “always or most of the time.”

SQ102-1.102-2
Places where Halal (non-meat) groceries are bought are Halal grocers (47.5%), 44.2%, Halal supermarkets (30.8%), Han supermarkets (13.3%), and Han grocers (6.7%). Respondents consider the following as trustworthy: Halal grocers (33.3%), Hui grocers (31.7%), Halal supermarkets (25.8%), and Han grocers (6.7%). The respondents tend to buy their food mostly at Halal and Hui grocers.

Q103
Concerning the frequency of shopping for Halal groceries including meat, 2.5% of respondents
buy “every day,” 14.2% “two or three times a week,” 10.0% “once a week,” 15.0% “two or three times a month,” 0.8% “once a month,” 15.8% “less often,” and 13.6% “never.”

Q103-1
Moreover, when respondents bought Halal meat, 30.8% of respondents checked the Halal sign or logo inside or outside the store “always” and 15.8% “most of the time.” In addition, 5.0% reported that it “depends on the situation,” 5.8% “occasionally” checked, and 0.8% “never” checked. This means that almost half the respondents tended to check the Halal sign or logo inside or outside the store when buying Halal meat.

SQ103-3
Moreover, when buying processed foods, 24.2% of respondents “always” check the Halal label or logo on the package to ensure that the product does not contain non-Halal ingredients such as animal gelatin, alcohol, or pork. Furthermore, 12.5% of respondents check “most of the time,” 13.3% “occasionally” check, 5.0% stated it “depends on the situation,” and 2.5% “never” check. In other words, about 40% of respondents check the Halal label or logo on the package “always or most of the time” when buying processed products.

7. Use of Halal restaurants
Q104
The survey shows that 34.2% of respondents tend to frequent Hui restaurants “less often.” Others reported going to Hui restaurants (cafeterias) “two or three times a month” (20.8%), “once a month” (18.3%), “once a week” (11.7%), “twice or more a week” (10.0%), and “never” (5.0%). Respondents do not frequent restaurants that often.

Q105
The survey shows that 40.0% of respondents and their families go to Halal restaurants (cafeterias) with the Halal sign or logo “less often.” Others reported going to Halal restaurants “two or three times a month” (20.0%), “once a month” (11.7%), “twice or more a week” (9.2%), and “once a week” (7.5%). Furthermore, 11.7% “never” go to Halal restaurants (cafeterias). When they go to restaurants and cafeterias, they prefer Halal restaurants.

Q106
The survey shows that 44.2% of respondents “never” go to Han restaurants (cafeterias), 30.0% go “less often,” 10.0% “two or three times a month,” 4.2% “once a week,” 5.8% “once a month,” and 5.8% “twice or more times a week.” Many respondents never go to Han restaurants and cafeterias.

8. Recognizing Halal foods and consumption thereof
Q107
In the study, it is stated that recognition of Halal foods is related to religion, personal choice, taste, and health. To this statement, 21.7% and 55.0% of respondents “totally agree” and “agree” respectively that they eat Halal meat in accordance with their religion. Furthermore, 21.7% of respondents “neither agree nor disagree” and 1.7% “disagree.” As such, many respondents acknowledged eating Halal meat in accordance with the rules of their religion.
In addition, 15.0% and 59.2% of respondents “totally agree” and “agree” respectively that eating Halal meat was a personal choice, 19.2% “neither agree nor disagree,” and 5.8% “disagree” with the statement.

C
Of the respondents, 11.7% and 26.7% “totally agree” and “agree” respectively that Halal meat tastes better than non-Halal meat, 58.3% “neither agree nor disagree,” and 3.3% “disagree.”
Over half the respondents “neither agree nor disagree” with the statement that Halal meat tastes better than non-Halal meat.

d
Furthermore, 8.3% and 40.8% of respondents “totally agree” and “agree” that Halal meat is healthier, 50.0% “neither agree nor disagree,” and 0.8% “disagree.”

ea
In the study, 15.8% and 22.5% of respondents “totally agree” and “agree” respectively that Islamic slaughter is less painful to animals, while 48.3% “neither agree nor disagree,” and 13.3% “disagree.”

f
Regarding the consumption of Halal products, 7.5% and 26.7% of respondents “totally agree” and “agree” that Halal products are readily available, 38.3% “neither agree nor disagree,” and 15.8% “disagree.”

G
Of the respondents, 11.7% and 36.7% “totally agree” and “agree” respectively that there are many choices of Halal products, while 38.3% “neither agree nor disagree,” and 13.3% “disagree.”

H
Regarding the prices of Halal products, 10.0% and 44.2% of respondents respectively “totally agree” and “agree” that Halal products are more expensive than other food products, while 36.7% and 9.2% “neither agree nor disagree” and “disagree” respectively.

I
Regarding whether sufficient information on Halal products was available, 13.3% and 51.7% of respondents “totally agree” and “agree” respectively, 30.0% “neither agree nor disagree,” and 5.0% “disagree.”

J
In terms of buying more Halal products than a few years ago, 8.3% and 51.7% of respondents “total agree” and “agree” respectively, while 30.0% and 10.0% “neither agree nor disagree” and “disagree” respectively.
Q108
For respondents’ preference for and meaning of halal foods, 70.8% reported Hui tradition, 63.3% religious tradition, 78.3% family tradition, and 51.7% daily dishes.

Q109
For the question on who encouraged respondents to eat Halal foods, 94.2% of respondents indicated their parents, 32.5% their grandparents, 13.3% the religious authorities, and 10.8% noted the Islamic community in general.

Regarding eating Halal food, 55.8% and 30.8% of respondents respectively feel it is “important” and “very important.” In addition, Xian Hui people think highly of eating Halal food.
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