

ИСТОРИЧЕСКАЯ ДИНАМИКА СЕРТИФИКАЦИИ ХАЛЯЛЬНОЙ ПРОДУКЦИИ В ИНДОНЕЗИИ: ИЗМЕНЕНИЕ РОЛЕЙ ГОСУДАРСТВА И РЕЛИГИОЗНЫХ УЧРЕЖДЕНИЙ

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Аннотация. Прослеживается историческое развитие управления халяльной продукцией в Индонезии в контексте долгосрочного развития, которое включает переход от практик, основанных на участии общин, и неформального религиозного влияния ученых (улемов) к современной государственной системе регулирования халяльной продукции. Реконструируется траектория этого регулирования с помощью методики, сочетающей нормативно-правовой подход с историческим синтезом, изучаются научная литература и официальные государственные нормативные акты. Установлено, что регулирование халяльной продукции прошло ранний этап применения социально укоренившихся практик, обусловленных нормами сообщества, переходный этап институционализации (1976–2014), отмеченный сотрудничеством государства и Министерства по делам религии Республики Индонезия, и этап установления нынешнего государственно ориентированного порядка в рамках закона об обеспечении качества халяльной продукции.

Ключевые слова: сертификация халяльной продукции; Индонезия; историческая эволюция; государственная власть; трансформация регулирования.

ІСТАРЫЧНАЯ ДЫНАМІКА СЕРТЫФІКАЦЫІ ХАЛЯЛЬНОЙ ПРАДУКЦЫІ ў ІНДАНЕЗІІ: ЗМЕНА РОЛЯЎ ДзяРЖАВЫ І РЭЛІГІЙНЫХ УСТАНОЎ

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Анотацыя. Прасочваецца гістарычнае развіццё кіравання халяльнай прадукцыяй у Інданезіі ў кантэксце доўгатэрміновага развіцця, якое ўключае пераход ад грамадскіх практык і неформальнага рэлігійнага ўплыву навукоўцаў (улемаў) да сучаснай дзяржаўнай сістэмы рэгулявання халяльнай прадукцыі. Рэканструюецца траекторыя гэтага рэгулявання з дапамогай метадыкі, якая спалучае нарматыўна-прававы падыход з гістарычным сінтэзам, разглядаюцца навуковая літаратура і афіцыйныя дзяржаўныя нарматыўныя акты. Вызначаецца, што рэгуляванне халяльнай прадукцыі прайшло ранні этап сацыяльна ўкаранёных практык, абумоўленых нормамі супольнасці, пераходны этап

Образец цитирования:

Фатхуррохман ЮЭ, Контор Э. Историческая динамика сертификации халяльной продукции в Индонезии: изменение ролей государства и религиозных учреждений. Журнал Белорусского государственного университета. История. 2026;2:58–65 (на англ.). EDN: OPCWGR

For citation:

Fathurrohman YuE, Kontor E. Historical dynamics of Indonesian halal products certification: shifting roles between state and religious institutions. Journal of the Belarusian State University. History. 2026;2:58–65. EDN: OPCWGR

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інстытуцыяналізацыі (1976–2014), які характарызуецца супрацоўніцтвам паміж дзяржавай і Міністэрствам па справах рэлігіі Рэспублікі Інданезія, і этап усталёўвання цяперашняга дзяржаўна арыентаванага парадку ў адпаведнасці з законам аб забеспячэнні якасці халяльнай прадукцыі.

Ключавыя словы: сертыфікацыя халяльнай прадукцыі; Інданезія; гістарычная эвалюцыя; дзяржаўная ўлада; рэгуляторная трансфармацыя.

HISTORICAL DYNAMICS OF INDONESIAN HALAL PRODUCTS CERTIFICATION: SHIFTING ROLES BETWEEN STATE AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

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Abstract. Halal products regulation in Indonesia has undergone a profound transformation, evolving from informal religious practices into a complex state-regulated system. This study aims to trace the historical development of halal governance in Indonesia, positioning it within a long-term development that moves from community-based practices and the informal religious authority of scholars (ulama) to the contemporary state-led halal regulatory system. Employing a methodic of combination of normative-legal approach and historical synthesis, this research examines scholarly literature and official state regulations to reconstruct the regulatory trajectory. The findings reveal that halal regulation evolved through following distinct phases: the early phase of socially embedded practices driven by community norms, the transitional institutionalisation phase (1976–2014) marked by state and Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia collaboration and the current state-centric regime under the halal product assurance law.

Keywords: halal products certification; Indonesia; historical evolution; state authority; regulatory transformation.

Introduction

Historically, halal has been understood in Islamic jurisprudence as food and practices that had been permissible under Sharia, mainly guiding individual religious consumption [1; 2]. Over time, halal has evolved from a purely religious obligation into a broader social and economic concept that shaped consumption, lifestyles, values, economic behaviour and other multidimensional phenomena [2]. In its historical development, halal has shift from an informal community-based practice, where religious scholars and ulama had determined permissibility, to a formal, state-regulated system marked with standardised certification procedures [3]. That condition, due to halal products and services, developed into a global halal industry. Its later expansion has increased and formed a need for clear, consistent, and widely accepted halal standards [4]. At the global level, the halal food sector has expanded rapidly, driven by the growth of the Muslim population and greater awareness of halal certification among both Muslim and non-Muslim consumers [5; 6]. This transformation underscores the importance of historical analysis, as it involves meanings, functions, and governance of halal and reflects trajectories of Islamisation of state and its legal development.

Indonesia presents a unique and academically significant case in the historical development of halal regulation. For the country with the largest Muslim

population globally [7], formal halal legislation established relatively late, with early practices of halal largely functioning as social norms and customary regulations rather than state-enforced law [8]. The process of Islamisation in archipelago has been marked with a dynamic interplay of acculturation, involving local kingdoms, education, influential ulama, which had shaped distinctive interpretations and practices of halal [9; 10]. This historical trajectory highlights the hybrid character of halal governance in Indonesia, where religious, social, and political influences converged long before establishment of a formal state-centred regulatory framework. At present, almost all market production requires to display official halal certification [11].

Despite the growing body of research on halal, the literature remains heavily skewed toward normative and contemporary concerns, such as consumer behaviour [12–14], modern halal certification [15; 16], and economic impact [17]. Few studies adopt a long-term historical perspective that traces the evolution of halal regulation from the era of local kingdoms into the modern state, as most either focus solely on the pre-, post-colonial period and during it [8] or only on the contemporary era [3; 18]. As a result, the regulatory landscape is often understood in an ahistorical manner, obscuring the complex social, political, and religious

processes that have shaped Indonesia's distinctive approach to halal governance.

Some scholars interpret contemporary halal regulatory frameworks as a mechanism to protect religious freedom and Muslim consumer rights [19; 20] by ensuring legal certainty for halal food, drugs, cosmetics, while also highlighting weakness in their enforcement [21]. In contrast, other studies critically conceptualise halal regulation as a form of bureaucratisation of religion, whereby the state increasingly extends administrative authority over religious norms that were historically governed by ulama and non-state religious institutions [22–24]. This condition is particularly evident in Indonesia's plural governance system, where interactions between religious institutions, such as the Indonesian Council of Ulama (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, MUI), and state bodies, like the Halal Product Assurance Agency (*Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Produk Halal*, BPJPH), reveal ongoing disputes over authority and changing institutional roles in the formal regulation of religious

norms. As a result, halal regulation is not just a simple technical policy, but continuous negotiation between state authority and religious institutions.

This article aims to trace the historical development of halal regulation in Indonesia, situating it within a long-term trajectory that spans from socially rooted practices and informal religious authority of the ulama to the establishment of a modern, state-led halal regulatory regime. The primary contribution of this article lies in providing a long-term historical perspective that is rare for Indonesian halal regulation studies, with bridging the disciplinary gaps between history, law, and governance of religion. Conceptually, the article argues that halal regulation in Indonesia has evolved gradually through processes of institutional evolution and regulatory transformation reflecting historical continuity and change. The state does not aim to replace the authority of the ulama entirely but rather reconfigures power relations and institutional roles within contemporary halal governance.

Materials and methods

This study employs a research design that integrates normative legal research or normative approach [20; 24] with a historical synthesis approach. The normative one approach applies a statutory and conceptual methodology to examine the development of halal regulation in Indonesia. Primary legal materials consist of official government regulation and statutory instruments, including law of 2014 on halal product assurance and its subsequent amendments, law of 2020 on job creation and other relevant laws and implementing regulations. These legal texts form the basis for analysing the evolution of state involvement and legal frameworks in halal governance.

Secondary legal material has been obtained through literature-based studies, primarily from peer-reviewed

journal articles, complemented with academic books, policy reports, and authoritative institutional publications related to halal regulation, consumer protection, and state-religion relations. The selection of materials relies on followed relevance and credibility criteria, focusing on sources that addressed historical development, institutional change, and regulatory transformation in Indonesia's halal system.

Analytically, the study adopts a method of historical-synthesis to contextualise legal developments within broader socio-religious and institutional trajectories. The analysis is structured according to the events chronology, thus tracing the transition from socially embedded halal practices to a state-centre regulatory regime.

Results and discussion

The historical roots of halal practices and religious norms in Indonesian society. The historical institutionalisation of halal norms in Indonesia has been closely tied to Islamisation of the archipelago, which had begun as an organic adoption of dietary restrictions before being evolved into formal law. During early Islamic period, particularly with the rise of sultanates like Samudra Pasai and Mataram between the 13th and 16th centuries, Islamic practices were not installed through rigid state statutes but rather through the gradual displacement of Hindu-Buddhist culture [10]. After the arrival of Islam in Indonesia, certain traditions, especially among Javanese, began to change, and one of the major consequences of adopting the Islamic faith, was the need to stop pork consumption [25]. That transition was facilitated with the ability of Islamic jurisprudence to adapt to local conditions [10], where Muslim commu-

nities integrated the principles of *halalan* and *thayyiban* (lawful and good) [1] into their daily lives as a form of social distinction from their non-Muslim neighbours [8]. That era marked the initial phase in which halal had been not merely a ritual observance, but fundamental element of the nascent Islamic social order. By the colonial period, those norms had been deeply rooted and acted like customary laws (*adat*), and the colonisers did not interfere into religious rules, especially regarding halal and *thayyib* food [8]. Research indicates that integration was successful because Islamic dietary restrictions had not been imposed as a sudden legal violation, but are woven into existing cultural fabric, such as the adaptation of *slametan* (communal feasts), in which Sharia principles had been harmonised with local customs [26]. That syncretic approach allowed halal norms to permeate Javanese and Indonesian culture

more broadly without eliminating local traditions, having thus created a unique socio-religious ecosystem, in which the halal status of food becomes synonymous with concepts of cleanliness, safety, and social harmony (*rukun*). It has aligned to the conditions of Muslims of the time [27].

The role of Islamic kingdoms (sultanates) and the ulama was pivotal in establishing the authority structure for those practices, where the ulama acted as the supreme arbiters of lawfulness long before modern certification bodies appeared [10; 28]. Historically, the legitimacy of a sultan often rested on his adherence to Islamic law, but the practical interpretation of *halalan* and *thayyiban* fell to religious scholars and peasant centres served as a trusted centres for transmitting Islamic teachings that people strongly believed in [8]. That relationship created a trust-based system where the *fatwa*, or verbal endorsement of Islamic scholar assured halal consumption, having established a tradition of reliance on religious authority. In time the later supported the centralised role of the MUI [28]. In contemporary Indonesia, halal consumption has moved from a routine custom to an important marker of Muslim social identity, especially shaping middle-class consumer choices [29; 30]. Halal is important to understand middle-class lifestyles in Muslim Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia [31]. Thus, the present research shows a strong connection between middle-class status, lifestyle, and the consumption of sharia-compliant products in Indonesia [32].

The evolution of state and religious institutional roles in halal governance (1976–2014). In Indonesia, the interaction between state and religion on halal issues has gradually shifted from informal religious authority to a formal, state-regulated system, where Islamic norms are enforced through laws, procedures, and regulatory institutions. Since November 1976, halal regulation in Indonesia has been handled by the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia through rules requiring the labeling of containing pork food products [3]. Through ministerial Decree of 10 November 1976 No. 280/Men.Kes/Per/XI/76 «Provisions for the distribution and marking food containing ingredients derived from pigs», all food and beverages, that contain pork or its derivatives, have been required to display a clear warning label, including pig symbol and the words «Contains pork» in red [18]. At that stage, the state adopted a haram labeling approach rather than halal certification, which was considered more practical mean, regarded that a limited number of products contained pork. The Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia also cooperated with the Indonesian Food and Beverage Entrepreneurs Association to accelerate the label distribution [18]. That has been a turning point in the initial policy of regulation of halal food.

During 1980s, halal regulation expanded beyond purely technical public health issue and religious autho-

riety. In 1985, the government replaced pork-warning labels with the halal labels, based on Joint Decree of the Minister of health and the Minister of religious affairs of 12 August 1985 No. 42/Men.Kes/SKB/VII/1985 and No. 68/1985 «Inclusion of halal writing on food labels». Public awareness of the need to ensure halal products grew after the 1988 controversy, which prompted the establishment of the Indonesian Ulema Council's Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Assessment Institute (*Lembaga Pengkajian Pangan, Obat-obatan dan Kosmetika Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, further – LPPOM MUI) in 1989 [3]. A researcher from University of Brawijaya reported that at least 34 food and beverage products circulating in the market have been suspected of containing pork derivatives such as shortening, lard, and gelatin [18]. Shortening is a processed edible fat traditionally used in food preparation to limit gluten formation in dough and to enhance texture, and it is widely applied in frying, baking, and as an ingredient in confectionery, fillings, and coatings [33; 34]. Pork-derived fat or lard was commonly used as shortening agent in baked goods such as bread, biscuits, and cakes, while gelatin is a collagen-based substance obtained through processing animal tissues, including byproducts from livestock slaughter and the fishing industry [35; 36]. In response to the crisis, the MUI, a non-governmental organisation comprising Islamic scholars, community leaders, and Muslim intellectuals, initiated internal deliberations and engaged with the government to address the issues and restore public confidence [37; 38]. This led to the establishment LPPOM MUI in 1989, formalised through MUI Decree of 6 January 1989 No. Kep/18/MUI/I/1989 «On the establishment of LPPOM MUI», with the mandate to inspect products and conduct halal certification [18] and to regulate halal food products available in Indonesia up to the present [39]. Although LPPOM MUI was founded in 1989, halal certificates were first issued in 1994 [3].

Further regulatory synchronisation occurred in 1996, when the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia, the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, and MUI signed a cooperation charter on halal labeling. Under the Decree of the Minister of health of 30 August 1996 No. 924/Menkes/SK/VIII/1996 «Regarding changes to the decision of the Indonesian Minister of health No. 82/MENKES/SK/I/1996 regarding the inclusion of the word “halal” on food labels», halal labeling could only be granted after approval from Directorate of Drug and Food Control, based on a *fatwa* issued by the MUI Fatwa Commission [18]. Over time, halal labeling regulations underwent several changes. In 1999, Food and Drug Supervisory Agency (*Badan Pengawas Obat dan Makanan*, BPOM) began to play a formal role in halal labeling, followed by the transfer of authority from the Directorate General of Food and Drug Monitoring to BPOM in 2000. In 2001, a decision of the Minister of religious affairs designated MUI as the

official halal certification body, while BPOM became responsible for the placement of the halal logo and food packaging [3]. The authors of the mentioned paper also explain that the governance framework was further transformed with the enactment of Law of the Republic of Indonesia of 17 October 2014 No. 33/2014 «On halal product assurance» (further – Law No. 33/2014), which established BPJPH under the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia to manage halal certification by coordinating ministries, halal inspection bodies, and MUI.

The transition toward a state-centred halal regulatory framework: a historical analysis of the Law No. 33/2014. The enactment of the Law No. 33/2014 is widely accepted in literature as a turning point that has shifted Indonesia's halal regulation from a community-based, ulama-driven system to a state-centered legal framework [40]. Furthermore, that regulatory has transferred authority from the MUI and LPPOM MUI to the state-run BPJPH [41]. Scholars describe that shift as a major restructuring of Indonesia's halal certification system, combining religious authority with state bureaucracy in a dual governance model [42]. That historical context of law also marked the moment when the state has no longer positioned itself merely as a facilitator of religious norms but as the primary organiser of halal governance through a dedicated agency (BPJPH).

The move toward a state-centred halal framework is closely linked to the state's interest in protection of consumer, market regulation, and global economic positioning rather than to theological concerns only. Law No. 33/2014 mandates halal certification for all products, both domestic and imported [17]. BPJPH, under the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, oversees foreign halal certificate registration and public halal outreach, serving as a key link between state regulation and religious compliance in Indonesia's halal system [43]. From a consumer protection perspective, Muslim consumers require halal certification that is both legally valid and religiously authoritative [40]. This system is being dynamic and continues to change in response to legal reforms, institutional growth, and socio-economic needs [43]. The changes introduced by Law No. 33/2014 and its implementing regulations transformed halal assurance from a mainly religious initiative into a nationally regulated system involving multiple actors [44; 45].

The Law No. 33/2014 contributes to a historical redefinition of halal from a personal religious obligation into a legal right of citizens that the state must protect. Grounded in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the law affirms the state's duty to ensure legal certainty and protection of halal products as part of guaranteeing freedom of religion [19]. Historically, this transition has significant implication for state-religion relations in Indonesia, because it reshapes the balance authority between governmental bodies and

Islamic institution. Research on the prurality of halal *fatwa* authority notes that the Law No. 33/2014 and its implementing regulation create dual governance model in which doctrinal judgements about halal remain with MUI, while administrative control is increasingly held by BPJPH as a state organ [40]. Overall, before the mentioned law, halal certification in Indonesia was voluntary, dominated by MUI through LPPOM MUI, had weaker legal force, shorter validity, and a simpler certification process. After the Law No. 33/2014 certification has become mandatory, state-led under BPJPH with involvement of multiple actors (BPJPH, halal inspection bodies, and MUI), obtained its stronger legal certainty with sanctions, longer validity, stricter auditor qualifications, and a more complex certification procedure [18].

Contemporary challenges, social responses, and cultural transformations in Indonesia's halal regulation landscape. Contemporary implementation of the halal product assurance law from 2019 to 2023 has faced significant challenges, including limited administrative capacity, overlapping authorities, and uneven readiness of business. In practice, empirical studies show that the traditional halal certification process poses major difficulties for business, especially micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs), due to complex procedures, high cost, and limited access to necessary information [46; 47]. Among these obstacles, insufficient financial capacity to cover certification expenses remains a key concern for MSMEs [48]. It is supported by the view that the traditional halal certification process is still slow and expensive, making it difficult for MSMEs with limited resources to comply [41]. To address these obstacles, Indonesian regulators introduced a self-declaration policy under BPJPH supervision, allowing business to declare halal compliance without going through the full certification process [49]. The regulation has emerged with the enactment of Law of the Republic of Indonesia of 20 November 2020 No. 11 «On job creation», an omnibus law that has been later reviewed by the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia. That law amended several provisions of Law No. 33/2014 to improve efficiency and clarity in halal product regulation [3]. Although the government has sought to reduce the barriers through the Regulation of the Minister of finance of 3 June 2021 No. 57/PMK.05/2021 «Service tariffs of the Public Service Agency of the halal product assurance organising body under the Ministry of Religious Affairs», issued as a follow-up to law on job creation, financial limitation has been still remaining a major obstacle. To address this issue, subsidies and free halal certification programmes have been introduced by ministries and local governments as a part of memorandum of understanding among ten state institutions to accelerate halal certification for small and medium enterprises [16]. Nevertheless, by mid-2021 many small and medium enterprises had

not been registered yet, largely due to limited dissemination and outreach by institutions such as BPJPH and halal inspection bodies [47]. Furthermore, that regulation flexibility has also created weaknesses in the system, such as a dispute over the validity of self-declarations, concerns about data accuracy, and the lack of adequate risk-assessment mechanism [41]. The most recent development in halal certification regulation is Law of the Republic of Indonesia of 31 March 2023 No. 6 «The enactment of Government regulation in lieu of Law No. 2 of 2022 on job creation into law», which took effect on 31 March 2023, formalised the job creation regulation and represents the second amendment to halal product assurance law on halal certification. That law introduced major reforms, including faster certification procedures, permanent halal certificates unless product ingredients would be changed, and greater use of electronic systems. It also encourages public participation, recognises self-declarations for business, reduces certification costs, and strengthens coordination among BPJPH, MUI, and halal inspection bodies [3].

Changes in consumption under the new halal regulation are increasingly seen as part of historical process in which Indonesian Muslims express their faith and social identity through market choices. Recent studies show that awareness of the halal lifestyle is driven by market demands and the need for halal guarantees for products consumed [50], thus making it a key aspect of shifting global culture [51], especially in Indonesia, where Muslims view religion as a pivotal part of daily

life¹. This pattern suggests that contemporary halal regulation does not simply respond to existing demand but actively shapes new expectations and habits. The development of a halal lifestyle in Indonesia has emerged as a defining modern phenomenon, especially among the Muslim middle class that connects religious commitment with aspirational consumption [32]. Studies describe how halal extends beyond food into fashion, cosmetics, travel, finance, and digital culture, forming a broad cultural industry, where Islamic norms, branding and lifestyle aspirations reinforce one another [52]. In this context, halal regulation functions as both a legal and symbolic framework that supports the growth of halal products and services, reinforcing the idea that the halal practices represent modernity, respectability, and social mobility.

In the history of global halal governance, Indonesia plays a unique role as a late adopter of strong state regulation but a strong new-born player an aspiring hub in the global halal economy [53]. Comparative studies show that Indonesia's halal system, led by BPJPH for administration and MUI for religious authority is different from those in Malaysia and the gulf states, creating both challenges for mutual recognition and opportunities for Indonesia to promote alternative standards and practices [16; 54]. Scholars suggest that, by improving domestic production, reforming halal regulations, and strengthening international cooperation, Indonesia can use its large domestic market and religious authority to gain greater influence in global halal governance [53].

Conclusions

This study demonstrates that halal regulation in Indonesia is the product of a long-term historical process, in which religious norms, social practices, and state authority have continuously interacted and evolved each other. The halal governance did not emerge abruptly through modern legislation, it developed gradually from socially embedded practices rooted in Islamisation and local customs, through periods of colonial accommodation, and post-independence institutional negotiation, culminating in a state-centred regulatory framework under the halal product assurance law. The findings have highlighted that contemporary halal regulation cannot be fully understood without recognising its historical continuity, in which authority of the ulama had not been eliminated but reconfigured within a formal legal-bureaucratic system. Halal regulation thus has reflected not just legal modernisation but also a broader transformation of state-religion relations and governance of religious norms in Indonesia.

In a broader context, the evolution of halal regulation carries significant implications for consumer protection, market governance, and the role of authority in plural societies. By redefining halal from a personal

religious duty into a legal right, the Indonesian state acts as both regulator and guarantor of halal compliance. This role is creating ongoing tensions between efficiency and legitimacy, flexibility and legal certainty, state authority and religious authority, which continue to shape debates on certification, MSMEs participation, and public trust. The Indonesian case helps us to explain how modern states are able to formalise religious norms in law while still respecting the role of traditional religious authorities.

Future research could extend these perspectives through comparative historical studies of Indonesia and other halal-regulating countries, such as Malaysia or the gulf states, thus allowing us to understand divergent paths of institutionalisation and authority-sharing better. Empirical research on local-level implementation, particularly the social reception of contemporary practices, would also enrich understanding of how regulatory changes are experienced in reality. More broadly, interdisciplinary approach of combining history, law, sociology, and political economy allows to explore how halal regulation continue to shape Muslim identity, consumption patterns, and state legitimacy in the global halal economy.

¹Indonesia halal markets report 2021/2022. Jakarta : Indonesia Halal Lifestyle Cent., 2021.

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Received 26.02.2026 / revised 23.03.2026 / accepted 25.03.2026.