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The Ethical Responsibility of Forensic Doctors for the Confidentiality of Autopsy Results for the Crime of Murder

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Abstract: The ethical responsibility of forensic doctors for the confidentiality of the results of the autopsy of the crime of murder at Bhayangkara Padang Hospital is a form of multidimensional responsibility that includes legal, ethical, social, and humanitarian aspects. In carrying out their duties, forensic doctors must maintain a balance between the obligation to assist law enforcement objectively and the protection of the dignity and privacy of victims and their families. Violations of the confidentiality of autopsy results are not only a violation of professional ethics, but also have the potential to be a violation of criminal and administrative law, which can ultimately damage the integrity of forensic institutions and public trust in the judicial system. Therefore, this responsibility must be carried out with full professional awareness, high integrity, and compliance with legal norms and noble human values. Obstacles in the implementation of the ethical responsibility of forensic doctors at Bhayangkara Padang Hospital for the confidentiality of the results of the autopsy of the crime of murder include two main dimensions, namely legal constraints and non-legal constraints. Legal obstacles include the indecisiveness of norms in Law Number 17 of 2023 concerning Health, weak structural protection for medical data, overlap between health law and criminal procedure law, and the absence of sectoral regulations that specifically regulate forensic medicine. Meanwhile, non-legal constraints include weak information security systems, low ethical literacy, social pressure on forensic doctors, lack of cross-sector training, limited support facilities, and cultural influences that sometimes do not support efforts to maintain medical confidentiality.

Keywords: Ethical Responsibility, Forensics, Autopsy, Homicide

Introduction

In various criminal cases, especially those involving violence, unnatural death, sexual violence, and crimes against body and life, the role of forensic doctors is very crucial in providing *visum et repertum* or other medical reports as evidence in the investigation and judicial process.¹ Forensic doctors are the bridge between medical science and law enforcement, where their expertise is used to uncover legal facts based on scientific and medical studies.² The principle of confidentiality is a fundamental principle in the relationship between medical personnel and patients, which has long been recognized in medical ethics and also recognized in positive law. This confidentiality includes all information obtained by doctors during the course of providing medical services, including the results of examinations, diagnosis and the patient's psychological condition.³ Violations of this principle can give rise to legal liability and ethical sanctions and have the potential to damage public trust in the medical profession in general.

On the one hand, the criminal procedure law regulates the obligation of every person, including medical personnel, to provide the necessary information in the context of law enforcement. On the other hand, the medical profession's code of ethics and a number of provisions in laws and regulations

¹ Bambang Poernomo, *Principles of Criminal Law and Its Application*, Ghalia Indonesia, Jakarta, 2017, p. 22.

² Yudianto, A., *Forensic Medicine*, Scopindo Media Pustaka, Surabaya, 2020, p. 89.

³ H. Zainal Asikin, *Ethics and Medical Law in Clinical Practice*, Prenadamedia Group, Jakarta, 2020, p. 89.

emphasize the importance of maintaining the confidentiality of patient information.⁴ There has not been a provision that expressly provides legal protection to forensic doctors in this kind of dilemmatous situation, especially when they are required to provide information that is substantially part of medical secrets.⁵ This puts forensic doctors in a vulnerable position, as their decision to disclose or not disclose a patient's medical information can be considered unlawful from two different directions.

In hospitals, forensic doctors not only carry out medical duties in the conventional sense, but also routinely provide forensic services in various criminal cases handled by law enforcement officials. In practice, doctors are faced with the demands of working professionally according to medical standards, while also being subject to internal police rules that emphasize the importance of supporting the evidentiary process in criminal cases.⁶ In reality, not a few forensic doctors face pressure from investigators, institutional superiors, and even prosecutors, to submit information openly, including information that should be ethically kept confidential.⁷

The disclosure of medical information by forensic doctors should not be done haphazardly, but should be done through careful legal considerations, and carried out within the framework of legitimate and proportionate procedures.⁸ Maintaining medical secrets is the obligation of the medical profession in the field of health services according to the Hippocratic oath which is the basis for the oath of doctors around the world. The obligation to keep medical secrets is not only a professional obligation for health service workers, but also a moral obligation based on moral norms for health workers since ancient times which states that "everything I see and hear in carrying out my practice I will keep as secret."⁹ In addition to the Hippocratic oath, the obligation to keep medical secrets is also contained in the *Declaration of Geneva*, which is the modernized Hippocratic oath and conveyed by the *Medical Association* "I will respect the secrets which are confided in me, even after the patient has died."¹⁰

This choice between ethical and legal interests cannot be resolved by a normative-formal approach alone. An interdisciplinary approach is needed that considers the ethical values of medicine, the theory of professional responsibility, and the concept of human rights protection in the criminal justice process. In this context, the forensic medicine profession needs to obtain adequate legal recognition and protection, so that doctors do not become victims of the ambiguity of norms and the pressure of the judicial system.¹¹ In many cases, forensic doctors do not get adequate legal protection when faced with the dilemma between providing information in the interest of the law and maintaining the confidentiality of patient information as part of their professional ethics.¹² This is exacerbated by the lack of synchronization between medical ethics norms and the provisions in the criminal procedure law, which has the potential to directly clash medical professionals with criminal law.¹³

Forensic doctors are often faced with institutional pressure and expectations from investigators.¹⁴ In some cases, decision-making about the extent to which information can be disclosed is not based on a clear legal framework, but on institutional customs or verbal orders of superiors, which are certainly prone to malpractice.¹⁵ The legal responsibilities for forensic doctors who are on duty in criminal cases are; First, it must be emphasized that medical information relating to patients remains part of the right

⁴ Erlies Septiana Nurbani, *Evidentiary Law in Criminal Cases*, Kencana, Jakarta, 2018, p. 76.

⁵ Teguh Samudra, *Legal Aspects of Medical Practice in Indonesia*, Sinar Grafika, Jakarta, 2016, p. 103.

⁶ Ahmad Sofian, The Role of Forensic Doctors in the Criminal Justice System, *Journal of Law and Health*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 2021, p. 114.

⁷ Nur Aini, Ethical Conflict and Legal Obligations of Doctors in Giving Testimony in Court, *Journal of Medicolegal Professional Ethics*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2019, p. 64.

⁸ Andi Hamzah, *Indonesian Criminal Procedure Law*, Sinar Grafika, Jakarta, 2008, p. 122.

⁹ Novianto, *Law in Health Services*, UNS Press, Surakarta, 2017, p. 63.

¹⁰ Guwandi, *Medical Secrets*, FKUI, Jakarta, 2016, p. 58.

¹¹ Sri Yanti, *Legal Professional Ethics and Its Challenges in the Modern Era*, UII Press, Yogyakarta, 2020, p. 95.

¹² Wibisana, *Professional Ethics and Health Law*, Raja Grafindo Persada, Jakarta, 2017, p. 87.

¹³ Rita Indrawati, The Principle of Secrecy in Medical Practice and Its Conflict with Procedural Law, *Journal of Ethics and Law*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2020, p. 110.

¹⁴ Nasution, *Legal Position of Medical Personnel in Criminal Cases*, Prenada Media, Jakarta, 2019, p. 102.

¹⁵ Yudi Aprianto, Forensic Doctors and Ethical Responsibility in Legal Processes, *Indonesian Medicolegal Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2021, p. 58.

to privacy protected by the constitution and various national legal instruments.¹⁶ Second, the disclosure of such information must be subject to strictly regulated restrictions and procedures, both in the criminal procedure law and in the professional ethics guidelines. Third, the state has an obligation to ensure that in situations that require doctors to testify in court, they are not in a position to be vulnerable to lawsuits, either ethically or criminally.¹⁷

There are doctors who tend to shut themselves off completely, refusing to provide information in order to maintain patient confidentiality. Meanwhile, on the other hand, there are also doctors who are too open, even in aspects that are not juridically relevant, so that they go beyond ethical limits and actually endanger the integrity of the judiciary.¹⁸ This inconsistency needs to be addressed with a systemic approach, namely by clarifying norms, strengthening legal training for forensic doctors and creating a joint ethical-juridical forum between the medical profession and law enforcement officials.¹⁹

Forensic doctors' positions are very distinctive because they work at the intersection of law, science, and professional morality. This is where the urgency of this research is as a contribution to filling the gap in theory and practice that has not received serious attention from academics and policymakers so far.²⁰ This guideline will not only provide legal protection for doctors, but also ensure the fulfillment of the rights of suspects, defendants, and victims in the criminal justice system. The ²¹ legal system can provide normative and institutional guarantees for the implementation of these professional duties in a fair and dignified manner.²²

The problem being studied is the ethical responsibility of forensic doctors for the confidentiality of the autopsy results of the murder crime at Bhayangkara Padang Hospital and its obstacles.

Research Methods

The specification of the research is *descriptive analytical*, with a normative juridical approach method supported by empirically. The types of data used are secondary data and primary data. Secondary data is obtained from document studies while primary data is obtained through field studies. The data obtained was then analyzed qualitatively.

Results And Discussion

The Ethical Responsibility of Forensic Doctors for the Confidentiality of Autopsy Results of the Murder Crime at Bhayangkara Padang Hospital

Autopsies on victims of murder have a very strategic position because they are the main foundation in uncovering the causes of death, the time of death, and the type of violence that causes the loss of a person's life. The autopsy process is not only a medical procedure, but also an integral part of the scientific *evidence* system in criminal investigations²³. Through autopsy, forensic doctors act as a bridge between the disciplines of medicine and the law, where the findings can be an objective basis for investigators to build a construction of criminal events and determine suspects.

Based on empirical data collected from observations and interviews at Bhayangkara Padang Hospital, during the 2023-2025 period there were 24 murder cases recorded in the jurisdiction of the West Sumatra Police, and of these 17 cases were autopsied by the hospital's forensic doctor. This figure reflects the dominance and institutional trust in the role of Bhayangkara Padang Hospital in the investigation of

¹⁶ Wulan Sari, *Health Law and Medical Secrets*, Pustaka Siswa, Yogyakarta, 2018, p. 77.

¹⁷ Endang Mulyani, *Medical Ethics in Legal Perspective*, Sinar Grafika, Jakarta, 2017, p. 116.

¹⁸ Khairul Fahmi, Professionalism and Ethical Dilemmas of Forensic Doctors, *Journal of Law and Forensics*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2020, p. 44

¹⁹ Agung Nugroho, *Collaboration of the Legal and Health Professions in Criminal Justice*, Deepublish, Yogyakarta, 2020, p. 135.

²⁰ Latifah Rachmawati, The Urgency of Legal Protection of the Medical Profession in Criminal Cases, *Journal of Humanities Law*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2021, p. 33.

²¹ Wahyuni, *Guidelines for Forensic Practice and Ethical Responsibility*, UII Press, Yogyakarta, 2019, p. 99.

²² Hilman Siregar, Visum and the Principle of Secrecy: Maintaining Ethics in the Middle of Legal Processes, *Journal of Medicolegal Justice*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 2020, p. 72.

²³ Eddy O.S. Hiarij, *Theory & Law of Proof*, Erlangga, Jakarta, 2012, p. 92.

murder cases. The results of the autopsy produced by the forensic team not only determine the direction of the investigation, but also become the basis for consideration in the judicial process. However, autopsy results are essentially confidential medical documents, subject to the principle of *confidentiality* as stipulated in the Indonesian Medical Code of Ethics (KODEKI) and laws and regulations such as Law Number 17 of 2023 concerning Health. Article 16 of the Code of Civil Code emphasizes that every doctor is obliged to keep secret everything he knows about a patient, even after the patient dies. This provision is intertwined with Article 322 of the Criminal Code (KUHP) which threatens criminal penalties against parties who deliberately reveal the secrets of positions that should be maintained. Forensic doctors are therefore faced with an ethical dilemma: on the one hand they must submit to legal and professional obligations to assist in the investigation transparently, but on the other hand they are obliged to maintain the privacy and dignity of the victim and his family. This balance between these two legal interests is at the heart of the ethical responsibility of forensic doctors, where any violation can have ethical, administrative, and even criminal implications.

The theory of legal responsibility provides a conceptual foundation for understanding the position and obligations of forensic doctors in situations like this. A forensic doctor is not only morally responsible, but also legally if he violates the ethical norms of his profession that have been institutionalized in the positive legal system.²⁴ In the context of an autopsy, a violation of the confidentiality of the results of an examination without permission or a valid legal basis can qualify as a violation of a formal law. The act of leaking the results of the autopsy to an unauthorized party may give rise to criminal liability as stipulated in Article 322 of the Criminal Code, as well as administrative liability that can be processed by the Indonesian Medical Discipline Honorary Council (MKDKI). More than that, legal responsibility also has a social dimension, where violations of confidentiality can have a serious impact on the reputation of the institution, disrupt the investigation process, and lower public trust in the criminal justice system. Therefore, the legal responsibility of a forensic doctor cannot be understood only as a personal obligation, but as part of the mechanism of the legal system that functions to maintain a balance between law enforcement authorities and the protection of individual rights.²⁵

A more humanistic approach to legal responsibility is put forward by Sudikno Mertokusumo, who emphasizes that legal responsibility must be oriented to the principles of justice, utility, and legal certainty.²⁶ In this context, forensic doctors have a dual responsibility, namely ethically to the profession and socially to the victim and his family. Violations of the confidentiality of autopsy results can not only be interpreted as a violation of the law, but also as a denial of human values.

The theory of legal functions developed by Roscoe Pound provides a very relevant framework for understanding the position of ethical responsibility in forensic practice. Pound views law as a *tool of social engineering* that functions to regulate and balance various interests in society.²⁷ In the context of forensic doctors, the law must be an instrument capable of accommodating the interests of the enforcement of public justice without neglecting the protection of the individual's right to privacy.

Problems that often arise in the practice of forensic medicine are the leakage of information on autopsy results, both in the form of *visum et repertum*, laboratory examination results, and visual documentation of the autopsy process which is then spread to public spaces, including social media. This phenomenon is not uncommon due to irresponsible actions from other parties such as investigators or even the victim's own family²⁸. However, if the medical authorities or hospital institutions do not take adequate preventive measures to protect such confidentiality, then the ethical responsibility remains with the forensic doctor and the institution under his or her patronage. At Bhayangkara Padang Hospital,

²⁴ Hans Kelsen, *General Theory of Law and State*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2007, p. 110.

²⁵ Lilik Mulyadi, *The Law of Proof in Criminal Justice Practice*, Citra Aditya Bakti, Bandung, 2019, p. 253.

²⁶ Sudikno Mertokusumo, *Legal Discovery of an Introduction*, Liberty, Yogyakarta, 2016, p. 88.

²⁷ Roscoe Pound, *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Law*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1922, p. 56.

²⁸ TR Siahaan, The Strength and Legal Standing of Medical Autopsy Results as Evidence in the Criminal Justice System in Indonesia, *JIIIC: Journal of Intellect Insan Cendikia*, Vol. 2 No. 8, August 2025, pp. 1-14

the protection system for autopsy results needs to be regulated through strict Standard Operating Procedures (SOP), including restricting access to documents, recording the distribution of visum, and training medical personnel in managing sensitive information. This is in line with the principle of professional ethical responsibility as stipulated in Article 4 of Law Number 17 of 2023 concerning Health and the National Police Chief's Regulation on Police Medicine, which emphasizes the importance of medical data protection as a form of respect for the right to privacy and the integrity of the legal process.

In this context, ethical responsibilities include the ability to communicate empathically, the ability to explain the results of the autopsy humanely, and the awareness not to offend the prevailing customary values. Thus, forensic doctors play the role not only as medical experts, but also as ethical mediators who maintain harmony between legal interests and human values in society.²⁹ According to Moeljatno, criminal law not only serves to punish the perpetrators of crimes, but also maintains social balance through the protection of individual rights, including the right to personal confidentiality. The preventive and repressive functions of criminal law must go hand in hand in ensuring that justice does not cause violations of other human rights. Article 322 of the Criminal Code (KUHP) expressly states that "anyone who deliberately reveals secrets that he is obliged to keep because of his position or job" can be punished. This article has direct relevance to the medical profession, including forensic medicine, where the obligation to maintain patient confidentiality even after the patient has died, is a manifestation of the ethical and legal responsibilities inherent in the profession.³⁰

The theory of legal responsibility put forward by Hans Kelsen also provides a strong theoretical framework in understanding the position of forensic doctors on the confidentiality of autopsy results. According to Kelsen, legal responsibility arises as a normative consequence of violations of norms in a legal system.³¹ Thus, when a forensic doctor opens the results of an autopsy without a legal basis, he not only violates the norms of professional ethics, but also violates the applicable positive legal norms. This kind of violation carries double implications: ethical sanctions that can be imposed by professional organizations such as the Indonesian Doctors Association (IDI), and criminal or administrative legal sanctions that can be imposed by state authorities. In the context of Bhayangkara Padang Hospital, such actions not only tarnish the credibility of individual doctors, but also have the potential to damage the institutional reputation of the police and undermine public trust in the independence and objectivity of the medical science-based investigation process.

Cases in various parts of Indonesia show that violations of the confidentiality of autopsy results often have far-reaching social and psychological impacts. It is not uncommon for leaked photos or autopsy recordings circulating on social media to cause public anger, stigma against victims, and deep trauma for the families left behind. This phenomenon not only shows the weakness of internal oversight systems, but also shows how ethical violations can be transformed into human rights violations. Eddy Rifai argued that the leakage of medical information, including autopsy results, is a manifest form of violation of the right to privacy as guaranteed in Article 28G paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution,³² which affirms the right of every citizen to personal protection, family, honor, and dignity. Thus, the violation of medical confidentiality not only violates the oath of the medical profession, but also injures the constitutional rights of citizens. In this context, forensic doctors as public functional officials have a constitutional and moral responsibility to ensure that any examination measures still uphold the principles of protection of human rights, especially the right to privacy and dignity of victims.

²⁹ Evi Apriana, The Professional Responsibilities of Forensic Doctors in the Context of Local Cultures, *Journal of Medical Law and Ethics*, Vol. 5 No. 1, 2021, p. 67.

³⁰ Moeljatno, *Principles of Criminal Law*, Rineka Cipta, Jakarta, 2015, p. 56.

³¹ Hans Kelsen, *Pure Theory of Law*, Oxford University Press, London, 2005, p. 98.

³² Eddy Rifai, Protection of Victims' Privacy in Forensic Medicine Practice, *Indonesian Journal of Law and Human Rights*, Vol. 7 No. 1, 2021, p. 44.

Obstacles encountered in the ethical responsibility of forensic doctors at Bhayangkara Padang Hospital for the confidentiality of the autopsy results of the crime of murder

Legal constraints can also be seen in the overlap between criminal procedure law and health law. On the one hand, the criminal procedure law places the results of an autopsy as part of the letter evidence (*visum et repertum*), which must be available in the case file and opened in an open trial. But on the other hand, health law emphasizes the importance of protecting the privacy and confidentiality of patient information, even after death. Doctor Insil Pendrive Hariyani, a forensic doctor on duty at Bhayangkara Padang Hospital, stated that in certain cases, his party felt uncomfortable when the autopsy results were fully opened at trial or copied by a third party, because it had the potential to violate the principles of medical ethics³³. He emphasized that there should be a system of classification of forensic information based on the degree of confidentiality and legal relevance, as applied in modern medical systems in other countries.

The legal supervision system for the distribution of autopsy results is also still weak. Based on information from the Ethics Commission of Bhayangkara Padang Hospital, there is no control mechanism that effectively regulates how autopsy results are managed, stored, and ³⁴shared. The absence of a special agency that strictly supervises the traffic of forensic documents allows for information leakage. In some cases, the autopsy results were even spread through social media, allegedly leaked from investigators or family members who did not understand the legal and ethical value of the document. This phenomenon raises a fundamental question: is the ethical responsibility of forensic doctors still relevant if the legal system itself has not provided structural protection against the confidentiality of medical information?

The lack of legal protection for forensic doctors in terms of refusing to open the autopsy results to unauthorized parties is also a problem. It is not uncommon for doctors to be in positions that are ethically not in line with the demands of the investigators. For example, in cases that are still under investigation, some investigators request a complete copy of the autopsy report along with photos of the body from the hospital. In fact, according to doctor Insil, such information is very sensitive and should only be shown in official forums with strict legal restrictions. However, when the request was rejected for ethical reasons, it was the doctor who was considered uncooperative and "obstructed the investigation".³⁵ In such a situation, the absence of legal protection for doctors makes their ethical responsibilities a personal burden that is not protected by the system.

In the perspective of the theory of legal functions from Satjipto Rahardjo, law should not only be a static normative device, but also present as a means that is able to adjust to the social and moral dynamics that live in society. If medical confidentiality in autopsy cases continues to be ignored by the legal system, then the law loses its function as a protector of substantive justice values. In this case, forensic doctors are victims of a legal system that does not adequately protect the ethical values of their profession. Satjipto rejected a narrow legalistic approach and demanded the presence of a responsive and humanistic law. Therefore, new regulations that are more specific and comprehensive are needed so that the legal system is able to protect the integrity of the forensic medicine profession in Indonesia³⁶.

Legal constraints in the ethical responsibility of forensic doctors for the confidentiality of autopsy results stem from three main root problems: the indecisiveness of legal norms, the weak structural protection of medical information, and the absence of a sectoral legal apparatus that regulates forensic medicine holistically. All three put forensic doctors in a vulnerable position, where their every action can be drawn to two poles: ethical professionalism and lawsuits that are not necessarily in line. In this context, there is a need for reform of health law policy and criminal proceedings so that medical confidentiality in murder cases is no longer a weak point in the criminal justice system in Indonesia.

³³ Interview with Doctor Insil Pendrive Hariyani, Forensic Doctor at Bhayangkara Padang Hospital, October 22, 2025.

³⁴ Interview with the Ethics Commission of Bhayangkara Padang Hospital, October 21, 2025.

³⁵ Interview with Doctor Insil Pendrive Hariyani, Forensic Doctor at Bhayangkara Padang Hospital, October 22, 2025.

³⁶ Satjipto Rahardjo, *Legal Science*, Citra Aditya Bakti, Bandung, 2000, p. 103.

Another significant obstacle is the social and psychological pressure experienced by forensic doctors, especially in cases that have received public attention. In cases of murder involving public figures or sparking public controversy, the pressure on forensic doctors to provide information to the media or outside parties can be enormous. The head of Bhayangkara Padang Hospital, Kompol Doctor Harry Andromeda, stated that forensic doctors are often "easy targets" for interview requests, clarifications, or even subtle intimidation from various parties who want access to autopsy results³⁷. This condition becomes a serious ethical dilemma: on the one hand, doctors must maintain confidentiality according to their professional oaths and ethical provisions, but on the other hand, they face public demands and pressure from a work environment that sometimes does not provide adequate protection.

Another non-legal aspect that is also important is the lack of cross-sector training between forensic doctors and law enforcement officials. Doctor Insil stated that there are still many investigators who do not understand the concept of confidentiality of autopsy results and consider that every autopsy result can be shared with the family or even the media without limits³⁸. This insynchronization of understanding between the two parties creates a space for conflict and increases the risk of data leaks. This also indicates that the integration between the police medical system and medical ethics procedures has not been optimal. On many occasions, forensic doctors are positioned only as technical implementers, without being involved in ethical discussions or information distribution decisions.

Conclusion

The ethical responsibility of forensic doctors for the confidentiality of the results of the autopsy of the crime of murder at Bhayangkara Padang Hospital is a form of multidimensional responsibility that includes legal, ethical, social, and humanitarian aspects. In carrying out their duties, forensic doctors must maintain a balance between the obligation to assist law enforcement objectively and the protection of the dignity and privacy of victims and their families. Violations of the confidentiality of autopsy results are not only a violation of professional ethics, but also have the potential to be a violation of criminal and administrative law, which can ultimately damage the integrity of forensic institutions and public trust in the judicial system. Therefore, this responsibility must be carried out with full professional awareness, high integrity, and compliance with legal norms and noble human values.

Obstacles in the implementation of the ethical responsibility of forensic doctors at Bhayangkara Padang Hospital for the confidentiality of the autopsy results of the murder crime include two main dimensions, namely legal constraints and non-legal constraints. Legal obstacles include the indecisiveness of norms in Law Number 17 of 2023 concerning Health, weak structural protection for medical data, overlap between health law and criminal procedure law, and the absence of sectoral regulations that specifically regulate forensic medicine. Meanwhile, non-legal constraints include weak information security systems, low ethical literacy, social pressure on forensic doctors, lack of cross-sector training, limited support facilities, and cultural influences that sometimes do not support efforts to maintain medical confidentiality.

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³⁷ Interview with Kompol Doctor Harry Andromeda, Head of Bhayangkara Padang Hospital, October 20, 2025.

³⁸ Interview with Doctor Insil Pendirive Hariyani, Forensic Doctor at Bhayangkara Hospital Padang, October 22, 2025.

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