

Securitisation of Halal Issue in Southeast Asia Region

Comparative Studies in Thailand and Indonesia

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Halal now becomes the new emerging trend in the global world. It can be reflected by the Securitisation act of halal issues that has been done by many countries, both the majority-muslim and also the minority-muslim countries. This article discusses about Securitisation of halal issues in Southeast Asia region with the focus in Indonesia and Thailand. The research method used is comparative qualitative with primary and secondary data collection from interviews and also some sources of books, journals, as well as official government and halal certification agencies' websites. The purpose of this study is to find out the similarities and differences in halal Securitisation process in Indonesia as a Muslim-majority country and Thailand as Muslim-minority country in Southeast Asia. The results obtained is that halal Securitisation process in both country is successful because it fulfills all aspects of Securitisation , that is referent object, securitising actor, and functional actor who interact with each other in making speech act so that a policy arises to overcome the issue that believed to be a threat. It is generally found that there are similarities in terms of halal Securitisation in both countries. The difference itself is that Indonesia has a larger number of referent objects, Securitisation of actors, and functional actors than Thailand, so that halal Securitisation process



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in Indonesia becomes faster. In addition, there are two halal Securitisation processes in Indonesia with imported products as a new threat threaten domestic producers (referent object).

Keywords: securitisation, halal, Indonesia, Thailand.

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The expanding focus in Security Studies from high politics to soft politics was marked by the establishment of global security concept in the 1990s after the Cold War (Hough, 2008). Since the shifting of security issues, states has now begun to pay attention to soft politics issues including social, environment, and economic issues (Buzan, 1991). One of the economic issue is food security. Using the perspective of religiosity or belief, a recent new trend emerged in the issue of food security, namely Halal issue, which is sensitive and crucial for the world's Muslim community. Such issue has become one of the most important contemporary global issues, reflected by the establishment of many halal certification institutions both in muslim-majority and muslim-minority countries.

According to World Population Review (2019), Southeast Asia has three countries where the majority of the population is muslim, namely Indonesia (87%), Malaysia (60%), and Brunei Darussalam (66%), while muslim-minority countries include Vietnam (0,1%), Thailand (12%), Singapura (14%), Filipina (5,6%), Kamboja (1,8%), Myanmar (4,3%), Laos (0,01%), Timor-Leste (1%), and Papua Nugini (0,05%). Because of trade and social factors in this region, halal issue receives much attention from many countries. This article aims to explain the similarities and differences in Securitisation of halal issues in the Southeast Asian region focusing on Indonesia and Thailand using the theory of Securitisation .

The reason of choosing these countries is that Indonesia is a country with the largest muslim population in the world, so it is not surprising that halal issue is fully discussed and being securitized, given the large number of its referent objects. Meanwhile, despite being a muslim-minority country, Thailand has succeeded in production and export of halal foods to Middle East (Jenatabadi & Jasimah, 2017).

Halal issue itself has become attention among researchers all around the world. Various studies related to halal have been produced from each of the researchers' focus. Khan & Haleem (2016) explains the concept of halal and its components and the prospects of halal certifica-

tion institutions throughout the world. Nurrachmi (2015) explains the existence of Halal food industry in developed and developing countries. This research helps researchers understand the opportunities of halal industry in Muslim-minority countries, especially Thailand, that has a significant increase in the development of halal industry. The last article written by Akim, et al (2019), explained the shifting of halal certification system in Indonesia. In this paper, we want to use the concept of Securitisation to analyse about the halal issue through halal certification system. For that purpose, we also refer to some literature that write about the implementation of Securitisation theory for non traditional security issues, such as *The Securitisation of Food Security in Colombia 1970-2010* written by Nussio and Pernet, and *The Securitisation of the International Economic and Financial Crisis* written by Dahlèn. Those articles show that Securitisation concept can be used in non traditional security issue. So that, we think this concept also can be used to analyse about halal issue because halal is actually part of food security, especially for muslim community.

The previous studies about halal certification written by Akim, et al, helping us to understand that there has been a change in the Securitisation of halal issues in Indonesia which has led to the shifting. The difference between this article and previous is the focus of researchers on the process of Securitisation in two selected countries in Southeast Asia, i.e. Indonesia as a muslim-majority country and Thailand as a muslim minority using the Securitisation theory.

Theoretical Review

Halal dan Halal Certification

In Arabic, Halal (حلال) means: permitted, acceptable, or permitted. This concept is not only related to food, but covers all aspects of Muslim life. In Islam there are two important sources of Shari'a for Muslims, namely the Quran and the Hadith. This halal issue is also one of the rules in Islam stated in the source ((Khan & Haleem, 2016). The Malaysian Standards Department (2018) also defines in MS1500: 2009 that what is meant by Halal are legal and permissible things in Islam based on Sharia law and fatwa, whereas violations are called non-halal or haram.

Halal is a term that is obligatory for a Muslim in every aspect of his life, including safety, animal welfare, social justice, and a sustainable environment. *Toyyiban*, a value that coexists with Halal, has a

clean and healthy meaning that symbolizes the cleanliness, safety, and quality of food consumed by Muslims (Baharuddin, Kassim, Nordin, & Buyong, 2015). However, according to the Chairman of the Indonesian Halal Lifestyle Center (IHLC), Sapta Nirwandar (2019), Halal is not exclusively aimed at Muslims only, but for all human beings according to QS. Al-Baqarah: 172-173. In other words, halal is an inclusive issue for everyone even “Halal is a right for every Muslim, but it is indeed a privilege for everyone”.

To guarantee halalism itself, a halal certification is needed. Khan & Haleem (2016) explained that halal certification is the process of certifying products or services that comply Shariah law. In order to provide guarantees to Muslim consumers about halal quality, the certification system is considered important. Noordin, et al (2009), quoted that the basic principles of certification are Halal and Thoyyibban taken from the Quran, Surat Al-Baqarah verse 168. Therefore, halal certification is issued based on basic principles and procedures that the product must be good, safe, and worth consuming.

Halal certification is needed to ensure that the product is not contaminated with its halal characteristics from upstream to downstream. Mohd Yusoff in Marzuki, et al (2011) defines it as the process of food examination in the process of preparation to transportation and management, in which in each process does not tolerate things that are *haram* (prohibited). Although it only defines the limits of food, in fact this is not limited only to substances contained in food, but also on how it is made and can also apply to other industrial sectors.

Securitisation Concept

Buzan (1998) explains that to know what makes something can be called international security, we must look at aspects that play a role in international security, namely referent objects, the securitising actors, and functional actors. A referent object in international security is something that is threatened by the existence of a threat (existential threat) and has the right to survive. To overcome this threat, whatever is deemed necessary in the concept of Securitisation can be used.

Securitisation itself can be interpreted as an issue that represents the existence of threats, requires emergency action, and justifies actions outside the normal limits of political procedures. This action is taken when the Securitisation actor has stated that an issue is a “presence threat” for the referent object. The statement is theoretically part

of the speech act. Speech act itself is a statement/action/commitment in the interaction between the three aspects that play a role in international security. However, the actor's statement can only be referred to as Securitisation when the audience also believes that the issue is a real threat and threatens the referent object.

Then, the last part of Securitisation is functional actors. Without becoming a referent object or actor who asks for security on behalf of the referent object, these supporting actors are those whose activities have a significant impact on Securitisation. For example industries that endanger the community, NGOs who are concerned about the issue, and the mass media that disseminates the issue.

Based on aspects of Securitisation as explained above, Buzan concluded that in general, the success of Securitisation had three components, namely the existential threat, emergency actions, and their impact on inter-unit relations. If all three components are achieved, Securitisation can be said to be successful. The existential threat is how Securitisation actors succeed in convincing the audience that an issue is a threat. Emergency actions in this case are actions in the form of policies taken to overcome these threats. While the impact on interunits is how the policy then influences the relationship of the aspects involved, namely referent object, Securitisation actor, and functional actor. The same thing was also conveyed by Balzacq (2005). He said that Securitisation was called successful when the Securitisation agent and audience reached the same perception. It really depends on the ability of Securitisation actors to convince the audience by looking at the characteristics and interests of the audience itself.

Success in convincing the audience is an internal factor in the success of Securitisation, while the external factor is the ability of Securitisation actors to maintain their position so that the policy can be realised. One of them can be in the form of giving authority to someone to build an institution so that the procedures taken can be carried out properly (Buzan, 1998).

Securitisation of Halal Issue

Relating this Buzan's Securitisation theory with the halal issue, we can understand this by firstly looking at the shifting of security issues explained by Buzan (1991). At recent in the global security, there are not only hard politics issues that the states are involved with, but also the soft politics issues, including the social, environment, and economic

issues. As one of the economic issue, halal becomes the new emerging issue that needs to be securitized based on the Buzan's Securitisation theory. It is because there is an urgency for the Muslim population in the world that are needing the safetiness and the assurance of halal values in their lives, for example the halal food. Halal food becomes the needs for the Muslim population and all the people recently-not only Muslim that can relate to halal issue today. In the context of that, there is an urgency in the food security. Buzan in 1998's Securitisation theory does not limit the issue for the hard politics issues only, instead he emphasised in 1991 that there are shifting in global security issues. Because of that, we can relate the halal issues with Buzan's Securitisation theory.

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Methods

The method used in this article is a comparative qualitative method by collecting primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained from interviews conducted both directly and indirectly with several informants spread across Indonesia and Thailand as well as information from the official website of the government and halal certification bodies. Meanwhile, secondary data obtained from several reference sources such as journals, articles, and books that are relevant with the research topic. This article is validated using triangulation techniques, which include triangulation of data sources and triangulation of methods.

Discussion

Securitisation of Halal Issue in Thailand

Although it is a Muslim minority country, the issue of halal is also a concern in Thailand, reflected in the efforts to develop a halal certification system in the country. Researchers see the development of the halal certification system can be analysed with the concept of Securitisation using five aspects in the process of Securitisation, i.e. existential threat, referent object, Securitisation actor, and functional actor.

Existential Threat

Thailand is a country with various tribes, ethnicities and religions. Nonetheless, Thailand has the principle of equal rights set out in the Thai Law Section 5 and 37. Both states that Thai people, regardless of their origin, gender or religion, will enjoy the same protection under

the constitution, including in carrying out religious principles as long as it is not contrary to the law (The Central Islamic Council of Thailand, 2016).

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Unfortunately, being a minority in a predominantly Buddhist country like Thailand is a challenge for Muslims to live their lives according to Islamic principles. One example is related to the halal principle. Conditions in which many products in Thailand that are based on sharia are included in non-halal products, pose a threat to the Muslim population in Thailand. Therefore, based on Buzzan (1991) theory, this non-halal product is called an *existential threat* and action is needed to overcome it.

Referent Object

Muslim population is the largest minority population in Thailand, which is as much as ± 7.5 million Muslims or around 12% of the 62.5 million total population in Thailand (Royal Thai Embassy, Riyadh, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, n.d.). This Muslim population have the vulnerability to live according to Islamic principles with the existence of an *existential threat*, which is many non-halal products in Thailand. So that, based on the theory of Buzan (1991), this Muslim population can be called as a *referent object*.

Securitisation Actor

Based on the history of halal certification in Thailand itself, Jenatabadi (2017) explains that the development of halal certification in Thailand is divided into four stages. The first stage occurred before 1949, when the halal status of products and services for Muslim consumers was only assessed according to the opinion of experts halal without any process to prove its halal. Then, the second stage begin in the development of the industry in 1949 to 1997 with efforts to improve halal certification in Thailand when the Shiekhul Islam office issued halal certificates for the first time. This was done to meet the needs of the Muslim population in Thailand. In 1971, the Thai Islamic Center Committee introduced the Halal Food Standard which, after being refined and upgraded to meet Islamic Law and international standards, finally became official standards and was adopted throughout Thailand (Jenatabadi & Jasimah, 2017).

In 1997, the third phase began with the involvement of the government. With a fairly large Muslim population, both the government and parliament in Thailand have a large interest in matters relating to Is-

lam. These matters include protection for Thai Muslim population to be able to maintain their identity and live according to Islamic principles, traditions, and lifestyles. Therefore, the government then enacted the Act on the Administration of Islamic Organisations B.E. 2540. The Thai Government as an entity that has the authority to make policies, based on the Securitisation theory presented by Buzzan, in this case acts as a Securitisation actor.

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Speech Act

Act on the Administration of Islamic Organisations B.E. 2540 is a speech act in the form of actions taken by the Thai government as a Securitisation actor. The enactment of this Law has made halal issues which had only been discussed in the Muslim community become a national issue. Speech act in accordance with the theory is done to convince the audience, namely the Thai population both Muslim and non-Muslim, that this is a threat to the Muslim population so that it is necessary to make a policy so that the Muslim population in Thailand can feel safe. In other words, this fulfills internal factors in the successful of Securitisation act.

Meanwhile, the external factor of the successful of Securitisation act can be seen from the subsequent actions in the form of policies to form institutions to deal with the issue of halal certification in Thailand. These institutions are the Central Islamic Committee of Thailand (CICOT) and the Halal Standard Institute to issue the halal certification in Thailand. Under the Act on the Administration of Islamic Organisations B.E. 2540, His Majesty the King has the authority to appoint Sheikhu-Islam as the president of CICOT which also the leader of Islamic affairs in Thailand. This name was legally handed over by the Prime Minister to His Majesty the King based on the approval of all provincial Islamic Committees in Thailand. (The Central Islamic Council of Thailand, 2016). Then, in 2002, the Thai Islamic Central Committee succeeded in gaining the trust of the Thai government to establish a halal food center in southern Thailand, the halal-HACCP system, and the Halal Science Center, Chulalongkorn University in 2003.

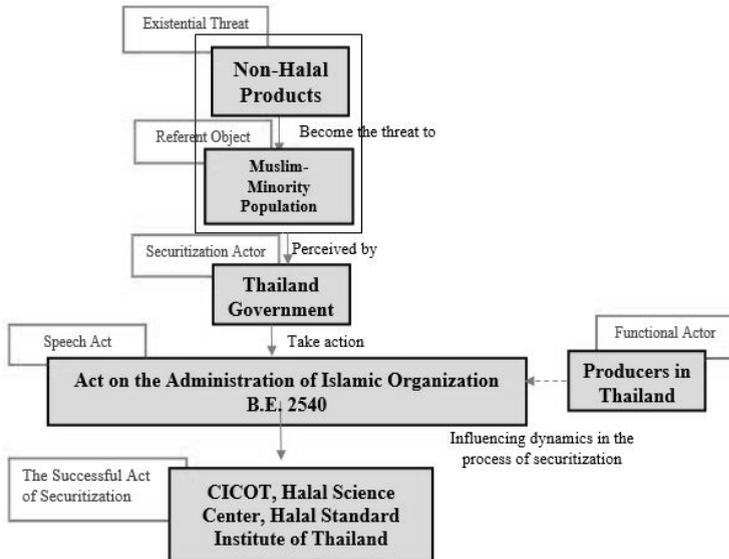
Functional Actor

The final factor that complements the aspect of Securitisation is the functional actor. Based on the analysis of researchers, the actors who

act as functional actors in this case are producers of products in Thailand. Producers in Thailand are actors who produce both halal and non-halal products so that their role will influence the dynamics of halal Securitisation . This is because if the products they produce are not distinguished by halal certification it will create a threat to the Muslim population and vice versa if using halal certification will help the halal Securitisation process in Thailand.

These aspects of Securitisation fulfill the three components of the successful act of Securitisation , that is non halal products as an existential threat, emergency actions in the form of speech acts by enacting Act on the Administration of Islamic Organisations B.E. 2540 (M.D. 1997) and the establishment of three institutions to deal with the issue of halal certification, as well as the influence on inter-unit relations, that is the government, halal certification body, and producers in Thailand. This halal Securitisation has finally succeeded in meeting the needs of the Muslim population in Thailand for halal product. By the fourth stage of halal certification in 2017 to now, halal logo is the second brand for halal products and services (Jenatabadi & Jasimah, 2017).

Figure 1. Halal Securitisation Process in Thailand



Source: Researchers, 2019

Securitisation of Halal Issue in Indonesia

As a country with the largest number of Muslims in the world, Indonesia is currently one of the major global halal markets due to high demand for halal products (Nirwandari, 2019). Therefore, the guarantee of halal products is also increasingly considered important although initially it was still considered as common issue by community. However, since 1988, the issue of halal has risen to the surface due to the threat that destabilize the community. Starting from this threat, there was pressure from many parties for the need of Securitisation in halal issues. The aspects in the halal Securitisation process in Indonesia will be explained below.

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Existential Threat

Halal issue at first attracted attention when DNA of pig is found in several food products that are widely circulated in Indonesia. This was discovered by a researcher named Tri Sutrisno from Brawijaya University in 1988. The existence of this finding remained worries in the community. Even, a report by the Legal Study Team on the Role of Society in Providing Halal Product Information (2011) found a decline of the total amount of public consumption in processed food products that might lead to economic shocks in Indonesia at that time. Non-halal products circulating in Indonesia became an *existential threat* for Muslim in choosing what to consume. Uniquely, there are two different forms of Securitisation in Indonesia based on the awareness about the emergence of a new *existential threat*, that is imported products that threaten domestic ones.

Referent Object

The case in 1988 posed a threat to the Muslim community in Indonesia (*referent object*) which was threatened by the existential threat namely non-halal products. As the largest Muslim-majority country in the world, this issue was fast spreading and creating urgency in securitising halal issues.

The existence of free market in Indonesia is the beginning of a new form of halal Securitisation. Due to Indonesia as a destination for foreign producers to export their products, the competition is now threatening domestic producers so that the *referent object* changes from initially Muslim communities to domestic producers. This relates to their economy being threatened when imported products flood the local

market. Therefore, the new form of Securitisation of halal issues is carried out as a protection by the government to the domestic producers.

Securitisation Actor

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4/2019 To alleviate the situation, the Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI) was given the task by the government for the 1988 case. On January 6, 1989, an institution was established with the task of examining and issuing halal certification, named the Assessment Institute for Foods, Drugs and Cosmetics, the Indonesian Council of Ulama (LPPOM MUI). The Indonesian government acts as a securitising actor in this issue.

The second form of Securitisation was also carried out by the government in response to the entry of free market in Indonesia. The shifting of responsibility in issuing halal certification allows the government to protect domestic producers so that they can compete with foreign producers. Therefore, the Indonesian government became the *securitising actor* marked by the formation of Law No. 33 of 2014 and represented by the presence of BPJPH under the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs in 2017. The law makes LPPOM MUI a BPJPH partner in charge of facilitating discussion between Muslim Ulama, *zu'ama*, and scholars in determining halal fatwas for halal certification to be issued by the government (Akim et al, 2019). However, in its implementation the authority for halal certification is now still held by LPPOM MUI until BPJPH is ready to operate in October 2019, by the establishment of the Halal Inspection Agency (LPH) (Permana, 2019).

Speech Act

When the issue of halal attracted community, the government formed a small team to conduct a research about the urgency of establishing a rule for food and beverage producers to guarantee halal for Muslim communities in Indonesia. The Minister of Religious Affairs at the time, Munawir Sjadzali, explained that the provision would provide guarantees to consumers and when violations were committed by producers, the government could act according to its authority (Yusuf et al, 2008).

The establishment of LPPOM MUI is a *speech act* taken by the Indonesian government in carrying out halal Securitisation. Since its establishment, LPPOM MUI has the authority to regulate Halal Product Assurance strengthened by the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between the MUI and the Ministry of Religious Affairs and

the Ministry of Health in 1996. The MUI Fatwa Commission is also involved as a party of the ulamas who decided on the halal status of a product by adjusting it to the prevailing sharia law (LPPOM MUI, n.d.).

LPPOM MUI is fully responsible for the implementation of halal certification until the enactment of Law Number 33 of 2014 concerning Halal Product Assurance. After the Act was ratified, LPPOM MUI is no longer a halal certification body because it has been replaced by the Halal Product Assurance Agency (BPJPH) owned by the government. The law regulates that all products that enter, circulate and trade within the territory of Indonesia must have halal certification. Therefore, the government takes direct responsibility for ensuring this. Akim, et al (2019) call this a shifting in the halal certification system from being community centric to state centric. BPJPH Formation and Law No. 33 of 2014 is a *speech act* in the second form of halal Securitisation in Indonesia.

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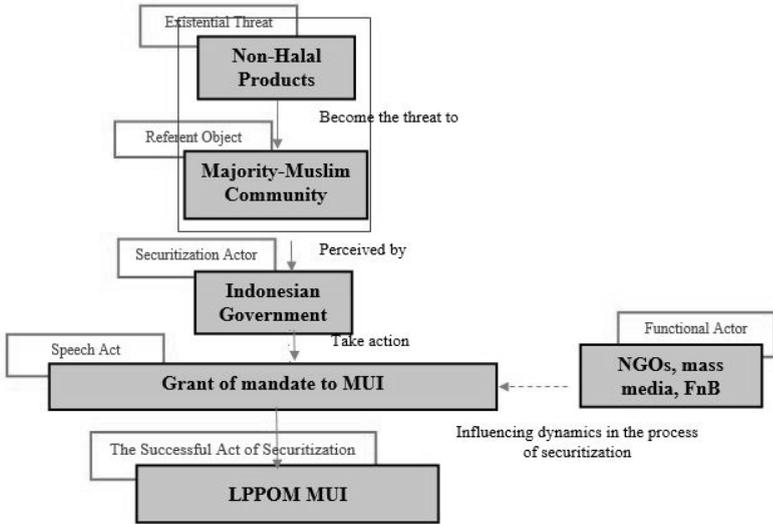
Functional Actor

Ali (2016) mentioned that the atmosphere in Indonesia during the case in 1988 was getting worse when the Asosiasi Cendekiawan Muslim Al-Falah (Al-Falah Muslim Scholars Association) made a study discussing this case. As a result, there was widespread pressure among Muslim communities, especially in East Java, which then spread to other areas. News about this case had also been raised by mass media, causing news to spread quickly and resulting in a decrease in the sales of food and beverage products by 80% (Prabowo & Rahman, 2016).

In this case, the Al-Falah Muslim Scholars Association became a *functional actor* which caused the increase of public awareness of the *existential threats* i.e. non-halal product. In addition, the mass media and food and beverages producers, also play a role as *functional actors*. Producers, especially in domestic, experienced significant losses due to public insecurity about this case. Finally, the establishment of LPPOM MUI was quite successful in mitigating the situation at the time even though halal certification was still voluntary or not required for all products in Indonesia.

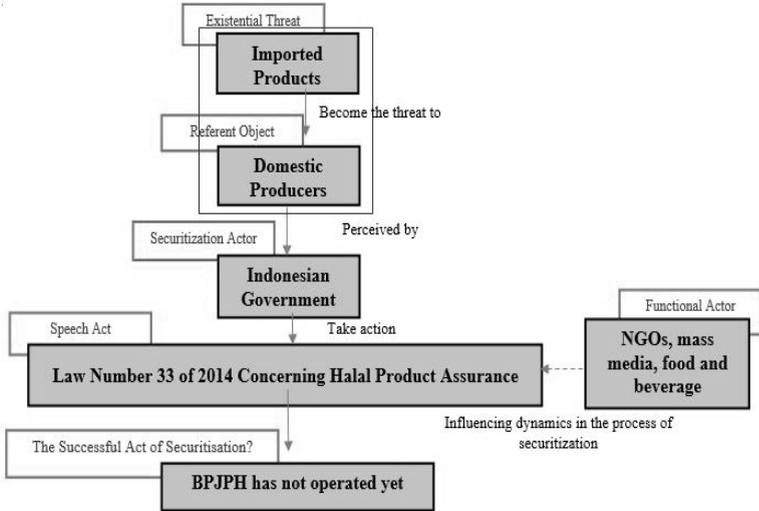
Whereas in the second form of Securitisation, Indonesia Halal Watch (IHW) acts as *functional actor*. IHW mentioned that the Halal Product Assurance Law could be a protection or non-tariff barrier to select or stem the overflow of imported products and can also be an instrument in strengthening the value of rupiah against dollar (LPPOM MUI, 2018).

Figure 2. Securitisation Process I in Indonesia



Source: Researcher, 2019

Figure 3. Securitisation Process II in Indonesia



Source: Researcher, 2019

IHW is actively urges the government to protect halal products in Indonesia. In addition to IHW, other NGOs, mass media, and foreign business players also become functional actors in influencing government policy. The five components in Securitisation theory have been fulfilled in the

first halal Securitisation in Indonesia. The existential threat (non-halal product) that threatened referent objects, namely Muslim community was perceived by government as securitising actor with a speech act in the form of mandate that leads to the establishment of LPPOM MUI. Government policies are influenced by functional actors including the Al-Falah Muslim Scholars Association, mass media, and food and beverage producers. It can be said that the first halal Securitisation process in Indonesia was successfully carried out, signed by the decreased tension of the 1988 case.

However, in the second Securitisation researchers found that it has not been perfectly successful. This is because BPJPH is not yet operational as an institution that guarantees halal certification. Implementation of Law No. 33 of 2014 is still unclear regarding the impact on the existential threat that threatens the community. For industry players themselves, there is still some uncertainty in applying for halal certification due to unclear rules. This can be the new object for subsequent researchers to be able to examine this new halal Securitisation process in Indonesia.

Comparison of Securitisation of Halal Issues in Indonesia and Thailand

There are similarities and differences that occur in the halal Securitisation process in Indonesia and Thailand. The most significant difference can be seen from the Muslim population in the two countries. Islam is a minority religion in Thailand, while in Indonesia it occupies the majority position even in the world. In addition to differences in Muslim population, Indonesia also has two different forms of Securitisation due to the shifting of halal certification system from society centric to state centric.

The difference in the number of Muslims causes a difference in urgency for both countries. This can be seen from the existential threat and the referent object. When non-halal (contaminated) products circulated in Indonesia in 1988, this case was very quickly rising to the surface due to pressure from many parties who influenced the government as a securitising actor. So that the Securitisation process in Indonesia is very fast because it has a wide impact on the large of Muslim population in Indonesia. It only takes one year for LPPOM MUI to be formed as a result of speech act from the government (securitising actor) responding to the issue of pig's DNA in 1988. Whereas the sec-

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ond form of halal Securitisation in Indonesia includes imported products as existential threat, domestic producers as referent objects, the government as securitising actors who form government institutions (BPJPH), and functional actors such as Indonesia Halal Watch, mass media, and foreign producers.

Unlike Indonesia, existential threat in Thailand has emerged since the beginning of the minority Muslim community lived there. With Islam as a minority religion, halal issues were not yet considered important enough, so that it took a very long time for the Thai government (*securitising actor*) to begin halal Securitisation in 1997 with the establishment of CICOT based on the Act on the Administration of Islamic Organisation B.E. 2540 (M.D.1997) to provide a guarantee of halal products to Muslim minorities in Thailand.

In both countries, the speech act was in the form of the establishment of halal certification institutions, namely LPPOM MUI, BPJPH, and CICOT. However, the difference is that the formation of the Indonesian LPPOM MUI is carried out by the MUI based on the mandate of the government, BPJPH is a government agency under the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, and CICOT is an institution formed by the Thai government, where the president and some of his members were appointed directly by the King. Functional actors in Indonesia, namely the Association of Muslim Scholars, mass media, and food producers in the first form of Securitisation and Indonesia Halal Watch in the second Securitisation. Unfortunately, functional actors who play a role in Thailand are only the producers.

Conclusion

From this article, we can conclude that halal issues have been successfully securitised both in Thailand and in Indonesia, with the fulfillment of all aspects of Securitisation. In general, researchers found that there were similarities in aspects of halal Securitisation in the two countries. The difference itself lies in the fact that Indonesia is a Muslim-majority country so that the Securitisation process was faster because the number of referent objects is greater and Securitisation of actors and functional actors is greater than Thailand. Another difference is that researchers have also found that there are two Securitisation processes in Indonesia, where the threat and referent object of this halal issue shifted from being originally only a Muslim population to become a producer of domestic products.

Table 1. Differences in Securitisation of Halal Issues in Indonesia and Thailand

| No | Aspect | Thailand | Indonesia (I) | Indonesia (II) |
|----|--------------------|--|---|--|
| 1. | Time | 1949-1997 | 1988-1989 | Has not been found |
| 2. | Existential threat | Non-halal products | Non-halal products | Imported products |
| 3. | Referent object | Muslim minority | Muslim majority | Muslim majority and domestic producers. |
| 4. | Securitising actor | Government | Government | Government |
| 5. | Speech act | Act on the Administration of Islamic Organisations B.E. 2540 (M.D. 1997) => The establishment of CICOT | Grant of mandate to MUI => The establishment of LPPOM MUI | The establishment of BPJPH |
| 6. | Functional actor | Producers | Asosiasi Cendikiawan Muslim Al-Falah, mass media, producers | Indonesia Halal Watch, mass media, foreign producers |

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Source: Researchers, 2019



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