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UMY

PUBLIC SUPPORT TOWARDS WAR ON DRUGS STRATEGIES

A COMPARISON OF INDONESIA AND PHILIPPINES

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Foreword

The development of the education become widely, especially in the higher education. The needs of students for broadly literacy for their sources for study is become main priority to improve and increase their ability and knowledge among the theoretical and practices in life. However, the books that present and describe their needs for the chosen field of study are still inadequate. The presence of books that are specific, systematic and in accordance with the demands of their chosen field of study will become a new requirement for them.

In the new era, literacy and knowledge ability began so competitive, student will improve their literacy to increase their capacity to understand on issue with a legit perspective and based on the value. However, all that will be slightly resolved by the presence of the book Public Support Towards The 'War On Drugs' Strategies: A Comparison Of Indonesia and the Philippines. The presentation in this book, is very detailed and systematic in accordance with what is needed by students, especially students in the social sciences.

The writers involved in the preparation of this book are those experts who are competent in accordance with their respective fields so that what is presented is in accordance with the needs of students. With the presence of this book, it is expected to become a new treasure of the world of literacy for students, especially government science. Hopefully the development of governmental science continues to grow and give birth to intellectual people who are responsible and highly dedicated.

Yogyakarta, 8 February 2020

Editor
Dr. Dyah Mutiarin

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of the objectives, significance, and the main foci of the research. The hypotheses and research questions aimed to be answered in this research are also presented.

1.1 Background of the Study

The Philippines, along with Indonesia, has been beset by the menacing problem of illicit drug trade and abuse. The Dangerous Drug Board of the Philippines (2015), estimated a total of 1.8 million drug users comprising 1.8% of the total population of the 100.98 million Filipinos (Dangerous Drug Board, 2015). The 2015 figure is seen to be higher than the 1.3 million drug users estimated in the year 2012 and the 1.7 million estimated in 2008 (Gavilan, 2016). This figure is disputed by the current administration of Duterte, insisting that the numbers are far larger and the drug problem far more severe. On the 13th of July, 2017, in an interview with CNN Philippines, of the then chairman of the Dangerous Drug Board, Dionisio Santiago insisted that there are around 3 million drug users in the Philippines, thereby dismissing the 1.8 million figure (Cabato, 2017).

Indonesia, another archipelagic country that lies south of the Philippine Archipelago, is also faced with the menace that illicit drugs bring. In the year 2014, the National Anti-Narcotics Agency or BNN conducted a joint study with the University of Indonesia (UI)'s Health Research Center, revealing a death rate estimate of 33 deaths per day because of drug use (Maulia, 2015). In a report of South China Morning Post, Sulistiandriatmoko, the chief representative of the National Anti-Narcotics Agency, revealed that the official data shows there are nearly six million drug users across the Indonesian archipelago, out of a total population of 261 million (Hambali, 2017). The immensity of the data figures puts Indonesia as the largest drug market in Asia, according to the National Anti- Narcotics Agency Head (Hambali, 2017). In addition, the United Nation Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) revealed that Indonesia is one of the countries with the most number of narcotic user which is estimated to be at an average of 1.5% of Indonesia's population

and 22 percent of the 1.5% that are reported to be involved in narcotic abuse are teenagers (Linchia et al., 2017).

Consequent to the severity of the illicit drug trade in Philippines and Indonesia, President Rodrigo Roa Duterte introduced the Anti-Drug Campaign in Philippines, while President Joko Widodo declared a state of emergency for drugs in Indonesia and announced the return of executions for convicts in the death row; many of whom are drug offenders. Both countries seem to also encourage each other's campaigns. President Jokowi even boldly stated in July of 2017: "Be firm, especially to foreign drug dealers who enter the country and resist arrest. Shoot them because we indeed are in a narcotics emergency position now" (Reuters Report, 2017; Cook, 2018).

Similarly, the Philippines' Duterte has been described to be 'brash' with his promises to eradicate illegal drugs (Bautista, 2017). The President repeatedly said that under his administration, "the fight against criminality and illegal drugs and corruption will be relentless and sustained" (Cupin, 2016).

Both campaigns earned condemnations from the international community. Despite, condemnations support from the public and within the domestic constituencies are high for both Indonesia and the Philippines. Despite the condemnations from the international community and the human rights groups, the Drug War of the Philippine Government under President Duterte and of the Indonesian Government under President Joko Widodo thrived.

One factor that is to be accounted for, a factor both factual and boldly apparent in both the Indonesian and Philippine Drug War is the strong support of their respective constituencies. The Drug War and policies in general, would fail to achieve its intended impacts, without 'a large number of people in different situations making decisions and taking actions in concert with policy objectives' (Schneider and Ingram, 1990).

This means that without public support, the Drug War wouldn't have lasted long. Drug War would have failed and left to be archived as one of the failed attempts to counter the drugs but the Drug War continues and strongly thrives in both the Philippine and Indonesian Society. A poll conducted by Pew Research Center gauging the support of the Filipinos to the drug war revealed that 78 percent of Filipinos support the Philippine drug war and approve of how President Duterte is handling the issue and a good 62 percent believe that the anti-drug campaign is making progress (Aquino, 2017). In Indonesia, the execution of drug offenders in the death row, a manifestation of Indonesia's drug war is claimed to have gained the widespread support from the Indonesian public (Indonesia Investment, 2016). In addition, Simatupang (2016) argued the same notion stating that public and mass media tend to support the punitive approach as a manifestation of war on drugs.

The massively enjoyed support of the public has not only put in place the Drug War but has encouraged the leaders to strongly enforce it. This means that public support is just as vital as the policy itself. However, researches about the public support to the Drug War remain very scarce, if not non-existent. Most of the existing researches focus only on public perceptions but a deeper analysis of the extent as well as the factors behind public support is not explored yet. In response to the knowledge gap, this research aims examine the strong support of the public to the drug war of both Indonesia and Philippines. Specifically, the research analyzes the individual's intention to support the War on Drugs and the factors behind this intended support. The chosen research setting is the City of Cebu, Philippines and Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Cebu City was chosen because it was declared by President Duterte to have the highest drug rate in the country thus intensified efforts to counter drugs are being undertaken in Cebu (Avila, 2018). President Duterte declared it to be the bedrock of illegal trading (Morallo, 2017). Yogyakarta is chosen because it is one the provinces with the highest drug rate in the country (BNN, 2016).

While the chosen population of where sample population were taken are the university students of selected universities within Cebu City, Philippines and Yogyakarta, Indonesia. University Students were chosen as the research respondents because it was revealed that there is a high prevalence of illicit drug use among university students in both Philippines and Indonesia (Yi et. al, 2017).

The study employs the Theory of Planned Behavior by Icek Ajzen (1991). The Theory of Planned Behavior links three predictor variables, namely, attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control to the behavioral intention. This intention particularly refers to the intention of the respondents to support the drug war of their respective countries. Linking the research to the theory, the Theory of Planned Behavior argues that the more positive the attitude towards supporting the drug war, the stronger the social expectation and pressure to conform to the expectations of supporting the drug war, and the greater the control over supporting the drug war, the greater the intention of the respondents in supporting the drug war of their respective countries. Taking in consideration, however, that the public support to the 'War on drugs' may differ in extent and level of engagement, the Spectrum of Public Participation developed by the International Association for Public Participation or IAP2 (2007) is employed to identify the extent of the support that the university students are willing to do for the War on Drugs efforts of their respective governments.

The revelations brought about by the completion of the research would shed light on the factors and strong predictors that form the intention of the individuals in supporting the Drug War. It answers the question, *why there is a widespread support for the drug war?* And lastly, *what extent of support are constituents willing to offer in assistance to the Drug War of the government?* These provide a shift of perspective, wherein the citizens and how they see policies are valued and the guidance of strengthening the policies are reinforced by the citizens'

pronounced willingness to support, in various extents.

1.2 Research Questions:

Generally, this research examines the predictors that are hypothesized to influence the formation of the student's intention to support to the War on drugs strategies of Philippines and Indonesia. Questions that are to be answered by this research are the following:

1. To what extent is the influence of attitude, subjective norms and perceived behavioral control in forming the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies?
2. To what extent is the intention to support from the citizens to the enforcement of the 'War on Drugs' Policies Strategies?

1.3 Hypotheses

As clearly proposed by the Theory of Planned Behavior, this study is built upon the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1a: Attitude positively affects the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies of Philippines.

Hypothesis 1b: Attitude positively affects the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies of Indonesia

Hypothesis 2a: Subjective norm positively affects the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies of Philippines.

Hypothesis 2b: Subjective norm positively affects the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies of Indonesia.

Hypothesis 3a: Perceived Behavioral control positively affects the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies of Philippines.

Hypothesis 3b: Perceived Behavioral control positively affects the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies of Indonesia.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study aims to identify the predictor variables that influence the intention of the respondents in supporting the War on Drugs strategies of their respective countries. In addition, the study is a novice attempt of extending the Theory of Planned behavior in the field of policy studies. It aims to utilize the TPB model in the analysis of behavioral intention to accept and support War on Drugs strategies as associated to the people's attitude with political trust as an additional antecedent, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control. More to that, the study aims into identifying the extent of support that the citizens of both Indonesia and Philippines, are willing to partake in support of War on Drugs strategies.

1.5 Significance of the Study:

This study is generally of importance to the governmental sciences for this has re-established the importance of the social psychological study of the support of the people of Philippines to the War on Drugs strategies of their respective countries, as this has a potential to serve as guidance to policy makers and implementers into enforcing interventions and policies that are in harmony with the citizens' attitude, values, and interest. It also explores the extent of the citizen's intent to support, in order to serve as an instrument for the government to determine how far the support and how engaged citizens intend to be, in the enforcement of War on Drugs.

This study is also monumental for this extends the Theory of Planned Behavior or TPB (Ajzen, 1991) combined with International Association for Public Participation's Spectrum of Public Participation (2007) into a Public Support Model which looks into how policies are not only accepted but supported by the people based on individual's intent. In other words, this research looks into the theoretical sufficiency of TPB combined with IAP2's spectrum of public participation and sees whether the theory fits with the attempt to study public support on the enforcement

of 'War on Drugs' strategies.

This study is also significant to the future researchers for the study can potentially expand the existing body of work of TPB researches into the field of public policy. This introduces a new vantage point for understanding the individual level of policy acceptance and public support and thus it introduces a new trend of scholarly policy research which looks into how the policy and its policy strategies are accepted and supported by the citizens other than the other types of evaluation researches in public administration.

1.6 Benefits Theoretical Benefits

The research is greatly beneficial to the field of government affairs and administration as this research offers and extension of the acceptance Theory of Planned Behavior which is not exhausted as a focus of research in the field. Particularly, this research is a contributory knowledge to the field of Behavioral Public Administration as this study is matrimony of Public Administration and Psychology. The research does not only examine the suitability of the model to the field of policy-making and implementation but it also introduces new strategic interventions on the part of the government in mainstreaming newly implemented policies. As an extension of the Theory of Planned Behavior combined with IAP's Spectrum of Public Participation, the research, as far as the literature reviewed is concern, is a pioneering study in the public acceptance and support of the War on Drugs strategies in Philippines. Being a first in this current research focus, the Theory of Planned Behavior, however, have long been used in other policy acceptance and public support researches in other parts of the world and so adoption of this theory is not an error of judgment as this can be very helpful to the future researches in the field of public policy. While IAP's Spectrum of Public Participation has been an established model in the citizen participation field of research.

Practical Benefits

The research can practically benefit the implementing agencies, the

citizens, the policy makers, and the future researchers. Through the results of the research the implementing agencies could adjust and re-route their strategies for policy mainstreaming and improvement of strategies by looking into the constructs that form significantly the support of the citizens to the particular strategies of the War on Drugs Policy being implemented. The intervention can thus be based on the research results in order to successfully carry out the implementation and the acceptance process of the new policy strategy and for the implementation to obtain public support.

The research could also be of some practical benefit to the citizens, as this could identify how people generally accept and support policy strategies on the "War on Drugs" and why they don't. Through the results of the study, the evaluation of citizen's sentiment, attitude and behavior to a policy and its strategies of implementation can be a key to understand the political concerns of the society and to whether the problem is addressed by the policy and how such policy is carried out.

The research could also benefit the policy makers. The policy makers may focus solely on their own values, interests or their party's pursuits and ideological call, however the policy makers bank on the support of the public to continue the political legitimacy and authority they enjoy. Thus, public opinion matters and so this research matters of great degree. The research highlights the acceptance and support of the public of the strategies of War on Drugs policies in an individual lens and when combined and analyzed in its totality the research paints the general acceptance and factors that forms acceptance and support of a specific policy strategies, in this case 'War on Drugs' strategies. It is then beneficial for the policy makers to listen and assess the feasibility of a policy implementation strategy in order to gauge the social acceptance of a policy decision. The research therefore offers not only an aid to the implementing agencies, and a magnifying glass to the citizens' sentiments but the research also offers a mechanism for public opinion assessment
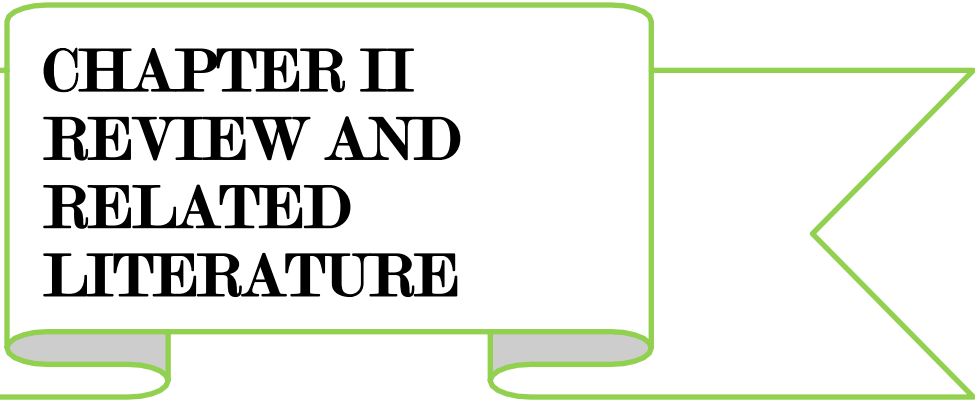
for the policy makers.

1.7 Scope and Limitations

This study only limits itself on the intentions of the respondents toward accepting or having the intention of supporting the War on Drugs strategies of their respective governments. This study does not concern itself with the effectiveness of the policy but on whether the strategies of how the policies are carried out are accepted and supported by the people and on what forms this acceptance and support; Attitude, Subjective Norm, and Perceived Behavioral Control. This study also does not include personality, emotions, and level of knowledge in the factors that could possibly affect a person's acceptance and support. This study does not try or attempt to forward causality but it however analyzes the correlation. Also, the utilization of the Theory of Planned Behavior only allows for generalizability to a specific action (i.e. intent of supporting a policy) (Knabe, 2012). This means that this research will not generalize nor predict any other behavior other than the intent of supporting the 'War on Drugs' strategies of Philippines and Indonesia.

In terms of the research setting, the research was only conducted in Yogyakarta, particularly, the scope is narrowed into three of the universities in Cebu Philippines; Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY), Gadjah Mada University (UGM), and Universitas Islam Indonesia (UII).

The chapter provided a clear elucidation of what the research aims to answer, the potential benefits of the research, as well as the scope and limitations of the research. The next chapter would be a review of literature on topics relating to the public support to the Philippine War on Drugs and the Indonesian War on and also relating these cases to the Theory of Planned Behavior and the Spectrum of Public Participation.

CHAPTER II
REVIEW AND
RELATED
LITERATURE

This chapter provides a review of the scholarly works that are related to the research foci; topics ranging from the Philippine Drug War, Indonesian Drug War Public support, and community engagement. This chapter would also elucidate on the theories employed in this research; the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1991) and the Spectrum of Public Participation (International Association of Public Participation or IAP2, 2007).

2.1 Behavioral Public Administration

The research employs insights and theories from the field of Psychology and these theories are modified to examine public administration practices such as the work motivation in public sector context (Wright, 2004), psychological intervention on public transport (Ceder & Chowdhury, 2013), beneficiaries' acceptance of an agri-environment policy scheme (Schroeder, 2012), and in this research; the citizens' support to the War on Drugs- the cases of Philippines and Indonesia.

This research particularly contributes to the area of Behavioral Public Administration which is a developing perspective in Public Administration research. Grimmelikhuijsen et al., (2016) defined Behavioral Public Administration as the matrimony of Psychology and Public Administration. It is a micro-level perspective in the field of public administration, aimed at integrating theories, models, and concepts of psychology into the practice of public administration. The goal is to connect both fields by employing what Grimmelikhuijsen et al., (2016) called a psychology-informed approach to the field of public administration. In building up the understanding, Grimmelikhuijsen et al., (2016) defined Behavioral Public Administration by stressing its two core characteristics. Firstly, that individuals and groups are the unit of analysis which means that the behavioral public administration studies' individuals and groups; behaviors and attitudes, and on how this could have an effect and be relevant to the policy making process and the administration and

affairs of the government (Grimmelikhuijsen et al., 2016). The second core characteristic of Behavioral Public Administration is that it emphasizes behavior and attitudes of people by integrating insights from psychology and behavioral sciences into the field of public administration (Grimmelikhuijsen et al., 2016).

In addition, there is a growing appreciation of the field of behavioral public administration among policy makers as acknowledgement on the bounded rationality that citizens have and the use of psychological insights to encourage desired behavior is becoming a trend (Grimmelikhuijsen et al., 2016). In fact, Grimmelikhuijsen et al., (2016) stated that in the United Kingdom, a Behavioral Insights team was created by the Cabinet office while in the United States, a White House Social and Behavioral Team, was established by President Barack Obama. The area of Behavioral Public Administration is argued to be significant in the field of Public administration as according to the renowned political scienctist, Robert Dahl, cited by Grimmelikhuijsen et al., (2016), "the science of Public Administration must be based on an understanding of man's behavior in the area marked off by the boundaries of public administration".

In contribution to the knowledge area of behavioral public administration, this research explores the support of the citizens of Philippines and Indonesia to their respective War on drugs strategies using the modified version of Theory of Planned Behavior. Hence, the next paragraphs will discuss an overview of War on Drugs Strategies enforced by the Philippine Government and later, on the Indonesian War on Drugs.

2.2 The Philippine Drug War

A number of existing literatures about the current political trends in the Philippines are more focused on Duterte as the figure head and face of the Philippine Drug War. Scholarly inquiries range from articles asking about 'How Duterte is as a president' (Holmes and Thompson, 2017), how he made a narrative to incite support (Barrera, 2017), how he became a

divisive figure (Tigno, 2018), and on how he is waging a quixotic war (Bautista, 2017). However, Duterte's presidency cannot be separated from the Philippine Drug War since the Anti-Drug Campaign has become a pillar policy that is said to be the defining factor of the entire 6-year presidency of Duterte and his legacy to the country. The importance therefore of the Philippine Drug War must not be dismissed as it is the cornerstone of Duterte's domestic policy. Bautista (2017) argued that 'Duterte's War against Drugs will either showcase the success of his administration or symbolize its failure'.

Even though, it cannot be denied that the Drug War has grown to become a very controversial and divisive topic that discourses on the social media has become toxic (Bautista, 2017) and very reactive, numerous scholars emphasized the wide support enjoyed by President Duterte, in the Philippines and abroad (Tigno, 2018) which has provided a 'popular legitimatization' of President Duterte's Anti-Drug Campaign (Gaspar, 2016). This vigorous support for the President has been analyzed in various analytical techniques; Discursive Institutionalist Analysis (Teehankee, 2016), the violent strong man rule of Duterte and how he established an 'illiberal populist law and order narrative' (Thompson, 2016). Some researches even provided a comparative analysis of the Anti-Drug campaign of Philippines and Indonesia (Ramanda and Aqil, 2017) while others have mentioned how the Philippine Drug War may suffer the same downtrodden path as Mexico's 2005 Drug War and Thailand's Drug War under Thaksin, how the Philippine Drug War has used a spectacle of humiliation and violence to send a message (Reyes, 2016), and on how public remains to be silent and have turned a blind eye to the consequent events resulting from the waging of the War on Drugs (Bautista, 2017).

What many of these literatures have in common is an established consensus that the Philippine Drug War launched by President Duterte has grown to become the cornerstone of the President's domestic policy (Gaspar, 2016; Mirasol, 2017). The reason behind the strong thrust of

government efforts to counter illicit drug trade was best stated by Coronel (2016: 4), as cited from (Gaspar, 2016: 6):

> *"The rule of law is weak and the police and the courts are widely considered by citizens to be unreliable and corrupt… While the Philippines is far from being a narco- state, the trade in methamphetamines is brisk and conducted in the light of day, and the government is seen as helpless to curb it… as traditional elites have mostly been indifferent to it, failing to address the festering problems of law and order."*

Despite the popular support towards the Philippine Drug War, religious forces such as the Catholic Church, the international community, and Human rights groups have paid close look on the Drug War and some have been vocal in criticizing the 'violent' method being undertaken by the Anti-Drug campaign and on how this has legitimized alleged extrajudicial killings. In fact, the international condemnations did not deter nor weaken the Anti-Drug campaign as 'Duterte only doubled down on his policy' (Gancarz, 2017). Mayol (2016) of Philippine Inquirer quoted Archbishop Jose Palma as the Archbishop expressed his support to the Philippine Drug War but also giving a disclaimer that the fundamental requirements of due process and rule of law must still be observed at all times and that while efforts against drugs are appreciated, the process of how it is done must be questioned. Subsequently, the legal framework and the process must be laid down in clear details.

Baldwin (2013) argues that the drug policies of Philippines (including the 8 other ASEAN member states) remain to be influenced greatly by the UN drug conventions that the Philippines is a signatory to. Included to the requirements set by the UN Drug Conventions is the imposition of criminal sanctions in the national level. It had been revealed that Philippines and including the other ASEAN member states are enforcing the compulsory rehabilitation to people who are drug

dependents. This practice is criticized by scholars in the international community as an unethical and ineffective mechanism (Baldwin, 2013) and has higher relapse rate (Tanguay et al., 2015). Specifically, in the case of the Philippines, the legal backbone of the drug policy is rest upon the existing law against illegal drugs; Republic Act No. 9165 or the Comprehensive Dangerous Drugs Act of 2002. In the law, it was stated that drugs are 'a threat to the territorial integrity of the State and to the well-being of its human resources'. The law provides the guidelines for strict and harsh punitive sanctions, including mandatory drug testing in schools and workplaces and compulsory drug treatment for users (Baldwin, 2013: 45). According to Baldwin (2013), the strict law enforcement under R.A. 9165 involves the prohibition of the possession of needles, syringes and other drug paraphernalia and such are used as evidences used against the owner. Duterte's Philippine Drug War finds its strength from R.A. 9165.

Table 1 Anti-Drug Policies of Philippines

LAW/EXECUTIVE ORDER	YEAR OF ENACTMENT	BRIEF DESCRIPTION
Republic Act No. 9165 *Comprehensive Dangerous Drug Act*	2002	The law outlines the prohibition, prevention, and treatment policies of the country in answer to the problem of drugs. The law imposed punitive interventions, harsh punishments, and mandatory drug-tests in schools and workplaces (Balwin, 2013; 45). The law also includes court-based treatment programs.
Command Memorandum Circular 2016-16 *Project Double Barrel*	2016	The purpose of the Command Memorandum Circular is to set forth guidelines, procedures, and tasks of the police offices/units/ and stations in the conduct of the Philippines National Police Anti-Illegal Drug Campaign Plan-PROJECT: "DOUBLE BARREL" in support to the Barangay Drug Clearing Strategy of the government and the neutralization of illegal drug personalities nationwide (CMC 2016-16).

Note: This is compiled by the author.

Albeit, the existence of literatures that has analyzed the Philippine Drug War, to date, no existing study has looked into an individual-level of analysis to investigate what drives the Filipino citizens to support the Philippine Drug War. The study emerged to fill this gap of knowledge and to provide a clear identification of the factors that has strong predictive association to the intention of supporting the Drug War Strategies of the Philippine Government. This only proves the point that less attention is paid of why people support the Drug War in the first place; what forms the citizen's intention to support the Drug War. Several surveys have attested to how strongly the Drug War is being supported but no analysis has been made to investigate the factors that are associated to this support.

2.3. The Indonesian Drug War

The current Indonesian Drug War is a resultant of a number of political and social events in the history of Indonesia which served as lessons and drivers to the current efforts against Drugs. Simatupang (2016) argued that some of these factors sourced the strength of Indonesia's campaign against drugs. The first factor identified is the New Order's failure to bring awareness of the dangers of drug and secondly, the refusal of the succeeding governments after the New Order to recognize the interlink of narcotic problems and the involvement of Indonesia's political actors to the drug problem (Simatupang 2016). In addition, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's lack of firm attitude towards the drug war is also argued to have worsened the propagation of the drug problem (Simatupang, 2016). The current approach against drugs of Indonesia has evolved from the belief of Jokowi's generation that drugs must be dealt by a legal approach but it is disputed that the drug approach being undertaken is influenced from the strategic affiliation of Joko Widodo and Megawati (Simatupang, 2016). And finally, Simatupang (2016) argued that the Drug War evolved to become a populist policy with underlying political interests. These factors argued to have shaped the current Drug War in Indonesia.

The primary feature of Indonesia's War on Drugs is the strict implementation of the death penalty to certain crimes including the carriage, trade, and transportation of illegal drugs as it is initially argued to pose a deterrent to illicit drug trade. The Indonesian Investment (2016) recounted that in the year 2015, 14 convicted criminals were put executed and in addition to that in July of 2016, four more were also executed and 18 were the targeted number for the year 2016 and 30 targeted executions for the year 2017. Consequently, international concerns arose as more than half of the convicts sentenced to death in Indonesia's Prisons are drug offenders involved in trafficking (Lines, 2007; Leechaianan and Longmire, 2013). Arrest and prosecution of drug crimes was aggressively enforced. This caused some strains in the prison

management system as evidenced by an increase of about 85% of the prison population in the span of only three years; from 2011 to 2013 (The Indonesian Prison Service, 2013; Mustafa 2016). The increase in prison population is greatly linked to drug-related crimes. This is stressed out by a report, cited by Mustafa (2016), from the Indonesian Prison Service or IPS report for the year 2013 indicating that approximately 93% of the prisoners across the country have a history of drug involvement whereby 45% are drug use-related and 48% for drug selling (Indonesian Prison Service 2013).

The more intensified enforcement of War on Drugs has had an impact to the increase in prison population and this is linked to the practice the lengthy imprisonment of drug users and offenders (Mulyadi 2012; Mustafa 2016). This is added to the longstanding notion that the war on drugs is anti-poor; it tends to target drug users who were in the lower stratum (Nadelman 2004; Mustafa 2016).

Criticisms from the public health sector target the continuous negative stigmatizing of the drug users. The War on Drugs, in its hardline approach, finds it strength and legitimatization from the Narcotics Law of Indonesia which is largely punitive. However, several provisions exist that gives a more health constructive path to the policy. Fransiska et al., (2011) argues that although rehabilitation centers exists and are available options for the system, it remains to be at the judge's discretion and is a rarely explored option. This furthers the stigmatization of drug users and addicts.

Also a resultant of the intensified Drug War and the use of the mainstream media in tune of the narrative of the Drug issue, drug users and addicts were seen more in the perspective of criminal justice, and less on the health perspective. Barrett (2011) argued that addicts and users in Indonesia have been portrayed to be morally corrupt and as part of the war on drugs of Indonesia, the government have reportedly initiated advertising campaigns conveying that drugs are evil and needs to be eliminated. This only exemplifies that the approach of the government of

Indonesia is mainly punitive, same as that of the Philippines. To provide a deeper lens on the legal backbone of the drug policy. Legislations about illegal drugs and the agency that is primarily concerned are briefly tackled in this part of the paper.

The government of Indonesia established the first Anti-Narcotics Agency or known in the country to be, Badan Koordinasi Narkotika Nasional (BKKN) and in the year 2002, the agency was renamed into Badan Narkotika Nasional (BNN). The BNN was given its own operational budget separate from the budget of the Police Force by the year 2003 (Baldwin 2013). Baldwin (2013) revealed that the current drug policy includes a very strict imposition of sanctions to the illicit use, possession, and trade of illegal drugs.

Lai et al. (2013) stressed that a new law was introduced in the Indonesia in the year 2009 as a form of strategic shift in the focus of the government in the 'War of Drugs'. This law is called Narcotics Law No. 35/2009 which is said to be the law that mandates the establishment of mechanisms to subject drug users into treatment and rehabilitation and not imprisonment (Lai et al. 2013). Most of the drug laws enforced in the current system are enacted in the year 1997 and these laws impose strict and severe punishment to the carrying, selling, trading, and trafficking of drugs. One of the severe sanctions enforced is the imposition of death penalty to drug trafficking offenses and other severe drug-related cases.

Aside from the Narcotics Law No. 35/2009, another Narcotics law was introduced in the year 2011, the Narcotics Law No. 25/2011 which had mandated the compulsory reporting of all people dependent or are using drugs. This compulsory mandate requires the relatives of a drug user to report the user to the designated institutions for treatment and rehabilitation (Baldwin 2013). The regulation No. 25/2011 has clearly imposed sanctions to the failure to comply with the mandate of the law. A person who fails to self-register and report himself/herself shall be sanctioned from a fine of Twenty Million Rupiah (Rp. 20 000 000) to six

months' imprisonment (Baldwin 2013, 27). Baldwin, (2013) also highlighted that in the case that the family fails to report a relative that is using illegal drugs or is drug-dependent, sanction from a fine of One Million Rupiah (Rp. 1 000 000) to three months' imprisonment is imposed (Lai et al. 2013; Balwin 2013). As a summary, the table below presents the current laws existing to address the problem of illicit drugs.

Table 2. Anti-Drug Policies of Indonesia

LAW	YEAR OF ENACTMENT	BRIEF DECRIPTION
Law on Narcotics and Law on Psychotropic substances	1997	Permitting the use of death penalty for drug crimes. The practice of death penalty was inherited from the Dutch Colonial rule (Ng V., Kissenkoetter, M., and Sorby-Adams, J., 2015)
Narcotics Law #35/2009	2009	Diverting people who use drugs away from prison and towards treatment (Baldwin, 2013; 28).
Narcotics Law #25/2011	2011	Designates the MoH as the focal point of health issues, the classification of drugs, the availability of drugs for medical use, and setting standards of rehabilitation and medical treatment programmes (Baldwin, 29).

In addition to the policy features indicated in the legal provisions of Indonesia's drug policies, another feature worth noting is the permitted entrapments and undercover purchasing of drugs without a superior's explicit permission (Article 79 of the Narcotic Law) and it has grown widespread occurrence around Indonesia (Fransiska et al. 2011). It was also reported that the arrest quotas, entrapments, and the higher conviction rates have cause overcrowding in prisons wherein one chamber is being occupied by 10 to 20 people (Barrett 2011). In addition to the overcrowding, poor food and sanitation and the poor medical services become some of the huge challenges less addressed by the war on drugs.

Criticism on the cutbacks of the stricter enforcement of capital punishment as a core feature of the drug war campaign leaves some doubts and skepticism. Indonesia Investment (2016) highlighted in an article entitled, *How many drug users are there in Indonesia?*, that no evidence exist that the enforcement of capital punishment relates to lower drug crime incidents in society. This is further reinforced by the argument that the drug offenders often caught are those that are in the lower strata of society and were desperate to make a living and not by the big people behind the drug trade business. In consequence, it is argued that capital punishment, as the main feature of Indonesia's drug war has a limited impact.

The criticisms thrown against Jokowi's Drug War and the skepticism over its success do not dim the fact that the Drug is widely support. In fact, in a report published by the National Narcotics Agency of Indonesia (2016), almost 93% of the respondents from the survey conducted reveal to be supportive of heavier penalty on drug abuse while 90% agree that drug is the biggest crime in Indonesia (BNN 2016). This widespread support is interesting to analyze. To date, no research has analyzed the citizen's support towards Indonesia's Drug War using a psychology-informed analysis. With the employment of the Theory of Planned Behavior, the study attempts to provide an analysis of the factors behind the widespread support to Jokowi's Drug War.

2.4 Public Support and Acceptance:

The word, acceptance, support, and social license have been used interchangeably (Colton et. al, 2016) and there is a need to differentiate each concept. In the cited study, 81 percent of the respondents agreed that Social License means "the acceptance and belief by society, and specifically the local communities, in the value creation of activities, such as access to extract mineral resources". Support and acceptance is also different from each other hence it is wrong to interchangeably use the two concepts. Acceptance is a passive behavior as compared to support which is an active one (Colton et. al, 2016; Batel et. al, 2013).

Scholarly inquiries were in agreement that the terms acceptability and attitude are conceptualized to be a more passive evaluation while support was indicated to be an active behavioral reaction (Ščasný et. al, 2013; Batel et. al, 2013; Schade and Schlag, 2003). As an empirical observation of the apparent difference of the concepts, acceptance and support, a research about high voltage infrastructures revealed that 16.5 percent of the respondents had answered that they generally accept the establishment of the infrastructures but do not support them (Ščasný et. al, 2013; Batel et. al, 2013). This then strengthens the claim that acceptance is more passive as compared to support and that accepting a policy or any decision, does not equate to supporting it. Thus, when patterned back to the War on Drugs policies, the mere acceptance of the people may not be an immediate guarantee of support from the public for the current policies being implemented.

On a deeper view, Vlassenroot et. al (2006) defined support to be a "positive, negative or neutral opinion, attitude and/or behavior of individuals involved about the content of a taken policy" (Vlassenroot et. al, 2006; Ruelle & Bartels, 1998). This positive description of public support directs into favorable conditions such as an increase to the willingness of the people to accept a measure, a regulation, or a policy and to even support it actively. The article of Vlassenroot et. al (2006) established that acceptance does not necessarily lead to the support of an action, decision, or behavior. For example: it is possible for

an individual to accept paying taxes, but it does not directly mean that the individual would not support it. It was emphasized that acceptance must be seen as a precondition for support but would not be the same and equal to support.

The article provided a conclusion that there is an apparent interest in defining public support and in differentiating it from terms often interchangeably used with it, such as, acceptance and acceptability, and there is also a need to provide a contribution to the growing literature of public support studies. Accordingly, public support must be seen in the increased notion that policymaking acts must be considered as a two-way direction wherein interaction, transaction and communication with the public are the key-elements' (Vlassenroot et. al, 2006; Nelissen and Bartels, 1998). In other words, Vlassenroot et. al (2006) clearly pointed out that the need to study public support is because public support studies and researches identify and uproot problems of implementation and potential problems, as well, and with such identification successful implementation of the measure or policy can be attained.

With regards to the confusion of the term Acceptability and Acceptance, Ščasný et. al (2013) argued that the focus of this is the matter of time. As what had been highlighted in their research, acceptance concerns the attitude after the implementation of a project, program, or policy while acceptability concerns with the attitude before the implementation of a project, program or policy (Dreyer and Walker, 2013; Schuitema et. al, 2010). On another scholarly view, Reith et. al. (2013) in a research entitled *Public Acceptance of Geothermal Electricity Production*, provided valuable discussions of public acceptance. In the mentioned paper, public or social acceptance was defined as a combination of three categories, socio-political acceptance, market acceptance and community acceptance (Reith et. al, 2013; Wüstenhagen et. al, 2007). It was simplified that if social acceptance will not be achieved then a growing public resistance could be the result. It was made clear that the learning of information, the existence of participation, cooperation and consolidation are the

backbones of a successful social acceptance initiative (Reith et. al, 2013). As a conclusion, Reith et al. (2013) argued that any project can only be realized and materialized successfully if the consensus of the local community is achieved. This consensus can only be gained by "acting in consonance with the dynamic conditions of the environment, and in the respect of the people's health, welfare, and culture" (Reith et. al, 2013; Cataldi 2001).

Reith et. al (2013) and Colton et. al (2016) both emphasized how researches in public support and public acceptance of projects, programs, and policies are of importance to the government affairs and public administration. Colton et. al (2016) emphasized that it plays important role in the successful implementations of projects, policies, programs, and including industry installation and establishment. It was emboldened that there is great demand for the views and preferences of the public and their elected representatives to be taken into account in decisions that can potentially have an effect on their health and their environment (Colton et. al, 2016).

2.5 Theory of Planned Behavior:

This study employs the Theory of Planned Behavior of Icek Ajzen (1991) as the backbone of this study which will provide a model of what affects the intent to support a strategy of policy implementation; specifically on the 'War on Drugs' strategies of the Philippines and Indonesia. An illustration of the Theory of Planned Behavior is presented in Figure 2.1 below.

Figure 1 Theory of Planned Behavior Model
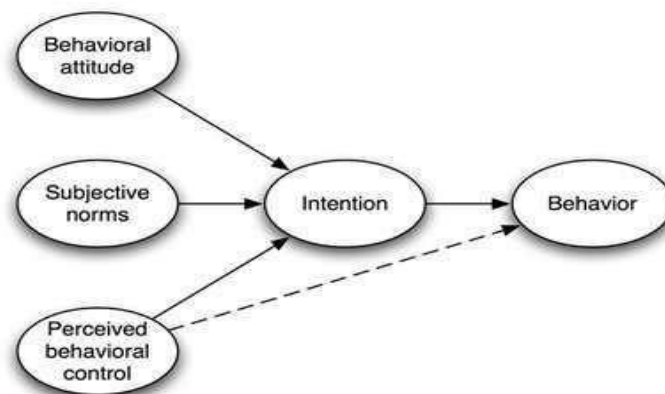
Source: Ajzen,I. (1991)

The Theory of Planned Behavior is made up of three variables that are theorized to form the intentions of an individual to perform a particular behaviors such as using a government digital portal (Danila and Abdullah, 2014), engaging into environmental activism (Fielding et. al, 2008), and complying to energy reduction usage campaigns (Lynch and Martin, 2013). To in-depthly understand the Theory of Planned Behavior, a full grasp of its constructs must be established. Hence, an elaborative discussion of its every construct is presented in the succeeding paragraphs.

Attitude

The construct of attitude under the Theory of Planned Behavior is generated from behavioral beliefs and evaluation. Behavioral beliefs is defined to be the beliefs that is formed based on associating certain attributes, positive or negative, to a particular behavior (Ceder & Chowdhury, 2013; Ajzen, 1991). In other words behavioral beliefs are the core foundation of individual's positive or negative evaluation of performing an intended action. Behavioral beliefs are combined with the evaluation of the outcome of the behavior in order to form attitude. Hence, attitude is defined to be a construct determined by beliefs about the outcomes of a behavior and the evaluation of these outcomes (Otieno et al., 2016).

Ajzen and Klobas (2013) have laid it clearly that attitude is the individual's perceived positive and negative consequences of what is favorable and unfavorable to the individual as well as the subjective values or the evaluation of the consequences. Thus, attitudinal indicators come in words such as "pleasant/unpleasant", "good/bad", and "favorable/unfavorable". These dichotomous terms are used to describe how an individual see and evaluate the performance of a particular action. As an example; asking the attitude of an individual towards supporting the Drug War is to ask whether an individual find it favorable and unfavorable to support the Drug War. To answer that it is favorable indicates that the individual is amenable to not only the Drug War but also to the outcome of supporting the Drug War.

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Subjective Norm

The second TPB predictor is Subjective Norm. Subjective Norm, according to Otieno et. al. (2016), is a construct generated from the beliefs about how others feel the individual should behave (Normative beliefs) and the motivation of the individual to comply to his/her perceived expectations from others. Normative beliefs, according to Ceder and Chowdhury (2013), are beliefs that are created from the approval or disapproval of important reference group about performing a certain behavior. In other words, these are the perceived expectations from an individual's important social group about the performance of the behavior. Normative beliefs combined with the motivation to comply produce the perceived social pressure or subjective norm (Ajzen & Klobas, 2013). This construct imply that how the important others and people surrounding an individual see the behavior, affects the individual's intention to perform the behavior.

Perceived Behavioral Control

The construct of perceived behavioral control can be fully understood from the lens of what forms it: Control Beliefs and Self-Efficacy and Controllability. Control beliefs are the beliefs that are created based on the perceived barriers of the individual in undertaking a specific action (Ceder & Chowdhury, 2013). Control beliefs form as the basis of the behavioral control perceived by individuals in forming the intention to perform a behavior. Perceived behavioral control is made up of two components that emerge from the control beliefs of an individual (Ajzen, 1991). These components are: Self-Efficacy, the confidence of an individual in his/her ability to perform the intended behavior; and Controllability, the individual's control over his/her performance or non-performance of the behavior (Ceder & Chowdhury, 2013; Ajzen and Klobas, 2013). According to Ceder and Chowdhury (2013), the relationship of intention and behavior is strengthened when an individual has a high level of control and when control beliefs are weak on the other hand, the individual is less likely to have the intention of performing the behavior. Putting it simply, perceived behavioral control refers to an individual's own perception of ease or difficulty in

performing an intended behavior (Ceder & Chowdhury, 2013).

Behavioral Intent

Behavioral intent, according to Pierce et. al (2014), is the best predictor of actual use or actual performance of a particular behavior. It is the function of an individual's attitude towards the behavior, the subjective norm or social influence towards the performance of the behavior and the individual's perception of the ease or difficulty upon performing the behavior (Otieno et. al, 2016). This is closely knit to behavior for according to the various TPB and TRA users, individuals are expected to act and behave in accordance to their intention, not however taking into account, unforeseen events. Connecting this construct with the other TPB constructs, according to Azjen and Klobas (2013), "the more favorable the attitudes, and subjective norm, and the greater the perceived control, the more likely for a person to form intentions". In addition to that, the stronger the intention, the greater the possibility that the behavior will actually be performed for intention is the reflector of the possible behavioral outcome (Otieno et. al., 2016). In summary, the following are the components/predictors that make up the Theory of Planned Behavior.

Table 3. Components of Theory of Planned Behavior

Antecedent	Definition
Attitude	Attitude is defined as the individual's positive or Negative evaluation of performing the intended action (Ceder and Chowdhury, 2013).
Subjective Norm	Subjective Norm is defined as the individual's perception of social obligation to perform or not perform the intended action (Ajzen, 2005).
Perceived Behavioral Control	Perceived Behavioral Control is defined as the perceived ease or difficulty of the individual in performing the behavior (Knabe, 2009).

Note: This is compiled by the author.

2.5 Studies about Theory of Planned Behavior

The Theory of Planned behavior emerged as the recent version of the Theory of Reasoned Action. Various studies which attempt to predict the behavior based on indicators like Attitude, Subjective Norm and Perceived Behavioral Control is already existent. Several studies have pioneered the use of the Theory of Planned Behavior to policy studies for the particular purpose of analyzing policy interventions in an individual level of analysis and also to provide a psychological approach in analyzing policy adoptions, policy acceptance, and policy support.

One of the few researches which have introduced the Theory of Planned Behavior to public policy is Shen et. al (2004). is Shen et. al (2004) introduced the Theory of Planned Behavior to a psychology-informed study of the intentions of the tourists towards accepting the construction of a biodiversity conservation in Nanying Coastal National Scenic Area. The results of the study revealed that attitude is the most significant variable that is associated to the behavioral intention of the tourists (Shen et. al, 2004). It was also revealed that Perceived Behavioral Control has an associative relationship to the variables of Attitude, Subjective Norm, and Behavior Intention (Shen et. al, 2004). The study of Shen et. al (2004) provided a lens to look into policy options relating to tourism by highlighting the behavior of tourists as the object of analysis under the theoretical lens of the Theory of Planned Behavior.

Fielding et. al (2008) also introduced the Theory Of Planned Behavior in a public policy related research. Fielding et. al (2008) investigated environmental activism in a quantitative study employing a questionnaire survey method to 169 respondents. The study of Fielding et. al (2008) added new constructs to the TPB model: environmental group membership, and self-identity. It was revealed that the added constructs- self-identity and environmental group membership were identified to be significant predictors of intention for environmental activism (Fielding et. al, 2008). Furthermore, the study also revealed that the under the Theory of Planned Behavior, positive attitude and subjective norm are identified to be strong constructs that influence the development of stronger intentions for

environmental activism (Fielding et. al, 2008). The study highlighted that studies involving TPB can best be utilized as a method of understanding the factors of people's intentions in engaging to environmental activism (Fielding et. al, 2008).

Another study which has employed the Theory of Planned Behavior but mainly on educational innovative strategies such as online course adoptions is the study of Knabe (2012). Knabe (2012) investigated the adoption of the Public Relations faculty to online courses features by using the theoretical lens of the Theory of Planned Behavior. By conducting both quantitative and qualitative approaches through Focus Group Discussions and a computerized email survey method, the study of Knabe (2012) revealed that although there is a poor model fit, all predictors of the Theory of Planned Behavior model (Attitude, Subjective, Norm, and Perceived Behavioral Control) have been statistically significant in predicting the intent of the faculty members of Public Relations to adopt online courses. The study of Knabe (2012) provided reinforcement that Theory of Planned Behavior can also be adopted in analyzing education-related technology adoption.

While the research of Knabe (2012) is mainly focused on education-related adoptions, Schroeder (2012) is more focused on policy adoptions. Schroeder (2012) investigated the farmers' intention in participating to the Agri-Environment (AE) Scheme of the European Union by employing the Theory of Planned behavior in a qualitative study. The study revealed that the general attitude and acceptance of the Agri-Environment Scheme were high and i t was also revealed by the research that farmers' families were ranked to have the highest and most positive social pressure on farmers' decisions to join the AE Scheme (Schroeder, 2012). The study of Schroeder (2012) clearly reinforces the fit of TPB to policy interventions and it highlights the public's perception of a policy and on how these perceptions can aid in improving the policy for a more impactful implementation.

Following the policy adoption research of Schroeder (2012) is the research of Ceder and Chowdhury (2013) which mainly looks into the public transportation route adoption; still centered in public policy. Ceder and

Chowdhury (2013) analyzed the intention of the 300 public transport users' in using the routes with transfers in the public transportation of New Zealand. The study of Ceder and Chowdhury (2013) also employed the Theory of Planned Behavior and it revealed that the Theory of Planned Behavior is an effective model that can be used to analyze the behavior of Public Transport users with regards to the use of routes with transfers. Specifically, the study revealed that under the indicator of Perceived Control of Behavior, travelers (respondents of the study) consider personal security to have the greatest influence to their intentions to use public transport with transfers (Ceder and Chowdhury, 2013). The study of Ceder and Chowdhury (2013) provided a traveler-based evaluation of the integrated transport system which could help policy makers into directing their attention towards addressing the main concern of the travelers upon using public transports with transfer.

2.6 Studies About Theory of Planned Behavior

Another public policy related research is the study of Ajzen and Klobas (2013) which investigated the fertility intentions by using the Theory of Planned Behavior in a qualitative study. The study contended that the Theory of Planned Behavior can effectively aid the further understanding of fertility decisions obtained in TPB researches can provide guidance for the adoption of policies or interventions designed to encourage (or discourage) couples to have more children (Ajzen and Klobas, 2013). The study of Ajzen and Klobas (2013) highlighted the advantages and prospects that the Theory of Planned Behavior provides in the research area of fertility studies and policy studies relating to programs and interventions. It had set a starting point for future fertility researches where the focus is on government intervention and policy recommendation and how it is adopted by the target population.

In addition to the policy-related researches employing the Theory of Planned Behavior, Lynch and Martin (2013) investigated the adoption of the citizens to energy efficiency program by analyzing it under the lens of the Theory of Planned Behavior from a sample of 542. The results of the study revealed that there was a recorded 5.8% electricity use reduction in the

intervention group and this was attributed to the energy efficiency program (Lynch and Martin, 2013). More importantly, the study confirmed the plausible applicability of the Theory of Planned Behavior in linking intentions of reduced electricity use and the actual behavior of electricity use reduction (Lynch and Martin, 2013). Lynch and Martin's approach contributes to the emerging body of knowledge focusing on the suitable methods for evaluating the impact of energy efficiency programs and other policies, and on understanding their influence on participant attitudes and beliefs through the use of the Theory of Planned Behavior.

Another study, which clearly is not policy related but has attested to the credibility of the Theory of Planned Behavior in predicting behaviors is the study of Amsel et. al (2016). Amsel et. al. (2016) delved into the plausible applicability of the Theory of Planned Behavior in predicting the graduation and drop-out intentions among college and university students by conducting a longitudinal quantitative survey method form a sample of 252 Canadian university students. The study confirmed the strength of the Theory of Planned Behavior as it revealed 'a strong relationship existing between questionnaire responses concerning intention to graduate obtained three to four years earlier, and the actual graduation and drop-out' (Amsel et. al, 2016). Also, the study confirmed that all three TPB variables were successful in predicting graduation and drop-outs behavior. The results after 4 years revealed that 74% of the responses were confirmed to be correctly classified (Alsel et. al, 2016). The study of Amsel et. al (2016) has provided a clear argument that the use of the Theory of Planned Behavior in researches forwards a strong predicting potential for the study.

Another study which has successfully introduced acceptance models (like the Theory of Planned Behavior) to policy studies is the study of Pierce et al. (2014). Pierce et al. (2014) analyzed the policy acceptance by employing the Technological Acceptance Model in the study investigating the policy acceptance of the healthcare reform policies under the Obama administration. The Technology Acceptance Model is an acceptance model that has similarities

to the Theory of Planned Behavior. The study of Pierce et. al. (2014) evaluated the acceptance of the implementation of a new policy in healthcare reform. The study employed a quantitative survey approach with 72 respondents to examine people's acceptance of the new policy on healthcare reform based on the variables of attitude, behavioral intent, perceived ease of use, and perceived usefulness. The research of Pierce et al. (2014) pioneered the introduction of acceptance models to the field of public policy.

Among the reviewed literature which have employed the Theory of Planned Behavior, it can be deduced that no research to date, exist that investigates the intention to support the Philippine Drug War. No research also has attempted to focus on the plausible applicability of the Theory of Planned Behavior to the War on Drugs of the Philippines.

2.7 Extent of Support

After having been able to establish the main theory, the constructs, and other vital concepts in the research, the next review is on the extent of support. In the attempt to deepen the research, a more focused "public support" is being introduced by this research. It had been established that the goal of the research is to examine the factors that influence the formation of behavioral intention to support the War on Drugs strategies of Philippines and Indonesia. In providing a focused analysis, the extent of support will be more elaborated in this research. There are types of support that would entail non-verbal behavior and there are forms of support that entail active engagement and consultation with the implementing agency.

It is imperative and axiomatic that the public support towards the War on Drugs strategies involves a support to the implementing agencies of the government. In the project of the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) entitled *Building Trust between the Police and the Citizens They Serve,* the importance of trust and citizen-oriented involvement in policies such as Anti-drug policies were highlighted. The project of the COPS was a guiding book which resulted from "thorough and

detailed assessment of strategies that are seen to best serve the law enforcement agencies in its aim of honest and ethical policing". In this guide, it was laid down that building and maintaining the trust of the citizens is vital for the success of policy implementation or enforcement, and for a successful "policing". Hence, support of the public is needed for the success of a policy and for its perpetuate. In the COPS guide it was emphasized that not only internal strategies are needed for successful policing but also external strategies which must involve the support from the public. External strategies involve, community partnerships and continuous dialog to gather the public's perception of the agency's adherence to standards, and into the impact of the law enforcement to the public's lives and environment, such as the impact of the enforcement of the War on Drugs strategies of Philippines. As cited from the COPS guide, the community-oriented policing of policy enforcement and its strategies is not new as it was existing for more than 40 years and it is centered upon the "philosophy of promoting and supporting strategies that address the causes, and reduce the fear of, crime and social order through problem-solving tactics and community partnerships through citizen's support.

According to Fisher-Stewart (2007), as cited in the COPS guide, it is through the citizens' and the police agency's effort to collaborate and work together, that increase in public safety is achieved. There may be variety of policies enforced by the police agencies and strategies undertaken however, the demand for support remains imperatively equal. In connection to the need for citizens' involvement, there were five elements for a successful citizen-led program that were mentioned in the COPS guide, and these are:

a. Convene monthly meetings with community members

b. Increase bicycle and foot patrols on community streets

c. Engage specific sectors of the community, such as schools, minority communities (particularly those who previously have felt disenfranchised), and faith-based organizations

d. Establish programs that solicit involvement from residents, such as Neighborhood Watch and Night Out Programs.

In addition, there are also other specific efforts that can be undertaken to promote police-citizen collaboration as a form of citizen support to the police agency's enforcement of War in Drugs Strategies. Some of these are conducting workshops and seminars in order to engage and inform citizens of the policy, the strategies employed, and the proper use of force in the side of the police agency. Passive but informative strategy could also be reading and asking for pamphlets and brochures from the Police agency to be informed of the local crime statistics of drug-related crimes and other crimes.

According to Chermak and Weiss (2003), as cited by the COPS guide, posting of hotlines in the billboards, in bulletins, and in websites could also be the effort of the police agency, and the support from the citizens could be pointed out as the act of being interested into these information (i.e. saving the hotline, informing others of the hotline, using the hotline for drug- related informant reports). Furthermore, COPS guide also emphasized the importance of conducting community surveys every after few years to "gather information from the public about their perception of the agency" in relation to combatting crime such as drug-related and also to listen and seek the opinion of the public for a more citizen-oriented approach. The effort on the public on this survey is to willingly answer surveys and offer their opinions without being forced to do so. Furthermore, the citizens can also participate in Neighborhood Watch programs and other citizen-led anti-drug efforts. In the event that an abuse of power in the side of the police agency will happen, citizens can get involved through a process involving the citizens such as a citizen review board.

In relation to the topic on War on Drugs Strategies, the need to engage the citizens in the enforcement strategies undertaken by the implementing agencies of War on Drugs will not only increase the implementing agencies' trust ratings but will also positively increase the success of drug-combatting law enforcement. To provide a

comprehensive understanding to the extent of participation and support, a discussion of the IAP's Spectrum of Public Participation is provided in the next paragraphs.

The IAP2's model that can best illuminate the extent of support of the public and their participation to the enforcement of War on Drugs is the continuum created by the International Association for Public Participation in the year 2007. This continuum is presented in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2. IAP2's Spectrum of Public Participation
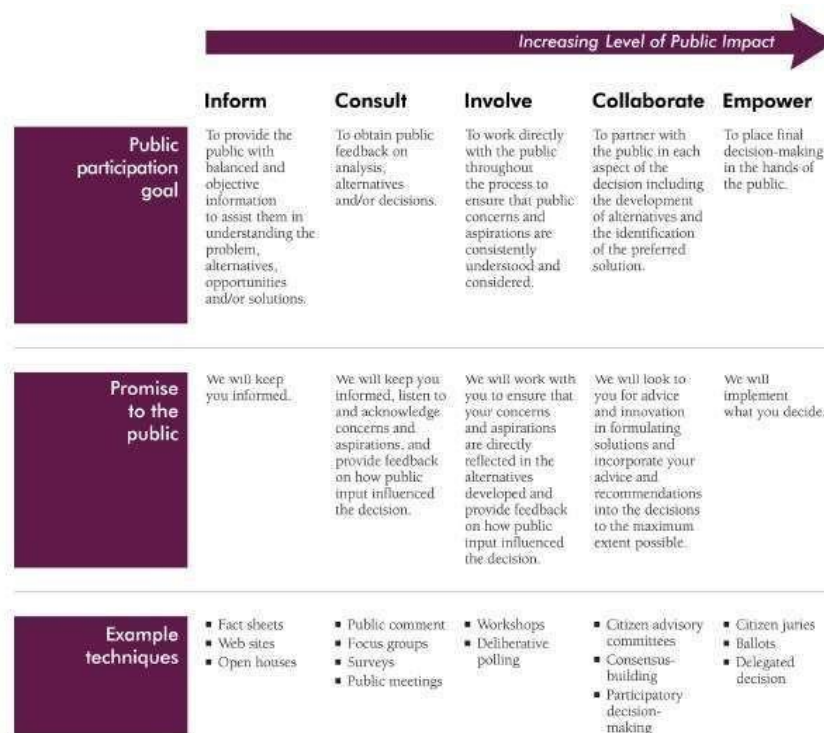
Source: Participation Models: Citizens, Youth, Online, A chase through the maze. November 2007. Creative Commons.

The Participation continuum or also known as IAP2's Spectrum of Public Participation Framework offers various platforms where citizens can engage and express their opinions in policies and policy strategies, such as the

strategies in the implementation of War on Drugs. In the spectrum, the lowest level of citizen engagement is inform and in this particular level, citizens are provided with a platform of understanding and a general detail for the citizens to have a grasp of the problem and the proposed solution or undertaken solution. In this inform level, citizens in their end, are expected to be engaged and participative in awareness activities of the implementing agencies, including platforms provided such as news, pamphlets, brochures, and seminars. Through these types of platforms, the citizens can be informed of what is the problem, what policies are proposed or enforced, and what strategies are undertaken for this policy to achieve its objective. The support that citizens can render, particularly in the War on Drugs strategies, is to be informed and aware of the gravity of the problem, the progress of the War on Drugs, and the strategies that the implementing agencies undertake. These are for the spectrum level of inform.

The next level, higher to the level of information, is the level of "to consult" or consultation. In this particular level, platforms of consultation involve asking and giving of feedbacks and from the citizens on a proposed or an enforced policy or policy strategy (Patel et.al, 2014). This level involves the support of the citizens through giving their own perception of the problem, the policy implemented, and the strategy undertaken by the government agency/agencies. Latching it onto the relevance of this research, the level of consultation entails that citizens are giving their opinions, ideas, and perceptions in order to improve, enhance, and make the policy strategy for War on drugs effective in addressing the problem of illegal drugs in Philippines and in Indonesia.

The third level in the IAP2's spectrum is the level of involvement or to involve. In this level, it entails that other than the consultation, the citizens are involved in the activities such as workshops, wherein citizens can be made aware of the strategies and the alternatives. In this level also, Patel et. al (2014) indicated that the feedbacks are not only collected by the government agency/unit but are also considered and given a chance to be followed through. This level entails, that citizens work with the government unit such as the police force through the platforms provided by the police force, and ask for updates

and offer insights of the policy and policy strategy such as the War on Drugs and its strategies.

The next level is collaboration or "to collaborate", and inthis level, particular functions and responsibilities are given to the citizens including participatory decision-making wherein the citizens have the voice through voting in   meetings. Bargaining   and   trade-offs   of   ideas and Interests can be accommodated in this level. Patel et. al (2014) describes this level to be where communication between the government and the public is made direct given that citizens are part of the decision-making body, along with the government officers. The top-most level of the spectrum is the level of empowerment or "to empower". In this particular level, decisions of the participants are implemented and followed (Patel et.al, 2014). This entails platforms wherein citizens can not only be heard but are followed. This can be done through citizen-led review board or conducting referendum through ballots. In the case of Philippines and Indonesia, this level is not very much explored and made possible however, through this research it can possibly be highlighted how citizens intend to support the strategies of War on Drugs and if they support the idea of referendum regarding the topic of War on Drugs Strategies.

2.8 Theoretical Framework

The main theory employed in this research is the Theory of Planned Behavior. The Theory of Planned Behavior of Icek Ajzen is a variant that evolved from the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA). It emerged as a modified version of TRA to improve the established link between intention and behavior by integrating volitional control as another predictor variable. Ajzen (1991) argued that the general underlying assumption of the Theory of Planned Behavior is the argument that the immediate determinant of an action is the individual's intention to perform or to not perform the behavior. Consequently, the theory focused on the need to analyze the intention-formation and its link to behavior. Ajzen (1991) further argued that some people, in some instances may have a limited volitional control over a behavior which necessitates the extension of TRA into what is now known and used, the Theory of Planned

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Behavior. Both TRA and TPB are founded on the argument that action and behavior of individuals are goal-oriented and are often formed from intentions. How these intentions are formed to predict a behavior is what the analysis of the Theory of Planned Behavior is about. TPB introduced three main predictors of intention: Attitude, Subjective Norm, and the Perceived Behavioral Control.

Several studies in various fields have looked into TPB as an effective framework to predict behaviors in the context of their research focus. In the field of health, the TPB model has been used to analyze obesity and risk prevention (Liou and Bauer, 2007), dietary intervention for weight control (McConnon et al., 2012), lunch-packing behavior of parents under the *lunch is in the bag* program (Sweitzer, 2011), and behavior in physical arenas (Dunton et. al, 2010). In the field of business, it has been use to analyze the consumers' perception, purchase intentions, and actual purchase (Wee et al., 2014). The TPB model has also been used in social psychological studies such as condom use (Sheeran and Taylor, 1999), fertility intentions (Ajzen and Klobas, 2013) and cyber-faking (Grieve and Elliott, 2013). In addition, TPB model has also been employed to analyze environmentally significant behaviors of individual (Stern, 2005). Furthermore, there have been several studies that have introduced TPB model's usability in policy studies. These studies have tackled topics such as intention to reduce energy use (Lynch and Martin, 2013), intention to use the public bus transport system (Ceder and Chowdhury, 2013), intention to join EU's Agri-environmental Scheme for farmers (Schroeder, 2012), intention to use Malaysia's myGovernment portal (Danila and Abdullah, 2014), and intention to adopt EU's Climate Policy (Ščasný et al., 2013).

The employment of the model of the Theory of Planned Behavior would provide a guiding path in analyzing the intentions of the citizens in supporting the War on Drugs Strategies of the Philippines and Indonesia. Through the employment of the theory, the relationship of attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control are linked towards the formation of behavioral intention; intention being the closest probability that predicts the actual performance of a behavior. In understanding the connection of every variable to the formation of behavioral intent, one must identify the behavior being

analyzed, in the case of this research: the individual's decision to support the War on Drugs strategies of the Duterte Administration in Philippines and Jokowi's administration in Indonesia.

As intention to support could range from one lower level to a higher one, the research extends its analysis by identifying the extent of intended support that the respondents of the research are willing to take part in or to render support to the War on Drugs Strategies of their respective government. The extent of support is backed by the International Association for Public Participation's Spectrum of Public Participation which categorizes participation of citizens into five levels: Inform, Involve, Consult, Collaborate, and lastly Empower.

Thru the employment of these theories, it is hoped that the research would fruitfully contribute to the new emerging trend of knowledge in public administration and policy studies. Meanwhile, as a product of this scholarly inquiry, this study proposes a research model that is presented in the succeeding paragraphs.

2.9 Research Model

As aforementioned, the research has employed the Theory of Planned Behavior as its core theory in examining the factors that form the acceptance and support of the people to their countries' respective versions of 'War on Drugs'. The research however has modified Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behavior and inserted political trust as an antecedent to the formation of attitude. In addition, the research also employed the Spectrum of Public Participation developed by the International Association for Public Participation. This spectrum categorizes the level of participation that citizens intend to engage in, as a form of support to the War on Drugs Strategies. For clearer illustration, the Figure 3 below presents the Research model.

Figure 3. Public Support Model
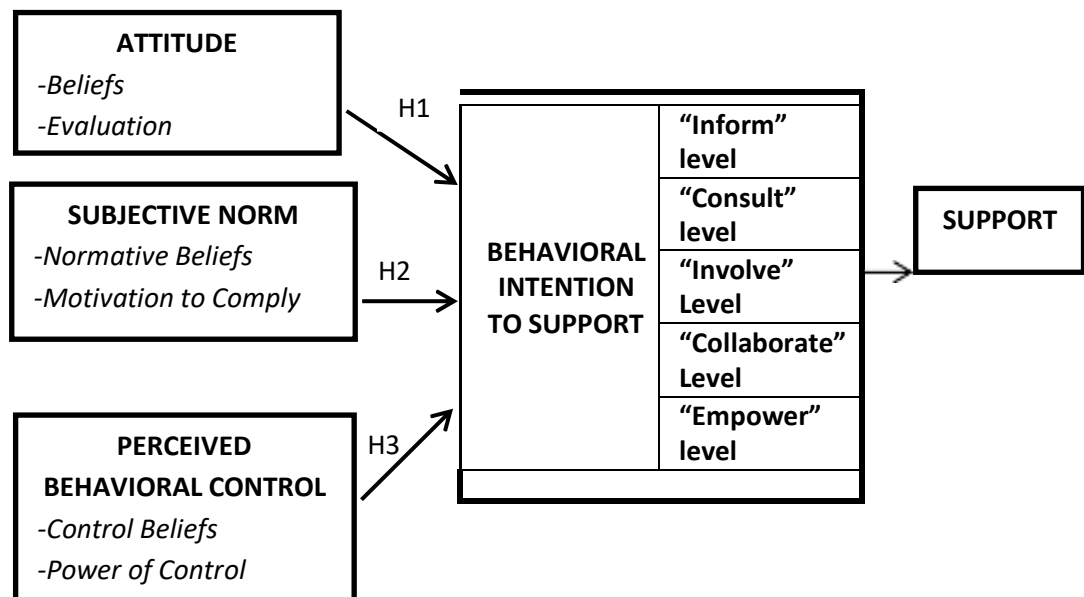
Note: This is compiled by the author.

The research model is a combined model of the Theory of Planned Behavior by Ajzen (1991) and the Spectrum of Public Participation by the International Association for Public Participation (2007). The variables of the framework of Public Support are Attitude, Subjective Norm, and Perceived Behavioral Control. Attitude, as illustrated in Figure 3, are formed by the behavioral beliefs of the student (respondent of the study) and the student's evaluation to that belief. In other words, attitude is about the beliefs of the student towards supporting the 'War on Drugs' of his or her respective government and on how this support is viewed by the same student or individual.

The second variable is Subjective norm. This variable is formed by the student's normative beliefs that there is a social expectation to support 'War on Drugs' strategies from the social groups and forces around and added to that is the student's motivation to comply and be affected by the normative expectations in the surroundings. Since the research was conducted in universities, the social agents that are believed to have an influence on the student's belief to support War on Drugs are mainly the professors or teachers,

friends, family, and other important persons in the students' lives.

The third variable is the Perceived Behavioral Control. This variable is formed by the control beliefs or the student's perception that there are forces that hinder his or her control over the intentions of supporting the 'War on Drugs'. In addition to that, the PBC is also formed by the power of control of the individual over his or her actions and intentions of supporting government policies such as 'War o Drugs'. The greater the student's control over the active behavior of supporting the War on Drugs Strategies of the government, the stronger the intent of the student to truly support the War on Drugs Strategies.

All the three variables, Attitude, Subjective norm, and Perceived behavioral control are hypothesized in this research to influence the formation of the intent to support the strategies in the enforcement of War on Drugs. Connecting it to the theoretical backbone, TPB, the more favorable the attitude and subjective norm towards War on Drugs strategies, and the greater the students' perceived control over the act of supporting, the stronger the intention of the students to support the enforcement of War on Drugs Strategies.

The existence of the intent to support is further classified into levels of the students' extent of support by using the spectrum of Public Participation of IAP2. The intent to support is deeply analyzed by classifying it into the levels of Inform, Consult, Involve, Collaborate, and Empower. The integration of IAP's Spectrum of Public Participation allows the research to not only identify the existence of public support towards the enforcement of 'War on Drugs', and on what influence this support, but also on the extent of the support that the students are willing to render in order to genuinely back the government's enforcement of the War on Drugs and its strategies.

2.10 Operationalization of Variables

There are three main variables in this research that are theoretically termed to be "predictors". These three predictors shed light into the following:

    a. Whether the person is in favor of supporting War on

Drugs ('attitude')

b. How much the person feels social pressure to support War on Drugs ('subjective norm')

c. Whether the person feels in control of supporting War on Drugs ('perceived behavioral control')

An evaluation of these three 'predictors' and the findings of the research would help the government increase the chance of the development of an intent of the citizens to support the Drug War and thus increasing the chances of the citizens actually supporting it. In employing TPB, as a theoretical background for research, there are two tracks that can be undertaken as a researcher, firstly is the use of direct measures and secondly the use of indirect measures. 'Each predictor variable (Attitude, Subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control) may be measured directly in a way of asking respondents about their overall attitude' (Francis et.al, 2004: 10). In simpler words, direct measures are measures that are designed to evaluate the variables in an overall sense instead of doing it per indicator. Francis et al. (2004) highlighted the purposes that the use of direct measures may serve. Generally, if the goal of the research is to analyze the variance in behavioral intentions and to assess the influence of each predictor paired with the plan of designing an intervention, then Francis et al. (2004) suggested that the use of direct measures as an overall tool would suffice for the research. In this research, specifically, direct measures are employed thus; measures are designed in a manner that would provide an overall evaluation of every variable. To further elaborate how each constructs are used in this research and on how it is measured, the succeeding paragraphs contain a more expansive operational definition.

Attitude:

Attitude is conceptually defined to be a psychological construct that is determined by beliefs about the outcomes of performing the behavior and the evaluation of these outcomes (Otieno. et. al., 2016).

In this study, attitude is used in this study as one of the constructs that

shape the behavioral intent of the respondents to support the War on Drugs Policy Strategies of the government. The indicators that are believed to be the components that form the attitude are behavioral beliefs towards supporting the War on Drugs and the evaluation of this support, and the trust to the institutions, the enforcers, and the government heads. Positive attitude towards War on Drugs is identified from agreement, approval, and favorable acceptance of the university students to the decision of supporting War on Drugs.

Subjective Norm:

Subjective Norm is conceptually defined as a construct that is dependent on beliefs about how others feel the individual should behave and their motivation to comply with these expectations from others (Otieno et. al., 2016). Subjective Norm is defined in this research as the perceived social expectations of an individual about how their loved ones and social circle view the behavior.

In this study, subjective norm is a construct that forms the behavioral intent of supporting the War on Drugs Policy strategies, along with attitude and perceived behavioral control. This is measured by combining Normative Beliefs and Motivation to comply henceforth, arriving into indicators that measure the weight of the social pressure on the university students as they decide to support War on Drugs.

Perceived Behavioral Control:

Perceived Behavioral Control is conceptually defined as a perception of the factors facilitating or inhibiting performance of the behavior (Ajzen, 1991). This construct however is only perceived by the respondent to be affecting his or her ease and freedom to intentionally perform the behavior.Perceived behavioral control is defined in this study as the perceived existence of explicit and implicit control other entities and forces have towards the decision of the student. This is measured by asking the students whether they are in control of their decision to support War on Drugs, on whether they find it easy to support War on Drugs and on whether they feel that they can decide freely (without external control or influence) to support the War on Drugs.

Behavioral intention:

This term is conceptually defined as a function of an individual's attitude toward the behavior, the subjective norm surrounding the performance of the behavior, and the individual's perception of the ease with which the behavior can be performed (Otieno et. al., 2016). Behavioral intention in this study is defined as the construct formed by attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control. This is formed prior to the manifestation of a behavior to support the strategies of War on drugs policies. This study specifically looks into the formation of a behavioral intent to support the strategies of carrying out the War on Drugs policies as behavioral intent reflects the closest probability of the support being performed.

Extent of Public Support:

The extent of Public Support is specifically used in this research to refer to the extent of the support that the respondents of the research (the students) are willing or are intending to give, in their end, as a manifestation of their support to the War on Drugs Strategies of their respective governments. The 'extent of support' refers to the levels identified in the Spectrum of Public Participation of the International Association for Public Participation. These levels are: Inform, Consult, Involve, Collaborate, and Empower. Several forms of support were identified and answers from the pre-test asking how students think they can best support the War on Drugs was also incorporated. Some of the items of support do not exist in the status quo but it is incorporated in the research for it may serve as a good policy recommendation if it would garner overwhelming affirmation.

Table 4. Twelve forms of Public Support to War on Drugs

Form of Support	IAP (2007)
1. Informing oneself, peers, family members, and the members of one's social circle about the War on Drugs strategies enforced by the Agency from the information gathered from the news, newspapers, and from the statements of powerholders.	Inform
2. Inform others through social media and other Mechanisms of information dissemination.	Inform
3. Ask for Pamphlets, Brochures, and leaflets about the progress of War on Drugs	Inform
4. Watch the news and keep an update on the War on Drugs efforts of the Agency.	Inform
5. Attend Seminars about War on drugs: efforts and Strategies of the implementing agency	Inform
6. Participate in answering surveys and polls about Agency's performance in the enforcement of War on Drugs strategies	Consult
7. Attend forums about the enforcement of War on Drugs strategies (Citizens and Implementing Agency)	Consult
8. Be involved in workshops and meetings with the Drug Enforcement Agency and other officials involved in the implementation of War on drugs	Involve
9. Write a feedback and suggestions to the implementing agency to improve, enhance, and make changes to the strategies on the War on drugs	Involve
10. Coordinate with the implementing agencies for any possible collaborative effort to support the campaign against illegal drugs.	Collaborate
11. Participating in Neighborhood Watch as a citizen-effort to combat illegal drugs	Collaborate
12. Participate in the Citizens' review board to examine the strategies in the conduct of War on Drugs	Empower

Note: This is compiled by the author.

This chapter has provided an elaboration of the focus of the research by presenting a review of several scholarly works that are related to the study. It substantially discussed the theories employed in the study including the existing studies that have employed the theories being used in this research. The next chapter will discuss the research methodology including the chosen respondents and instrument for the research.

CHAPTER III
RESEARCH
METHODOLOGY

This chapter embodies the research design, research method, research setting, and respondents of the study, research instrument as well as the procedures that the researchers will go through in the conduct of the research.

3.1 Research Design

This research is a quantitative research which employs a self-reported questionnaire survey method to gather primary data. Quantitative research design invokes the post-positivist worldview and includes experimental designs and non- experimental researches (Creswell, 2014). Quantitative researches make use of statistical methods to describe and measure the degree or association (or relationship) between two or more variables and it also employs techniques of structural equation modeling, hierarchical linear modeling, and logistic regression to measure more complex variable relationships (Creswell, 2014). In addition, survey method which is employed in the study is a method for inquiry under the quantitative approach (Creswell, 2014). Researches employing survey method is also defined as a method of descriptive research used for collecting primary data based on verbal or written communication with a representative sample of individuals or respondents from the target population (Mathiyazhagan & Nandan, 2010). The purpose of the survey is to gather unbiased primary data from the college students of Cebu City, Philippines. The use of survey method have satisfied the need for data in order for the researchers to examine the association of Attitude, Subjective Norm, and Perceived behavioral control to the formation of the intentions of the individual citizens into supporting or not supporting the 'War on Drugs' strategies of Philippines

3.2 Research Setting:

Yogyakarta is specifically chosen since it was listed as one of the top provinces with the highest drug rate. In a survey conducted by the National Anti- narcotics Agency in the year 2015 and it was revealed that Yogyakarta is among the provinces that has the highest drug rate,

alongside Jakarta (BNN 2016). Three universities were chosen for the research; all three are situated within Yogyakarta. Students enrolled in the bachelor's degree for Governmental studies were requested to participate in the survey. The survey was conducted from December of 2017 to February of 2018. All the respondents were enrolled in the university during the duration of the survey. The chosen universities are discussed in details below.

1) Gadjah Mada University

Gadjah Mada University or the Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM), is one of the oldest universities in the country of Indonesia, established in the 19th of December 1949 as a state university (UGM, 2006). The University's location is at Bulaksumur Campus, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. According to its official website, it is composed of 18 faculties, a vocational and a graduate school, and is offering more than 250 courses. The university caters 56,000 domestic and international students and is fortified by its resources, such as its 3,608 faculty members and its 4,324 employees (UGM, 2016).

2) Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

The Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta or UMY was established in the 1st of March 1981 and is a private university under the Muhammadiyah Islamic Organization. UMY is located in Jalan Lingkar Selatan, Kasihan, Tamantirto, Bantul, Yogyakarta in a 42.5 hectares of campus area (UMY, 2015). UMY has a total of 38 courses and 11 faculties, included to that are the postgraduate and vocational courses. The total number of students in UMY reach more than 27,000 (UMY, 2015).

3) Islamic University of Indonesia

The Islamic University of Indonesia or also known as the Universitas Islam Indonesia (UII) is a private university established in the 8th of July, 1945 until it reached the university status, in the year 1947 (UII,

2017). The UII is a private university established by Dr. Muhammad Hatta, Abdul Kahar Muzakkar, Wahid Hasyim, Mohammad Roem, and Mohammad Natsir. According to records, the UII is considered to be the oldest private university in Indonesia and its main campus is located in Jalan Kaliurang Km. 14.4, Sleman, Yogyakarta. The UII is comprised of 22 faculties and 20,000 students (UII, 2017).

3.3 Respondents of the Study

A good portion of the population involved in illicit drug trade includes university students. University students makes up 22% of the drug users in Indonesia. In a similar argumentation Yi et. al (2017) revealed that among the countries of Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam, the countries of Philippines, Indonesia and Laos have a high prevalence of illicit drug use among university students With this in consideration, the selected respondents of the research are university students of Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta is chosen as the research setting as it was said to be have one of the highest drug rate in Indonesia (BNN, 2016). Specifically, the respondents are Governmental Sciences students which secures the assumption that the respondents are averagely, if Strategies of Jokowi's government. The respondents are from the Gadjah Mada Univeristy (UGM), Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY), and the Islamic University of Indonesia (UII).

3.4 Research Instrument

The research employs a quantitative survey method using the Likert scale. The instrument used was a two-pager survey form consisting 20 statements measuring attitude, subjective norm, perceived behavioral control, and behavioral intention, and another set of yes or no questions to record the extent of support. The construction of the research instrument is based from Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behavior Questionnaire Guide which was developed as guidance for making questionnaires to TPB-

related researches. A pre-test was also conducted to 10% of the total respondents from Mindanao State University- Iligan Institute of Technology, in order to test the research instrument and its internal consistency and also if it effectively answers the research problems set for the purpose of the research.

3.5 Data Gathering Procedures

The data gathering procedure presents the various steps that are all equally vital into achieving the objectives of the research and into addressing the research problems that the research posed. Figure 4 presents the stages of the entire research

Figure 4. Procedures of Data Gathering
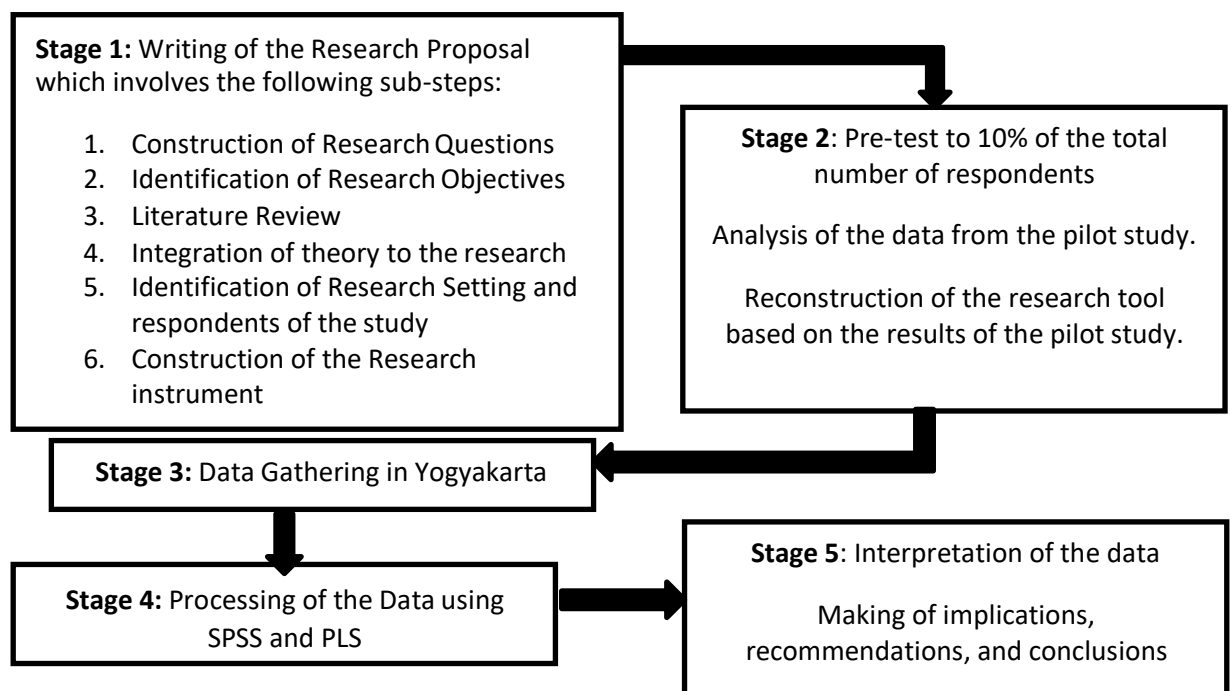
Note: This is compiled by the author (Tomaro, 2018).

3.6 Data Classification

The research made use of primary data that were gathered and collected using a self-reported questionnaire survey method. Secondary

data were also used for further readings and literature review in order to establish the familiarity and the deep understanding of the research topic chosen. Table 3.1 illustrates the types of data that were gathered and utilized in this research.

<div align="center">Table 3.1 Data Classification</div>

No.	Data	Primary	Secondary	Sources
1	a. Attitude b. Political Trust c. Subjective Norm d. Perceived Behavioral Control e. Behavioral intention	ü	ü	Survey and journal articles.
2	War on Drugs Policy		ü	News Articles, Government Websites,and International reports
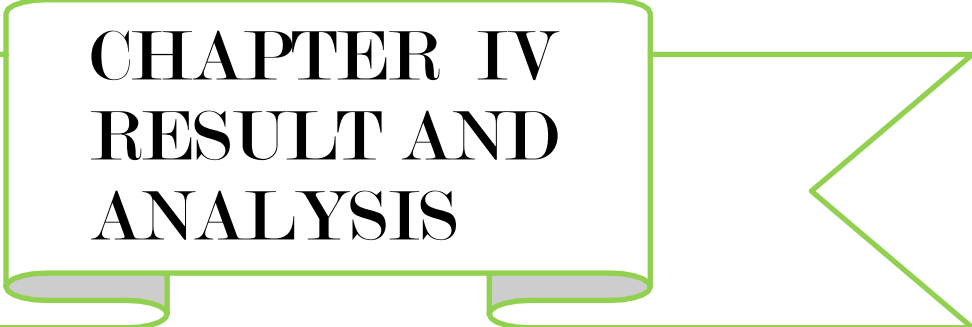
Note: This is compiled by the author.

3.7 Data Analysis

The research, as what has been mentioned above conduct a self-reported questionnaire survey in order to gather primary data. The data that were gathered were analyzed through the use of SPSS version 21 and SPSS AMOS. SPSS Version 22 and the SPSS AMOS Version 22 was used to evaluate the measurement model, to conduct the Structural Equation Modeling, and to assess the relationships of the constructs and fitness of the model used. AMOS which is known as Analysis of Moments Squares. AMOS provides a statistical technique of analyzing the graphical model, its measurements, and its regression relationships.

This chapter presented the research design, the respondents chosen, a description of the instrument that was used, the data gathering

procedures and the classification of the data that were gathered. The next chapter will provide an elucidation of the results gathered for the research.

CHAPTER IV
RESULT AND
ANALYSIS

This part of the study provides the results of the study from the Indonesian Case. The results were analyzed from a total of 194 respondents from three universities in Yogyakarta. The demographic profile of the respondents, reliability results of the indicator items, the model fitness, and the regression results are all presented in this part of the paper.

4.1 Indonesian Case: Demographic Profile

This section provides a profile of the Indonesian respondents that were voluntarily involved in this study. The profile has three demographic variables: sex and the university that the student (the respondent) is attending.

Figure 5.Demographic Profile: Sex
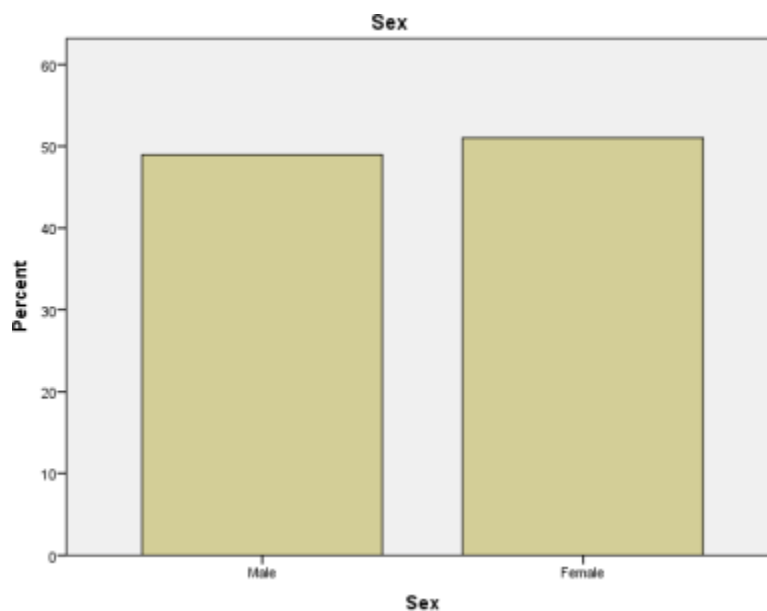
There is a total of 194 respondents from Indonesia and 99 (49%) of them are female and 95 (51%) are male. The distribution of sex is illustrated in Figure 5.

Figure 6. Demographic Profile: University
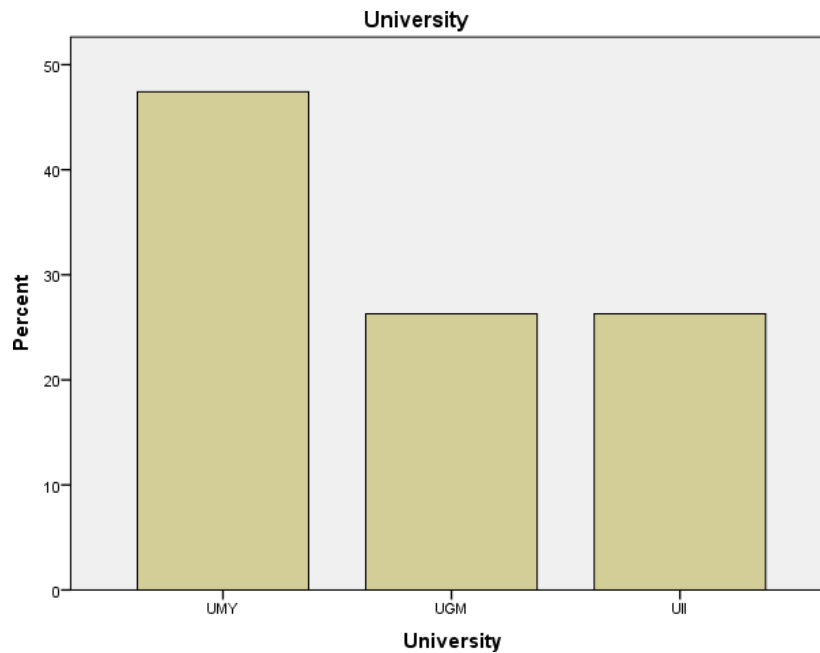
The respondents in the study are all enrolled in university and are all enrolled in the program of Governmental Sciences. 92 of the respondents, which makes up 47.4 of the total Indonesian respondents, are enrolled in Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. 51 of the respondents (26.3%) are enrolled in one of the top universities in Asia, Gadjah Mada University. The remaining 51, which is 26.3% of the total Indonesian respondents, are enrolled in the Islamic University of Indonesia.

4.2 Descriptive and Statistical Analysis

The study analyzed three main predictor variable that were hypothesized to have a positive relationship with the dependent variable, behavioral intention. These three predictor variables are Attitude, Subjective Norm, and Perceived Behavioral Control. The statistical results, model fitness, and the analysis of the extent of support are presented in this part of the paper.In conducting a Structural Equation Modelling, several steps must be undertaken for a prudent analysis of the results. The first step in conducting a Structural Equation Modelling is to assess the indicator items constructed and designed to measure the constructs or the variables of the research. Confirmatory Factor Analysis, a

statistical procedure that can be ran using the SPSS AMOS software, provides an assessment of how well the indicator items designed to measure the construct, relate to the construct and how reliable these indicator items are as measurements of the constructs. Results of the Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) come in the form of Standardized Regression coefficients or Factor Loadings and are located within the arrows that connect the indicator items to the constructs. Covariances or the interrelationship of one variable to another variable can also be obtained through CFA.

The strength of the factor loadings reflects the strength of the relationship of the indicators constructed and the variable it is designed to measure. Specifically, in this research, three main constructs (Attitude, Subjective Norm, and Perceived Behavioral Control) and its respective set of indicators are analyzed and the reliability of the chosen indicators are confirmed out of the results of the CFA. A summary of the results of the CFA is presented in Table 7. It must be noted that some of the indicator items with the lowest factor loadings were removed in order for the constructs to arrive at an Average Variance Extracted (AVE) value of 0.50 or greater. Other measures of reliability and internal consistency are also calculated to showcase the strength and reliability of the indicators. This vital step is directly connected to the strength of the model, the analysis, and the results argued. Presented in the Table 6 are the Factor Loadings, the Cronbach Alpha, the Composite Reliability, and the Average Variance Extracted.

Table 7. Measurement Table

Construct/ Variable	Indicator Items	Factor Loadings from AMOS- CFA[b]	Cronbach Alpha[c]	Composite Reliability (CR)[d]	Average Variance Extracted (AVE)
Behavioral Intention	INT 1	0.77	0.882	0.884	0.603
	INT 2	0.83			
	INT 3	0.78			
	INT 4	0.72			
	INT 5	0.77			
Attitude	ATT 1	0.82	0.892	0.895	0.590
	ATT 2	0.82			
	ATT 3	0.81			
	ATT 4	0.8			
	ATT 6	0.68			
	ATT 7	0.66			
Subjective Norm	SUBN 2	0.74	0.752	0.750	0.501
	SUBN 3	0.73			
	SUBN 4	0.65			
Perceived Behavioral Control	PERC 1	0.84	0.874	0.876	0.587
	PERC 2	0.81			
	PERC 3	0.74			
	PERC 4	0.68			
	PERC 6	0.75			

a. Factor Loadings must be above 0.50

b. Cronbach Alpha must be above 0.70

c. Composite Reliability must be above 0.70

d. Average Variance Extracted must be above 0.50

Note: Some of the indicator items with the lowest factor loadings were deleted in order to obtain an AVE for every construct of at least .50 or greater. Items deleted were the following: ATT 5, ATT 8, SUBN 1, SUBN 5, SUBN 6, PERC 5, PERC 7, and PERC 8

Table 2 above presents the fitness of the indicators used in measuring every construct- Factor Loadings, Cronbach Alpha, Composite Reliability, and Average Variance Extracted. Factor Loadings obtained reveals that the indicator items constructed as measurements of the variables have reached the required threshold which is 0.50 (Hulland 1999, 198; Hair et al. 2010) and indicates strong indicator reliability.

This is evidenced by all factor loadings of above 0.50. Cronbach Alpha values are also presented in Table 7 and as evidenced by the values that are all above 0.70, internal consistency of every indicator items is established. Cronbach alpha values are also considered to be both validity and reliability coefficients (Garson 2016) and good Cronbach alpha values must be above 0.70 (Nunnaly 1978). Furthermore, the composite reliability values are also presented. Composite Reliability values indicate internal consistency and must be well-above 0.70 (Gefen et al. 2000). With the observed Composite Reliability values obtained, it is noteworthy that all the constructs has reached the required threshold to confirm the internal consistency of the constructs. Average Variance Extracted is also shown in the Measurement Table and Average Variance Extracted is an indicator of convergent reliability. AVE values must be above 0.50 to confirm that the constructs have achieved the required convergent reliability required for the analysis. As observed in the table above, it can be confirmed that all of the AVE values of the constructs have passed the threshold requirement of above 0.50 which confirms the convergent reliability of the constructs.

4.3 Model Fitness Test

Following the analysis of the internal model fitness by delving into the constructs and the indicator items used as points of measurement, the next step required is the test of the model.

Table 7. Model Fitness Results

Fit Indices	Recommended Value	Model's Value	Remarks
Chi Square/ Degrees of Freedom (CMIN/DF)	Less than 3	1.836	Good
Tucker Lewis Index (TLI)	A value close to 1 indicates a very good fit	0.934	Good
Incremental Fit Index (IFI)	A value close to 1 indicates a very good fit	.0945	Good
Comparative Fit Index (CFI)	A value close to 1 indicates a very good fit	0.944	Good
Goodness-of-fit Index (GFI)	A value close to 1 indicates a very good fit		Good
RMSEA	Values less than 0.07 (Steiger 2007)	0.066	Good

The structural model test which involves the evaluation of the model fitness prior to its analysis is done by evaluating the obtained model's values corresponding to the fitness indices: Chi Square/ Degree of Freedom, Tucker Lewis Index, Incremental Fit Index, Comparative Fit Index, Goodness-of-fit Index, and the RMSEA. The fitness of the model depicts the measures of merit of the model. It can be observed that the model used in the research has met the recommended fit indices. As evidenced from the values that the model obtained and is presented in Table 7, it is confirmed that the model has passed

all fit indices which a CMIN/DF value of 1.836, a TLI, CFI, and IFI of all above 0.90 and a RMSEA of less than 0.07. These results confirm the model's fitness and merit. The structural fitness of the model confirms the merit and potential recursive use of the model for future researches. The model fitness also provides strength to the model usage and the arguments forwarded by the research.

4.4 Regression Results

Confirming the strength of the indicator items, the constructs, and the model, the subsequent step of the Structural Equation Modelling is the path analysis which connects the three independent variables or predictor constructs to Behavioral Intention. The regression results that can be obtained using this step of the research analysis confirms the relationships of Attitude, Subjective Norm, and Perceived Behavioral Control in the intention-formation of the respondents to support the Drug War of President Joko Widodo.
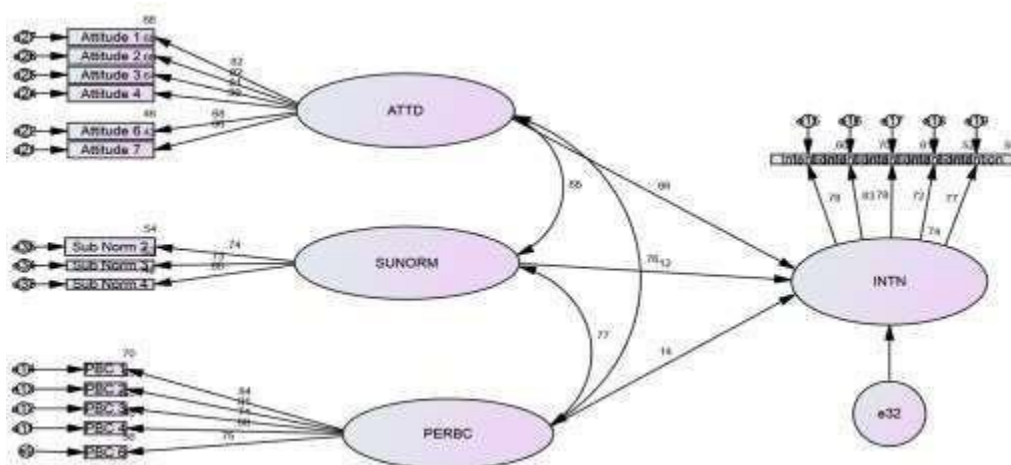

Figure 7. Structural Equation Modelling Results

It is depicted in Figure 7, the coefficient of determination, also known as the *regression square* is 0.74. This means that the model designed by and analyzed for the study explains 74% of the variance in Behavioral Intention.

This means that 74% of the increase or decrease of intention can be explained by the model while the remaining 26% are explained by other unaccounted variables. Regression Square is largely affected by the relationships of every construct to Behavioral Intention. These relationships are portrayed from the regression results generated from AMOS that are exemplified in Table 8.

Table 8. Regression Weights

		Estimate	C.R.[a]	p[b]
Behavioral Intention <---	Attitude	.655	6.417	***
Behavioral Intention <---	Subjective Norm	.140	1.175	.240
Behavioral Intention <---	Perceived Behavioral Control	.123	1.159	.246

a. C.R. refer to Critical Ratio which is also referred by others as the t-value and the value must be greater than 1.96.

b. p refer to the p value which indicates the significant
   Note: *** refer to p values of less than 0.001.

Regression weights, also known as path co-efficients, which are reflected in Table 8 represent the influence of the respective variable to behavioral intention, which is the dependent variable. Relationship among variables are confirmed if certain criteria are attained, namely, a regression weight of more that 0.10 which indicates a certain effect (Urbach and Ahlehmann, 2010), a critical ratio of greater than or equal to 1.96, and a significant p value of less than or equal to 0.05. With these criteria in consideration and in reference to the results presented in Table 8, it can be observed that among the three variables, only attitude has a positive impact over the intention of the students to support Jokowi's Drug policy. This positive impact is evidenced by Attitude's regression weight of 0.655, a relationship that

is significant at a p value of less than 0.001 and a Critical Ratio of greater than 1.96. This means that *Hypothesis 1*, which stated that *Attitude positively affects the Intent to support the War on Drugs Strategies*, is supported.

However, the second hypothesis indicating the positive relationship of Subjective Norm to Intention is rejected as it has obtained a regression weight of 0.14, at a non-significant p value of .240, and a critical ratio of less than 1.96. Same is true with the third hypothesis which stated that perceived behavioral control has a positive impact over intent. Hypothesis 3 is rejected as the results fail to support the hypothesis from an apparent regression weight of .123, at a non-significant p value of 0.246, and a critical ratio of 1.159 which is less than 1.96.

HYPOTHESES SUMMARY

Results from the regression analysis explicate the association and influence of Attitude, Subjective Norm, and Perceived Behavioral Control over the Behavioral Intention to support the Drug War strategies. A summary of the tested hypotheses is presented in the table below.

Table 9. Summary of Hypotheses Tested

No.	Hypotheses	Supported or Unsupported?
H1a	Attitude positively affects the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies of Philippines.	
H1b	Attitude positively affects the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies of Indonesia	Supported
H2a	Subjective norm positively affects the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies of Philippines.	
H2b	Subjective norm positively affects the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies of Indonesia.	Not supported
H3a	Perceived Behavioral control positively affects the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies of Philippines.	
H3b	Perceived Behavioral control positively affects the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies of Indonesia.	Not supported

4.5 Extent of Support

In providing a more in-depth analysis of the support of the public to the War on Drugs Strategies. The extent of support is evaluated under the lens of the Spectrum of Public Participation by the International Association of Public Participation (2007). Analysis of support identifies the level of support that the public is willing to volunteer for a more impactful and effective implementation of War on Drugs. Levels of Support range from the Inform Level, the Consult Level, the Involve Level, the Collaborate Level, and the highest, the Empower Level.

4.5.1 Inform Level

Table 10. Inform Level: Aggregate Responses

Action	Yes (%)	No (%)
Inform myself, my peers, my family members, and the members of my social circle about the War on Drugs from the information gathered from the news, newspapers, and from the statements of policy-makers	93.8	6.2
Ask for Pamphlets, Brochures, and leaflets about the progress of War on Drugs	84.5	15.5
Watch the news and to keep an update on the War on Drugs efforts of the police.	89.2	10.8

Note: This is compiled by the author.

Table 10 projects the responses from the respondents to the actions of support to the Drug War that were categorized to be in the inform level. There were three identified action all relating to the 'information gathering' level of public participation. As evidenced by the responses above, it should be noted that there are very affirmative responses from a very large majority of the respondents reporting their intentions to willingly do the following 'inform' actions: inform themselves and the people around them from the news, watch the news to keep updates of the drug war, and lastly to solicit information from

pamphlets and brochures in circulation. This implies that the students, in their own volition intend to keep close watch of the progress and turn of events surrounding the Indonesian Drug War. In other words, the respondents in the Indonesian Case, confirms their intentions of supporting the Drug War at an 'inform level'.

4.5.2 Consult Level

Table 11. Consult Level: Aggregate Responses

Action	Yes (%)	No (%)
Attend seminars about War on drugs: efforts and strategies	82.5	17.5
Participate in answering surveys and polls about the Drug Agency's performance in the enforcement of War on Drugs strategies	93.3	6.7

Note: This is compiled by the author.

It is reported in Table 11 that there are a huge percentage of affirmative responses to the consultative actions that were inquired in the research. These consultative responses are in the form of participating in surveys and polls and in attending seminars that is about Indonesia's Drug War. It is noteworthy that two of the specified efforts gained majority approval which implies that majority of the respondents are willing to participate in aiding the Anti-Drug Efforts of the Indonesian government in a consultative level.

4.5.3 Involve Level

Table 12. Involve Level: Aggregate Responses

Action	Yes (%)	No (%)
Attend forums about the enforcement of War on Drugs strategies	82.2	18.0

Note: This is compiled by the author.

The Table 12 reports the responses gathered from the respondents

relating to the involvement efforts that the respondents are willing to partake to show support to the Indonesian Drug War. It must be highlighted that in this level, majority of the respondents indicate that at their own volition they intend to attend forums participated by the citizens, the Drug Enforcement Agency, and the Police Officers. This confirms that at the 'involve level', majority of the respondents are willing to support the Drug War Strategies of Indonesia.

4.5.4 Collaborate Level

Table 13. Collaborate Level: Aggregate Responses

Action	Yes (%)	No (%)
Write a feedback and suggestions to the implementing agency to improve, enhance, and make changes to the strategies on the War on drugs (Partnering with the agency)	83.6	16.5
Coordinate with the implementing agencies in any possible collaborative effort to support the campaign against illegal drugs	81.4	18.6

Note: This is compiled by the author.

The Table 13 above indicates affirmative responses from the respondents regarding the respondents' willingness to partake on collaborative efforts for the Anti-Drug War Campaign of Indonesia. It is worth noting that in a collaborative level, the respodents reported to being willing to write feedbacks and suggestions to the implementing agency and also to coordinate with the implementing agency for any collaborative effort that may possibly be made to strengthen the Anti-Drug campaign. This implies that the students are willing to collaborate with the government to aid the success of the Indonesian Drug War.

4.5.5 Empower Level

Table 14. Empower Level: Aggregate Responses

Action	Yes (%)	No (%)
Participate in Neighborhood Watch as a citizen-effort to combat illegal drugs	92.3	7.7
Participate in a citizen-led effort to examine the strategies in the conduct of War on Drugs	89.2	10.8

Note: This is compiled by the author.

The Table 14 above projects the responses gathered from the respondents inquiring the respondent's willingness to partake to specific actions that would empower citizens through their participation in the Indonesian Drug War. It should be stressed out that on an empowering level; the respondents are willing to participate in a citizen-led effort of examining the Drug War strategies, while a considerably large (92.3 %) percentage of students are willing to participate in a neighborhood watch. These efforts would give an empowering position to the students as part of aiding the government on its War against Illegal Drugs. Also, majority of the respondents report their intentions of participating in citizen-led efforts of examining the drug war strategies enforced in Indonesia.

In summary, it can be confirmed that the respondents from Indonesia intend to partake in supporting the Drug War in the following levels of participation, INFORM, CONSULT, INVOLVE, COLLABORATE, AND EMPOWER. This means that not only does positive attitude of the students lead to the formation of their intention to support the drug war, but in a deeper sense it leads to the formation of their intention to support the drug war in all levels of participation (Inform, Consult, Involve, Collaborate, and Empower).

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

This part of the research is a presentation of the summary of the findings of the research, the implications drawn from the concluded findings, and lastly the recommendations made from the implications.

5.1 Summary of Findings

Generally, the research has sought to answer the following research questions: firstly, to what extent is the influence of attitude, subjective norms and perceived behavioral control in forming the intent to support the War on Drugs strategies of Indonesia; and secondly, to what extent is the intention to support from the citizens to the enforcement of the War on Drugs Strategies of Indonesia?. Towards the pursuance of these research questions, the study adopted a modified version of the Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behavior (1991) and combined it with the Spectrum of Public Participation developed by the International Association of Public Participation (2007).

The research sought to answer three hypotheses. The first hypothesis states that Attitude positively affects the intent to support the War on Drugs. The second hypothesis states that Subjective Norm positively affects the intent to support the War on Drugs Strategies. The third one states that Perceived Behavioral control positively affects the intent to support the War on Drugs strategies. In answer to the first research question, it is concluded that what influences the intention of the students to support the Indonesian Drug War is only the Attitude towards supporting it. These are evidenced by the results indicating that only attitude has a significant relationship with Intention, with a regression weight of based on the results which revealed that Attitude has a large impact over intention as evidenced by a regression weight of 0.655, significant at a p value of less than 0.0001 and a critical ratio of 6.417. For the second and third hypothesis, under the first research question, Subjective Norm and Perceived behavioral control are revealed to have no significant impact to intention with non-significant p-values of 0.240 and 0.246, respectively. This means that despite the support of the people surrounding the drug war and the perceived control over the action of supporting the drug war, these does not motivate, nor influence the students to support the Anti-Drug Efforts of the Indonesian government, only attitude does.

In answer to the second research question, on the extent of support, it is

confirmed that on every level, all specified actions were revealed to have the majority's intention of partaking. This reports that in the case of Indonesia, the students admitted a willingness to participate in supporting the Philippine Drug War not only on an Informed, and Consultative Level, but also on an Involved, Collaborative, and Empowering Levels. These ten steps are identified to be the following:

1. Inform myself, my peers, my family members, and the members of my social circle about the War on Drugs from the information gathered from the news, newspapers, and from the statements of policy-makers.

2. Ask for Pamphlets, Brochures, and leaflets about the Progress of War on Drugs.

3. Watch the news and to keep an update on the War on Drugs efforts of the police.

4. Attend seminars about War on drugs: efforts and strategies.

5. Participate in answering surveys and polls about the Drug Agency's performance in the enforcement of War on Drugs strategies.

6. Attend forums about the enforcement of War on Drugs strategies.

7. Write a feedback and suggestions to the implementing agency to improve, enhance, and make changes to the strategies on the War on drugs (Partnering with the agency).

8. Coordinate with the implementing agencies in any possible collaborative effort to support the campaign against illegal drugs.

9. Participate in Neighborhood Watch as a citizen-effort to combat illegal drugs.

10. Participate in a citizen-led effort to examine the strategies in the conduct of War on Drugs.

5.2 Implications

The research argues that the students' attitude towards supporting Drug War and their evaluation of whether supporting it is good or bad, primarily propels the intention of supporting it. The research also argues that despite the strong social bonds between families, peers, and even within the school environment, the decision of the students with regards to the Drug War appear to be unaffected by the social forces. Lastly, the ease of supporting the policy does not appear to have an effect to the student's decision of supporting the Drug War. The popularity of the Drug War and on why it has gained widespread support from the Indonesians is primarily driven by the attitude of the

citizens towards the drug war.

This is supported by the argument that Attitudes are important as they may translate into actions and behaviors (Crawley, 2009) which could reinforce the theoretical ties of Attitude and Behavioral Intentions. Furthermore, the influence of Attitude to Behavioral Intention revealed in this research is also in synch with the results of the study of Pierce et. al (2014) which stressed out that attitude is important to society's acceptance of new policies and that cultivating positive attitude would, on a great extent, aid the formation of society's acceptance of a policy (Pierce et. al, 2014). On one hand, Subjective Norm surprisingly emerged to have no impact on Behavioral Intention to support. Although, the Indonesian Drug Was is empirically proven to be popularly supported, this popularity has not influenced the students' intention to support the Anti-Drug Campaign. Several studies have investigated the influence of public opinion to people's policy judgments (Furth-Matzkin and Sunstein, 2018) and although individuals fall towards conforming to public opinion, some researches have argued that individuals may also have a tendency to show reactance (Furth- Matzkin and Sunstein, 2018; Brehm and Brehm, 1981). Furthermore, another notable research argued that counter-conformity towards the social influence from the people surrounding the individuals may be accounted from having a strong moral basis of attitude (Hornsey et al., 2003) which reinforces the insignificant effect of subjective norm in this research.

The results of the study imply that strategic government interventions aimed at increasing the public support towards Jokowi's Drug War strategies, must take into account the pivotal role played by the public's attitude towards the Drug War. In other words, a more impactful drug war that is garnered from the public's widespread support, can be furthered and attained by conducting more attitude-transformative programs. These are founded from the results of the research that argues that the more positive the attitude of the people are towards the Drug War, the more the people would be keen enough to support it. Attitude transformation programs may come in forms of seminars, information drive, publicity strategies, and other engagements that would promote the people's understanding of the Drug War and what it aims to address. Open dialogue and increased communications would positively advance the drug policy

towards more policy analysis and evidenced-based interventions that can enhance the anti- drug strategies and provide more opportunity for the public to give inputs. It can also shed light to the controversies surrounding Indonesia's Drug War and could shift the negative connotation of the Drug War and how it is conducted in Indonesia.

As evidenced by the strength of Attitude as an predictor of 'intention support', changing public attitudes towards the Drug War, re-establishing and strengthening trust in political institutions, and sustaining positive attitude towards the campaign against illegal drugs are all important for the continuity of the Indonesian Drug War Strategies. In addition, specified actions were also identified in this study to aid the government in identifying the efforts that needs to be capitalized. All the ten identified efforts from the five levels (inform, consult, involve, collaborate, and empower) of public participation are valuable information of what students are willing to do on their end provided that a platform and avenue would be provided on the end of the government or any organization/agency.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Recommendations for future research

There are several areas in the research that can be further explored, improved, and re-evaluated. Limitations of the research imply that results must be understood with caution and prudence. For one, the research had employed a self- reported questionnaire survey which could potentially mean that self-reports might have emerged from personal biases and answers might not have been truthful nor sincere. Second point, the sample size may be considered small and Conchran's formula for sample size measurement is recommended for researches with a target population characterized to have a great variability. Third point, it was from the researchers' own conceptualization that the constructs of the Theory of Planned Behavior and the interplay of the Spectrum of Public Participation were tested hence it should be considered as a novice attempt for model construction. Also, there is a potential for the extension of the research to other countries with an emerging Drug War Strategies of their own: Lao PDR and Cambodia.

5.3.2 Recommendation for Policy makers/government agencies

With the ensuing implications of the research results, several recommendations that could have potential value are proposed for the Indonesian government for the sustainability of its Anti-Drug Campaign. Mainly, information drive and dissemination focused on a more transparent and corrupt-free drug war must be made a priority. Seminars, workshops, and citizen-participated opportunities must be maximized. Engagements partnering with universities to keep students informed and involved must also be frequented. The education of the students in younger ages could be an effective preventive measure to the threat of drug abuse. Hence, citizen- engagement and open forums must be conducted periodically, including collaboration with the community and the schools. The stigma that drug users are criminals can also be countered and may possibly pave way to an approach that is more concerned of health concerns than punitive sanctions.

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Public Support Towards War on Drugs Strategies

A Comparison of Indonesia And Philippines

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