

## Harm Reduction and War on Drugs in Indonesia During Joko Widodo Era

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**ABSTRACT:** Narcotics is a form of transnational crime. From the practice of narcotics crime, many victims of the nation's generation. Circulation and abuse of narcotics are some of the problems facing the world, including Indonesia. Estimated data on narcotics users in Indonesia is between 3.7-4 million people (National Narcotics Agency). Various efforts have been made by the Indonesian government to break the chain of narcotics trafficking and abuse through international collaboration with the Harm Reduction (HR) program. The era of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) of the Indonesian government was more towards the "War on Drugs" policy. The success of the Harm Reduction program by the previous government, namely reducing the number of HIV/AIDS transmission among narcotics users. The rejection of the declaration of the War on Drugs against the Jokowi regime which failed in the first period. In this study, the theory of international regimes and the concept of human security will be used as well as bibliometric analysis methods with VOSviewer software.

**Keywords:** Harm reduction, War on Drugs, Narcotics, Joko Widodo, Indonesia

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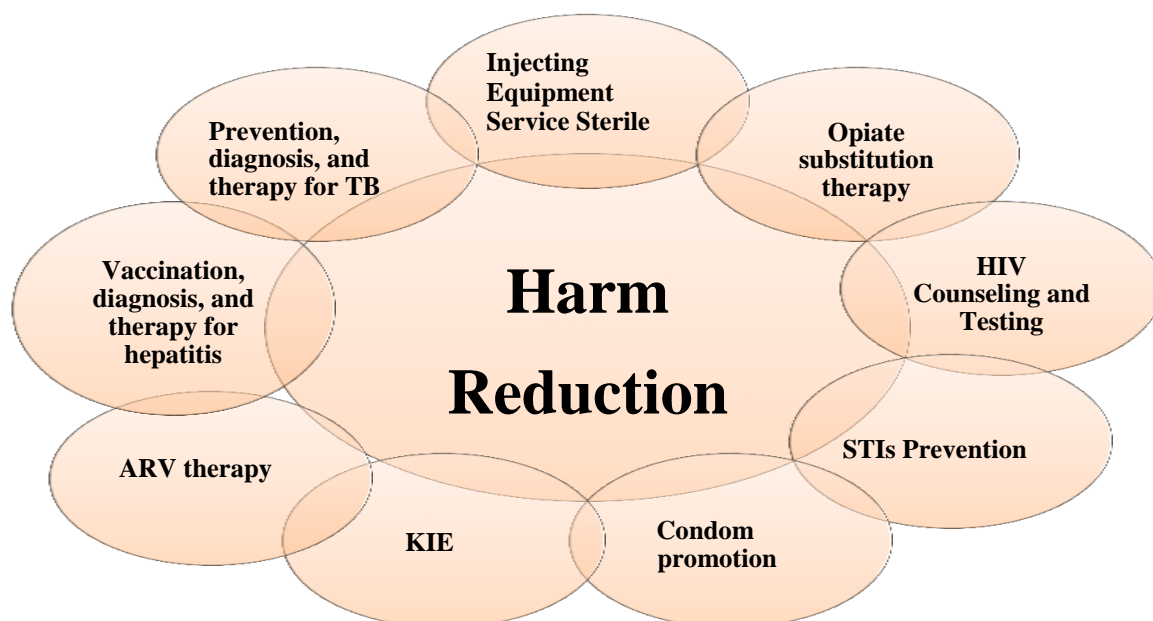
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## INTRODUCTION

Narcotics crime is an international threat, and narcotic is a form of transnational crime that takes many victims from generations of nations globally, including Indonesia. Transnational crime is a phenomenon of one type of activity that crosses international borders, violates some countries' laws, or impacts other countries (Louise Shelley, 1995). Harm Reduction (HR) is a program to reduce the harm of narcotics for narcotics users. Until 2009, the World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), and the United Nations Program on HIV and AIDS (UNAIDS) issued new guidelines for the Harm Reduction program into nine components, namely: 1) Injecting Equipment Service Sterile (LASS); 2) opiate substitution therapy and other addiction recovery services; 3) HIV counseling and testing; 4) antiretroviral therapy; 5) prevention and treatment of sexually transmitted infections (STIs); 6) a condom program for IDU and their sexual partners; 7) communication of information and targeted education for IDUs and their sexual partners; 8) vaccination, diagnosis, and treatment of hepatitis; 9) prevention, diagnosis and treatment of tuberculosis. Below is a picture of the Harm Reduction program that is interrelated with each other to reduce cases of drug use and HIV/AIDS transmission:



**Figure 1. Harm Reduction Program**

Source: Yanny (2010)

The Harm Reduction program was carried out in 1999 in collaboration with the Indonesian government (Yunny, 2010) The Government of Indonesia is carrying out narcotics control with the Harm Reduction program through international cooperation with Australia through the AusAID funding agency and also the United States through

the USAID funding agency. Until now, it is overcoming narcotics through Harm Reduction is still not a top priority. Harm Reduction emphasizes health as a contingency issue concerning the environment (Collins et al., 2019; Duff, 2011). (Rhodes, 2009) This has led to various articulations of "risk environments" and "environments of support" that value hazard as a dynamic that emerges from the interrelationships generated in adaptive systems in which the individual and drug are entangled elements among many (Bourgois, 2003; Duff, 2007). (Rhodes, 2009)

Data from the World Drug Report indicate that the age level of susceptibility to narcotics use is in adolescents aged 12-14 years until the final period of 15-17 years and may peak at 18-25 years. Deaths directly caused by drug and drug abuse globally increased by 60 percent from 2000 to 2015, with a 27 percent mortality rate among people aged 50 and over in 2000, accompanied by a 39 percent increase in 2015. Men dominate the use of narcotics compared to women because women start using narcotics which tend to be slower. With all the obstacles and obstacles the Indonesian people face, narcotics get special attention because they are considered a fairly serious threat. The President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo (Jokowi), once announced that Indonesia is currently in a narcotics emergency. The President's statement is based on the fact that 30 people die every day due to drug abuse. The registered users are proven in almost all circles, and regardless of age.

**Table 1. Number of narcotics abusers by age group 2012-2015**

No	Age Group	Amount of Narcotics Users			
		2012	2013	2014	2015
1	< 15 year	134	65	40	874
2	15-20 year	941	425	320	4.253
3	21-25 year	2.262	785	421	4.199
4	26-30 year	4.399	1.348	634	3.505
5	31-35 year	3.592	1.312	832	3.164
6	36-39 year	1.454	626	430	1.910
7	> 40 year	820	419	188	1.977
8	Not recorded	-	-	-	-
	Amount	13.602	4.980	2.865	19.882

Source: National Narcotics Agency, 2017

From the table data above, Jokowi has declared and prioritized War on Drugs during his first term of government compared to the Harm Reduction program. The War on Drugs has been going on since the 1870s. At that time, it was better known as the "Opium War." Richard Nixon was the first person to declare a "War on Drugs" in 1971. He was also the first to include cannabis in a dangerous Schedule 1 narcotic. Nixon at that time increased the presence of a federal agency to control drugs and pushed for legal steps for imprisonment. The real motive behind the War on Drugs is

a war against leftist groups and black people, with that thought it would be easier to criminalize narcotics by associating it with a group or class.

After that, Ronald Reagan began his reign by expanding the War on Drugs policy. Under his rule, the number of imprisonments increased, from 50,000 cases in 1980 to 400,000 cases in 1997, due to the War on Drugs policy. In addition, under his government, the policy of shooting to death was against anyone involved in using narcotics (1980). After her husband took office as the 40th president of the United States, Nancy Reagan carried out a massive anti-narcotics campaign in a national context that had an international impact with her famous slogan "Just Say No." The impact of the campaigns and policies caused the transmission of HIV/AIDS to grow. There were many cases because the Reagan campaigns and policies impacted the inhibition of the syringe program for the prevention of HIV transmission in the United States.

Narratives and declarations of the War on Drugs continue to be used and used to this day, as was done by the Indonesian government during the Jokowi era. President Jokowi has declared war on Drugs to save the nation's children. War on Drugs is implemented through several policies, including the death penalty and shooting on the spot for narcotics trade. In Jokowi's leadership, he has executed many death row inmates for narcotics cases. The death execution policy has drawn many criticisms, especially those who disagree with the implemented policies and human rights activists.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The bibliometric method was originally a study of library science and information science (Pritchard, 1969). The bibliometric method has the ability and advantage to classify bibliographic materials from literature sources (Donthu et al., 2020). Several authors in journals have used bibliometrics for article writing analysis tools (Ramos-Rodríguez & Ruíz-Navarro, 2004.) such as articles on measuring journal impact (Glänzel & Moed, 2002), articles on university rankings (Moed et al., 1985); (van Raan, 2005), articles on scientific communication (Borgman, CL and Furner, 2002), and other articles. Bibliometric methods have been used in various sciences or other research fields, such as tourism (Merigó et al., 2019); (Mulet-Forteza et al., 2018); (Vishwakarma & Mukherjee, 2019), and innovation (Biemans et al., 2007), until now there has been no bibliometric research related to the field of Harm Reduction in Indonesia.

In this study, using theory to analyze the problems that occur, the theory used is the international regime and the concept of human security. In the theory of international regimes, in the opinion of Robert O Keohane that international institutions are government regulations that include networks of rules, norms, and ways to regulate and monitor their impact. The context of the norm here is to contain trusted facts, causes, and justice or honesty. In contrast, values are standard behaviors formed because of obligations and obligations (Keohane, 1988). Within the international

regime, three main theories are considered perspective-based theoretical approaches: neo-liberalism, realism, and cognitivism (Hasenclever et al., 1996). Of the three theories of international regimes indicating the emergence of approaches used as a tool for analyzing variables, these approaches include; interest-based analysis, which reflects on neoliberalism, then power-based which reflects realism in its analytical study next is knowledge-based, which is based on cognitivism by prioritizing the relationship between science and actors (Hasenclever et al., 1997).

Next is to use the concept of human security, which can be defined as an idea. Human security was first introduced in the international arena by the publication of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Report in 1994. Human security is defined broadly as "freedom from fear and freedom from desire." It is characterized as security from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and oppression and protection from sudden and dangerous disturbances in the patterns of daily life, whether at home, at work, or in society (UNDP, 1994: 23). UNDP's security-centered approach was later developed with seven universal and interdependent components: economy, food, health, environment, personal, community, and political security (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2006).

## **METHODS**

This research is a descriptive bibliometric study based on a literature database. Bibliometric analysis was performed to observe the distribution of articles on Harm Reduction and War on Drugs. Retrieved data from the Scopus database in April 2021. This study mainly uses the Scopus document search option with the period set as "all years." The results are filtered by specifying the analysis of Harm Reduction and War on Drugs. The first step is to determine the keywords to use. To include all aspects of the problems of Harm Reduction and War on Drugs, this study uses separate keywords such as "Harm Reduction, War on Drugs, and Narcotics." The second step, after completing the keywords, is to search for articles from the Scopus database. The search was limited to journal articles and conferences on narcotics, Harm Reduction, and the War on Drugs. The third step is to refine the initial results by excluding duplicate documents, leading to identifying the relevant documents. Finally, the data analysis process is carried out using VOSviewer software to analyze and visualize the articles. And a separate analysis using the theory of international regimes and the concept of human security, which are then combined with the results of the VOSviewer bibliometric analysis.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The shift in point of view of the "criminalization" policy towards "decriminalization" is still not adequate, although there is an orientation towards "humanity" that favors users as "victims." The declaration and

policy of the War on Drugs in Jokowi's era opened up opportunities for medical or social rehabilitation. They opened up opportunities for "unscrupulous persons" to take advantage of the situation of narcotics users as victims of bribery towards forced rehabilitation. Joseph J. Amon, in the *International Journal of Drug Policy* (2014), forced rehabilitation and imprisonment for narcotics users are two of the ways to lead to one goal, namely "A Narcotics Free World." Punishments in the form of "forced rehabilitation" and "imprisonment" for those who use narcotics have become commonplace in Southeast Asian countries, such as Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia.

In international regimes, international institutions are instruments of government regulation that include a network of rules, norms, which regulate and monitor their impact. The context of the norm here is to contain trusted facts, causes, and justice or honesty. At the same time, values are standard behaviors formed because of obligations and obligation (Keohane, 1988). In the international regime, at the regional level, Indonesia and several ASEAN member countries (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) have made efforts. They are committed to cooperation in overcoming narcotics abuse with a program called "ASEAN Narcotics Free 2025" through the ASEAN Work Plan on Securing Communities Against Illicit Drugs 2016-2025 in its fifth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Drug Matters (AMMD) in Singapore in October 2016. From establishing ASEAN in handling conflicts, avoiding open conflicts, and prioritizing peaceful means, Indonesia should remain an ASEAN member in handling conflicts. And they are peacefully overcoming narcotics by ASEAN values and norms.

In the Philippines, the war on narcotics carried out by President Rodrigo Duterte (Duterte) has claimed many lives. Data from the Philippine Narcotics Enforcement Agency (PDEA) as many as 5,942 people died until October 2020 due to extrajudicial killings. This number does not include the number who died at the hands of armed civilians (vigilantes). In Indonesia, due to the policy and declaration of War on Drugs by the Jokowi government in 2015, 14 people were executed for narcotics-related violations (Stoicescu, 2017a). The execution and crackdown on the War on Drugs policy have not provided long-term benefits for the Indonesian people. More losses are caused by policies that have been made because the execution of the death penalty causes many victims.

The number of narcotics-related crimes in Indonesia increased in the months following executions in January and April 2015. During the subsequent crackdown, researchers and advocates also documented increased use of coercive measures, overcrowded prisons, including raids by law enforcement, forced drug testing, and mandatory detention. There is widespread extortion and breaches of confidentiality where health facilities are forced to disclose personal data and medical records of suspected drug users to authorities, driving drug users away from health services. It also increases the price of heroin, prompting users to

unknowingly use tainted drugs that increase the risk of overdose (Stoicescu, 2017b).

Within the international regime, three main theories are considered perspective-based theoretical approaches: neo-liberalism, realism, and cognitivism (Hasenclever et al., 1996). Of the three theories of international regimes indicating the emergence of approaches used as a tool for analyzing variables, these approaches include; interest-based analysis, which reflects on neoliberalism, then power-based which reflects realism in its analytical study next is knowledge-based, which is based on cognitivism by prioritizing the relationship between science and actors (Hasenclever et al., 1997). The war on narcotics can be said to be leaders' ambition in countries that want their country to be free from narcotics. Instead of reducing drug use cases, it has become a disaster for its people, who take many victims, including women. What happened in the Philippines and Indonesia are two real examples of countries acting in the name of the War on Drugs. Armed communities in the Philippines are free to shoot anyone, regardless of children or adults, if they are involved with narcotics. In the name of the war on narcotics, law enforcement officers in Indonesia are also free to shoot dead people without going through the trial process and first proving whether that person is a user, abuser, courier, or narcotics dealer.

Jokowi, in his statement: "This mistake is difficult to forgive because they are generally big bookies who for their personal and group gains have damaged the future of the nation's next generation. I received a report that at least 4.5 million Indonesians have become drug users. Of that number, 1.2 million cannot be rehabilitated because it is very severe, and between 30-40 people die every day because of drugs. The rejection of clemency requests is significant to become a shock therapy for dealers, dealers, and users" (Sajarwo, 2014). In dealing with and tackling narcotics trafficking, various complex challenges are encountered, which require action at the national, regional, and global levels. In the High-Level Meeting of the General Assembly on HIV/AIDS at the United Nations (UN) Headquarters, New York on June 9, 2016, Prof. Dr. dr. Nila F. Moeleok, as Minister of Health, emphasized that the prevalence of HIV among injecting drug users continued to decline from 42% (in 2011) to 29% (in 2015). This is one of the successes of the Harm Reduction program (Ministry of Health, 2016).

It is time and should especially the ASEAN countries that plan to be free from narcotics in 2025, especially Indonesia, to change the point of view of their strategy and tactics by applying the element of "care and care" for victims, and also in every drug control policy and to rethink the discourse. And the War on Drugs policy has been detrimental. Effective and efficient strategies and tactics for overcoming narcotics must be put forward by the current state and government, including amending the Narcotics Law no. 35 of 2009. Environmental models of the dangers of narcotics, including those of political-economic persuasion, tend to

underestimate how the materiality of narcotics and environmental hazards is placed in the networks and practices of local actors (Duff, 2013a); (Moore, n.d.). The trend in social science studies of harm reduction is to "describe a stable, reliable, and predictable set of features of social organization" that denotes "a nearly monolithic set of social structures that are said to mediate patterns," rather than explaining.

A unique material footprint, a domain that may be receptive to empirical questions" (Duff, 2013b). For Du, the whole notion of social context risks being reduced to "rhetorical" tropes and "monolithic constants" without being investigated as a matter of materialization that lies in a particular network of actors (Duff, 2013b). Here then, the actor-network, or association, "produces the cause as it expresses the effect," with the hazard and the environment, in fact, any object or activity, the effect not of a causal relationship caused by a singular form or a particular actor in the network. (such as humans or environmental forces) but from "fixed" "associations" to network actors as a whole (Duff, 2013b).

Harm reduction that goes beyond just humans provides an equal ontological footing for human and nonhuman elements. Rather than treating humans and the environment as isolated but interacting entities, as if they could be separated, the more human approach treats these elements as perpetually entangled, intra acting, and thus becoming with one another (Barad, 2003; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987); (van Dooren et al., 2016) While political-economic approaches draw attention to the structuring of health as a matter of constrained human agency (Bourgeois, 2003; Krieger, 2008), they can underestimate the agency of nonhumans in localizing the environment (Barad, 2003; (Duff, 2014). There is increasing attention in critical drug studies for institutions dealing with substances and other material matters, such as equipment, technology, and the built environment, in local drug user pools (Moore, n.d.); (Malins, 2004); (Dennis, 2019a; Duff, 2013b). (Rhodes, 2018); (Vitellone, 2017) As Dennis notes about research investigating drug use, "centered on rationality and human common sense in drug use is ignoring the role of the material" (Dennis, 2019b).

After analysis using international regime theory and the concept of human security, the next step will be to use bibliometric analysis, based on data obtained from the Scopus database. The first finding is that the number of papers on Harm Reduction and War on Drugs published by Scopus from 2010 to 2020 found 262 authors, and each author has three documents. Here are the 3 clusters of authors that are heavily cited in the Scopus database:



**Table 2. Clusters of author networks in the Scopus database on Harm Reduction and War on Drugs**

Author	Documents	Citations	Total Link Strength
Friedman s.r.	3	125	0
Kerr t.	3	39	0
Kavanaugh p.r.	3	2	0

The table above shows the 3 clusters cited by writers from the Scopus database. Next is a picture of the co-authoring network. Below is a picture of the VOSviewer analysis:

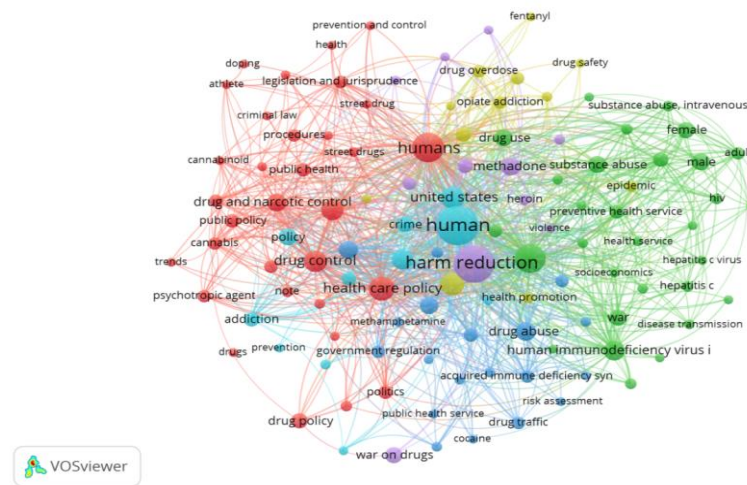
### Drugs



**Figure 2. Co-authoring network of articles on Harm Reduction and War on**

Figure 2 is an image of document retrieval from 2010 to 2020, finding three authors who were widely cited in articles about Harm Reduction and War on Drugs contained in the Scopus database, which is divided into 3 clusters, namely: 1). Friedman s.r., 2). Kerr t., and 3). Kavanaugh p.r. In other words, when writers will write articles on Harm Reduction and War on Drugs, they will cite one of the three authors. Furthermore, bibliometric analysis using VOSviewer software found a network of occurrences with keywords in articles about Harm Reduction and the War on Drugs.

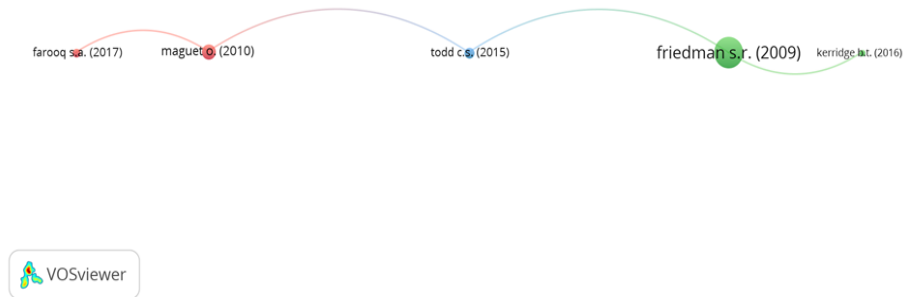
## Harm Reduction and War on Drugs



**Figure 3. Network of co-occurrence of keywords in articles on**

The keyword distribution map in the article on Harm Reduction and War on Drugs is presented in Figure 3. In the figure, 984 keywords were filtered using a minimum of 4 keyword appearances. One hundred fifteen keywords met the threshold. The size of nodes and words in Figure 3 represents the weight of each keyword, with a larger size indicating a greater weight. The keyword "Human" was the most common, appearing 69 times followed by Harm Reduction 63 occurrences in the keyword, in other words, the findings or results of the quote from Harm Reduction and War on Drugs about "humans" more precisely "humanity." From this analysis, the Harm Reduction and War on Drugs program think about and prioritizes humans and humanity, which means that the Harm Reduction program is to reduce the transmission of HIV/AIDS for narcotics users without violence, while the War on Drugs for humanity with violence is one of the policies of executing convicts. Drug case death. And it is by the concept of human security to feel freedom from fear and freedom from desire" and is characterized as security from chronic threats such as ill effects from drug use.

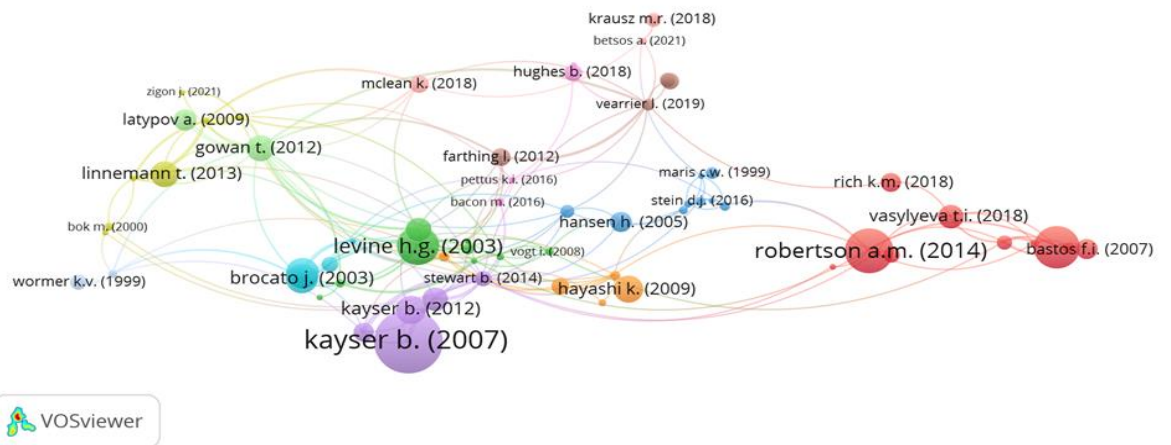
Furthermore, from Figure 3, the distance between nodes reflects the strength of the relationship between these nodes. A shorter range indicates a stronger connection. Links between two keywords indicate that they occur together, while link thickness indicates the density of co-occurrence. Nodes with the same color are included in a cluster as shown in figure 3, nodes "Harm Reduction" and "War on Drugs" as well as "Methadone." Next is the document citation network in the Scopus database on Harm Reduction and War on Drugs which contains 115 documents and meets 115 thresholds into 3 clusters:



**Figure 4. Document citation network Harm Reduction and War on Drugs**

From Figure 4 above, there are 3 clusters of authors. The first cluster is the author Farooq s.a. (2017) and Maguet O. (2010). Then the second cluster is Friedman s.r. (2009) and Kerridge b.t. (2016). Then the third cluster is Todd c.s. (2015). Then next is a bibliographic network analysis-coupling of articles on Harm Reduction and War on Drugs from the Scopus database:

### Drugs



**Figure 5. Bibliography-clutch network of articles on Harm Reduction and War on**

The last meta-analysis is bibliographic coupling analysis. Of the 262 articles on Harm Reduction and War on Drugs, 115 met the threshold for having at least one citation. However, not all such documents are connected, and the most extensive network contains 115 documents, as

shown in Figure 5. The documents are divided into 12 clusters, which are represented by the color of the nodes. In the visualization presented in Figure 5, each node represents an author or a group of authors. Larger nodes indicate more influential authors. As shown in Figure 5, Kayser b. (2007) are the most influential authors.

## **CONCLUSION**

The Harm Reduction program, which has been running since 1999, has succeeded in reducing HIV/AIDS transmission among narcotics users, and the War on Drugs has different results and impacts for humans and humanity. The declaration and policy of War on Drugs in Jokowi's era opened up opportunities for medical or social rehabilitation and also opened up opportunities for "unscrupulous persons" to take advantage of the situation of narcotics users as victims of bribery towards forced rehabilitation, in addition to executions for convicts in narcotics cases. . In the international regime, Indonesia as a member state of ASEAN in international institutions in handling conflicts over narcotics should avoid open conflicts by executing human lives, but should prioritize peaceful means according to ASEAN values and norms.

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The result or impact of the policy and the declaration of War on Drugs by the Jokowi government in 2015 was the execution of 14 people involved in narcotics-related violations. The execution and crackdown on the War on Drugs policy have not provided long-term benefits for the Indonesian people. More losses are caused by policies that have been made because the execution of the death penalty causes many victims. The Minister of Health emphasized that the prevalence of HIV among injecting drug users continued to decline from 42% (in 2011) to 29% (in 2015). This is one of the successes of the Harm Reduction program. It is time and should especially the ASEAN countries that plan to be free from narcotics in 2025, especially Indonesia, to change the point of view of their strategy and tactics by applying the element of "care and care" for victims, and also in every drug control policy and to rethink the discourse. And the War on Drugs policy has been detrimental. Narcotics control strategies and tactics are practical and efficient, which must also be put

forward by the current state and government, including reviewing and amending the Narcotics Law no. 35 of 2009. Harm Reduction and War on Drugs have the same goal for "humans" or, more precisely, "humanity," which is the Harm Reduction and War on Drugs program thinking about prioritizing humans and humanity. Harm Reduction, with its program, aims to reduce the prevalence of HIV/AIDS transmission for non-violent drug users, and it is following the concept of human security to feel freedom from fear and freedom from desire. It is marked as security from chronic threats such as diseases resulting from drug use. At the same time, the War on Drugs has a goal for humanity as well but using violence with one of the policies that have been implemented by executing death row convicts in narcotics cases.

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