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The Impact of Institutional Changes on the Halal Food and Beverage Certification Process in Indonesia

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This paper aims to first describe the halal certification process for food and beverage products that has been carried out by LPPOM MUI. Second; explore the process of institutional change in halal certification of food and beverage products. Third; the impact of the presence of Law No. 33 of 2014 on halal certification institutions, business actors and consumers. These objectives are achieved using descriptive qualitative research. In presenting the data, it is discussed in detail using descriptions and narratives that can illustrate the results of the research. The results of the discussion of this paper are first, there are changes in procedures for submitting certification of food and beverage products, Second, the process of institutional change in food and beverage certification is still complicated and it seems that there has not been a complete institutional change, because in general it has not changed from the old pattern, third, the impact of institutional change is the cycle of Indonesian halal food products, because initially halal products were only based on MUI fatwas but now also refer to Law No. 33 of 2014.

Keywords: LPPOM MUI,certification halal food;institutional changes,Law No. 33 of 2014

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1. Introduction

The number of halal-labeled food and beverages in Indonesia is increasing year by year. This is evident from 2018 data from the Indonesian Ulema Council (LPPOM MUI), which shows an increase in companies receiving halal certification.

Table 1
Number of LPPOM Halal Certified Products

Year	Number of Companies	Amount Sh	Number of Products
2011	4,325	4,869	39,002
2012	5,829	6,157	32,890
2013	6,666	7,014	64,121
2014	10,180	10,322	68,576
2015	7,940	8,676	77,256
2016	6,564	7,392	114,264
2017	7,198	8,157	127,286
2018	11,249	17,398	204,222
TOTAL (2011-2018	**59, 951**	**69, 985**	**727,617**

Source: LPPOM MUI 2019

The table above shows the growth in the number of companies with halal-certified products. This increase is clearly visible from year to year, particularly in 2018, both in terms of the number of companies and

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the number of certified products. This indicates that business actors are experiencing increased awareness in providing assurance to consumers.

The Indonesian Ulema Council as the policy holder in granting certification to all products in Indonesia(Karim & Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, 2013) In 2019, there was an increased push to immediately certify all products in Indonesia. A growing understanding of religion has led Indonesian producers to become more aggressive in labeling their products. Specifically, in Indonesia, producers, distributors, and sellers of goods and services are facilitated in the certification process by the Food and Drug Supervisory Agency - Indonesian Ulema Council (LPPOM-MUI).(Karim & Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, 2013)LPPOM-MUI is an institution tasked with overseeing products circulating in the community by issuing halal certificates to producers so that products that have obtained halal certification can be given an official halal label on their products with the logo that has been determined by the MUI. This means that the product has passed inspection in terms of its process and content and is free from elements prohibited by Islamic teachings, or the product has become a halal product category and does not contain haram elements and can be safely consumed by Muslim consumers.(Ahmed, Najmi, Faizan, Ahmed, & Ahmed, 2018).

MUI has established procedures in such a way that the halal certification process for a product can be easy and the costs incurred can be affordable.(Chan et al., 2019; "Understanding 'Halal' and 'Halal Certification & Accreditation System' - A Brief Review" 2016)The presence of halal-certified products is increasingly strong in Indonesia, especially in the master plan for the development of the Sharia economy in Indonesia, which is the development of halal products, with the target of Indonesia becoming an International Halal Hub by 2020.(BAPPENAS, 2019). Especially certification for food and beverage products, which are products that consumers are always wary of.(Ali, Rochmanto, 2014)

The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), through LPPOM MUI, has a professional and systematic work system for the halal certification process (Mashudi, 2015). The halal certification process is carried out by producers to protect consumers, as a manifestation of the Consumer Protection Law and the 2012 Food Law.(Krisharyanto, Wijaya, & Surabaya, 2019).

This process was further strengthened by the enactment of Law No. 33 of 2014 concerning Halal Product Guarantees. The enactment of Law No. 33 of 2014 was motivated, among other things, by the proliferation of food and beverage businesses that failed to provide health guarantees for consumers. Furthermore, increasing business competition in various countries also necessitated the enactment of a law concerning halal product guarantees (Konoras, 2017). GIEI data indicates that Indonesia is the world's number one consumer of halal products, but has not yet entered the top 10 global halal producers.(Inclusive & Economy, 2018).

This data shows that Indonesia is not yet truly serious about managing halal products, especially in the food and beverage sector, even though consumers need certainty and assurance when consuming them. For example, in the recent gelatin case, there is consumer confusion about the halal status and safety of gelatin.(Hamid, Said, & Meiria, 2019). So this consumer anxiety must be captured as a form of legal protection, both state law (statutes) and sharia law (religion).

The emerging issue related to this is the lack of definitive implementation of Law No. 33 of 2014. This uncertain implementation is due to the absence of a Government Regulation that embodies it in detail and an unclear application format. Ultimately, the presence of Law No. 33 of 2014 has sparked controversy. The process of enacting the law has been plagued by back and forth, revisions, and amendments. This is because the presence of this law signals that the halal certification process, from food and beverages to other halal products, has shifted from the authority of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) to the Halal Product Assurance Organizing Agency (BPOM) under the Ministry of Religious Affairs. This institutional shift has raised concerns for business actors, fearing the high economic costs arising from the halal certification process.(Bashir, 2019; Krisharyanto et al., 2019).

In fact, the authority to issue halal certification remains with the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), despite the announcement that all halal food and beverage products will be required to be certified by October 2019. However, debate continues as the institutional changes are underway.

Based on this phenomenon, this paper aims to: first, describe the halal certification process for food and beverage products currently carried out by LPPOM MUI. Second, explore the institutional changes that have occurred in halal certification for food and beverage products. Third, examine the impact of Law No. 33 of 2014 on halal certification institutions, business actors, and consumers.

Literature review

The Concept of Halal Certification and Halal Product Assurance

Halal certification is the process of verifying and formally recognizing a product or service that meets halal standards according to Islamic teachings. In Indonesia, guarantees of product halalness are legally regulated through Law Number 33 of 2014 concerning Halal Product Assurance (UU JPH). This law defines halal product assurance as legal certainty regarding a product's halal status issued by authorized institutions, namely the Halal Product Assurance Organizing Agency (BPJPH) in collaboration with the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) as fatwa issuer and the Halal Inspection Institution (LPH) as technical inspection implementer. In practice, this concept not only concerns aspects of substance and production processes, but also reflects compliance with religious norms and state regulations (Fauzi et al., 2023). Halal certification in Indonesia is no longer voluntary but is mandatory for businesses producing consumer goods, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, and related services. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of the concept and mechanisms of halal certification is crucial in assessing the social and institutional implications of this policy.

Institutional Change Theory

The primary conceptual framework for understanding changes in the halal certification system is the Institutional Change Theory. This theory states that changes in institutions both formal, such as laws and regulations, and informal, such as cultural values and norms occur due to tensions between existing structures and external and internal environmental demands (North, 1990). In the Indonesian context, the transformation from a community based halal certification system (MUI/LPPOM) to a state-managed system (BPJPH) reflects a form of formal institutional change. According to Helmke and Levitsky (2004), institutional change can be complementary, substitutional, or even contradictory, depending on how the old and new institutions interact. In this case, the relationship between MUI as a religious institution and BPJPH as a state institution is in a complex dynamic that requires a remapping of roles and legitimacy. This theory is relevant for exploring factors that slow or accelerate the implementation of the JPH Law, including resistance, conflicts of interest, and institutional infrastructure readiness.

Regulatory Compliance Theory

To understand business actors' behavior towards halal certification policies, the Regulatory Compliance Theory approach is used. This theory explains that regulatory compliance can be driven by three main factors: fear of sanctions (deterrence), social norms (normative commitment), and trust in regulatory authorities (legitimacy) (Tyler, 2006). In the context of halal certification, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) often face a dilemma between normative compliance due to religious demands and the administrative difficulties of following official state procedures. Therefore, compliance is not only seen as a form of submission to the law, but also the result of the interaction between risk perception, ease of access, and trust in government institutions. This theory provides a basis for understanding why participation levels in halal certification vary across regions, and how responsive policy design can increase voluntary compliance.

Relevant Previous Research

Several previous studies have made important contributions to understanding the dynamics of halal certification in Indonesia. First, a study by Maulana et al. (2025) qualitatively examined the perceptions of industry players and regulators regarding the institutional transition from the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) to the BPJPH. They found that while there was support for the legalization of certification, there were concerns about the bureaucratization and additional costs posed by the new system. Second, a study by Ikhwan (2024) used a bibliometric approach to map research trends on halal certification in Indonesia and found that most studies still focused on the technical aspects of products and did not delve deeply into the social and cultural aspects of policy implementation. Third, Fauzi et al. (2023) conducted a normative legal study on the legitimacy of the BPJPH as a new institution and showed that overlapping authority between BPJPH and the MUI remains a major obstacle to the effectiveness of the JPH Law. These three studies demonstrate the need for a more contextual, qualitative approach to describe the reality at the grassroots level, particularly in terms of interpretation and adaptation by business actors in the regions.

The Relationship between Theory and Research Context

Based on the theories above, it is clear that the implementation of halal certification is not merely an administrative issue, but also involves institutional dynamics, social compliance, and religious values. The shift from the old system to the new system requires adaptation from both government institutions and business actors. Institutional change theory provides a lens for understanding the structural transition

process and the resulting resistance, while regulatory compliance theory helps explain how business actors respond to the policy based on their perceptions and experiences. By combining these two approaches, this study seeks to explain how the implementation of halal certification policies is practiced and interpreted by key actors in the field. This study is expected to provide theoretical contributions to expanding the literature on institutional change in certification systems, as well as practical contributions to improving halal product assurance policies to be more inclusive and efficient.

2. Method

This study uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive research type, which aims to describe in depth and comprehensively the dynamics of institutional change in the halal certification process in Indonesia. This approach was chosen because it is appropriate to the characteristics of the phenomenon studied, namely a complex, contextual social and policy phenomenon, and requires a holistic understanding from the perspective of the actors directly involved. Qualitative research also allows researchers to capture the subjective meanings, perceptions, and experiences of business actors, stakeholders, and halal certification institutions, both before and after the enactment of Law No. 33 of 2014 concerning Halal Product Assurance (UU JPH).

This descriptive-qualitative research focuses on describing the halal certification process that took place during two important periods: first, the period before the enactment of the JPH Law (which was dominated by the role of LPPOM MUI as the main institution); and second, the period after the enactment of the JPH Law (which transferred some institutional authority to BPJPH under the Ministry of Religious Affairs). This description not only highlights the procedural stages but also concerns the dynamics of institutional relations, business actors' perceptions of regulatory changes, and implementation obstacles and challenges faced in the field.

All data obtained were analyzed using thematic descriptive analysis techniques, identifying thematic patterns from the interviews and documents reviewed. This analysis was conducted through coding, categorization, and interpretation based on the research focus, namely the institutional impact of regulatory changes. The researchers organized the data into an interpretive narrative that revealed the relationship between policy and field reality. To enhance data validity, this study also utilized source and method triangulation, namely simultaneously comparing findings from interviews, documents, and observations.

Informants were selected using purposive sampling, with the criteria being that informants are parties directly involved in or impacted by changes to the halal certification system. These criteria include: (1) MSMEs who have applied for or are currently applying for halal certification; (2) officials from relevant official institutions (BPJPH, LPPOM MUI); and (3) professionals or experts in the halal field. The number of informants was determined using the principle of data saturation, namely that data collection was stopped when the information obtained had reached repetition or no longer provided new findings.

To maintain research ethics, the researcher ensured that all informants were given an initial explanation of the research objectives, guaranteed confidentiality, and were given the freedom to withdraw from the interview process at any time. Data documentation was conducted with the informants' consent, either through audio recordings or written notes.

With such an approach and method strategy, it is hoped that this research will be able to provide a rich and complete picture of the reality of institutional changes in the halal certification system in Indonesia, as well as provide substantive input for improving the governance of halal product assurance in the future.

3. Results & Discussion

Results

From the sources and several discussions and existing literature, questions regarding the halal certification process and its impact on the halal certification process can be answered in this article.

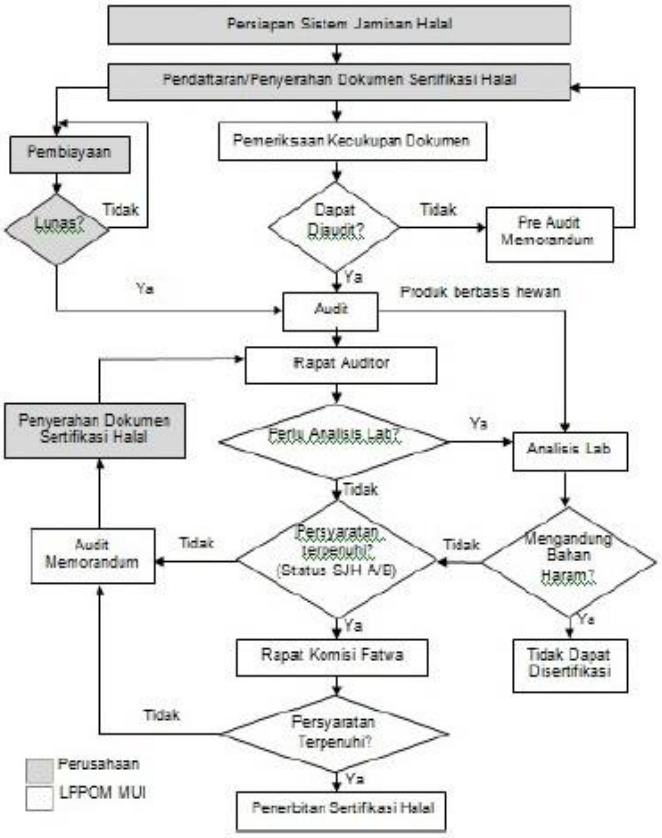
Halal Food Certification Process in Indonesia

The halal certification process involves a halal assurance system run by the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) through the LPPOM MUI, which guarantees that food and beverages consumed are safe and healthy. Businesses undergo two procedures during the halal certification process: before and after the enactment of Law No. 33 of 2014.

In the halal certification process and implementation, LPPOM MUI collaborates with several institutions, ministries, and universities in Indonesia. Specifically, LPPOM MUI collaborates with the BPOM (Indonesian Food and Drug Authority) to include MUI halal certification on the packaging of products distributed in Indonesia. The following outlines the halal certification process implemented by LPPOM MUI before the implementation of the JPH Law.

Image of the halal certification process at LPPOM MUI before the implementation of the Halal Product Guarantee Law

Figure 1



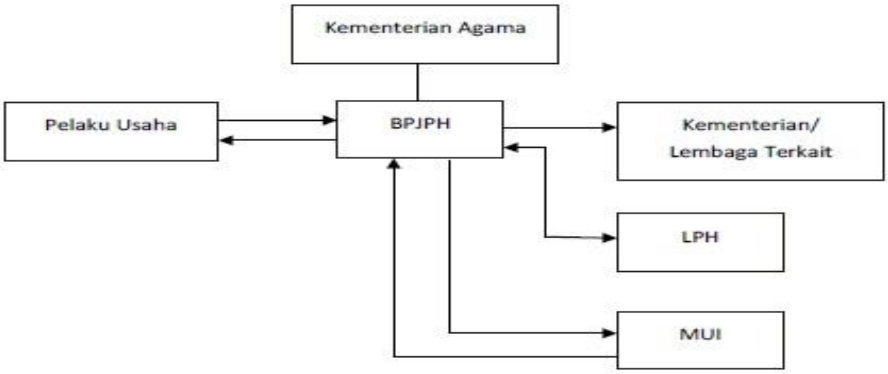
Based on this process, business actors register for halal certification directly with LPPOM MUI, with two requirements that must be met before the audit is conducted: complete documents and full payment of the costs. The cost required to process this halal certification is IDR 1 million to IDR 5 million per certificate for medium-sized companies and IDR 0 to IDR 2.5 million per certificate for small-to-medium companies, depending on the size of the company. This fee represents the service fee used for on-desk or on-site audits. This fee does not include transportation and accommodation costs for conducting field audits. Transportation and accommodation costs are determined by the company applying for certification and agreed upon in an agreement with the company applying for halal certification.

Currently, the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) has developed halal certification standards in the form of the HAS 23000 series, which includes guidelines for food and processed products, restaurants, and slaughterhouses (RPH). HAS 23000 was later adopted as a standard by the international forum, the World Halal Food Council (WHFC). The WHFC, founded in 1999 in Jakarta, brings together halal certification bodies from various countries. As of 2013, the WHFC had 32 members from 17 countries, and LPPOM MUI was entrusted with the leadership (President) of the WHFC.

Following the enactment of Law No. 33 of 2014, the halal certification process was based on that law. Therefore, the halal certification process is as follows:

Image of the halal certification process based on the Halal Product Assurance Law

Figure 2



From the image, business actors submit a written application for halal certification to BPJPH accompanied by documents that include business information; product name and type; list of products and materials used; and production process. Then BPJPH asks the Halal Inspection Institution (LPH) to conduct an inspection and/or product testing, the results of which are submitted back to BPJPH. The LPH determination will be made within five working days from the receipt of documents declared complete (JPH Law No. 33 of 2014).

Based on the results of the LPH inspection and testing, BPJPH requests the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) to follow up on the halal status of the products inspected by the LPH. The MUI will determine this through a fatwa hearing, which will be held within 30 working days of receiving the report. Based on the fatwa hearing results, the MUI will issue a Decree on Halal Product Determination, and BPJPH will issue a halal certificate and halal label for the product if it is declared halal by the MUI within seven working days of receiving the decision.

Halal certificates are valid for four years from the date of issuance by BPJPH. Businesses that have obtained halal certification are required to provide halal labels on packaging and certain parts/places of the product that are easily visible and readable and cannot be easily removed, taken, or damaged. Businesses that provide labels that do not comply with these provisions will be subject to administrative sanctions in the form of verbal warnings, written warnings, or revocation of their halal certificates. All costs required to administer halal certification are borne by the business entity submitting the application. In the case of business entities that are MSME owners, halal certification costs can be facilitated by other parties, in this case the government through the state budget (APBN), regional budgets (APBD), companies, social institutions, religious institutions, associations, and communities.

Regarding halal certification costs, businesses should not be burdened with processing costs because, according to the Halal Product Certification Law, halal certification is a state obligation to protect and guarantee the halal status of products consumed and used by the public. Therefore, all costs arising from implementing Halal Product Certification should be borne by the government. Halal certification should also be interpreted as a government obligation and responsibility to provide public services (public service obligation), so that obtaining the halal certification required by law for businesses does not become a burden for them.

This contrasts with the fees charged by LPPOM MUI for halal certification before the implementation of the JPH Law. Before the JPH Law was implemented, halal certification was voluntary for producers, undertaken by producers considering the benefits of increasing their product competitiveness, and its management was not yet a government obligation. LPPOM MUI charges fees for the testing and certification process because it is an independent, non-governmental (self-financing) institution and requires funds for its operations. Therefore, it is reasonable for LPPOM MUI to charge fees to entrepreneurs applying for halal certification.

However, this change was not accompanied by a Government Regulation or Ministerial Regulation, so this law has not yet been enacted. Therefore, to date, halal certification authority remains with the LPPOM MUI (Indonesian Ulema Council). Several issues arising from the delays in the halal certification process have contributed to the slow progress of Indonesian halal food and beverages as an international halal hub. Complicated procedures and uncertain institutional changes are also contributing to the problem.

Moreover, there are currently proposals that the law be amended because it does not meet its mandate. It was agreed that after the law was passed, it would be implemented within a maximum of two years. However, to date, the law has not been implemented. Therefore, the government continues to request LPPOM MUI to

oversee the halal certification process. Furthermore, the MUI Fatwa, which serves as a guideline, is a state document that must be adhered to by all parties.

Currently, halal certification applications are not only processed manually but can also be done online. The availability of digital facilities has enabled LPPOM MUI to be creative in creating online applications, from the registration process to the appearance of labels on products. LPPOM MUI has even created an application for consumers to easily detect the halal status of products they intend to consume. Institutional changes are continuously being implemented for efficiency. However, we still need to prove the results. Currently, Government Regulations and Ministerial Regulations related to the implementation of this law are being discussed to produce effective and efficient regulations.

The Impact of Institutional Changes on the Halal Certification Process in Indonesia

Inevitably, any institutional change will have implications for every organization. The desire for dominance in the halal certification process necessitates institutional change. The accusations of monopoly against the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) necessitate the involvement of other relevant ministries.

1. The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) has long been understood not as an official government organization, but as a voluntary organization committed to carrying out the halal certification process. In practice, LPPOM MUI involves various ministries in the halal certification process for food products, such as the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Currently, when linked to the halal product chain, the Ministry of Trade is also involved in halal food certification. Even the Ministry of Industry can be involved in this process.
2. Therefore, if halal certification is solely handled by the LPPOM MUI, there is a perception that the MUI monopolizes the halal certification process. However, the MUI is not an official state institution and cannot be equated with a ministry. Following the enactment of the JPH Law, halal certification authority has been transferred from LPPOM MUI to the BJPH (House of Religious Affairs Supervisory Agency) of the Ministry of Religious Affairs.
3. This transition continues to be met with controversy. As evidenced by the fact that the changes have not yet been fully implemented. Some potential impacts of the changes to the halal certification institution include:
   a) Halal product standardization has changed to be of higher quality than before.
   b) Certification fees are no longer required, because the halal certification process should be borne by the government.
   c) The halal certification process becomes more efficient because the procedures are shorter.
   d) The issue of halal products is not a personal, group or class issue but is a shared issue that is regulated by the government.
   e) Halal food products are becoming more and more numerous and Indonesia can realize its dream of becoming an international halal hub.

These impacts can be felt directly or indirectly by both producers and consumers. Currently, a common issue with halal food products is a lack of literacy and awareness of the certification requirements for both producers and consumers.

Although consumer awareness has increased, this has not been followed by increased awareness of product certification among producers, particularly MSMEs. MSMEs find the process challenging and have not received adequate publicity regarding the halal certification process, particularly those in remote areas (interview with the owner of Brudel tape MSME in Situbondo).

Moreover, the outcome of the dispute over who should control the halal certification process remains unclear. Although the Halal Product Assurance Law has been enacted, in practice, halal certification is still handled by the Indonesian Ulema Council (LPPOM MUI). The Halal Product Assurance Law will even be amended to reflect the current situation.

Therefore, institutional change represents a new hope for the sustainability and development of halal food products in Indonesia. This institutional change must be responded to quickly to ensure Indonesia remains on track to develop halal products. This will ensure Indonesia becomes not only the largest Muslim consumer but also the largest producer.

Discussion

Based on field findings, interviews with sources, and literature review, it is clear that the halal certification process in Indonesia has experienced complex institutional dynamics, particularly since the enactment of Law No. 33 of 2014 concerning Halal Product Assurance (UU JPH). Prior to the implementation of this regulation, the halal certification process was entirely under the authority of the LPPOM MUI, which operated independently and voluntarily. LPPOM MUI plays a crucial role as a pioneer in halal product assurance in Indonesia, collaborating with various institutions, including the BPOM, and imposing certification fees

according to business category. Despite its independent nature, this scheme has been able to produce a relatively well-established and internationally recognized halal assurance system, as reflected in the existence of the HAS 23000 standard and MUI's role in the World Halal Food Council (WHFC).

However, the enactment of the Halal Product Certification Law theoretically shifts the paradigm of halal certification from a state obligation to ensure the protection of Muslim consumers. In this context, halal certification should no longer be a burden on businesses but rather a public service obligation facilitated by the state. The institutional shift from LPPOM MUI to BPJPH under the Ministry of Religious Affairs also marks the government's attempt to assume a central role in the halal certification process. Unfortunately, implementation of the law has been slow due to the lack of a Government Regulation (PP) and Ministerial Regulation (Permen) as legal derivatives of the JPH Law. This has led to a duality of authority that creates uncertainty for both businesses and certification bodies.

The consequences of this tug-of-war over authority are palpable. On the one hand, the LPPOM MUI remains dominant because the government has not yet fully implemented its regulatory function effectively. On the other hand, the absence of technical regulations has resulted in stagnant implementation of the JPH Law. This not only slows down the certification process but also delays the realization of Indonesia's goal of becoming a global halal hub. Unstable institutions, overlapping authorities, and inefficient bureaucratic procedures are key inhibiting factors. Furthermore, MSMEs, the majority of business actors in the food sector, face even greater challenges due to limited access to information, low halal literacy, and the perception of high certification costs.

Furthermore, this discussion demonstrated that the main issue lies not only in the structure of the certification bodies, but also in the integration between stakeholders and the government's political will to promote effective institutional reform. LPPOM MUI's efforts to digitize processes demonstrate innovation amidst regulatory stagnation, but clear policy direction is still needed to prevent overlapping functions between private institutions (MUI) and state institutions (BPJPH). If this issue is not resolved immediately, Indonesia will continue to lag behind in the global halal industry competition, and its opportunities to become a major player in the global halal ecosystem will increasingly narrow.

Therefore, institutional change must be viewed not merely as a transfer of administrative authority, but as a national strategy to strengthen state-based halal governance that ensures fairness, efficiency, and sustainability of the national halal industry. Synergistic collaboration between the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), the BPJPH (Indonesian Halal Product Supervisory Agency), and relevant ministries is essential to ensure Indonesia's halal assurance system is not only regulatory-strong but also responsive to global dynamics and the needs of local businesses.

4. Conclusion

This study reveals that the halal certification process in Indonesia has undergone significant changes following the enactment of Law Number 33 of 2014 concerning Halal Product Assurance (UU JPH). This change not only alters the administrative and technical procedures for certification but also reflects an institutional shift from the dominance of religious authorities (LPPOM MUI) to state governance through BPJPH. The findings indicate that this institutional transition has not been optimal, marked by overlapping authorities, unprepared regulatory infrastructure, and implementation obstacles at the business level, particularly MSMEs. Theoretically, this study enriches the study of institutional change and regulatory compliance in the context of halal product policy, and demonstrates how the dynamics of the relationship between the state, religion, and society influence the success of policy implementation.

Practically, the results of this study provide new insights into the challenges of institutional adaptation and the importance of clarifying the roles of each actor in the halal certification system. The need for simplified procedures, more intensive outreach, and financing to support MSMEs are key points that require immediate responses from the government and relevant authorities. The policy implications drawn from these findings are the need for consistency between legal norms and technical implementation in the field to ensure equitable and fair achievement of halal product assurance goals. Furthermore, this study emphasizes that the success of the halal system transformation in Indonesia is determined not only by the strength of regulations but also by the legitimacy and public trust in the implementing institutions.

For future development, further research could be directed at a more in-depth analysis of the specific experiences of MSMEs in various regions, or a comparative study of the implementation of the halal system in Indonesia with other countries with similar institutional structures. Research could also expand its focus to the economic and sociocultural dimensions of the certification process to understand their impact on the

competitiveness of the national halal industry. Thus, this research is expected to contribute both scientifically and practically to supporting the realization of an inclusive, efficient, and sustainable halal certification ecosystem.

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