



Legal Policy of Halal Certification: Institutional Compromise and Religious Values in Halal Product Assurance Law

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Submitted: 2026-01-10

Revised: 2026-09-10

Accepted: 2026-09-22

Published: 2026-09-30

Abstract:

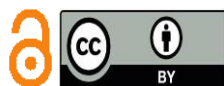
This article explores the legal question of how Indonesia's halal certification framework integrates religious standards into the state legal system while balancing constitutional values, administrative management, and economic considerations. It analyzes the political formation of Indonesia's halal certification regime and identifies the institutional compromises and distribution of authority underlying its regulatory framework, using statutory, conceptual, and historical approaches. Data were analyzed qualitatively through legislative drafts, parliamentary debates, academic manuscripts, relevant legislation, and institutional documents. The results demonstrate that the government, especially the Indonesian Ulema Council, the Halal Product Assurance Organizing Agency, the Halal Inspection Institutions, pertinent ministries, and economic parties, negotiated the regime. The main compromise keeps administrative and religious authority apart: the Institutions perform halal inspections, the Agency organizes and manages halal product assurance, and the Council continues to play a major role in determining halal status through religious fatwas. This approach creates a hybrid regulatory model in which religious authority is not used as an independent regulating body but is instead institutionally integrated into a state-run certification system. According to the study's findings, this approach offers a constitutional way to accommodate religious beliefs without turning Indonesia's multicultural legal system into a legally religious one. To improve legal certainty and the efficacy of halal certification, it suggests enhancing inter-institutional collaboration, defining authority limits, and guaranteeing transparent and accountable procedures.

Keywords:

halal product assurance; halal certification; institutional authority; political law; religious values.

Cite:

Wijayanti, Septi Nur, Yusep Rafiqi, Amare Amodia Widiastara, and Jihan Kamila Rahmah. "Legal Policy of Halal Certification: Institutional Compromise and Religious Values in Halal Product Assurance Law" *Jurnal Dinamika Hukum* 26, no. 3 (2026): 300-324, <https://doi.org/10.20884/1.jdh.2026.26.3.19324>.



DOI: 10.20884/1.jdh.2026.26.3.19324.

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Introduction

The Halal Product Guarantee Law of 2014 enacted in Indonesia marks a significant milestone in the complex interaction between religion, law, and state administration.¹ As the world's most populous Muslim-majority nation, Indonesia faces the structural challenge of codifying informal religious norms on halal consumption into formal state legislation. This legislative initiative is a strategic effort to strengthen Indonesia's halal product assurance framework by ensuring compliance with mandatory halal certification requirements for products subject to such obligations, while requiring non-halal products to be clearly labeled as such under the

¹ Fuad Mustafid, Khoiruddin Nasution, and Ali Sodikin, "Positivization of the Council of Indonesian Ulema's Halal Fatwa: Policy and Position in Indonesian Legislation," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 23, no. 1 (June 2024): 155-66, <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v23i1.10859>.

applicable legal framework. Existing scholarship indicates that the primary objective of this regulatory measure was to incorporate Islamic legal norms concerning halal requirements into the formal state legal system, particularly through the regulation of halal certification practices.² Consequently, understanding this integration requires a comprehensive examination of how religious values interact with modern constitutional and administrative governance.

In this study, political law is conceptualized as the strategic direction of state legal policy that determines which norms are enacted, amended, or repealed to achieve national goals.³ Institutional compromise refers to the strategic bargaining process among state organs to align regulatory authority, administrative feasibility, and legal certainty.⁴ Furthermore, accommodating religious values denotes adapting doctrinal religious norms to fit within a pluralistic constitutional legal framework. Halal certification itself is defined as the formal legal process for validating a product's compliance with halal requirements within the state regulatory framework, in which Halal Inspection Agencies (*Lembaga Pemeriksa Halal - LPH*) conduct halal inspections, the Indonesian Ulema Council (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia - MUI*) determines the halal status, and the Halal Product Assurance Organizing Agency (*Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Produk Halal- BPJPH*) issues the halal certificate. Through these four conceptual pillars, lawmaking is no longer viewed merely as a static set of text or doctrinal mandates. Instead, it functions as a dynamic instrument that reflects shifting power configurations in religious governance.⁵

Social reality shows that halal certification in Indonesia has shifted from informal religious authority to state-centric regulatory control, reflecting the state's growing role in administering, regulating, and overseeing the halal certification system. In contrast, religious authority remains integral to determining products' halal status. Before the law's enactment in 2014, the Council managed halal certification exclusively as a non-governmental religious entity.⁶ However, the statute transferred administrative and verification authority to the Agency under the Ministry of Religious Affairs. This redefinition of authority triggered institutional friction, prolonged parliamentary debates, and resistance from industry associations over compliance costs and business readiness.⁷ Additionally, constitutional court challenges highlighted the underlying tension between legal certainty, consumer rights, and economic freedoms.⁸ This case shows that compromises among religious authority, bureaucratic interests, and market rationales continually shape the codification of religious norms.

² Luciana Anggraeni and R. Tanzil Fawaiq Sayyaf, "Critical Analysis of Islamic Family Law Reform: Corpus and Classification," *Media Syari'ah: Wahana Kajian Hukum Islam Dan Pranata Sosial* 26, no. 2 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.22373/jms.v26i2.26589>.

³ I Kadek Ade Pebriana et al., "Politik Hukum Dan Reformasi Regulasi : Studi Komparatif Jerman Dan Korea Selatan Fanny Nafisah Hasibuan PENDAHULUAN Jerman Dan Korea Selatan Merupakan Dua Negara Yang Pernah Mengalami Permasalahan Tata Kelola Regulasi . Jerman Sendiri Pernah Mengalami Per," *Jurnal Hukum IUS QUIA IUSTUM* 33, no. January (2026): 114-40, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol33.iss1.art6>.

⁴ Maximilian Haag, "Bargaining Power in Informal Trilogues : Preference Cohesion and Bargaining Success," *European Union Politics* 23, no. 2 (2022): 330-50, <https://doi.org/10.1177/14651165211064485>.

⁵ Paul Schiff Berman, "Global Legal Pluralism: A Jurisprudence of Law Beyond Borders (Introduction)," 2012.

⁶ Warsis Mawardi and Muchammad Ichsan, "Regulation of Halal Product Certification in The Dynamics of Indonesian Legal Politics," *Justicia Islamica: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial* 20, no. 1 (2023): 175-92, <https://doi.org/10.21154/justicia.v20i1.5336>.

⁷ Adhi Lukman, "Food & Beverage Industry Indonesia Urges Revision Halal Guarantee," *Indonesia Investments*, 2017.

⁸ Isyana Artharini, "Apakah Kewenangan Sertifikat Halal Dialihkan Dari MUI Ke Kementerian Agama?," *BBC News Indonesia*, 2016.

The constitutional litigation surrounding the Halal Product Assurance Law further demonstrates how this institutional transformation has been negotiated through constitutional review. Rather than simply questioning the existence of halal certification, the cases reveal changing concerns regarding the allocation of authority, the legal status of religious determinations, and the protection of constitutional rights. These decisions show that halal certification operates through a hybrid institutional structure. Rather than replacing religious authority, state regulation incorporates religious institutions into a bureaucratic framework, reflecting an ongoing compromise among religious values, state authority, and regulatory efficiency. The development can be observed through the following comparison:

Table 1. Comparison of Constitutional Court Decisions on Halal Product Assurance

Constitutional Court Decision	Main Constitutional Issue	Institutional Dimension	Religious-Value Dimension	Constitutional Outcome
No. 5/PUU-XV/2017	Mandatory halal certification	State regulatory authority (<i>BPJPH</i>)	Relationship between Islamic norms and constitutional rights	Inadmissible
No. 67/PUU-XX/2022	Institutional authority under the halal	<i>BPJPH</i> , <i>MUI</i> , and government roles	Religious institutions in halal determination	Partly inadmissible; otherwise rejected
No. 58/ PUU-XXI/2023	Role of the Halal Product Fatwa Committee	Coordination between <i>BPJPH</i> , <i>MUI</i> , and the Fatwa Committee	Religious determination of halal status	Rejected entirely

Source: compiled by authors from multiple references - 2026

Recent studies have examined Indonesia’s halal certification regime from various perspectives. Fibrianti et al. highlight the gap between administrative compliance and consumer protection in halal certification, emphasizing the challenges arising from its regulatory implementation.⁹ Similarly, Nurhasanah et al. focus on legal uncertainty, supervisory systems, and legal culture as major challenges in implementing Indonesia’s Halal Product Assurance Law.¹⁰ Meanwhile, Mawardi et al. examine the paradox of halal certification by addressing legal inconsistencies surrounding innovation, business development, and the institutional relationship between halal authorities.¹¹ Although these studies offer important insights into consumer protection, implementation challenges, and regulatory inconsistencies, they primarily focus on the operation and consequences of the halal certification regime after its legal framework was established. What remains underexplored, however, is how the foundational legal and institutional design decisions were made during the formulation phase of the halal certification system. Additionally, the dynamic interactions and negotiations among key stakeholders during the policymaking process, and how these influenced the current gaps and conflicts observed in implementation,

⁹ Nurul Fibrianti et al., “Halal Certification: The Gap between Administrative Compliance and Consumer Protection,” *Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies* 11, no. 1 (July 2026): 325–58, <https://doi.org/10.15294/jils.v11i1.41884>.

¹⁰ Nurhasanah Nurhasanah et al., “Challenges in Implementing Indonesia’s Halal Product Assurance Law: An Analysis of Legal Uncertainty, Supervisory Systems, and Legal Culture,” *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syaria’ah Dan Masyarakat* 25, no. 2 (December 2025): 599–619, <https://doi.org/10.19109/nurani.v25i2.28633>.

¹¹ Mawardi and Ichsan, “Regulation of Halal Product Certification in The Dynamics of Indonesian Legal Politics.”

have not been thoroughly examined. This indicates a research gap in understanding the pre-implementation phase, which is crucial for addressing long-term regulatory coherence and effectiveness.

This article differs from those studies by shifting the analysis to the legislative process preceding the enactment of the Halal Product Guarantee Law of 2014. Specifically, it examines how parliament, executive institutions, religious authorities, and market actors negotiated and accommodated religious values, and how these interactions produced specific forms of institutional compromise in shaping the final statutory framework. The novelty of this article lies primarily in its detailed investigation of institutional bargaining and allocation of authority during the law-making process, revealing how competing interests and religious norms were balanced through political negotiation among diverse state and non-state actors. Additionally, this study highlights the legal transformation of faith-based norms by tracing their embedding into formal state law, thus offering a distinct political law analysis of how religious accommodation operates within a pluralistic constitutional democracy. In doing so, it moves beyond broad descriptions to specify how legislative history, institutional bargaining, and authority allocation collectively shaped the halal certification regime.

This paper analyzes how political negotiations shaped and accommodated religious values during Indonesia's halal lawmaking process. It also examines the power dynamics, institutional compromises, and strategies among parliament, executive agencies, religious institutions, and market stakeholders that shaped the final statutory framework. To achieve these objectives, the research addresses two central questions: How were religious values negotiated and accommodated among key institutional actors during the legislative process of Indonesia's Halal Product Guarantee Law of 2014? What forms of institutional compromise emerged among parliament, the government, religious authorities, and market actors in shaping the law's final formulation? By addressing these focused inquiries, this article offers precise insights into the legislative dynamics of religious accommodation.

Method

This study examines the development of Indonesia's Halal Product Guarantee Law of 2014. This study employs normative legal research supported by qualitative documentary analysis. Consistent with this design, the study relies exclusively on legal documents and scholarly literature and does not employ interviews or observations. It applies statutory, historical, and conceptual approaches. The statutory approach examines the Halal Product Guarantee Law of 2014 and related regulations; the historical approach traces the law's development through its legislative process; and the conceptual approach examines halal certification, religious authority, state regulation, governance, and legal policy. The primary legal materials include drafts of the Halal Product Guarantee Bill (*Rancangan Undang-Undang Jaminan Produk Halal*), the *Naskah Akademik*, official DPR RI parliamentary minutes and deliberation records (*risalah rapat and risalah pembahasan*), relevant legislative discussion documents, and the enacted law. Secondary materials include peer-reviewed journal articles, scholarly books, comparative studies on law and religion, and academic works concerning halal governance,

religious authority, state regulation, and legal policy. These materials were collected through systematic documentary research using official legislative and governmental repositories and indexed academic databases. The legal materials were analyzed through four stages: classification, coding, comparison, and interpretation. First, documents were classified chronologically by stages of legislative development and thematically by substantive issues. Second, relevant passages were coded based on recurring themes, including religious authority, state authority, constitutional principles, halal certification, institutional roles, economic interests, and legal policy. Third, legislative drafts, parliamentary records, the *Naskah Akademik*, and the final statutory text were compared to identify changes, continuities, tensions, and compromises in formulating legal provisions. Finally, the findings were interpreted using statutory, historical, and conceptual approaches.

Discussion

1. *Negotiation and Accommodation of Religious Values in the Legislative Process of the Halal Product Guarantee Law*

The legislative tracking of the Halal Product Assurance of 2014, particularly the parliamentary discussions and legislative records surrounding its formulation, reveals institutional contestation over who holds authority in halal certification. The legislative materials indicate differing positions among government institutions, parliamentary factions, Islamic organizations, and business stakeholders on how far the state should administer halal assurance and what role religious institutions should retain in determining halal status. This friction centered on whether the authority to administer halal certification should remain within the existing institutional framework involving the Indonesian Ulema Council (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia - MUI*) or be transferred to a state-administered system. Government and economic stakeholders emphasized administrative standardization, consumer protection, and business considerations. In contrast, Islamic organizations emphasized the religious character of halal determination and the role of Islamic scholars in establishing its religious validity. The eventual enactment of the statute reflects an institutional compromise, establishing a state agency to administer halal assurance while retaining a substantive role for religious authority in determining halal status.

The accommodation of religious values was achieved not by subordinating religious norms under secular administrative law, but by institutionalizing *fiqh* doctrines directly into binding positive legislation.¹² As a result, the legislative assembly reached a political consensus in which religious verification became legally codified and bureaucratized within the public administration apparatus.¹³ Government institutions, including the Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Trade, advocated for administrative rationalism, trade facilitation, and non-discriminatory economic practices, while also considering the potential implications of halal requirements for business activities and trade. In contrast, Islamic political parties and Islamic

¹² James Kirunda, Helen Nabirye, and Ronald Muwanguzi, "Legal Pluralism in Postcolonial Nations : Reconciling Customary , Religious , and State Norms in Judicial Practices," *Rechtsnormen Journal of Law*, 2024, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.70177/rjl.v3i2.2217>.

¹³ Logan Cochrane, Leslie A.Pal, and Ibtisam B. Ajour, "Religion and Regulatory Variance: Halal Regimes as Islamic Public Administration," *Public Administration and Development*, 2025, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.70035>.

civil society organizations argued that the state has an imperative constitutional duty under Article 29, Paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution to guarantee the right of every citizen to worship and fulfill their religious obligations, which includes the consumption of religiously valid (*halalan thayyiban*) goods.¹⁴ This constitutional framing allowed faith-based actors to elevate dietary observance from a private, voluntary practice to an enforceable public entitlement warranting positive state intervention. By anchoring their arguments in fundamental rights jurisprudence, religious proponents successfully countered technocratic anxieties regarding market disruption and bureaucratic overreach. Ultimately, the resulting legal framework codified a hybrid regulatory regime in which economic pragmatism and confessional obligations coexist under formal statutory authority.

A central point of contention during the legislative negotiations was the epistemic question of authority: who has the legitimate power to define halal norms within a pluralistic constitutional democracy? Islamic civil society and the Council asserted that determining halal status is inherently theological and jurisprudential (*istinbath al-ahkam*), and therefore lies within the expertise of Islamic religious scholars (*ulama*). Conversely, the government maintained that in a constitutional state (*rechstaat*), state administrative organs possess the authority to administer binding legal certification, impose statutory sanctions, and manage the financial obligations associated with halal certification.¹⁵ This jurisdictional difference exposed tensions over the respective functions of state administrative institutions and religious authorities in the halal assurance system. To resolve the impasse, the legislators ultimately adopted a bifurcated governance model that divided the certification process into distinct administrative and theological functions. Under this institutional compromise, the Halal Product Assurance Organizing Agency (*Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Produk Halal-BPJPH*) assumes the administrative function of organizing halal product assurance. At the same time, religious institutions retain a substantive role in determining products' religious status. This dual-track mechanism exemplifies how legal constitutionalism in Indonesia manages the relationship between administrative authority and religious legitimacy.

This structural tension was resolved not by subordinating religious doctrine to surrounding secular law, but through institutional accommodation and legal transplantation. The legislative assembly constructed a dual-track normative model: the material substance of halal standards remains ~~strictly~~ tethered to theological interpretations and is validated solely through religious determination, while administrative registration, verification management, accredited auditor oversight, and statutory certification are centralized under the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Through this mechanism, religious values were institutionalized and codified into positive law without stripping religious authorities of their epistemic legitimacy, creating a mixed regulatory model in which religious determinations serve as an indispensable component of state administrative action. This institutional synthesis demonstrates that the state does not independently generate the religious substance of halal norms, but provides the administrative framework through which such norms acquire legal and regulatory effect.

¹⁴ Esther Masri et al., "Halal Product Assurance as Legal Protection for Muslim Consumers in Indonesia," *Al-Ahkam* 35, no. 1 (2025): 205–34, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2025.35.1.26384>.

¹⁵ Margaret S. Aritonang and Ina Parlina, "MUI, Govt Wrangle over Halal Certification," *The Jakarta Post*, 2014.

Consequently, the halal assurance system reflects mutual institutional dependence between constitutional administrative organs and religious authorities within the framework of Indonesian public law.

This accommodation represents a significant structural shift from a voluntaristic religious practice to a mandatory statutory obligation governed by constitutional mandates.

Table 2. Shift of Religious Authority in Indonesia’s Halal Governance

Aspect	Before the Law - 2014	After the Law - 2014
Institutional authority	Religious institutions	BPJPH and religious authorities
Religious determination	Religious authority	Religious authority retains a substantive role
Compliance framework	Religious and moral	Legal and administrative
Governance model	Religious-institutional	Dual-track governance

Source: compiled by authors from multiple references - 2026

The integration of religious values reflects a dynamic process of legal transplantation in which traditional norms of *halalan thayyiban* are adapted into modern regulatory standards.¹⁶ The parliamentary debates and legislative records indicate that civil society organizations and Islamic authorities raised concerns regarding the state’s potential monopolization of halal determinations, arguing that spiritual validity should not be determined solely through administrative decrees. Consequently, the accommodation took the form of a dual-track normative model: the material substance of halal standards remains grounded in theological interpretations (*syariat*), while state institutions administer the formal enforcement mechanism.¹⁷ This legislative arrangement created an institutional balance between protecting consumers’ religious interests and the state’s constitutional responsibilities under Article 29 of the 1945 Constitution. By incorporating religious dietary requirements into the public law framework, lawmakers sought to provide legal protection against fraudulent market practices and uncertainty concerning halal status. Furthermore, this arrangement enabled the state to exercise regulatory oversight over consumer markets while retaining a distinct role of religious authority in matters concerning halal determination. Ultimately, this institutional arrangement illustrates how statutory mechanisms can incorporate religious normative commitments into contemporary public governance.

The societal and legal implications of this accommodation have contributed to changes in Indonesia’s halal governance framework. In contemporary society, the codification of halal norms provides legal certainty for Muslim consumers, yet it simultaneously creates substantial regulatory pressure on business operators and small enterprises.¹⁸ The shift toward compulsory certification exemplifies the expansion of religious jurisdiction into formal market regulation. To optimize this accommodation, the state has continued to refine the regulatory framework, including through the Job Creation Law of 2023, with provisions intended to simplify halal certification implementation. These legislative adjustments introduce accelerated administrative timelines and streamlined compliance mechanisms, particularly for micro and small enterprises (MSEs), to facilitate compliance while

¹⁶ Angggraeni and Sayyaf, “Critical Analysis of Islamic Family Law Reform: Corpus and Classification.”

¹⁷ Majelis Ulama Indonesia, “Hasil Keputusan Ijtima’ Ulama Komisi Fatwa Se-Indonesia IV Tentang RUU Jaminan Produk Halal” (1999).

¹⁸ Lukman, “Food & Beverage Industry Indonesia Urges Revision Halal Guarantee.”

maintaining applicable halal requirements. At the same time, this continuous regulatory recalibration demonstrates how the state adjusts the regulatory framework in response to the interaction between commercial considerations and doctrinal requirements. Consequently, the Indonesian model of halal governance emerges not as a static legal compromise, but as an evolving administrative framework that accommodates religious requirements and regulatory considerations within the statutory system.

Beyond administrative adjustments, the mandatory transformation of halal governance triggered critical constitutional contestations that further defined the boundaries of religious accommodation in Indonesia. The statutory mandate under the Halal Product Assurance Law of 2014 was subjected to constitutional review before the Constitutional Court,¹⁹ particularly regarding whether the compulsory certification framework disproportionately burdens non-Muslim producers or infringes upon constitutional guarantees of economic freedom and non-discrimination. By considering these issues, the Court placed the halal certification framework within the broader constitutional framework governing the state's role in protecting religious freedom and consumer interests. Rather than treating halal certification solely as a matter of religious administration, the constitutional review also concerned its operation as a regulatory mechanism applicable within the broader Indonesian market. Through this judicial interpretation, the accommodation of Islamic dietary norms was formally harmonized with the constitutional ethos of the Indonesian unitary state (*rechtsstaat*), positioning religious compliance as an integral element of consumer protection and market integrity.²⁰ Accordingly, judicial review adds a constitutional dimension to the institutional arrangement established under the Law, without blurring the distinction between religious determination and administrative implementation. This consideration is relevant to understanding how the statutory framework accommodates religious requirements within a constitutional legal order.

Nevertheless, implementing this mandatory regime in the domestic economy exposed structural disparities between large multinational conglomerates and micro, small, and medium enterprises. In response to concerns about compliance costs, technical auditing barriers, and potential business disruption, the legal framework was strategically recalibrated through the Job Creation Law of 2023 and its implementing regulations.²¹ This statutory refinement introduced the self-declaration mechanism for low-risk micro-enterprises, supported by certified halal product process companions, and eliminated administrative fees for qualifying micro-businesses.²² Furthermore, the Job Creation Law of 2023 changed the institutional mechanism for halal determination by setting statutory time limits and establishing the Halal Product Fatwa Committee under the Ministry of Religious Affairs as an alternative mechanism for halal determination.²³ These adjustments were intended to

¹⁹ John Erik Fossum, "Eurolegalism: The Transformation of Law and Regulation in the European Union by R. Daniel Kelemen," *Perspectives on Politics*, 2012, 522–23, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592712000229>.

²⁰ Kirunda, Nabirye, and Muwanguzi, "Legal Pluralism in Postcolonial Nations : Reconciling Customary , Religious , and State Norms in Judicial Practices."

²¹ Yana, "Pemerintah Mundurkan Wajib Halal Bagi UMK Dan Produk Impor, Ini Tanggapan LPPOM," LPPOM, 2024.

²² Masri et al., "Halal Product Assurance as Legal Protection for Muslim Consumers in Indonesia."

²³ Moh Nizar and Mohammad Zaki Ahmad, "Halal Governance and Its Societal Impact: A Comparative Study of Certification Regimes in Indonesia and Malaysia for Muslim Families," *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 8, no. 2 (2025): 952–78, <https://doi.org/10.22373/ujhk.v8i2.29191>.

simplify the certification process and reduce procedural burdens for eligible micro and small enterprises while maintaining the substantive requirements of halal assurance. The changes also demonstrate that the institutional arrangement established under the Law has continued to evolve in response to administrative and economic considerations. Rather than replacing religious authority, the revised framework redistributed certain procedural functions within the statutory system. Consequently, the evolving governance architecture reflects the continuing interaction between religious requirements, administrative efficiency, and the interests of business actors.

Ultimately, the negotiation and accommodation of religious values within Indonesia's halal product assurance regime demonstrate that legal formalization in a pluralistic democracy is an iterative, dynamic socio-legal process rather than a static legislative moment.²⁴ The incorporation of theological considerations (*syariat*) into the administrative framework of halal product assurance reflects an institutional arrangement in which religious requirements are implemented through positive law. At the same time, regulatory mechanisms continue to respond to administrative and economic considerations. This arrangement preserves a role for religious authority in determining halal status while enabling the state to exercise its statutory functions in administering halal product assurance. Rather than representing a complete separation of religion and public law, the Indonesian framework illustrates how religious requirements can be incorporated into a constitutional regulatory system. Accordingly, the development of halal product assurance under the Law and subsequent regulatory adjustments shows the ongoing interaction among religious norms, state administration, and economic regulation within Indonesia's constitutional framework.

From a comparative legal sociology perspective, this ongoing adaptation illustrates how Indonesia accommodates religious norms within its constitutional and administrative framework.²⁵ Rather than relegating religion entirely to the private sphere or placing religious governance exclusively under religious authorities, the Indonesian legal system incorporates certain religious standards into formal public governance mechanisms. Under this framework, religious values are treated as relevant considerations in consumer protection and market regulation, while their implementation remains subject to statutory procedures and administrative oversight. Consequently, integrating halal standards allows the state to regulate halal-related economic activities while retaining a legally defined role for religious authority in determining halal status. This dynamic therefore reflects the interaction between religious norms and state administration within Indonesia's pluralistic legal order. Furthermore, by translating religious requirements into standardized administrative procedures, the legal system incorporates religious compliance into the formal regulatory framework governing economic activities. This development shows that the formalization of religious norms in Indonesia occurs through ongoing institutional and regulatory adjustment rather than a single legislative intervention.

²⁴ Angggraeni and Sayyaf, "Critical Analysis of Islamic Family Law Reform: Corpus and Classification."

²⁵ Veit Bader, "Religion and the Myths of Secularization and Separation," 2011.

This institutional expansion also highlights the interaction between religious norms and technical procedures within the halal assurance framework.²⁶ Under the Law, the traditional religious norm of *halalan thayyiban* is implemented through legally prescribed procedures that involve both religious determination and product examination.²⁷ This convergence of religious doctrine and technical verification shows that implementing halal standards requires coordination between religious considerations and technical examination through legally recognized halal assurance institutions.²⁸ In this context, religious accommodation functions within an administrative framework that translates substantive halal requirements into procedures applicable to products and business activities. Consequently, implementing halal standards involves different institutional functions, with religious and technical considerations addressed through their respective roles within the statutory framework. This institutional arrangement illustrates how religious requirements are incorporated into a regulatory process that relies on both substantive halal standards and technical procedures for their implementation.

The legal negotiation surrounding halal certification reflects the balancing of economic interests alongside religious requirements in shaping Indonesia's halal assurance framework. In the legislative discourse, proponents of the mandatory regime framed halal certification not merely as a domestic spiritual safeguard, but as a regulatory mechanism that could provide legal certainty for businesses and consumers in the halal market. By codifying halal standards into positive legislation and establishing an institutional framework for their administration through (*Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Produk Halal- BPJPH*), the state sought to create a more structured halal assurance system. Accommodating religious values within the statutory framework also involved considering the regulatory needs of business actors, particularly regarding compliance with halal requirements.²⁹ This approach shows that formulating halal assurance policy involved interaction between religious requirements and economic considerations within the domestic regulatory framework, rather than treating halal certification solely as a matter of religious administration.

Nevertheless, the institutionalization of mandatory certification continues to surface regulatory and practical considerations within Indonesia's multi-religious society.³⁰ While the law explicitly exempts products using non-halal ingredients by mandating clear non-halal labels, implementing these requirements may create different compliance considerations for business actors depending on their products and their capacity to meet the applicable administrative requirements. Non-Muslim business operators and regional producers of traditional goods may therefore face particular considerations in understanding and complying with the halal assurance framework, especially where the requirements and procedures are not clearly understood.³¹ Addressing these challenges requires the state to

²⁶ Cochrane, A. Pal, and Ajour, "Religion and Regulatory Variance: Halal Regimes as Islamic Public Administration."

²⁷ Rusli Rusli et al., "The Secularization of Halal: State Bureaucracy vs Semantic Ethics in Indonesia's Halal Governance," *AHKAM : Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 26, no. 1 (June 2026): 165–82, <https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v26i1.48658>.

²⁸ Masri et al., "Halal Product Assurance as Legal Protection for Muslim Consumers in Indonesia."

²⁹ Terence C Halliday et al., "Transnational Legal Orders," 2015.

³⁰ Nandang Sutrisno, "When Law and Morality Collide: The Indonesia's Halal Act Case for Constitutional Pluralism," *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review* 23, no. 1 (March 2023): 18–30, <https://doi.org/10.59588/2350-8329.1483>.

³¹ Mimi Kartika, "RUU Tentang Perubahan Ketiga Atas Undang-Undang Nomor 33 Tahun 2014 Tentang Jaminan Produk Halal," Sipinter, 2025.

maintain an equitable regulatory environment, ensuring that accommodation of majority religious values is implemented consistently with the principle of equality before the law and the rights of business actors.³² This requires regulatory authorities to provide clear procedures, accessible compliance information, and appropriate administrative support to facilitate implementation across different categories of business actors. Accordingly, the effectiveness of halal governance depends not only on the formal allocation of institutional authority, but also on the clarity and accessibility of the regulatory procedures through which halal requirements are implemented.

In the final analysis, the legislative evolution and ongoing refinement of the Halal Product Assurance Law demonstrate that the codification of religious norms in Indonesia has involved continuing institutional negotiation and regulatory adjustment. By navigating the relationship between religious requirements, administrative governance, constitutional considerations, and the interests of business actors, the Indonesian legal system has incorporated halal requirements into a formal statutory framework while allocating different functions among the institutions involved in halal product assurance. This legislative experience illustrates that faith-based standards can be incorporated into a modern legal framework through institutional arrangements that distinguish substantive religious determination from administrative implementation and regulatory oversight. The ongoing refinement of the Law also shows that this framework's effectiveness depends on clear institutional functions, administrative procedures, and protecting the legal interests of relevant consumers and business actors. Accordingly, halal product assurance should be understood as an ongoing process of aligning religious requirements with the statutory and administrative mechanisms through which those requirements are implemented.

This dynamic reconciliation between spiritual authenticity and administrative governance also highlights the constitutional basis for the state's role in regulating halal product assurance in Indonesia. The codification of halal standards under the Law exemplifies how constitutional provisions provide a legal basis for the state to establish a regulatory framework that enables the implementation of religious requirements within the legal system.³³ Under this constitutional paradigm, the state's obligation to guarantee religious freedom becomes a positive legal mandate to establish legal and administrative mechanisms that help citizens exercise their religious rights.³⁴ By translating spiritual obligations into enforceable consumer protections, the legislature strengthens the process. This approach allows religious requirements to be implemented through statutory mechanisms while remaining subject to the principles governing public administration and the constitutional legal order. Rather than treating halal certification solely as a theological matter, the framework establishes institutional procedures for administering religious requirements within the broader system of consumer and economic regulation. Accordingly, the relationship between Article 29 of the 1945 Constitution and the Law shows how

³² Saptarshi Mandal and Sachin Dhawan, "Religious Family Law and Legal Change in Comparative Perspective," *Jindal Global Law Review* 7, no. 1 (2016): 1–8, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41020-016-0026-7>.

³³ M. Wildan Humaidi, Ridwan, and Mohd Mahyeddin Mohd Salleh, "State-Religion Relations and Halal Governance: Islamic Legal Policy in Indonesia and Malaysia," *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 20, no. 1 (April 2026): 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v20i1.15374>.

³⁴ Setiawan bin Lahuri et al., "Halal Certification Governance in Indonesia: An Islamic Legal Appraisal Based on Maṣlaḥah Principles," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 24, no. 2 (December 2025): 233–47, <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v24i2.15411>.

constitutional guarantees concerning religion can gain concrete legal effect through statutory and administrative mechanisms.

Moreover, this statutory evolution highlights the formalization of religious norms within positive state law.³⁵ The legislative accommodation did not merely import traditional jurisprudential texts verbatim; instead, it required incorporating substantive halal requirements into legal provisions and administrative criteria. Concepts historically derived from religious norms were legislatively formulated and institutionally implemented.³⁶ This process shows that incorporating religious values into state legislation requires expressing those values through the terminology, procedures, and institutional mechanisms of positive law, thereby connecting religious requirements to the administrative framework established by the state.³⁷ In doing so, traditional jurisprudential dictums are translated into legal standards and administrative obligations that institutions authorized under the Law can implement. This formalization enables religious requirements to operate within the public regulatory framework while maintaining their substantive religious basis. Consequently, the codification process illustrates how religious norms are incorporated into positive law through legislative formulation and institutional mechanisms rather than through the direct transplantation of classical jurisprudential rules.

Consequently, the legislative journey of the Law shows that accommodating religious values within Indonesia's constitutional legal system is an ongoing process of institutional and regulatory adjustment.³⁸ The ongoing need to accommodate theological requirements, administrative implementation, and the interests of business actors has driven successive regulatory adaptations. By adjusting institutional arrangements and administrative procedures in response to legal and practical considerations, the Indonesian state has incorporated religious norms into the statutory framework governing halal product assurance. This legislative development shows that formalizing religious requirements operates not only through substantive religious norms, but also through legal and institutional mechanisms that provide procedures for implementation. The resulting framework places halal requirements within the broader system of public administration and consumer protection while maintaining the legally defined role of religious authority in matters of halal determination. Ultimately, the development of the Law demonstrates how religious norms can be incorporated into positive law through continuing legislative and institutional adjustment, with legal certainty and regulatory implementation remaining important considerations.

At a deeper socio-legal level, this dynamic accommodation reflects the interaction between state law and religious norms within the Indonesian legal framework.³⁹ Historically,

³⁵ Cochrane, A. Pal, and Ajour, "Religion and Regulatory Variance: Halal Regimes as Islamic Public Administration."

³⁶ Edi Susilo and A. Kumedi Ja'far, "The Transformation of Halal Certification Policy in Indonesia," *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 9, no. 1 (May 2026): 284–309, <https://doi.org/10.22373/ujhk.v9i1.31224>.

³⁷ Asep Saefullah et al., "Religious Moderation and Halal Governance in Indonesia: A Wasatiyyah-Maslahah Framework," *Al-Instinbath Jurnal Hukum Islam* 10, no. 2 (2025): 948–75, <https://doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v10i2.14554>.

³⁸ Didih Muhamad Sudi, "Bridging Regulatory Diversity: Halal Certification Frameworks in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore and the Road to ASEAN Harmonisation," *Milkiyah: Jurnal Hukum Ekonomi Syariah* 4, no. 1 (February 2024): 15–27, <https://doi.org/10.46870/milkiyah.v4i1.1463>.

³⁹ Supriyadi Supriyadi et al., "Legal Effectiveness of Halal Product Certification in Improving Business Economics in Indonesia and Malaysia," *Al-Ahkam* 34, no. 1 (April 2024): 193–220, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2024.34.1.20546>.

legal centralism posits that formal law emanates solely from state apparatuses, whereas legal pluralism recognizes the coexistence of multiple normative orders, including religious and customary systems.⁴⁰ The legislative formulation and subsequent enactment of the Law illustrate this interaction by incorporating religious norms concerning halal requirements into a state-administered statutory framework. This arrangement demonstrates that the incorporation of religious norms into positive law does not necessarily require the complete exclusion of non-state normative sources; rather, such norms may be given legal effect through formally established institutional mechanisms. Consequently, the legislative trajectory of the Law illustrates how religious norms can interact with state law while remaining subject to the constitutional and statutory framework governing their implementation.

The statutory journey of halal legislation highlights the critical role of religious organizations and other stakeholders in the legislative process leading to the law. The inclusion of Islamic organizations throughout parliamentary deliberations, committee hearings, and regulatory drafting sessions provided a channel for religious considerations to be articulated during the formulation of the statutory framework. By actively incorporating these organizations into the legislative dialogue, the lawmakers accommodated religious interests alongside the institutional and regulatory considerations involved in drafting the law.⁴¹ This participatory dynamic affirms that democratic institutions can provide mechanisms for different stakeholders to present and negotiate their interests within the legislative process, including interests concerning the religious basis of halal requirements -in the formulation of the Law included participation by religious stakeholders in discussions concerning the content and administration of halal assurance. The legislative trajectory therefore illustrates that the formation of halal regulation involved interaction among state institutions, religious organizations, and other relevant stakeholders within the formal legislative process. Ultimately, this participation contributed to the formulation of a statutory framework that incorporated religious requirements into the state's regulatory system.

The long-term sustainability of this legislative accommodation hinges on the continued alignment between statutory requirements and the constitutional and administrative principles governing their implementation. In the context of halal product assurance, the implementation of halal requirements must be carried out through clear, proportionate, and non-discriminatory legal and administrative procedures applicable to relevant business actors.⁴² The legislative balancing achieved through the Halal Product Assurance Law, illustrates the importance of establishing clear substantive requirements alongside institutional and procedural mechanisms for their implementation. Consequently, the development of halal product assurance demonstrates how religious requirements can be incorporated into positive law while remaining subject to constitutional principles and administrative procedures. This framework places the protection of religious interests

⁴⁰ Roger Cotterrell, *Law, Culture and Society* (Asghate Publishing Limited Gower, 2006).

⁴¹ Widyawati Widyawati, "KONFIGURASI POLITIK LEGISLASI JAMINAN PRODUK HALAL PERSPEKTIF FIQH SIYASAH," *Asy-Syari'ah* 24, no. 1 (June 2022): 121-40, <https://doi.org/10.15575/as.v24i1.18724>.

⁴² Akim Akim, Arfin Sudirman, and Januar Aditya Pratama, "Indonesia-US Trade Barrier: A Study on the Halal Certification of Imported Chicken Leg Quarters," *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional* 12, no. 1 (May 2023): 49-62, <https://doi.org/10.18196/jhi.v12i1.17034>.

alongside the need for legal certainty and clarity in the regulation of consumers and business actors. Ultimately, the continuing development of the Halal Product Assurance Law depends on the effective coordination of the institutions involved and the consistent implementation of the statutory procedures governing halal product assurance.

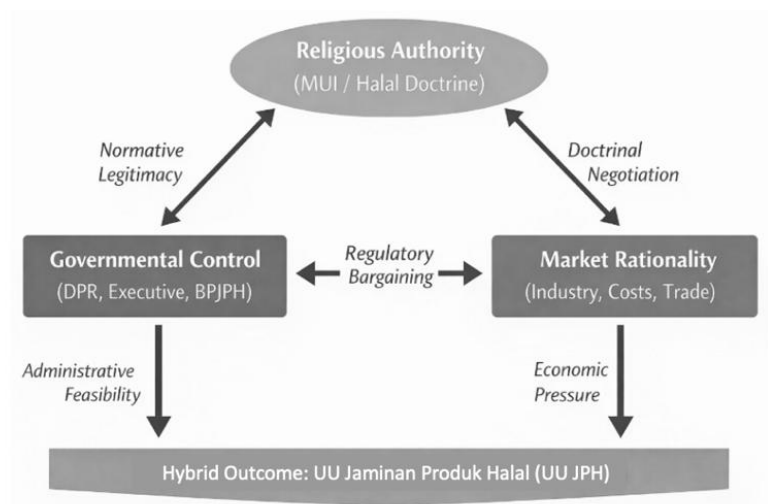
2. *Institutional Compromise and Multi-Stakeholder under the Product Guarantee Law*

Institutional compromises between parliament (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat - DPR*), government, the Indonesian Ulema Council (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia - MUI*), audit institutions and business actors—can be reflected in the Product Guarantee Law of 2014, especially through the division of functions in the implementation of halal product guarantees.⁴³ Through the Law, an organizational framework was established that gave an administrative role to the state while maintaining the religious and technical dimensions of the certification process, this is different from the previous arrangement that placed halal certification not organized by the state but by non-state institutions. the Halal Product Assurance Organizing Agency (*Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Produk Halal- BPJPH*) has a central role to be responsible for carrying out halal product assurance, while the Halal Inspection Agencies (*Lembaga Pemeriksa Halal - LPH*) carries out the function of examining and/or testing the halalness of products. On the religious side, the determination of product halalness is still placed in the mechanism determined by laws and regulations, including through the role of the Council and in the development of regulations, the Halal Product Fatwa Committee. Thus, the structure does not show the takeover of all religious authority by the state, but shows the division of administrative, technical, and religious functions among several institutional actors.

From this division of functions, it shows that there is a compromise between parties where the Law is not only related to the relationship between state institutions and religious authorities, but also integrates the technical capacity and interests of business actors in a single legal framework. However, the state still gains a stronger position in the implementation of halal product assurance administration, while religious aspects and technical inspections are given space through institutions that have different functions, and at the same time the characteristics of diverse business actors are also accommodated through different compliance mechanisms. In this case, the mechanism of institutional integration or institutional compromise in the Law can be understood as an effort to combine state administrative certainty, religious legitimacy, technical inspections, and the compliance needs of the business world in a single regulatory framework. In the end, this structural balance confirms that complex multi-stakeholder governance can transform polarized ideological debates into functional and resilient models of public administration.

⁴³ Yana, "Pemerintah Mundurkan Wajib Halal Bagi UMK Dan Produk Impor, Ini Tanggapan LPPOM."

Figure 1. Hybrid Governance of Religious Norms in the formation of Indonesia’s Halal Product Guarantee Law



Source: compiled by authors from multiple references - 2026

The division of functions also reflects the existence of different institutional interests in the formation of the Law. The state has an interest in building a halal product assurance system that has a clear administrative and legal certainty, while religious authorities maintain the role of religious expertise in determining the halal status of products, On the other hand, business actors face the impact of certification obligations that must be met, thus requiring clear procedures that are in accordance with their business capabilities. The framework that is formed then considers these interests by dividing the duties of the institution and distinguishing ways to comply with the rules. Therefore, the compromise contained in the Law cannot be interpreted only as a transfer of authority from religious institutions to the government, but as a change in the relationship between administrative authority, expertise in the religious field, technical examinations, and economic interests.

The division of duties within the institution at the same time requires cooperation as the certification process involves several stages and related parties. The Agency must carry out administrative processing, inspection and/or testing by the Agencies, and determination of halalness under the same procedures. In this context, the halal information system (*Sihahal*) serves as a digital administrative tool that helps convey, process, and supervise information during the certification process. Digitalization is important not because it replaces the role of each institution, but provides a way to connect the steps taken by the various parties involved in the institution. The participation of several institutions in the certification process shows that inter-agency cooperation requires a fairly good coordination mechanism. Technical checks by the Agencies and halal determination processes need to be linked to the administrative stages carried out by the Agency. Therefore, the division of duties does not mean eliminating differences in authority between institutions, but rather requires procedures that ensure that each task can be carried out sequentially and interconnected. A closer examination of this tripartite arrangement shows that institutional compromise does

not completely eliminate institutional friction, but rather moves it into the operational routine of inter-institutional governance.⁴⁴

This division of functions is also reflected in institutional changes at the halal inspection stage. The opening of the inspection market to various the Agencies, including those established by state-owned enterprises, accredited universities, and registered Islamic mass organizations (*Islamic mass organizations*), marks a fundamental shift from monopoly regimes to a of more pluralistic institutional structures in halal inspection. Prior to the Law, the Council functioned as the sole technical assessor, concentrating audit powers within a single non-governmental entity. By allowing institutions that meet the legal requirements to establish the Agencies, the law introduces institutional pluralism into the technical verification process. Such diversification expands the capacity of technical audits and reduces the concentration of audit functions in a single institution. More than just the expansion -of the market of examining actors, the mobilization of higher education institutions and mainstream socio-religious bodies allows diverse scientific and institutional capacities to contribute to the halal inspection process. As a result, decentralizing the inspection function removes structural barriers, transforming halal audits into a multi-actor, dynamic technical arena governed by standardized public accreditation benchmarks. This pluralistic ecosystem ensures that the exponential growth in certification demands can be met without sacrificing analytical precision or geographic accessibility across Indonesia's vast archipelago. The existence of various the Agencies simultaneously creates the need to ensure uniformity of standards and coordination in implementation. In this case. The pluralization of agencies does not show the release of state functions to non-state actors as a whole, but rather a division of functions within a structure still organized by the state legal framework. From previous findings, this strengthens that compromise or institutional integration in the Law works through functional differentiation, not eliminating or removing one of the authorities.⁴⁵

The integration of market rationality into this multi-stakeholder model also raises the need for mechanisms that can connect the various stages of certification. This is especially true in response to technological transformation, including the adoption of digital infrastructure through the Sihalal (*Halal Information System*) electronic platform. Digitalization is implemented not only as an administrative tool, but as a political instrument of institutional arbitration designed to minimize physical bureaucratic touchpoints, reduce transaction costs, and increase procedural transparency. By synchronizing application submissions, inspection audits, fatwa discussions, and certificate issuance into a centralized cloud-based system, the state seeks to limit bureaucratic discretion and dismantle informal rent-seeking practices that have historically burdened non-state certification regimes. These digital platforms serve as institutional anchors for tripartite compromises, tying government regulators, private auditors, and religious clerics into transparent, rules-bound administrative workflows. In addition, by creating an automated audit trail for each milestone, the platform effectively depersonalizes decision-making and enforces compliance with regulated Service

⁴⁴ Zahni Hafizh Atsari et al., "Halal Certification Paradox: Legal Inconsistency on Pursuing Innovation and Halal Correlation in Indonesia," *Journal of Halal Product and Research* 8, no. 2 (December 2025): 180–90, <https://doi.org/10.20473/jhpr.vol.8-issue.2.180-190>.

⁴⁵ Fossum, "Eurolegalism: The Transformation of Law and Regulation in the European Union by R. Daniel Kelemen."

Level Agreements across institutional parties. This technological rationalization turns decentralized administrative discretion into visible, measurable bureaucratic output, leaving little room for inter-agency friction or procedural bottlenecks. As a result, digital architecture operationalizes modern administrative principles, ensuring that complex public-religious co-regulation remains efficient, predictable, and fully accountable to market participants. Through instruments that support administrative coordination with the digital platform mechanism, in short, this system provides a means for submitting, processing and monitoring information in the certification process and helps connect stages involving different institutional actors. In this case, the digital platform supports the coordination and traceability of administrative processes. Thus, this platform can be understood as a supporting instrument for the institutional design established through the Law. This means that technology in this case does not become a new source of authority for each actor, but follows the existing structure of authority division.

Beyond domestic halal certification coordination, the multi-stakeholder halal framework also profoundly affects international trade diplomacy and cross-border regulatory harmonization. Because the Law imposes mandatory certification on all imported consumer products entering Indonesian jurisdiction, the state is forced to establish an institutional mechanism for the mutual recognition of Foreign Halal Determination Decree (*Surat Ketetapan Halal - SKHL*) issued by Foreign Halal Certification Bodies.⁴⁶ the Halal Product Assurance Organizing Agency authority to implement the Government-to-Government Mutual Recognition Agreement (G2G) and the institutional level transforms halal standards from domestic religious criteria to an international trade policy instrument. Through this mechanism, institutional compromises reached domestically are effectively exported to international trading partners, forcing foreign producers and sovereign certification authorities to conform to Indonesia's hybrid legal standards. This overseas projection of domestic regulation lets the country protect its national consumer base while proactively setting the terms of access to one of the world's largest consumer markets. In addition, drafting cross-border compliance through formal bilateral agreements and institutional equivalency assessments minimizes potential accusations of protectionism or unwarranted technical barriers to trade under multilateral trading frameworks. In this regard, Indonesia's halal certification requirements must also align with multilateral trade law, particularly the World Trade Organization (WTO) Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT Agreement), which sets disciplines on technical regulations and conformity assessment procedures affecting international trade.⁴⁷ This relationship between halal regulation and international trade law is also reflected in the WTO context, where halal measures have been examined in relation to their potential trade-obstacle implications under the TBT framework.⁴⁸ Consequently, Indonesia's statutory halal regime evolves from a localized

⁴⁶ Amarul Arief Mohd Shuhaimi et al., "A Review on Halal and Kosher Regulations , Certifications , and Industrial Practices," *International Journal of Academic Research in Business & Social Sciences* 12, no. 2 (2022): 182–92, <https://doi.org/10.6007/IJARBS/v12-i2/12175>.

⁴⁷ Alda Meydiyana Sagita and Sasmini, "Halal Certification Policy in Indonesia and the World Trade Organization," *International Journal of Integrated Science and Technology* 2, no. 9 (2024): 795–810.

⁴⁸ Eva Johan and Hanna Schebesta, "Religious Regulation Meets International Trade Law : Halal Measures , a Trade Obstacle ? Evidence from the SPS and TBT Committees," *Journal of International Economic Law* 117, no. 1 (2022): 61–73.

public-religious accommodation into a sophisticated mechanism of geoeconomic influence that reshapes global supply-chain standards.

Finally, the resilience of Indonesia's multi-stakeholder halal governance depends on its continuous institutional responsiveness to economic asymmetries, particularly regarding micro and small enterprises. The legislative introduction of the self-declaration channel and the state-funded *Sehati (Sertifikasi Halal Gratis)* program represents an indispensable institutional accommodation designed to prevent market. By mobilizing university students, community organizers, and religious extension workers as certified Halal Product Process Companions, the state engineered a massive grassroots compliance network that bridges the gap between formal state requirements and the informal traditional economy. This bottom-up accommodation demonstrates that the institutional compromise underpinning the Law is not a top-down bureaucratic mandate, but an evolving co-regulatory governance model that continually negotiates religious fidelity, administrative capability, and inclusive market sustainability. By dismantling severe financial and procedural barriers for vulnerable economic actors, this inclusive mechanism protects grassroots livelihoods from systematic displacement by large-scale industrial compliance. Furthermore, integrating community-driven verification into the formal statutory architecture reinforces public trust and democratic participation within modern public administration. Ultimately, this multi-layered framework proves that statutory faith-based standards can achieve comprehensive legal certainty without sacrificing commercial equity or economic resilience.

Building upon this socio-economic accommodation, the multi-stakeholder model also required a profound restructuring of financial accountability and fiscal transparency within the religious regulatory domain. Under the pre-statutory framework, certification tariffs and administrative revenues operated largely at the discretion of non-governmental religious entities, often sparking public scrutiny over arbitrary fee structures. The institutional shift formalized through the Body framework integrated halal certification finances directly into the state budgetary mechanism as Non-Tax State Revenue.⁴⁹ By subjecting certification revenues, laboratory audit costs, and administrative levies to statutory oversight by the Supreme Audit Agency, the hybrid model established an unprecedented standard of fiscal governance over religious administrative practices. This institutionalization not only demystified the economics of halal certification for domestic and international market players, but also transformed halal compliance from an opaque religious levy into a legally auditable public service.⁵⁰ Standardized tariff schedules issued through ministerial regulations effectively curbed informal pricing variances and guaranteed cost predictability across diverse business sectors. Furthermore, incorporating external state auditing mechanisms insulated the certification apparatus from potential rent-seeking practices and conflicts of interest that previously threatened institutional credibility. Consequently, this budgetary rationalization illustrates that faith-based public administration can achieve

⁴⁹ Muhammad Syarif Nurdin and YUSDANI RAHMAN, "Sertifikasi Produk Halal Oleh BPJPH DIY Dengan Pendekatan Ekonomi Politik Perspektif Maqasid Syariah," *Equilibrium: Jurnal Ekonomi Syariah* 9, no. 1 (June 2021): 199–216, <https://doi.org/10.21043/equilibrium.v9i1.9783>.

⁵⁰ Etikah Karyani et al., "Intention to Adopt a Blockchain-Based Halal Certification: Indonesia Consumers and Regulatory Perspective," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 15, no. 7 (June 2024): 1766–82, <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-03-2023-0069>.

rigorous administrative integrity by submitting spiritual oversight to constitutional principles of public financial management.

Moreover, the ongoing operationalization of this hybrid framework has prompted the emergence of institutional counterweights designed to mitigate procedural gridlocks between bureaucratic agencies and religious bodies. While the Council historically maintained an absolute monopoly over Islamic legal decrees, the need to maintain market velocity compelled the state to establish complementary administrative mechanisms, such as the Halal Product Fatwa Committee under the Ministry of Religious Affairs.⁵¹ Designed primarily to process self-declaration tracks and prevent institutional paralysis from backlogs in traditional fatwa assemblies, this institutional adjustment shows how the state continues to refine the boundaries of administrative delegation.⁵² Rather than stripping religious scholars of their doctrinal legitimacy, these structural safeguards institutionalize clear procedural timelines, ensuring that accommodating religious orthodoxy does not become an insurmountable impediment to domestic industrial growth and commercial legal certainty. This institutional counterweight effectively introduces a pragmatic circuit breaker that prevents single clerical bodies from stalling dynamic market transactions. Furthermore, establishing state-administered doctrinal bodies illustrates how administrative necessity can generate alternative sites of religious authority without abandoning orthodox jurisprudential tenets. Consequently, these structural adaptations demonstrate that modern regulatory regimes can calibrate religious dispute resolution to uphold economic efficiency, procedural fairness, and statutory reliability.

In essence, the multi-stakeholder governance born out of the Halal Product Assurance Law illustrates that codifying religious norms within a modern constitutional state is neither a zero-sum contest nor a permanent, static settlement. Instead, it functions as an ongoing institutional negotiation in which state agencies, religious bodies, scientific inspection entities, and market enterprises continually calibrate their respective jurisdictions. The resulting hybrid ecosystem demonstrates that religious legitimacy and administrative rationality can functionally coexist, providing a distinct legal model for managing faith-based mandates within contemporary market economies and pluralistic democratic frameworks. This collaborative architecture confirms that statutory formalization does not erode sacred tenets, but instead integrates them into predictable, rule-bound administrative structures. By distributing evaluative tasks across bureaucratic, scientific, and theological spheres, the state actively prevents institutional overreach while maintaining comprehensive public accountability. Consequently, the Indonesian experience provides a compelling institutional precedent for how diverse regulatory actors can build durable consensus amid competing ideological and economic pressures. Ultimately, this dynamic equilibrium positions faith-based regulatory governance as an adaptable, enduring instrument of both constitutional welfare and global market integration.

⁵¹ Bambang Iswanto, "Job Creation Law and Consequences in Determining Halâl Products: Analysis of the Halâl Product Fatwa Committee," *Al-'Adalah* 20, no. 1 (June 2023): 179–210, <https://doi.org/10.24042/adalah.v20i1.16379>.

⁵² Imam Arifa'llah Syaiful Huda et al., "Revealing Halal Certification Oversight Gaps for MSEs through ArcGIS Dashboard Integration," *Indonesian Journal of Halal Research* 6, no. 2 (August 2024): 58–69, <https://doi.org/10.15575/ijhar.v6i2.33308>.

From an administrative law and regulatory state perspective, this institutional settlement transforms the traditional model of bureaucratic delegation. In classical administrative frameworks, authority is typically delegated downward from executive organs to specialized technical agencies. Within Indonesia's halal regime, however, the state engages in horizontal delegation by formally deputizing a non-state religious authority (the Council) to execute statutory functions essential to the validity of administrative decisions.⁵³ This creates a legal paradox: an administrative decree issued by the Body depends on a religious determination (*fatwa*) produced outside the direct hierarchy of civil service command. To maintain constitutional integrity, the state circumscribed this hybrid delegation through strict statutory parameters, subjecting the procedural aspects of certification to the jurisdiction of the State Administrative Court, while shielding the substantive theological interpretation from direct judicial nullification. This bifurcation of judicial review effectively insulates clerical doctrine from state co-optation while simultaneously holding the administrative apparatus accountable to the principles of good public governance. Consequently, private business actors maintain standard legal recourse against bureaucratic delays, arbitrary denials, or procedural maladministration without prompting state courts to adjudicate theological dogma. Ultimately, this horizontal delegation model creates an innovative balance in public law, demonstrating that non-state normative authorities can be systematically embedded within formal administrative procedures while fully respecting constitutional separations and judicial oversight.

This multi-stakeholder dynamic has catalyzed a significant reconfiguration of professional authority within the halal ecosystem. The statutory decentralization from a single entity to multiple the Agencies stimulated the institutionalization of Halal Auditors and Halal Supervisors (*Penyelia Halal*) as recognized, standardized professional occupations.⁵⁴ Governed by national competency frameworks under the National Professional Certification Agency (*Badan Nasional Serifikasi Profesi - BNSP*), these technical actors operate at the intersection of Islamic jurisprudence and food science. Their emergence shows that implementing the Law does not merely formalize legal text; it actively generates a specialized socio-technical workforce that translates abstract religious principles into verifiable laboratory metrics, standardized operational procedures, and quantifiable industrial criteria.⁵⁵ Consequently, professionalization acts as an institutional bridge that reconciles theological imperatives with empirical scientific rigor. By anchoring professional accreditation in national statutory criteria, the state depersonalizes religious oversight and insulates technical assessments from subjective theological variance. This standardized cadre of professionals enables corporate and industrial enterprises to embed continuous halal compliance directly into their everyday manufacturing systems. Ultimately, the systematic rise of this specialized technical profession ensures that religious compliance operates as a

⁵³ Yüksel Sezgin and Mirjam Kunkler, "Regulation of 'Religion' and the 'Religious': The Politics of Judicialization and Bureaucratization in India and Indonesia," *Comparative Studies and History* 56, no. 2 (2014): 448–78, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417514000103>.

⁵⁴ Arisy Abror Dzukroni et al., "Rethinking Religious Authority: Fatwa Committee, Scientific Expertise, and Politics of Halal Certification in Indonesia," *Al-Ahkam* 36, no. 1 (April 2026): 105–32, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2026.36.1.29823>.

⁵⁵ Hana Catur Wahyuni et al., "Improving Halalness and Food Safety Management Systems in the Indonesian Broiler Supply Chain: An Interpretive Structural Modeling and Bayesian Network Approach," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 16, no. 4 (March 2025): 1145–73, <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-02-2023-0057>.

predictable, auditable, and resilient industrial discipline within contemporary regulatory administration.

The Indonesian halal governance paradigm offers a distinctive theoretical model for comparative legal sociology regarding the institutionalization of faith-based standards in democratic societies. While many jurisdictions struggle with the rigid polarization between strict secularism and theocratic intervention, Indonesia demonstrates the viability of a calibrated "co-regulatory accommodation." Under this architecture, the state maintains supreme authority over public law, procedural justice, and market equity, while systematically integrating the epistemic legitimacy of religious institutions into its regulatory machinery. This evolving compromise ensures that religious accommodation functions not as an arbitrary political concession, but as a structured, predictable, and legally anchored mode of modern governance capable of serving diverse constitutional, social, and economic interests. By replacing uncoordinated private clerical monopolies with a rule-bound tripartite mechanism, the framework proves that sacred norms can enrich rather than undermine modern administrative constitutionalism. Furthermore, this dynamic synthesis reveals how emerging market democracies can simultaneously foster confessional identity, consumer protection, and global commercial competitiveness. In doing so, the Indonesian statutory experience establishes an indispensable institutional benchmark for harmonizing substantive normative traditions with the imperative of democratic legal certainty.

Conclusion

This study finds that the formulation of the Halal Product Assurance Law of 2014 resulted from accommodating religious requirements within Indonesia's statutory framework. The legislative process translated religious norms concerning halal into legal provisions rather than incorporating them verbatim into state law. This process reflected the interaction between religious considerations and the state's authority to establish binding regulatory mechanisms. Religious requirements therefore remained relevant to the substantive determination of halal status, while the Law organized their legal implementation through established procedures. The resulting framework provided a formal legal basis for halal product assurance within the national regulatory system. The legislative process consequently demonstrates that religious values can be incorporated into positive law through institutional and procedural mechanisms. Such incorporation does not replace state authority with religious authority, but establishes legally defined functions for both within the regulatory framework. The central finding is that the accommodation of religious values under the Law was achieved through legislative formulation that linked substantive religious requirements to state-administered legal mechanisms.

The study further finds that this accommodation is reflected in the differentiated institutional functions established under the halal assurance framework. The Halal Product Assurance Organizing Agency (*Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Produk Halal- BPJPH*) performs administrative functions in implementing halal product assurance, while the Indonesian Ulema Council (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia - MUI*) retains a role in determining halal status. The Halal Inspection Agencies (*Lembaga Pemeriksa Halal - LPH*) perform product

examination functions within the statutory framework. This allocation allows religious considerations and administrative functions to operate through distinct but connected institutional mechanisms. Subsequent regulatory adjustments demonstrate that these institutional arrangements have continued to develop in response to administrative and practical considerations. The framework therefore represents an ongoing process of institutional refinement rather than a fixed allocation of authority. Its effectiveness depends on clear institutional functions, consistent procedures, and legal certainty for consumers and business actors. The Law demonstrates how religious requirements can be incorporated into Indonesia's positive legal system through differentiated institutional authority and formal administrative mechanisms.

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