



al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum dan Pranata Sosial, 17 (2), 2022: 356-382
ISSN: 1907-591X, E-ISSN: 2442-3084
DOI: <http://doi.org/10.19105/al-Ihkam.v17i2.6316>

The Policy Integration Concept of The Mahram Relationship on Nurseling Study on Nurseling Practices in Semarang, Central Java-Indonesia

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Article history: Received: June 06, 2022, Accepted: December 26, 2022, Published: December 31, 2022

Abstract:

Giving breast milk is becoming more popular, whether directly or mediated by organizations supporting nursing donors. In Muslim communities, donating breast milk has implications for the relationship between the child and the nursing mother, including the mother's husband and biological children. The relationship is called the *mahram* relationship. *Mahram* in Islam is essential because it clarifies the child's lineage and the relationship between the family of the nursing mother. The

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objectives of this study are 1). to describe the breastfeeding donor in Semarang; 2). to describe community awareness of its implication; and 3). questions whether any policy regulates the recording of breastfeeding donor practices to track *mahram* relationships. This is qualitative research by exploring information from primary sources in Semarang District. Furthermore, the data, also, is gathered from relevant policy documents to strengthen argumentation and analysis. The results indicate that breastfeeding donor policies already exist in Semarang, but each institution associated with various policies moves independently in its implementation. There is no policy regarding recording the *mahram* relations. The absence of a clear and integrated policy has led to a tendency for people to practice breastfeeding independently without the need to carry out official recording procedures. The research offers a cross-sectoral integrated policy concept aiming to fulfill children's rights to the best food in their early life while having the right to know the clarity of their lineage.

Keywords:

Integrated policy; *Mahram*; Nurseling; Sharia Islam

Abstract:

Pemberian ASI menjadi lebih populer, baik secara langsung atau dimediasi oleh organisasi yang mendukung donor ASI. Pada masyarakat Muslim, mendonorkan ASI berimplikasi pada terbentuknya hubungan mahram antara anak dan ibu menyusui, termasuk suami ibu dan anak kandungnya. Hubungan mahram dalam Islam sangat penting karena menjelaskan garis keturunan anak dan hubungan antara keluarga ibu menyusui. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah 1). untuk mendeskripsikan donor ASI di Semarang; 2). mendeskripsikan kesadaran masyarakat akan implikasinya; dan 3). mempertanyakan apakah ada kebijakan yang mengatur tentang pencatatan praktik donor ASI untuk melacak hubungan mahram. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan menggali informasi dari berbagai sumber primer di Kota Semarang. Sumber penelitian ini juga diperoleh melalui dokumen kebijakan yang relevan untuk memperkuat argumentasi dan analisis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan

bahwa kebijakan donor ASI sudah ada di Semarang, namun masing-masing institusi yang terkait dengan berbagai kebijakan bergerak secara mandiri dalam pelaksanaannya. Tidak ada kebijakan mengenai pencatatan hubungan mahram. Tidak adanya kebijakan yang jelas dan terintegrasi menyebabkan kecenderungan masyarakat untuk melakukan praktik menyusui secara mandiri tanpa perlu melakukan prosedur pencatatan yang resmi. Penelitian ini menawarkan konsep kebijakan terpadu lintas sektoral yang bertujuan untuk memenuhi hak anak atas makanan terbaik di usia dini sekaligus memiliki hak untuk mengetahui kejelasan garis keturunan mereka.

Kata kunci:

Kebijakan Terintegrasi; Kemahraman; Anak Susuan; Hukum Islam

Introduction

Indonesia has a large Muslim population who believe that children are a mandate and a commitment from Allah almighty. Islam has given special and severe attention to fulfilling children's rights from their mother's wombs to adulthood.¹ Several verses of the Quran and the hadith of the Prophet mention the rights ranging from the right to life, obtaining clarity of lineage (*nasab*), having a good name, breastfeeding, receiving care and nursing, to getting property and education.²

The issue of children's rights is also a global concern. The United Nations has compelled countries to adhere to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) policy.³ This convention regulates what they must do to ensure that children have rights, such as proper growth and development, education and protection, freedom of expression, and fair treatment.⁴ Indonesia has also ratified the CRC through Presidential Decree No. 36 of 1996.⁵

The right to access food and zero hunger are also mentioned in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) objectives. However, various criticisms come up regarding the most basic right, such as purchasing food based on market mechanisms. This context is related to the baby and child food industry. The SDGs roadmap assumes that market mechanisms will be sufficient to secure nutritious and safe food for all.⁶

¹ M. Ali Hasan, *Pedoman Hidup Berumah Tangga Dalam Islam*. (Jakarta: Siraja, 2003).

² Aminuddin and Slamet Abidin, *Fikih Munakahat 2*. (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 1999).

³ Didier Reynaert, Maria Bouverne-De Bie, and Stijn Vandeveld. "A Review of Children's Rights Literature since the Adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child." *Childhood* 16, no. 4 (2009): 518-34. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568209344270>.

⁴ UNICEF, *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989).

⁵ Prameswari, Zesty Wulan Ayu Widhi. "Ratifikasi Konvensi Tentang Hak-Hak Anak Dalam Sistem Peraturan Perundang-Undangan Di Indonesia." *Yuridika* 32, no. 1 (2017): 167. <https://doi.org/10.20473/ydk.v32i1.4842>.

⁶ Jose Luis Vivero Pol, and Claudio Schuftan. "No Right to Food and Nutrition in the SDGs: Mistake or Success?" *BMJ Global Health* 1, no. 1 (2016): 1-5. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2016-000040>.

Implementing the children's right to life, growth and development, participation, and obtaining protection in many countries still faces obstacles.⁷ For example, in Africa, the implementation of CRC faces cultural practices that put children as objects of violence because children are considered weak creatures.⁸ Economic, political, social, and cultural issues also influence the implementation of the CRC in Africa.⁹ In South East Asia, all country members already put the CRC in the country's positive law. However, the implementation still faces obstacles due to political, economic, social, and cultural factors.¹⁰

Many studies of child's rights showed the common understanding that children's rights follow the CRC. Nevertheless, one crucial aspect of Islamic law has escaped international attention: the right to know the *nasab* (lineage) due to shared breastfeeding. The breastfeeding share implies the *mahram* relation. *Mahram* means prohibition of marriage which, in this context, is due to breastfeeding.

Literature studies on the children's rights concept in Islam related to *nasab and mahram* policies focus more on their status outside legal marriage.¹¹ *Mahram* relations in Islam can occur due to various attributes, such as the bond between the children and the nursing

⁷ Anissa Nur Fitri, Agus Wahyudi Riana, and Muhammad Fedryansyah. "Perlindungan Hak-Hak Anak Dalam Upaya Peningkatan Kesejahteraan Anak." In *Prosiding Penelitian Dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat*, 2:45-50, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jppm.v2i1.13235>.

⁸ Thoko Kaime, "The Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Cultural Legitimacy of Children's Rights in Africa: Some Reflections." *African Human Rights Law Jurnal* 5, no. 2 (2005).

⁹ Connie De La Vega, Kokeb Zeleke, and Esther Wilch. "The Promotion of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights of Vulnerable Groups in Africa Pursuant to Treaty Obligations: CRC, CEDAW, CERD & CRPD." *Global Studies Law Review* 2, no. 14 (2015): 213-41.

¹⁰ Muhammad Ade, Safri Salampessy, Lucitania Rizky, and Isna Achdyana. "The Effectiveness of The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) Regime by UNICEF in Encouraging the Implementation of Child Protection in Southeast Asian Countries" 2, no. 1 (2022): 12-20.

¹¹ Nasa'y Aziz, and Muksal Mina. "Nasab Anak Yang Lahir Di Luar Nikah: Analisis Fatwa MPU Aceh Nomor 18 Tahun 2015 Dan Keputusan MK Nomor 46/PUU/-VIII/2010." *Samarah* 1, no. 1 (2017): 72-100. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v1i1.1571>. See also Amruzi, Fahmi Al. "Nasab Anak Dari Perkawinan Siri." *Al-Adl: Jurnal Hukum* 14, no. 1 (2022): 1. <https://doi.org/10.31602/al-adl.v14i1.5834>.

mother. Studies on *nasab* and the *mahram* relation have been normatively reviewed in Islamic law and history studies. For example, Mun'im's research on article 39 of the Islamic compilation law (KHI) analyzed the intensity of breastfeeding prohibiting breast milk marriage.¹² He criticizes article 39, which does not explain how much a baby consumes, which causes a *mahram* relationship.

Safir et al. studied the books of *Sirah* and fiqh to compare breastfeeding practices between the Prophet Muhammad and today. In conclusion, Safir's research suggests a meeting between children and nursing mothers to recognize each other. Breastfeeding aims to nurture a desire to educate the baby. Breastfeeding that the Prophet has passed is based on maintenance and education.¹³ This practice proves that breastfeeding is not simply feeding the mother's breast milk. Breastfeeding is a care and maintenance, education, and an impression on family relationships with the establishment of breastfeeding ties through the *mahram* relationship.

Maintaining the relationship that results from breastfeeding must be adequately refined. Therefore, to perfect breastfeeding, it is necessary to understand that it is not normal. It involves many parties, such as donors and receiver families, donor agencies, and related government institutions. The breastfeeding process certainly requires a systematic mechanism that can meet religious demands in harmony with the needs of all parties from all aspects holistically.¹⁴

Another critical study is the Islamic law perspectives regarding nursing. Hanafi's school of thought states that consuming breastmilk that has been separated from a woman's breasts is prohibited. According to this thought, the status of the breastmilk is the same as a carcass. Also, breastmilk is not included in the property category that can be sold. Meanwhile, the Syafi'i school of thought states that separated or pumped breastmilk is not forbidden for consumption. The breastmilk, either

¹² Ahmad Mun'im, "Intensitas Penyusuan Dalam Larangan Perkawinan Sesusuan (Analisis Pasal 39 Ayat 3 Kompilasi Hukum Islam)." *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 9, no. 2 (2017): 229. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2016.09208>.

¹³ Halimatus Saadiah Mohamad Safir, Dhamirah Nursakinah Mohamad Safir, and Siti Fatimah Salleh. "Realiti Penyusuan Anak Susuan Pada Zaman Silam Dan Kontemporari." *Al-Qiyam International Social Science and Humanities Journal* 2, no. 2 (2019): 48-56.

¹⁴ Safir, Safir, and Salleh 2019)

directly fed or separately, is a sacred object; the baby can take advantage of it because it is similar to animal milk.¹⁵

According to the Hanafi school of thought, what causes a *mahram* relationship is a child breastfeeding directly on a woman's breast at a specific time. Meanwhile, the Maliki school says that entering a mother's breast milk into the baby's stomach can lead to a *mahram* relationship. The Shafi'i school also states that entering the mother's breast milk or what is produced from that milk into the baby's stomach, brain, or marrow causes a mahram relationship. The Hambali school also said that sucking or drinking breast milk from a woman's breast caused a *mahram* relationship.¹⁶

Another study about the ulama's thoughts discussed how much the mother's breast milk consumed by the baby leads to the *mahram* relationship. Maliki and Hanafi schools, according to her finding, stated that there is no limit to suction because one puff has already resulted in a mahram relation. The Shafi'i and Hanbali schools, meanwhile, require five feedings of puffs. Scholars also have different opinions about babies' age limit that leads to mahram relationships. The Shafi'i school, the Hanbali school, and the majority of the Hanafi school agree that the age limit for a baby to become a mahram is two years. However, Imam Abu Hanifah mentioned two years and a half (30 months), while the Maliki school limits it to two years and two months. In one narration, it is two years and one month.¹⁷

Studies on breastfeeding also concern mainly from a health perspective on the importance of breastfeeding for infant growth and development.¹⁸ Historically, breastfeeding has been seen primarily as a noble maternal duty, held in high esteem due to its beneficial effects on

¹⁵ Khusnul Fikriyah, "Pendapat Madzhab Hanafi Dan Syafi'i Tentang Jual Beli Asi Perspektif Al-Mashlahah Al-Mursalah." *Maliyah* 07, no. 01 (2017): 172-201.

¹⁶ Abdul Halim, "Donor Asi Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam." *Miyah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 12, no. 2 (2013): 1-18.

¹⁷ Hani Rifqial Aini, "Implementasi Donor Asi Pada Lembaga Lactashare Dan Kesesuaian Dengan Fatwa Mui Nomor 28 Tahun 2013 Tentang Donor Asi." UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2021.

¹⁸ Diane L Spatz, Riccardo Davanzo, Janis A. Müller, Rebecca Powell, Virginie Rigourd, Ann Yates, Donna T. Geddes, Johannes B. van Goudoever, and Lars Bode. "Promoting and Protecting Human Milk and Breastfeeding in a COVID-19 World." *Frontiers in Pediatrics* 8, no. February (2021): 1-6. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fped.2020.633700>.

infants and society.¹⁹ The trend of mothers who want to breastfeed their babies is increasing, along with the ongoing breastfeeding campaign.^{20 21} Unfortunately, not all mothers can breastfeed due to various factors, such as the mother's dependence on drugs, illness, or other factors.²²

The practice of breastfeeding donors in Indonesia runs without strict administrative and technical supervision. Several agencies have emerged to respond to this trend and are trying to achieve the goals of donor breastfeeding.²³ However, these institutions are non-governmental organizations. The rules these institutions apply, although referring to specific protocols, are not bound by certain legal standards.

However, not all children can get breast milk directly from their biological mothers. The lack of breastfeeding by biological mothers is caused by various factors, such as death and medical problems. Hence those with abundant breast milk share it with this category of babies. Several studies on breastfeeding donors and the emergence of human or breast milk banks have emerged in various countries. Examples include studies on the best practices in managing breast milk banks²⁴ and the concept of its banks following Islamic law.^{25 26}

¹⁹ Benaouda Bensaid. "Breastfeeding as a Fundamental Islamic Human Right." *Journal of Religion and Health* 60, no. 1 (2021): 362-73. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-019-00835-5>.

²⁰ Tamadara Hilman, and Adjane Annisawati Asaretkha. "Persepsi Para Ibu Terhadap Sikap Donor Asi Di Bandung." *Jurnal Ekonomi Dan Bisnis* 8, no. 1 (2021): 141-46.

²¹ Ayunovita Dewi, A. Suparwati, and C. Suryawati. "Analisis Implementasi Kebijakan Asi Eksklusif Di Tingkat Kabupaten Kebumen Tahun 2013." *Jurnal Kesehatan Masyarakat (e-Journal)* 2, no. 1 (2014): 22-27.

²² Lactashare. "How Indonesia Human Milk Bank Works." Lactashare Foundation, 2020.

²³ Radian Nyi Sukmasari "Menyoal Praktik Donor ASI Di Indonesia." *Detik Health*, 2016. <https://health.detik.com/ulasan-khas/d-3267167/menyoal-praktik-donor-asi-di-indonesia>.

²⁴ B. T Hartmann, W. W. Pang, A. D. Keil, P. E. Hartmann, and K. Simmer. "Best Practice Guidelines for the Operation of a Donor Human Milk Bank in an Australian NICU." *Early Human Development* 83, no. 10 (2007): 667-73.

²⁵ Normaidah Daud, Nadhiroh Nordin, Zurita Yusoff, and Rahimah Embong. "The Development of Milk Bank According to Islamic Law for Preserving the Progeny of Baby." In *Contemporary Issues and Development in The Global Halal Industry*, edited by Siti Khadijah Abdul Manan, Fadilah Abd. Rahman, and Mardhiyyah Sahri. Springer, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-1452-9>.

As a country with a majority Muslim population, the Indonesian government needs to provide a sound data recording system to start with integrated policy protection. Whereas knowing the clear lineage (including the nursing family) is children's right. This research offers a concept of an integrated policy to facilitate the status of mahram relations. The integrated policy of *mahram* relations due to breastfeeding will provide clear information on the lineage of the children and the nursing family. The integrated policy also allows the system to register the children's status in the population system. Clear lineage information may avoid the legal implications in Islamic marriage, such as the *mahram* relationship.

The study of breastfeeding donor policies is divided into several clusters, including policies related to health issues in Indonesia and Islamic law. The search results show that health issues and Islamic law stand in their scientific space. In terms of health, government regulation no. 33 of 2012 concerning exclusive breastfeeding was issued.²⁷ In this regulation, the government plays a role in formulating, advocating, fostering, and evaluating the implementation of the complete breastfeeding program. This policy applies to provincial and district/city governments and focuses on health services for mothers and children. It aims to improve maternal and children's health as well as reduce the risk of infant mortality.

The policy and practice of breastfeeding donors in Semarang have not yet reached the discussion of policy integration. Meanwhile, the issue of breast milk donors and their implications for the *mahram* relationship is regulated in Article 39 of the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI). This research will fill a study that has not been discussed in previous research, namely developing the concept of an integrated policy to protect children's rights from an Islamic perspective.

²⁶ Lactashare, 2020)

²⁷ Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia No. 33 tahun 2012 tentang Pemberian Air Susu Ibu Eksklusif (2012).

Method

This study was conducted in Semarang, the capital of Central Java. Semarang is one of Indonesia's urban cities. Socially, the lifestyle of young mothers in this city is influenced by the development trend in Indonesia, including the campaign for breastfeeding babies.

This article is based on qualitative research. Data were collected using various techniques. First, the data were obtained through a literature review related to the *mahram* relations from an Islamic perspective, and we also reviewed different policies regarding breastfeeding donors. We also conducted a literature study using the narrative review to explore breastfeeding practices in Indonesia from 2010-2020. A narrative review is a critical analysis of literature published in books and electronic journal articles that discusses the state of knowledge of a particular topic or theme from a theoretical and contextual point of view.²⁸

Second, we obtained qualitative data from field research involving five donor mothers and five mothers of children receiving breast milk donors who were determined purposively. We conducted observations and interviews to discover mothers who donate breast milk and their families in Semarang City. In addition, we conducted interviews with the community health centre (PUSKESMAS) to determine the registration of children who received breast milk donors. Meanwhile, we interviewed the head of the sub-district religious affairs office (KUA) to obtain information about the *mahram* relation of breastfeeding children in the marriage registration process.

Discussion and Result

The practice of donating breast milk in Semarang

Donating breast milk in Semarang shows the community's enthusiasm to continue providing the best food for babies under any circumstances. The government has also been obliged to encourage babies to get their rights in the early days of life by issuing various laws. Meanwhile, fulfilling other requests, such as knowing the *mahram* relationship due to breastfeeding, has not received attention. We identified no government regulation registering the *mahram* relationship from these preliminary studies.

²⁸ Edna Terezinha Rother, "Systematic Literature Review X Narrative Review." *Acta Paulista de Enfermagem* 20 (2007): v--vi.

The process of donating breastmilk is an ancient practice in Indonesia. Recently the procedure was regulated through the 2012 Government Regulation on Exclusive Breastfeeding. The regulations set out the outlines regarding breast milk donation, including medical indications, the donor and recipient's identity, the donor and recipient's religion, and both the donor and recipient's social and cultural background.²⁹ Furthermore, the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI), through the MUI Fatwa No. 28 of 2013, stated that breast milk donation could be carried out with various provisions and considerations that can have implications on the occurrence of a *mahram* relationship.³⁰

In 2013, the Mayor of Semarang issued mayoral regulation number 7 of 2013 regarding increasing exclusive breastfeeding.³¹ This regulation led to increased activities in nursing and breastfeeding mothers' associations such as *Asosiasi Ibu Menyusui Indonesia* (AIMI)-Jawa Tengah, established before the statute in 2008³², and later Lactashare, established in 2018. The association facilitated the communities to accommodate the communication needs of their members using various channels, such as social media.³³

In reality, the socialization of the *mahram* relationship on the practice of breastfeeding donors in the city of Semarang is not as intensive as the campaign for breastfeeding. Our study indicates the lack of socialization about the *mahram* relation due to breastfeeding donor practices. We distinguish three factors that influence the lack of socialization of the *mahram* relation due to breastfeeding practices. First, the government only focuses on the urgency and importance of breastfeeding from a health perspective. Second, due to the

²⁹ Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia No. 33 tahun 2012 tentang Pemberian Air Susu Ibu Eksklusif (2012).

³⁰ MUI, Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia No. 28 Tahun 2013 Tentang Masalah Donor Air Susus Ibu (Istirdla').

³¹ Silma Intifada, and Ari Subowo. "Implementasi Peraturan Walikota Semarang Nomor 7 Tahun 2013 Tentang Peningkatan Pemberian ASI Eksklusif." *Journal of Public Policy and Management Review* 6, no. 2 (2017). <https://ejournal3.undip.ac.id/index.php/jppmr/article/view/15998%0Ahttps://ejournal3.undip.ac.id/index.php/jppmr/article/viewFile/15998/15451>.

³² Dedi Irwansyah, "Praktik Donor ASI Di Asosiasi Ibu Menyusui Indonesia (AIMI) Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam." UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2011.

³³ Irwansyah.

breastfeeding donation, there is a poor understanding of Islamic law implications. The third is the lack of administrative policy regulating and recording the relationship between children who receive breast milk and donor families.³⁴

The policy of exclusive breastfeeding and its donor cannot stand alone due to the significant implications for the Muslim community. Therefore, an integrated policy study is needed to regulate the implementation of children's rights in life technically. Their rights include where they get the best food at the beginning of life and the right to know their lineage or *nasab* from breastfeeding donors if any. In traditional and straightforward community life, the *mahram* relationship was easily traced.³⁵ However, in a complex modern society with high social mobility, children can get breast milk from nursing mothers without family or kinship relationships.

Our current studies on the families of both donors and recipients in Semarang indicate that the families verbally inform their children and family members to socialize *mahram* relationship status as a breastfeeding donor. The decision process for the donor family or recipient is mediated by social media and personal communication with the donor's family. The decision to donate breast milk is influenced by several factors, including the baby's health, allergies to cow's milk, and insufficient breast milk from the biological mother. Families also search for potential donors and recipients independently through personal communication.³⁶

Donor families usually consider the gender of nursing, reasons for donating, and location. Similarly, the recipient families will question the gender of the biological children breastfed by the donor, health, and area. The health problems are only based on the physical view without laboratory tests. In rural communities, donating breast milk is more culturally based. Assuming the mother

³⁴ "FGD Dengan Ibu Pendonor ASI Juni 2021."

³⁵ Badieah, Ahmad Mujib, Muna Yastuti Madrah, Andi Riansyah, and Nur Muhammad. "Implementasi RESTful Web Service Pada Sistem Informasi Donor ASI Terintegrasi Di Indonesia Implementation of RESTful Web Service on Indonesian 's Integrated Breastfeeding Donor Information System." *SISTEMASI: Jurnal Sistem Informasi* 11, no. 2 (2022): 455-69.

³⁶ "Kompilasi Wawancara Dengan Keluarga Penerima Donor ASI Juni 2020."

cannot breastfeed independently, the family looks for donors, usually from relatives and neighbors.³⁷

From the observation, group discussion, and interview with both the nursing mother and recipient family, they are already aware of the implications of the *mahram* relationship due to the breastfeeding donor practice among families.³⁸ However, the community understanding related to the *mahram* implication only about the prohibition of marriage in nursing, as stated in MUI fatwa no. 28 of 2013. Official registration of nursing mothers and recipient babies has not yet been carried out formally due to a lack of policy regulation and obligation.

Associations and communities of breast milk activists do not have the authority to distribute them because these organizations are not legal breast milk bank institutions. The association plays a role in mentoring and educating mothers to breastfeed.³⁹ In comparison, an official breast milk bank has the authority to carry out all procedures for conducting health tests on donors, laboratory tests, and storing and distributing expressed breast milk to babies in need.⁴⁰

Individual or cultural selection of breast milk donors is not without problems. For instance, instead of providing the best food for children, they become vulnerable to various diseases disturbing their health and development. This study's findings indicate that donating breast milk in the city of Semarang is done informally through personal communication and self-consensus.⁴¹ The results show that this donor practice in Semarang is unstructured. Our resource person explained that the decision to breastfeed was due to his desire to breastfeed exclusively for the baby, but the milk production was insufficient. After discussing with her husband, they decided to look for breast milk donors through a network of friends at work and then

³⁷ "FGD Dengan Ibu Pendonor ASI Juni 2021."

³⁸ "FGD Dengan Ibu Pendonor ASI Juni 2021."

³⁹ Mia Sutanto, Astri Pramardini, and Sari Kailaku. "Donor ASI : Membantu vs Bumerang Bagi Ibu Menyusui." *Asosiasi Ibu Menyusui Indonesia*, 2017. <https://aimi-asi.org/layanan/lihat/donor-asi-membantu-vs-bumerang-bagi-ibu-menyusui>.

⁴⁰ J. Harry Baumer. "Guidelines for the Establishment and Operation of Human Milk Banks in the UK." *Archives of Disease in Childhood: Education and Practice Edition* 89, no. 1 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1136/adc.2004.053330>.

⁴¹ "Wawancara Dengan Keluarga Penerima Donor ASI Di Kota Semarang."

contacted the donor's mother and agreed to accept breast milk donors. Breast milk donation is carried out for three months after the exclusive breastfeeding period no longer consumes donor breast milk.⁴²

In terms of developments related phenomenon of breastfeeding donors and the initiation of its banks in Indonesia, government regulation No. 33 of 2012 was issued. This regulation contains the government's obligations in advocating and educating the exclusive breastfeeding program. The government must also ensure that complete breastfeeding program facilities are available. This program also regulates the division of responsibilities between the central government, provincial governments, and district or city governments⁴³. Technically, based on this rule, regional/municipal governments can adopt distinct regulations within the framework of this national law.

Besides, through the MUI fatwa no. 28 of 2013, the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) allows breastfeeding donors directly or indirectly. The MUI fatwa is a response to an initiative from the community to coordinate the various breast milk and breast milk donor initiation. The initiation raises questions regarding the religious provisions regarding other matters related to religious issues due to these activities. MUI deems it necessary to stipulate a fatwa regarding the issue of breast milk donation (*istirdla'*) to serve as a guideline.⁴⁴ However, this government regulation and the fatwa of MUI have not been synergized and integrated with other policies. The community also criticizes the fatwa. MUI doesn't provide a practical guideline for the community in responding to the problems of breastfeeding donors in Indonesia. The reason is that the community uses the milliliter scale to give breast milk to donors. The second reason is that this fatwa has not been widely disseminated to the public. For example, the criteria for five suction equals how many milliliters?⁴⁵

⁴² "Kompilasi Wawancara Dengan Keluarga Penerima Donor ASI Juni 2020."

⁴³ Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia No. 33 tahun 2012 tentang Pemberian Air Susu Ibu Eksklusif.

⁴⁴ MUI, Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia No. 28 Tahun 2013 tentang Seputar Masalah Donor Air Susus Ibu (*Istirdla'*).

⁴⁵ "Wawancara Dengan Keluarga Penerima Donor ASI Di Kota Semarang."

Analysis of mahram relation because of breastfeeding in the Islamic law perspective

In Islam, the breastfeeding period is known as *al Radha'ah*⁴⁶. The tradition of breastfeeding non-biological children has long existed in Islamic society.⁴⁷ The Prophet Muhammad also got breast milk from three nursing mothers. The importance of breast milk conveyed in the Quran has inspired a positive attitude in modern society today⁴⁸.

The Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) explained that the conditions for the occurrence of a *mahram* relationship through breastfeeding are: (a) the children's age is a maximum of two *qamariyah* (lunar calendar) years old, (b) the donating mothers are well identified, (c) the amount of milk consumed is at least five puffs, (d) the method of breastfeeding is conducted either directly from the mother's nipple (*imtishash*) or through milking by the bottle and (e) the breast milk make the baby gorged. Donors must also meet the physical and mental health requirements, and the donor's mother is not pregnant.⁴⁹

As illustrated in table 1 below, the MUI identifies eight types of *mahram* relations based on nursing.

Table 1. Categorization of *mahram* relationship according to MUI fatwa no. 28 of 2013⁵⁰

No	Category	Explanation
1	<i>Ushulu Al-Syakhsi</i> (The original parent)	Breastfeeding mothers and mothers their mothers continuing to the top (grandmother, great-grandmother, etc.).

⁴⁶ BK Desrikanti, "Konsep Al-Radha'ah Dan Hukum Operasional Bank ASI Menurut Pandangan Ulama Empat Mazhab." UIN Alauddin, 2014.

⁴⁷ (Safir, Safir, and Salleh, 2019)

⁴⁸ T Koçtürk, "Foetal Development and Breastfeeding in Early Texts of the Islamic Tradition." *Acta Paediatrica* 92, no. 5 (2003): 617-20.

⁴⁹ MUI, Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia No. 28 Tahun 2013 Tentang Masalah Donor Air Susus Ibu (Istirdla').

⁵⁰ MUI.

2	<i>Al-Furuu' Min Al-Radhaa'</i> (offspring of breastfed)	The nursing child and children of the nursing child continue to the down (grandchildren, great-grandchildren, etc.).
3	<i>Furuu' Al-Abawaini min Al-Radhaa'</i> (descendants of foster parents)	The children and grandchildren of the nursing mother continue to the bottom (grandchildren and great-grandchildren).
4	<i>Al-Furuu' Al-Mubaasyirah Min Al-Jaddi wa Al-Jaddati min Al-Radhaa'</i> (descendants of maternal grandparents)	The siblings-in-law of the breastfeeding mother (breastfeeding uncles and aunts) exclude their children (breastfeeding cousins).
5	<i>Ummu Al-Zawjah wa Jaddaatiha min Al-Radhaa'</i> (breastfeeding mother of his wife and ancestors)	The breastfeeding mother of the wife, the mother of the breastfeeding mother ascending to the top (ancestor).
6	<i>Zawjatu Al-Abi wa Al-Jaddi min Al-Radhaa'</i> (wife of breastfeeding fathers and grandparents)	Fellow wife(s) of the breastfeeding mother (second, third, or fourth one continuing to their ancestors).
7	<i>Zawjatu Al-Ibni wa Ibni Al-Ibni wa Ibni Al-Binti min Al-Radhaa'</i> (wife of nursing children and wife of nursing grandchildren and sons of nursing daughters)	The wife of the nursing child, the wife of the nursing grandchild, and the wife of a son from a breastfeeding daughter (grandchildren, great-grandchildren, etc.)
8	<i>Bintu Al-Zawjah min Al-Radhaa' wa Banaatu Awlaadihaa</i>	Breastfed daughter of the wife and grandniece of the breastfeeding daughter from her son then going down (great-grandchildren, etc.).

Therefore, it is clear, from table 1 above, that the lineage relationship in nursing leads to a *mahram* relationship between the children, the nursing mother, and her family under Islamic law. With

so many *mahram* relationships from breastfeeding, how can one detect *mahram* relations in a complex society? Therefore, the explanation from table 1 can be used as a reference to develop an integrated policy model.

One of the most relevant government institutions is the office of religious affairs (KUA). In Indonesia, Islamic marriage should be registered by this office. According to our discussion with the regional director of KUA, they know the *mahram* relationship because it was already included on the marriage registration form. However, the office never rechecks the information from the couple. So far, they have never found a case of marriage annulment due to the relationship between *mahram* of breastfeeding. Although questions about kinship relations have been stated in the marriage registration form, they have not been explored in detail nor supported by solid evidence.⁵¹

At the Community Health Center (PUSKESMAS), the intake description column only lists children exclusively breastfed without recording the source in detail. Our findings indicate that the health centre, in this context, health department only focuses on the importance of breastfeeding.

Integrated policy concept for nursing data recording

As explained previously, the findings of this study indicate that there is no integrated policy in the nursing issues. The related government institution and non-government organizations seem to work independently without significant coordination. Therefore the ratification is quite long in *mahram* relations due to nursing. This research offers an integrated policy concept to anticipate the problem in tracing *mahram* because of breastfeeding in Indonesia. An integrated policy is needed from various governmental and non-governmental institutions to administer hospitality relations in the nursery.

Although regional autonomy in Indonesia opens up great opportunities for policy reform at the regional level, the practice of integrated policies does not exist. Several factors have increased the

⁵¹ "Wawancara Dengan Kepala KUA Genuk Dan KUA Gayamsari, September 2021."

number of actors involved in the policy process, such as the emergence of the information society, which allows public and non-governmental organizations to participate. However, the issue of recording the relationship of hospitality has not become a priority.

Badieah et al.⁵² developed an information system for issuing *mahram* certificates to nursing children. The initiative paved the way for engaging stakeholders. From Badieah's study, we know that it is necessary to involve various institutions in issuing a certificate of *mahram*. In her study, Badieah et al. only involved the breastfeeding agency or association, the office of demographic affairs (DUKCAPIL), and the office of religion affairs (KUA). However, the system information can be implemented if an umbrella policy involves all relevant institutions.

We identified the institutions involved in this breastfeeding relationship chain: the Indonesian Ministry of Health, the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the independent breast milk donors agency. The role of each institution can be seen in table 2.

Table 2. Role of each institution involved in the *mahram* relation due to nurseling

Institution	Role
The Ministry of Health	Issuing a breast milk donor protocol, medical indications, procedures, and recording of the identities of donors and recipients.
The Ministry of Religious Affairs	provides policy protection to its technical institutions to issue proof of ties of <i>mahram</i> relation both to donors and recipients
The Ministry of Social Affairs	issue a policy supporting the breastfeeding donor protocol,

⁵² Badieah et al., "Implementasi RESTful Web Service Pada Sistem Informasi Donor ASI Terintegrasi Di Indonesia Implementation of RESTful Web Service on Indonesian 's Integrated Breastfeeding Donor Information System."

	mechanism of supervision, and monitoring
The Ministry of Internal Affairs	Provide policy of registering the status of nursing children that integrated into the population and civil registration services
The independent breastfeeding agency	Providing education and socialization of the policy

After identifying the various ministries, as table 2 above, that should be involved in the policy of registering *mahram* relations, we developed a scheme of inter-ministerial linkages. An integrated policy scheme is needed to achieve the goal of fulfilling children's rights. We illustrate the integration policy scheme as shown in figure 2 below



Figure 1: Integrated policy scheme regarding *mahram* relationship of nursing.

The schematic diagram with the basic shape of a circle, as Figure 1 above, shows that the ministries involved are on an equal footing, elaborating on fulfilling the goal of fulfilling children's rights. The policy of fulfilling exclusive breastfeeding is not only under the

health framework but also a religious, social, and population administration perspective. An integrated approach takes more than just coordination and cooperation from the institutions involved. Policy coherence is associated with managing cross-sectoral issues in policymaking that go beyond the boundaries of pre-defined policy areas, which are often inconsistent with the institutional responsibilities of each department.⁵³ Policy integration requires more interaction between sectors than coordination. The coordination aims to adjust sectoral policies; hence they are mutually reinforcing and consistent, producing a standard procedure for the sectors involved. This difference in output is also based on the variation in purpose. Coordination is about organizational policies with the same sectoral objectives, whereas integrated policymaking departs from goals not covered by sectoral goals on a larger scale. Implementing it requires a strong political commitment because making laws and regulations requires political support from regional leaders

The Semarang mayor's policy related to exclusive breastfeeding only focus on health issues. The regulation was developed to ensure that health services, health workers, and infrastructure support fulfilling exclusive breastfeeding for children. This regulation does not mention how to practice breastfeeding donors and the mechanism for donating breast milk. We saw this happen because the higher policies, such as at the provincial and ministerial levels, do not integrate the need for registration of breast milk donors into the regulation on exclusive breastfeeding.

There are two criteria for optimal integrated policies. The first consists of several coherent policy objectives, while the second is a mixture of instruments. Therefore, an optimally designed integrated strategy is needed to display a cohesive match of policy objectives with tools capable of producing an appropriate context for a particular large-scale problem⁵⁴. Policy integration is a process that

⁵³ Evert Meijers, and Dominic Stead. "Policy Integration : What Does It Mean and How Can It Be Achieved? A Multi-Disciplinary Review." In *2004 Berlin Conference on the Human Dimensions of Global Environment Change: Greening of Policies - Interlinkages and Policy Integration*, Berlin, 1-15, 2004.

⁵⁴ Jeremy Rayner, and Michael Howlett. "Introduction: Understanding Integrated Policy Strategies and Their Evolution." *Policy and Society* 28, no. 2 (2009): 99-109. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polsoc.2009.05.001>.

involves various elements which can develop at different speeds and in opposite directions.⁵⁵

Integrated public policies produce quality public services, which must fulfill several aspects, including customer-driven, task- and expertise-driven, resource- and data-driven integration⁵⁶.

An integrated policy review is needed to work optimally for communication, intermediation, partnership, and dissemination mechanisms. Integrated policies focus on goals that need to be planned in the political system, not haphazard actions.⁵⁷

The implementation of the integration policy will significantly affect all sectors involved and significantly impact the fulfillment of children's rights in Indonesia. This perspective also needs to pay attention to Islam's fulfillment of children's rights, where the *nasab* needs to be maintained.

Conclusion

Our investigation answers research questions about how breast milk donation practices work in Semarang. The tradition of donating breast milk in Semarang is still running individually and is not formally recorded.

The data we have obtained shows that public awareness of *mahram* relations as a result of breastfeeding donors is limited to the nuclear family of the donor and recipient. Our observations indicate that this is due to the lack of socialization the MUI Fatwa regarding breastmilk donors. In addition, there is no regulatory umbrella that regulates breastfeeding donors as well as the implications for *mahram*

⁵⁵ Jeroen J.L. Candel, and Robbert Biesbroek. "Toward a Processual Understanding of Policy Integration." *Policy Sciences* 49, no. 3 (2016): 211-31. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-016-9248-y>.

⁵⁶ Mohammad Yudha Perwira, and Tities Eka Agustine. "Desain Layanan Publik Terintegrasi Di Daerah Melalui Whole Government Approach: Praktik Di Surabaya, Pontianak Dan Denpasar." *Komite Pemantauan Pelaksanaan Otonomi Daerah* 53, no. 9 (2017): 1689-99. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329983428_Desain_Layanan_Publik_Terintegrasi_di_Daerah_Melalui_Whole_Government_Approach_Praktik_di_Surabaya_Pontianak_dan_Denpasar.

⁵⁷ J E Anderson, *Public Policy-Making*. Basic Concepts in Political Science. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1984. <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=F3VHAAAAMAAJ>.

relations. The absence of a regulatory umbrella may cause the lack of integrated regulation in Semarang.

In conclusion, an integrated policy on recording *mahram* relations due to breastfeeding is essential to ensure the fulfillment of children's rights to determine the clarity of lineage or *mahram* line. Socially, the system is expected to strengthen family ties in the cultural system of the existing society. In Islamic law, an integrated information system will help prevent marriages with *mahram* while still paying attention to the right to get the best food at the beginning of a child's life.

Furthermore, the adequate effort is needed to develop an integrated policy to record children who receive breast milk from nursing mothers efficiently. There is a need to establish a system of information on it. The system can be embedded in the population system owned by the government (DUKCAPIL). However, the central government must prepare the legal standing policy umbrella by reviewing government regulations on exclusive breastfeeding while adopting the substance of the MUI Fatwa regarding the occurrence of *mahram* relations due to the practice of sharing breast milk. The study of integrated policies related to *mahram* relations is still wide open from other perspectives, such as law, public policy, and sociology.

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