CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I.1 BACKGROUND

Disorder of use of drugs in the world as if cannot be eliminated easily, According to World Drugs Report on 23 June 2016, 5% of the adult population in the world (around 250 million people) between the ages of 15 and 64 has at least used one kind of drug in 2014.[1] However, over than 29 million people who use drugs are estimated to suffer from drug use disorders.[2] This is caused many country leaders in the world has declared war on drugs, such as Indonesia and Philippines President. In Indonesia Joko (Jokowi) Widodo has declared war against drugs in Anti-Drugs International Day (HANI) 2016 anniversary as quoted *"We have to emphasize war against drugs in Indonesia. Anywhere or everywhere in Indonesia, if there is a drug, I command all of Indonesia resources to take part and help eradicate it"*[3] On that speech, Jokowi emphasizes that drugs disorder should become the National enemy and all resources in Indonesia should be contributed eradicate it.

This is understandable since the amount of illegal drugs user in Indonesia has been at a dangers stage. According to Badan Narkotika National (BNN) and Puslitkes UI

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[1]UNODC, World Drug Report. 2016 *Number of drug dependent adults up for first time in six years, now at 29 million*: Geneva/New York/Vienna. p: 1
[2]UNODC. 2016. *World Drug Report 2016,* New York. p: xi
[3]http://news.okezone.com/read/2016/06/26/337/1425473/presiden-jokowi-nyatakan-perang-terhadap-narkoba
Access on 10 May 2017 PM: 10:35 (President Joko Widodo Speech in Anti-Drugs International Day at parking lot in Cengkeh St, Taman Sari, Kota Tua, West Jakarta, 26 June 2016).

in 2016, 2,21% of Indonesia population or 4.173.633 people in Indonesia involved drug disorder.[4] Therefore 1.632.636 people (prevalence 0,87) try and use addicted; 1.539.360 people (prevalence 0,82%); consume drug regularly; with 70.001 people who inject drug (prevalence 0,04%) and 931.636 people no-inject drug (prevalence 0,49).[5] According to Jokowi's interview with BBC News, stated that 30-50 people (most of them are young generation) of Indonesia die each day because of drugs. [6] this statements also strengthened by BNN chief Komjen Pol Budi Waseso by stating that 50 people die every day in Indonesia because of drugs disorder.[7]

The user also comes from a different class of society, from a student up to the workers. According to BNN report in 2014 from 4 million people who use drugs 27,32% are students, 50,34% are employees and 22,34% are unemployed.[8] Thereupon, based on BNN Therapeutic Laboratory and Rehabilitation Center, in 2004 almost 800 elementary students in Indonesia positive consuming drug.[9] Nevertheless in 2015, according to Ida Oetari as Director of Rehabilitation BNN, 2.186 children under 19 years old become the suspect of drugs user.[10]

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[4]Quoted from *Buletin Jendela Data dan Informasi Kesehatan* Ministry of Health in 2014 ISSN 2088-207X, this number is only the one that got recorded because data about drug user in Indonesia is really hard to be obtained. This is because many factor such as the user is not report them self because stigma in society, normative report only exist in hospital, ineffective of rehabilitation center and community based survey which is hard to do.

[5]Badan Narkotika National. 2016. *Laporan Kinerja Badan Narkotika Nasional Tahun 2016*. West Jakarta. p. 8

[6] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nnrX68k-EyI President Jokowi Widodo interview with BBC News in October 25,2016 at 5:42s

[7]http://news.okezone.com/read/2016/06/23/337/1423728/setiap-hari-50-orang-tewas-akibat-narkoba Access on 11 May 2017. PM: 09:53

[8]Badan Narkotika National. 2014. *laporan Akhir, Survei Nasional Perkembangan Penyalahgunaan Narkoba Tahun Anggaran 2014*. p. 76

[9] A.M. Kartaatmaja. 2014. *Towards a Drug-Free ASEAN 2015: Drugs Abuse in Indonesia,* Aspirasi Vol. 5 No. 1. p:67

[10]http://www.netralnews.com/news/pendidikan/read/26672/bnn.22.persen.pengguna.narkoba.adalah.pejalar.dan.mah asiswa Access on May 20, 2017. PM: 08:45

This is the reason why Jokowi decided to take a firm decision against drugs. In Jokowi's speech at Univeristas Gajah Mada (UGM) Jokowi emphasize that he will not give clemency for 64 convicted of drugs trafficking that got caught in Indonesia.[11] In the same opportunity, Jokowi also stated that the problem of drugs is cannot be forgiven because a lot of young generation dies each day by consuming drugs. This decision got a lot of critics by media, but still on 18 January 2015, the first phase of execution has executed 6 of convicted drugs trafficking.[12]

However, pros and contras arise on the society. Many of criticism have been delivered by society before and after the execution. The critic comes not only from Indonesian society but also from other parts of the world. Mostly is from the country that their citizen will be execute or has been executed. As an example in Indonesia criticism for Jokowi decision on death penalty comes from human right activist Haris Azhar from Komisi Untuk Orang Hilang dan Korban Tindak Kekerasan (Kontras) which criticize Jokowi by saying that Jokowi is not understood about Human Right.[13] According to Haris, the death penalty is not the answer to drugs problem in Indonesia.

Another criticism also comes from Indonesia by ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Right (AICHR) Rafendi Djamin. According to Rafendi, the death penalty is not the way to show assertiveness.[14] Rafendi also claims death penalty's considered not effective to reduce the number of drugs since another country such as

[11]http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/12/09/1513030/Presiden.Jokowi.Pastikan.Tidak.Akan.Beri.Grasi.ke.Pengedar.Narkoba Access on 20 May 2017 PM: 11:14

[12] S.W Eddyono *et.al*. 2016. *Update Hukuman Mati di Indonesia.* Institute for Criminal Justice Reform, South Jakarta. p.1

[13]http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/12/09/21122531/Tolak.Grasi.Terpidana.Mati.Kasus.Narkoba.Jokowi.Dianggap.Tak.Mengerti.HAM Access on 21 May 2017. 00:21 AM

[14]http://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20141210112700-12-17173/penolakan-jokowi-atas-64-grasi-narkoba-dikecam/ Access on 20 May 2017 09:18 AM

Malaysia has already applied the regulation but still has high amount of drugs.[15] Thereupon Australia and another country who involved also stated a protest to Indonesia government. Australia Prime Minister Antony Abbott condemned death penalty in Indonesia. Abbott also threatening that Indonesia-Australia relationship will be damaged because of the death penalty.[16] Not only that, after the execution. Abbott withdraws Australia's ambassador from Jakarta.[17]

Following Australia, Netherland, England and Brazil also condemn the execution.[18] The reason of this condemned is not only because of human right, but also because the government responsibility to protect the citizen of the country. The protest also comes from International Organization, United Nation. Protest delivered by Ban Ki-moon as The Secretary-General, demands the Government of Indonesia to refrain from carrying out the execution because Drugs related offenses are not considered to fall under the category of "most serious crimes," Ban Ki-moon stated that death penalty should only be used in serious crime category such as intentional killing and must with appropriate safeguard.[19]

However not only protest that Indonesia government receives, but death penalty also has the supporters. First is from Third Commission Chief in DPR Aziz Syamsuddin who gave appreciation for Jokowi's decision about death row.[20] Therefore according to Indonesia Barometer National Survey, 86% of Indonesia citizen support death penalty

[15] Ibid.

[16] http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2015/04/150428_eksekusi_australia Access on 20 May 2017 20:32 PM

[17] http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/bali-9-executions-abbott-government-withdraws-ambassador-to-indonesia-20150428-1mvkor.html Access on 20 May 2017 13:09 PM
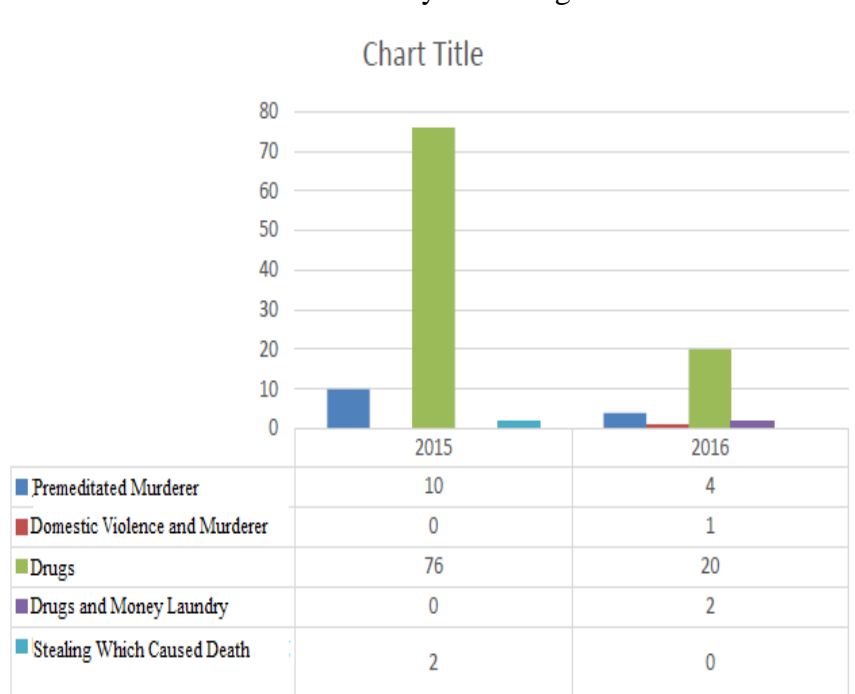
[18] https://www.merdeka.com/dunia/empat-negara-ini-protes-terhadap-hukuman-mati-di-indonesia/brasil.html Access on 20 May 2017 10:12AM

[19] http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=50691#.WSA79euGO00 Access on 19 May 2017. 03:21 AM

[20] http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2015/01/28/06422811/Ketegasan.Jokowi.soal.Hukuman.Mati.Terpidana.Narkoba.Mendapat.Apresiasi Access on 20 May 2017. 8:23 PM

and Jokowi's movement against drugs.[21] However, even though with so many pro and contra, the government until 2016 still implemented the death penalty. The chart below will show the number of people that got executed from 2015-2016:

Chart I.1: Death Penalty according to different case since 2015-2016

Chart Title

	2015	2016
Premeditated Murderer	10	4
Domestic Violence and Murderer	0	1
Drugs	76	20
Drugs and Money Laundry	0	2
Stealing Which Caused Death	2	0

[21] http://www.beritasatu.com/nasional/268928-survei-86-rakyat-dukung-hukuman-mati-pengedar-narkoba.html Access on 20 May 2017. 8:30 PM

Sources: Update Hukuman Mati di Indonesia 2016

From the chart above, the amount of death penalty for drugs dealer in Indonesia is the highest among others crime. This is caused according to the chief of BNN, Indonesia has become the largest drugs market in Asia. Therefore the regulation of death penalty is indeed to be implemented.[22]

Another country which is also waging a war against drugs disorder is the Philippines.[23] However, Philippines have a different style to dealing with drugs issues. Philippines President Duterte Rodrigo on his interview with Al-Jazeera stated that *"We have three million drug addicts, and it's growing. So if we do not interdict this problem, the next generation will be having a serious problem ... You destroy my country, I'll kill you. And it's a legitimate thing. If you destroy our young children, I will kill you. That is a very correct statement. There is nothing wrong in trying to preserve the interest of the next generation"*.[24] Duterte claim that this is the correct decision to make because of according to Dangerous Drugs Board (DBB) survey on 2015 more than 4.74 million persons in Philippines, or 6.1% of the population aged 10-69, has used illegal drugs at least once in their lifetime.[25] However active user according to Duterte's interviews with Al-Jazeera TV was more than 3 Million people and almost reaching 4 Million by the end of 2017.[26]

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[22]http://news.liputan6.com/read/2363541/bnn-indonesia-pasar-narkoba-terbesar-di-asia Access on 20 May 2017. 08:34 PM

[23]https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=atuqx5Ubr5o AJ+ Documentary in 3 December 2016, at 1:55s. Access on 21 May, 2017. 10:08PM

[24]https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S2KtLTXXej8 Duterte's interview with Al-Jazeera TV, at 2:53s Published on Oct 15, 2016. Acces on 21 May 2017. 10:12PM

[25]http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2016/09/20/1625561/1.7-m-drug-users-philippines-ddb Access on 21 May 2017. 10:16PM

[26]http://internasional.kompas.com/read/2016/10/17/16444581/duterte.membunuh.pengedar.narkoba.bukan.kejahatan . Ibid

Duterte's statement was not only for intimidate the drugs dealers. Since Duterte's come into the power, 6,000 people have been killed by police and vigilantes by the end of 2016 and the number is still growing up.[27] Not only stop by that, one of his speeches at the 12-hour victory party on Saturday in Davao City ordered the citizen to kill the drugs dealer, as quoted: "Please feel free to call us, the police, or do it yourself if you have the gun, you have my support, If a drug dealer resisted arrest or refused to be brought to a police station and instead threatened a citizen with a gun or knife, you can kill him, shoot him and I'll give you a medal."[28]Therefore, the decision of Duterte became more controversial since not the entire victim is legitimate an operation target.[29]

This movement became very controversial in the world and many people assumed Duterte has injured human right and condemn Duterte movement. In Philippines at the anniversary of the 1986 uprising against dictators Ferdinand Marcos held a commemoration and a symbolic protest against Duterte. The protest based on concerns of an authoritarian relapse under current President Rodrigo Duterte.[30] Another protest also held by Thousands of Catholics who have gathered in the Philippine capital in a "show of force". The protest concerns about extrajudicial killings being carried out under the banner of Duterte's war on drugs.[31]

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[27]Thompson R.Mark (on Rapler 2016). *Introduction The Early Duterte Presidency in the Philippines.* Journal: Current Southeast Asian Affairs 3/2016: 3–14. p:3

[28]   https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/05/kill-drug-dealers-medal-philippines-president-rodrigo-duterte Access on 22 May 2017, at 00:52AM

[29] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S2KtLTXXej8 Ibid. Duterte itself admit it that not all of the victims are the legitimate target because some of them are children and an innocent citizen, yet Duterte claims that the victim from innocent cannot be avoided and the action taken was considered as criminals liability. at 05:40s

[30] http://edition.cnn.com/2017/02/25/asia/philippines-protest/ Access on 22 May 2017, at 12:54PM

[31]   http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/02/thousands-march-duterte-war-drugs-170218034827033.html Access on 22 May 2017 at 12:57PM

With that, a protest from International Organizations also coming in such as International Human Rights watchdog Amnesty International (AI) which called upon Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN) leaders to raise their concerns over the war on illegal drugs waged by Duterte in Philippines.[32] United Nation also gave Duterte a warning through UN Special Rapporteur on summary executions, Agnes Callamard stated: "Claims to fight illicit drug trade do not absolve the government from its international legal obligations and do not shield state actors or others from responsibility for illegal killings."[33] Thereupon the UN human rights experts urged Manila to stop the killings, saying they amounted to a crime under international law.[34]But on defense, Duterte claims that United Nation has failed to deal with such problem.[35] Duterte's also threatening United Nation by saying the possibility to leave United Nation.[36] Even though with all of the controversy, according to Pulse Asia Research Inc. from 1200 respondent 76% still believed on Duterte policy. [37]

Therefore both of the President, Joko Widodo and Rodrigo Duterte have waging a war against drugs in aggressive ways. Whether the policy succeeds or not, both of the leader claim the execution to drugs dealer are very important to sending a message about how serious this problem really is. Both Presidents are coming from Southwest Asia and

[32]   http://www.sunstar.com.ph/manila/local-news/2017/04/26/watchdog-urges-asean-take-stand-vs-dutertes-drug-war-538560 Access on 22 May 2017 at 1:07PM

[33]   http://www.scmp.com/news/asia/southeast-asia/article/2005754/un-warns-rodrigo-duterte-will-be-held-responsible-illegal Access on 22 May 2017 at 1:11PM

[34] http://news.sky.com/story/philippines-leader-duterte-threatens-to-leave-un-over-drugs-criticism-10546252 Access on 22 May 2017 at 1:17PM

[35] http://news.sky.com/story/philippines-leader-duterte-threatens-to-leave-un-over-drugs-criticism-10546252 On the video at 00:44s. Access on 22 May 2017 1:22 PM

[36] Ibid.

[37]   http://www.foxnews.com/world/2017/04/05/duterte-approval-rating-drops-but-popularity-remains-high.html Access on 22 May 2017 at 01:57PM

both are Maritime State with many island. This means the country has so many offshore where the transaction usually is done.

I.2 RESEARCH QUESTION

Based on the background of the issue above, the research question that will be examined in this study are:

A. How war on drug in both country (Indonesia and Philippines) implemented and eradicated drugs problems

B. How is Jokowi and Duterte approach the drug problems in their country.

I.3 OBJECTIVE OF THE RESEARCH

By looking at the research question, so the objective of this research are:

A. To analyze the policy implementation and the effect to the drugs seller and user in both countries (Indonesia and Philippines) in order to eradicate the amount of drugs seller and user.

B. Expected to contribute positively and as a material consideration and comparison in policy evaluation in terms of the drugs problem in Indonesia and Philippines.

I.4 BENEFIT OF THE RESEARCH

The benefits of this comprehensive research are as the filter in order to formulate the scientific in theoretic level, academic level, and practical level. Hence the usefulness of this study can be outlined as follows:

I.6.3.1   As theoretically, the expected results of this research can be useful to add the knowledge of science, particularly in handling drugs disorder issues.

I.6.3.2   As academically, to be expected became one of the references for the development of students in conducting research with a similar theme or issue.

I.6.3.3   As practically, these results are expected to provide input or additional references for government agencies as well as the general public as a source of references in the investigation of the drugs disorder issues.

I.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

The research about war-on-drugs either in Indonesia or Philippines actually has been researched by several researchers based on that the writer wants to try to find the relation between the research that has a suitable and collaboration case and issues, such as:

Ivan SriKuncoro Jati research about Jokowi's clemency refusal toward 64 drugs dealer that has been sentenced to death.[38] This research focus on how is the perspective of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta lecture sees death penalty to drugs dealer. According to the issues on this research, Ivan SriKuncoro Jati saw that the phenomenon

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[38] SriKuncoro Ivan, 2015. Skripsi: *Analisis Kebijakan Penolakan Grasi Hukuman Mati Terpidana Narkoba oleh Presiden Joko Widodo di Tahun 2015 "Studi Kasus Persepsi Dosen Ilmu Pemerintahan dan Dosen Hukum Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta"*. Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta.

of drugs war is something new and positive. Ivan SriKuncoro also saw drugs as a dangers crime and agrees with the death penalty that government has applied.

The conclusion of the research, death penalty was the right choice in order to face war against drugs. Ivan believes that death penalty will give a strong message to drugs dealer. Ivan also stated that the informant from the research is agreed to what President Jokowi decision by not giving clemency. However there will be an impact from the decision such as International relation will be disrupted which will affect to another filed such as economic, education, etc.

Another research is about drugs abuse in Indonesia by A.M Kaartamaja.[39] This research explains how to eradicate drugs user in ASEAN, especially in Indonesia since Indonesia has the highest drugs disorder in ASEAN. According to this research in 1998 ASEAN leaders has made a declaration to free ASEAN from drugs in 2020. The key to reducing the amount of drug user is by using family approach, religion, education, and social support.

However, according to this research (quoted from Madonna Devaney. 2006), there are a few factors why the society involves in producing drugs or become dealers, which are:

- Economic growth that encourages the growth of middle-class society and internal migration (urbanization);
- Unbalance distribution of welfare, causing an increasingly wide gap between rich and poor;

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[39] Kartaatmaja. A.M. 2015. Journal : *Towards a Drug-Free ASEAN 2015: Drugs Abuse in Indonesia.*

- Political situations that encourage cross-country migration which increase the risk of smuggling of illegal drugs as result of lack of opportunities to work in a formal environment;

- Side effects of law enforcement that encourage drug traffickers to use other routes involving new community groups;

- Side effects development

- Corruption and power sharing among the political elite; and

- Poverty and lack of public involvement in politics.

Based on these factors, it is important for society to understand about the illegal drugs problem and trans-national crime. So that an education for society about illegal drugs should become priorities in order to reduce drug user. Also, investment in drugs research such as the cure and rehabilitation should be maximized. Therefore, the coordination between agencies should be firmed.

Ronal U.Mendoza et al research focus on what is work and what does not work against drugs problem.[40] According to this research, there was no clear link between a punitive approach or decriminalization and the increase or decrease of drug users. Therefore to handle drugs problem a country should understand:

- Drugs problem cannot be won over a night. A lot of countries has been fighting against drugs for decades. Trustworthy and independently generated data and statistics are critically important to base effective policy strategies on.

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[40] Mendoza et al. 2016. *Anti-Illegal Drugs Campaigns: What Works and What Does not Work.*

- Punitive approaches alone are not necessarily effective. However, it should be followed by protecting the youth from addicted. Also guaranteeing the former addict can go back to the society.

- International Cooperation is really important moreover for archipelago countries such as Indonesia and Philippines which also open the borders for tourism and trade.

So that punitive approaches are only effective to a certain extent and these need to be balanced by harm reduction to be more effective.

Based on all of the research above we can conclude that in order to eradicate drugs disorder, it will take a lot of time and energy. Drug problem cannot be eliminated in one night and should be detailed and systematic. Every aspect should collaborate and solidify cooperation in order to eliminate drugs problem. However punitive approach and decriminalization also needed to give a strong message to the drugs dealer yet it should be followed by harm reduction to be more effective.

I.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to understand the research, widespread discussion of the things being studied based on theory and found which has been existing before is crucially needed. The theory is indeed important to systematic phenomena by establishing relationships between variables in order to explain and predict those phenomena. The theories that will be used in this research are:

I.6.1   Public Policy

According to Suharno, the definition of policy is a response from the political system through government toward society problems. In another word, it means the policy is a decision that government made to solve society problems.[41] The decision can be an action or non-action, and the "society" can be citizen or company. According to Edi Suharto policy means principal in decision-making.[42] In order of that according to Chief J.O Udoji on Solichin Abdul Wahab public policy means a sanctioned course of action addressed to a particular problem or group of related problems that affect society at large.[43]

I.6.1.1   Public policy characteristic

According to Suharno public policy also has the characteristic such as public policy should be decided by people with authority or power such as chief, executive, judge, and queen/king etc.[44] Therefore public policy should be an action with purpose (not random or coincidence) and has been planned very well. Nevertheless public policy should be related action with patterns and lead to specific purpose which decided by the government. Thereupon the policies are related to a specific field such as trading, inflation control, or infrastructure development.

Public policy can be positive or negative which means it can be positive if the government take an action and can affect to a certain problems and negative

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[41] Suharno. 2013. *Dasar-Dasar Kebijakan Publik.* Ombak, Yogyakarta. p:5
[42] Suharto Edi. 2005. *Analisis Kebijakan Publik.* Alfabeta, Bandung. p:7
[43] Suharno, op.cit, p:12
[44] Ibid. p:14

when the government does not take action when government intervention is needed.

I.6.1.2   Types of public policy

According to Subarsono policy can be categorized into certain types such as:

A. Substantive Policy such as civil right, poverty, international relationship etc.

B. Institutional Policy as legislative, Judicial, and department policy.

C. Policy according to a period of time, as an example: reformation policy, old order policy, and new order policy.[45]

Another theory that gave another explanation about policy that can be categorized into certain types comes from James Anderson. According to James policy can be categorized into 8 types such as Substantive Policy which means a policy that control what will government did such as fuel subsidies or Raskin policy.

A. Procedural Policy is a policy about how substantive policy can be implemented and executed on the field. As an example how the subsidies earned and can be right on the target.

B. Distribution policy is about service and expediency of goods on society

C. Regulatory policy is about boundaries into the society or individual behavior.

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[45] Subarsono. 2005. *Analisis Kebijakan Publik: Konsep, Teori dan Aplikasi.* Yogyakarta. p: 19

D. Redistributive policy is policy that controls and manage the regulation of wealth, income, or rights among variation groups

E. Material policy that give the resources to a specific target on the society.

F. Symbolic policy is a policy that gave symbolic benefit to a specific group in society.

G. Public goods policy is a policy with the intention to control goods or services. These policies are divided into 2. First are public goods that will be used for the public such as in building infrastructure, and second are private goods which control the goods for a free market in society such as postal service.[46]

The last theory about public policy is from Riant Nugroho D. According to Riant public policy can be divided into 3 points which the first is public policy can be divided based on what public policy means.[47] Based on the meaning, public policy can be interpreted as what government does and what government not do [48]. The second is public policy can be divided according to the institution that releases the policy such as a policy that made by legislative or executive. Then there is also a policy that came as result of cooperation between legislative and executive.

So that public policy can be understood that made by state official such as executive, legislative, or judicial. Public policy effect will be felt by society

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[46] Ibid. p:19-21
[47] Suharno, op.cit, p:16
[48] Ibid

overall or group. Public policy also includes what government not do or omission by the government.

I.6.1.3   Indonesia and Philippines drug policy

Indonesia drugs policy are regulated by the law number 22 year 1997 about drugs from article 78 until 104.[49] The law explaining about drugs can be used for medical purpose only and under doctor supervision, yet in another hand preventive measure are needed to avoid abuse and illicit drug trafficking. On this law, the punishment received based on the type of drugs. The punishment range is from 15 years of punishment until death penalty.

In another hand, Philippines drugs policy are regulated on "Double Barrel" Policy.[50] The policy explains about the way of eradicating illegal drug problem. This regulation gives permission to the investigator to eliminate drug dealer by shooting them down.

I.6.1.4   Drug rehabilitation

Drug rehabilitation is one of the ways to heal drugs addict. Usually, the rehabilitation are including medical treatment and counseling.[51] Therefore The steps of drug rehabilitation, first is should follow the medical treatment which means a process to stop addicted to drugs under doctor supervision.

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[49] Supramono Gatot. 2001. *Hukum Narkoba Indonesia.* Djambatan. Yogyakarta. p:149

[50] Republic on Phillipines National Police Commision. National Headquarters, Phillipines National Police Directorate for Investigation and Detective Management. *Additional Policies and Guidelines in the conduct of PNP Anti Illegal Drugs Campaign Plan : Double Barrel.* Jully 22, 2016.

[51] http://jabar.bnn.go.id/artikel/tahapan-rehabilitasi-bagi-pecandu-narkotikanarkoba Access on 17 Sept 2017. 10:50 AM.

Second is non-medical therapeutics such as community on rehab facility. The last is by giving the addict activity according to needs and talent.

I.6.2   Indonesia and Philippines President Instruction about drugs

According to Indonesia Corruption Watch, President instruction can be defined as a command from superior to subordinates and not binding society but only for specific group or individual.[52] Therefore in 24 February 2016 Joko Widodo gave six instruction about eradicating drugs which is:

    a. TNI, BNN, Polri, Law Minister, Human Right Minister, Information Minister, Health Minister, Social Minister, and Director Jendral Custom and Tax should cooperate together to eradicated illegal drugs problem.

    b. Reinforce the rules and punishments against drugs.

    c. Closed the drugs entrance

    d. Intensify campaigns about the negative of drugs

    e. Custody in prison must be tightened so that it will not be the center of drug distribution

    f. Streamline the rehabilitation of addicts to cut off drugs chain.[53]

However, in 27 Augustus 2017, Joko Widodo gave another statement on his speech at PPP Mukernas, Ancol, North Jakarta. On his speech Joko Widodo command

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[52] http://www.antikorupsi.org/en/content/apa-beda-keppres-perpres-inpres Access on 26 August 2017. 13:02 PM
[53] http://ksp.go.id/enam-perintah-presiden-untuk-berantas-narkoba/ Access on 26 August 2016. 15:09 PM

to shoot the drugs dealer if they resist being arrested.[54] With some similarities Philippines President, Rodrigo Duterte also instructed to eliminate the drugs dealer and confront them with the guns. on one of Duterte speech says that he will ask the military to help killing drugs dealer. Duterte also said he will kill more than 3000 people if it needed to get rid of drugs. [55] Not only that, Duterte on another speech also instruct the society to make their own justice by killing the drug dealer them self. [56]

I.6.3 Approach

According to Cambridge University Dictionary approach means is the way to deal with something.[57] However, this research will be based on two type of approach, which is:

I.6.3.1 Whole-of-Government Approach (WGA)

Whole-of-Government Approach, according to United State Institute of Peace are an approach that integrates the collaborative efforts of the departments and agencies of a government to achieve unity of effort toward a shared goal.[58] However, it also can be interpreted or defined as government collaboration where coordination and management of a set of activities between two organization units that do not have hierarchical control over each other where the aim is to

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[54]   http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/07/21/17295801/jokowi--saya-sudah-katakan-tembak-di-tempat-saja-Access on 26 August 2017. 15:24 PM

[55]   http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/02/duterte-kill-rid-drugs-170202073247477.html Access on 26 August 2017. 18:14 PM

[56] Thompson R.Mark. Ibid

[57] http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/approach Acces on 26 August 2017. 21:30 PM

[58] https://www.usip.org/glossary/whole-government-approach Access on 27 August 2017. 10:12 AM

generate outcomes that cannot be achieved by units working in isolation. This theory also called Integrated approach.[59]

I.6.3.2 Zero Tolerance Approach

This approach can be defined into a few explanation. First, Being though to the crime, which mean all laws will be enforced and offender will not get away with the crime, and if they convicted. The offender will get an harsh penalty.[60] Whereupon second is law enforcement, which means an aggressive law enforcement where the exception will not be made for the type of offense being committred or the circumstance in which occurs.[61]

I.6.3.4 Power Approach

According to Couloumbis and Wolfe, power is everything that can create or withstand something or someone in control.[62] Power has three elements that can be explained by Authority, Influence, and Force.[63] Power concept can be explained into:
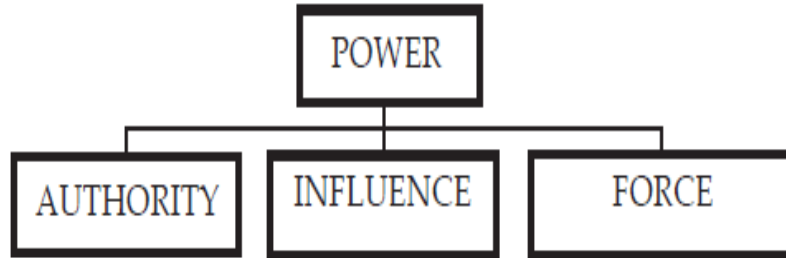
Table I:1. Three elements of Power

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[59] Colgan Anne, *et.al.* 2014. *A Primer on Implementing Whole of Government Approach.* Dublin: Center of Effectiveness. p:9. Cited from Halligan *et al*, 201

[60] Marshall Jane. 1999. *Zero Tolerance Policing.* Issues No 9. March. p: 2

[61] Ibid. Cited from Hyde, 1998. p:3

[62] Satria Randhi, Tiara Nyphadear. 2016. *Kebijakan Pemberantasan Narkoba di Indonesia dan Meksiko: Sebuah Studi Perbandingan.* Journal Perspektif Indonesia. Vol. 1, No. 2. December. p:70

[63] Ibid. p:71

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                    ┌─────────────┐
                    │    POWER    │
                    └─────────────┘
           ┌───────────────┼───────────────┐
    ┌─────────────┐ ┌─────────────┐ ┌─────────────┐
    │  AUTHORITY  │ │  INFLUENCE  │ │    FORCE    │
    └─────────────┘ └─────────────┘ └─────────────┘
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Sources: Satria Randhi, Tiara Nyphadear. 2016

Therefore power can be explained into three part, which is first is Authority. Authority is the power that can be gain by voluntary attitude. So that as an example when actor A giving instruction to people to keep in order.[64] The next is Influence which means that actor A can put people in order by communication technique.[65] The last one Force power means actor A using every resource such as military and economy to deal against the target to put them in order.[66]

I.6.4 CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION

The conceptual definition is a definition that is still in form concepts and meanings are still very abstract though intuitively still can be understood.[67] Therefore in order to give a clearer overview, it will be defined as follows:

Public Policy: a response from the political system through government toward society problems.

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[64] Ibid. p:70
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Azwar,Saifudin. 2007. *Metodelogi Penelitian.* Pustaka Belajar: Jakarta. p:72

- President Instruction: a command from superior to subordinates and not binding society but only for specific group or individual. Therefore as an example is President command to specific Minister.

- Approach: is a certain way to deal with a problem that occurs.

I.6.5 CONCEPTUAL OPERATIONAL

Conceptual Operational is a boundary that explain the substantive characteristics of a concept so that researchers can achieve a measuring tool that is in accordance with the nature of variables that have been defined the concept.[68] Therefore the operational definition of analysis this research is:

A. Whole of Government approach

Approach that integrates the collaborative efforts of the departments and agencies of a government to achieve unity of effort toward a shared goal.

B. Zero Tolerance approach

all laws will be enforced and offender will not get away with the crime, and if they convicted

C. Power approach

power is everything that can create or withstand something or someone in control. Power has three elements that can be explained by Authority, Influence, and Force.

I.6.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

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[68] Chourmain Imam. 2008. *Acuan Normatif Penelitian Untuk Penulisan Skripsi, Tesis, dan Disertasi*. Jakarta: Al-Haramain Publishing House. p: 36.

I.6.6.1   Type of Research

This research that been use on this research is the analytical research method, which means by analyzing the fact and information that already available to make critical evaluation of the material.[69] This research involves critical thinking skills and the evaluation of facts and information relative to the research being conducted. The data that will be used is such as recording of notes, content analysis, tape and videos

I.6.6.2   Type of Data

The type of data that will be used in this research is secondary data. Secondary data are data sources that obtained by reading and understanding through media, books, or any other literature resources.[70] The resources can be literature, reports, documents, journals, books, and websites which has relation to the research. The main data collection that will be used are :

A. World Drugs Report

B. BNN Report

C. Philippines Anti-Drugs Policy.

D. News of Indonesia and Philippines President Instruction about drugs and public respond.

All of these data is available in print or online within period 2013-2016.

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[69] Khotari C.R. 2004. *Research Methodplogy: Method and Technique.* New Age International. p:2
[70] Sugiono. 2012. *Memahami Penelitian Kualitatif.* Bandung. ALFABETA. p:141

I.6.6.3   Data Collection Technique

Data collection technique that used on this research is Documentation which means by collecting data that already exist and has relation to the research. The data may either be published data or unpublished data. Usually, published data are available in various publications of the central, state are local governments or various publications of foreign governments or international bodies and their subsidiary organizations. However it also can be obtained from journals, books, magazines and newspapers, reports, and publications of various associations which has a connection with the research, reports prepared by research scholars, universities, economists and public records and statistics, historical documents, and other sources of published information.

The sources of unpublished data may be found in diaries, letters, unpublished biographies and autobiographies and also may be available with scholars and research workers, trade associations, labor bureaus and other public or private individuals and organizations.

I.6.6.4   Data Analysis Technique

On this research, the data analysis that used is discourse analysis research. Discourse analysis research is a research that trying to find out the meaning or puspose of words.[71] Discourse is an attempt to disclosure a hiding meaning from the subject statement as escouning as the subject itself by following the subject

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[71] Eriyanto. 2012. *Analisis Wacana.* Yogyakarta. LKiS. p:5

interpretation of the statement.[72] Discourse analysis can be devided into three understanding.

First is in discourse analysis, discourse itself seen as a connector between subject and everything other than the subject. Discourse can be used to express the subject feeling or experience and can be measured right or wrong by grammatical correct. Second is discourse analysis than been not as connector but as one. Language and the subject is one. The subject becomes the main center of the interaction of discourse. The third is a discourse that focuses on production and reproduction meaning process. is not focusing on grammatical correct, but focusing on the imagination of condition when the discourse was produced.[73] Therefore, based on that theory, discourse defined language has a correlation with power especially on subject development or any kind of action on society.

In addition, this essay also used political comparison method. Political comparison method is a method that uses to analyze a political phenomenon and incident in descriptive ways that occurs in one country or more.[74] Therefore, this method is by comparing phenomenon between countries to see the similarity, differences, reason, and consequences of a policy that have been implemented.[75]

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[72] Ibid. p:6
[73] Ibid.
[74] Satria Randhi, Tiara Nyphadear. 2016. *Op.cit*. p:68
[75] Ibid