

New Media and Gender: Representation of Reproductive Justice in Indonesian Websites (*konde.co* and *magdalene.co*)

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ABSTRACT

Reproductive justice is an important issue, but until recently it is still such a utopia. This can be fulfilled if reproductive rights can be obtained by everyone, especially women. In fact, the majority of victims of reproductive injustice are women. In Indonesia this issue is also still a problem that has not been solved. Based on a report from the Center for Reproductive Rights of UNFPA, reproductive rights relate to the right to education and information about reproductive health. Furthermore, according to UN documents, reproductive rights in the context of reproductive health services are related to abortion, which includes information, education, communication and services, including prevention of abortion and the management of the consequences of abortion. The purpose of this research is to reveal how Indonesian websites represent abortion as an aspect of reproductive health and how women be portrayed in the websites as an alternative media. By analyzing media content on the *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* websites in 2022, this study concluded: (1) representation of reproductive justice in *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* that focus on abortion are in the form of soft news which provide more explanation and elaboration on the issue; (2) safe abortion and forced abortion dominate the content of the websites, with the focus on the limitation of the practical aspect although several laws already existed; (3) women are represented as group of people that are vulnerable and need to be protected.

Keywords: *Reproductive justice, reproductive rights, abortion, representation, media content.*

INTRODUCTION

Reproductive justice is a crucial matter. It is a contemporary framework that includes activism and thoughts about reproductive experiences and political movements that can be achieved if reproductive rights and social justice are fulfilled (Ross & Solinger, 2017). However, until now, it is not fully achieved yet and put women as the majority victims. It still becomes a crucial issue happens in many countries, which can be seen from the study of the reproductive justice among Native American women (Gurr, 2011); the need of state involvement in achieving reproductive rights in India (Madhok et al., 2014); women of color fight on reproductive justice (If/When/How, 2016); and reproductive justice in racism of patient care in Canada (Coen-Sanchez et al., 2022).

This problematic issue also happens in Indonesia, relates to reproductive rights among disabled women (Petronela et al., 2021); protection of reproductive rights for women workers (Putri, 2021); obstacle of a great health service for women (Susiana, 2018); and the gender equity and reproductive rights in Islamic boarding school (Fitria, 2011). A study also shows the importance of communication competency and cooperation between various parties in fulfilling reproductive rights, including improving reproductive health literacy (Nursanti et al., 2023). Moreover, a study of Indonesian IVF patients receiving treatment in Malaysian fertility clinics also highlights how communication experiences with medical practitioners' shape

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women's access to reproductive health information and services (Rumyeni et al., 2021). In a broader context, studies on Malaysian youth also show that digital platforms are essential for seeking sexual and reproductive health information (Manickam & Alivi, 2024). Those studies depicted that the fulfilment of reproductive rights in Indonesia, specifically women remain limited because of the low awareness relates to the restricted access to information and reproductive health literacy (Darmawati, 2014; Fachrina et al., 2019; Farchiyah et al., 2021; Putri, 2021).

On the other hand, media is considered as a source of information, including information about reproductive health and reproductive justice. Several studies found that media plays an important role on the awareness of reproductive health (Donggori, 2012; Etana & Gurmu, 2018; Fatimah et al., 2021; Saha et al., 2022). Therefore, it is crucial to study the media content, particularly in portraying the issue of reproductive justice.

In this research, reproductive rights are defined as a legal and advocacy-based model that protects women's legal right on accessing the services of reproductive health, including abortion (Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice, 2005). In addition, due to the low reproductive rights fulfillment in Indonesia, where women are the victims, this research focuses on one of the crucial issues in reproductive health in Indonesia, which is abortion. The World Health Organization predicts that the number of illegal abortions in Indonesia is 22 cases per 1.000 women (Lisnawati, 2022b). The studies on abortion in the media cover several topics such as abortion as political-related action (Conti & Cahill, 2017; Woodruff, 2019), unsafe and illegal abortion (Susiaty et al., 2023), and impact of media on abortion practice (Ahinkorah et al., 2020).

On the other hand, since its establishment, mass media have inspired academic inquiry, including the field of gender and women studies. Gender awareness began to be introduced into the study of gender and the media since the second-wave feminism (Krijnen, 2020). However, in most of the studies about media content, women are often represented in the form of objectivity as the victims with no strength and insignificant roles, such as household functionaries, decorative objects, and unintelligent (Gill, 2007).

Women are often represented according to conventional gender stereotypes in traditional media in Indonesia, for example in television advertising, where women are often associated with domestic roles, unrealistic idealization of the body and beauty, inequality in the representation of diversity, and subordinate roles (Mandalahi, 2024; Rohman, 2025). Therefore, examining women's representation in Indonesian media remains urgent. In this context, new media is expected to offer a more welcoming space for women's voices and challenge stereotypical depictions that primarily position women as vulnerable subjects.

More specifically, this research is about the representation of reproductive justice in Indonesian websites which emphasizes on how women are portrayed in the articles about abortion as one of important issue in reproductive justice. So, the novelty of this study can be seen from the object of research that is not the mainstream media. In Indonesia, during the New Order Era, Indonesia under the presidency of Soeharto faced a full control of the media industry from the state. Even with the growth of private television stations, the ownership was also under the control of giant enterprises owned by Suharto's circle (Morissan, 2016). Mostly, the texts and messages production were set as a political tool, due to the unlimited power owned by the government at that time, resulted in the representation of women in the form of subordination (Supratman, 2012). On the contrary, the digital era has changed the structure of media production. Websites can be produced by a single person, so they can

represent someone's values, not always institution or governments' (Dominick, 2013). Two Indonesian websites involved in this research are *konde.co.* and *magdalene.co.* which explicitly claim to be gender equality friendly websites.

Indonesian website *konde.co* is a media that carries the perspective of women and minorities. It was established in 2016 by Konde Institute community. The mission is to manage public space from the perspective of women and minorities as part of awareness and critical thinking. The editorial team in this website mostly are journalists who focus on women, gender, and human rights issues. The motto is: "women, marginal, and intersection" (Konde.co, n.d.). Meanwhile, *magdalene.co* was first launched in 2013 by Hera Diani and Devi Asmarani with more than 15 years of experience as journalists. It started with both of them being anxious about reading local media content on women's issues because on one hand, mostly they are about fashion and lifestyle that does not represent diversity. On the other hand, the discussion is too "heavy" and academic-based. So, they started *magdalene.co* as an alternative media that will care more about women equality. The website motto is: "Supporting diversity, empowering minds" (Diani, 2018).

The significance of this research comes from the notion of mass media that plays a crucial role as an addition of parents and peers' input. It provides a ubiquitous cultural model of gender roles (Bussey & Bandura, 2004). The media environment contributes to people's gendered perceptions and experiences. In the context of this research, the representation of women in the articles about abortion in online media can also give impact to the understanding of the audiences on this specific issue. More specifically, this study is expected to answer the questions: (1) To what extent do *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* perform their role as media in providing information about abortion as the fulfilment of reproductive rights for Indonesian women? (2) What aspects of abortion are represented in *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* and how they are represented? (3) How do *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* represented objectification of Indonesian women in the articles about abortion?

LITERATURE REVIEW

a. Reproductive Justice

Reproductive justice is closely related to reproductive rights, and it cannot be achieved if reproductive rights are not fulfilled. In more detail, reproductive justice can be realized when all people who are fertile and who reproduce and become parents have access to specific community-based resources including high-quality health care, housing and education, as well as the backup plans when these resources fail (Ross & Solinger, 2017).

Based on the Report of the International Conference on Population and Development Cairo published by the UN in 1994, it is said that reproductive rights cover several human rights that are already recognized in national laws, international human rights documents, and other consensus documents (United Nations, 1995). Related to human rights, reproductive rights also involve many other rights, as stated in the report from the Center for Reproductive Rights of UNFPA (Center for Reproductive Rights, 2013). It is said that reproductive rights have close relations with several other rights, including the rights to get education and information about reproductive health. It is an important thing that must be obtained by all people, regardless of gender, race, class, and social position. The fulfilment of reproductive rights will lead to the realization of reproductive justice.

b. Abortion

The issue of abortion started from a pro-life and pro-choice point of view and each group uses human rights as its basis. For the anti-abortion group, women's rights are the basis, while for the pro-abortion group, the rights to the fetuses are fought for (Holland, 2020). One of the reasons why abortion still becomes problematic until nowadays is because it does not appear much in the National Action Plans or NAPs that are issued by the countries. It is also less represented in the United Nations Security Council or UNSC resolutions. This condition can cause problems for women's reproductive rights (Thomson & Pierson, 2018).

Moreover, in the context of Indonesia, abortion is illegal as can be seen in the Health Law No. 36 of 2009, Fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council No. 4 of 2005, and the Criminal Code (Caroline, 2019). However, it can be considered as legal in terms of the cases of rape or secure the life of the mother. However, in the practical context, not many of Indonesian women are able to access a legal abortion. It is caused by the complex requirements and procedures which determined by the authorities (The Jakarta Post, 2022).

c. Media Representation

Stratification of gender, race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality is something that still exists in today's world. This results in the privilege, disadvantages and exclusion towards some groups of people. Since its emergence, the media has played a role as a vehicle to disseminate information to the audience. Seeing those things, feminists have been eager to research the connection of the media to explore the inequality, domination, oppression, stereotypes, construction of gender social roles, gender ideology, and pornography which include the study of representation, active relation between media and audiences, the ideological background on how media produce the products (Gill, 2007).

In the early gender representation research on the media, there was a symbolic annihilation, a concept founded by George Gerbner in the 1970s that implied how the media images make women invisible. However, it is not only about the lack of women in the media content, but also their existence (if any) reflects biases and somehow it is part of the media agenda (Carter et al., 2014). Until nowadays, it is still happening, although gender representation is rising in terms of the number, but the context somehow is still stagnant. Moreover, representation is the production of the meaning of concepts in people's mind through language. There are two systems of representations, which are mental representations or conceptual maps, and language to exchange the conceptual maps into signs (Hall, 2003).

Since a long time ago, women often represented as the victim of male violence in the media. There is a claim proposed by the feminist scholars relates to this phenomenon. It is said that the concern toward women objectification in the media is not only about its pervasiveness but also relates to how to deal with it. Women objectification in the media must also be seen as a violence toward women (Smelik, 2016). Mainstream media tend to focus on blaming the individuals involved in the incident. They don't pay much attention to structural analysis and social explanations for gender-based violence. They also tend to emphasize the stereotypes of helpless victims, and to strengthen cultural superiority when different nations or ethnic groups are involved (Cuklanz, 2013).

The media coverage and representation can help audiences to shape their understanding on a specific issue, as well as the policy about the issue. It also applies in the context of articles on abortion, like the study from the U.S. (Barabas & Jerit, 2009; Woodruff,

2019). Not only related to the understanding of certain issues, representation in the media is also related to social construction, including the social construction of gender. This is primarily related to how story telling forms general rules regarding predictions of human behavior (Unger, 1989). In the context of gender, a new perspective that can be shown through subject matter, techniques, and questions plays an important role in the construction of gender that has been formed for generations.

METHODOLOGY

This study employed qualitative approach. It provides a basic knowledge for understanding the social world in order to reveal social problems. The social meanings can be understood from people experiences, circumstances, and situations, as well as the meanings of the texts, images, and other objects (Hesse-Biber, 2017). In essence, therefore, qualitative researchers gained from the co-created meanings that are collected from the participants' data, including from texts.

The focus of this research is generally words, text, and images, not statistical data. Specifically, this study was done using text analysis method (Mcintosh & Cuklanz, 2017). The main goal of content analysis is to find a text to be analyzed closely in order to get better understanding what qualities are and are not included in the object of textual analysis is. Finding and destroying the prevailing ideological play in popular literature is the most typical objective of qualitative content analysis.

The method for collecting the data is based on several criteria. The articles from *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* published in 2022 were collected manually by using keyword 'aborsi' (Indonesian word for "abortion"). The unit of analysis in this study is the content of the articles. The research stages are as follows: (1) collect the articles through the search engine in *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* website using the keyword 'aborsi' by setting a search filter from January 1, 2022 to December 31, 2022; (2) Input the articles in a word document and identify them by publication time, title, writer name, content, topic, and women position; (3) analyzing the articles by cross-referencing to the literature relate to reproductive justice, reproductive rights, and abortion. More specifically, in this stage, the comprehensive reading was done regarding the identification in the previous stage. This reading was conducted to discover how abortion was framed, whose voices were highlighted, and how women were positioned within the narratives. Then, the results of the analysis of these media texts were cross-referenced with literature related to reproductive justice, reproductive rights, and gender representation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a. Website as Media to Provide Information about Abortion as the Fulfilment of Reproductive Rights for Indonesian Women

In the 1994 Report of ICPD Cairo, regarding the reproductive rights and reproductive health, it is specifically mentioned that all countries must provide the best effort to support the citizens to have access at least for the primary health-care system as well as the reproductive health (United Nations, 1995). Among all of reproductive health care in the context of primary health care, the specific matters relate to the abortion are: information, education, communication and services relate to abortion, including prevention of abortion and the management of the consequences of abortion. All governments and relevant

intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations are encouraged to strengthen their commitment to women's health, to deal with the health effect of unsafe abortion.

In this regard, information about abortion in mass media is an alternative that can support the actions mandated in the report of the 1994 ICPD Cairo and documents on reproductive rights issued by the UNFPA. This also relates to the function of the mass media. From a wide-angle lens, based on the perspective of a sociologist, there are several functions of the mass media which can be applied to the entire society, which are surveillance, interpretation, transmission of values or socialization, and entertainment (Dominick, 2013).

From the data collecting, there are 36 articles in *konde.co* and 16 articles in *magdalene.co* that contain 'aborsi' word throughout 2022. The number of articles can be considered as low among around 365 days in a year. Even in September, where there is a world sexual health day which is celebrated every 4th, the articles about abortion cannot be found in *magdalene.co*, while in *konde.co* there are two articles and those are not related specifically with the sexual health day. Although the number of the articles is not the only indicators to show that an issue is important, more articles means more exposure which is prominent for fulfilling the information needed by the audiences. In the context of the US, the representation of abortion in the media, including online media gives a significant impact on the beliefs of cultural, personal, and politics in the US. With this potential, it is crucial to depict the abortion topic in the media to form the rapid changing of the atmosphere of political reproductive health (Conti & Cahill, 2017).

Moreover, the media coverage and representation can help audiences to shape their understanding on a specific issue, including the policy about the issue. It also applies in the context of articles on abortion, like the study from the U.S. (Barabas & Jerit, 2009; Woodruff, 2019). While the awareness of Indonesian women on abortion specifically and reproductive justice generally are still low, actually it can be improved by the more representation and coverage as well as the greater number of articles about abortion in online media, because nowadays there are more women with the access to the internet. Data from the Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers in 2022 shows that internet penetration rate for women is 77.36 percent of the total women in Indonesia (APJII, 2022).

Not only related to the understanding of certain issues, representation in the media is also related to social construction, including the social construction of gender. This is primarily related to how story telling forms general rules regarding predictions of human behavior (Unger, 1989). In the context of gender, a new perspective that can be shown through subject matter, techniques, and questions plays an important role in the construction of gender that has been formed for generations. That is why narratives that are pro-women, especially on issues that are closely related to women, including narratives that are represented in the mass media are very important.

The articles collected in this study come from several rubrics in the websites. In the *konde.co* for example, mostly the articles contain 'aborsi' are under the rubric of 'voices', more specifically in the sub-rubric of 'peristiwa' (events), 'inspirasi' (inspiration), and 'perspektif' (perspective). In addition, in the *magdalene.co*, mostly the articles were under the rubrics of 'issues', and the rest of them are from the rubric 'safe space'. The 'issues' rubric in this website contains the articles under several sub topics, such as politics and society, gender and sexuality, relationship, and feminism A to Z. The articles in the both websites are written in the form of soft news although some of them are written in the same time where a specific issue became the headline in several news portal as hard news.

In classical journalism, news is generally divided into hard news and soft news. Hard news, which has high news value and requires immediate publication, typically covers political, economic, and social issues, while soft news focuses more on human interest and therefore does not require immediate publication (Tuchman, 1972). In addition to topic and time dimension, this division between two types of news also requires consideration of other aspects such as news production, focus, style, and audience (Reinemann et al., 2011).

Presented in the form of soft news, articles about abortion in *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* have the potential to have advantages and disadvantages from a gender equality perspective. One of the drawbacks is that soft news is seen as a type of news that less crucial than hard news, where the male journalists tend to be in charge in this kind of news, as the classical journalism assumption. It is said that hard news is closely related to crucial topics, such as politics or business. On the other hand, soft news is more associated with light topics such as human interest, where there are more female journalists cover this kind of stories. It is aligned with several studies, such as the research among Swedish journalists (Lundsten, 2021); Indian journalists (Krüger, 2019); Norwegian journalists (Sjøvaag & Pedersen, 2018); and Australian journalists (North, 2014). Furthermore, from the audience aspect, women are seen as consuming more soft news which is considered less urgent than hard news (Elejalde et al., 2019; Kassova, 2020). If it is viewed from this perspective, it can be seen that the articles about abortion in the form of soft news create a gender inequality relates to information.

However, apart from those issues, soft news has an advantage that hard news does not have, which is more detailed in describing and elaborating an issue. It allows the audience to have a better understanding regarding the information in soft news (Banducci et al., 2015; Baum & Jamison, 2006). In the context of this research, an article from *konde.co* provides more detailed information about abortion. In the article published on April 13, 2022, apart from informing about the ratification of the Law on Sexual Violence Crimes, such as the time it was ratified, how the ratification process, who ratified it, where it ratified; the article also describes the follow-up of the ratification. An explanation of other regulations that guarantee enforcement of the law that has been passed is also presented in this article. Specifically, the article contains an explanation of how The National Commission on Violence Against Women recommends the Indonesian Parliament and the Government to draw up rules regarding the implementation of the law, especially those relating to rape and forced abortions that are comprehensive in the Bill on Criminal Code. There is also information about options that can help a situation where victims of rape and forced abortions can access rights during case handling and recovery as contained in the Law on Sexual Violence Crimes (Konde.co team, 2022b).

Moreover, from an article in *magdalene.co* published on November 25, 2022 we can also find that although the topic of the article is quite so-called hard and crucial (about the revision of Criminal Code) but the story about abortion in this article is represented in a so-called easier way. It is mentioned that the article of abortion in the Criminal Code still exists and not be eliminated. However, there is a revision in terms of the gestational age at abortion which was extended to 14 weeks. Furthermore, it was also explained that compared to laws in other countries, 14 weeks is still too short considering that the WHO recommends is up to 24 weeks. It also describes information about abortion which should fully become the authority of women with unwanted pregnancies, and the state must guarantee the fulfillment of women's rights to their bodies and reproduction (Rizky, 2022).

The two examples of articles above show that the delivery of information in the form of soft news is able to provide more complete information compared to hard news which is widely available in mainstream media or other alternative media. With broader and in-depth information, these articles can also be educational materials for the public in general, and Indonesian women in particular.

b. Aspects of Abortion Mentioned in the Articles from konde.co and magdalene.co.

In this study, after reading all the articles one by one carefully, there are several aspects that are dominantly emphasized in the articles. During 2022, in *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* abortion is represented through this alternative media in two dominant aspects, which are: forced abortion and safe abortion. More specifically, the forced abortion in both of the websites is represented in the articles about the Draft of Criminal Code, the Bill on Sexual Violence Crime, Law on Sexual Violence Crimes, the inferiority treatment of women, violence to women, child grooming, and the law of forced abortion in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the safe abortion is represented in the articles about human rights enforcement, the fulfilment of reproductive rights for disabled women, the rejection of some articles in the Draft of Criminal Code, safe abortion access for rape victim, the freedom for women, women bodies & media, women bodies and sexual intercourse, Law on Sexual Violence Crimes, underage children marriage, Indonesian abortion rules, the need for safe and legal abortion, sex education from religion perspective, and the police violence.

2022 is a crucial year for Indonesia regarding the reproductive justice since in this year two laws relate (not directly) to the reproductive rights were passed by the The People's Representative Council. The Law on Crime of Sexual Violence was passed on Tuesday, April 12, 2022. This event was a momentum for the state to be present for victims of sexual violence. However, there is still a long way to go to fight for the elimination of sexual violence, so it requires the commitment of many parties to be able to implement the law (Sinombor, 2023). It is considered to have an impact on the reproductive justice because this law is expected to involve several aspects on reproductive issue. Another law that is also expected to have some enlightenments for the reproductive justice is The Indonesian Criminal Code that was passed on December 6, 2022. Although this law faced several protests from many groups of activists such as human rights and women activist due to its controversy, but some news outlets mentioned that it can be the notion of new era democracy in Indonesia, more specifically in taking care of the rape case that mostly put women as the victim. In the 2022 Indonesian Criminal Code, the articles relate to rape is presented in a more detail setting, including the definition and the punishment (Guritno, 2022). Although both of the laws cover broader aspects, abortions also appeared in several articles about the laws. It means that it has an undirect relations which made it possible to make abortion be represented in the articles under the topic of both laws.

In *konde.co.*, forced abortion is presented as one of the things that needs to be included in one type of crime of sexual violence (besides rape, obscenity and intercourse, escaping of children and women for the purpose of marriage, and forced prostitution), so it needs to be regulated also in the Draft of Criminal Code (Azizah, 2022b). Not only explaining on the urgency of including the forced abortion as a form of sexual violence, in this article it was also elaborated that Draft of Criminal Conduct did not optimize in dealing with the regulation of forced abortion, while in the Law on Sexual and Violence Crimes this issue also didn't mention (Utami, 2022a).

In the article from *konde.co* published on April 11, 2022 the explanation on the importance of ruling forced abortion in a law product once again is mentioned. In this article even the minister of Women Empowerment and Child Protection specifically promised to fight for bringing this matter in the Bill on Criminal Code discussion, since this issue was not covered in the Law on Sexual Violence Crimes. Putting this matter in the Bill on Criminal Code discussion is crucial considering that forced abortion also needs to be classified into sexual violence crime (Konde.co team, 2022a). Also, there was an article from *konde.co* that explain more thoroughly what forced abortion is and in what condition women often be trapped in this situation. In some cases, being a woman is hard, even we are living in the modern world. It is not only violence that is prone to occur. Even after being exposed to violence, women still have the potential threat of various other forms of violence. After being raped, women have the potential to get pregnant and after that, it is not possible that they will be forced to have an abortion. Or, after being raped, they can be forced to marry off by her rapist. This condition is not beneficial for women, and this happen because of the society let it happens. From this explanation, the article then mentioned about the importance to have a regulation to take care of this issue, so that women have the protection (Ekawati, 2022).

In addition, in *magdalene.co*, forced abortion is mentioned in an article published after the legalization of Law on Sexual Violence Crimes on April 14, 2022. It was mentioned that forced abortion and rape article were excluded from this law, so The National Commission on Violence Against Women will continue to oversee the formulation of regulations derived from this law by ensuring that the revision of the Criminal Code includes improvements to the definition of rape and forced abortion, as well as carrying out monitoring in accordance with the mandate of this law (Adam, 2022). Still on forced abortions, another article also highlights the absence of an article on abortion in the Bill on Sexual Violence Crimes, such as in an article on *magdalene.com* published on April 7, 2022. It is explained that more specifically, forced abortion, which was originally contained in articles 15 and 16 of the Bill on Sexual Violence Crimes, has now been abolished on the grounds that this matter has been regulated in the Bill on Criminal Code and the Health Law (Gracia, 2022). Furthermore, on *magdalene.co*, there is an article that specifically reviews forced abortions from a legal perspective. The article that is published on January 10, 2022 also describes the definition of forced abortion and how many cases of forced abortion were reported to The National Commission on Violence Against Women from 2016-2021. In addition, it also mentions how forced abortion under certain conditions can be criminalized, so that once again it will put women in the victim position (Yolandasari, 2022).

Based on the explanation mentioned above, it can be seen that in 2022, forced abortion is represented in *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* as something that should be regulated in law, but this is not in detail part of the Law on Sexual Violence Crimes and The Indonesian Criminal Code passed in 2022. Based on WHO documents, forced abortion is a violation of human rights. The state is given the mandate to prevent the practice of forced abortion for women in general and specifically for women from marginalized groups. In addition, forced abortion is fundamentally incompatible with the right to health (the right of everyone to enjoy the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health) (WHO, 2022). One way that the government can do to protect its citizens who have the potential to get negative impacts from forced abortion is to provide a legal product, one of which is by drafting laws. Apart from that, the existence of this law can also suppress the increase in the practice of forced abortions, because people will be more careful before forcing abortions on other people.

From this aspect, articles on *magdalene.co* and *konde.co* for 2022 show that Indonesian women arguably do not yet have a strong grip that can be used as a basis to protect them if one day they experience this.

The case of forced abortion itself is a global phenomenon which has also caught the attention of many parties with cases from countries around the world. One of them is the case in China, a country that has the one-child regulation to suppress population growth. With this policy, the pregnancy that violates the policy can be considered as illegitimate pregnancy. This condition results the more likely for a woman to suffered from a forced abortion (Wang, 2014). In the context of the one-child policy in China, forced abortion experienced by women is not the only form of oppression for women. If they don't want to experience forced abortion, then another option is a fine that must be paid to the state. This of course becomes a new problem as well, which is not only detrimental to women as individuals, but also has an impact on the family, especially in relation to the economic aspects of the family (Zhang, 2017). In Indonesia, forced abortion occurs due to several factors, which are sexual violence which results in unwanted pregnancies, economic reason, social stratification of a family, and the perspective of society that considers sex education is taboo and the perception of society's punishment of unwanted pregnancies. Unfortunately, for Indonesian women who survive from this forced abortion have to face other obstacles regarding obtaining legal services include the absence of legal instruments that specifically regulate forced abortions (Floranti, 2021). It shows that in general, Indonesian people do not understand correctly that forced abortion is an act that violates human rights, because they still have the perception that women can be forced to have abortions, or women who have abortions must be punished. Articles about forced abortion on *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* are somehow can be one of the solutions that can be used as educational material for Indonesian women and society in general.

The second dominant aspect of abortion that appears in *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* during 2022 is safe abortion. An article from *konde.co* published on November 14, 2022 focuses on access to safe abortion which is still lacking in Indonesia. The article also mentions how many health workers refuse to provide safe abortion services, especially for women with unplanned pregnancies (Utami, 2022b). Another article that represents safe abortion on *konde.co* is an article written by Wiharjo. The article stated that women victims of rape who experience unwanted pregnancies still have to face various obstacles until nowadays to get access to safe abortions, although the law in Indonesia allows abortion for women victims of rape and if there is a medical emergency (Wiharjo, 2022). Barriers to access safe abortion led to a worse situation for victims. On the other hand, the issue of access to safe abortion has not become a priority for the media. Apart from articles that focus on the lack of access to safe abortion, *konde.co* also highlights the issue of safe abortion which is not accommodated in the Draft of Criminal Code. In an article published on June 21, 2022, it was explained that a coalition of civil society and university students plans to carry out demonstrations related to problematic articles in the Draft of Criminal Code; such as, safe abortion for victims of sexual violence. They also emphasized that there are no articles in the Draft of Criminal Code that shackle efforts to access safe abortions, instead they have the potential to criminalize those who provide safe abortions for victims of sexual violence such as doctors, midwives, pharmacists, to counselors (Azizah, 2022a).

Moreover, in *magdalene.co*, the representation of safe abortion can be seen in an article published on June 30, 2022. This article begins with a discussion of the United States Supreme Court ruling that annulled the right to abortion. These rights had already applied since 1973, also known as *Roe v Wade* that gave women the right to have an abortion. Then, it was stated that the limited legality of abortion in Indonesia has encouraged the rise the practice of illegal abortions by women who experience unwanted pregnancies (Lisnawati, 2022a). Moreover, another article in *magdalene.co* that also focus on representing safe abortion is the article written by Suryomenggolo. In this article, it is mentioned that the funding system for abortion in Indonesia is still unequal, especially for victims/ survivors of sexual abuse and violence. National Health Insurance does not cover abortion costs for victims. Even worse, there are still general cases of unsafe abortions. All of these things become an obstacle to the creation of a safe abortion space (Suryomenggolo, 2022).

From the discussion above, it can be seen that safe abortion is still a problem that cannot be resolved in Indonesia yet. It happens because the law that regulates this issue is not strong enough. Even though it has been included in several laws (e.g., The Health Law), in practice, access to safe abortion is still problematic. It has not fully accessible to Indonesian women. According to the Health Law, the government is obliged to protect and prevent women from unsafe abortions. However, regulations or other documents that are more detailed regarding the implementation of safe abortion in Indonesia, not yet established. Some arrangements such as the establishment of health service facilities, the guidelines formulation for implementing safe abortions, and the procedure at the police level for referring victims to service agencies in cases of alleged rape are highly needed (Rahmawati et al., 2021). Furthermore, in Indonesia the regulation of safe abortion still tends to harm women, especially women who are victims of sexual violence. Therefore, reviews and changes are urgently needed, especially in the aspect of eliminating restrictions on the criteria for women who experience unwanted pregnancies, extending the restrictions on the maximum gestational age requirements for abortion by adjusting WHO recommendations, and confirming regulations regarding the position of women who experience unwanted pregnancies as those who hold full authority over their decision to have an abortion or not (Lisnawati et al., 2019). Therefore, the representation of safe abortion in *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* in this context can add informational references and educational materials for Indonesian people, especially women.

c. *Women Position in the Articles about Abortion from konde.co and magdalene.co*

In both websites, women are mostly described as a group that is vulnerable, so it is hard for them to fulfil their reproductive rights especially that relates to safe abortion. It is far from the objectification that generally found in the mainstreaming media, such as the women objectification in term of women's role such as in the characters of whores, pimps, gamblers, and sons of bitch in the Steinbeck's legendary novel, 'Cannery Row' and 'The Wayward Bus' (Gladstein, 2004); women body and appearance, such as sexy and tanned skin as represented in advertisements with main issue smart tan Canada (Prior & Rafuse, 2015); or pornographic objectification of women in song lyric (Blöse, 2012).

Their vulnerability that is portrayed in the articles, mostly relates to the lack of sufficient laws regarding their safety nets in term of protection for them related to the fulfillment of their reproductive rights, especially with regard to safe abortion. Along 2022, there were two important moments related to the issue of reproductive justice, which are the ruling of Law

on Sexual Violence Crimes and the amendment of The Indonesian Criminal Code. Because of these two moments, reproductive justice, more specifically abortion is mentioned several times in the media. However, from the articles we can also be understood that there are still articles that give no benefit to women. The process of the discussion about the articles somehow still needs the involvement or more women.

In addition, another factor of women vulnerability is also caused by the insufficient information not only comes from the formal education aspect, but also from the media. Mass media is supposed to be the source of information for the audiences, not only the fulfilment of entertainment. However, the representation of reproductive justice, reproductive rights, and more specifically abortion, still cannot be found in many media contents. It happened possibly because this topic is considered not too important relates to the number of the audiences, since the media always depend on the rating to keep their business well.

CONCLUSION

As an alternative media, the website can be an option to fulfill the need for information. In the context of fulfilling reproductive rights in the form of information about reproductive health in general and abortion in particular, representation of abortion can be seen in *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* during 2022, in the form of soft news. It provides room for emphasizing more aspects of information, not just the main elements of news. Apart from that, the packaging of articles on abortion in the form of soft news also makes it easier for readers to understand the content better because they tend to light, flowing, and less confusing to be understood.

Furthermore, the representation of abortion in *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* is dominated by safe abortion and forced abortion. Both of these issues are crucial in Indonesia which have not providing justice yet for women. The fact that there are several laws that regulate it, the implementation is very limited, is one aspect that is widely represented in *konde.co* and *magdalene.co*. In addition, the representation of abortion in *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* put Indonesian women in a position that they are a group of people that are vulnerable and need to be protected. There is no objectification towards women as shown mostly in the mainstreaming media. It is based on the fact that women as the victim in the abortion rule and practice in Indonesia.

This study shows that *konde.co* and *magdalene.co* do not merely replicate the dominant issues about abortion and gender representation in traditional Indonesian media. While women are still frequently positioned as vulnerable subjects, these platforms reframe vulnerability within the discourse of reproductive justice, so that it transcends stereotypes and justifications. In this regard, alternative media contribute to a limited but significant form of discursive liberation, offering more gender-sensitive representations without completely breaking away from the constraints of existing legal and cultural frameworks.

Furthermore, the theoretical implication of this research is as follow: this study contributes to new media and gender studies by emphasizing how alternative media optimizes soft news formats to represent abortion within the context of reproductive justice. This demonstrates that media formats and narrative styles play a crucial role in shaping more inclusive and gender-sensitive representations of reproductive issues. Practically, this study demonstrates the potential of alternative media as a more accessible source of reproductive health information for women, especially in contexts where mainstream media is still limited by stigma, legal ambiguity, and patriarchal norms.

Finally, in the future, this study can be expanded by examining comparisons between alternative media and mainstream media regarding the representation of abortion and reproductive justice. In addition, audience research also has the potential to be conducted to understand how readers, especially young women, interpret and respond to abortion coverage in a soft news format.

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