

ILLEGAL ABORTION IN INDONESIAN MEDIA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

Abortion is a complex issue. On the one hand, abortion is an illegal act according to positive law and is prohibited by religion in Indonesia. On the other hand, abortion is a shortcut to solving unwanted pregnancies by married and unmarried couples. This study aims to see how the media frames news about illegal abortion, how positive law regulates this act and what the triggers doing illegal abortion. This research is qualitative research with a content analysis approach. The results of the study show that the media tends to be neutral by not taking sides between the perpetrators and the victims. This research also reveals the fact that the high demand of the Indonesian people for an illegal abortion service is at least triggered by two things, the legal system, and social norms applied in Indonesia. The legal system prohibiting abortion in Indonesia is incapable to prevent and provide a deterrent effect against perpetrators of abortion criminalization. In addition, Indonesian society's system of social norms is very sensitive to immoral cases, such as pregnancy out of wedlock. As a result, many pregnant women who are out of wedlock choose to hide their pregnancies and then secretly carry out illegal abortions.

1. INTRODUCTION

As a religious country believing in God, Indonesia normally places religion and morals as elements of national and character building, and in drafting state laws. This is in line with Alfred Denning's statement which said "without religion, there can be no morality and without morality there can be no law" (Fanggi, 2012). This opinion indicates that there is a close correlation between religion, morals, and law. On a legal basis, it can be upheld because there is a supportive community and vice versa. That is, the law can stand upright if it is in line with the system of social norms that develop in society. Thus, the existence of the law obtains absolute support from the community which is formed from a system of developing social norms.

In the context of abortion as a country upholding morals and religion, Indonesia strictly prohibits and criminalizes this behavior as well as the system of social norms of Indonesian society which also condemns this act. The regulation of abortion as a criminal act is regulated in Law Number 36 of 2009 on Health and the Criminal Code.



Arrangements for the criminal act of abortion and the problem of law enforcement for the criminal act of abortion are regulated in Article 194 of the Health Law and Articles 299, 346-349 of the Criminal Code. This is in line with the opinion of Wening Udasmoro “One the one hand the prohibition of abortion strongly returns to the moral and religious teachings, demonstrating that the government” (Udasmoro 2006). Regulating the criminalization of abortion by stipulating the act as a criminal act aims to minimize the practice of illegal abortion as a representation of the criminalization of abortion. Unfortunately, this arrangement does not seem to have a deterrent effect on abortion criminals.

In the span of the last few years, there has been quite a lot of coverage cases of abortion criminalization in Indonesian media, both printed and online. Starting from cases of unsafe abortion (aborting the womb alone or assisted by a traditional birth attendant), to the case of disclosure of an abortion clinic by the police where illegal abortion clinics are the source as well as the center of cases of abortion criminalization.

All forms of illegal abortion activities at the clinic are acts that can be criminalized. Illegal abortion clinics are the source as well as the center for the criminalization of abortion, this refers to the disclosure of facts by the police when they successfully carried out raids on several illegal abortion clinics. Such was the case on September 9, 2020, when Polda Metro Jaya succeeded in carrying out a raid on an illegal abortion clinic at Jalan Percetakan Negara III, Central Jakarta.

From the results of data disclosure by the police, it was reported that the clinic had illegally aborted 32,760 fetuses since March 2017. Approximately, 6 patients come to the clinic every day to have an illegal abortion (Bustomi 2020). A similar case was also revealed by the police in August 2020, in the Raden Saleh area, Central Jakarta. The police succeeded to find and investigate one of the clinics that are practicing illegal abortions.

During the search process, the police found astonishing data between January 2019 and April 10, 2020. There were around 2,638 abortion patients visiting the clinic (Bustomi 2020). That data was obtained during last year, even though the clinic has been operating for five years. It means that there are already thousands or maybe tens of thousands of fetuses that have been aborted at the clinic.

Based on the reporting facts, the researcher then focused this research on reporting on illegal abortion clinics as a sample to further analysis a lot of practices of abortion criminalization reported in the Indonesian media, especially when there was a news headline about an illegal abortion clinic which was quite provocative in the Kampos Magepolitan media. The headline of the news was “Bisnis Klinik Aborsi Ilegal di Raden Saleh Cikini, Tak Mati meski Digerebek Berkali-kali”. The report stated news related to the police, who several years before had raided an illegal abortion clinic in the area. However, a few years later the clinic reoperate and was successfully being raided again in August 2020.



Previously, Polda Metro Jaya had uncovered an illegal abortion clinic on Jalan Paseban Raya, Central Jakarta on 11 February 2020. The raid revealed that 1,632 patients had visited the illegal abortion clinic with details of 903 patients having aborted their fetuses. Of the three suspects caught in the raid, it turns out that one of the suspects is a recidivist in cases of criminalizing abortion or illegal abortion practices (Lova 2020).

Ironically, based on information from the police, it was found that many people in the vicinity already knew about the existence of the clinic, but deliberately made an omission, did not make a report because they felt that the clinic was not harming them. However, illegal abortion clinics of this kind generally operate clandestinely because it is called an underground service business. In this study, the researcher is interested in exploring more deeply the issue of illegal abortion clinics as the kingpins of the practice of abortion criminalization which has never end even though it has been uncovered and raided by the police many times.

This is of course inseparable from supply and demand factors, there is a fairly high market demand. This is proven by the fact that almost every day the three abortion clinics that were raided by the police serve five to seven patients, some of whom are patients who wish to have an abortion illegally. The high number of illegal abortions in Indonesia has also been revealed in the results of research by the Guttmacher Institute which concluded that, based on samples taken from health facilities in 6 regions in Indonesia, there are 2 pregnancies aborted in Indonesia every year and most of these are illegal. (Institute 2008).

The question is, why do so many Indonesian women prefer to have abortions illegally? Even though not a few of the women who have illegal abortions are women victims of rape. In fact, in accordance with the provisions of the Criminal Code in Indonesia, women victims of rape are given exceptions to be able to have abortions legally and safely. This study tries to trace these facts with the aim of uncovering the facts behind the existence of illegal abortion clinics that have never been end by taking a sample of the news coverage of three illegal abortion clinics in the Central Jakarta area that were successfully raided by the police.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Previously, there were several studies reviewing the criminalization of abortion in Indonesia, one of which was research by Rini in her research entitled “Ketika Aborsi Menjadi Pilihan: Analisis Pengambilan Keputusan Dalam Melakukan Aborsi” (Rini 2022). Although this research did not specifically address the criminalization of abortion, this article at least provided space for women to explain what really happened to them to make abortion as an option. In fact, abortion is not a choice but a necessity.

Rini in this study elaborated on when abortion became a choice, both from internal and external factors. Although this research did not directly review the criminalization of abortion, this research had a strong connection with the criminalization of abortion or illegal abortion. In this study, there were several internal and external factors why abortion became an option, including internal



factors caused by infidelity, pregnancy out of wedlock, the desire to maintain a good name, emotional unpreparedness, to health factors. As for external factors, there are coercion from partners, victims of rape, for the sake of career, economy, coercion from parents.

Unfortunately, this research only analyzed the problems faced by women when abortion is an option without providing advice or solutions for women. Even threats gotten a legal punishment when someone was carrying out illegal abortions are not discussed in this study. In contrast to the research conducted by Bujangga Agus Arif Pranata, in his research entitled “Sanksi Pidana Terhadap Tindak Pidana Aborsi” (Pranata, Sujana, and Sudibya 2020). This research elaborated and criticized articles 346-349 of the Criminal Code.

This research has criticized the article a lot because it categorized abortion as a process of taking a life. This research is quite interesting and critical, unfortunately this research only focuses on these articles without comparing it with Article 75 paragraph 1 of the Health Law whereas in the Law there are clearly exceptions for medical reasons and cases of rape. As a result, the researchers in this study seemed less comprehensive and more judgmental.

In contrast to the research conducted by Monika Suhayati and Noverdi Puja Saputra entitled “Permasalahan Penegakan Hukum Tindak Pidana Aborsi” (Suhayati & Saputra 2020), the research analyzed the issue of abortion such in detail that the issue of law enforcement on abortion seems to overlap, such as a woman who has an illegal abortion, but the woman is a victim of rape. Based on articles 346, 347 and 348 of the Criminal Code, the woman has the right to be punished for having an illegal abortion. Meanwhile, in the Health Act, article 75 paragraphs 1 and 2, it is stated that rape is part of the exception, meaning that it can be permissible if it fulfills the provisions stipulated in that article.

The difference between this study and previous studies is that this research focuses on the widespread reporting of cases of abortion criminalization in the Indonesian media by taking a sample of the raid on abortion clinics in the Central Jakarta area in which illegal abortion clinics are a source as well as a center for the practice of criminalizing abortion, which can be used as a barometer to explore in more depth related to the widespread reporting on the criminalization of abortion in Indonesia.

3. METHODOLOGY

Researchers use content analysis as a research method. Content analysis is a research conducting an in-depth discussion of the contents of written or printed information in the mass media. Content analysis techniques are carried out through symbol coding, namely recording symbols or messages systematically, then interpreting the results (Schreier 2012). Content analysis can also be understood as a method including all analysis of the content of the text. In addition, content analysis is also to describe a specific analytical approach.

Definitively, according to Krippendorff (2004), the content analysis method is a technique to draw a conclusion by identifying various special characteristics of a message in an objective,



systematic, and generalist manner (Krippendorff 2018). Content analysis can not only be used to see a picture of a message. This analysis can also be used to draw conclusions about the causes of a message. In content analysis, the focus here is not on the description of the message, but on answering the question why, what causes the message to appear. Likewise in this study, the researchers focused more on questioning the existence of abortion clinics in urban areas where there have never been any deaths despite the repeated successful raids by the police. Does this have anything to do with the fact that there is still widespread reporting on cases of abortion criminalization in the Indonesian media.

In this study, the researchers focused on reporting in the mass media about illegal abortion clinics that never end. In fact, illegal abortion clinics are both a source and a center for the criminalization of abortion. This means that you should never expect the rate of criminalization of abortion in Indonesia decreased if illegal abortion clinics are not eradicated completely.

Content analysis in this study was carried out on the causal factors why the illegal abortion clinic service business never dies. This is of course inseparable from supply and demand factors, market demand. Having formed of market demand is certainly related to many factors, ranging from economic factors, the legal system in force in Indonesia, to the system of social norms prevailing in Indonesian society which urges women to choose to have an abortion illegally. From this, it will get answers why there is still widespread coverage of cases of abortion criminalization in the Indonesian media.

The selection of data in this study was based on search cases by the police of several illegal abortion clinics in the Central Jakarta area. In this context, three samples of news coverage were taken, namely raids carried out by the police in the Jalan Percetakan Negara III area, Central Jakarta; in the Paseban area, Central Jakarta; and in the Raden Saleh area, Central Jakarta. The reason of using the three samples is because they have an adjacent time span and the same raid location, namely in the Central Jakarta area. The source used for research data was taken from the site megapolitan.kompas.com which is one of the most trusted online sites in Indonesia.

The stages of content analysis in this research applied Schreier's line of thought (2012). First, the researchers coded the news about the raid on abortion clinics in the central Jakarta area, which in this case was taken from three news samples, namely raids carried out by the police in Jalan Percetakan Negara III area, Central Jakarta; in Paseban area, Central Jakarta, and in the Raden Saleh area, Central Jakarta. Second, based on the results of coding in the first stage, words often appeared in the news will be obtained and then they will be interpreted. Third, is to synthesize the results of the research as a whole to draw conclusions related to the causative factors why illegal abortion clinics as an underground service business still exist nowadays.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION



In Indonesia, the act of abortion is still considered something “forbidden”, “taboo” and “controversial”, because of that access to legal and safe abortion is very limited. Law No. 36 of 2009 on health requires that abortion is basically prohibited except in two cases, for reasons of rape and medical indications. Even though there are regulations providing exceptions for medical reasons and cases of rape, in reality it is not easy for women victims of rape to be able to access safe and legal abortion services.

For a pregnancy of a rape victim, she has to go through a long and complicated procedure. From here, illegal abortion clinics emerged as an alternative. This means that the emergence of illegal abortion clinics is actually inseparable from the legal system in Indonesia which prohibits abortion and makes a very limited access to do abortion. As for the existence of illegal abortion clinics never end, based on researchers’ investigations through text analysis of news coverage on abortion clinics in the Central Jakarta area, there are at least three words that appear over and over again in the news, namely; profit, unprofesional doctors, and public secrets.

4.1 Profit

Profit is the word that occupies the first position that always appears in the news on raids on illegal abortion clinics. From the results of disclosures made by the police, one of the three abortion clinics successfully uncovered in the Central Jakarta area had made profits of up to tens of billions during its operation.

The government, in this case the police, have raided the abortion business several times, but cases will reappear if conditions are under control. This business can earn a profit of 70 million rupiah per month. According to Tubagus as stated in media Megapolitan.kompas.com:

Dalam data satu tahun terakhir, mulai Januari 2019 sampai 10 April 2020 terdata ada 2.638 pasien aborsi. Selama beroperasi, para pelaku dapat meraup untung Rp 70 juta per bulan. Keuntungan tersebut terus didapat selama para pelaku menjalani bisnis ilegal itu sekitar lima tahun. (Bustomi, 2020).

In the data for the past year, from January 2019 to April 10, 2020, there were 2,638 abortion patients. During operation, the perpetrators can make a profit of IDR 70 million per month. These profits continue to be obtained as long as the perpetrators carry out the illegal business for about five years. (Bustomi, 2020).

The high profit earned from the underground service business is the first factor why the underground service business never dies. Profit in this context is of course closely related to supply and demand factors, there is market demand. This was revealed from the presentation of the police revealing the fact that of the abortion clinics successfully raided, at least every day, serve five to seven people who come for various needs, one of which is to have an abortion illegally.

The high market demand for the illegal abortion clinic underground service business is of course inseparable from the conditions faced by women when choosing to have an abortion illegally. To rationalize the market need for underground services in the illegal abortion clinic



business, the researcher refers to Abraham Maslow's theory of the hierarchy of human needs (Maslow, 2021). In Abraham Maslow's theory of the hierarchy of human needs, it was stated that there are five basic human needs namely; First, Physiological Needs as the most basic needs and most dominating human needs. This need is more biological in nature. Moreover, interestingly in this context Maslow places sexual needs as part of physiological needs.

Sexual needs must be met because basically instinct and human nature is to get satisfaction and pleasure. Therefore, sex is needed. If sexual needs are not canaled properly, it will have a negative impact and can trigger the practice of sexual violence such as rape or promiscuity which then leads to many unwanted pregnancies.

Based on data from the BKKBN, unwanted pregnancies among Indonesian adolescents are increasing. It is known that of the teenage population (age 14-19 years) there are 19.6% experiencing cases of unwanted pregnancies (KTD) and around 20% of abortion cases in Indonesia are carried out by adolescents (BKKBN, 2021) (Utami 2022). This fact is in line with the statements of residents who said that patients who often attend illegal abortion clinics in their area are in their 20s, although there are also some patients who come with children.

Second, Safety and Security Needs, the need for a sense of security and safety is mapped into two, physical safety and psychological safety. As part of social beings, safety and security needs is correlated with the social norms prevailing in Indonesian society. Once in making a decision to have an abortion illegally, of course, it cannot be separated from the background of the system of social norms surrounding the existence of the perpetrator.

Generally, Indonesian people are very sensitive to immoral cases, such as getting pregnant out of wedlock or being pregnant because of a victim of sexual violence such as rape. In the system of social norms applied in Indonesian society, let alone women who become pregnant out of wedlock due to promiscuity, women who become pregnant out of wedlock because of rape victims can get ostracized from the residents (Irma, Wahyuni, & Arifin 2021). This was experienced by a girl named Bunga, a resident of Trompo Asri, RT 11 RW 04, Jabon District, Sidoarjo, East Java. This 14-year-old young girl was raped by five teenagers until she was 8 months pregnant (Anon 2016). Ironically, when the pregnancy was discovered by residents, Bunga and her mother were being ostracized and expelled.

Such facts then encourage many women, including women victims of rape, to choose to hide their pregnancies and secretly have illegal abortions. This is of course inseparable from the need for safety and a sense of security which the choice to hide the pregnancy and secretly to carry out an illegal abortion relatively gives a sense of security rather than letting the pregnancy be known to many people.

Third, the need for love and a sense of belonging (Love and Belonging Needs). The need for love is not the same as the need for sex. Maslow emphasized that the need for sex is actually categorized as a physical need. This need for love reinforces that in life, humans cannot be



separated from each other. Unfortunately, the need for love is sometimes one of the triggers for women to practice illegal abortions. This is because of coercion from the partner. Such facts have often become news material both printed and online media. There was even one case ended in death because she was forced to have two abortions by her boyfriend.

Fourth, the need for appreciation and self-esteem (Self Esteem Need). In this context, Maslow classified these needs into two parts, namely more directed to self-esteem and the need to be considered strong, able to achieve something adequate, have certain skills to face the world, be free and independent. The need to be respected can be a trigger for women to have illegal abortions, correlated with the system of social norms prevailing in Indonesian society.

In the social norm system of Indonesian society, women who become pregnant out of wedlock will be viewed negatively and ostracized because there are many cases of women having abortions illegally on the grounds that they want to protect the good name of their families. In fact, in one of the studies by Rini (2022), there were also women who had abortions because of pressure from their parents. Parents feel embarrassed when they find their child pregnant out of wedlock, with other considerations because they are thinking about their child's education and future (Rini 2022).

Fifth, Need for Self-Actualization. After all the above needs are fulfilled, humans need to self-actualize. The achievement of self-actualization has an impact on psychological conditions increased, such as changes in perception, and motivation to always grow and develop. It's just that not infrequently women make reasons for the need for self-actualization as a reason to have an abortion such as having an abortion for career or academic reasons.

According to Maslow, humans are motivated by a number of basic needs that are the same for all species, not change, and come from genetic or instinctive sources. According to him, needs are also psychological, not merely physiological because this need is the core of human nature while on the basis of this need also forming market demand for the existence of illegal abortion clinics which are always growing and developing secretly.

In principle, the existence of illegal abortion clinics will never be able to grow again if there is no supply and demand factor, a market demand. The factors forming supply and demand are basic human needs that must be met. These basic needs have a correlation with the system of social norms and the prevailing legal system.

4.2 Unprofessional Doctors

Doctors and all staff involved academically do have the ability to perform abortions. They have medical and nursing degrees. However, their actions violated the doctor's professional oath and violated the law.

Klinik ini bukan hanya klinik aborsi, tapi juga yang sifatnya bantuan pelaksanaan kandungan, seperti pemasangan KB, konsultasi kehamilan, dan sebagainya," kata Tubagus. Tenaga medis yang bekerja di klinik tersebut terdiri dari dokter, bidan, dan perawat. Mereka menyalahgunakan profesi dengan melakukan aborsi ilegal. "Dokter tersebut spesialisasi



kandungan. Tapi di samping melakukan pengobatan dan kontrol kandungan, juga melakukan praktik aborsi. (Bustomi, 2020).

This clinic is not only an abortion clinic, but also assists with the implementation of obstetrics, such as the installation of family planning, pregnancy consultations, and so on," said Tubagus. The medical personnel working at the clinic consist of doctors, midwives, and nurses. They abuse their profession by doing illegal abortion." The doctor specializes in obstetrics. But besides carrying out treatment and control of the womb, they also practice abortion. (Bustomi, 2020).

Moreover, there are also doctors who were recidivists of the same case. The doctor was previously sentenced to three months in prison for carrying out illegal abortions. After being released from prison, the doctor returned to work in an illegal abortion clinic.

Facts like this represent that the criminal law against abortion perpetrators has failed to provide a deterrent effect. In Indonesia, if doctors, midwives and traditional birth attendants are proven to have carried out an abortion violating the procedure, they can be subject to criminal sanctions according to the provisions of Article 63 paragraph (2) and Article 103 of the Criminal Code, in this case Law Number 36 of 2009 on Health applies. Based on Article 194 of Law Number 36 of 2009 stated: "Everyone who intentionally has an abortion not in accordance with the provisions referred to in Article 75 paragraph (2) shall be punished with imprisonment for a maximum of 10 (ten) years and a fine of up to Rp. 1.000,000,000.00 (one billion rupiah)".

However, in fact, these regulations still do not provide a deterrent effect. Even this was acknowledged by the police when handling cases of illegal abortion clinics. Simply put, the existence of illegal abortion clinics that have never end actually correlates with the existence of abortion crime regulations which still relatively provide a lot of flexibility for perpetrators of abortion criminalization.

4.3 Public Secret

Of all the news related to the existence of illegal abortion clinics, almost all of them are known by the local community. Therefore, several cases of raids on illegal abortion clinics stem from reports from the public. However, there are also those that started with the development of other cases which then led to the disclosure of illegal abortion clinics. This is similar to the raid on an illegal abortion clinic in the Raden Saleh area, Central Jakarta. Disclosure of the existence of the abortion clinic began with the development of a murder case and then revealed the whereabouts of the abortion clinic. Where a few years earlier there had been raids in the area, a few years later the clinic was back in operation and was being raided again on September 9 2020.

Bahkan, kata Yusri, tidak sedikit masyarakat di sekitar lokasi itu banyak yang mengetahui praktik klinik aborsi. "Ini memang daerah situ hampir rata-rata masyarakat sudah banyak yang tahu," katanya. Setiap keberadaan praktik aborsi menggunakan kamuflase agar tak



tampak seperti sebuah klinik. Salah satunya tidak menggunakan plang yang hanya menyerupai seperti rumah biasa. (Bustomi, 2020).

In fact, said Yusri, not a few people around the location know about abortion clinic practices. "This is an area where most people already know a lot about it," he said. Every existence of an abortion practice uses camouflage so as not to look like a clinic. One of them is not using a signpost that only looks like an ordinary house. (Bustomi, 2020)

From this set of facts, there are several other interesting facts to explore. First, of all the reports regarding the existence of illegal abortion clinics, generally, the residents are aware of them, even though they carry out their operations in secret. Second, reporting regarding the existence of illegal abortion clinics is usually done after the clinic has been operating for years. This means that not all people feel uneasy with the existence of the clinic. Only some feel uneasy and then report.

Third, the disclosure of the abortion clinic case in Paseban, Central Jakarta, started with reports from the public from online sites. The police did not reveal whether the reporter was a local member of the community or not. Fourth, the disclosure of the abortion clinic case in the Raden Saleh area, Central Jakarta began with the development of a murder case which then led to the disclosure of an illegal abortion clinic.

Based on the information from the police, it seems that the local people had already known about the existence of the clinic, even though they were operating secretly. The local community did not report because they felt they were not harmed by the existence of the clinic.

Referring to some of these facts, it can be interfered that in the system of social norms, Indonesian society is still much harsher in judging women who experience pregnancies outside of marriage compared to perpetrators who help these women to have abortions illegally, which in this context can be doctors, midwives or traditional birth attendants. Referring to Alfred Denning's statement which said "Without religion, there can be no morality and without morality there can be no law". This opinion shows that there is a close correlation between religion, morals and law. On the legal basis it can be upheld because there is a supportive community, and vice versa.

The moral referred to in the statement is the moral system applied in society. If the law formed by the state is not supported by the moral system applied in society, it will be difficult to implement it properly. In the case of the criminalization of abortion, the Indonesian people in general really criticized this action, so that a regulation was formed that criminalized this action. Beyond of that, the system of social norms in Indonesian society is more sensitive to immoral acts, in the form of pregnancies outside of marriage. Because of this, women with pregnancies out of wedlock choose to hide their pregnancies and secretly have abortions.

Indonesian society has harsher condemnation of pregnancies out of wedlock compared to women who have abortions or those who help with abortions. This is supported by several facts where since long ago when abortions were often performed by a *dukun*, there has never been any news of *dukun beranak* who often carry out illegal abortions being bullied or ostracized by society.



Merely, the existence of illegal abortion clinics that never ends actually has a correlation with the system of social norms that have developed in Indonesian society. Likewise, the news about the rampant criminalization of abortion in the media also has a correlation with this social norm system.

Additionally, the fact of omission by the community also implies the fact of the government's lack of socialization about the dangers of having an illegal abortion, whether it is done alone or by using the services of an illegal abortion clinic. This kind of socialization is of course important to do along with the enforcement of the prohibition on abortion.

5. CONCLUSION

The existence of illegal abortion clinics that never ends is inseparable from the legal system in force in Indonesia. First, the legal system in force in Indonesia has failed to provide a deterrent effect for perpetrators of abortion criminalization. Mainly, for those who work in illegal abortion clinics both as employees and as medical personnel. This has been proven by the fact that several employees and medical personnel who were arrested during a raid on an illegal abortion clinic in the Central Jakarta area turned out to be recidivists of illegal abortion crimes.

Second, the legal system in Indonesia does not provide convenience or protection for women victims of rape. Even though the legal system in force in Indonesia provides an exception for pregnancies of rape victims. However, in reality, women victims of rape must face complicated and lengthy procedures to be able to access safe abortions. Because of that most of them then chose to have an abortion at an illegal abortion clinic. This is evident from the data revealed by the police that among the abortion patients who accessed the illegal clinic were women victims of rape.

In addition to the legal system applied in Indonesia, the system of social norms also has a role in making illegal abortion clinics keep popping up despite repeated raids. The system of social norms in Indonesian society is very sensitive to immoral acts, because of that when women experience infertility outside of marriage, they suddenly become the subject of discussion and even ostracize. Due to the severity of the social norm system, many women, even from the women's family, who deliberately concealed the pregnancy then secretly had an abortion illegally, either by using the services of an illegal abortion business or by visiting a traditional birth attendant or having an abortion themselves.

It is this kind of fact that makes requests for illegal abortions never end in which market demand as the main factor in the existence of illegal abortion never dies. This is also one of the factors that continues to spread the news of the criminalization of abortion in the Indonesian media. Basically, the need for abortions is high triggering why illegal abortion clinics not die, not because of the marketing prowess of these clinics. The need to have an abortion due to pressure from the situation is also the main factor in the criminalization of abortion in various ways, as has been widely reported in the Indonesian media.



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