



# **RESEARCH PAPER**

# The Right to Breastfeeding: A Comparative Analysis of Islamic Law, International Human Rights, and the Pakistani Legal Framework

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## **ABSTRACT**

The infant has no external source of enforcement for his feeding rights except his parents. This review synthesises research on "breastfeeding rights in Islamic law and international human rights and Pakistani law with a focus on legal obligations of the state, individual rights of the mother and child" to address gaps in understanding the interplay between religious doctrines and legal frameworks influencing breastfeeding practices. A systematic selection of Islamic principles, domestic laws, and international human rights contexts was analysed using comparative legal frameworks. Findings reveal comprehensive state duties under Islamic and international law to protect breastfeeding, yet empirical evidence on enforcement remains limited. These findings converge to demonstrate the complex interdependence of legal and religious dimensions shaping breastfeeding rights. The review underscores the need for integrated legal reforms, culturally sensitive policies, and enhanced state accountability to reconcile state laws with international human rights, Islamic principles and public health objectives.

**Keywords:** Human Rights, Child Rights, Mother Rights, Breastfeeding Rights

### Introduction

Research on breastfeeding rights in international law, Pakistani law and Islamic Law is a technical area due to its profound implications for child and maternal health, social norms and legal obligations. Basically, it is a triangle right between the child, mother and the father. The mother is directly associated with the child, whereas the father bears the financial burden.

Historically, Islamic jurisprudence has emphasised breastfeeding as a vital duty, with detailed regulations dating back to classical texts and reinforced by contemporary family laws in Muslim-majority countries (Gacem et al., 2022). Though after 1947, Pakistan adopted many colonial legislations, its legislative bodies played a key role in introducing Islamic provisions through amendments to these colonial laws or introducing new legislation under the guidance of Islamic principles. Concurrently, international human rights frameworks have increasingly recognised breastfeeding as a fundamental right, underscoring the state's role in safeguarding this practice (Grummer-Strawn et al., 2017). The significance of breastfeeding is further highlighted by global health authorities advocating exclusive breastfeeding for the first six months to optimise infant development and reduce mortality (Sukarawan et al., 2024). On the other hand, Islamic practices show that breastfeeding should be for a period of two years if the mother is healthy. Despite these advances, breastfeeding practices remain influenced by complex socio-legal and cultural factors, necessitating a nuanced understanding of intersecting legal and ethical dimensions (Bensaid, 2021) (EspinaJerez et al., 2022). The specific problem addressed in this research concerns the legal obligations of the Pakistani state, the individual rights of mothers and children, and the societal implications of breastfeeding within Islamic, Pakistani and international legal contexts. While Islamic law mandates breastfeeding and recognises

associated rights and duties (Amalia, 2024). Moreover, controversies arise around issues such as milk kinship, wet nursing, and the establishment of milk banks, which pose challenges for Muslim communities and policymakers (Alnakshabandi & Fiester, 2016) (Subudhi et al., 2021). Existing literature reveals a lack of comprehensive synthesis on how these legal frameworks interact and the consequences of inadequate protection for breastfeeding rights, including potential health risks and social inequities (Jauhari et al., 2024) (Salamuddin, 2022). Addressing this gap is crucial to inform effective legal and policy interventions that respect religious principles while promoting child welfare (Khalil et al., 2016). In the modern era, there is a need for effective legislation keeping in view the golden principles of Islamic law and further guidance from international human rights law, which will be enforced in its true spirit to protect and promote the right of breastfeeding.

This review constructs a conceptual framework integrating key concepts of breastfeeding rights, state obligations, maternal and child individual rights, and societal implications within Islamic, Pakistani and international law. Breastfeeding rights encompass the infant's entitlement to adequate nutrition and the mother's reproductive autonomy (Windayani, 2023). State obligations involve legal mandates to protect and facilitate breastfeeding practices, while societal implications reflect cultural, ethical, and communal dimensions influencing breastfeeding norms (Khoday & Srinivasan, 2013). This framework guides the systematic examination of legal texts, jurisprudence, and policy analyses to elucidate the interplay of these elements (Latham,1999).

The purpose of this systematic review is to analyse breastfeeding rights under Islamic, Pakistani and international law, focusing on state legal obligations, maternal and child rights, and societal impacts. By synthesising diverse perspectives and identifying legal and practical challenges, this review aims to contribute to scholarly discourse and inform policymakers on harmonising religious and human rights frameworks to enhance breastfeeding protection and promotion (Meier and Labbok, 2010). This endeavour addresses the identified knowledge gap and supports the development of culturally sensitive, rights-based breastfeeding policies.

# Literature review

# **Legal Frameworks in Pakistan**

Pakistani legislation has its roots in common law, but is influenced by Islamic provisions. The Constitution of Pakistan 1973 declares that there will be no law in Pakistan which is inconsistent with the Islamic provisions. As Pakistan is a federal state, each province has its own legislation along with federal legislation. Breastfeeding falls under the provincial domain as it is considered under the right to health, that why different provinces in Pakistan make legislation on it.

## The Protection of Breastfeeding and Child Nutrition Ordinance, 2002

This statute was passed in October 2002 and applies to the whole of Punjab. Actually, this ordinance was in the federal ambit, but after the 18th amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan, it was adopted by the province of Punjab in 2012 along with some amendments. This law divides breastfeeding children into two categories. An infant means a child who is less than the age of twelve months old, and a young child means a child less than two years but older than twelve months.

The Punjab Infant Feeding Board was established under this ordinance. The board is to receive reports of violations of this ordinance and to recommend investigation of cases against distributors, manufacturers who violate the provisions of this ordinance. The board also maintain the educational material and information on infant feeding and recommends educational courses for health workers. It advises the Government on policies for the

protection and promotion of breastfeeding by means of national and provincial campaigns for the general public. This statute plays two different roles. The first one is the protection and promotion of breastfeeding, and the second is to maintain proper and certified food nutrition-based products and formula milk for infants and young children. It also proposed guidelines for the protection and promotion of breastfeeding. Furthermore, this statute prohibits discouraging breastfeeding by any means. Section 8 (4), clause b provides that every product contains a notice in bold characters, namely "MOTHER'S MILK IS BEST FOOD FOR YOUR BABY AND HELPS IN PREVENTING DIARRHOEA AND OTHER ILLNESSES".

The producer and distributor of products are bound to submit the literature and educational information to the board. The health workers shall encourage and support breastfeeding at all levels. This ordinance also lays some restrictions on health workers so that they do not promote any product which is an alternative to breastfeeding, nor do their associates. To maintain the international standards as provided by the World Health Organisation, all the products must fulfil the standards recommended by the Codex Code of Hygienic Practice for foods for infants and children and by the Codex Alimentarius Commission, along with the minimum standards mentioned in this ordinance. Furthermore, no expired product will be sold in the market. The government will monitor all the activities through its expert officials and officers to enforce the provisions of this ordinance with true spirit and zeal. And if it is proved that a certain product is not according to the standard as prescribed earlier, prosecution against the concerned persons will be started. If a medical practitioner contravenes the provisions of this ordinance, his licence may be cancelled by the government, and if he is a distributor or manufacturer, he has to face imprisonment for two years or a fine which may extend to five thousand hundred rupees.

The constitutional courts in Pakistan also enforce Islamic principles alongside Pakistani legislation. In a suit for recovery of maintenance and dower, namely Khan Muhammad versus Additional Session Judge, Jarawala, the honourable court decided in favour of the wife, maintenance/compensation for a period of two years for breastfeeding. The husband contested the said case that he divorced her wife and she is not entitled to any maintenance after the period of iddat (Khan Muhammad versus ADJ, Jaranwala, 2024). The honourable High Court gave reference to verse no 233 of Surah Al-Bagara in this case. The court further explained that the divorced lady can live in the house of her ex-husband for the purpose of breastfeeding her child, keeping in view the limits fixed by Allah Almighty. The breastfeeding allowance is recognised jurisprudentially. It is recognised for the welfare of the child. If such allowance/ compensation is not awarded to the mother, the consequence may be suffered by the child (Muhammad Imran versus Judge Family Court and others, 2023). In the leading case of Naveeda Naz versus Arshad Mehmood, the honourable court decided that no one can deprive a child of their right of breastfeeding, which is a supreme and fundamental right in nature (Naveeda Naz versus Arshad Mehmood, 1996).

### **Islamic Law**

Muslims believe that breastfeeding is a natural and basic right of a child. Many Islamic states have not introduced legislation on this particular issue based on Islamic injunctions, but they enforce domestic legislation while taking into account the influence of international human rights. The liberal models and cultural norms in some Islamic states also have a different point of view on breastfeeding. This point of view sometimes emerges as an Islamic point of view due to a lack of knowledge or international propaganda against Islam. The concept of wet nursing is present in Islamic Ideologies as well as a general custom of rural Arabs, ancient Grecian and Mesopotamian civilisations. (Papastavrou et al, 2015). And one of its causes may be the non-availability of modern formula milk.

As Islam spread from Arabia, many non-Arabic Muslim states, there are also have some strong customs and traditions which are followed. These cultural factors also affect the rate of breastfeeding in these states.

Islamic law protects and promotes the right of infants to be breastfed. Different sources of Islamic law revealed the importance of breastfeeding and its benefits for both mother and child. The Holy Quran addresses the importance of breastfeeding in detail. In the Holy Quran, the Surah Baqara, verse number 233 describes breastfeeding for two years, and if the mother and father of the child are of the view that they wean the child, there is no sin in it. This particular verse is also related to breastfeeding by a mother in case of divorce. The husband is bound to pay maintenance till the period of Iddat, but if he has a sucking baby of age not more than two years, then he is bound to pay as per his financial status maintenance amount to his ex-wife, and if he dies, his legal heirs will be responsible for this maintenance (Quran, 2:233). In explanation of this verse, Dr. Israr Ahmad explains that with the mutual consent of husband and wife, they can wean the child, and the husband can arrange wet nursing for that child (Ouran, 65:6). This explanation gives a clear review that Islamic law allows wet nursing. However, some scholars have a point of view that two years of breastfeeding is not an obligation but a recommendation, and others are of the view that it is a divine obligation. According to Ibn Hazm, it is a legal and moral obligation and duty of mothers to breastfeed their infants. The Holy Quran and hadith recommend exclusive breastfeeding for the newborn child as a fundamental human right.

Another example of breastfeeding in the Holy Quran is available in Surah Al Qasas, verse no 7-13, where Allah Almighty order the Mother of Prophet Moses (AS) to feed him. Late on the wife of Pharaoh adopted him (AS). Furthermore, in Shariah, there is no child gender based discrimination in breastfeeding.

The life of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAW) is also a witness to wet nursing. He (SAW) gives much importance to breastfeeding and announces a big reward, such as freeing a slave, giving life to souls. Sucking renders, the children of no-blood relationship as official relatives, and if a girl and a boy suckled by the same woman, though she is not their biological mother, they become prohibited from intermarriage (Alsalali, 1997). As Islam is not a rigid religion, it allows the mother to have some religious obligation exceptions in case she is breastfeeding her child. One of its examples is fasting in the month of Ramadan. The obligation of breastfeeding for a cycle of two years is not a rigid one where the health of the mother is at stake, or she is suffering from any disease which may be transferred to the suckling baby through her milk. Now the husband is bound to arrange some new nursing for that infant as per his financial status. Even in the case of divorce or separation between the parents, the child is entitled to breastfeeding and the father is bound to pay a stipend to the wife for breastfeeding (Shaikh and Ahmad, 2006).

## **International Human Rights Law**

Breastfeeding as a human right reflects two rights: the first is the child's right to breastfeed, and the second is the mother's right to health. The breastfeeding right is found in modern international human rights law as a nutrition right. Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948 is the baseline to provide protection to both child and mother (Basit, 2019). It was further affirmed by two international agreements, the first was the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) 1976, and the second was the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) 1990. Article 11 of the ICESCR provides an exclusive fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger. It did not particularly mention the rights of the mother or the child, but protects the overall right to an adequate standard of living, such as clothes, a house and food. As the CRC is particular to children's rights. Its two articles, i.e. 24 and 27, provide safeguards for health standards, measures to combat diseases and malnutrition, adequate nutritious food, clean water, clothing and housing.

Along with the three main international documents on human rights law mentioned above, many non-binding resolutions and declarations of the United Nations protect nutrition and food as a human right. The World Health Assembly in 1981 adopted the Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes. It approved a series of resolutions in subsequent years. The Innocenti Declaration of 1990 also recognises breastfeeding. It was a global initiative which focused on promoting, protecting and supporting breastfeeding. It emphasises breastfeeding for four to six months. It is pertinent to mention here that Islamic injunction emphasises two years of breastfeeding's. Breastfeeding is not only beneficial for a child but also for mothers by reducing the risk of breast cancer, improving their health, increasing the time between pregnancies and also bringing an economic benefit for the family. The international human rights law, under the umbrella of the United Nations and the WHO, recognises six months of breastfeeding (UNICEF, 2007).

The WHO develops a package known as "Essential Newborn Care Interventions", which also includes initiating breastfeeding as an important component (Bayyenat et al, 2014). We can say that the human rights to nutrition and food for children are well protected by international human rights laws.

#### **Material and Methods**

The design of this study is a comparative analysis between the Islamic provisions on breastfeeding, the international standards and recommendations for the protection and promotion of breastfeeding and the present legislation in Pakistan. A qualitative research approach will be adopted to analyze and interpret the textual data, including the international declarations, treaties and policy guidelines, the Holy Quran and Hadith, along with secondary sources of Islamic law, Pakistan legislation, along precedents of constitutional courts. The data will be collected through literature review, document analysis and case law analysis. All the data collected through doctrine legal research can be compared for outcomes and results. Findings are organized thematically to reflect the multidimensional nature of breastfeeding rights and their legal and societal implications.

## **Resuls and Discussion**

The comprehensive body of literature on breastfeeding rights within Islamic law, Pakistani and international law reveals a nuanced convergence of religious doctrine, legal frameworks, and public health imperatives, underscoring the multifaceted nature of breastfeeding rights. In states with a Muslim majority, breastfeeding is robustly affirmed as a fundamental right for both mother and child, deeply rooted in Quranic injunctions and further supported by international human rights law and their domestic legal frameworks. This dual legitimacy establishes a compelling normative foundation that positions breastfeeding not only as a health imperative but also as a protected individual right, encompassing maternal autonomy and child welfare. These frameworks established not only the promotion but also the protection of this right. The state's legal obligations, as recognised in various jurisdictions, include facilitating breastfeeding through enforcement of breastfeeding wages, health education, and supportive policies, although practical gaps in implementation and enforcement persist, particularly regarding comprehensive maternal autonomy and effective dissemination of breastfeeding information. It is reflected from the literature review that the implementation of breastfeeding rights has gradually increased due to awareness and effective policies by the Pakistani government in the past two decades.

The comparative analyses indicate similarities between the Islamic Law, Pakistani and international law. The point of view and the obligation fixed by Islamic law for breastfeeding are more exclusive than in international human rights law. When we compare it with the Pakistani legal system, it reflects both the Islamic and international law principles. However, there remains a critical need for empirical research capturing the lived

experiences of mothers, sociological dynamics, and policy implementation effectiveness to bridge theoretical clarity with practice. Addressing policy fragmentation, enhancing state accountability, and fostering culturally sensitive health promotion strategies are essential to overcoming barriers and realising breastfeeding rights fully. Overall, the interdisciplinary scholarship affirms breastfeeding as a rights-based public health priority, situated at the intersection of religion, law, and society, and highlights the imperative for integrated, contextually informed legal reforms and advocacy to support mothers and children not only in Muslim communities but worldwide.

There should be awareness campaigns on breastfeeding by connecting the religious values of this obligation with health benefits and legal responsibilities. The role of religious scholars and leaders is also very important. They have to play a positive role and educate the people about breastfeeding, not only as a religious obligation but also as a moral and legal duty. The medical professionals must educate and prepare mothers during pregnancy for breastfeeding by describing the benefits of breastfeeding for the child as well as for the mother. The seminars, awareness campaigns on print media and social media about the health benefits of breastfeeding should also help to enforce the rights properly.

Breastfeeding women should be provided proper place and privacy at workplaces for breastfeeding their children. They should be properly protected from any type of harassment or mental pressure situations in the workplace. The right to avail maternity leave should be easy, and at least six months of maternity leave should be granted with full pay and allowance to working women. And these leaves shall not affect their right of seniority or other job benefits. Facilities like clean drinking water, etc. should be provided at workplaces.

The penalties provided by the Pakistani law are not sufficient because they are not deterrent in form, and the habitual offender will not mend their ways. Furthermore, this Pakistani law did not cover the importance of breastfeeding exclusively, but only focuses on the administration of manufacturers' products and their distribution.

# **Conclusion**

The right to breastfeeding emerges as a multidimensional entitlement, situated at the intersection of religious injunctions, human rights frameworks, and domestic legislation. Islamic law, with its clear Quranic mandate of two years of breastfeeding (Qur'an 2:233), not only underscores the spiritual and moral obligation of parents but also embeds the child's right to nourishment within the broader framework of family duties. International human rights law, through instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the ICESCR (1976), and the CRC (1990), reinforces this right as part of the guarantees of adequate nutrition, health, and maternal protection. Pakistani legislation, particularly the Protection of Breastfeeding and Child Nutrition Ordinance, 2002, reflects a hybrid model, borrowing from both Islamic injunctions and international standards, while embedding these rights within provincial frameworks of health governance.

Despite this strong normative foundation, the practical enforcement of breastfeeding rights in Pakistan remains limited by policy fragmentation, weak implementation mechanisms, and sociocultural constraints. Moreover, inadequate awareness campaigns, insufficient workplace protections for mothers, and underdeveloped penalties for violations further weaken the impact of existing legislation.

The comparative analysis demonstrates that while Islamic law provides the most comprehensive protection and obligation toward breastfeeding, international human rights law situates it within a broader rights-based discourse on child and maternal health. Pakistani law reflects an evolving but incomplete synthesis of these traditions. To bridge the gap between legal frameworks and lived realities, there is a pressing need for integrated

reforms: enhancing state accountability, strengthening workplace protections, ensuring maternity leave policies, and embedding culturally sensitive awareness campaigns that harmonise religious principles with human rights standards.

Ultimately, breastfeeding must be understood not merely as a private maternal choice but as a public health obligation, a religious duty, and a fundamental human right. Protecting this right requires a coordinated effort among the state, family, and society to uphold the dignity of mothers and safeguard the survival, health, and development of children. By reconciling Islamic injunctions, international human rights law, and Pakistan's constitutional commitments, policymakers can establish a coherent, enforceable, and culturally resonant framework that secures breastfeeding as a cornerstone of maternal and child welfare.

#### **Recommendations**

In light of the comparative legal review and interdisciplinary analysis of breastfeeding rights across Islamic law, international human rights law, and the Pakistani legislation, the following recommendations are proposed to bridge gaps in enforcement, policy, and societal awareness:

- Amend the Protection of Breastfeeding and Child Nutrition Ordinance, 2002, to
  emphasise right-based protection for child and mother, not merely the regulation of
  breastmilk substitutes. Breastfeeding should be recognised as a legal right, and this
  ordinance embeds clear state responsibility to support, protect and promote
  breastfeeding rights.
- Working women should be provided a proper place, privacy, and facilities so that they can breastfeed their children at the workplace with due care, in line with international guidelines and Islamic moral obligations.
- Strengthen the capacity of provincial Infant Feeding Boards to conduct proactive monitoring, investigate violations, and publish annual compliance reports. These bodies should include religious scholars, legal experts, healthcare professionals, and public health advocates.
- Encourage all provinces to adopt harmonised breastfeeding protection laws based on best practices and the 2002 ordinance.
- Adopt the Islamic Jurisprudential consensus on breastfeeding as part of state legal narratives and public policy to foster religious legitimacy and compliance among the population.
- Develop community and mass media programs linking religious teachings, health benefits, and legal obligations of breastfeeding. Train and involve NGOs, Islamic scholars, and health professionals to educate society about breastfeeding as a religious obligation and a moral duty, not only as a maternal responsibility.
- Ensure that Pakistani breastfeeding laws are periodically reviewed and updated in line with the United Nations human rights treaties and World Health Organisation guidelines.

To achieve and uphold breastfeeding as a fundamental right, Pakistan must move beyond the symbolic legislation and adopt culturally grounded, comprehensive, and enforceable reforms. These reforms integrate health benefits, religious legitimacy, and legal protection to create a supportive ecosystem that empowers and nourishes children, mothers, and fosters social responsibility. In this way, Pakistan can achieve the protection of breastfeeding rights exclusively.

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