



Hungry for Halal: Analyzing Halal Certification & Policy in the
Domestic Market

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As-salāmu ‘alaykum (Peace be upon you).

This project will always hold a special place in my academic career and heart. Growing up with a Muslim father and living in different cities, I have always been intrigued as to why true halal food seemed inconsistent, unregulated and hard to come by throughout the country. My tradition of accompanying my father on weekend grocery trips for halal meat to an Asian market or an Indian store, amounted to us travelling farther than the local markets. Slowly, I became more conscious that there was a dearth of overall information, labeling and quantity of this product. This curiosity stemmed thoughts, which blossomed into this research. Granted Muslims only compose 1% of the population in the U.S., but their numbers are growing and expected to double by 2030, and they will enter into an era where they will hold more of a presence (Lipka, 2017). I started recognizing how extensive this policy implementation failure became in California, as a bill was passed sixteen years ago to protect this vulnerable and neglected population.

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Abstract

Participants of the Muslim faith are obliged to consume halal food, which has been struggling from inconsistent quality and an inadequate supply in the United States. As there is a definition for halal (Arabic translation for “permissible”) in Islamic holy books, interpretations by communities and businesses largely define this cuisine. Cases as recent as 2017, demonstrate that restaurants and grocery chains in not only Southern California, but also nationwide, are advertising fraudulent halal products which are not permissible for Muslims to consume. The pressures on small-scale businesses and butchers to follow regulations and generate profits makes it difficult to adjust to the shifts of the markets and the regulations. Poor oversight is a substantial issue for the American meat industry in recent years, but what does the oversight look like for this niched sector? As halal meat is increasing in domestic and international prevalence, it has developed an outside compliance mechanism that controls these goods. The production and policy gap, raised by the question of how halal meat can be brought up to the same standard as other certified products, remains unsolved.

Introduction

The American food industry is one of the most diverse markets present in the world today. Compliance with religious and dietary restrictions should be available for those in the U.S., yet individuals practicing certain faiths experience disparate access. Halal, established in Islamic law and defined in Muslim scripture, is food that is permissible to consume based on the type of meat it is, what it consumes, and how it was treated prior and during its slaughter (Marei, 2001). The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) defines halal as products prepared by “federally inspected meat packing plants” which “must be handled according to Islamic law and under Islamic authority” (Grades & Standards, USDA). Fueled by an expanding population of

Muslims in an increasingly globalized world, there is a greater need for halal certified foods (specifically meat products) throughout the U.S., as this sector is estimated to be growing faster than the conventional food market (Marei, 2001). However, the USDA's inability to manage certification standards for these products or to create a more comprehensive policy regarding them, makes this process more cumbersome and decreases consumer confidence. The American meat industry has not recognized the benefits of this lucrative consumer group, causing Muslims to be negatively affected by the observed dearth and quality of products. According to a recent *Pew Research Center* report, as seen in Figure 1 (Appendix A), the U.S. Muslim population will grow from 2.6 million in 2010 to 6.2 million by 2030, and this market is projected to be worth \$1.6 trillion by 2018 (Lipka, 2017). Inconsistent halal standards and fraudulent marketing of Islamic permitted products has become increasingly problematic for the United States. Domestic companies are now in competition with Mexican slaughterhouses that meet Islamic protocol, while also offering their product at more competitive prices (Garcia & Waters, 2017).

Today's state of domestic politics allows for defamation and discrimination against vulnerable populations, specifically, those of "other" religious minorities, racial and ethnic communities, without concern for political correctness. The current White House administration spews a nativist viewpoint of "America first", creating policies that are best for its middle-class, white Christian citizens, while disparaging minority groups, blaming them for events or circumstances for which they are not the cause. Specifically, with American Muslims, there is a rise in Islamophobia that is rampantly affecting them and manifesting itself in various ways, food being one of these outcomes. Levels of respect, tolerance and negative perceptions of Muslims heavily correlate with political affiliation, socioeconomic status, race and religion. In a 2017 *Gallup Poll*, 50% of those who report a great deal of prejudice toward Muslims say they are

Republicans, compared with 17% of those who identify as Democrats and 7% as independents. Inversely, those who report no prejudice towards this group are more likely to be Democrats than Republicans, respectively 39% to 23% (*Gallup Poll*, 2017). This fact is not to condemn Republicans, but to relay how their ideology and news outlets can have concrete consequences by criticizing Muslim people, their culture, places of worship, and their food.

In 2002, California signed AB 1828 into law, which made the sale and marketing of fraudulent halal meat a misdemeanor, following the model of other states, including New Jersey, Minnesota, Virginia, Illinois and Michigan, to expand this process of halal policy expansion. This research aims to investigate what barriers have been created through this halal certification process? How is the relationship between governance and accreditation affecting the capability to increase halal production? The assessment of policy implementation, while further considering the struggles and opportunities in the context of this minority within Southern California, will allow an understanding of how these groups are being impacted.

Background

Section 1: Halal Background

2.1a Halal Guidelines

For those who practice the Islamic faith, there are stringent rules that govern daily life including how to dress, behave, pray and eat. These tenants derive from the *Qur'an* (Koran), the Muslim holy book, which is believed to be divinely revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. The *sunnah*, the living practices of Prophet Muhammad, are the second most important guidelines for daily life (Chaudry, 1997). The other two sources of Muslim law concerning halal are the *hadith* (written records of words and deeds of the Prophet) and the *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) (Chaudry, 1997). Of the these laws and recommendations that touch upon almost every aspect

of a Muslim's life—halal food specifically deals with three main realms of rules: prohibited and permitted animals, the method of slaughter, and prohibition of impure substances (Marei, 2001).

Halal products are defined as “food permitted according to the Shariah (Islamic Law)” (Marei). Conversely, “haram” is “anything considered unlawful as indicated in the Koran, in the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, or as ruled upon by the major Madhhabs”, the “opposite of halal” (Golnaz et al., 2010). The *Madhhabs* represent a school of thought within the fiqh, which provide religious scholarly thought. Halal meat raising, slaughtering and transporting must follow specific guidelines to be held as permissible in the eyes of Muslims. Forms of halal meat include beef, poultry and fish (excluding some shellfish with the exception of shrimp and prawns). Haram meat items never to be consumed include pork, dog, cat, monkey, certain bottom-dwellers and horse. However, partaking in any of these items can only be considered acceptable in extreme circumstances or emergencies when a person is facing starvation (Samiullah, 1982). Other food related products that are haram consist of nutmeg, vanilla extract and gelatin (Golnaz et al., 2010).

During the initial stage of raising animals for halal meat, specifications must be followed surrounding the care of the animal. Customary and desirable practices involve having water offered to the animal before slaughter and ensuring that the animal is not be butchered when hungry. A study found that as much as 75% of halal meat in America “comes from pork-fed cows” indicating a lack of knowledge on proper halal conditions (Iqbal, 2015). In addition to comforting and feeding the animals appropriately, the knife should be hidden and the instrument should be re-sharpened before slaughter. To make the animal calm, the slaughtering should be done out of sight of other animals waiting to be slaughtered (Marei, 2001). The faith preaches that unnecessary suffering to any animal must be avoided at all costs and that they should be

killed in a comfortable way. Islam emphasizes the importance of kindness and protection to animals as it is similarly can be viewed as anthropocentric in its attitude. There are numerous passages in the Koran urging Muslims to take an interest in the welfare of nature and particularly toward the treatment of animals, suggesting that all Allah's creations are to be appreciated.

Requirements for halal animal husbandry require that, it must be alive and healthy at the time of slaughter. The slaughtering process is ceremonial and follows prescribed steps. To start, an adult Muslim has to be the individual to perform the butchering in the appropriate ritual manner, reciting a dedication, know as "*tasmiya*" or "*shahada*" (Willoughby, 2016). Next, the animal's throat must be cut by a sharp knife in a single swipe, which will sever the carotid artery, jugular vein and windpipe. The windpipe (throat), food-tract (esophagus) and the two jugular veins are the required areas to cut. Slaughtering must be made in the neck from the front to the back and all of the blood must be drained from the carcass. Following the cut, the blood must be drained out of the carcass completely. It is imperative that the animal must be slaughtered by the use of a sharp knife, so as to cause the least amount of pain. Skinning or cutting any part of the animal is not allowed before the animal is completely dead, as it would not respect the animal. The slaughtering must be done manually (not by a machine), as one of the compulsory requirements is the prayer offered by an adult Muslim, "not found in a machine" (Marei, 2001). A final obligation is that meat is declared haram if the slaughtering is done on a production line where pigs were also slaughtered; nor can any instrument that was also used for slaughtering pigs be utilized. These conditions define the strict observance of a Muslim diet and must be followed when producing and labeling halal meat products.

Regarding the individual carrying out the slaughtering, only an adult Muslim has the authority to slaughter halal meat. Essentially, any animal slaughtered by a non-Muslim is not

halal, and be dubbed as haram (Willoughby, 2016). At the time of the slaughtering, the name of Allah must be invoked by saying, “*Bismillah Allahu Akbar*”, which translates to “*In the Name of Allah; Allah is the Greatest*” (Golnaz et al., 2010). If, at the time of slaughtering the name of anyone else other than Allah is invoked, the meat becomes haram. If the slaughterer honestly forgets to invoke the name of Allah at the time of the act, the meat will remain halal. In regards to storage, transport and packaging of halal meat, meat chilled or frozen for export should be cold stored separately from pork or other non-halal meats. For further meat processing, meat minced or processed for Muslims should not be minced in the same machines used to mince pork or other non-halal meat.

There is a key debate about the conventionality of stunning animals. This rift in the faith represents the tension between the old, sacred traditions as delineated in the Koran, and the new, modern technology of the industry that would make this meat sector more effective and competitive. In the Jewish faith, the Jewish law (*kashrut*) strictly forbids the use of stunning in meat production. Similarly, all forms of stunning and unconsciousness of animals are also disliked by those who adhere to strict interpretations of Muslim laws. However, if it is necessary to use these means to calm down or mitigate violence of animals, low voltage shock can be used on the head only for the durations and voltage as per given guidelines (Moofat et al., 2017). Islam is a faith that strictly follows a doctrine from hundreds of years ago, the notion to accept this modern technology can demonstrate how this industry can increase in capability to advance product quantity.

2.1b Precedent: Kosher Meat in America

There are similarities and differences between the dietary conditions found within those who follow Judaism and those who follow Islam. Kosher food complies with “*kashrut*”,

mirroring the extent to which the religion dictates what can and cannot be eaten by those practicing both of these faiths. Like halal, kashrut prohibits pork, rabbit and all forms of shellfish. Similarities are found in the method of slaughter in that both require the use of a surgically sharp knife and that the butcher be a member of that religion. Apart from the obvious differences in the established prayers, there is no requirement that the Muslim slaughterer should be a trained expert, whereas in kosher preparation that is a strict requirement. Comparatively, kashrut prohibits the consumption of certain parts of the carcass, including the sciatic nerve and particular fats (Gutman, 1999).

Islamic rules for slaughtering resemble Jewish approaches in many respects, while also diverging in other facets. While according to kashrut, stunning may impair the perfection of the animal and would therefore not allow the consumer to discern whether it is truly in a kosher manner. Muslim law is slightly more lenient in regards to the prohibition of stunning. For example, it is possible to interpret *fatwa* (non-binding, but an authoritative legal opinion or expert interpretation of Islamic law) that accepts this form of butchering since it provides that the animal is killed more humane. Certain precedents given by distinct fatwas remain sacred in Islamic society and while they are non-binding, they are considered authoritative interpretations of the law. In 2006, a group of scholars ruled that machine slaughtered animals are halal so long as they are blessed and butchered properly (Iqbal, 2015). In the U.S., the Humane Method of Slaughtering Act made stunning compulsory, but has also recognized religious slaughtering as “humane” (Regenstein et al., 2013). Since stunning was not in existence during the Prophet Muhammad’s time period, it is not featured in the sources for Islamic guidelines.

This ongoing debate regarding stunning prior to slaughter is complicated by the modern meat industry. In the United Kingdom, where Islam is the second largest religion, the majority of

meat is stunned before it is killed, which goes against orthodox Muslims belief that an animal cannot undergo this action (Moofat et al., 2017). Of the private companies that certify butchers and halal companies, the Halal Food Authority is one the most prominent of this group, and states that both poultry and bovine meat can be stunned (Moofat et al., 2017). This presents contention for this industry and its consumers. With these juxtaposing ideas disseminated from different organizations, it is understandable how this debate has become angled and more convoluted in the modern mass production of the meat industry.

Section 2: Muslims in America

2.2a Perceptions of American Muslim Communities

In accordance with the U.S. Census Bureau's intent to ensure protection and privacy of religion, religious participants of all faiths are not accounted for in each decade collection. Since the 1970's, this survey has been prohibited by law from asking questions regarding religion (Bagby, 2012). Additionally, U.S. immigration authorities are forbidden from obtaining information concerning religious affiliation of new immigrants. However, both of these institutions engage in data regarding people's country of birth. Statisticians and researchers can estimate the size of religious groups by analyzing country of birth information with "data from surveys on the percentage of people from each country, or group of countries, who belong to various faiths" (*Pew Research Center for Religious Studies*, 2011). According to the *Pew Research Center's* 2011 Religion Surveys, among American Muslims, 20% are converts to Islam. At 63%, African-American Muslims are the highest number of converts of those who were born in the U.S. (*Pew Research Center for Religious Studies*, 2011). In regards to the community satisfaction, more than three-quarters of U.S. Muslims (79%) rate their community as an "excellent (36%) or good (43%) place to live" (*Pew Research Center for Religious Studies*,

2011). This high level of satisfaction with their communities is also seen across a wide variety of demographic subgroups. It is striking to note that even among Muslims who have reported living in a community where there has been an “act of vandalism against a mosque” or a “controversy over the building of an Islamic center”, over three quarters (76%) still rate their community as a good place to live (*Pew Research Center for Religious Studies, 2011*). Satisfaction with their community is especially high among immigrants (83%). Among third-generation Muslims, somewhat fewer, though still a majority (61%), rate their community as an excellent or good place to live. Nearly a decade after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, a majority of American Muslims (55%) say that it has become more difficult to be a Muslim in the U.S., and a sizable minority report having experienced recent mistreatment or discrimination (*Pew Research Center for Religious Studies, 2011*).

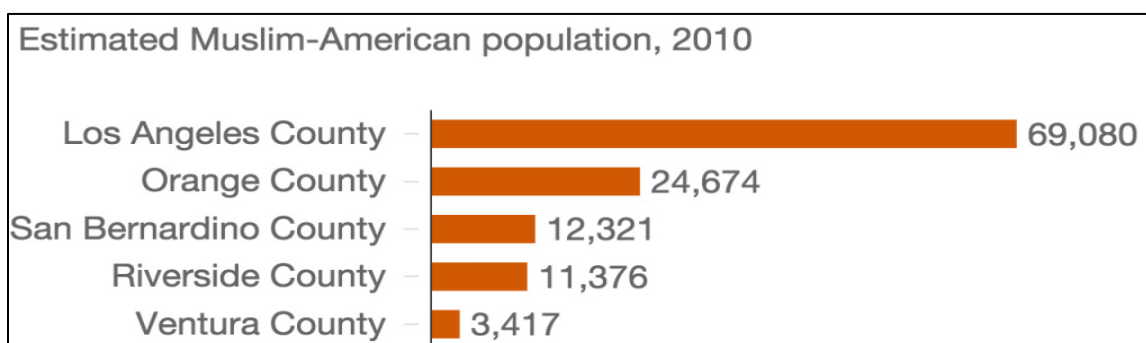
When asked to name the biggest problems facing Muslims in the U.S., most cite negative views about Muslims, followed by discrimination and prejudice, or public misconceptions about Islam. Nonetheless, only 16% of Muslim-Americans say that the American people are generally unfriendly toward Muslims, while a large majority (66%) views life for Muslims as better in the U.S. than in most Muslim countries. Compared with the general public, fewer Muslim-Americans say they are politically conservative, and a greater number say they prefer a bigger government that provides more services. Currently, 68% say they would prefer a larger and more activist government, about the same as the 70% that said this in 2007. About half (48%) of U.S. Muslims say eating halal food is essential to their religious identity (Abdo, 2017). This number is unexpected and should be statistically higher, as halal is one of the unifying principles of what being a Muslim means globally. This indicator could largely be sourced in a deficit quality and quantity of halal products, which should not be present in the American market.

2.2b Demographics of Southern California Muslim Communities

Demographic data on religious communities is a challenging dataset to extract. The Shura Council, a Southern California council on Islamic matters, compiled a report on Muslim populations in this region, to fill in data gaps of this prominent group. The challenges to collecting the data is due to the annual U.S. Census not including religion affiliations of its citizens in the questionnaire. Today, there are about 3.35 million Muslims in the U.S. which constitutes approximately 1% of the total population, based on an analysis of census statistics and data from a 2017 survey of U.S. Muslims (Lipka, 2017). A supplemental survey conducted in 2010 of religious institutions presents the most specific information available about the number of Muslims living in Southern California.

As stated in Dr. Bagby's report for the Islamic Shura Council, the U.S. Religion Census conducted by the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies, estimated there are 120,868 Muslims living in Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino and Ventura Counties. California is the most populous state in the U.S. but has fewer Muslims than Texas, New York or Illinois. It is extremely probable that the statistics did not pool the whole Muslim population, as there is always chance for misrepresentation or skewed data in surveying. As cautioned by Brie Jeanette Loskota of USC's Center for Religion and Civic Culture, this notion is likely due to the fact that the survey relies solely on Mosque attendance, causing a large portion of Muslims who do not attend regularly to be missed in the data set, including many women (Bagby, 2012). The Los Angeles chapter of the Council on American-Islamic relations (CAIR) estimates there are around 500,000 Muslims in the entirety of the region (Bagby, 2012). Similarly, the demographic picture is unclear nationally for this group's data, where estimates of

the population range from about 2.75 million to as many as 7 million, and the county breakdown is visualized below (Lipka, 2017).



As established, those that devoutly practice the Islamic faith emphasize the importance of permissibility of food products that are consumed. When viewing this tenant through a health science lens, Muslims believe that this restricted food intake will induce salubrious development of “human wellness and behaviour” (Golnaz et al., 2010). It is relevant to note that there is a rise of halal consumers in America that are non-Muslims, which points to the perception of this diet’s positive effects. Halal food’s problematic authenticity and access has attracted non-Muslim consumers’ awareness since it is related to the wider scale issue of the American meat market and food production. This notion highlights how halal principles are not only isolated to the religious sector of those who interact with these products, but also applies to those who partake in healthy and hygienic diet as people have increasingly become more health conscious (Majid et al., 2015). According to a recent *Pew Research* report, the Muslim population is the fastest growing religious group in today’s world (Lipka, 2017). In California, the highest estimates number of Muslims are situated throughout LA County (Lipka, 2017).

2.2c Food Security for American Muslim Communities

The global definition of food security as understood is “when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary

needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (Rome Declaration and Plan of Action, 1996). The U.S., considered an economic superpower in the world market, composed of an amalgam of diverse people, has allowed for the proliferation of a multitude of cuisines for specific lifestyles or religions for those with certain dietary needs. Despite the oft professed American ideals of equality, according to USDA’s Economic Research Service, 87.7% of Americans are food-secure in that they are able to fulfill nutritional needs while accessing a wide arrange of food-related products, while approximately a critical 12.3% are food insecure (USDA, 2017). In California’s 2014 figures, there are 5.4 million residents that are food insecure, meaning they have uncertain access to food, which accounts for almost 14% of all Californians (USDA, 2017). This lack of access can mean not having enough food for an active, healthy life for household members, or a limited and uncertain availability of nutritionally adequate foods. In Southern California, the financial ability of Muslims to purchase halal food tends not to be an issue as Muslims are generally ranked as of middle or high economic status, with 20% of this population making over six figures annually (Masci, 2016). Albeit, the current problem is sourced in the actual lack of presence and quality of this food. The real question surrounds whether the market can match the current and future growth of this population, or leave them food insecure in their dietary needs.

Literature Review

Section 1: Halal Concepts of Standards

3.1a Certification & Accreditation

According to the Institute of Medicine Food & Nutrition Board, meat inspection was first administered by the Bureau of Animal Industry, which later became part of the USDA's

Agricultural Research Service (1990). Later, it was administered by three divisions within the USDA's Consumer and Marketing Service: Livestock Slaughter Inspection Division, Processed Meat Inspection and Technical Services Division. These changes were made to keep pace with the rapidly changing industry and to strengthen protection to consumers. With continued industrial development and improved transportation, this network became nationalized and the personal touch vanished. Consumers could no longer influence the butcher or packer regarding sanitation, product wholesomeness and freedom from adulteration.

The term "certified" implies that the USDA's Food Safety and Inspection Service and the Agricultural Marketing Service have officially evaluated a meat product for class, grade, or other quality characteristics (USDA, 2017). The USDA does not have jurisdiction in the matter of certifying religious meat, making this sector incohesive. This not only affects halal meat, but also kosher products. Certification can be interpreted as a form of communication amongst the supplier and buyer, demonstrating to the latter that the former abides by the standards. For Americans, the USDA label represents high quality and assurance due to the government's oversight of this product. The absence of USDA quality assurance in kosher and halal food leads to consumers' apprehension in this bureau for the fraudulent products found within these religious markets.

Certification bodies have a long history intertwined with food quality assurance in American food systems. Yet, these institutionalized bodies have created barriers to small-scaled independent producers with tight restrictions. This history started in the 1960's through the 1980's, with the organic food industry (Meirelles, 2011). This field comprised of predominantly modest local farmers, selling to their community. This marker of "Organic Certification" was a matter of trust, based on a direct relationship between farmer and consumer (Meirelles, 2011).

Correspondingly, halal food and its consumer base have a similar social contract in which the producers of halal food follow standards that are recognized by the community. Broadly, critics view regulatory certification as an impediment to entry for these small-scale producers or butcher shops, by “burdening them with increased costs, paperwork, and bureaucracy” (Meirelles, 2011). Compounding to this problem, another feasible hurdle of certification standards is seen through deterioration of standards, through which lobbyists urge for exceptions favorable to large-scale production. This reality further results in impure “halal” products, which are produced in ways similar to the actual halal goods. Halal food has also seen quality assurance fall through the cracks of standardization and regulation. By law, the USDA itself cannot certify halal products. A third party is necessary to allow for a more comprehensive halal process and legislation. For quality guarantee, the verification is carried out and a third party which provides this assurance without direct interest in the economic relationship between the supplier and buyer (FAO). This process of non-involved parties working to ignite higher standards without biased perspective in the matter is essential for the U.S. to recognize and hopefully emulate. This system would alleviate the discord between USDA and religious certifiers, while also obtaining international recognition for true halal products.

Of the global certification companies, the internationally recognized Islamic Services of America (ISA) has remained as one of the more reliable and services for halal certification. For companies that wish to sell products domestically or export internationally to more than 1.6 billion consumers, ISA is unique in that it is recognized as a certifier for products and ingredients requiring halal certification worldwide (Lipka, 2017). Large poultry producers such as *Tyson*, *George’s Inc.*, *Koch Foods* and *Pilgrim’s Pride Corporation* are among ISA’s clients. Most halal certification organizations inspect restaurant and suppliers, large and small factories that process

meat (Marei, 2001). Corporate halal certification companies such as ISA essentially earn their revenues by bestowing passing grades to slaughter and packing industries, which begs the question if the standards may be lowered to insure profits. Certification businesses' form of revenue is based in creating certifications, tending to cause these bodies to lower their standard for certification in order to save profit. This is another factor that is a causative factor for fraudulent halal meat in the U.S. At the same time, certifiers lack the time, resources and manpower to inspect every slaughterhouse and butcher shop to ensure that Islamic law is being observed. As highlighted in the *Thomson Reuters* 2016 "State of the Global Islamic Economy", the U.S. is home to a key meat supplier but lacks the "developed ecosystem" to compete at the global scale and does not rank within the top ten of halal production (2016).

The presence of certification of kosher meat has paved the way for halal certifiers, as it has had a larger influence and existence in the American market. Increasingly, businesses like the major kosher product company *K-Star*, have joined the halal business and are more receptive to producing compliant products since their involvement with kosher food (Marei, 2001). The U.S. government's exclusion from religious matters, compounds a discrepancy between companies that claim to sell halal meat with those that are sponsored by Islamic religious leaders. A crucial right that USDA does hold in this sphere allows them to inform U.S. halal certifiers of other countries' import standards and directs exporters approved by destination countries (Regenstein et al., 2003). In this sense, the USDA's presence is found in the final stages of this multi-step halal meat process, yet there is a larger need for the involvement in standard setting and actual USDA certifying.

Internationally, there is celerity in movement towards accreditation and certification when in comparison to the progress made in the U.S. Overseas, accreditation bodies have

commenced overseeing halal certification bodies in several key markets, highlighting an enormous improvement in how the halal food industry will be regulated in the future (*Thomson Reuters*, 2016). The accreditation bodies grant recognition to individual halal certification bodies, “ensuring those bodies are certifying according to international standards” (*Thomson Reuters*, 2016). Examples of certification bodies that have already been accredited include the Halal Feed and Food Inspection Authority in the Netherlands and the New Zealand Islamic Development Trust (*Thomson Reuters*, 2016). The U.S. has failed to produce internationally recognized accreditation bodies, leaving opportunity for consumer confidence and participation to decrease.

3.1b Labeling & Governance

A certification label is a label or symbol indicating that compliance with standards has been confirmed. As certification bodies approve against their own specific standards, the label can also be owned by the certification body. Self-governance over standards has been the prescribed norm for businesses in the realm of religious slaughtering. For the USDA, the labeling indicates that the food or other agricultural product has been produced through the federal government’s approved methods. The organic standards describe the specific requirements that must be verified by a USDA-accredited certifying agent before products can be labeled USDA certified (USDA). Muslims regard foods and products with a halal logo (as seen in Appendix A, Figure 4) as permissible to be used or consumed in accordance with Islamic law, regardless of the company that produced the product (Majid et al., 2015). This indicates that consumers are more likely to purchase due to the confidence on appearance of any halal labelled product, regardless if it is verified by the government’s standards.

As the certification can be seen as a form of conversation between seller and buyer, the label also voices aspects about the product to the consumer. In Bonne & Verbeke's 2008 research titled "Religious values informing halal meat production and the control and delivery of halal credence quality", they cited that the current system for this market is strictly self-regulated through coordination "based on civic and domestic logics" in which these consumers prefer purchasing with Muslim butchers. This statement confirms that these consumers are more inclined to know the "reputation with similar moral and religious obligations" (2008). Muslims prefer to buy meat from small butchers rather than the corporate sellers, due to the affirmation of true halal quality. For halal products to be purchased, the label must be meaningful and recognizable. Regarding the Consumers Union in the U.S., a consumer protective non-profit organization aiming to make the marketplace fair, a meaningful label is backed up by a good certification system without conflicts of interest (Riaz, 2017). The system must also be transparent, to further inform on the content and the organization behind the label must be accessible. The Union also advocates that the meaning of the label must be consistent across the range of products that carry that label. The correct labeling on halal food is essential for consumers, because certain labels can often be misleading, increasing in accidental haram consumption. There are other governmental institutions that have oversight in the process of halal representation and certification. One such body, the USA Halal Chamber of Commerce, was created in an attempt to make this process more cohesive. Hajj Habib Ghanim, the president of this Chamber and director of Halal Certification at the Islamic Society of the Washington Area (ISWA), cites the 1960's as a formative time for activism in this realm. Muslim student groups of Silver Spring, Maryland fueled demand for halal food, as called upon by the increase of Muslim population in that geographic region (Rudnycky, 2013). At that time, no such

certification was present whereas today private companies do exist for this sector. Whether the companies that certify these products do so without following proper guidelines is where intervention is needed.

With all of halal's requirements, Islamic law states that food must be *tayyiban* (wholesome) and clean and free from contamination, to be certified and eventually consumed. This hygienic standard is a key access point of the USDA's governing of halal food directly as this department works to uphold strict hygienic standards (Regenstein et al., 2003). The USDA prioritizes oversight of larger businesses ahead of the small-scaled butchers and slaughterhouses. Small factories may set aside special days for halal processing as this method of slaughtering accentuates specific guidelines. Larger factories that export to foreign markets have dedicated halal processing facilities because they have the means and resources to produce greater yield of halal meat. ISWA's work as an extension aids certifiers to cooperate with USDA agents and coordinates with on-site veterinarians, exhibiting the intersectional and intertwined aspect of this slaughtering. This body also verifies that individuals who oversee the halal slaughter and recite appropriate prayers are practicing Muslims of good standing, attempting to create perfect oversight model (ISWA). ISWA's capability to oversee a larger amount of products is where government intervention is greatly lacking.

Supporting the argument that a tighter oversight of unified standards is needed for halal products, most Muslim Americans would be inclined to agree. Indeed, the majority of this population maintain the position that they would rather have a larger government, that provides greater services than a smaller one with less services. The 2011 *Pew Research Center* Survey specifically found that 68% of respondents would prefer a bigger, more activist style of governing body (*Pew Research Center*). This statistic could vocalize the needs for a government

that heightens its regulations in the realm of certification and quality assurance. It is understandable that a government entity would not have power or jurisdiction over religious slaughtering; yet, if these products are sold on the market and protected under law like in some states, it should be inadmissible to have meat fraudulently labeled, sold and consumed.

Section 2: Halal Legislation in America

3.2a Past Halal Legislation

The USDA is the department that handles policy change within agricultural, forestry and livestock practices in American markets. A main piece of legislation that oversees the quality assurance with regards to religious slaughter is the 1958 Humane Slaughter Act. Originally passed in 1958, the law that is enforced today by the USDA Food Safety and Inspection Service was subsequently passed anew as the Humane Slaughter Act of 1978. This statute outlines what the government considers as humane and acceptable slaughtering of animals, conceived out of the need to decrease animals suffering (Welty, 2007).

This Act requires the proper treatment and humane handling of all animals slaughtered in USDA inspected slaughter plants, and mainly exercises control over beef and pork (not to chickens or other birds). Surprisingly, far too many privately owned butcher shops and halal slaughterhouses are not inspected by the USDA, as the scope of their business is not of the federal government's dealings. For religious sects to proceed in the slaughtering of animals under specifically related rituals, they must fall within compliance of the previously mentioned criterion. Many religions, including Islam and Judaism, find that this act's regulations fall within their own guidelines as permissible; however, this landslide piece of legislation does nothing to generate a higher standard of halal meat. Nonetheless, the USDA needs to gain some version of

oversight of halal or religious slaughtering as gaining this body's certification stamp would amount to this market's opportunity for growth.

Alluded to in the 1958 Act, companies in the meat industry stun animals into unconsciousness prior to their slaughter to ensure a death with less suffering than in previous killing methods. While it was not the original intention for factories and slaughterhouses to generate mass production of meat through stunning, the Act does cite "rendered insensible" as a viable and accepted practice (Welty, 2007). For stunning, the most common methods for cattle, sheep and goats are captive bolt stunning. Frequent on-site monitoring is necessary, as is the employment of skilled and well-trained personnel (Iqbal, 2015). They can then proceed down the line, where workers in slaughterhouses can begin the slaughtering of the specified livestock. While this presents a controversial point of discussion for those who practice the Islamic faith, the debate makes halal meat, as inscribed in the Koran, less available in the U.S. Less traditional, more secular American and British Muslims agree that stunning is acceptable as it is a modern technological practice. If the global Islamic market came to recognize the authenticity of American halal meat certification, these domestic companies would be able to increase their reputation as trustworthy suppliers.

3.2b Current Policy Issues & Goals

In 2002, California Governor Gray Davis signed AB 1828 into law, making it a misdemeanor to sell food products falsely labeled as halal, or sanctioned by Islamic law. Introduced by Assemblyman Bill Campbell, this was an addition to Section 383c to the Penal Code, relating to crime. As cited on the website for *California Legislative Information*,

"This bill would provide that a person who, with intent to defraud, sells any meat or meat preparations falsely representing them to be halal or prepared in compliance with Islamic religious requirements, or who fails to indicate that both halal and non-halal meat is for sale in the same place of business, as specified, is punishable by the same imprisonment and fine. By creating a new crime, this bill would impose a state-mandated local program. The California Constitution requires the state to reimburse local agencies and school districts for certain costs mandated by the state. Statutory provisions establish procedures for making that reimbursement" (California Legislative Information, 2002).

This was paramount in the fight for cultural equality in regards to representation in the market. Davis, alongside Assemblyman Campbell, allowed for halal products to gain rights that kosher meat have attained, making it a unjust for its existence to not be protected whilst on the market. It is disturbing that cases are still occurring where fraudulent halal meat is sold to consumers. How is it that this law creates shortcomings since its creation? It is not only distressing that domestically these meat businesses are not up to the standard of halal but also for these businesses to export food to Muslim countries while not meeting Islamic law fully, is morally unethical. The bill defines halal food, which is helpful to policymakers and businesses that are involved in this business, or are not as familiar with halal. Although, there are slight differences between the items deemed haram, as AB 1828 does not mention certain sea animals that are haram as well contradicting various fatwas.

3.2c Domestic Positionality of Islamophobia & Vulnerable Populations

In 1962, Islam earned constitutional protection as a religion in the Supreme Court case *Fulwood v. Clemmer*. This case specifically concerned religious services for Muslims in prison, stating that Islam qualifies for protection since it meets the court's definition of religion as "theistic", involving a belief in a supreme being (Harvard University). In its decision, the Court ordered prisons to provide facilities for religious services to Muslims, just as it must to Protestant, Catholic and Jewish inmates, creating greater societal recognition of this religion. Muslims came to the U.S. on the early slave ships and their first recorded communal gatherings date back to 1900, with the first mosque being constructed in 1915 (Harvard University). Even though this population remains as a minority group, they are not a new presence in America and have roots in multiple cities— the late legitimization of their religion is viewed as patronizing by

many American Muslims. The positionality of Muslims as “other” within mainstream, white America is being reflected in their right to proper food access.

Living in a post 9/11 world, this policy’s problems has made American Muslims hesitant to assert their rights and speak out for their protection. Issues with AB 1828 have existed since it was passed sixteen years ago. It is impressive to note that the Bill passed a year after the 9/11 terror attacks and in the wake of this national tragedy, protection of foods that respect cultural religious norms was driven by a Muslim community. Those that hold prejudices and islamophobic viewpoints will continue to diminish the importance of the Muslim community and their significance in American society as long as this and other cultural standards are not met. Minimizing the importance of food for those of certain lifestyle and faiths cannot be understated. The importance of food as a universal right, needs to be firmly established. Religious pluralism can only exist if rights and freedoms are fiercely protected for all groups.

The First Amendment to the United States Constitution provides that “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion” (Sullivan, 1993). This Establishment Clause prohibits any form of “congressional action” with respect to establishment of religion. In *Everson v. Board of Education*, it was further asserted that both the state and federal government cannot pass legislation that helps one (or all) religion(s) or prioritizes one (or all) religion(s) over another (Sullivan, 1993). With this ruling, it was declared that neither the federal government nor the state can “levy a tax to support any religious activities or institutions” and “neither government can involve itself in the matters of any religious organization or group” (Sullivan, 1993). This precedent stands as a legislative impediment to existing state halal policies. The separation of church and state has impacted religious slaughtered meat for those that depend on these products. Although this mandate should remain upheld, the neglect of Muslims’ right to

halal food, and arguably the struggles for their “pursuit of happiness” is threatened by this law. A national intervention in the form of a federal policy that does not infringe on religious freedoms, but economically protects religious certified products is crucial to the future of this population.

Section 3: Market Analysis

3.3a Halal on the Global Market

The business opportunities relating to halal food is growing. In the U.S., Islam ranks as the fastest growing religion, and those practicing the faith will need to assert demand for legitimate halal food (Stull, 2016). Suppliers of this sector have negatively influenced global marketplaces, particularly in Islamic countries. Areas of worldwide concern for halal consumers have been the improper hygienic practices and expirations of certifications. Halal logistics capabilities are critical in ensuring that the halal integrity of the supply chain works from farm to fork (Golnaz et al., 2010). In part, the problem stems from the explosion of products being produced and marketed, racing to meet growing market demands. According to the Islamic Food and Nutrition Council of America, the number of U.S. grocers with halal products has skyrocketed from 10 in 1970 to more than 2,300 in 2012, while the number of restaurants serving halal food now exceeds 6,900 (Mukherjee, 2014).

Beyond any doubt, a prosperous business opportunity for halal meat stems from the increasing globalization of consumer goods, specifically food (Lipka, 2017). As trade barriers and tariffs fall with the incorporation of more nations into the World Trade Organization and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade agreements, the possibility of exporting food to the 1.3 billion Muslims global population becomes attractive for economic players (Lipka, 2017). The prospect of economies to establish long-term relationships with countries with significant Muslim populations (Indonesia, Egypt, Pakistan, China and Malaysia) is adding frenzy to the

competition. This market change has caused those businesses to drop their product quality (halal meat standards) which presents an issue for not only the domestic market and its consumers, but also its international trade partners. As these countries begin to adopt stringent tests to determine the acceptability of imports, the critical need for American businesses to understand what halal entails remains underscored.

3.3b Present Gaps in the Literature

While there is literature surrounding halal meat both internationally and domestically in existence, this research would investigate the lack of certainty of the meat and its effect on the Muslim community. Southern California Muslim populations, while having access to the sixth largest world economy, are still plagued by food security availability and access. Literature and data has not been compiled on the topic of food security in regards to California's Islamic population, and this research would bring greater attention to this issue. Using the tools of accreditation and governance modeled after the EU's system, I propose recommendations on how the U.S. can fill in the gap of halal expansion via third party certification with a government supervision. Education and communication of products, stores and restaurants that sell halal meat needs to be widespread as this data and information is rather new and would benefit from being obtained by a larger audience via social media, the internet and other platforms. I examine why AB 1828 policy has been fairly ineffective.

Methodology

The study explores the relationship between federal regulation and religious certification. While this research and its outcomes (findings and recommendations) are framed on policy are focused, specifically AB 1828. This research project investigated barriers that have been created

through the halal certification process. In order to answer these specific research questions, a qualitative data collection method was utilized, including semi-structured interview and archival data analysis. Within this archival data, public comment was evaluated to discern the reason for the bill and legislative analysis to create solutions to the current policy shortcomings and future possible alternatives. I first reviewed the literature surrounding halal production, halal certification and market analysis as well as kosher laws and religious slaughtering policies. The information I gathered through the literature review enabled me to develop a definition of halal meat in America, and more specifically, how it can vary through different Islamic communities.

4.1 Research Parameters

Metrics and definitions were created to limit the breadth of this project. Halal products will be defined as “food permitted according to the Shariah (Islamic Law)” (Marei, 2001). While halal research has not yet gained as much popularity in the U.S. as it has at the global level, a few international data sets center on this topic were included, but a large amount of them had to be dismissed due to the specific geographic nature and population of this research.

4.2 Qualitative Data: Interviews

Qualitatively, a deductive interview process was utilized to receive a more diverse perspective on this policy field and how halal law and federal regulations can impact the industry and market. Before interviews commenced, information was given regarding the interviewer’s subject and reasoning behind this research project. The participants consented to the study and the extent of their involvement, and were informed that this data will be made public and published under Occidental College UEP Department. Participants received the researcher’s contact information for any questions or concerns after the interviews. There will be three participant groups within this data collection, the first being advocates and policymakers who

were involved in passing this Assembly Bill. These interviews will be coded to organize data and procure further analysis of the data within the three different groups.

The number of interviews used in this research totaled to 10, between the groups of academic and professionals, religious councils and policy experts and lobbyists. These interviews were significant in shaping recommendations for the future of halal policy and industry. Those within the experts and academics, mainly focused on the research and policy development in this sector. To complement this, arguments from religious councils and imams (Muslim priests) provide a perspective from issues communicated to them from their community members. The last group provided the legality of why implementation of this law is difficult. Interviews were coded and supported with the software *Dedoose* for further analysis. Common themes that were found amongst the groups were tagged and used in graphics to display findings. A visualization that will be important for the findings and/or discussion included a “Word Cloud” and “Packed Coded Cloud” for coded phrases that have a higher frequency (Appendix D, Figures 1 & 2). I will also be pulling quotes from my interviews to support any resolute or strong claims to arguments and to provide recommendations.

With the interview questions, I gained an insight into the data gaps present in the literature. Through questions for the policy-makers such as, “In what ways has the community been affected by the incident? Do you think there is any room for improvement in the future?” I can get a sense of the policy implementation effect on businesses, the community and the economy. Other questions, such as, “Do you feel as though Muslim American equality is present in political discourse in California or the U.S. in general?” covered aspects of disparate outcomes that have been experienced by this population in question. For the religious council, questions such as, “Are there any community actions to amend AB 1828?” and “How does the community

engage with this issue?” provided further insight to any community action or policy campaign that revolved around AB 1828. The third group of participants, the academics, received questions such as, “What constitutes a reasonable level of harm in regards to this policy area?” and “Are there any particular alternatives to further aid in transparent halal certification?”.

4.3 Archival Data: Legislative Analysis & Public Comment

Archival data was not made public on this bill, but was able to be retrieved from the state capitol for this research project. The archive (titled “Inventory: Assemblyman Bill Campbell’s Papers”) consists of the Bill’s notes, information collected by legislative aides as well as public comment and letter from organizations in support of this law. In regards to the legislative analysis, the bill was analyzed and compared between its drafts and its final product. The language was dissected and compared to other states’ bills. Within this dataset, there is a profundity of public comment in the form of constituent letters from Muslim and halal consumers, community members of the Bill’s author and other concerned citizens regionally and nationwide during the late 1990’s to early 2000’s. There are also excerpts from IFANCA (the lead domestic organization that certifies halal food) regarding the history, impact on international and domestic market.

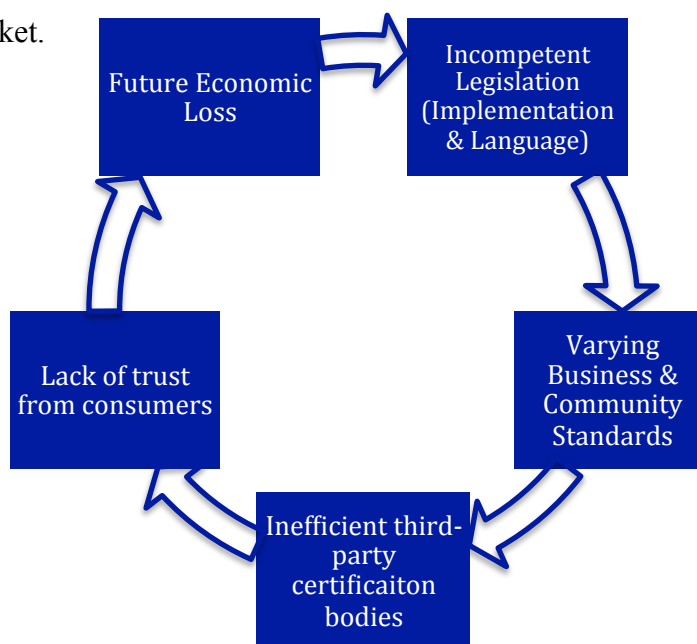
30 comments were cataloged in the archival data and were all enthusiastic about the signing and passing of AB 1828. I chose to use both a stakeholders chart and feasibility chart, which provide different perspectives of this issue (Matrices 1 & 2). The stakeholder chart is an avenue for deeper analysis in assessing the policy’s impact on the relevant parties. This information is used to assess how the interests of those stakeholders should be addressed in an action in regards to AB 1828’s future. The feasibility chart determines the factors that will present the opportunity of the Bill and how plausible the action of changes would be to this law.

The feasibility chart provides recommendations for policy alternatives and future avenues for change. The charts' labels could be subject to change if future changes occur to AB 1828, however it can be inferred that for the stakeholders it would be more inconvenient for stricter a law and regulations of halal products. Along these same lines, for the halal certifiers, holding this law to a high standard would benefit them the most when compared to the other stakeholders. For feasibility, any changes to AB 1828 would be the least feasible for political feasibility due to the bureaucratic nature of this sector and the government's relation to agricultural regulation.

Findings & Discussion

5.1 Findings Overview

Below is a graphic of the succinct cyclical nature of fraudulent halal meat's existence. At the core of this issue, inconsistent policy (with implementation and its language) enables varying problematic business and community standards. This is overseen by inefficient third party certification bodies, which, while making the process more cumbersome, fail to create assurance, and leads to an overall lack of trust within the Muslim population and an economic loss for the U.S. domestic market.



5.2a Archival Data: Incompetent Policy (AB 1828's Language & Implementation)

While AB 1828 has partially helped in protecting consumers, it has also lent itself to disparate outcomes and negative shortcomings for some within this market. Legislative analysis from the archival data illuminates shortcomings that the bill creates. From the bill's introduction in January 22, 2002 to when it was chaptered on July 2, 2002, the bill was amended once in the Assembly before it was enrolled. The only amendment was the removal of the term "orthodox", which would have been followed by "religious requirements" and would have described the standard halal represents. It was removed three times, which arguably laid the foundation for a more casual oversight of this product. Through the notes on the bill, there was no clear reason why orthodox was removed, but the public perception of the term "orthodox" may have been analogous with religious extremism of this religion. However it would have enabled stricter guidelines of what halal products should encapsulate, which is now lost in the language of the bill. The strict guidelines of what halal meat and products encapsulate is lost in the language of the bill.

From the *California Republican Policy & Fiscal Office Section #3882 Background* document, it states that as a sponsor for this bill, it would "help California's business community by decreasing Halal products imports, and increasing exports" (Senate Rules Committee, 2002). Not only does this state the importance of this market on the domestic front, but it also connects it to the international stage and the ability of California to be a major player in this field. The analysis led to the theme of cultural incompetency when crafting legislation in which the bill was cited as providing "the same opportunities for people in the Muslim community" as the 1931 Kosher Bill created (2002). AB 1828 was a derivative of the kosher bill of California's 1931 Kosher Law as language of this Bill closely mirrored the California Kosher Act. Furthermore,

this bill would allow for those of this faith “to be confident” in their purchases (2002). The penalization for fraudulent kosher meat is equivalent to the penalization in AB 1828 as cited in Appendix C, producing problematic differentiation between the severity of the impact of fraudulent kosher versus fraudulent halal meat.

California requires all sellers of halal meat or meat preparations to “indicate on [their] window signs advertising in block letters at least four inches in height “halal and non-halal meats sold here” (*California Legislative Information*, 2002). This statute further prohibits any person who “with intent to defraud, sells or exposes for sale any meat or meat preparations, and falsely represents the same to be halal” (*California Legislative Information*, 2002). This bill works to put the crime on the business and or butcher selling the fraudulent meat, with the focus specifically on the sales at the end of the supply chain. While it does aim to protect this product, it does so only in the final steps before the product is able to be put on display and purchased. The systemic issues are found at the rudimentary stages of halal production within the multiplicity of standards and definitions for halal and the lack of transparency of certification and quality assurance. To implement a law that attempts to correct the advertising and sale of fake halal meat is only masking the larger issue that is occurring in California and in other states. The law needs to correct behavior, train slaughterhouse employees and butchers, educate businesses that sell halal meat, and lastly, ensure greater community engagement and representation.

As previously established, IFANCA is the leading non-profit Islamic organization dedicated to promoting halal food. Headquartered in Chicago, Illinois, it maintains offices globally and certifies halal food production in over 20 countries around the globe. IFANCA certified products are sold in nearly every country of the world. According to the author's organization, “This bill seeks to provide the same opportunities for people in the Muslim

community to follow halal as current law provides for the Jewish community to follow kosher. This bill will allow people of Islamic faith to be confident that the products they purchase and consume are halal” (IFANCA, 2000). However, it is evident that with a number of cases, based on the definition of halal requirements, this bill is not effective. IFANCA is the dominant organization that should be consulted for policy formulation; this one voice, from one organization is not representative of the whole Muslim population in the U.S. The problematic aspect of multiple definitions for what is officially considered halal is not thoroughly expressed by IFANCA’s guidelines.

5.2b Archival Data: Fragmented State Halal Policies

The states of Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, and Virginia have similar language within their halal laws when compared to California. State level efforts have emerged because of a lack of federal efforts. These states passed legislation consecutively during the turn of the twenty-first century, while imposing comparable penalizations and consequences. As seen with California, the commonplace language may have been a principal reason for the errors with the production and sale of non-halal meat in these states. The disparate outcomes continues to hamper this fragmented system and overall durability of what halal policy represents for the future of American society.

Illinois, passed the Halal Act in 2002 with the main goal of this legislation being outlawing the falsification and misrepresentation of halal products. As this law appears to be clear in its interpretation, the issue of what “compliance” amounts to is problematic as with California and the standards of what halal is differs between communities and businesses. However, a supplemental act, the Illinois Consumer Fraud and Deceptive Business Practice Act, makes it unlawful to falsely advertise food as halal, adding additional support for this sector.

This double protection is beneficial to Illinois consumers, but may be too regulatory and complex in its implementation. Maryland requires businesses to display a disclosure statement must include, among other things, the basis for the business' representation that its food that its food is halal, and "specification of practices relating to the preparation, handling, and sale of food" (Cullen & Mohammed, 2017). Disclosure forms can be requested or found online which allow Maryland consumers to "readily determine if a business sells food products that meet their standards" (Attorney General, 2009). This system of filing grievances is efficient but is not used by other states that have halal policies.

Michigan, home to the largest Muslim population in America, prohibits selling food by falsely representing it to be halal "with intent to defraud" through falsely inscribing the word "halal" on packaging, or falsely representing any food items on storefronts to be halal, and lastly, failing to specify which food items are halal (Cullen & Mohammed, 2017). However, despite these halal laws, some of the most recent public cases against companies that sold haram substances mislabeled as halal originated in Michigan, and sadly, some lawyers have called these lawsuits "frivolous" (CBS Local, 2017). It is evident that this state's implementation of the law hurt this vulnerable populations.

Minnesota's law prohibits a person from serving or selling food products that are "falsely represented as halal" (Cullen & Mohammed, 2017). A distinction with this state is that it emphasizes the presence of both "oral or written statement" that deceives or "leads a reasonable person to believe that non-halal food...are halal" (Cullen & Mohammed, 2017). With New Jersey, the law requires that any seller who sells both halal and non-halal food to indicate on a storefront sign that both "halal and non-halal food" are sold (Cullen & Mohammed, 2017). All food items must also have halal label affixed to them for their packaging. Importantly, the

producer or distributor of halal food must also register with the Department of Agriculture & Markets, the name and contact information of any person certifying the food as halal (Cullen & Mohammed, 2017). This allows for administrative feasibility if the law were to be federalized or more heavily weighted with its penalization. It also allows for greater oversight, an issue seen nationwide.

5.3 Archival Data: Supportive Public Comment & Engagement

Constituent papers also highlighted the necessity for clearer, more effective policy for halal food when AB 1828 was being formulated. Cited in a Senate Committee on Public Safety report, Suzanne Meriden was named as the constituent that brought the idea of protecting halal food to her Assembly Member. In her letter to Assembly Member Campbell's staff, she explicitly states that the "language was identical" to the current kosher policy (Meriden, 2002). In the Assembly analysis, the background reads that AB 1828 seeks to provide the "same opportunities for people in the Muslim community to abide by halal as current law provides the Jewish community to follow kosher" (2002). It was proposed to allow Muslims "to be confident that the products they purchase and consume are halal" (2002). This analysis underlines the increased awareness of consumers during the turn of the last century, when information and transparency was becoming more readily available; however, it is evident that this knowledge gap is not fully transparent to the public as this industry is still dealing with information being withheld. Compounded to this, the multiple steps for certification impact the ability for consumers to have absolute confidence in the product, especially if the consumer is not from within the local area or Muslim community.

A letter from Dr. Muhammad Munir Chaudry, president of IFANCA and early advocate of AB 1828, stated that for more than twenty years he observed business practices of merchants

“claiming” to offer halal products for sale burgeoning from a few to over 200 in California and up to over 2000 in the U.S. overall (Chaudry, 2002). He also stated that the demand for these products is “greater than the supply” which presents opportunities for “unscrupulous businessmen, both Muslim and non-Muslim, to charge unreasonably high prices Halal meat and claim non-Halal meat to be Halal” (Chaudry, 2002). Unfortunately, this works to “take advantage” of the lack of quantity of products on the domestic market and still occurs to this day to some extent (Chaudry, 2002). This letter also noted that “consumer fraud is quite prevalent, especially at the distributor and retailer level” which is a finding that has continued since the passage of the bill’s existence (Chaudry, 2002). Examples of cases that have occurred in this letter range from pizza restaurants claiming to sell halal meats, “while they make pork sausage items using the same equipments by the same personnel”, to distributors that “have non-halal processed meats, packed under halal labels”— both underscoring the persistent problems of mislabelling and marketing of fraudulent halal meats (Chaudry, 2002).

Analyzing the intersectionality of halal food, the California Catholic Conference argued for the protection of religious freedom. In a constituent letter, they stated that they were in “complete support” of AB 1828, citing that the “protection of religious freedom of its citizens as expressed in customs, tenets, and obligations of various religious traditions” is the most fundamental to our current social structure (March 13, 2002). The California Catholic Conference also thought it was imperative to state that they are an organization that normally chooses not to “engage a direct discussion on expanding penalties for violating laws” but that there is “hurt and harm” done when sacred religious traditions is ignored or ridiculed (2002). The Conference’s urgency to unify behind this policy was born from a need to serve and educate others about the importance of religious respect for all groups within society.

Michael Ross, an advocate and former employee of the California Alliance for Consumer Protection, provided public comment on the implementation and adoption of this law. This organization provides legal advocacy with the focus on consumers. He wrote to Assemblyman Campbell in support of AB 1828, referencing the importance of “protecting consumer purchases” with the purpose being the consumer’s safety (*California Legislative Information*, 2002). During his interview, he stated that only “about 5 people within the whole building” of his organization had a minimal understanding of what halal food meant, let alone the guidelines and strict code that it calls for (Ross, 2018). Speaking as a previous advocate for this bill, he believed that the issue of filing grievances called for communication at the local level of community members speaking to butchers and businesses before taking the matter up with governmental entities, such as the California Alliance for Consumer Protection. Ross also claimed that imams and Muslims scholars need to provide a unified, clear-cut answer as to what halal should be in the market.

In the fall of 2000, *Halal Consumer* newsletter published by IFANCA, an article by Dr. Shaikh Jaafar Al-Quaderi stated that it has been “common for Muslim communities to de-emphasize the importance of proper food” as in “non-Muslim countries, they don’t seem to take things as seriously as required” due the lack of “good and pure” meat (Al-Quaderi, 2000). Following this remark, Dr. Al-Quaderi continued to emphasize the need of Muslims in America to take political action to defend their own religious, political and social status. However, as with the increase in technological advances and the interdependence of populations and markets, the expansion of the world population have allowed for producing more food with fewer farmers and ranchers, while prolonging freshness through packaging. This growth has created transportation systems that allow us to deliver “these foods to every market on earth” and creates an additional

layer of complexity in regards to quality assurance (IFANCA, 2000). Following this uncertainty, IFANCA began printing halal or haram ingredient lists, but they stated that these publications were becoming obsolete with the rapidly changing in the food industry. The organization developed a full-time staff to field complaints and created procedures for processed foods and ingredients lists. IFANCA disseminated brochures to consumers and the distributors of halal products in an attempt to both organize consumers and educate and train the distributors.

It became evident around 1990 that the industry was “ignoring” the domestic halal market and instead focusing their efforts on the export market, leaving companies with “little incentive to respond” to any consumer feedback (IFANCA, 2000). Consumers play an integral role and must stand up and fight for their religious and nutritional needs. It is encouraging to note that the tide toward state halal legislation occurred around the time of 9/11 when many Muslims were under racial hate crimes. Living in a society where discrimination and Islamophobia is present, social influences cannot be a deterrent to receiving the quality and quantity of products; policy must be a form of protection for this vulnerable group.

5.4 Qualitative Interview: Varying Business & Community Standards

Name	Organization	Sector
Roger Othman	IFANCA	Academic/Professional
Amir Hussain	Loyola Marymount University	Academic/Professional
Imam Kashif Ahmed	Salam Center	Religious Council
Mohammed Naqib Hamdan	University of Malaya	Academic/Professional
Aliana Turkel	PETA	Academic/Professional
Michael Ross	CA Alliance Consumer Protection	Lobbyist
Mark J. Post	Maastricht University	Academic/Professional

Laura Kurth	Maastricht University	Academic/Professional
Mustafa Umar	Islamic Institue of Orange County	Religious Council

Interview questions started with establishing oneself with the interviewee as the first question categorized the individual by their field of occupation, being coded as “Academic & Professional, Religious Council & Policy Expert/Lobbyist”. Other questions asked between the three groups following this classification were utilized to narrow the scope on the California halal market. When asked “How have you seen the halal industry changed since you have been serving Southern California?” scholar Mustafa Umar stated that,

“There is more transparency now which can lead to losing business for some companies”,

was one of multiple responses that relay the disinterest that businesses have in regulating and creating a higher standard (Umar, 2018). This simple yet succinct statement is a representation to how interviews I conducted add traction to the argument of how companies choose to not standardize while putting their consumers at risk. Following this, interviewees were asked “Do you feel that the passing and enacting of AB 1828 will lend itself to more permanent removal of fraudulent meat from the consumer market? Why or why not?”. A few scholars and imams did not know that such an act existed, assuming that this meat was solely under the protection of companies and local grocers that purchase these goods.

The methodology is framed to have the interviews serve as a supplement to the archival data and to provide pertinent analysis for recommendations as they furnish pertinent recommendations for possible future steps of protecting halal meat. The code that gained the highest frequency (10 times), was the need for a community standard among the consumer and the businesses that serve these halal-consuming groups. Interviews with imams, (the leaders in

mosques), overwhelmingly associated with this same notion. As phrased succinctly by Sacramento leader, Imam Ahmed, “Community awareness is important”; while the community standard is important to these leaders, it remains an impediment to quality assurance if various standards coexist and consumers are not informed (Ahmed, 2018). Different definitions and standards are extremely difficult for the industry to conceptualize, let alone follow and adjust to these measures. The community standard should be respected and creating a law that does not fit each Muslim group causes more problems. However, instituting a law that allows for the bare minimum of production and slaughter to be considered as halal would be equally detrimental.

When questioned, “What resources do community members primarily use to be informed regarding what products are halal certified?”, Umar stated leaders in mosques talk about which restaurants or products are certified without discerning the “different standards” that are used” (Umar, 2018). IFANCA, the largest and most respectable certifier in the U.S., stated that “looking for halal certification symbols, like the crescent, reading labels and cross-checking ingredients, contacting product manufacturers to ask them questions” and “relying on their local imam, Islamic scholars’ advice or the internet” was the most surefire methods for an individual to check the product (Umar, 2018). However, proximity to mosques, the ability to connect to imams or a halal butcher, and access to technological resources, are all variables that can differ for those with different resources and within geographic locations. This ambiguous process of researching halal products is time-consuming for individuals to engage with and presents challenges. Firstly, those that wish to spend their capital on these products should not have to worry about its quality; secondly, and more importantly, consumers should not be functioning as a check to the system. IFANCA implied that consumer pressure is the greatest impact for demand in quality, but who will take ownership for the lack of adherence in standards? The

industry players and the government should feel the need to utilize their power and protect the rights of these consumers. Consumers can stand as a check to the system, but only to an extremely limited extent because it's up the industry to comply.

For academics and professionals, the common thread of solutions to halal problems revolve around open communication between the markets and the consumers. They stressed that information regarding halal certification and production exists and is available to the Muslim consumer that seeks this awareness. It is also accessible to the average non-Muslim consumer, but they need to be adamant in their insistence to ensure that they are receiving true halal meat. The only avenue for bridging this knowledge gap comes in the form of open, free-flowing communication between the communities and the imam, the imam and the businesses, and most importantly through the communities and the businesses. Scholar Amir Hussain stated that consumers need to actively participate by talking with “store managers about stocking particular kinds of food” (Hussain, 2018). Professor Mark J. Post believes that social movements can have a direct effect on this industry and outreach to not only the “Muslim community, but also to the non-Muslim one” can unify consumer pressure (Post, 2018). Specifically, he cites social media as being a unifying instrument globally for product assurance.

Those within the policy field believe that the fine line between church and state spawns inability of the federal government to scrutinize the companies that do not abide by standards needed for this industry. The U.S. has long been founded upon religious freedom and tolerance, while the First Amendment’s non-establishment of religion by the federal government encourages religious pluralism. As the state government legally is not obliged to uptake any religious position, religious slaughtering has no proper legislative authority, besides regulation under the Humane Slaughter Act which reaffirms the established traditions put forth by both

Judaism and Islam. AB 1828 is strictly written from a “producer-consumer prospective” with language that is succinct but dry and non-descriptive when it comes to the actual description of halal meat (Ross, 2018). The issue with the way that is is penned will allow problems to persist. State governments and agencies, such as the USDA, need to undertake a larger part or interest in seeing fit that laws and regulations align to those that demand these standards.

All interview groups had a strong belief in California’s ability to shape the needs of the future halal market in America. When asked about the ability of transformation in the coming years, IFANCA proudly stated that the “U.S. is well situated to compete” in the rise of halal industry, and that the proof in its rise in popularity can be seen in “more universities offering halal options in their dining halls as a result of student requests”, “expansion of eateries like Halal Guys across the country” and “consumers of all ethnicities choosing halal dining options” (IFANCA, 2018). The rise in Muslim populations will cause market demand for food and other halal products to meet their requirements. Due to past repercussions of fraudulent halal cases, current industry leaders need to lead efforts in transparent production. Umar firmly stated that some Muslims “lost trust in the system” causing these people to become “more skeptical” and look for alternatives (Umar, 2018). This common thread of dissonance between the consumer, the government and the industry is hampering advances in this field for future populations.

International halal academia exists more widespread where policies enable these markets to occur. The principle of harmonization within the Treaty of Rome works to unify standards, while creating economies of scale which provide benefits to multiple sectors and allows for uniform standards throughout the EU. Through incentivizing these members to hold this commitment, the governing body uses monetary tools such as “carrots and sticks” which are funding and taxation, respectively. As seen through Matrix 1 below (Stakeholders Chart),

increasing the fine for companies that sell fraudulent halal meat is seen as a “stick”. This would be interpreted as negative repercussions for many stakeholders (besides the consumer and certifier) as they would have to spend resources to adapt, but it would create a more fair market in the long-term and allow for greater consumer confidence. As seen in scholar Laura Kurth’s interview, the creation of a “Halal Food Council of Europe” has allowed for government enactment of halal oversight. She also illuminated that mobile (phone) applications available such as “I Eat Halal” allow for individuals to input data and browse succinct information about restaurants and products that are halal. A widespread platform such as “I Eat Halal”, that allows for community input, assures that companies and restaurants are able to be indirectly regulated by an independent body, providing solutions to quality control.



5.5 Interview: Current & Future Status of Halal in the U.S. through Matrices

The matrices below provide the status of halal industries if these stakeholders in the second column were to enact the changes listed in the first column. These indicators largely shaped the recommendations for this field moving forward.

*Matrix 1: Stakeholders Chart***Indicators** +/- (neutral effect), + (positive effect) , - (negative effect)

Interest Groups	Government	Halal butchers	Halal companies	International partners	Consumers	Halal certifiers
Do nothing/status quo	+/-	+/-	-	+/-	-	-
Increase fine/sentence	-	-	+/-	+/-	+	+
Increase number of domestic halal certifiers	+	+	+	+/-	+	+
Increase government intervention in certifying	-	+/-	+	+/-	+	+/-
Educate/train halal-producing companies	+/-	+	+	+/-	+	+

*Matrix 2: Feasibility Chart***Indicators** +/- (neutral effect), + (positive effect) , - (negative effect)

Criteria	Political Feasibility	Administrative Feasibility	Equity	Social Impact	Economic Impact/ Cost Effectiveness
Do nothing/status quo	+/-	+	-	-	+
Increase fine/sentence	-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-

Increase number of halal domestic certifiers	+	-	+	+/-	+
Increase government intervention in certifying	-	-	+	+/-	+
Educate/train halal-producing companies	+/-	+/-	+	+	+

Recommendations

The recommendations for this policy problem revolve around practical and modest avenues for evoking greater legal and social change. While these well-advised suggestions seem to hold an idealist perspective, they would combine to create a system that is accountable to halal consumers and businesses, both domestic and global. The matrices reveal that the stakeholders at the lower level of bureaucracy (i.e. certification bodies, halal companies and butchers) provide the most effortless avenues for change regarding future recommendations. Higher level institutions (i.e. USDA) would truly benefit from these recommendations, but would require more considerations before restructuring.

1. Federalization of a Halal Act:

With a federalization of a “Halal Act”, the policy would lead to a wider consensus of understanding the necessary rules and practices that surround this sector.

2. Increasing Halal Certifying Bodies:

Through increasing halal certifying bodies, the number of domestic certifiers would expand allowing for higher levels of assurance.

3. Elevating the Penalization:

With an elevation of penalization for this crime, any infringement would be taken seriously and the religious protections and freedoms of this group would be better protected under the law.

4. Halal Industry Education & Training:

Finally, education and training on halal standards for businesses would solidify comprehension and ignite food justice change.

7.1 Federalization of a Halal Act

Establishing a comprehensive federal halal law, such as the various Halal Acts that exist at the state levels, would be a significant improvement to changing the fragmented problems that have occurred in different regions nationwide. Instituting a halal law at the federal level would ensure that this protection would be held to a higher measure. Halal meat will continue to be mishandled, mislabelled and misadvertised as long as this law is not uniform. The supremacy clause of Article VI of the U.S. Constitution contains a doctrine of “preemption” which established that a higher authority of a law (i.e. at the federal level) will supercede and displace the law of a lower authority of law (i.e. at the state or city level) when the two authorities or laws come into conflict (Carlson, 1997). As there is no federal law that addresses halal slaughter in any context (besides the necessity of religious slaughtering to abide by the Humane Slaughter Act of 1942), federalizing halal policy would trump the state laws that attempt to address and regulate halal meat and meat products. A federal halal law would be composed of components of state halal laws, but would make it more comprehensive and applicable to businesses.

This new law would have to incorporate language that is overseen by the collaboration of the more prominent halal certifiers and religious councils. An example of such a partnership could be IFANCA and CAIR. The two could provide clear information regarding how halal

policy implementation in the past caused issues with certification and production to provide for a proposal of the most thorough law that dramatically prevents any future fraudulent cases.

7.2 Increasing Halal Certification Bodies

Through increasing halal certifying bodies, a lucrative outcome would be the proliferation of halal businesses that could be created as well as the diversity of products that they would produce. Increasing the number of halal certifying bodies would allow for a more competitive market that holds these standards true and works to make other companies comply. This increase would drive up the competition in the halal industry and could lead to more innovation such as creating alternatives for products that are composed of gelatin and haram condiments. Other innovation could result in halal food participating in more crossovers with other rising health food movements, such as vegan food, non-genetically modified products, dairy-free, gluten-free and soy-free products. Halal food already is found in many of these cuisines, but the increase of labelling could allow for this market to flourish and be standardized in the U.S.

International conventions have been created to focus on the role the certification bodies can play in this sector. Many of these conventions are sponsored and organized by certification companies that are knowledgeable in the field and have the resources to hold these types of events. This not only brings attention to their organization, but allows for other certifying bodies to come together and share strategies, ideas and learn from one another. In countries where Islam plays a more predominant role, certification bodies have a positive and influential role in the relationships between the halal exporters and importers as well as the relationship with the consumers and the businesses. This role of facilitator is lacking in the U.S. and California market and the two need to take on a more concerted effort if this field is to be taken seriously.

7.3 Elevating the Penalization of Fraudulent Halal Meat

It is not nearly enough to federalize a halal policy to fully ensure that any form of infringement on consumers does not occur again, a closer look at the law itself is critical. When analyzing AB1828 and other state laws, they do not institute a strict enough penalty on those that have committed wrongdoings. While many of the laws draw inspiration from and are modelled on Kosher Acts, the penalties remain the same. Kosher food, has been recognized in the U.S. for a significantly longer period of time when compared to Islam, as Judaism has been highly accepted and more widespread within mainstream society. Islam has been the victim of widespread criticism, castigation and questioning more often than any other religion in American society. This wrongful affiliation by ignorant media outlets, politicians and leaders have done reprehensible damage to American Muslims and Muslims worldwide who are followers of a faith that desires to build bridges and live in peace. With this in mind, the law is in dire need of being amended and owes protection to the Muslim people who have felt the negative repercussions of their religious observances afflicted by impure halal meats.

Federal halal legislation should therefore create a tighter range of the monetary fine that is imposed on those who are found guilty, while also elevating the fine overall. The second offense listed in AB 1828 results in jail time, but an increase in those in jail is not beneficial for the economy that involved these transgressors. AB 1828 states that the fine is no less than \$100 and no more than \$600, but this is not serving justice. The federal penalization should be installed as a fine of no less than \$500 and no more than \$1,000 with jail time of no more than 60 days, as th. Consumer protection laws are put into operation and in existence so that occasions such as, consuming haram substances, do not occur. Individuals who spend their own capital on products that are advertised or marketed to follow a certain cuisine should not be deceived. The

sentencing for this law's increase would undoubtedly pressure businesses and butchers to hold this product to the standard that it deserves.

7.4 Halal Industry Education & Training

A main source of the problem within California and the American halal sector is the misconception and misunderstanding of what constitutes halal food and halal-related products. Firstly, the groups of the certifying bodies and religious councils that pen the federal halal act need to decide which is the most feasible standard to institute for companies that have different capabilities. The certification bodies will need to play a magnified role in relaying which standards need to be instituted and how to cost-effectively make this training replicable for nationwide businesses in this product's sector. For the U.S. the initial costs of every company that produces halal products when having to comply to standards would not be cost-effective initially. However, this high standard must be prescribed in the halal national law, and education and training must revolve around this one level of true halal meat. Once companies are able to comply, they will be able to outweigh any costs (i.e. through higher sales volumes) that may have been due to having to follow the standard halal protocols.

Education of halal standards can come in a variety of forms that is applicable to different business structures and models. A preliminary evaluation assessment is needed for butchers and companies before the training commences to ensure that time and money is not wasted on those that are not in violation of fraudulent halal meat. For example, the more intensive and in-depth training would be required for butchers that are not as seasoned in this sector which could involve an initial screening of their practices and then training to meet their certain needs. However, as pointed out by interviewees, the butchers and small businesses that specialize in this product (i.e. South Asian food-marts) are not the dominant blame of this religious infringement.

Halal certification bodies in cooperation with staffers and resources from the USDA's department need to be required to audit and train with businesses that sell halal meat. After a comprehensive audit, the next step will allow for the overseers to determine the extent to which these businesses are in need of intervention. Training would consist of a three part course on understanding what halal is, how to properly slaughter the meat, and how to communicate with buyers (domestic or international) and consumers through dealing with product complaints or questions relating to the product). This educational experience could be delivered in the form of written materials and visualization (a display, video, etc.). The larger businesses and grocery chains that are not as close-knit or knowledgeable about the community that they serve is where education and training resources need to be more heavily focused.

Community organizing is an important tool that can lead to improvement in this field. As mentioned earlier, religious groups are ideal for organizing as they are unified and passionate about matters that pertain to their faith and independence. Social media should be further used to engage with non-Muslim halal consumers and non-halal consumers to bring diverse sources of support. Social media should be used in training and educating the public on this matter.

Limitations

Limitations to this research include the extent to which this problem is actually affecting the population studied, as they have lived in the U.S. and coexisted with inadequate halal meat. Muslims may believe that their adaptation to eating a cuisine that is void of certain meats is livable, but the future projection of this population highlights the need for greater quantity. This conjecture could also be further manifested in those at the state level who may come into contact with this bill's impediments in the future, as they may believe that the policy has no

shortcomings. Other limitations may be found in the extent to which the Islamic councils have knowledge on the actual problems in the community and current data of this market.

Highlighting the multifaceted process of halal production and certification will reveal the issues of oversight and complications of within larger businesses. This research, its outcomes and policy recommendation will focus on the religious policy framework and its impact on the halal consumer base in the U.S. In regards to AB 1828, I believe that misrepresentations in state legislatures, the general lack of information on halal in the policy field and the enactment of this law have, in totality, amounted to an insufficient law. With this research and policy analysis, recommendations will be produced to improve the current legislative oversight and halal certification and access to provide fair and just products for its consumers to begin capitalizing on this lucrative market. Those that spend capital on halal products will benefit from this research, specifically those in California or other states that that have previously passed halal meat laws which have fallen short in protecting true halal quality. Other vulnerable populations at risk for decreased food access (those with restrictive diets: kosher, gluten-free, vegan, etc.) will also benefit from the attention brought to protecting rights to food.

In regards to data collection, reaching out to interview religious councils and imams was tedious and resulted in a smaller sample size and ultimately a decreased dearth of an interview pool. This ultimately led to less diverse opinions and information being shared with the researcher.

Conclusion

Moving forward, this sector has potential for a prosperous future. If the stakeholders are willing to respect the outlined recommendations put forth by this research, halal food can have positive impacts for not only Muslims, but also for the economy as well. It is feasible to make a

concrete change in this economic and social field, but it requires attention and a push for change. Through the recommendations of federalizing halal policy, increasing domestic certification bodies, elevating the penalizations of infringements, educating and training players in this field, consumers' confidence will be restored and populations will no longer be at risk. Halal food is the microcosm of how Muslims are treated in society, if the government does not protect this product or feel a need to intervene, it will continue to be neglected and deemed not worthy of safeguarding. This is a representation of how vulnerable populations get treated in mainstream society; they are discriminated and ostracized through a variety of avenues, whether that be economically, mentally, physically, politically, religiously, or socially. If these essential food injustices continue, the federal government and other bodies that are involved in this sphere will be complicit in the systemic abuse of Muslims. America, the land of the free, must not allow further impediments to adherence to religious practices. The government's lack of care regarding the assurances of access to halal meat is a metaphor for the way Americans feel about non-Christians. Protecting vulnerable populations need to be a priority in policy development now more than ever, when unfetter discrimination is alive and present in society. The time to take this issue to the forefront is now, the population of American Muslims is increasing and they will demand proper halal-related foods. California can be the leader of this halal movement, and bring greater access and availability of halal food to all.

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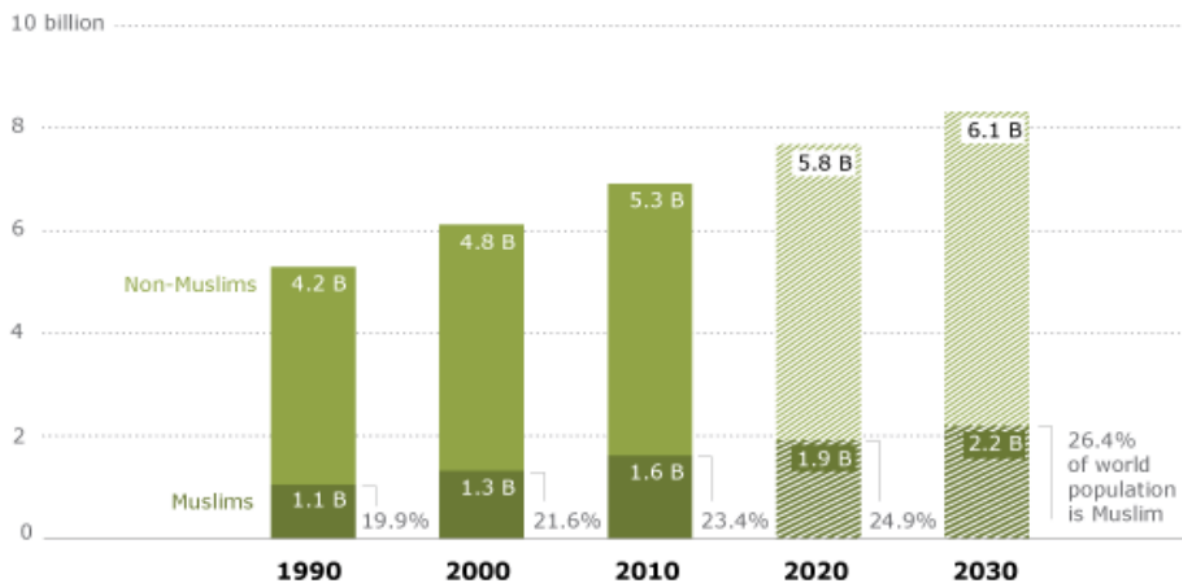
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Appendix A

Figure 1. Future Projection of Global Muslim Population

Muslims as a Share of World Population, 1990-2030

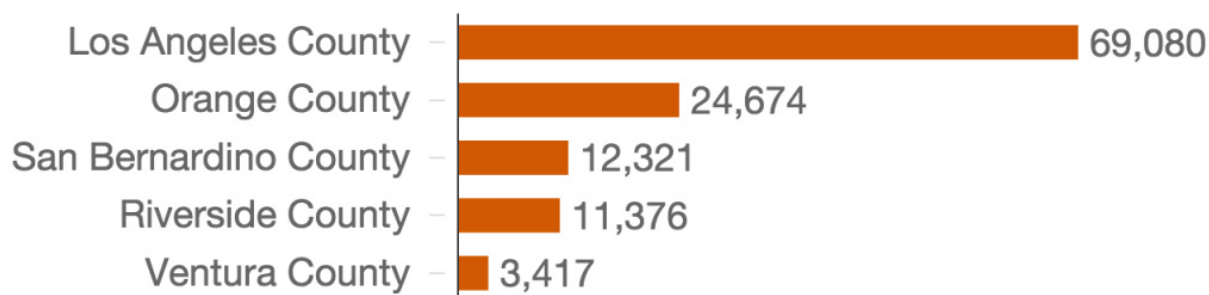


Percentages are calculated from unrounded numbers. Cross hatching denotes projected figures.

Source: Lipka, Michael. "Muslims and Islam: Key findings in the U.S. and around the world." Pew Research Center. August 09, 2017. Accessed October 16, 2017. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/08/09/muslims-and-islam-key-findings-in-the-u-s-and-around-the-world/>.

Figure 2. Estimated Muslim American population, 2010

Estimated Muslim-American population, 2010



Source: Lipka, Michael. "Muslims and Islam: Key findings in the U.S. and around the world." Pew Research Center. August 09, 2017. Accessed October 16, 2017. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/08/09/muslims-and-islam-key-findings-in-the-u-s-and-around-the-world/>.

Figure 3. Global Halal Ecosystem Rankings



Source: "State of the Global Islamic Economy Report 2016/17". Thomson Reuters, 2016. Islamic Finance Gateway

Figure 4. Designated Halal Logos Found in the U.S.



Source: Islamic Shura Council of North America. 2012. "A Comprehensive Survey of Southern California Mosques". Islamic Shura Council. <http://www.shuracouncil.org/Shura/SoCalMosqueSurvey2011.pdf>

Appendix B

Interview Group 1: Assembly Member

1. What prior knowledge did you have beforehand of this niched topic?
2. What specifically urged you to introduce AB 1828?
Did any community members seek you out? Did you seek out any particular community members for comment?
3. How vital was the integration of community members and community standards to penning this legislation?
4. How have you specifically seen California halal production change since the bill was passed? In regards to the past specific district that you served for in 2002, were there any changes that you noticed explicitly after AB 1828?
6. What resources do community members primarily use to be informed regarding what products are halal certified?
7. Do you feel as though Muslim American equality is present in political discourse in California or the U.S. in general?
8. In your opinion, are religious matters protected enough through policies? Do you think it is of importance to Californians residents in general?
To follow up, would you state that any religion receives more protection in the policies?
9. In what ways has the community been affected by the incident? Do you think there is any room for improvement in the future?
Does AB 1828 present itself as the best alternative to solving this issue? What other avenues of change were drafted?

Interview 2: Religious Council

1. How does your previous work align with your current research and community engagement?
2. How have you seen the halal industry changed since you have been served in Southern California?
3. Of the 2011 Southern California Mosque Survey, what neighborhoods have the most concentrated Muslim populations? What demographic data correlates with higher concentration of purchased halal items?
4. Do you feel that the passing and enacting of AB 1828 will lend itself to more permanent removal of fraudulent meat from the consumer market? Why or why not?

5. How frequently do customers file grievances with nearby butchers or businesses that serve this fraudulent meat?

Do you feel as though the system of filing grievances/reporting fraudulent meat is efficient or effective?

6. What resources do community members primarily use to be informed regarding what products are halal certified?

8. Are there any community actions to amend AB 1828? How does the community engage with this issue?

What representation is available for Little Arabia and other Muslim communities in Southern California?

9. Has your organization seen a rise in business or consumer base since you the 2011 settlement?

10. In what ways has the community been affected by the incident? Do you think there is any room for improvement in the future?

Interview 3: Academics/Experts

1. How has your previous academic background or interest aligned to this topic?

2. How have you seen the halal industry change since you have published and researched in this area?

3. Of the research you have completed thus far, what specific population groups do you feel is the most disadvantaged? What aspects or features of these populations could correlate to this?

4. Do you feel that policy or grassroots movements in halal's international scope have been impactful to ensuring quality halal meat/products? What avenue has led to more change?

5. What constitutes a reasonable level of harm in regards to this policy area?
Are there any particular alternatives to further aid in transparent halal certification?

6. Specifically in your region, how do consumers file grievances or report indiscretions in this sector?

Do you feel as though the system of filing grievances/reporting fraudulent meat is efficient or effective?

7. What resources do community members primarily use to be informed regarding what products are halal certified?

For how long have you/your community been aware of these resources?

8. What representation (politically or socially) is available for Muslim communities in your area?

9. Have you seen a rise in business and halal interest in your area specifically?

In what population demographics are consumers becoming more aware of the importance in transparency?

10. In what ways has the community been affected by impure halal meat? Do you think there is any room for improvement in the future?

Appendix C: Archival Documents

California Halal Food Act (2002)

Every person who with intent to defraud, sells or exposes for sale any meat or meat preparations, and falsely represents the same to be kosher, whether such meat or meat preparations be raw or prepared for human consumption, or as having been prepared under and from a product or products sanctioned by the orthodox Hebrew religious requirements; or falsely represents any food product, or the contents of any package or container, to be so constituted and prepared, by having or permitting to be inscribed thereon the words “kosher” in any language; or sells or exposes for sale in the same place of business both kosher and nonkosher meat or meat preparations, either raw or prepared for human consumption, who fails to indicate on his window signs in all display advertising in block letters at least four inches in height “kosher and nonkosher meats sold here”; or who exposes for sale in any show window or place of business as both kosher and nonkosher meat preparations, either raw or prepared for human consumption, who fails to display over each kind of meat or meat preparation so exposed a sign in block letters at least four inches in height, reading “kosher meat” or “nonkosher meat” as the case may be; or sells or exposes for sale in any restaurant or any other place where food products are sold for consumption on the premises, any article of food or food preparations and falsely represents the same to be kosher, or as having been prepared in accordance with the orthodox Hebrew religious requirements; or sells or exposes for sale in such restaurant, or such other place, both kosher and nonkosher food or food preparations for consumption on the premises, not prepared in accordance with the Jewish ritual, or not sanctioned by the Hebrew orthodox religious requirements, and who fails to display on his window signs in all display advertising, in block letters at least four inches in height “kosher and nonkosher food served here” is guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof be punishable by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars (\$100), nor more than six hundred dollars (\$600), or imprisonment in the county jail of not less than 30 days, nor more than 90 days, or both such fine and imprisonment.

The word “kosher” is here defined to mean a strict compliance with every Jewish law and custom pertaining and relating to the killing of the animal or fowl from which the meat is taken or extracted, the dressing, treatment and preparation thereof for human consumption, and the manufacture, production, treatment and preparation of such other food or foods in connection where with Jewish laws and customs obtain and to the use of tools, implements, vessels, utensils, dishes and containers that are used in connection with the killing of such animals and fowls and the dressing, preparation, production, manufacture and treatment of such meats and other products, foods and foodstuffs.

Maryland Halal Food Act (2016)

Maryland Code, Commercial Law 14-3602

- (a) (1) A person that represents to the public that any unpackaged food that is sold or served is halal shall prominently and conspicuously display on the premises on which the food is sold or served a complete disclosure statement.
- (2) The Division shall:
 - (i) Develop a form for disclosure statements; and
 - (ii) Make the form available to any person on request.
- (3) The disclosure statement shall:
 - (i) Be understandable and written in simple and readable plain language;

(ii) Disclose to the public the basis for a representation that any unpackaged food sold or served is halal, including a specification of practices relating to the preparation, handling, and sale of the food; and

(iii) Contain any additional information or conform to any additional requirements that the Division considers reasonable and necessary to carry out the provisions of this subtitle.

(4) A person that displays a disclosure statement in accordance with this section shall:

(i) Retain a copy of the disclosure statement, and any amendment to the disclosure statement, for at least 3 years from the date on which the person no longer represents to the public that any unpackaged food that is sold or served on the premises is halal; and

(ii) Provide a copy of the disclosure statement to the Division within 2 business days after the person's receipt of a request from the Division for a copy of the disclosure statement.

(5) A person shall conform its practices with respect to the sale or serving of unpackaged food that is represented to the public as halal to the standard displayed in the disclosure statement.

(b) A person may not sell or offer for sale any food represented to the public as halal, whether for consumption in the person's place of business or elsewhere, if, in the same place of business, the person also offers for sale any food, not represented to the public as halal, unless the person includes on each window sign and display advertisement in block letters at least 4 inches high the words "halal and nonhalal food sold here" or, as to the sale of meat alone, "halal and nonhalal meat sold here".

Terms Used In Maryland Code, Commercial Law 14-3602

including: means includes or including by way of illustration and not by way of limitation. See

Person: means an individual, corporation, business trust, estate, trust, partnership, limited liability company, association, joint venture, government, governmental subdivision, agency, or instrumentality, public corporation, or any other legal or commercial entity. See

(c) A person may not sell or offer for sale any food product, whether for consumption in the person's place of business or elsewhere, and falsely represent it to the public as halal.

(d) A person may not falsely represent, with intent to defraud, any food product or the contents of any package or container to be halal, by having or permitting to be inscribed on the package or container the word "halal" in English.

(e) A person may not display for sale, with intent to defraud, any food represented to the public as halal, whether for consumption in the person's place of business or elsewhere, if, in the same show window or other location on or in the place of business, the person also displays any food not represented to the public as halal, unless the person displays over the halal and nonhalal food signs that read, in block letters at least 4 inches high, "halal food" and "nonhalal food", respectively, or, as to the display of meat alone, "halal meat" and "nonhalal meat", respectively.

(f) (1) In this subsection, "Arabic character" means:

(i) Any Arabic word or letter; or

(ii) Any symbol, emblem, sign, insignia, or other mark that simulates an Arabic word or letter.

(2) In connection with any place of business that sells or offers for sale any food, a person may not display, whether in a window, door, or other location on or in the place of business, in any handbill or other printed matter distributed in or outside of the place of business, or otherwise in any advertisement, any Arabic characters, or any other representation to the public that the place of business sells or offers for sale halal food or meat, unless the person also displays in conjunction with the Arabic characters or other representation, in English, letters of at least the same size as the Arabic characters, the words "we sell halal meat and food only", "we sell nonhalal meat and food only", or "we sell both halal and nonhalal meat and food", as

appropriate.

(g) Possession of nonhalal food in any place of business advertising the sale of halal food only is presumptive evidence that the person in possession offers the nonhalal food for sale with intent to defraud.

Source: Cullen, J., & Mohammed, F. (2016, April 10). "GUEST ARTICLE: US halal food regulations... Are you up to speed?", from <https://www.foodnavigator-usa.com/Article/2016/04/11/GUEST-ARTICLE-US-halal-food-regulations-Are-you-up-to-speed#>

Michigan Halal Food Act

THE MICHIGAN PENAL CODE (EXCERPT) Act 328 of 1931

750.297f "Halal" defined; prohibited acts; violation as misdemeanor; presumption; additional prohibited acts; investigation and inspection by department of agriculture; rules.

Sec. 297f. (1) As used in this section, "halal" means prepared or processed in accordance with Islamic religious requirements.

(2) A person who, with intent to defraud, does any of the following is guilty of a misdemeanor:

(a) Sells or exposes for sale in any place where food products are sold for consummation on or off the premises any meat, meat preparation, article of food, or food product, and falsely represents it to be halal, whether the meat, or meat preparation, article of food, or food product is raw or prepared for human consumption, either by direct statement orally, or in writing, which is reasonably calculated to deceive or lead a reasonable person to believe that a representation is being made that that food is halal.

(b) Falsely represents any food product or the contents of any package or container to be so constituted and prepared, by having or permitting to be inscribed on the package or container the word "halal" in English.

(c) Exposes for sale in any show window or place of business both halal and non-halal meat or meat preparations, or halal and nonhalal food or food products, either raw or prepared for human consumption, and who fails to identify each kind of meat or meat preparation as "halal meat" or "halal food".

(d) Displays on his or her window, door, or in his or her place of business, or in handbills or other printed matter distributed inside or outside of his or her place of business, words or letters in Arabic characters other than the word "halal", or any sign, emblem, insignia, symbol, or mark in simulation of same, without also displaying in English letters of at least the same size as such characters, signs, emblems, insignia, symbols, or marks, the words "we sell halal meat and food only" or "we sell nonhalal meat and food only", or "we sell both halal and nonhalal meat and food".

(3) Possession of nonhalal food, in any place of business advertising the sale of halal food only, is presumptive evidence that the person in possession exposes the nonhalal meat and food for sale with intent to defraud.

(4) A person who does any of the following is guilty of a misdemeanor:

- (a) Willfully marks, stamps, tags, brands, labels, or in any other way or by any other means of identification represents or causes to be marked, stamped, tagged, branded, labeled, or represented as halal food or food products not halal or not so prepared.
- (b) Willfully removes, defaces, obliterates, covers, alters, or destroys, or causes to be removed, defaced, obliterated, covered, altered, or destroyed the original slaughterhouse plumba or any other mark, stamp, tag, brand, label, or any other means of identification affixed to foods or food products to indicate that those foods or food products are halal.
- (c) Knowingly sells, disposes of, or has in his or her possession, for the purpose of resale to any person as halal, any food or food products not having affixed to the food or food product the original slaughterhouse plumba or any other mark, stamp, tag, brand, label, or other means of identification employed to indicate that that food or food product is halal or any food or food products to which such plumba, mark, stamp, tag, brand, label, or other means of identification has been fraudulently affixed.
- (5) The department of agriculture shall investigate and inspect the sale of halal food products and shall enforce this act. The department of agriculture may promulgate rules for the enforcement and administration of this section under the administrative procedures act of 1969, 1969 PA 306, MCL 24.201 to 24.328.

History: Add. 2002, Act 207, Imd. Eff. Apr. 29, 2002.

Compiler's note: In subsection (2)(a), "consummation" evidently should read "consumption."

Source: Cullen, J., & Mohammed, F. (2016, April 10). "GUEST ARTICLE: US halal food regulations... Are you up to speed?", from <https://www.foodnavigator-usa.com/Article/2016/04/11/GUEST-ARTICLE-US-halal-food-regulations-Are-you-up-to-speed#>

Minnesota Halal Food Act

CHAPTER 54-H.F.No. 149

An act relating to food; regulating the serving, selling, and labeling of certain religion-sanctioned food; amending Minnesota Statutes 2000, sections 31.59, subdivision 4; 31.661; proposing coding for new law in Minnesota Statutes, chapter 31.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA:

Section 1. Minnesota Statutes 2000, section 31.59, subdivision 4, is amended to read:

Subd. 4. [HUMANE METHODS.] "Humane methods" means:

- (1) Any method of slaughtering livestock which normally causes animals to be rendered insensible to pain by a single blow of a mechanical instrument or shot of a firearm or by chemical, or other means that are rapid and effective, before being shackled, hoisted, thrown, cast, or cut; or
- (2) The methods of preparation necessary to safe handling of the animals for Halal ritual slaughter, Jewish ritual

slaughter and of slaughtering required by the ritual of the Islamic or Jewish faith, whereby the animal suffers loss of consciousness by anemia of the brain caused by the simultaneous and instantaneous severance of the carotid arteries with a sharp instrument.

Sec. 2. [31.658] [HALAL PRODUCTS.]

Subdivision 1. [HALAL FOOD REQUIREMENTS.] A person must not:

- (1) serve, sell, or expose for sale food or food products, meat or meat products, or poultry or poultry products that are falsely represented as Halal;
- (2) permit food, food products, meat or meat products, or poultry or poultry products, or the contents of a package or container to be labeled or inscribed with the "Halal" sign unless the food or food products, meat or meat products, or poultry or poultry products have been prepared and maintained in compliance with the laws and customs of the Islamic religion; or
- (3) make an oral or written statement that deceives or otherwise leads a reasonable person to believe that non-Halal food or food products, meat or meat products, or poultry or poultry products are Halal.

Subd. 2. [PRESUMPTION.] Possession of non-Halal food or food products, meat or meat products, or poultry or poultry products in a place of business is presumptive evidence that the person in possession of them exposes them for sale.

Subd. 3. [DEFENSE.] It is a defense against a charge of misrepresenting non-Halal food or food products, meat or meat products, or poultry or poultry products as Halal that the person relied in good faith upon the representation of a slaughterhouse, manufacturer, processor, packer, distributor, or person or organization which certifies or represents a food or food product, meat or meat product, or poultry or poultry product as having been prepared under or sanctioned by Islamic religious requirements.

Sec. 3. Minnesota Statutes 2000, section 31.661, is amended to read:

31.661 [MARKS, STAMPS, TAGS, BRANDS, OR LABELS.]

No person shall:

- (1) willfully mark, stamp, tag, brand, label, or in any other way or by any other means of identification, represent or cause to be marked, stamped, tagged, branded, labeled, or represented as kosher or as having been prepared in accordance with the orthodox Hebrew religious requirements food or food products not kosher or not so prepared, or;
- (2) willfully mark, stamp, tag, brand, label, or in any other way or by any other means of identification, represent or

cause to be marked, stamped, tagged, branded, labeled, or represented as Halal or as having been prepared in accordance with the Islamic religious requirements, food or food products, meat or meat products, or poultry or poultry products not Halal or not so prepared;

(3) willfully remove, deface, obliterate, cover, alter, or destroy or cause to be removed, defaced, obliterated, covered, altered, or destroyed the original slaughterhouse plumba or any other mark, stamp, tag, brand, label, or any other means of identification affixed to foods or food products to indicate that such foods or food products are kosher or have been prepared in accordance with the orthodox Hebrew religious requirements, or;

(3) (4) willfully remove, deface, obliterate, cover, alter, or destroy or cause to be removed, defaced, obliterated, covered, altered, or destroyed the original Halal sign, mark, stamp, tag, brand, label, or any other means of identification affixed to foods or food products, meat or meat products, or poultry or poultry products to indicate that the foods or food products, meat or meat products, or poultry or poultry products are Halal or have been prepared in accordance with Islamic religious requirements;

(5) knowingly sell, dispose of, or possess, for the purpose of resale to any person as kosher, any food or food products not having affixed thereto the original slaughterhouse plumba or any other mark, stamp, tag, brand, label, or other means of identification employed to indicate that such food or food products are kosher or have been prepared in accordance with the orthodox Hebrew religious requirements or any food or food products to which such plumba, mark, stamp, tag, brand, label, or other means of identification has or have been fraudulently affixed.; or

(6) knowingly sell, dispose of, or possess for the purpose of resale to any person as Halal, any food or food products, meat or meat products, or poultry or poultry products not having affixed the original Halal sign, mark, stamp, tag, brand, label, or other means of identification employed to indicate that the food or food products, meat or meat products, or poultry or poultry products are Halal or have been prepared in accordance with Islamic religious requirements or any food or food products, meat or meat products, or poultry or poultry products to which the original Halal mark, stamp, tag, brand, label, or other means of identification has been fraudulently affixed.

Presented to the governor April 26, 2001

Signed by the governor April 30, 2001, 3:00 p.m.

Source: Cullen, J., & Mohammed, F. (2016, April 10). "GUEST ARTICLE: US halal food regulations... Are you up to speed?", from <https://www.foodnavigator-usa.com/Article/2016/04/11/GUEST-ARTICLE-US-halal-food-regulations-Are-you-up-to-speed#>

Illinois Halal Food Act

(410 ILCS 637/) Halal Food Act.

(410 ILCS 637/1)

Sec. 1. Short title. This Act may be cited as the Halal Food Act.

(410 ILCS 637/5)

Sec. 5. Definitions. As used in this Act:

"Advertise" means to engage in promotional activities including, but not limited to, newspaper, radio, Internet and electronic media, and television advertising; the distribution of flyers and circulars; and the display of window and interior signs.

"Food", "food product", or "food commodity" means any food or food product inspected as required by law, or any food preparation from a source approved by the Department of Agriculture, whether raw or prepared for human consumption, and whether in a solid or liquid state, including, but not limited to, any meat, meat product or meat preparation; any milk, milk product or milk preparation; and any beverage.

"Food commodity in package form" means a food commodity put up or packaged in any manner in advance of sale in units suitable for retail sale and which is not intended for consumption at the point of manufacture.

"Halal" means prepared under and maintained in strict compliance with the laws and customs of the Islamic religion including but not limited to those laws and customs of zabiha/zabeeha (slaughtered according to appropriate Islamic code), and as expressed by reliable recognized Islamic entities and scholars.

(Source: P.A. 92-394, eff. 1-1-02.)

(410 ILCS 637/10)

Sec. 10. Deception prohibited.

(a) It is a Class B misdemeanor for any person to make any oral or written statement that directly or indirectly tends to deceive or otherwise lead a reasonable individual to believe that a non-halal food or food product is halal.

(b) The presence of any non-halal food or food product in any place of business that advertises or represents itself in any manner as selling, offering for sale, preparing, or serving halal food or food products only, is presumptive evidence that the person in possession offers the food or food product for sale in violation of subsection (a).

(c) It shall be a complete defense to a prosecution under subsection (a) that the defendant relied in good faith upon the representations of an animals' farm, slaughterhouse, manufacturer, processor, packer, or distributor, or any person or organization which certifies or represents any food or food product at issue to be halal or as having been prepared under or sanctioned by Islamic religious requirements.

(Source: P.A. 92-394, eff. 1-1-02.)

(410 ILCS 637/15)

Sec. 15. Other offenses concerning halal food. It is a Class B misdemeanor for any person to:

(1) falsely represent any animal sold, grown, or

offered for sale to be grown in a halal way to become food for human consumption;

(2) falsely represent any food sold, prepared,

served, or offered for sale to be halal;

(3) remove or destroy, or cause to be removed or

destroyed, the original means of identification affixed to food commodities to indicate that the food commodities are halal, except that this paragraph (3) may not be construed to prevent the removal of the identification if the commodity is offered for sale as non-halal;

(4) sell, dispose of, or have in his or her

possession for the purpose of resale as halal any food commodity to which an animals' farm or slaughterhouse mark, stamp, tag, brand, label, or other means of identification has been fraudulently attached;

(5) label or identify a food commodity in package

form to be halal or possess such labels or means of identification, unless he or she is the manufacturer or packer of the food commodity in package form;

(6) label or identify an article of food not in

package form to be halal or possess such labels or other means of identification, unless he or she is the manufacturer of the article of food;

(7) falsely label any food commodity in package form

as halal by having or permitting to be inscribed on it, in any language, the words "halal" or "helal", or any other words or symbols, not limited to characters in Arabic writing, which would tend to deceive or otherwise lead a reasonable individual to believe that the commodity is halal;

(8) sell, offer for sale, prepare, or serve in or

from the same place of business both unpackaged non-halal food and unpackaged food he or she represents to be halal unless he or she posts a window sign at the entrance of his or her establishment which states in block letters at least 4 inches in height: "Halal and Non-Halal Foods Sold Here", or "Halal and Non-Halal Foods Served Here", or a statement of similar import;

(9) sell or have in his or her possession for the

purpose of resale as halal any food commodity not having affixed thereto the original animals' farm or slaughterhouse mark, stamp, tag, brand, label, or other means of identification employed to indicate that the food commodity is halal; or

(10) display for sale, in the same show window or

other location on or in his or her place of business, both unpackaged food represented to be halal

and unpackaged non-halal food unless he or she:

(A) displays over the halal and non-halal food

signs that read, in clearly visible block letters, "halal food" and "non-halal food", respectively, or, as to the display of meat alone, "halal meat" and "non-halal meat", respectively;

(B) separates the halal food products from the

non-halal food products by keeping the products in separate display cabinets, or by segregating halal items from non-halal items by use of clearly visible dividers; and

(C) slices or otherwise prepares the halal food

products for sale with utensils used solely for halal food items.

(Source: P.A. 92-394, eff. 1-1-02.)

Source: Cullen, J., & Mohammed, F. (2016, April 10). "GUEST ARTICLE: US halal food regulations... Are you up to speed?", from <https://www.foodnavigator-usa.com/Article/2016/04/11/GUEST-ARTICLE-US-halal-food-regulations-Are-you-up-to-speed#>

Virginia Halal Food Act

§ 3.2-5124. Labeling as kosher and halal; penalty.

It is unlawful to label any repackaged food or food product or display or offer for sale any unwrapped food or food product that represents the food or food product as kosher or halal without indicating the person or entity authorizing such designation by providing the name or symbol of the authority or providing a phone number or website to access the information. Any person who knowingly violates any provision of this section is guilty of a Class 3 misdemeanor.

Source: Cullen, J., & Mohammed, F. (2016, April 10). "GUEST ARTICLE: US halal food regulations... Are you up to speed?", from <https://www.foodnavigator-usa.com/Article/2016/04/11/GUEST-ARTICLE-US-halal-food-regulations-Are-you-up-to-speed#>

USDA Humane Slaughter Act

7 U.S.C.A. § 1902. Humane No method of slaughtering or handling in connection with slaughtering shall be deemed to comply with the public policy of the United States unless it is humane. Either of the following two methods of slaughtering and handling are hereby found to be humane:

(a) in the case of cattle, calves, horses, mules, sheep, swine, and other livestock, all animals are rendered insensible to pain by a single blow or gunshot or an electrical, chemical or other means that is rapid and effective, before being shackled, hoisted, thrown, cast, or cut.

(b) by slaughtering in accordance with the ritual requirements of the Islamic and Jewish faith or any other religious faith that prescribes a method of slaughter whereby the animal suffers loss of consciousness by anemia of the brain caused

by the simultaneous and instantaneous severance of the carotid arteries with a sharp instrument and handling in connection with such slaughtering.

Source: Welty, J. "Humane Slaughter". *The National Agricultural Law Center: Duke Law Journals*. <http://law.duke.edu/journals/lcp>. 2007.

California Kosher Food Act

383b. TITLE 10. OF CRIMES AGAINST THE PUBLIC HEALTH AND SAFETY [369a - 402c]

Every person who with intent to defraud, sells or exposes for sale any meat or meat preparations, and falsely represents the same to be kosher, whether such meat or meat preparations be raw or prepared for human consumption, or as having been prepared under and from a product or products sanctioned by the orthodox Hebrew religious requirements; or falsely represents any food product, or the contents of any package or container, to be so constituted and prepared, by having or permitting to be inscribed thereon the words "kosher" in any language; or sells or exposes for sale in the same place of business both kosher and nonkosher meat or meat preparations, either raw or prepared for human consumption, who fails to indicate on his window signs in all display advertising in block letters at least four inches in height "kosher and nonkosher meats sold here"; or who exposes for sale in any show window or place of business as both kosher and nonkosher meat preparations, either raw or prepared for human consumption, who fails to display over each kind of meat or meat preparation so exposed a sign in block letters at least four inches in height, reading "kosher meat" or "nonkosher meat" as the case may be; or sells or exposes for sale in any restaurant or any other place where food products are sold for consumption on the premises, any article of food or food preparations and falsely represents the same to be kosher, or as having been prepared in accordance with the orthodox Hebrew religious requirements; or sells or exposes for sale in such restaurant, or such other place, both kosher and nonkosher food or food preparations for consumption on the premises, not prepared in accordance with the Jewish ritual, or not sanctioned by the Hebrew orthodox religious requirements, and who fails to display on his window signs in all display advertising, in block letters at least four inches in height "kosher and nonkosher food served here" is guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof be punishable by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars (\$100), nor more than six hundred dollars (\$600), or imprisonment in the county jail of not less than 30 days, nor more than 90 days, or both such fine and imprisonment.

The word "kosher" is here defined to mean a strict compliance with every Jewish law and custom pertaining and relating to the killing of the animal or fowl from which the meat is taken or extracted, the dressing, treatment and preparation thereof for human consumption, and the manufacture, production, treatment and preparation of such other food or foods in connection wherewith Jewish laws and customs obtain and to the use of tools, implements, vessels, utensils, dishes and containers that are used in connection with the killing of such animals and fowls and the dressing, preparation, production, manufacture and treatment of such meats and other products, foods and foodstuffs.

Sullivan, C. B. *Are Kosher Food Laws Constitutionally Kosher?*, 1993.

Appendix D: Data Visualziations

Figure 1: 3D Word Cloud



Figure 2: Packed Word Cloud

