

(ACTIVE DEFENSE)

STRATEGIC DESIGN IN THE PREVENTION OF ILLICIT NARCOTICS DISTRIBUTION



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Research, Data and Information Center
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**Assalamu'alaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh.
May peace be upon us.**

Praised be to the God Almighty for the blessing and guidance to complete the Book. This book results from a collaboration between the Research Data and Information Center of BNN RI with Bhayangkara University, Jakarta.

The rise of illicit drug trafficking with various modes of operandi is one of the challenges in preventing and eradicating drugs abuse and illicit trafficking of narcotics and its precursors. Various attempts have been made. However, the number of abusers and cases is still growing. It is therefore deemed necessary to develop an evidence-based policy.

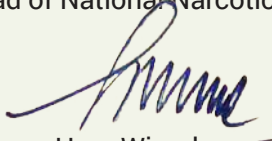
Currently, Indonesia has become a destination country for illicit drug trafficking. A number of illegal entrances or shortcut roads have made it easier for dealers and couriers to smuggle narcotics into Indonesian territory. To overcome this, BNN has determined the direction of policies and strategies, including improving supervision of the entry point area for distribution routes by increasing capacity for cooperation to prevent and eradicate illicit drug trafficking. BNN cannot stand alone to prevent and eradicate illicit drug trafficking so that cooperation with all related Ministries/Agencies/Institutions are obliged to do so. Through the results of this study, it is hoped that we have the same view for carrying out cooperation in the prevention and eradication of illicit drug trafficking.

Foreward

Finally, as the Head of the BNN, I would like to thank the Chancellor of the Bhayangkara University Jakarta Raya and all other partners. They have helped carry out this study. It is hoped that all stakeholders can utilize the results of this study in P4GN program implementation

Wassalamualaikum Wr.Wb.

Jakarta, December 2020
Head of National Narcotics Board



Heru Winarko

Assalamuallaikum Wr.Wb.

By giving thanks to Allah SWT, for His grace and guidance, we have completed the book of Active Defense Strategy Design for the Prevention of Drug Trafficking in a timely manner. The book is published based on the results of a study which is a collaboration between the Research, Data, and Information Center BNN with Bhayangkara University Jakarta Raya.

This study has involved several parties, including BNNP, Regency/City BNN, and several Ministry/Institution partners that this study can run smoothly and produce accountable data and information.

The writing of this book consists of 5 chapters, starting from the Introduction; Research Methods; Results (consisting of Findings and Analysis; Definition and Scope of Active Defense Strategy; External Strategic Environmental Problems; Internal Strategic Environmental Problems; BNN Internal Institutional Problems; BNN External Institutional Problems); and finally Conclusions and Recommendations.

On this occasion, we would like to thank the Head of the National Narcotics Board and the Rector of Bhayangkara University Jakarta Raya for carrying out the study and preparation of this book. We also thank those specifically involved in preparing this book, including researchers from Bhayangkara University Jakarta Raya and all members of Research, Data, and Information Center BNN

Preface

We hope that this book will be of use to decision-making and improvement of The Prevention and Eradication program of Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking (P4GN)

Wassalamualaikum Wr.Wb.

Jakarta, December 2020

Editorial Board

The disclosure of a production center along with findings of around three thousand liters of fentanyl precursor, millions of methamphetamines (pills and crystal), thousands of kilos of heroin, and numerous types of precursors in Myanmar in April 2020 have shown that the fight against illegal and illicit addictive drugs is entering a “new phase,” which is a synthetic opium phase, especially fentanyl. The source of concern lies in the fact that fentanyl is 50 times stronger than heroin and 100 times stronger than morphine.

Several reports and investigations showed that the market volume of methamphetamine estimated by UNODC is around US\$ 61 billion, and this would not be possible without the involvement of a transnational crime syndicate/cartel that works diligently and in a very organized manner. On this issue, the world calls all leaders, especially in Southeast Asia, to unite and explore more creative approaches.

Active Defense strategy launched by BNN for this past year is one of those creative proposals to respond to the illicit distribution of drugs that are getting grimmer each time. Active Defense is a strategy that aims to prevent the entering of illicit drugs from overseas and to take preventive measures by maximizing synergy and collaboration with both national and international agencies within an integrated interdiction framework.

This research aims to strengthen and improve the Active Defense strategy to prevent the illicit distribution of narcotics and drugs. The research conducts strategic environmental analysis at the macro level in the Southeast Asia region or the domestic level, within the BNN institution or outside of this institution. It does so synthesizing macro analysis using approaches adopted from defense, security, regional international relations, socio-economic, cultural, and psychological studies. This research combines quantitative and qualitative methods with a method and data triangulation scheme. Data used in the triangulation process draws from various methods. From observation, interviews, FGD (primary data), reviews of state-of-the-art academic literature, official reports, and legal archives (secondary data). It also analyzes datasets mined from social media, online coverage, and existing official data set (big data).

Active Defense

From a literature search, we could find that the idea of Active Defense refers to defense strategies of four dimensions of threat: imminent, probable, possible, and existing (that usually generate impacts).

The characteristic of Active Defense is that it is not only defensive or resilient in nature, but it also has a built-in offensive aspect in its infrastructure clad, technology, and even in the mindset of its operatives. Active Defense emphasizes the strategy to strengthen defense capacity as well as resilient system, not only to survive but also to improve its capacity for interception and retaliation. This is why the most appropriate translation of Active Defense in Indonesian is *“pertahanan aktif”* and not *“defensif aktif”* as is usually used.

Short Definition about Active Defense

“Active Defense Strategy is a strategy employed to minimize collective vulnerability to neutralize the attack/offense from enemy.”

Complete Definition about Active Defense

“Active Defense strategy is a strategy employed to improve the defensive and resilient capacity for oneself and one’s alliance to deter, detect, intercept, mitigate, neutralize, counterattack, and revitalize oneself from existing, potential, possible threat, as well as the one that has already affected all aspects and vulnerability.”

Short Definition	Full Definition
“Minimize vulnerability”	“Strengthening resilience capacity and maintaining”
“together”	Self and alliance
“against”	“Terrify, detect, intercept, dampen, neutralize, fight back and revitalize oneself” “Threat impact”
“The risk of an opponent’s attack”	“Whether existing, potential, possible, and already having an impact” “In all arenas and areas of vulnerability”

Referring to the RPJMN Technocratic Plan of 2020-2024 Bappenas, the Active Defense strategy is considered to be most appropriate since its orientation to “strengthening defense internally for external prevention,” and it is able to address RPJMN’s mandate that is to “strengthen capacity in overcoming the threats from illicit drugs and narcotics.” Therefore, in the absence of consensus on the definition of Active Defense, we would like to propose a definition that would make the orientation more explicit. Here, we have a concise and comprehensive definition.

Executive Summary

Based on the definition above, this study formulates four functions of Active Defense and its relations to BNN’s institutional function, especially in P4GN. These four functions are protection function (combating), preventive function, curative function (rehabilitation), and increased immunity function (empowerment), as summarized in the table below:

Matrix on Strategic Posture and Maneuvers of Active Defense

BNN Function	Posture	Inward Strategies	Outward Strategies	Pre conditions
Combating	Protective	Neutralizing	Retaliation	Direct threats
Prevention	Preventive	Interception/ interdiction	Detection and Preemptive	Potential/ Predictable threats
Rehabilitation	Curative	Reconstruction/ Revitalization	Redeployment	Manifested threats
Community empowerment	Immunitive	Mitigate/ endure	Deterrence	Probable/ possible threat

As reflected in the Active Defense doctrine, this strategy first applies internally. Then it also seeks to improve the capacity externally. Before we get to the recommendation, what follows is an analysis of the strategic environment that presents challenges for this particular strategy.

Strategic Environment (External and Internal)

There are three crucial developments in the external strategic environment. First, the assumption that there is a transnational crime syndicate backing the illegal addictive substance business from Myanmar. It is then proven by a recent report on the Sam Gor cartel led by a fugitive called Tse Chi Lop, who united 19 syndicates in China, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Myanmar. It is estimated that this syndicate earns US\$ 17 billion of profit, which is a third of methamphetamine market volume in East Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Australia. Secondly, China is the source of synthetic narcotic precursors (meth or opiate/ fentanyl). The government of China faces a dilemma whether to be firm in regulating and applying strict production and distribution of this precursor

from their country or not. Their situation is because first, it will disturb its economy, which serves as the second-largest pharmaceutical industry in the world. Secondly, it will disturb its silk path project (Belt and Road Initiative), especially in the Myanmar corridor. It is also reported that China has negotiated with separatist group WA on the border of the Myanmar corridor. Thirdly, it is about ASEAN as a regional architecture with an ambiguous function. Utilizing ASEAN could not be done multilaterally if it is to play a role in overcoming illicit narcotics issues in the region. Instead, ASEAN functions well in the bilateral realm

Internally, at least four situations contribute strategically to the narcotics issue requiring more serious attention. The first is about the Sam Gor syndicate, whose footprints have frequently been found in Indonesia. Their presence should also improve the awareness of anticipating the possibility of a crisis of synthetic opium, fentanyl, which is also suspected as Sam Gor's commodity business. Secondly, the poverty situation in the border area is often suspected as the catalyst of cross-border supply path. Although that particular perspective often emerges during the field study, statistics show no significant relationship between poverty and distribution. Even though the relationship between these two factors is quite visible, many analyses show that poverty is not a stand-alone factor facilitating drug trafficking. This is crucial to rule out bias and stereotypes of poor people in the border area suspected of being lured into a courier job due to its lucrative payment.

Thirdly, the blunder of the punitive regimes, be it correction or rehabilitation. The data and research at the national level about the recidivism rate of the two programs are limited, which means there has not been any analysis that confirms the outcome of the two programs. On the contrary, we have seen the overcrowding phenomenon happening as well as the difficulty faced to control narcotic distribution inside and from the prisons. From the rehabilitation perspective, the field study receives a lot of testimonies on a very high relapse rate. Aside from seeing it from the partial perspective of correctional system and rehabilitation technique, it will be far more crucial to scientifically and empirically evaluate the effectiveness of punitive regime in general as a way to overcome narcotics problem.

The fourth development in the strategic environment is the youth issue, especially adolescents who are not receiving serious attention required for intervention measures (from the dissemination of information to rehabilitation) due to the bias resulting from the generational gap. There seems to be a situation where program planners undermine the youth, which leads to stereotyping of the youth's mindset and socializing pattern. This is especially in relation to the youth's coping mechanism facing social pressures economically or socio-culturally, as well as dissemination of information and interaction patterns between them. Nevertheless, there is a limited measure/endeavor to empirically and scientifically analyze the outcome of the efforts to reach out to the youth. On the contrary, what is evident here is a very high prevalence of depression among adolescents as well as a high prevalence of narcotic/drugs abuse among them due to peer pressure.

Fifthly, the limited capacity of Indonesia's academics to escort policy formulation and implementation. The insularity and alienation of academics acutely happen, especially in Indonesia's research or study on illicit drugs and narcotics. This is evident from the data about the meager quantity of article submission (under 10 percent) that meets minimum requirement standards on references and even lower (0.97%) for the number of scientific journal references according to the conventional standard. Compared to other countries, research on narcotics in Indonesia is also minimal. Indonesia's academic landscape still has a lot of work to do to improve itself, especially in its endeavors to support research-based anti-narcotics policies.

Institutional Condition (BNN Internal and External)

Internally, the first issue found in BNN is the absence of a measurement scheme that would be used to measure institutional outcomes regarding success or failure in overcoming narcotics issues. The existing indexes only measure BNN's internal performance as an institution. Furthermore, the indexes issued by BNN only measure the community's side (prevalence, resilience, etc.). A specific and separate index is required to measure and confirm BNN's influence and contribution to the outcome,

and not bureaucratic performance output against the objective indicators of successful handling of narcotics issues.

The second problem identified is human capital. For this issue this happens not only in BNN but also in other P4GN stakeholders' institutions. From the field study, we have found that there are a lot of complaints around the quality and qualification of human resources, especially the ones with expertise in handling addiction. The complaints are coming not only from BNNK but also from numerous correctional facilities, social service agencies, and private rehabilitation service providers. For the latter, the approach adopted is more informal, peer-relation, and motivational by employing former drug users rather than a more professional and research-based approach. Another complaint is about how the human capital is lacking in communication/PR, project management, program development, and technical knowledge (medical and chemistry) on the new type of narcotics (NPS). Another issue is around international strategy. Regardless of the BNN's leaders' optimism and visionary aspiration, this research captures unpreparedness and even lack of confidence among the staffs at the national and, more prominently, sub-national levels. BNN should take capacity development programs more seriously. Not only in developing quality human resources but also in developing several specializations and ensuring their capacity to compete internationally.

The third issue is that it appears that BNN's changing approaches to the community have not been confirmed through several studies— in fact, one that BNN itself conducted in 2016 has already recommended the changes. In general, the approach taken is a one-off or more incident-based approach, still not attractive/interesting enough. Most importantly, the result is not worth the efforts and cost incurred by the sub-national level. For the middle and upper-class adolescents living in urban areas, these approaches are considered outdated and too patronizing for them and not seen as something more persuasive and supportive. Again, there has not been any standard used to measure these approaches' success (or failure) from the outcome perspective.

Fourth, with the limited capacity of the academic and policy with evidence and scientific basis, BNN needs to strategically upscale its research. At the sub-national level, there is a need to understand social changes dynamic in order to decide the most appropriate intervention strategies. The same thing applies to rehabilitation. From the BNN perspective, in general, the BNN research performance is much better than the other Indonesian academics in general, as well as its volume or quantity. Nevertheless, BNN still has a lot of work to do with regards to its researchers' specialization, as well as bureaucratic processes that are not only counterproductive and inefficient but also hampering the possibility of generating more innovative and updated.

External to BNN, institutionally, the mindset and commitment to effectively implement P4GN are very limited. This research highlights the deficit of P4GN mindset in three spheres. Firstly, the law enforcement sphere. There is huge desynchrony where internally, they all have their own definition on "limited decriminalization" of the Anti-narcotics Law. Many still employ the penal-centered approach in the law enforcement process as well as in the assessment (at the TAT) rather than the rehabilitation-centered approach. The preventive mindset is still not yet mainstreamed into the law enforcement paradigm among the law enforcement apparatuses. This research even concludes that BNN is often trapped in a contestation among law enforcement agencies, and one of these agencies is the police department. This impression prevails not only at the national but also at the sub-national level. The effective performance of BNN will be determined by whether or not BNN is able to manage this issue.

Second, the mindset deficit is also happening in the line ministries level at both national and sub-national. The most common deficiency is the lack of belongingness to the P4GN program even though the Presidential Instruction on National Action Plan of P4GN has been issued twice. Some even perceive this program as only BNN's. This issue has brought some serious implications to the low initiative in program administration or even to allocate budget for P4GN programs. The research captures that strong impression; even the researchers agreed that most of the FGD organized with relevant line ministries are a waste of time, money, and energy.

Finally, at the community level. BNN's efforts to mainstream preventive measures by involving the community are often opposed by the community's desire of the heroic imagery of the drug trafficking combat saga: the chase, arrests, shootings, etc. The findings from mass media analysis and complaints/testimonies from relevant officials/officers (both BNN and Police) confirm this. From this research, we can find that public perception and reception are very influential to the tendency of law enforcement officers to capitalize their works for earning public spotlight. Not only public image strategy, the P4GN also has a very important task to do: to find the most appropriate appreciation that would motivate the officers to work more covert operations.

Theory of Change: The Active Defense Strategy for Prevention of Distribution

The imperative of Active Defense Strategy for Trafficking Prevention is that, on the one hand, an improved active defense and resilience capacity at the national level are the prerequisites for an external preventive strategy. On the other hand, this external preventive strategy should be prioritized in order to be utilized as internal active defense and resilience strategies. Therefore, all of the internal policies would become strategic and contributive to the successful implementation of external active defense strategy.

With the lessons learned from external strategic analysis and Indonesia's diplomatic history in the region, the research recommends BNN to plan its work into anti-narcotics regime-building diplomacy. This diplomacy is done to develop a constructive informal leadership capacity in the region, which means that the leadership should be developed from informal/ cultural dialog and collective actions of all key leaders in the region. Moreover, the leadership must facilitate innovative ideas as a way to develop active defense and resilience

Second, the active defense for trafficking prevention, or what can be called the Strategi Pertahanan Aktif untuk Cegah-Edar (SPACE), should be implemented holistically using three approaches of supply-, demand-, and harm-reduction, and should also be integrated with measures to strategize

all working units within BNN to ensure that this strategy is effective. The paradigm shift to prevention that BNN is currently doing should be promoted even further to the formulation and evaluation of programs in all units in tangible means, in terms of its performance (output) or result (outcome). In other words, all units are obliged to explain and be accountable for their programs in terms of to what extent they could: prevent people from obtaining or becoming supply providers; prevent people from inquiring or even creating demand; and prevent the illicit business of addiction to be harmful to individuals and the community.

Third, to complement the shift towards a more preventive paradigm in BNN, this research recommends aligning the processes of threat prevention (or securitization) to the fundamentals of active defense strategy and synchronizing the program and policy. Since the active defense strategy is oriented towards strengthening internally in order to support the external, thus the active involvement of the community, even a proactive involvement, is essential. People have to be supported to be able to do active defense functions independently. Starting with early detection capacity, the capacity to overcome problems, to the ability to mitigate threats. In order to increase support, commitment, and trust from the community, BNN needs not only to disseminate information on knowledge, information, and the spirit of active defense P4GN, but also to guarantee human rights, witness protection, and individual privacy

With the spirit passed on by the Strategic Plan document and also the Strategic Plan Academic Paper to design a policy that is in line with the latest development of narcotic crime ecology, the research recommends BNN to have a holistic threat map (threat model). It must pertain to threats, attacks, and the possible impacts of the illegal narcotic addiction business to the community. This includes an intervention strategy that considers the extent of threats from diverse narcotic threat agents: starting from persuasive narratives to neurochemical impacts, from the agents of social supply to the transnational cartel. This means the scenario of active defense and security should be designed at the individual psychological level, social relation, public space, at the national border, and further at the international level.

Fourth, this research recommends the Prevalence Index as the main reference index from the P4GN outcome and suggests a target performance to the 'zero prevalence' figure.¹ The rationale here is that to measure the outcome of P4GN, we could not do it from the supply side, primarily because the reference from the supply is unlimited (the "never dies" business and the center of which is unknown), which means that it is methodologically impossible. On the contrary, and in line with the basic idea of active defense, measurement should be done from the demand side: to what extent the community is free from exposure, and to what extent it is immune from the possible exposure in the future. To get to this point, proximal indices (intermediary) that would guide as well as connect the program and policy towards zero prevalence are necessary. We recommend formulating the Active Defense Index (known as Indeks Pertahanan Aktif (IPA)) to measure the post-intervention outcome from the program/policy, while the P4GN index is kept to measure the outcome of the program and policy.

The other two theories of change are interconnected. First, the research recommends placing 'addiction' as the basis of intervention to the community. Addiction should be perceived as the root cause of all of these narcotics' complications, especially the illicit/illegal business of it. Putting addiction in the center of active defense and resilience strategy will help BNN in formulating the most appropriate and targeted intervention because it considers how addiction works and damages. In line with this, secondly, the research also recommends a policy improvement towards a more evidence-based and science-backed one. This should be done by *inter alia* issuing regulations and allocating a special budget for the development of scientific and academic analysis as the background study for all policies taken by each working unit at the BNN.

Strategic Recommendations

By using the aforementioned theories of change and by referring to the formulation of Strategi Pertahanan Aktif untuk Cegah-Edar (SPACE), the

1. The number 0 on the quotation is not directly pointed to 0,00. Statistically, it could be 0,49, which if rounded up to one digit, the result will be showed as 0.

following are macro-strategic recommendations. First, in order to improve on one hand a sense of urgency, the level of seriousness, and performance from all line ministries for P4GN, and on the other hand overcoming huge costs, the research recommends a strategy of externalization of oversight and international financial support. The possible activities in this regard are to regionalize (i.e. internationalization at the regional level) the rhetoric, policy, and programs of P4GN in Southeast Asia and to capitalize P4GN programs in the form of narcotics bonds. The strategy of externalization of oversight could be done by inviting international highlights on P4GN performances at the domestic level and therefore has the potential to render international appreciation through multilateral fora or bilateral agreement. Secondly is by issuing bonds. With bonds, global investors could contribute financially to overcome narcotic issues in the region and finally in Indonesia. Investors will also oversee—and it is one of the essences of this recommendation—through budget tagging. As a bonus, as the initiator of the world's first narcotics bond in the world, Indonesia's leadership in the region would be amplified.

In principle, the objective of the anti-narcotics diplomacy of BNN is to gain trust and friendship and then to consolidate other countries to be involved in generating ideas and preventive measures of an “upscaled version of P4GN” at the regional level. The strategic outcome of this measure is to secure Indonesia's leadership informally at the regional level. With leadership as a modality, Indonesia could condition diplomatic mood at the regional level in sync with China and other countries such as Australia and New Zealand. Therefore, we would like to recommend BNN to set priorities and customize international approaches in establishing the Concentric Circle of Anti-narcotics Diplomacy. The suggested concentric circle is based on the geographical and cultural proximity, the security constituents at the regional level, as well as the different degrees of exposure to the illicit business of narcotics.

The first concentric circle is Malaysia and Singapore that border directly with Indonesia. The collaboration measures for purposes of prevention, intelligence, and rehabilitation are recommended to take place in this circle, especially in building a prevalence database for the region to be used as a measurement of success. The second concentric circle is Myanmar,

Laos and Thailand, which are considered as the Golden Triangle area. The recommended collaboration is one that focuses on the development of alternatives and the improvement of livelihood. The third concentric is China. Indonesia must be able to consolidate a harmonious diplomatic standpoint among Southeast Asian leaders when it comes to China. Another achievement is the appointment of liaison officials or intelligence diplomats to base and operate in China. It would be more strategic when the officials/diplomat also represent ASEAN countries, which would only reinforce Indonesia's leadership. The last circle is Australia and New Zealand as the countries where the highest economic value of narcotic flourish. The collaboration in this region is for program financing, intelligence, and experience sharing among the international prevention group, and finally to support Indonesia (and ASEAN) in dealing with China (since Australia already had previous proximity with China in combating narcotic syndicate).

To ensure the recommendations above—the regionalization/capitalization strategy and anti-narcotic diplomacy in the region, and to “fill in” the vacant policy space, the following strategic recommendations concern ideas that could be proposed and offered to the region, as well as to be capitalized in the form of narcotics bond.

The first idea is to promote the existing BNN Professional Certification Institution (LSP) to provide an international narcotic certification program by using the corporate university model. The certification covers all types of works related to narcotics ranging from bureaucracy administration, program management, campaign design, public relations, counseling, psychological support, programmer, researchers, to law enforcement forces in the community, sea, and border, and even to other law enforcement agencies personnel such as attorneys, judges, diplomats, etc. The basic idea here is that Indonesia should initiate the capacity improvement of human capital in the region while at the same time involving the community in this program. With the Corporate University model, BNN could design certification programs more professionally, accountable, and elegant.

The second idea is to promote the initiative of INARCELL (International Anti-Narcotics Center for Excellence) that BNN has already implemented to be the first epistemic community in Southeast Asia that specifically

tackles narcotics issues. The working programs could be synchronized with BNN Corporate University, but the basic idea is to turn INARCELL into a Center for Policy Research Excellence, in which experts, academics, researchers, and the strategic policy makers in the region involved in conducting the joint research and dissemination to deliberate and discuss the latest challenges in narcotics. INARCELL could be the center of research (like National Institute on Drug Abuse in the US) that would specifically study in and on the Southeast Asian region.

The next idea is to initiate the data-driven Regional Interdiction Platform. This is a relatively new program that can only be achieved when there is mutual trust among countries in the region. The basic idea is to initiate a database platform and a visual dashboard that would be accessible to all “BNN” in the region, which then serve as the primary reference in coordinating measures. For this to happen, countries must agree on various forms of metadata to be shared, accessed, and overseen in real-time. Then each would assign one of the units to ensure correct application and updating of the data. One of the datasets is the establishment of Prevalence Data in the region before going to more sensitive data.

Fourth, this research also recommends post-sentence programs (correctional and rehabilitation) collectively in the region. Though it is implemented in each country, the formulation and reporting should take place at the regional level. The post-sentencing program could be a signatory program that would glue countries together as their characteristics tend to be more people-centered and low-politics.

Fifth is to design (as well as to arrange) systematically the rehabilitation program and strategies at the national level with a more human-centered intervention. The design process involves all actors, practitioners, researchers as well as the rehabilitation agency administrator. To this end, BNN needs to consolidate all elements and stakeholders in rehabilitation to agree on the outcome- and output-based programs. For the human-centered paradigm, it is recommended that BNN explore various alternatives model for addiction aside from the brain disease model (BDMA, brain disease model of addiction), which is proven to be contra-productive, towards the neurodevelopmental-learning model, which

is more and more gaining currency globally, both in the academic and practical/clinical sphere. It could start with cross-disciplinary addiction study and conference (public health, social welfare, psychological, neuroscience, sociology, anthropology, etc.) by inviting relevant experts (such as Marc Lewis) as resource persons. Furthermore, we could ask them to give workshops and to guide the development of therapeutic techniques and instruments along with the formulation of rehabilitation outcomes at the national level. This nationally consolidated rehabilitation program is then upscaled to be as high profile as possible so that it could be brought to the regional fora in Southeast Asia. With this, a people-to-people collaboration could be materialized—and one achievement of Indonesia's cultural diplomacies is scored.

The fifth recommendation also contributes to our sixth recommendation: the public involvement in active defense and resilience program, which is from, by, and for the community. We call this a Societal Active Defense Program. The existing program at the BNN, such as *Agen Pemulihan* (Rehabilitation Agent), could also be iterated further here. The basic idea of this program is to strengthen the community by providing them the information, early detection training/daily counseling (to work on emotional sharing),² content creation and awareness-raising campaign, as well as to ask the public to be actively involved in formulating BNN's policies, and other BNN in the region, using co-creation policy. Here the basic ideas of active defense and resilience will earn its momentum, which is collectively working with the public to fight against the many threats of narcotics.

The aforementioned recommendations are indeed very expensive to be implemented. This is where the regionalization and capitalization strategies gain relevancy. With externalized financing strategy, BNN could maintain its focus to meeting quality standards for a better outcome. BNN would no longer be annoyed by irresponsible personnel and low commitment from line ministries because with this strategy, all of the P4GN active defense and resilience programs would be overseen and escorted in multiple layers; first politically (by the parliament), socially (NGO and

2. A lot of researches show that the most dominant help-seeking behaviour among adolescents experiencing mental and life issues is by sharing their feeling or emotion with their friends or peers, which are not professional, possess no expertise and tend to provide bad solution.

media), academically (universities and regional epistemic community), and internationally (neighboring countries in the region), and also by the market (investor and narcotics bonds' budget tagging mechanism).

Practical Recommendations

Aside from providing strategic recommendations, which would be valuable for the medium to long-term, this research also recommends several more practical points that BNN could implement immediately.

1. Rebranding of BNN media persona towards a more preventive direction, especially with campaigning about the idea of active defense and resilience or SPACE (Strategi Pertahanan Aktif untuk Cegah-Edar).
2. Secondly, the working unit responsible for communication, information, and education needs to evaluate the biases of “healthy individual” and “good Samaritan” that render its media content so normative. For this purpose, these units need to design the program in line with the human-centered perspective (i.e., neurodevelopmental-learning addiction model), along with measurable matrices that could be accounted for in real-time.
3. Third, BNN needs to allocate and develop Big Data infrastructure and to disseminate information to other line ministries to actively contribute to the database with their respective outcomes and outputs as stipulated in Presidential Instruction Number 2/2020 on RAN P4GN
4. BNN needs to invest in the development of e-learning content (and more than just YouTube videos) to educate the latest issues on narcotics in a more systematic way. The contents could be distinguished for different sets of audiences such as officials, general public, and students. BNN may also involve the university in developing the Learning Management System (e-learning platform).
5. Following up to number four, it is also recommended that BNN draft practical guidelines, provide technical assistance to institutions and officials at the sub-national level to formulate programs, budgets, and implement the P4GN program in their regions. This could also be done offline with accessible e-learning content anytime and anywhere.
6. On the P4GN financing that often faces deadlocks, both from the deficit of goodwill from the head of local government and due to limited

local budget. The research recommends BNN explore the possibility to utilize the Deconcentration Fund and Special Allocated Fund as stipulated in the Law Number 23/2014 about Local Government as the legal channel to finance P4GN at the sub-national level. From a technocratic financial perspective, BNN as a vertical agency (established by the Law on Anti Narcotics) could develop these two types of funding as a measure to ensure effective implementation of P4GN at the sub-national level.

7. Seventh, in regards to the border area, BNN needs to propose a review on the Cross-Border ID Card or Kartu Identitas Lintas Batas (KILB), which is often misused for smuggling narcotics, especially in land-border posts. The installation of surveillance cameras on the border posts connected to BNN's situation room could also be considered.
8. To prevent incidents that confirms even further the theory of "school of crime," BNN needs to propose and usher correctional policy at the DG of Corrections of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights to include detainees and inmates who are alleged and sentenced as drug dealers and/or part of a cartel to prisons with maximum security, away from other inmates.
9. With regards to the Integrated Assessment Team (TAT, Tim Asesmen Terpadu) that often induces controversy due to numerous sentence/punitive-centered approaches than rehab-centered ones, BNN needs to emphasize further the spirit of prevention and rehabilitation-as-prevention into the Narcotics Law and SEMA 4/2020. It is expected that this would reduce the ambiguity surrounding the controversy among law enforcement officers in determining the assessment outcome.
10. In terms of the revision of Law on Narcotics, the research recommends securing several issues, including international mindset and strategy of the formulation, prevention-oriented tones, rehabilitation standardization, a firm definition of abuser/dealer/drug-kingpin, coordination between national-sub-national level, the involvement of cross-disciplinary academic community (psychological, social and medical), the coordination within and among line ministries, local financing strategies, and the imperative of evidence-based policy. This research also recommends including "active defense and resilience" into the new law to ensure sustainable support of the programs and mindset following institutional dynamics.

Table of Content

FOREWARD	i
PREFACE	iii
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	v
TABLE OF CONTENT	xxi
LIST OF FIGURE	xxv
LIST OF GRAPHIC	xxvii
LIST OF TABLE	xxix
LIST OF SCHEME	xxxi
1. INTRODUCTION	3
2. OBJECTIVE AND PURPOSE	13
3. URGENCY	17
3.1. Policy Urgency	17
3.2. Practical Urgency	17
3.3. Academic Urgency	18
4. FRAMEWORK OF IDEAS	21
4.1. Strategic Environment	21
4.2. Supply, Demand, Harm	24
5. METHODS	29
5.1. Strategic Net Assessment	29
5.2. Triangulation	30
5.3. Research Limitation	32
6. DESIGN AND STAGES OF RESEARCH	35
7. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS	41
7.1. Strategic Definition and Coverage of Active Defense	41
7.1.1. Evolution of Active Defense Strategic Ideas	41
7.1.2. Inspiration of Active Defense for BNN	46
7.1.3. Inspiration of Active Defense for P4GN, especially prevention	51
7.2. External Strategic Environment	55

Table of Content

7.2.1. El Chapo Asia	56
7.2.2. Chinese Road	60
7.2.3. ASEAN Way	66
7.3. Internal Strategic Environment	68
7.3.1. The Threat of the Next Wave of Synthetic Drugs	68
7.3.2. Economic Issue as Catalyst of Supply at The Border	74
7.3.3. The Blunder of Punishment Regime (Correctional and Rehabilitation)	78
7.3.4. Youth Well-Being: Psychological Demand vs. Social Supply	85
7.3.5. Insularity in Research of Drugs	89
7.4. BNN Internal Institutionalization	95
7.4.1. Problematic Relation Between Output and Outcome	95
7.4.2. Shortage of Human Capital With Specific Narcotics-related Qualification on	100
7.4.3. Problems on the Approach to Community	101
7.4.4. The Importance of Upscaling to Research Excellence	109
7.5. BNN External Institutionalization	113
7.5.1. Spirit of Prevention in the Law Enforcement is Not Yet Mainstreamed	113
7.5.2. The Performance Limitations of P4GN among Ministries/Institutions/Departments	116
7.5.3. Low Popularity of Prevention Mindset in the Society	119
8. RECOMMENDATIONS	125
8.1. Theory of Change	125
8.1.1. Regime-Building Diplomacy: Leadership with Ideas	125
8.1.2. <i>Strategi Pertahanan Aktif untuk Cegah-Edar (SPACE)/</i> Active Defense Strategy for Prevention of Distribution	128
8.1.3. Re-securitization of “Circulation” from “Preventive” Perspective	134
8.1.4. Result-oriented Policy and Zero Prevalence Target	137

8.1.5.	Addiction as a Basis for Intervention	139
8.1.6.	Evidence-based and Science-backed Strategic Policy Design	145
8.2.	Strategic Recommendations	149
8.2.1.	Informal Regionalization and Program Capitalization	149
8.2.2.	Concentric Circle of Indonesian Anti-Narcotics Diplomacy	155
8.2.3.	Idea Package 1: Narcotics Certification with the Corporate University Model	166
8.2.4.	Idea Package 2: Policy Research Excellence	166
8.2.5.	Idea Package 3: Regional Data-driven Interdiction	168
8.2.6.	Idea Package 4: Post-Sentencing Support	169
8.2.7.	Idea Package 5: Consolidation of National Rehabilitation Strategic Achievements	170
8.2.8.	Idea Package 6: Societal Active Defense Program for Community Security	172
8.3.	Practical Recommendations	173
8.3.1.	Media Persona Rebranding to Prevention	173
8.3.2.	Approach Reorientation to the Society Based on The latest Addiction Model	178
8.3.3.	(Big) Data-Driven P4GN	179
8.3.4.	Developing Learning Management System for Education	180
8.3.5.	Guidelines and Technical Assistance for P4GN Stakeholders in the Region	182
8.3.6.	Alternative P4GN Financing Solutions in the Regions	184
8.3.7.	Reinforcement of Cross-Border Rules	187
8.3.8.	Maximum Security Prison for Drug Dealers	188
8.3.9.	Unifying Perceptions about the Function of TAT as a Prevention	189
8.3.10.	Guarding the Mindset of Active Defense in the Revision of the Narcotics Law	193

Table of Content

BIBLIOGRAPHY	195
GLOSSARY	214
LIST OF RESEARCHER	225

List of Figure

Figure 1.	The lethal dose comparison of heroin and fentanyl in a single image	4
Figure 2.	Transdisciplinary strategic environmental analysis	30
Figure 3.	Mid Term Development Plan Technocratic Plan 2020-2024, Bappenas, 2018 With the academic manuscript strategic Plan's team annotation	47
Figure 4.	Illustration of the quadrant of preventing and eradicating narcotics abuse and illicit trafficking in the BNN's Strategic Plan Academic Paper 2020-2024	53
Figure 5.	Reuters illustration cover on Tse Chi Lop investigative report	57
Figure 6.	Reuters pictures of the identity of Tse Chi Lop	58
Figure 7.	Circulation route of methamphetamine tablets in the area Mekong River, 2019.	63
Figure 8.	Route of crystallized (ice) methamphetamine circulation in and through East Asia and Southeast Asia, 2019.	63
Figure 9.	Map of drug trafficking routes and narcotic precursors from and to Myanmar.	64
Figure 10.	Six corridors in China's Belt and Road Initiative. (Map from Nature Journal)	64
Figure 11.	Chinese tea pack with teapot picture striking as the Tse Chi Lop signature and the Sam Gor syndicate.	69
Figure 12.	Sam Gor's Chinese Tea Trail on arrest in Batam, 2018	69
Figure 13.	Sam Gor's Chinese Tea Trail on arrest in Jakarta, 2018	70
Figure 14.	Sam Gor's Chinese Tea Trail on arrest in Riau, 2018	70
Figure 15.	Sam Gor's Chinese Tea Trail on arrest in Jakarta, 2019	71
Figure 16.	Sam Gor's Chinese Tea Trail on arrest in Medan, November 2020	71
Figure 17.	Traces of Sam Gor's Chinese Tea on capture in Myanmar, 2020, along with thousands of liters of fentanyl precursor	72
Figure 18.	The smuggling of methamphetamine/shabu and liquid fentanyl through children's rubber balls in Jakarta, 2020	74
Figure 19.	An analysis map of social networks with Narcotics hashtags on Twitter which are dominated by closed circles.	99
Figure 20.	Screenshot of the counseling atmosphere at SMPN 1 Trowulan, Mojokerto in 2019	103

List of Figure

Figure 21.	Screenshot of the exposure on virtual socialization in MAN 2 Yogyakarta, 2020	104
Figure 22.	Virtual socialization of the Ratu Pelangi Indonesia Foundation with the Bandung Regency National Narcotics Board and the Education Office Bandung Regency, 2020	105
Figure 23.	Three screenshots of public service advertisements for young people who are still biased, judgmental, and stereotypical.	109
Figure 24.	The dominance of eradication topics in online mass media coverage, 2019-2020	119
Figure 25.	Modeling the threat of drug abuse and illicit trafficking	136
Figure 26.	Tree allegory for understanding the centrality of addiction in a holistic analysis of narcotics situations	140
Figure 27.	Brain changes (synapse pruning) that result in thinning of the normal gray matter occur in all children to young adults..	144
Figure 28.	Distribution routes of crystal methamphetamine in East and Southeast Asia in 2019.	159
Figure 29.	Illustration of the concentric circle of diplomacy Indonesian anti-narcotics	160
Figure 30.	Spectrum of Community Resilience to the Risk and Threat of Narcotics	173
Figure 31.	Law enforcement officials in the news	176
Figure 32.	Association of BNN reporting with topical codes	176
Figure 33.	Association of prevention policies in media coverage	177
Figure 34.	BNN needs to reproduce more systematic educational content like this.	181
Figure 35.	Confusion of content curation strategies in two BNN YouTube channels; A mix of public relations content, public service advertisements, and education.	182
Figure 36.	An example of the display (user interface) of the Udemy and Skill Academy platforms that can be used as a reference for the BNN LMS	183
Figure 37.	Information that can be gathered from field studies on actors and modes of drug trafficking/smuggling.	188

List of Graphic

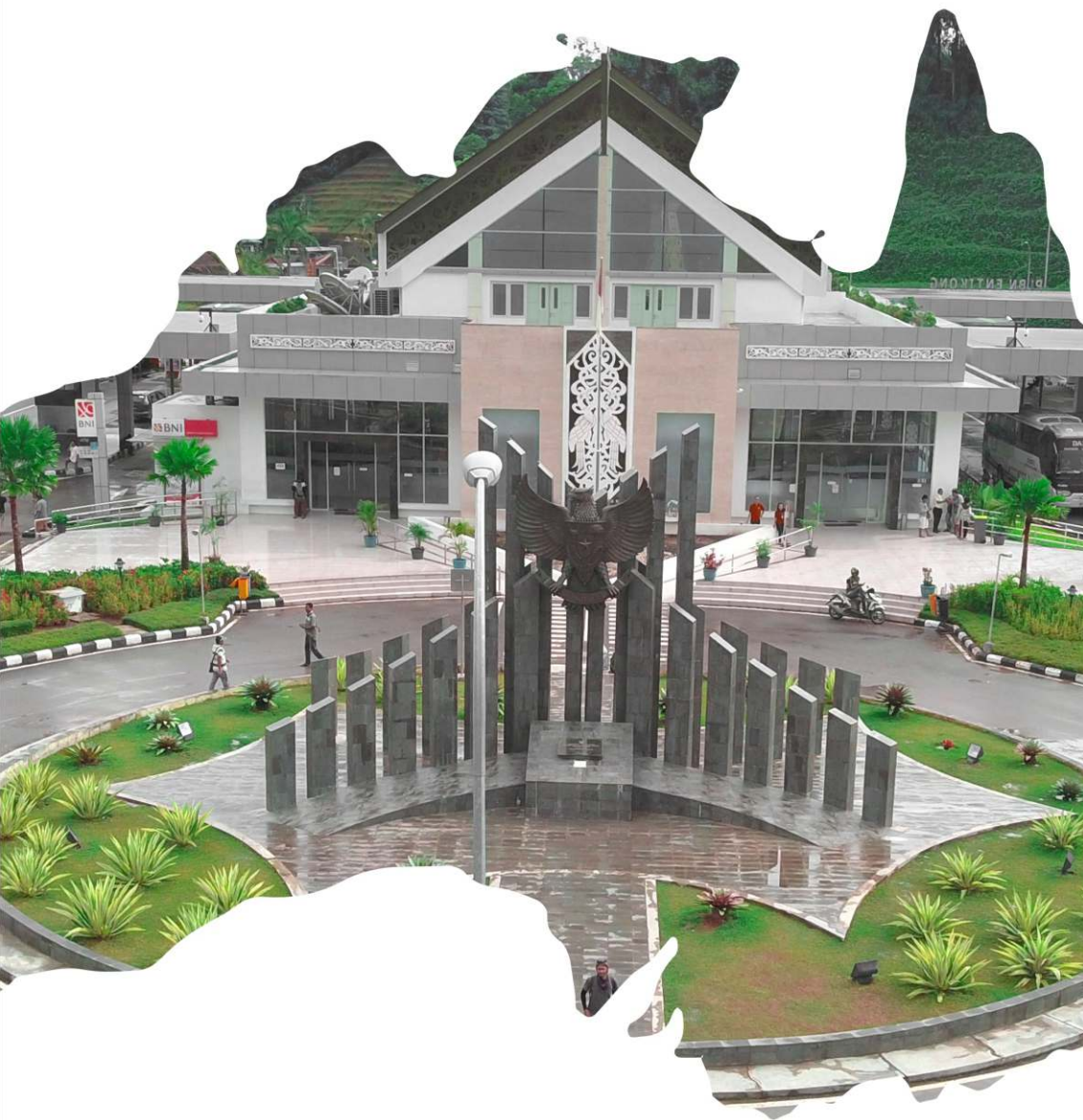
Graph 1.	Price changes for methamphetamine tablets in selected Southeast Asian countries, 2011, 2015, and 2019.	5
Graph 2.	The number of successfully dismantled methamphetamine production centers in Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines, 2014-2019.	5
Graph 3.	Seizures of methamphetamine precursors (ephedrine, pseudoephedrine, and P-2-P) in Myanmar, 2015-2019	6
Graph 4.	The volume of the methamphetamine market in Asia Pacific.	7
Graph 5.	Comparison of the profit of the methamphetamine business (Asia-Pacific) with the Gross Domestic Product of the Mekong Region Countries (selected), in billions.	8
Graph 6.	Correlation between the prevalence of ever used and the Human Development Index.	77
Graph 7.	Overcapacity prisons due to narcotics cases, data from the Correctional Data System, Director General of Correctional Institution	78
Graph 8.	Correlation between prevalence rates and the total number of combined prisoners/detainees of dealers and users	81
Graph 9.	Average number of citations, articles, journals, by family.	92
Graph 10.	Number of references cited by scientific articles on narcotics in Indonesia.	93
Graph 11.	Number of journal references cited by scientific articles on narcotics in Indonesia.	93
Graph 12.	Number of references less than the last five (5) years cited by scientific articles on narcotics in Indonesia.	94
Graph 13.	The condition of BNN's internal research in terms of the situation in the scientific field	111
Graph 14.	Domination of crime reporting on drug issues	120
Graph 15.	The retail price of crystal methamphetamine (ice).	159
Graph 16.	Number of research publications with the keyword "narcotics" as indexed on server dimensions. (further development from Google Scholar)	168

List of Table

Table 1.	Triangulation of data collection method	31
Table 2.	Triangulation of data analysis method	31
Table 3.	Typology of Active Defense maneuvers in cyber security according to Paul Rosenzweig	43
Table 4.	Active defense strategy postures and maneuvers	46
Table 5.	Connectivity definition of Active Defense	49
Table 6	Active Defense strategic postures and maneuvers based on the four institutional functions of BNN	51
Table 7.	Matrix of the threat of narcotics abuse and illicit trafficking by lane, terrain and attack tree	136
Table 8.	List of Top 10 largest lenders in the world for research around addiction	167

List of Scheme

Scheme 1.	Research design and stages	37
Scheme 2.	Narcotics as a consequence, and not a cause comparison of two views	87
Scheme 3.	Prevention strategy for supply, demand, and harm- reduction policies	130
Scheme 4.	Strategy to the prevention mindset for the four Active Defense functions	131
Scheme 5.	Matrix of prevention strategies in the inventory of policy challenges in all lines, with the three approaches of supply, demand, and harm-reduction.	133
Scheme 6.	Policy cycle	147
Scheme 7.	Policy cycle integrated with scientific research	148
Scheme 8.	Flow of implementation of Deconcentration/ Assistance Tasks regulated in Law 23/2014 concerning Regional Government	186



BORDER POST - ENTIKONG
WEST KALIMANTAN

Last April 2020, Myanmar Police reaped the fruits of its operation since February by breaking a record confiscating 3,748.5 liters of liquid fentanyl, 193.5 million methamphetamine (*shabu*) pills, more than 500 kg of crystal methamphetamine, 292 kg of heroin, and many narcotic precursors from an ambush on one of the production centers in the Golden Triangle, to be precise around the village of Loikan, in the Shan state of Myanmar. Apart from the huge catch, one thing that is very worrying about this news is how fentanyl has not only entered but is even mass-produced in Southeast Asia. Fentanyl is a synthetic opiate that, according to the United States Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), has a “kicking power” equivalent to 20-50 times heroin and even 100 times as strong as morphine.³ In the United States, fentanyl has been a prolonged crisis; the US Department of Defense even coins the situation as “the next crisis of national security in the US”⁴. This is not an exaggerating situation. As reported by the Center for Disease Control and Prevention in July 2020, the crisis has caused 71,000 people to die of an overdose in 2019 alone.⁵

This record of Myanmar’s police has debunked public’s view that Corona Virus Disease 2019 pandemic (COVID-19) has slowed down the illicit distribution of narcotics. The Myanmar Government’s decision to

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3. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, “Fentanyl | Drug Overdose,” CDC Injury Center, 2020, <https://www.cdc.gov/drugoverdose/opioids/fentanyl.html>.
 4. Nathan L. Rusin (Lt.Col USAF), “Illicit Chinese Fentanyl—America’s Next National Security Crisis,” Naval War College, Department of Defense, 2019.
 5. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, “Provisional Drug Overdose Data,” Vital Statistics Rapid Release, July 2020, <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/nvss/vsrr/drug-overdose-data.htm>; Jeffrey A. Singer, “71,000 Americans Died of Drug Overdoses. The War On Drugs Has Failed,” The National Interest, July 19th 2020, <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/reboot/71000-americans-died-drug-overdoses-war-drugs-has-failed->

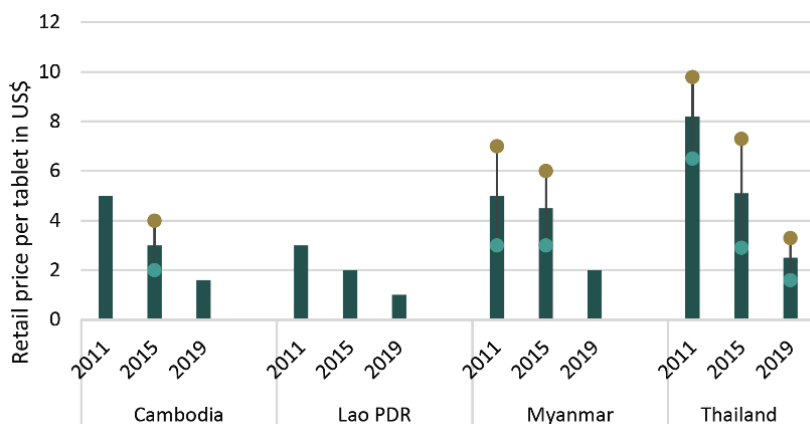
close its border to contain the transmission of COVID-19 has not been able to curb the circulation of this illicit business. What happened is that the situation is worsened. Nikkei Asia recently reported that the decreased price of street drugs, as reported by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in May 2020, has shown that there is indeed an increased production/supply to the market (Graphic 1).⁶ The dealer uses this loophole of incoming smuggled goods such as hand sanitizer, which is used to disguise their smuggled precursor.⁷ The data also confirm the scientific findings years ago how the illicit drugs market has a certain type of special resiliency that makes them immune to any impediment: not only from law enforcement officers but also from a pandemic.⁸



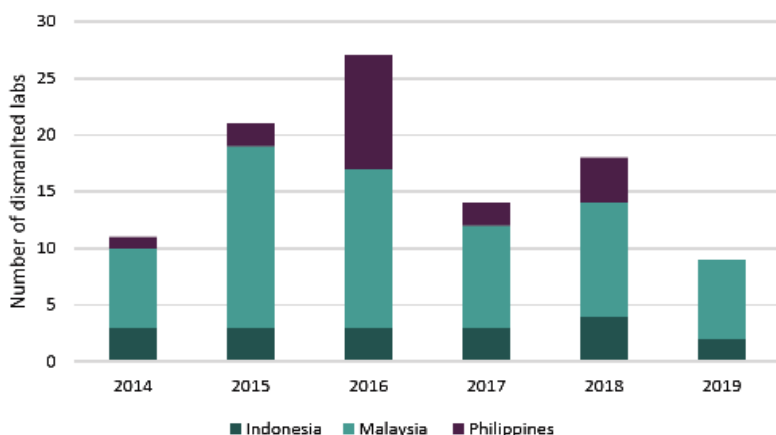
Figure 1. The lethal dose comparison of heroin and fentanyl in a single image

On the contrary, in terms of the measures to combat centers of production, UNODC has noted that there has been a decrease down to 75% since 2016; in 2019, it was actually the lowest achievement in history (Graphic 2). A similar note also applies in the measure to seize the incoming flow of narcotic chemical precursor to Myanmar, which serves as the main production hub for methamphetamine (graphic 3).

6. Richard Horsey dan Jeremy Douglas, "Southeast Asia must unite to tackle its drug problem," Nikkei Asia, August 16th 2020, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Opinion/Southeast-Asia-must-unite-to-tackle-its-drug-problem>.
7. Active Defense Research Team BNN-UBJ, Jakarta - In Depth Interview with UNODC - Country Director, Collie Brown (112520), 2020.
8. Martin Bouchard, "On the resilience of illegal drug markets," *Global Crime* 8, no. 4 (2007): 325–44; Liana Jacobi and Michelle Sovinsky, "Marijuana on main street? Estimating demand in markets with limited access," *American Economic Review* 106, no. 8 (2016): 2009–45; Eric Dante Gutierrez, "The paradox of illicit economies: survival, resilience, and the limits of development and drug policy orthodoxy," *Globalizations* 0, no. 0 (2020): 1 - 19.



Graph 1. Price changes for methamphetamine tablets in selected South-east Asian countries, 2011, 2015, and 2019.⁹

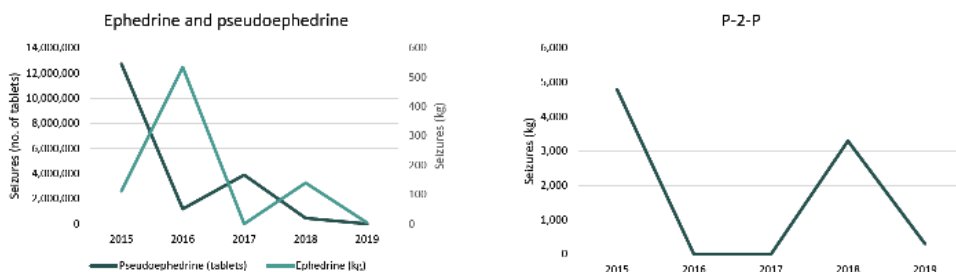


Graph 2. Number of successfully dismantled methamphetamine production centers in Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines, 2014-2019.¹⁰

Like any business logic, the increased production is very much in line with the promising profit from this business. UNODC estimates that the methamphetamine market volume in Southeast Asia from Myanmar could reach US\$ 20 Billion. Based on UNODC data, the methamphetamine

9. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), *Synthetic Drugs in East and Southeast Asia. Latest developments and challenges*, 2020.

10. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC).



Graph 3. Seizures of methamphetamine precursors (ephedrine, pseudoephedrine, and P-2-P) in Myanmar, 2015-2019.¹¹

market volume for Asia Pacific12 market alone is even wider and reaches US\$61 Billion per annum. This figure skyrockets significantly from US\$ 15 Billion in 2010—from UNODC’s last estimate. This figure is almost as big as Myanmar’s GDP in 2017, which is US\$ 76 Billion. With this spectacular figure, UNODC believes that this business “*would not be possible without the involvement and financial backing of serious transnational organized criminal groups.*”¹³ The fight against this business with massive resources like an illicit drug would not be fair for Southeast Asian countries as expressed by one of the officials at the International Crisis Group in one of the press conference, ‘to win this battle, we should do more than just inter-countries collaboration, but also “creative approach”.’¹⁴

Looking back at the situation domestically, creative approaches to combat and prevent the illicit distribution of narcotics and their precursors are reflected in the Indonesian National Narcotics Board (Badan Narkotika Nasional) active defense strategy. In 2019, BNN highlighted its strategic measures in implementing its task to prevent and combat the abuse and illicit trafficking of narcotics (P4GN) in Indonesia. The result is that its strategic policy points for the next five years, 2020-2024, also contribute to the mid-term development plan of 2020-2024. The strategic planning

11. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC).

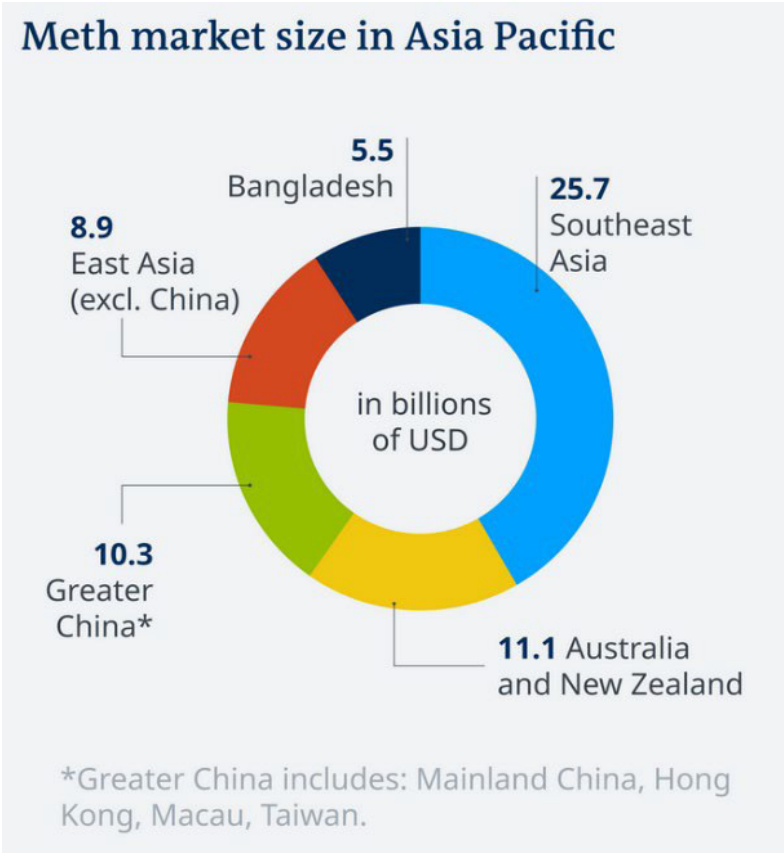
12. East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, Australia, and New Zealand.

13. Jeremy Douglas, cited from “UN issues warning after Myanmar raids net ‘record-breaking’ fentanyl seizures,” DW, May 19th 2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/un-issues-warning-after-myanmar-raids-net-record-breaking-fentanyl-seizures/a-53492734>

14. Richard Horsey, dikutip dari Rodion Ebbighausen, “Is Southeast Asia’s drug trade too big to control?,” DW, May 19th 2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/is-southeast-asias-drug-trade-too-big-to-control/a-53500062>.

has also gone through an extensive analysis conducted by BNN in close collaboration with Brawijaya University.¹⁵ In this analysis, all of the aspects starting from the macro, meso, micro, and internal are deliberated in order to get a clear strategic directive.

The selection of Active Defense strategy as part of BNN's strategic policies for the next five years is BNN's outcome in evaluating their offensive strategy, especially the one used in its propaganda of "war on drugs" jargon."¹⁶ As reflected in the diagnosis in academic paper,

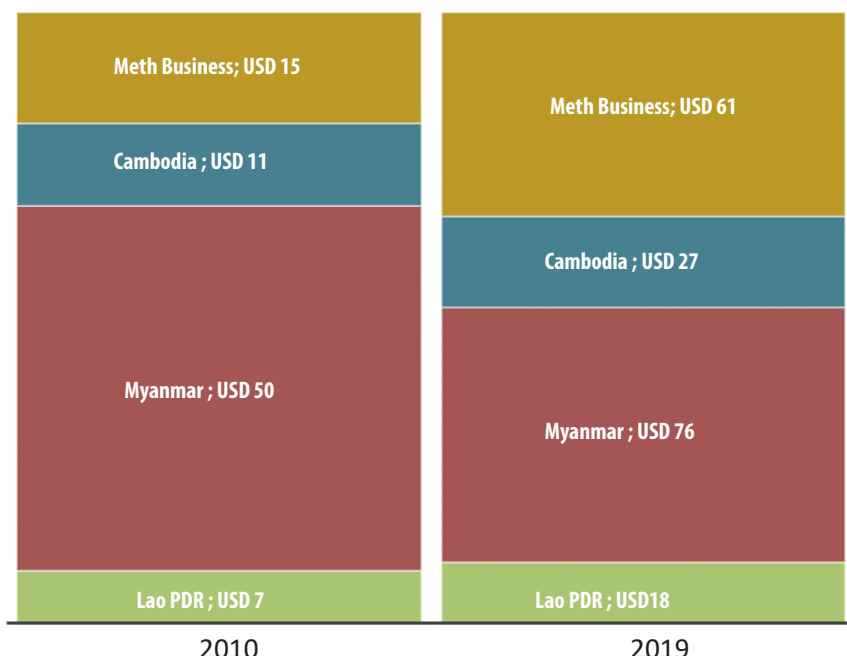


Graph 4. Volume of the methamphetamine market in Asia Pacific.¹⁷

15. BNN-RCCP FIA Brawijaya University, *Naskah Akademik Penyusunan Rencana Strategis Badan Narkotika Nasional 2020-2024*, 2019.

16. BNN-RCCP FIA Brawijaya University, 72.

17. Data processed DW from UNODC Report, 2020. Cited from Ebbighausen.



Graph 5. Comparison of the profit of the methamphetamine business (Asia-Pacific) with the Gross Domestic Product of the Mekong Region Countries (selected), in billions.¹⁸

“Offensive strategy is perceived as challenging and indirectly gives boost to the network to continuously strengthen itself and develop several modus and equip themselves with necessary armor for their crime. On the other hand, this has placed BNN in a more reactive position with actions that imply sporadic movement.”¹⁹

In other words, aside from retrieving and weakening the narcotic network, offensive strategy ironically gives counter reaction to that; this does not make BNN’s movement more systematic and proactive, but the “war on drugs” has cornered BNN in more reactive and sporadic position. It is expected that with active defense strategy BNN could remain focus in strengthening its capacity in anticipating the narcotic threat from overseas and preventing it from entering the country.

18 . Team processed data from UNODC and World Development Indicator, World Bank.

19. BNN-RCCP FIA Brawijaya University, *Naskah Akademik Penyusunan Rencana Strategis Badan Narkotika Nasional 2020-2024*, 2019.

Even with an extensive academic paper document, the active defense strategy is deemed to be requiring further analyses to elaborate on how the operationalization of its strategic and tactical measures. This research is organized by Puslitdatin BNN in collaboration with Universitas Bhayangkara Jakarta Raya (UBJ) in its effort to elaborate further about Active Defense. The research is part of national priority programs launched by the Government through Presidential Regulation Number 61/2019 about the Government Work Plan for 2020. Through this analysis, the Government seems to maintain its focus on macro-strategic measures—not just business as usual—in preventing the illicit distribution of narcotics. It is expected that this approach will be able to be the grand design in “decreasing [the number of] narcotic abuse”²⁰ It is indeed a difficult task to complete, but it is expected that the research is able to implement it. The report elaborates extensively on the strategic formulation of the Active Defense prevention strategy and how it could be implemented in concrete policy.

20. “Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 61 tahun 2019 tentang Rencana Kerja Pemerintah Tahun 2020” (2020).



BORDER POST - SOTA
MERAUKE, PAPUA

2

OBJECTIVES AND PURPOSE

Technocratically, this research formulates Active Defense design strategy to:

1. **Prevent** the incoming of drugs from overseas and combat the production and distribution of illicit drugs domestically.
2. **Maximize** collaborative synergy with other parties overseas and domestic through an integrated interdiction system.

In order to address the two technocratic objectives, this study has set four research objectives:

1. **Collect** latest knowledge and research on narcotics issues that are relevant with preventive measures reflected in Active Defense.
2. **Define** strategic environment and contemporary security policy challenges that are related to narcotics threat from overseas or domestically.
3. **Making inventory of problems** and identifying possible intervention of corrective policies
4. **Formulating** the strategic policy outlook, as well as practical policy recommendations to overcome narcotics threat.



BORDER POST - SKOUW
JAYAPURA, PAPUA

3.1. Policy Urgency

Aside from the aforementioned challenges, narcotics policy is also facing its own challenge. The President has issued instructions twice to organize P4GN nationally, which are Presidential Instruction Number 6/2018 and 2/2020 about the National Action Plan (NAP) of P4GN. However, from the first presidential instruction, only 45.4% of the targets of program achievement are met.²¹ The achievement of local government is only around 25%. For the presidential instruction Number 2/2020 as of the first semester of 2020, Sestama reported that the local participation shows 23.9% of achievement. In turn, this research will be very important to identify issues and find a solution to the line ministries' problems that are deemed far from optimized. Without optimized participation from all elements of government, the strategy designed and recommended by this research will not be implemented well.

3.2. Practical Urgency

In terms of practicality, this research faces concerning conditions in reality. On the one hand, the strengthened network of an international mega syndicate is already a grave challenge. On the other hand, the increased prevalence, especially youth exposure to illicit drugs, has amplified the degree of concern. The finding of synthetic opiate precursors—that is, fentanyl—in Myanmar had shown that opiate narcotics could be abused in Indonesia as what had happened years ago when methamphetamine/shabu was quite dominating. As of now, fentanyl has caused the “opiate crisis in the United States”—in 2019 alone, 71,000 people died of an overdose. This means BNN/ Indonesia has double works to do: to keep out the inflow of this type of narcotics—and others—to Indonesia and, on the other hand, strengthening

21. Secretary General of BNN, Socialization of Inpres RANP4GN (Presentation Slide) (BNN, 2020).

public resiliency and defense, especially among youth, to avoid themselves from being exposed to narcotics. In this context, Active Defense research tries to contribute by emphasizing defense and resiliency while at the same time working on prevention.

3.3. Academics Urgency

In the academic realm, this study also has a sense of urgency. There have been a lot of international epistemic communities who complained about the disconnection of the research world, especially in the fields of public health, neuroscience, psychology, and sociology with policy-making processes on narcotics.²² One of these communities that consistently highlight the disconnection is the Lancet Commission on Drug Policy, which consists of academics and practitioners on health, medical, and humanities.²³ Recently, Global Commission on Drug Policy also regrets the situation.²⁴ According to this organization, aside from using scientific proof and supported/ backed by science, many countries formulate their policies on drugs/ narcotics based on bias, cherry-picking studies and disregard the recent studies, and even in some cases, the policy tends to succumb to politicization.

BNN has started to mainstream research as their foundation of evidence in formulating narcotics policy. Nevertheless, regardless of the progress, it is almost impossible to catch up on narcotics research with only two or three researches. To give an illustration, within the dimensions. ai search engine (Google Cloud and Big Query sites that store data from Google Scholar), there has already been 16,306 literature recorded in 2020 alone. In turn, this research will contribute to connecting dialogue between policy and the latest scientific development in narcotics.

22. Joanne Csete et al., "Public health and international drug policy," *The Lancet* 387, no. 10026 (2016): 1427–80.

23. Dan Werb et al., "A call to reprioritise metrics to evaluate illicit drug policy," *The Lancet* 387, no. 10026 (2016): 1371; *The Lancet*, "Reforming international drug policy," *The Lancet* 387, no. 10026 (2016): 1347.

24. Global Commission on Drug Policy, "Classification of Psychoactive Substances: When science was left behind," 2019, 55.



BORDER POST - MUTAAIN
EAST NUSA TENGGARA

4.1. Strategic Environment

In modern defense strategy analysis, people know Andrew Marshall. He was the one to lay the foundation for strategic thinking since he was first recruited by the Pentagon, and his influence remains until today in the country's defense sector. He is not only famous in the US but also in China; General Chen Zou from PLA in 2012 said, "our great hero was Andy Marshall in the Pentagon. We translated every word he wrote."²⁵ For his excellent thinking and leadership, Andrew Marshall is often nicknamed as the "Yoda of US Defense."²⁶ Marshall first entered the Pentagon in 1976 at the Office of Net Assessment, which served as the in-house think-tank of the Pentagon, until his retirement forty years later in 2015 on his 93rd birthday. Marshall was the first person to emphasize how technological development was able to change the whole war landscape. He was also the first person to coin the term "revolution in military affairs, RMA." He also predicted the fall of the Soviet Union due to their failure in defense economy, and he was the one to anticipate China's revival as the world's competing powerhouse. Furthermore, two relevant things to this research are Marshall's idea on strategy and its derivative framework, the Strategic Net Assessment.

Marshall provided a very useful definition for analysis and policy formulation. For both authors, a strategy is defined as *"the process to identify, create, and exploit asymmetric advantages that could be*

25. "The Dragon's New Teeth," *The Economist*, 2012.

26. The name of the key character in Star Wars who is very strong and wise, at the same time has given birth to formidable knights

*utilized to obtain and expand the competitive advantages in a sustainable manner.”*²⁷ There are two axes in this definition: asymmetric advantages and sustainable competitive advantages. This is why it is important for all of those strategy formulators to understand the way the enemy thinks in the context of competition so that they will be able to identify at which point the asymmetric condition occurs between the enemy and us. Net assessment is a strategic framework used to identify this asymmetry and to make an inventory of which points to exploit for our advantages.

An important aspect that Marshall highlights is that a strategy should also be proactive, actively involved in establishing the future competitive environment, directing organizational development, and managing resources from time to time. This view is highly relevant with the active element of the active defense strategy formulated in this research. Marshall's also emphasized on interdisciplinary nature that is a prerequisite for the whole net assessment strategic diagnostic, which is open to various perspectives in conceiving the multi-faceted strategic environment. Without this openness, a 'strategic fixation' will make the whole diagnostics and strategic plans dull, stuck, and rigid. Some of the sources of a strategic fixation are:

*“Bureaucratic processes, political biases, the tendency for organizations to be “stuck” in suboptimal situations, individual and organizational myopia, the difficulties of organizational adaptation, and the general resistance to change and competency traps which are characteristic of large organizations.”*²⁸

At this point, Augier and Marshall emphasized the big influence coming from the organizational aspect, especially the organizational culture, to the diagnoses, formulation of strategic recommendation, and strategy implementation.

Another important thing to consider is how a strategic diagnostic is mandatory in regard to the adversary. The changes in the adversary's

27. Mie Augier dan Andrew W. Marshall, “The fog of strategy: Some organizational perspectives on strategy and the strategic management challenges in the changing competitive environment,” *Comparative Strategy* 36, no. 4 (2017): 275.

28. *Ibid.*, 277.

interest, capacity, and capability will bring significant impacts to our competitive advantages, which in turn will affect the asymmetric ratio of the net assessment. An important note here is that a strategic diagnosis of asymmetric ratio is mandatory for empirical purposes and should be tested. (This is, of course, requires more specific research using this research as the basis).

Still on the topic of net assessment, Paul Bracken also emphasized about the complexity of a strategic environment while also reminding the strategic formulators to simplify the situation. In his words, “in place of modeling complex and thinking simple, net assessment tries **to model simple and think complex**. The spirit is one of using relatively simple models, numbers, and trends, and to think long and hard about what they mean.”²⁹ In regards to complexity, the strategic standpoint that Bracken emphasized is to address the challenge while at the same time developing the complexity of analysis and framework of thinking, and not simplifying or deviating from normative, assumptive and jargonistic estimates as commonly prevail in other places.

Another important thing from Bracken’s point, which has not been elaborated on in Augier and Marshall’s article, is one of the principles of net assessment that relates closely to the sensitivities of understudied problems.³⁰ The significance here is that these issues are not discussed by the scholars, academics, and media on the mainstream courses, and this does not mean to eliminate the possibility of being the dark horse that would trigger a much bigger problem. In another analytical model, this is considered as a weak signal, in which “fractured of information randomly heard as noise but this fractured information is part of much bigger information that should have been glued together with a certain way of thinking.”³¹ Schoemaker, Day, and Snyder explain how in today’s organization, many are still struggling with the idea of how to capture peripheral information; the hustle and bustle of the media and social media have marginalized many things. Though this information would

29. Paul Bracken, “Net Assessment: A Practical Guide,” *Parameters* 36, no. 1 (2006): 100.

30. *Ibid.*, 95.

31. Paul J.H. Schoemaker, George S. Day, dan Scott A. Snyder, “Integrating organizational networks, weak signals, strategic radars and scenario planning,” *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 80, no. 4 (2013): 815.

have been weak signals should they are not captured nor anticipated, they will only bring disasters for organizations.

Finally, the elaboration above emphasized several principles of strategic environmental analysis that are used as a guideline in developing the framework of this research methodology and design. These principles, among others, are pro-active orientation in establishing strategic environment, threat/challenge-based analysis, utilizing cross-disciplinary approach, being aware of and critical of the organizational aspect as well as being more sensitive to weak signal with possible disruption capacity.

4.2. Supply, Demand, Harm

There are three major approaches in dealing with narcotics issues, which are by looking at it from the supply, demand, and harm perspectives.³² This research uses these three terms. Of crucial importance is to clearly define the concept not only for the purpose of clarification but also for the daily, interchangeable use of these terms; it seems like the three terms have certain image fixations. It seems like within BNN itself, the three terms have been well merged to certain deputies. For instance, supply reduction is always associated with busting and arresting of drug dealers' activities and tends to be associated with the Deputy of Eradication. In contrast, it should not really be a black and white matter.

Firstly, supply reduction is a perspective that emphasizes more on prevention by focusing on reduction/decapitation/eradication of actors/entities supplying the drugs (retail dealer, courier, dealer, drug-pin, cartel, etc.). Historically three approaches of this perspective are: regulatory (imposing/improving legal-formal regulation), prohibition (legal-formal prohibition), and "war on drugs" (coercively/confrontative eradication). An important thing to note is that a supply-side does

32 This presentation is adapted from Victoria A. Greenfield dan Letizia Paoli, "If supply-oriented drug policy is broken, can harm reduction help fix it? Melding disciplines and methods to advance international drug-control policy," *International Journal of Drug Policy* 23, no. 1 (2012): 6–15; Diana S. Dolliver, "A supply-based response to a demand-driven problem: a fifteen-year analysis of drug interdiction in Poland," *Crime, Law and Social Change*.

not always relate to the drug supply but also includes the supply of persuasive ideas of one-sided information of the drugs' potent capacity (since there is no information is provided in terms of its long-term effect). In this particular context, the persuasive idea supply can only be fought by using the same level of persuasive counter-idea.

Secondly, demand reduction is a perspective that emphasizes a preventive measure that focuses more on the reduction/deterrence of users/abusers to be long-time consumers. The policy is directed to weaken/reduce (down to 0) demand and intention to look for drugs supply. In general, the policy within this spectrum is around campaigns, dissemination of information, and education to deter people from searching, abusing, and even becoming active suppliers of drugs.

Lastly, harm reduction approaches emphasize more the effort to reduce/minimize harmful effects (damage/harm) of two issues: the abusive practice for individuals and his/her surroundings and policies within the supply and demand-reduction spectrum. This spectrum has two contradicting origins: from the idealism that it is each individual's right to use narcotics for any purpose and from the reality that narcotics abuse will not be eradicated with any means and policy. These two trajectories all come down to one conclusion: the fact that abuse is inevitable hence it is very important to contain, minimize and reduce the harmful impact for one, others and community at large.



**BORDER POST - ARUK
SAMBAS, WEST KALIMANTAN**

Referring to the aforementioned conceptual elaboration, this research develops a methodological framework to collect, analyze and finally draw conclusions and make recommendations from the finding analysis. Among others are:

5.1. Strategic Net Assessment

First of all, in formulating the strategic net assessment, this research posits a 'strategic' analysis as a practice. In other words, this approach would direct the analysis for not only presenting facts (matter of facts) but also to present and communicate findings to be the matter of concerns that would be manifested in actions/policies. This means that in this research, the presented facts are put into a more strategic framework in order to effectively prevent the illicit trafficking of narcotics. The principles applied here are 'presentifying' (introduction of concern), 'substantiating' (concern strategizing), 'attributing' (organization and its capacity), and 'crystallizing' (how to handle concern).³³ These four principles are used to guide deliberation and are well-integrated into the strategic net assessment framework.

There are four components of strategic net assessments in this research: (1) definition of security challenge and the locus; (2) institutional modality and strategic posture; (3) setting strategic priorities; (4) strategic policies.³⁴ These four components combine at least six scientific approaches: strategic studies, security studies, policy studies, regional international relations, socio-economic analysis, and cultural-neuropsychological analysis. These six approaches are used to scan the

33. Nicolas Bencherki et al., "How strategy comes to matter: Strategizing as the communicative materialization of matters of concern," Strategic Organization, 2019.

34. "Draft Guidelines on Developing National Defence Policy and Doctrine Papers ('White Papers')," 2002; Bracken, "Net Assessment: A Practical Guide"; Peter Roberts dan Sidharth Kaushal, "Strategic net assessment:

horizon of narcotics-related issues in Indonesia, regional and global level; and come up with strategic assessment on the possible challenges that Indonesia/ BNN specifically has to address.



Figure 2. Transdisciplinary strategic environmental analysis

5.2. Triangulation

In order to facilitate the scanning of a strategic environment that requires a high degree of comprehensiveness and interrelation, this study uses triangulation as a method. Triangulation is actually a research practice using a variety of methods to carry out the same research design. The aim is none other than to get a broad, detailed, cross-perspective coverage, and of course, also for higher credibility. In academic policy studies, particularly in the evaluation studies, triangulation methods are considered vital in order to obtain data and information that are free from systemic biases.³⁵ Since triangulation approach enables researchers

35. Maxine Johnson et al., "Multiple triangulation and collaborative research using qualitative methods to explore decision making in pre-hospital emergency care," *BMC Medical Research Methodology* 17, no. 1 (2017): 1–11; Mandy M. Archibald, "Investigator Triangulation: A Collaborative Strategy With Potential for Mixed Methods Research," *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 10, no. 3 (2016): 228–50.

to use a hybrid method (mixed-method) that blends quantitative and qualitative methodology as well as combines a lot of field data in various formats, structured or even non-structured ones.³⁶ This triangulation approach also accommodates qualitative intuitions of researchers as well as facilitates evaluation of bias of these intuitions.³⁷ With triangulation, the strategic way of thinking, which is cross-disciplinary, is facilitated well.³⁸ Triangulation of this research consists of two types, the data collection triangulation and data analysis method triangulation.

Data collection and analysis methods that are triangulated are as followed:

Table 1. Triangulation of data collection method

Primary Data	Secondary Data	Big Data
Focused Group Discussion (FGD)	Academic literature review	Text-mining of social media posts
In-depth interview	Official literature review	Text-mining of online coverage
Observation	Archive review	Official existing dataset
	Legal document study	

Table 2. Triangulation of data analysis method

Primary Data	Secondary Data	Big Data
Thematic analysis	Systematic Literature Review (SLR)	Social Network Analysis (SNA)
Discourses analysis	Quantitative Text Analysis (QTA)	Exploratory Data Analysis
	Statistical Intergerences	Visual Data Analysis

36. Rebecca Campbell et al., "Assessing Triangulation Across Methodologies, Methods, and Stakeholder Groups: The Joys, Woes, and Politics of Interpreting Convergent and Divergent Data," *American Journal of Evaluation* 41, no. 1 (2020): 125–44.

37. Donna M. Mertens dan Sharlene Hesse-Biber, "Triangulation and Mixed Methods Research: Provocative Positions," *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 6, no. 2 (2012): 75–79; Uwe Flick, "From Intuition to Reflexive Construction: Research Design and Triangulation in Grounded Theory Research," in *The SAGE Handbook of Current Developments in Grounded Theory*, ed. oleh Antony Bryant dan Kathy Charmaz, 2nd Ed. (SAGE, 2019), 125–44; Patricia Fusch, Gene E Fusch, dan Lawrence R. Ness, "Denzin's Paradigm Shift: Revisiting Triangulation in Qualitative Research," *Journal of Social Change* 10, no. 1 (2018): 19–32.

38. Thierry Balzacq, "The significance of triangulation to critical security studies," *Critical Studies on Security* 2, no. 3 (2014): 377–81.

5.3. Research Limitation

The first limitation stems from the very character of this research as strategic research. As Andrew Marshal warns, strategic environmental analysis is more oriented towards diagnosis than policy. This is because strategic analysis takes a macro-strategic rather than a micro-specific approach. The main function of strategic analysis is to identify certain issues/topics for further specific studies, to then be used as a basis for concrete policy formulation. Even so, this research will still try to provide recommendations that are both strategic and practical. However, users of this research who do not operate at a macro-strategic level of policy are advised to conduct a follow-up study first to obtain a more specific picture.

Another limitation is from the data. This research has not conducted in-depth interviews with the Deputy of Eradication, BNN. As a result, some findings and analyses about eradication cannot be confirmed. Instead, this research uses secondary sources obtained from the BNN itself, as well as those accessible in the public domain. The next limitation is the lack of primary sources, either interviews or FGDs, with abusers and former users from the upper-middle class, socialites, or even performing artists, aged between 15 to 45 years old (millennial and Generation Z), and specifically the ones living in big cities. This study also did not observe places where drugs are believed to be circulated and trafficked, such as clubs and bars. As a result, the claims made regarding this are all obtained using secondary data and those available in the public domain.



BORDER POST - BADAU
KAPUAS HULU, WEST KALIMANTAN

6

DESIGN AND STAGES OF RESEARCH

The research begins with **1) a preliminary study** to make an inventory of information, knowledge, and testimony as much as possible around anti-narcotics themes, issues, and policies in general, and specifically P4GN in particular. A preliminary literature review was also carried out to place this research in a state-of-the-art analysis. Then **2) the research design** is designed according to the existing constraints: time, energy, logistics, research resources/research support, and administration/bureaucracy. The design had gone through numerous changes after the WHO declared the Covid-19 pandemic, and then large-scale social restrictions were carried out in cities in Indonesia. This really affects the plan for conducting field trips to sub-national level regions and to several neighboring countries. The latter was totally canceled and replaced by a secondary literature review and a limited number of tele-interviews.

Next is a **3) meta-review study** to survey systematically existing literature that has already discussed the themes, topics, as well as proposed concepts and problems. For this systematic literature review, the team divided its members into six groups to explore current studies on the topic of narcotics from the discipline of strategic and defense studies, non-traditional security studies and threat modeling, policy studies, regional international relations—particularly Southeast Asian Studies, economics and sociology, and anthropological (neuro) psychology. The ideas and information obtained from these disciplinary approaches are then used as a framework for conducting a strategic net assessment of the strategic environment.

In stage **4) data collection**, the team again divided the researchers into several groups, namely the collection team of **4a) primary data** through field visits to several regions to hold Focused Group Discussions (FGD) and in-depth interviews with related sources; then the collection team of **4b) secondary data** that collects news sources as well as official reports issued by relevant institutions, foreign and domestic (including

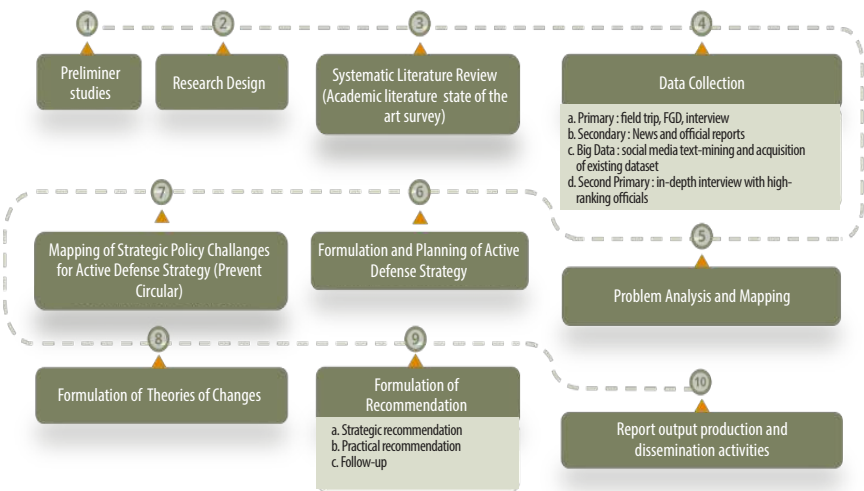
BNN); and the third is the **4c) big data team** that does text mining from social media and also collects existing datasets (such as prevalence datasets, prisoners and prisoners data, etc.). After the three of them were completed, the team conducted a second primary data collection, this time by conducting in-depth interviews with high-ranking officials from related Ministries / Agencies in Jakarta, including from BNN, Polri (INP), DG of Corrections, and UNODC.

For primary field data, we made visits to two types of destinations: border areas and areas of high prevalence. For the border, we visited a total of 9 provinces and 18 cities. For border areas: Motamasin and Motaain in NTT; Skouw and Merauke in Papua; Sanggau, Sambas, and Pontianak in West Kalimantan; Tanjung Pinang, Batam, and Karimun in the Riau Islands; Nunukan in North Kalimantan; and Aceh. Meanwhile for high prevalence areas: Medan, North Sumatra; Bandung, Bogor, and Cikarang in West Java; and DI Yogyakarta. Meanwhile, for visits to neighboring countries that were canceled, the research conducted FGD / WM with the relevant authorities from Singapore and Brunei Darussalam (many other countries did not give the news or were not ready).

After the data collection stage was completed, the team proceeded to **5) problem analysis and mapping** phase. From here, the team went on to **6) formulate a draft Active Defense strategy**, to then adapt it to the primary functions of the BNN (eradication, prevention, rehabilitation, and community empowerment), and more specifically, into a strategy to prevent the illicit trafficking of narcotics (Prevent- Circular). Then before entering into recommendations, team **7) mapped strategic policy challenges**, both from the macro-international, national, and institutional perspectives inside and outside/around the BNN, especially those who are stakeholders of the P4GN program. This mapping is done with the lingua franca of the Active Defense strategy.

The formulation of recommendations begins with **8) formulation of theories of change (ToC)** that are proposed to become a conceptual framework and working assumptions for the entire institutional process, policy formulation, and program design at BNN. Then **9) formulation of recommendations**. The team divided them into three types of recommendations: **9a) strategic recommendations for regional, national,**

and relatively medium term; then 9b) practical recommendations that are tactical in nature and can be immediately executed in the near future; as well as 9c) a follow-up plan to initiate the execution of recommendations (ranging from ToC, strategic and practical). Finally, 10) report output production and dissemination activities.



Scheme 1. Research Design and Stages



BORDER POST - WINI
EAST NUSA TENGGARA

7.1. Strategic Definition and Coverage of Active Defense

First and foremost, the most important thing, which might also be considered as the soul of this research, is about terminology and conception of 'active defense', and specifically the term defense. In practice, the term defense is often used in the discussion around security in the traditional sense of the word, which is related closely to military and state sovereignty. Accordingly, the question would be to what extent does this term suitable to describe a strategic vocabulary to counter the threat of illicit and illegal use of narcotics that are considered as non-traditional threats whose nature are non-military and non-state? Is it possible to interpret and implement defense in a non-traditional security context? Subsequently, what is the most appropriate formulation to place active defense as a grand strategy to prevent the trafficking of narcotics while keeping its non-traditional nature intact?

This part summarizes the lessons learned from the evolution of defense strategy within the context of non-traditional security. The discussion is then followed up by a discussion around the evolution of active defense as articulated in academic and policy debates. After outlining the important components supporting the strategy, the discussion draws important inspiration from the evolution of ideas and applies that to a macro-strategic framework that considers active defense for P4GN in general and specifically for the preventive strategy of trafficking of narcotics.

7.1.1. Evolution of Active Defense Strategic Ideas

In the literature around active defense strategy, **the contemporary use of the term active defense among scientific communities mostly falls within the domain of cyber security.** Upon searching this term in Google

Scholar for instance ³⁹, using the oldest year filter 2010, out of 50 first articles popped out, only five of these articles discussed active defense that is not related to the cyber security domain. Eight of them discussed active defense in the context of animal conservation measures such as on frogs, penguins, etc. The rest showed articles that were predominantly on cyber security with a more technical perspective. Therefore the lessons learned from the active defense strategy will draw more from the strategic formulations in the cyber domain. Although practically and technically the lessons would not be as meaningful, we believe that its general principles are worth serious consideration.

From the literature search, an active defense strategy is mostly construed as a defensive strategy with built-in attack aspects in its edifice of infrastructure fortress, defensive technology, and especially the human user/programmer.⁴⁰ This strategy precisely reflects its common nickname: “hack-back.” Unlike other defensive strategies with a clear concept and threat target, **active defense strategy assumes that the enemy or threat has no clear identity, motive, and target of its attack.** This assumption is extremely relevant for the discussion on the defense against the threat of narcotics trafficking: it could come from any point, from anyone, with indefinite modus, and it is difficult to disclose the real puppet master behind the whole operation. It is so different from a defense in the traditional sense, which assumes a very clear enemy: the artillery from other rival countries. Thus, **the active defense must not center around only one or two frontlines, but it should be evenly distributed in its territorial area (surface).** And not only defensive, but it should also be prepared to retaliate swiftly.

One of the popular typologies of Active Defense Strategy is the one developed by Paul Rosenzweig, an expert in law and cyber security from George Washington University, USA.⁴¹ In his matrix, he showed four spectrums of maneuver in active defense, which is to **monitor** enemy's

39 . Searching is conducted on June 4, 2020.

40 . Brainware is connected with high prevalence of cyber attack, which was initiated by social engineering techniques such as phishing and spamming. In one of the reports, the technique is responsible for 97% of cyber attack cases. Only 3% that it exploited the technical vulnerability as shown in numerous imaginations in movies and headline news. See Victoria Wilson , “Statistics You Need to Know About Social Engineering,” SysGroup, 2019, <https://www.sysgroup.com/resources/blog/statistics-need-to-know-social-engineering>.

41. Paul Rosenzweig, “International Law and Private Actor Active Cyber Defensive Measures,” *Stanford Journal of International Law* 50, no. 1 (2014).

movement, **access** files from enemy’s computer (by hacking), **disrupt** the enemy’s offensive activity, and **destroy** any attack and even the enemy’s defensive power. These four could be implemented in an intranet or internet networks. It stretches from the most passive to most proactive in the spectrum.

Table 3. Typology of Active Defense maneuvers in cyber security according to Paul Rosenzweig.⁴²

	Observation	Access	Disruption	Destruction
In-network	Tools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Honeypots • Tar pits Actions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obtaining early warning of breach • Delaying of frustrating attacker • Deducing attacker’s motive • Ascertaining attack vectors 	N/A - one is generally already authorized and able to access, disrupt, or destroy resource on one’s own network	N/A - one is generally already authorized and able to access, disrupt, or destroy resource on one’s own network	N/A - one is generally already authorized and able to access, disrupt, or destroy resource on one’s own network
Out-of-network	Tools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beacon files • Tracebacks Actions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identifying the attacker • Deducing attacker’s motive 	Tools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • RATs • Exploits (zero day and wild) • Social engineering Actions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Viewing files • Mapping resources • Gathering evidence 	Tools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All of the previous • Iptables rules • Logic bombs Actions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deflecting traffic toward adversary • Crashing system 	Tools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All of the previous • Other advanced tactics Actions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deleting files • Changing passwords

Rosenzweig’s matrix has ignited quite a heated debate around two major poles: first is **the spectrum that emphasizes early strike (first strike)** and second is **the strategy that prioritizes interception and retaliation**.⁴³ With these four maneuvers—monitor, hack, disrupt and destroy—one may choose to do what one would do when one detects an attack long before it is initiated and paralyzes the system. It could also choose to strike first before it is stricken. But others may think that they would only strike once they are stricken; while being stricken, they could diligently monitor, mitigating the impact and seeking out momentum. The first spectrum should also be done *prior to the strike*, while the second is *during or after the attack*. It is indeed a bit weird; why do we have to wait to be stricken before we strike back? This is precisely what distinguishes active defense strategies in the context of cyber security from narcotics trafficking prevention. Cyber

42. Rosenzweig; See also Anthony Glosson, “Active Defense: An Overview of the Debate and a Way Forward,” Mercatus Working Paper (Arlington, VA, 2015).

43. Gregory Levitin and Kjell Hausken, “Preventive strike vs. protection in defense strategy,” *Military Operations Research* 15, no. 3 (2010): 5–15; Kjell Hausken dan Gregory Levitin, “Active vs. passive defense against a strategic attacker,” *International Game Theory Review* 13, no. 1 (2011): 1–12; Gregory Levitin, Kjell Husken, dan Hanoch Ben-Haim, “Active and passive defense against multiple attack facilities,” *Asia-Pacific Journal of Operational Research* 28, no. 4 (2011): 431–44.

security context stresses more on the legal aspect in which the wrongful/disproven cyber strike will bring legal consequences. The ambiguity of the legal status of a counter-strike does not exist in narcotics cases; all trafficking activities are considered as crime unambiguously.

Regardless of the different legal contexts, active defense strategy highlights more on the capacity to not only survive but also know exactly when to attack/strike back. The capacities to monitor, observe, detect anomalies, identify attack patterns, and so on that are considered as active knowing abilities are the first key to success in active defense. The second set of keys is the readiness to counterattack whenever required. This readiness is a continuous effort to strengthen defense and develop counter attack scenarios.

Next is on the selection of emphasis: is it going to be towards defensive capacity with a destructive counterattack, which is a **preventive/preemptive** paradigm, or self-defense that would make the enemy deterred, which is a **protective** paradigm. This is what is known as a defensive posture. A defensive posture and design of active defense require two things, which are determining **vital objects** to protect and the enemy's **character and strengths**. The characters, location, and nature of the vital object would affect how the strategy is initiated, conceptualized, and implemented. Similar to that, the enemy's profile and how it uses its strength to threaten the defense will bring significant impact to the techniques, tools/ armors, and tactics used to debilitate the enemy. An important thing to note: that which distinguishes between an offensive and a defensive posture is that **protective defense is always aimed to protect the vital object**, while **preventive defensive motivation is to destroy the enemy's vital object**.

Aside from protective and preventive/preemptive paradigms, the recent defense study also develops the **resiliency/defensive paradigm**. The non-traditional new security threat such as trafficking of illicit drugs/ narcotics that become the topic of this study has prompted a lot of international security policymakers, such as NATO, explicitly states that they would adopt a more resiliency paradigm in their defensive posture. In it, defense is perceived as "civil vigilance [...] and the preparedness to face the unprecedented (contingencies) that might affect the societal

foundation and incite infrastructure crisis severely”⁴⁴ This is very much in line with the academics and think-tanks that deal specifically on strategic and Defense studies that promote more the adoption of *resiliencism* paradigm as “a process to well mapped-out adjustment by the society or individual in order to prepare oneself to face endogenic or exogenic turbulence”⁴⁵ In this view, the meaning of defense is not merely militaristic, that is to equip oneself with a weapon to fight against the enemy, but also consists of developing immunity system at all units and level of social classes: starting with the society, sub-group, community, family and even the individual psychological state.⁴⁶ Such defensive paradigm is what we call **immune** defensive paradigm

The other side of the immune paradigm is that it enables the affected subject to bounce back, recover, revitalize and even return to its prior condition.⁴⁷ This is where the immune defensive paradigm manifests itself to attack the enemy: not physically but rather psychologically. The striking enemy will have to think multiple times because we are sending them the signal that we have the ability to swiftly bounce back when attacked and instantly strike back. In defense study and practice, this is called the deterrence effect. Effective immune defense should also have the capacity to recover and rehabilitate oneself from any attack, no matter how severe the attack is. With this capacity, it manages to send a deterrence signal to the enemy. For the purpose of synchronization as well as using the existing concept in the BNN, we refer to this defensive paradigm as the **curative defense paradigm**, in which the defensive system has the built-in capacity to mitigate and recuperate from the attack, to fight back.

At this point, summarizing the exploration of the literature on the concept of Active Defense, we can conclude that in essence, Active Defense is a defense strategy that actively builds defense systems and capacities which also contain the capacity to fight back: detect, attack first or strike back, and not only that, it also has the capacity to absorb attacks,

44. “Resilience: the first line of defence,” NATO Review, 27th February 2019, <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/articles/2019/02/27/resilience-the-first-line-of-defence/index.html>.

45. Philippe Bourbeau, “Resiliencism: premises and promises in securitisation research,” *Resilience* 1, no. 1 (April 2013): 3–17.

46. Rita Parker, “Resilience as a Policy Response to Non-Traditional Security Threats,” n.d.

47. Guillaume Lasconjarias, “Deterrence Through Resilience Nato, the Nations and the Challenges of Being Prepared,” *Romanian Military Thinking*, no. 3 (2018).

repair itself quickly, and instantly fight back. Active Defense is also not only applied in the frontline defense but rather that the vital object itself is also equipped with the capacity and technology to defend itself and strike back. Active Defense is not a concept of defense with a superhero, or lethal weapon; on the contrary, it requires togetherness in cultivating and building the defense system at all points that could have vulnerabilities that might probably be exploited/targeted by the opponent’s attack.

Table 4. Active defense strategy posture and maneuvers

		Postures	Inward Strategy	Outward Strategy	Pre-Condition
Maneuvers Location	Outside and Inside Network/Jurisdiction	Protective	Neutralization	Retaliation	Threat insight
		Preventive	Interception/Interdiction	Detection and Preemptive	Potential/Predictable Threat
	Inside Network/Jurisdiction	Curative	Reconstruction/Revitalization	Redeployment	The threat had an impact
		Immunitive	Endure	Deterrence	Probable/Possible Threat

7.1.2. Inspiration of Active Defense for BNN

As stated in the introduction, the text of this study is a more detailed elaboration of the idea of Active Defense that has been conveyed in the Academic Manuscript of the BNN Strategic Plan 2020-2024 (*Nasmik Renstra*). As stated in the *Nasmik Renstra*, BNN is currently transitioning its orientation towards the prevention dimension, which emphasizes anticipatory capacity rather than the punitive dimension of eradication.⁴⁸ This is very much in line with the RPJMN 2020-2024 designed by Bappenas, in which the focus of the strategic issue carried out by BNN is to protect the Indonesian people from “security threats from non-state actors,” one of which is “transnational drug crimes.” This strategic issue is translated into a policy direction that is oriented towards “strengthening the capacity to anticipate the threat of... illicit drugs.”

On this subject, *Nasmik* recommends viewing the Active Defense strategy as “the active ability to detect, anticipate, and overcome shared potential threats” of narcotics.⁴⁹ With the description in the previous section,

48. BNN-RCCP FIA Brawijaya University, *Naskah Akademik Penyusunan Rencana Strategis Badan Narkotika Nasional 2020-2024*, 68.

49. BNN-RCCP FIA Brawijaya University, 72.

it can be seen that this recommendation is in line with the formulation of the four paradigms of Active Defense that have been presented: potential, preventive/preemptive, immunitive, and curative. Therefore, this section will integrate the paradigmatic formulation above into the overall BNN institutional framework. But before that, it is important to agree on what is called Active Defense, starting with the standard translation.

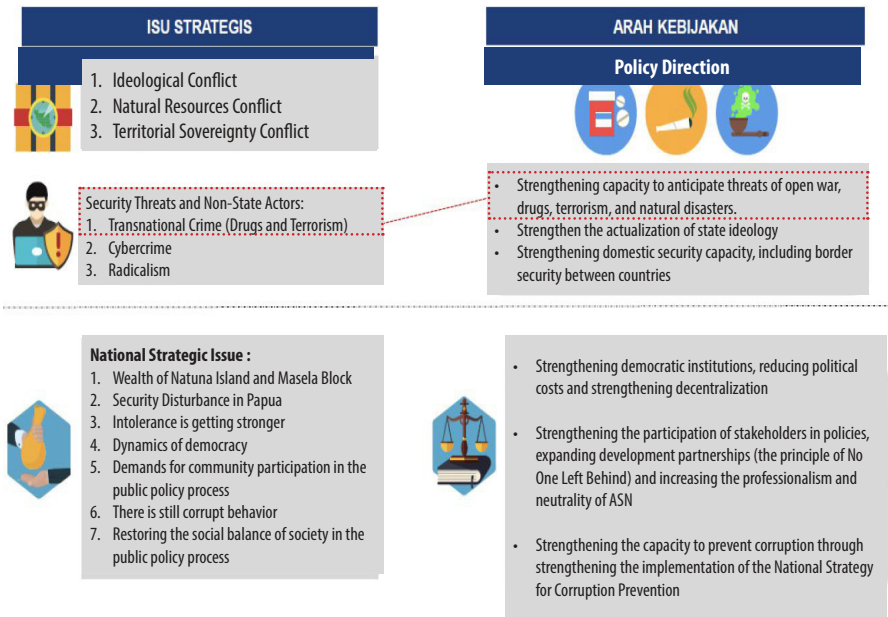


Figure 3. Mid Term Development Plan Technocratic Plan 2020-2024, Bappenas, 2018 With the academic manuscript strategic Plan’s team annotation

It has been more than a year that the term Active Defense has appeared in public spaces. But interestingly, there has not been any documentation or document that clearly states the definition of this crucial term, not even in the BNN Strategic Plan 2020-2024 document, which has been adopted through Perka BNN No. 6/2020. The Head of the BNN Planning Bureau, for example, defines Active Defense as “the ability of the Unitarian State of Republic Indonesia to ward off security disturbances (drugs) originating from overseas that will enter the Indonesian Territory.”⁵⁰ However, he admitted at that time that that definition was his own definition and had not yet been legally adopted. Not only that, he developed the definition

50. Head of the BNN Planning Bureau, Active Defense Study [Handout Discussion], 2020.

from his interpretation of the US Department of Defense definition (DoD)—“the employment of limited offensive action and counterattacks to deny a contested area or position to the enemy.” On another occasion, the Head of BNN conveyed in an interview with a national media that Active Defense is a preventive approach by “cutting off the trafficking of narcotics from abroad, both in production and transit countries.” More specifically, this approach is carried out by “visiting several countries to build systems and cooperation, especially in the exchange of information,” and even placing “drug-intelligence diplomats in several countries.”⁵¹ In this illustration, unfortunately, there’s no definite definition of what constitutes Active Defense.

The absence of this standard definition, interestingly, is also accompanied by problematic meanings by several academics in the BNN circle. For example, on one occasion, a group of BNN experts defined Active Defense as — in English—“*the use of offensive actions to outmaneuver an adversary and make an attack more difficult and to carry out. Applying offense-driven strategies is critical to being able to detect and stop not only external threat actors but also insiders and attackers with varying motivations.*”⁵² In addition to this definition being too general, in essence, interpreting Active Defense as an offensive action contradicts other studies that have been carried out by BNN itself, namely the *Nasmik Renstra* 2020-2024. The text clearly states how the offensive strategy “appears to be demanding an evaluation” as it is counterproductive to P4GN’s target achievement: instead of squeezing, the network of traffickers is increasingly “strengthening themselves and developing various modes and perfecting their criminal arsenal.”⁵³

The next problem is related to the translation of Active Defense as “defensif aktif” by the Nasmik Renstra formulation team, which stems from a problematic perspective. The term “defensive” in fact reinforces Indonesia’s reactionary posture and leans toward “actively reacting” - a position that the text wishes to avoid. The proper translation of ‘defense’ is *pertahanan* - and not *defensif*; the former is a noun, while the latter is an adjective. In terms of active defense, ‘defense’ is meant as a noun —

51 “Akan Ada Diplomat-Intelijen Narkoba di Beberapa Negara,” 26 Juni 2019, <https://mediaindonesia.com/read/detail/243296-akan-ada-diplomat-intelijen-narkoba-di-beberapa-negara>.

52. Budi Utomo, Active Defense Strategic Design of P4GN [Presentation Handout], 2020.

53. BNN-RCCP FIA Brawijaya University, *Naskah Akademik Penyusunan Rencana Strategis Badan Narkotika Nasional 2020-2024*, 72

defense — which has an ‘active’ character/posture. The proper definition, consequently, is **‘PERTAHANAN AKTIF’**. On a critical note, the construing of the term “defense” cannot be mere common-sensical. In theory, and which has also been applied in almost all defense departments around the world, defense is not always mean “to be defensive,” it can also be offensive, and this depends on its strategic posture—which is reflected in the choice of weaponry type, personnel capabilities, and development trajectory of combat technology. That is why the discussion of defense strategies and postures, as previously stated, is mandatory, the reason of which is none other than so that the policy formulation it yields will have a scientific grounding.

By clarifying the definition and standard translation, it is safe for us to get to the proposed standard formulation for the term Active Defense Strategy. A brief definition that is able to summarize all the conceptions that have been built up to this point is as follows.:

“Active Defense Strategy is a strategy in minimizing collective vulnerability to neutralize the risk of attack from the enemy.”

The elaboration of this brief definition is as follows: :

“Active Defense strategy is a strategy employed to improve the defensive and resilient capacity for oneself and one’s alliance to deter, detect, intercept, mitigate, neutralize, counterattack, and revitalize oneself from existing, potential, possible threat, as well as the one that has already affected all aspects and vulnerability.”

The following table shows the interconnection of the two definitions:

Table 5. Connectivity definition of Active Defense

Short Definition	Full Definition
“Minimize vulnerability”	“Strengthening resilience capacity and maintaining”
“together”	Self and alliance
“against”	“Terrify, detect, intercept, dampen, neutralize, fight back and revitalize oneself”
	“Threat impact”
“The risk of attack from the enemy”	“existing, potential, possible threat, as well as the one that has already impacted”
	“one’s arena and area of vulnerability”

From the description of this definition, it can be seen that there are at least four major components that are translated into six subcomponents. The first component shows that the goal of Active Defense is to minimize vulnerability, which incidentally is a sign of weak defense capacity in terms of the four defense paradigms — protective, preventive/preemptive, immunitive, and curative. The second is communality. It could pertain to the cohesion between the apparatus and the entire community, as well as with other countries as partners, especially those in the Southeast Asia region. The third component is the maneuvers against threats which includes all the maneuvers as envisioned by the four defense paradigms. Important to note is that this component must be seen as a function or result of the first component. That is why in Active Defense, the capacity to fight is gained and only gained when a defensive capacity has been acquired first.

The fourth component deals with the object of the defense strategy itself, which is the threat. The first subcomponent, “threat impact,” refers to the priority protection of internal vital objects — and not to the conquest of chasing the enemy around. The second subcomponent refers to the degree of actualization of the threat, namely those that are in sight, that which have not yet appeared but will soon appear, that can appear from anywhere and at any time, and lastly, that have happened and have already had an impact. The fourth subcomponent talks about the variety and diversity of the way the opponent attacks, the realm/dimension in which its launches his attack, and also the target point on the internal, vital object.

These four components are designed according to the four main core businesses of BNN as the leading sector in P4GN. The four are eradication, prevention, community empowerment, and rehabilitation. It is important to emphasize here that these four cores need to be seen as not just a deputy entity but more as a work function of the BNN itself. The eradication function deals with visible threats and targets. The deterrence is to intercept and detain external threats, which requires detection and monitoring capacity, as well as the capacity to carry out the first attack. The curative function is related to rehabilitation capacity, in the sense of restoring the vitality that has been taken by addiction, and can even redeploy those concerned as special agents, given their past experiences.

It also helps overcome the ingrained stigmatization of society that addicts are “lost causes.” Empowerment contributes to ab immune defense that enables people to survive, reduce, and bounce back from the crippling effects of narcotics trafficking and abuse.

Table 6. Active Defense strategic postures and maneuvers based on the four institutional functions of BNN

Active Defense Strategic Postures and Maneuvers Matrix (active defense)				
BNN's Function	Postures	Inward Strategy	Outward Strategy	Pre-Condition
Eradication	Protective	Neutralization	Retaliation	Threat insight
Prevention	Preventive	Interseption/Interdiction	Detection and Preemptive	Potential/Predictable Threat
Rehabilitation	Curative	Reconstruction/Revitalizion	Redeployment	The threat had an impact
Community Empowerment	Immunitive	Endure	Deterrence	Probable/Possible Threat

7.1.3. Inspiration of Active Defense for P4GN, Especially Prevention

In the 2020-2024 BNN *Renstra Nasmik*, a new term appears in the context of the BNN’s institutional culture, namely the term Prevention of Trafficking, or abbreviated as ‘*Cegah-Edar*’ (literally, prevention of trafficking). This formulation was conveyed by the authors in order to provide a systematic framework for the paradigm shift, which fortunately has been and is taking place within the BNN itself. This change is the mainstreaming of the prevention function in the work of the BNN. In fact, during this research, institutional reorganization occurred by moving the Intelligence Directorate and the Interdiction Directorate from the Deputy for Eradication to the Deputy for Prevention. This paradigm shift and institutional reorganization was also confirmed in our in-depth interview with the Head of the BNN, with a more detailed elaboration.⁵⁴. Both the academic paper and the Head of BNN confirm this, which

54 . Research Team of Active Defense BNN-UBJ, Jakarta - WM Ka. BNN (110620), 2020; Adrian Gallagher, Euan Raffle, dan Zain Maulana, “Failing to fulfil the responsibility to protect: the war on drugs as crimes against humanity in the Philippines,” *Pacific Review* 0, no. 0 (2019): 1–31.

means that this change is considered more effective in achieving the goals of the anti-narcotics policy itself.

The basic point of Nasmik’s recommendation is that prevention needs to also be expanded not only in terms of socialization, information, and education, all in a sense that has hitherto been understood. Prevention must also enter the domain of eradication efforts. The Nasmik Renstra also proposes cross-linkages between eradication and prevention efforts and the phenomena of drug abuse and trafficking. This means:

“The intervention of prevention and combating are no longer separated, they are well integrated with the existing type of crime, which is drug abuse and trafficking”⁵³

As a consequence, a preventive measure must be seen as a measure in preventing drug abuses or trafficking of drugs, both passively (informing/disseminating information) and actively (detecting and impeding). The latter measure is known as the *Cegah-Edar* (‘prevent-traffic’).



Figure 4. Illustration of the quadrant of preventing and eradicating narcotics abuse and illicit trafficking in the BNN’s Strategic Plan Academic Paper 2020-2024

53 . BNN-RCCP FIA Brawijaya University, *Naskah Akademik Penyusunan Rencana Strategis Badan Narkotika Nasional 2020-2024*, 70.

*This research focuses on the development of Nasmik Renstra analysis by focusing on the Prevention of Circulation category. In the next part (under strategic recommendation) further elaboration on the strategic programs design for Prevention of Circulation is presented from Active Defense Perspective. Nevertheless, the final important thing to clarify is **what does this preventive paradigm mean for BNN from Active Defense perspective?***

Nasmik Renstra has mentioned this a little bit, actually, but further elaboration will complement it better. The first thing that should be set aside is that putting security first does not mean putting the Deputy of Prevention on the front and belittling other deputies. As has been cautioned above, prevention (and eradication, empowerment, and rehabilitation) here refers to the BNN's function as the leading sector in the government's efforts to tackle the narcotics problem in Indonesia. So the first fatal mistake in interpreting this shift is to see it as granting special privileges to certain deputies and not to others. Then, because this shift takes place in the realm of paradigmatic - with paradigm defined as a set of beliefs and values that direct practice and problem solving⁵⁶ — hence the influence it exerts is at the level of policy orientation, and not necessarily at the level of administrative governance. This means, what matters most is the “soul”, and not the official nomenclature.

After clarifying the problem, the next one is on placing the centrality of the prevention paradigm in the perspective of an Active Defense strategy. First of all, the basic idea of prevention is always the main priority in protecting vital objects and through all efforts to keep real, potential, and possible threats away. This of course is different from other strategic spectrum such as offensive, expansive, or revansive (sic) (revanchism),⁵⁷ in which the main motivation is to conquer and combat. (Usually, this kind of strategy aims for an ambitious conquest to collect medals of glory and often time jeopardizes the safety of vital object). Then, **the perspective of Active Defense** increasingly develops this prevention strategy, namely in that it **puts forward preventive activities carried out at and from within in order to sustainably support activities carried out at and from outside.**

56. Lhawang Ugyel, *Paradigms of Public Administration* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016).

57. A reversal strategy is a defense strategy that is carried out to avenge a previous defeat. Germany in the period between World Wars I and II is well known as an example of this strategy.

Active Defense prioritizes reinforcement measures within the jurisdiction, not solely for internal performance, but as an absolute prerequisite for the success of externally oriented strategies.

Active defense prioritizes strengthening actions within the jurisdiction, but not solely for internal gains but as an absolute prerequisite for the success of outward-oriented strategies.

From the perspective of defense economics, this idea is consistent with several recent studies on the strategy for allocating defense investment, whether to procure resources and technology to defend (defense) or to attack (offense). In a study with mathematical modeling comparing the balance in an effort to invest/increase defense and attack capacity in the realm of land warfare and cyber warfare, researchers from the University of Oxford have come to an interesting conclusion: on a defense and attack balance scale (**ODB, offense-defense balance**), a law applies in which an increase in investment will first favor the attacker, but will then turn in favor of the defending side forever.⁵⁸ They refer to this as the Offense-to-Defense Scaling or OD-scaling (scale change from attack to defense). That is, in a real conflict scenario, when both sides of the attacker and defender are increasing their capacity successively (adding troops, adding weapons, upgrading firewalls, increasing computing power, etc.), the fruits of the investment will, first of all, be advantageous for the attacker. However, if both parties continue to increase their investment beyond a certain limit, then the investment will keep favoring the defender indefinitely—no matter how much the attacker spends to strengthen his attacking capacity. There are limits to effectiveness for offensive investment; however, this limit does not apply to the sustained defensive investment.

For example, in a ground attack scenario, when the attacker is attacking with more investment of resources, it can take advantage by concentrating the attack on one point in the defensive line/wall. However, if the investment continues to be increased, the attacker will meet a point of maximum concentration due to a space limitation at that point, while the defending side will actually strengthen its defenses at all points with

58. Ben Garfinkel dan Allan Dafoe, "How does the offense-defense balance scale?," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42, no. 6 (2019): 736–63.

this increased investment. OD-Scaling takes place here: firstly, favoring the attacker, and then it turns to favor the defender. Likewise, in the case of cyberattacks utilizing zero-day(s),⁵⁹ the race to invest in finding points of exploitation or vulnerabilities in the system will initially benefit the attacker. However, when defense investment is high enough, it is likely that all points of limited maximum exploitation have been discovered by the defending camp, which means that the exploit will no longer be zero day. Once again to emphasize: when the investment trend is relatively low, then the attack will be relatively easy; but when investment jumps high, defense will benefit.

In other words, the two researchers wanted to show that the most economically beneficial defense strategy is always inward-oriented. But it doesn't stop there, when there is a scale of change from attack to defense (OD-scaling), this defensive strategy will automatically eradicate the attacker — because it runs out of ammunition, because of fatigue, etc. Once again stressed, this view is painstakingly consistent and relevant to the horizon of Active Defense strategic thinking: increasing internal capacity for the success of external strategies. This means that prevention efforts that are oriented towards strengthening internal capacity are determining the success of prevention efforts in general. As a result, it is confirmed that the paradigm shift transition undertaken by the BNN is on the right track

7.2. External Strategic Environment

In interpreting the strategic environment in the region and internationally related to narcotics, this report presents three factors that are considered the most important and most significant in shaping the patterns and dynamics of prevention and eradication of illicit trafficking and narcotics abuse. The three factors are the disclosure - but not yet caught - of the giant methamphetamine business network in East Asia, Southeast Asia, and Australia named Sam Gor, with a gang boss named Tse Chi Lop; then

59. Zero-day is a cybersecurity term referring to the duration of time when a defender's computer system administrators are not aware of any exploits in their system while the attacking side is aware of it. Zero-day is obtained by inspecting (authoritatively or not) system vulnerabilities or loopholes. It can be done by manual human programmers/hackers but also by automated machines/machine learning algorithms. With Zero Day, attackers can exploit points to interests (moving data, destroying data/systems, placing viruses/malware, leaving traces/messages, Etc.) against the defenders. Most of the time, Zero Days are collected even if one has no hostile intention as it can be sold (i.e., commercial purposes), can be used to threaten (i.e., political goals), or it can be kept just in case one day one need to attack (i.e., security purposes).

China's international strategy to consolidate power and influence through its 21st Century silk route, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which influences the route of circulation of the meth precursor and even the synthetic opiate, fentanyl; and finally from the dynamics of ASEAN regional institutions which tend to be active on the surface, but have minimal real action. This reading of the strategic environment is very important for efforts to provide recommendations based on realities in the field.

7.2.1. El Chapo Asia

At the end of 2019, Reuters released a report entitled "The Hunt for Asia's El Chapo." The report reveals the question of a giant network that is said to rule the illicit drug trafficking business and narcotics precursors in Asia and Australia which previously had only been a secret among law enforcers.⁶⁰ The network is Sam Gor, which is a merger of several large gangster groups in Asia, which is said to be headed by a Chinese-born Canadian national, Tse Chi Lop. Reuters calls him the El Chapo Asia; UNODC even compared him to Pablo Escobar. Sam Gor's business volume is believed to have earned the group up to US \$ 17 billion in just 2018 alone. As an illustration, that figure is a quarter of Myanmar's GDP and a third of the total profit of the methamphetamine illicit business in Asia-Pacific in 2019. Tse's own wealth is not yet certain, but he reportedly lost gambling at a casino in Macau up to US \$ 66 million in one night, where he is guarded by some professional Thai kick-boxers.

Tse is the most wanted man in Asia – in the fugitive sense, that is. The data compiled by Reuters owes a lot to the operation carried out by the joint police and intelligence agency, namely Operation Kungur. The operation, led by the Australian Police (AFP), involved Myanmar, China, Thailand, Japan, Taiwan, the United States, and Canada. From the information obtained from the officials involved, it is found that the Sam Gor syndicate is arguably very different from the image of its Latin American brothers. Rather than gangsters, an official sees the word "global corporation" which is more suitable to describe how they operate with "seamless efficiency." Another official even commented that "the syndicate is enormously wealthy, disciplined and sophisticated - in many

60. Tom Allard dan Ben Bauchau, "The hunt for Asia's El Chapo | A Reuters Special Report," Reuters, 14 Oktober 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/meth-syndicate/>.

ways more sophisticated than any Latin American cartel.” This neatness is the reason why Tse’s whereabouts are not known to this day, not even by a combination of police from developed countries. One of Sam Gor’s signatures is the green tea wrapper that is always used in every drug shipment from its cartel.



Figure 5. Reuters cover illustration for Tse Chi Lop investigation report

However, the western images always refer Tse Chi Lop to other Latin America’s Kingpins are very problematic. One of the scholars even said that this image is more “Hollywood than reality”.⁶¹

The western idea of putting Tse Chi Lop at the same level as the Latin America Kingpin is highly problematic. The Netflix streaming platform is also trapped by this image: Tse is portrayed as a big boss with a familiar feel to El Chapo or Escobar, only in an East Asian kimono. For

61. Bertil Lintner, “Asia’s drug ‘kingpin’ more Hollywood than reality,” Asia Times, 1 Desember 2019, <https://asiatimes.com/2019/12/asias-drug-kingpin-more-hollywood-than-reality/>.

the reading of the strategic environment, this misinterpretation has a lot of significance, especially if we are to understand the recent transformation of the narcotics trafficking business in the region.



Figure 6. Reuters pictures of the identity of Tse Chi Lop

The first significance is the mode of organization. Sam Gor is extraordinarily neat and organized. He is also more inclusive and embracing: from the Japanese Yakuza, Australian motorcycle gangs, to ethnic Chinese gangs throughout Southeast Asia. Sam Gor prioritizes cooperation and not killing each other between gangs, as we often hear from Latin America. From the report of the Australian Police (AFP), Sam Gor itself is the fruit of a merger of at least 19 syndicates, the top five of which are: the top three in Hong Kong and Macau (14K, Wo Shing Wo, and Sun Yee On), then the Tse gang itself (Big Circle Gang), and a gang from Taiwan (Bamboo Union). The notion that there is a large and neat organization behind the rapidly increasing production of methamphetamine and synthetic opiates in the region, seen from the catch in Myanmar last April, is not a figment. Even more worrying to us researchers, this story simply demonstrates how the Sam Gor cartel performs much better (and is far more prosperous) than any regional, multilateral cooperation on narcotics!

The second significance is in its organizational structure. Here, the naming of kingpin raises an issue. A kingpin invokes the image of the center of everything, that should the person perish, the gang will follow him to the

grave. In the interview with Asia Times, two well-known criminologists in this issue, Ko-lin Chin and Sheldon X. Zhang said that as written in their book,⁶⁰ “Chinese [drug and crime] networks are horizontally structured, fluid, and opportunistic.” Asia Times confirms this claim by iterating about how the narcotics business in Myanmar and China remain in business at its glory despite the up and down and change of leadership. Instead of working on the basis of a figure, we may conclude that the key to the glory of this East Asia cartel lies in the design of the organization system—a design that is able to prevail without a leader or may even produce a new leader on its own when the predecessor no longer reigns. Again, we doubt that such a neatly-designed anti-narcotics organization has ever existed.

The third significance is about the organization of couriers. This liquid and opportunistic horizontal structure become more concrete in the perspective of the courier recruitment pattern. While such organizations in Latin America are using a strict procedure for someone to be a courier, Sam Gor seems to be more relaxed. He takes advantage of the economic adversity of the poor people to be his couriers, poor people who do not even have the capacity to protect their own belongings. In contrast to Escobar’s pro-poor people image, Sam Gor actually uses and exploits poor people to be his expandable couriers—whom if he loses a few dozen of (couriers), the loss and profit that may be resulted are already calculated. This is precisely what happened, as reported by Reuters, when Thailand tightened its border surveillance, Sam Gor mobilized hundreds of poor people of Lao to carry narcotics in their backpacks. We are aware that these are the people that were being shot at and incarcerated by law enforcers, even until today.⁶³ This has led *The Diplomat*, one of the influential voices in Asia Pacific to state that the War on Drugs is only won in political campaigns and gallant newspaper headlines, yet it is at total loss in socioeconomic reality.⁶⁴

The courier recruitment pattern that tends to be sporadic and amateur has been confirmed by recent research. A study with Social

62 . Ko-lin Chin dan Sheldon X. Zhang, *The Chinese Heroin Trade. Cross-Border Drug Trafficking in Southeast Asia and Beyond* (New York University Press, 2015).

63. “Vietnam’s fight against drug cartels on Laos border,” VnExpress International, 7 Maret 2019, <https://e.vnexpress.net/projects/vietnam-s-fight-against-drug-cartels-on-laos-border-3890848/index.html>; Preeti Jha, “Asia’s prisons are filling up with women. Many are victims of the war on drugs,” CNN, 16 Agustus 2020, <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/08/16/asia/women-drug-trafficking-mules-hnk-intl-dst-as-equals/index.html>.

64. David Hutt, “The Real Failure of Southeast Asia’s Drug Wars,” *The Diplomat*, 18 Juni 2019, <https://thediplomat.com/2019/06/the-real-failure-of-southeast-asias-drug-wars/>.

Network Analysis or SNA of intelligence data from Australia has reported that narcotics cartels has a **loose structure with a high centralization degree**.⁶⁵ This indicates that a strict hierarchical structure applies only up to the “middle management” level. Meanwhile, in the pawn-level members, the structure is highly horizontal and flexible. A loose structure of command (the loosely-connected network, in SNA terms) seemed to appeal more as it enables the organization to continuously adapt to the market’s dynamic condition.⁶⁶ However, on the other side, the cartel tends to prefer a dense structure of network in terms of interaction and “agency” component, where every actor may interact with other actor/s. The denser the network, the easier for the organization to operate secretly.

Furthermore, in regards to researching the diversity of direct relation types (multiple directed link types) that reflects an exchange of specific sources, both tangible and intangible, it has been found that the couriers’ ability to smuggle narcotics tend to be their ‘daily skill’; no sophisticated technology being used by the couriers.⁶⁷ They only exploit border points, officers’ negligence, cooperating with corrupted officers, and even using mail post service to ship the methamphetamine packages. This makes the smuggling methods as one of the skills embedded in the couriers. Until this point, the story of Sam Gor is expected to prompt us to estimate what percentage of our chance to win the battle against narcotics with our current condition.

7.2.2. Chinese Road

The Golden Triangle’s metamorphosis from the heart of methamphetamine to synthetic opiates (fentanyl) in massive industrialization scale must surely require chemical precursor materials. In this part, China plays an immensely important role. Surely, it is not the government of China that plays active role in sending these precursors; yet it is the pharmaceutical companies there that must be held accountable.

65. David Bright, Johan Koskinen, dan Aili Malm, “Illicit Network Dynamics: The Formation and Evolution of a Drug Trafficking Network,” *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 35, no. 2 (2019): 237–58; David A. Bright et al., “Networks within networks: using multiple link types to examine network structure and identify key actors in a drug trafficking operation,” *Global Crime* 16, no. 3 (2015): 219–37.

66. Gisela Bichler, Aili Malm, dan Tristen Cooper, “Drug supply networks: A systematic review of the organizational structure of illicit drug trade,” *Crime Science* 6, no. 1 (2017); Aili Malm dan Gisela Bichler, “Networks of collaborating criminals: Assessing the structural vulnerability of drug markets,” *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 48, no. 2 (2011): 271–97.

67. David A. Bright dan Rachel Sutherland, “‘Just doing a favor for a friend’: The social supply of ecstasy through friendship networks,” *Journal of Drug Issues* 47, no. 3 (2017): 492–504.

However, when it comes to China as authority, then, we can confirm the government of China's negligence of responsibility. The negligence is in terms of disciplinary action to illegal pharmaceutical factories and especially in compromising drug issues in favor of the construction of its silk road, namely the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

First, negligence in regulating. Actually, it is unfair to call it negligence. As reported by their many academic studies, both domestic and overseas, China itself has struggled to fight against distribution and abuse of narcotics,⁶⁸ to try rehabilitation for the addiction problem,⁶⁹ and that in April 2019 prohibited the total production, production, sales, dan export of all prohibited drugs precursors (meth, heroin, and especially fentanyl) on the urge from the United States since the tenure of Obama to Trump.⁷⁰ However, the main problem is that the tightening of pharmaceutical industrial policy in regards to this precursor manufacturers is not without an impact to China's economy in general.

China has been named as the country with the second-largest pharmaceutical industry in the world, with a valuation up to US\$ 122,6 billion (yet still less compared to the US, US\$ 380 billion).⁷¹ In fact, a report in the US in 2016 stated that China is the world's largest chemicals producer and exporter; it supplies about one-third of the market's demand all over the world.⁷² With this background, the world's population has millions of reason to worry about the seriousness and effectiveness of prohibition and regulation in pharmaceutical industry in China. Unfortunately, this weary is confirmed in at minimum two studies from two world class think tank organizations such as Brookings and RAND.⁷³ The latter has even concluded

68. Minqi Zhao, "Supply reduction policy against new psychoactive substances in China: Policy framework and implementation," *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice* 60, no. November 2018 (2020): 100374; Sheldon X. Zhang dan Ko Lin Chin, "China's new long March to control illicit substance use: From a punitive regime towards harm reduction," *Journal of Drug Policy Analysis* 11, no. 1 (2018): 1–11.

69. Sheldon X. Zhang dan Ko-lin Chin, "A people's war: China's struggle to contain its illicit drug problem," in *Improving Global Drug Policy: Comparative Perspectives and UNGASS 2016*, 2015, 1–15, <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Research/Files/Papers/2015/04/global-drug-policy/A-Peoples-War-final.pdf?la=en>.

70. Vanda Felbab-brown, *Fentanyl and geopolitics Controlling opioid supply from China* (Brookings Institution, 2020).

71. Huileng Tan, "China's pharmaceutical industry is poised for major growth," *CNBC*, 19 April 2018, <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/04/19/chinas-pharmaceutical-industry-is-poised-for-major-growth.html>.

72. Sean O' Connor, *Meth Precursor Chemicals from China: Implications for the United States* (U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 2016).

73. Felbab-brown, *Fentanyl and geopolitics Controlling opioid supply from China*; Bryce Pardo, Beau Kilmer, dan Wenjing Huang, "Contemporary Asian Drug Policy: Insights and Opportunities for Change," *RAND* (Santa Monica, Calif, 2019).

that “China unlikely to curb fentanyl exports in short term.” This pessimism is not a mere allegation, yet it has been confirmed with in-depth journalistic report in the mid-November 2020 by the US media, AS, NPR (New People’s Republic), on pharmaceutical industry supplying these Chinese heroin and fentanyl precursors that have transformed in such a way in adapting and overcoming its government (and other countries’ governments) regulation constraints, mainly through the link provided via the internet.⁷⁴

With regards to regulation negligence, the second point that makes up a strategic environment on drugs in the region is the Chinese silk road (BRI). The US Drugs Enforcement Agency (DEA) report in the early 2020 has finally made clear to what many people had suspected, that China is the main source of chemical precursors supply to manufacture synthetic narcotics.⁷⁵ The International Crisis Group (ICG) research last year has mapped the precursors incoming channel to Myanmar is via Kutkai, Muse, and Lashio in the state of Wa, under military ruler of United Wa State Army (UWSA).⁷⁶ As the state of Shan is well-known as the producer of methamphetamine pills/tablets (yaba), the Wa state is famous for its crystal methamphetamine (ice). What is concerning is that this Wa state is one of the channels passed by one of BRI’s corridors, which is the China-Myanmar Economic Corridor (CMEC) (See image 7, 8, and mainly 9 and 10). Here is where the precursor distribution issue becomes complicated. (for details about these channels; land and river, see studies from Vietnamese academic who is based in Australia, Hai Thanh Luong, expert on security issue in Greater Mekong sub-area).⁷⁷

74. Emily Feng, “Inside China’s Online Fentanyl Chemical Networks Helping Fuel The Opioid Crisis,” NPR, 17 November 2020,

<https://www.npr.org/2020/11/17/916890880/we-are-shipping-to-the-u-s-china-s-fentanyl-sellers-find-new-routes-to-drug-user>.

75. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), Fentanyl Flow to the United States (DEA-DCT-DIR-008-20) (DEA Intelligence Report, 2020).

76. International Crisis Group (ICG), Fire and Ice: Conflict and Drugs in Myanmar’s Shan State, International Crisis Group, 2019, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/myanmar/299-fire-and-ice-conflict-and-drugs-myanmars-shan-state>.

77. Hai Thanh Luong, “Mapping on Transnational Crime Routes in the New Silk Road: a Case Study of the Greater Mekong Sub-region,” *The Chinese Journal of Global Governance* 6, no. 1 (2020): 20–35; Hai Thanh Luong, “Drug production, consumption, and trafficking in the Greater Mekong Sub-Region,” *Asian Survey* 59, no. 4 (2019): 717–37; Hai Thanh Luong, *Transnational Drug Trafficking Across the Vietnam–Laos Border* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

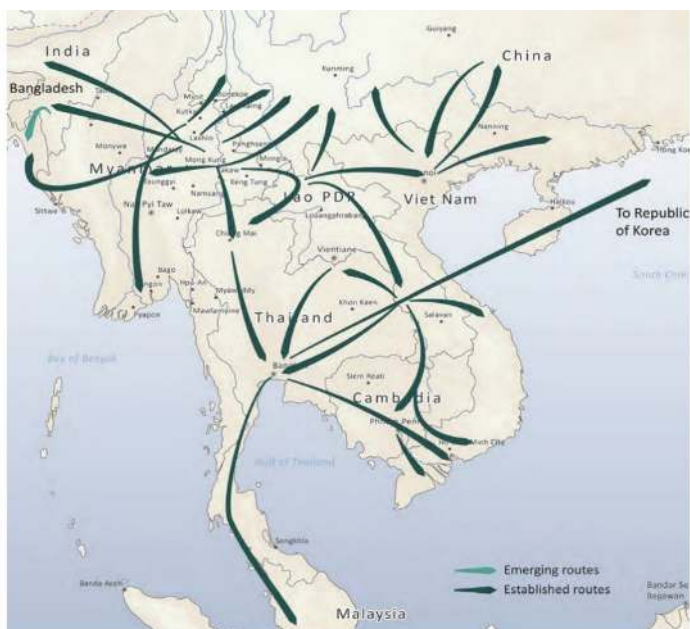


Figure 7. Circulation route of methamphetamine tablets in the area Mekong River, 2019.⁷⁸



Figure 8. Route of crystallized (ice) methamphetamine circulation in and through East Asia and Southeast Asia, 2019.⁷⁹

78. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), *Synthetic Drugs in East and Southeast Asia. Latest developments and challenges*.

79. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC).

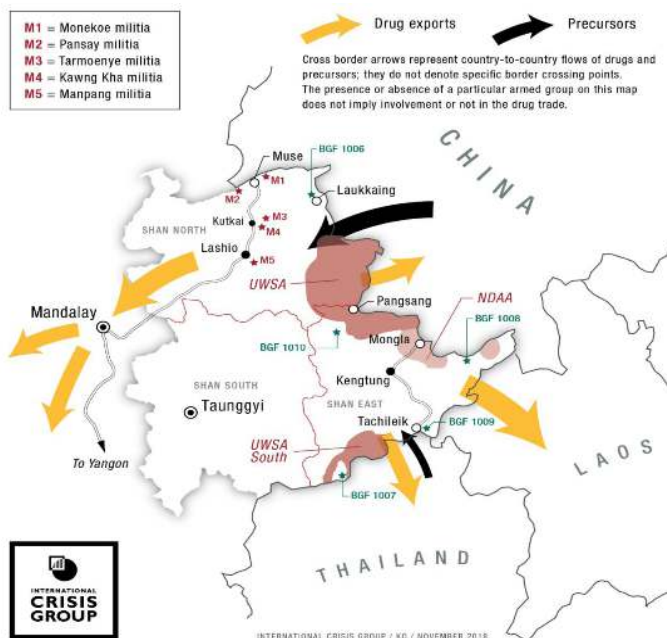


Figure 9. Map of drug trafficking routes and narcotic precursors from and to Myanmar.⁸⁰

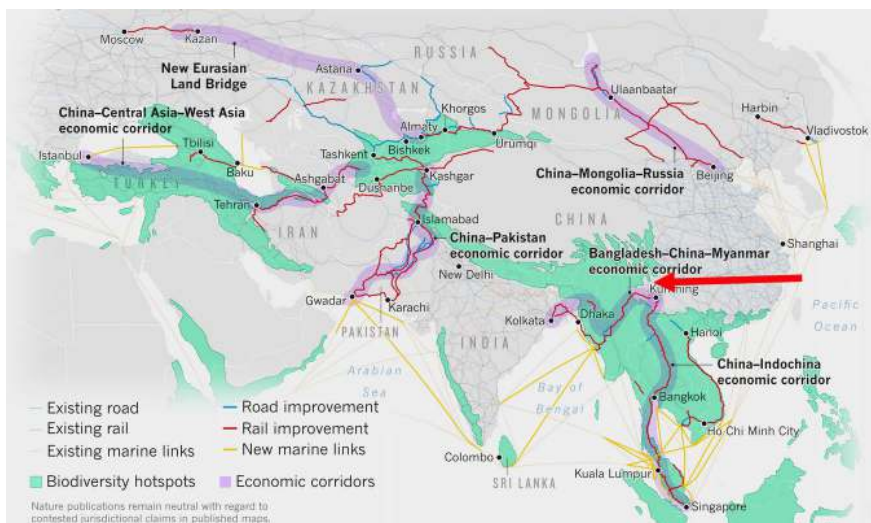


Figure 10. Six corridors in China's Belt and Road Initiative. (Map from Journal of Nature).⁸¹

80. International Crisis Group (ICG), *Fire and Ice: Conflict and Drugs in Myanmar's Shan State*, 26.

81. Ehsan Masood, "How China is redrawing the map of world science," *Nature* 569 (2019): 20–23. Red arrow from the author, to indicate the location of the precursor entry in the state of Wa, Myanmar.

The ICG report reflects how the BRI project also shaped the domestic political dynamics of Myanmar, which has an impact on the increased bargaining position of Wa's separatist group.⁸² In the interview with South China Morning Post, ICG researcher mentioned that China has the interest to build a good relationship with the separatists so that *"they don't bomb the pipeline or block the roads."*⁸³ ICG also reports that in several occasions, Myanmar's military deliberately let the separatists to produce and distribute narcotics. This is as a consequence of China's frequent interference in intermediating shootout between Myanmar's army and the separatists, that in turn will as if giving better bargaining position for Wa separatists before the government of Myanmar. The stability of MCEW-BRI corridor has become China's priority, although it may have to compromise the regional security from the threat of illegal narcotics distribution. However, this does not mean that China is unable/unwilling to cooperate;⁸⁴ countries in the region must be able to convince and offer security guarantee for China's infrastructure development projects as "compensation" to their seriousness in sterilizing BRI's corridor from narcotics distribution.⁸⁵ This is the challenge.

(Follow-up on BRI security in the Myanmar corridor is not deeply discussed in this report. However, it does not mean that it is impossible. BNN needs to coordinate with the Ministry of Defense and TNI (Army), specifically to raise this issue in the regional forums, such as ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting Plus [ADMM+]).

7.2.3. ASEAN Way

ASEAN has been an anomaly for quite some time—if not bullied—by academics working on the theme of regionalism and international organization.⁸⁴ It is believed as to merely run the function of buffering built

82. International Crisis Group (ICG), *Fire and Ice: Conflict and Drugs in Myanmar's Shan State*.

83. Meaghan Tobin, "What does China's Belt and Road have to do with Myanmar's meth problem?," South China Morning Post, 8 January 2019, <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/geopolitics/article/2181223/what-does-chinas-belt-and-road-have-do-myanmars-meth-problem>.

84. For example "Chinese police intercept shipment of drug precursor," Bangkok Post, 3 April 2020, <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1891975/chinese-police-intercept-shipment-of-drug-precursor>; Tiongkok has been reported funding Mekong River Patrol program US\$ 50.000 via UNODC. See Luong, "Mapping on Transnational Crime Routes in the New Silk Road: a Case Study of the Greater Mekong Sub-region."

85. Luong, "Mapping on Transnational Crime Routes in the New Silk Road: a Case Study of the Greater Mekong Sub-region," 35.

86. See actual survey about this debate in Richard Stubbs, "ASEAN sceptics versus ASEAN proponents: evaluating regional institutions," *Pacific Review* 32, no. 6 (2019): 923–50.

by the United States to hold the influence of the Soviet Union's Communism during the Cold War. After the Soviet Union was dissolved and Cold War ended, ASEAN's relevance became questionable. It is often named a "talk shop" that is always "making process but not making progress." Too many issues—politics, nature, even health—in a region that could have been settled by ASEAN, but was actually handled through traditional methods—bilateral, informal, and cultural.⁸⁷ In security field—both traditional and non-traditional—ASEAN has even obtained the title of "*a frustrating enterprise*"⁸⁸ that always repeats its mantra of "will improve cooperation" and its kinds, without any concrete progress. As precisely stated by the ASEAN Ministers of Foreign Affairs several months ago on the illicit drugs issue in the region: "We reiterated our call for all ASEAN Member States to intensify efforts in fighting the drug menace to secure the ASEAN Community against illicit trafficking of drugs and other drug-related crimes".⁸⁹

Skeptical views always put emphasis on the performance, yet always confused when asked to explain why does ASEAN, which is institutionally ineffective (even tend to be defective), remain capable of maintaining the stability of peace in the region?⁹⁰ The optimistic group has the answer: ASEAN Way—a norm in a region that upholds three principles: non-intervention, policy making through consensus, and increase mutual trust (confidence building measures, CBM). ASEAN Way is the answer to why this regional institution remain to operate without compromising the sovereignty of respective member states. With ASEAN Way, it is as if all issues suddenly settled (or forgotten) on its own. At least, that is what reflected in the surface. As the important thing to examine is the mechanism that occur behind the curtain of this ASEAN Way, and the mechanism is surely essential to determine the attitudes towards ASEAN in terms of narcotics issues in the region.

Long story short, we need to see the process in the Southeast Asia region as a two-leveled game. As recently reported through a research by Osaka University, that when ASEAN becomes ineffective, it is actually

87. Helen E.S. Nesadurai, "ASEAN during the life of The Pacific Review: a balance sheet on regional governance and community building," *Pacific Review* 30, no. 6 (2017): 938–51.

88. See Seng Tan, "Is ASEAN Finally Getting Multilateralism Right? From ARF to ADMM+," *Asian Studies Review* 44, no. 1 (2020): 28–43.

89. ASEAN, Joint communiqué of the 53rd ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting 9 September 2020.

90. Stubbs, "ASEAN sceptics versus ASEAN proponents: evaluating regional institutions," 20.

a situation regretted and upset the state leaders; yet, on the surface, cohesiveness is considered essential to be displayed.⁹¹ In fact, consciously, in order to maintain the ASEAN Way, diplomats are willing to work extra to perform diplomatic lobbying outside of the forum. However, what is unique is that this is what actually makes ASEAN work. As if there has been a consensus within the circle of diplomats and leaders of ASEAN, that all problems—mainly politics and security—will be “worked on” among their own countries (in bilateral/separated unilateral manner). It is only when the work is done and requires some “garnish” it is brought to the ASEAN forum. This is what is meant by the two-leveled game: bilateral diplomacy for the interest of multilateral performance. What is interesting is that, it is this togetherness and performative unity that becomes the main modality of ASEAN before the strong countries, mainly China and the United States. This is the ASEAN’s way to sail through the ocean of great power games constellation in the region.

The main descriptor of this irony is actually quite simple: many countries in ASEAN that economic-wise are relying on China’s support, as well as the military and security closeness it promises. Myanmar and Cambodia that are visibly relying to China’s support through the silk road project; Thailand that benefit from the low price defense equipment expenditure from China; and the Philippines that expects infrastructure aid from China. This also has not included the dispute of South China Sea. Which means that, the effect of China in the region is to divide.⁹² It approaches and offers direct concessions in bilateral manner, which final result will paradoxically collide one country and another.⁹³ However, each country in the region still believes and certain that only through unity they will have the opportunity to have bargaining power against strong countries.⁹⁴

91. Taku Yukawa, “The ASEAN Way as a symbol: an analysis of discourses on the ASEAN Norms,” *Pacific Review* 31, no. 3 (2018): 298–314.

92. Sampa Kundu, “China divides ASEAN in the South China Sea,” *East Asia Forum*, 21 Mei 2016, <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2016/05/21/china-divides-asean-in-the-south-china-sea/>; Catherine Wong, “Divide and conquer Asean: China tries to go one on one with Malaysia to settle South China Sea disputes,” *South China Morning Post*, 18 Mei 2019, <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3010790/divide-and-conquer-asean-china-tries-go-one-one-malaysia>; Trinh Le, “ASEAN’s China Dilemma,” *The Diplomat*, 29 Oktober 2019, <https://thediplomat.com/2019/10/aseans-china-dilemma/>.

93. Huong Le Thu, “China’s dual strategy of coercion and inducement towards ASEAN,” *Pacific Review* 32, no. 1 (2019): 20–36.

94. Yukawa, “The ASEAN Way as a symbol: an analysis of discourses on the ASEAN Norms”; Tan, “Is ASEAN Finally Getting Multilateralism Right? From ARF to ADMM+.”

ASEAN Way prefers to conduct approaches with an informal and bilateral basis, supplemented with the divisive attitude towards China, which also chooses informal and bilateral channels to approach each country in ASEAN. This, in turn, renders any bits of advice to use regional architecture becomes rather problematic. Shall there be a diplomatic strategy in the region to handle the issue of narcotics, then **the use of ASEAN shall be done when and only once the two-leveled diplomacy has been settled beforehand, bilaterally, informally, and even culturally.**

7.3. Internal Strategic Environment

When facing such challenges of the external strategic environment, what is the internal condition in Indonesia, especially line ministries, that drive the P4GN program? This part will explore our findings. The assumption that drives us to also deep dive into the internal issues and constraints in Indonesia, in P4GN, and especially in BNN is that success in handling external strategic challenges will be highly determined by the extent of Indonesia's own resilience and defense. This is the main motive of this research, to identify the points of internal issues, that is, not to seek a scapegoat, but to truly understand the issue and map the opportunity to have corrective and even innovative intervention. As an old adage in diplomacy says: *"foreign policy begins at home."*

7.3.1. The Threat of the Next Wage of Synthetic Drugs

Have Tse Chi Lop and his Sam Gor syndicates started operating in Indonesia? As far as the media investigation, the names of Tse and Sam Gor have never been mentioned as the responsible party in high-profile drug trafficking in Indonesia. The existing press release only uses the term "international syndicate" to refer to the mastermind. As well as in this research field study, not once those two names were mentioned. News on Tse and Sam Gor in Indonesian-language media are mostly adapting Reuters' investigation reports that have been mentioned in the previous section. Then, does this mean that Sam Gor is not yet operating in Indonesia? Not necessarily.

The names of Tse and Sam Gor have not yet been mentioned as the names of "international syndicates" often stated in press releases. However, when we look at the typical signature of Sam Gor's products,

it may tell otherwise. The signature is none other than the shiny wrap of Chinese tea with the picture of a traditional brown teapot that wraps every shipment from the Sam Gor syndicate. If this tea wrap is an indicator, then there are plenty of arrest documentation in Indonesia that reflect this Sam Gor's signature.



Figure 11. Chinese tea pack with teapot picture striking as the Tse Chi Lop signature and the Sam Gor syndicate.

From document search on the arrests of the international drug syndicate, the Chinese tea wrapper with brown teapot was not hard to find. One can find the signature in the seizure of 1.6 tonnes in Batam (Riau Island) in February 2018, in Riau and Jakarta at the end of 2018, in Deli Serdang (Sumatera Utara) at the end of 2019, and another in Riau July 2020 and Medan in November 2020.



Figure 12. Sam Gor's Chinese Tea Traces on arrest In Batam, 2018.



Wakapolda Metro Jaya Brigjen Wahyu Hadiningrat (ketiga dari kiri) menunjukkan barang bukti berupa narkoba milik jaringan internasional yang berasal Malaysia.

Figure 13. Sam Gor’s Chinese Tea Trail on arrest In Jakarta, 2018



BNN tangkap pengedar narkoba di Riau. ©2018 Merdeka.com



Figure 14. Traces of Sam Gor’s Chinese Tea on arrests in Riau, 2019



Kasatgas NIC Dittipid Narkoba Bareskrim Polri AKBP Victor Siagian (tengah) di Gedung Bareskrim Mabes Polri, Jakarta Selatan, Jumat (20/9/2019). (KOMPAS.com/Devina Halim)

Figure 15. Sam Gor's Chinese Tea Traces on arrest In Jakarta, 2019



Polisi menunjukkan barang bukti sabu dan wajah AR yang tewas. AR adalah kurir yang akan membawa 30 kg sabu ke Palembang. Tewas ditembak polisi karena melawan dan membahayakan keselamatan petugas. (KOMPAS.COM/DEWANTORO)

Figure 16. Traces of Sam Gor's Chinese Tea on arrests in Medan, November 2020

The images included here are only some of what can be found through a search engine. Many more are not included here, especially those with less significant catch numbers. Therefore, should the Chinese tea wraps shown above are truly Sam Gor’s signature, then it is not only that Indonesia should really devise an extra strategy to deal with a very neat and cross-border organization, but we should also start to prepare ourselves to fight the wave of synthetic opium drug, that is fentanyl. During the disclosure and massive arrest in Myanmar April 2020, in addition to tons of methamphetamine inside the Chinese tea wrap, there were also thousands of liters of fentanyl precursors. It is possible that Sam Gor tried to sell fentanyl to the Southeast Asian market after the narcotics managed to “successfully” ravaged the United States with 71.000 overdose deaths in 2019 alone.



Figure 17. Traces of Sam Gor’s Chinese Tea on capture in Myanmar, 2020, along with thousands of liters of fentanyl precursor

What is interesting about the news that narrates the pictures of Sam Gor's Chinese tea wraps in multiple arrests in Indonesia is the absence of the name fentanyl itself being mentioned. This does not immediately mean that there is no fentanyl being distributed in Indonesia. In our interview with the representative of UNODC, there was a concern that Indonesian officers and law enforcers did not know what fentanyl was.⁹⁵ The absence of fentanyl in the arrest news abovementioned may be caused by this ignorance or that fentanyl is not being distributed in Indonesia by Sam Gor. However, at least one case in Indonesia mentioned the distribution of fentanyl in liquid form inserted into a rubber ball for children's toys.

Although it did not mention Sam Gor or "international syndicate," we need to start anticipating the specifics of this fentanyl crisis, especially learning from the case in the United States. As the opium crisis handling and motives are quite different from similar crises resulting from methamphetamine, overgeneralizing as well as generalizing it will actually worsen the situation instead of overcoming it.⁹⁶ For example, methamphetamine is being used more on the motive of increasing vitality, while fentanyl is more on the handling of pain (either way, both potentially lead to addiction).⁹⁷ It means that active resilience and defense strategy for prevention (and rehabilitation) must adjust to this specificity.⁹⁷

95. Active Defense Research Team BNN-UBJ, Jakarta - WM UNODC - Country Director, Collie Brown (112520).

96. April Dembosky, "Meth Vs. Opioids: America Has Two Drug Epidemics, But Focuses On One," Kaiser Health News, 7 Mei 2019, <https://khn.org/news/meth-vs-opioids-america-has-two-drug-epidemics-but-focuses-on-one/>.

97. Charles M. Cleland et al., "Between- and within-person associations between opioid overdose risk and depression, suicidal ideation, pain severity, and pain interference," *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 206, no. June 2019 (2020): 107734; Maryam Mazloom dan Shahram Mohammadkhani, "The comparison of the motivation and personality risk profile in different substance use," *Iranian Journal of Health Psychology* 2, no. 2 (2020): 89–100; Tess M. Kilwein, Preston Hunt, dan Alison Looby, "A Descriptive Examination of Nonmedical Fentanyl Use in the United States: Characteristics of Use, Motives, and Consequences," *Journal of Drug Issues* 48, no. 3 (2018): 409–20.



Berita viral hari ini - Beredar video viral narkoba baru pada bola karet mainan anak-anak, diduga sabu cair dan fentanyl. Ini bahaya zat tentanil.

Figure 18. Smuggling of methamphetamine/shabu and liquid fentanyl through children's rubber balls in Jakarta, 2020

7.3.2. Economic Issue as Supply Catalyst at the Border

Oftentimes, in the discussions on illegal drug trafficking at the border, there is an assumption that economic issue becomes the reason that drives people to be a courier and smuggler there. Multiple data from interviews and FGDs obtained in this research confirmed this as well. It is not difficult to come up with a “theory” on economic incentives for the poor to become couriers. “The courier gets 20 million in one go, so they will take it, and that is what we are afraid of because here, the poor will agree when offered to become a courier,”⁹⁸ that is what we heard in Mota’ain, NTT. This incentive is considered as a tool for the dealers to use people to become couriers/smugglers. In Entikong, informants warn, “don’t let these poor people being used by the drug dealers because they are the easiest target. People in adversity, poor, .. they are the easiest. ‘Sir, please deliver from this border. My bag, this small bag,’ that’s what they said. ‘With compensation up to 10 million.’ Who wouldn’t want to take it? People in adversity. Say, he/she works as a *pemikul* (carrier), he/she is entitled to get 50 thousand per one carry.”⁹⁹ Thus, empowering the economy of border/coastal communities is considered an effective instrument to overcome the issue, as this opinion that is raised in Aceh, “so, empowering the

98. Active Defense Research Team of BNN-UBJ, NTT, Motaain - FGD Kelompok 4 (082620), 2020.

99. Active Defense Research Team of BNN-UBJ, West Kalimantan, Entikong - WM Kasi P2M BNNK (100420), 2020.

coastal community's economy is something that needs to be built, we need to empower the community. They (actually) understood. But they are forced due to economic needs. Because when they got arrested, from the stories they told, it was clear that they came from very poor families."¹⁰⁰

However, these narratives are not without criticism. Because if poverty does significantly affect the decision to be a courier/smuggler, then why not all poor people become and regard dealers as a career? More interestingly, the example of the two citations above is based on a partial observation on the ground and tends to be merely general reasoning. Furthermore, bias and stereotyping on poor people are reflected in the following narrative; poverty becomes the scapegoat for the frustration in handling the never-ending trafficking issue, and eventually is regarded as a justifier—"because of poverty, then it is only sensible to be a courier, as the money is good." Typical middle-class stigmatization is reflected here, that the poor people are lazy and only thinking about the easy way out. It is true, on one or two occasions. Nonetheless, there has been no study in this country that proves empirically that poverty determines the decision to traffic drugs or how other "risk factor" lead poverty to be determinant. Poverty may be a catalyst, but there are other variables that must be carefully elaborated.

On the contrary, studies that show how bias and stigmatization towards poor people and the scapegoating of poverty have turned to attack the poor people, have grown in numbers.¹⁰¹ In an academic conference specifically on smugglers (drug mules) which then issued in one special edition *The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice*, numerous facts are delivered about how life vulnerability (precarity) of a potential smuggler is being used.¹⁰² Character of a smuggler that is expandable shows the gap in relation of power between the smuggler and employer. There is a coercion factor that exploits the poverty of this potential smuggler, which leads the poor person to seek the opportunity to smuggle. There is also an analysis

100. Active Defense Research Team of BNN-UBJ, Aceh - FGD Group 1 (Part 2) (091620), 2020.

101. Kissila Teixeira Mendes, Telmo Mota Ronzani, dan Fernando Santana de Paiva, "Poverty, Stigma, and Drug Use: Reflections About a Perverse Relation," in *Psychosocial Implications of Poverty* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 77–89; Julia Buxton, Mary Chinery, dan Hesse Khalid Tinasti, ed., *Drug Policies and Development Conflict and Coexistence* (Leiden, Boston: Brill | Nijhoff, 2020).

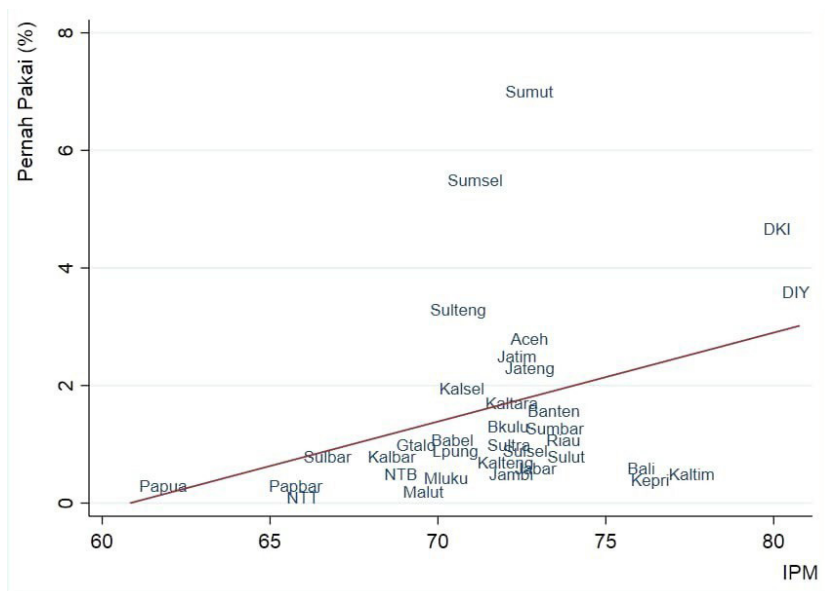
102. Jennifer Fleetwood, "Introduction drug mules: International advances in research and policy," *Howard Journal of Crime and Justice* 56, no. 3 (2017): 279–87.

that shows how a cartel uses the ignorance of the villagers by supplying them with drugs that end up with them being addicted, that forces them to be smugglers with the compensation of free supply. Instead of focusing attention on this process of exploitation, the researchers are focusing to a more structural issue: that there is a pre-existing imbalanced social-economy relation (due to colonialism legacy, state's failure, etc.), which is then engineered and used for predatorial profit paradigm from illegal drug business.¹⁰³ The important point to stress here is **that poverty has never stood alone as a determinant factor of the decision to traffic drugs or to become a drug courier/smuggler.** In fact, in some occasions, not at all.¹⁰⁴

Domestically, as mentioned before, there is no specific study about the relationship between poverty and distribution in the border area. However, we try to statistically calculate by correlating the prevalence rate of narcotics exposure in 2019 with multiple economic welfare indicators (Human Development Index, IPM BPS). In the calculation, we found a relationship between economic variables and prevalence indicators of 'have used' and 'used for one year', although only slightly. Regardless, in these two measurements, both are completely insignificant (first value is $p=0,69$, while the second is $p=0,48$). All the more interesting, when the prevalence rate of 'have used' is correlated with IPM number at the border, we found that—contrary to the above public's assumption—there is a “medium” correlation of “medium” and significant between the 'have used' indicator and the increase of IPM index (see image). This means, instead of predicting, the poverty rate actually correlates linearly to the prevalence rate: the more prosperous an area, the higher the users. This calculation can adequately refute the dominant narrative that poverty at the border increases their exposure to narcotics abuse, which subsequently drive them to become dealer to meet their addictive needs for narcotics..

103. Philippe Bourgois, “Crack and the political economy of social suffering,” *Addiction Research and Theory* 11, no. 1 (2003): 31–37; Philippe Bourgois, “Decolonising drug studies in an era of predatory accumulation,” *Third World Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (2018): 385–98.

104. Riset van San dan Sikkens ini menunjukkan bahwa alih-alih kemiskinan, motivasi utama menyelundupkan di kalangan perempuan di Curaçao dan Peru justru lebih karena alasan ikatan keluarga, romansa, dan persahabatan. Lihat Marion van San dan Elga Sikkens, “Families, lovers, and friends: Women, social networks, and transnational cocaine smuggling from Curaçao and Peru,” *Howard Journal of Crime and Justice* 56, no. 3 (2017): 343–57.

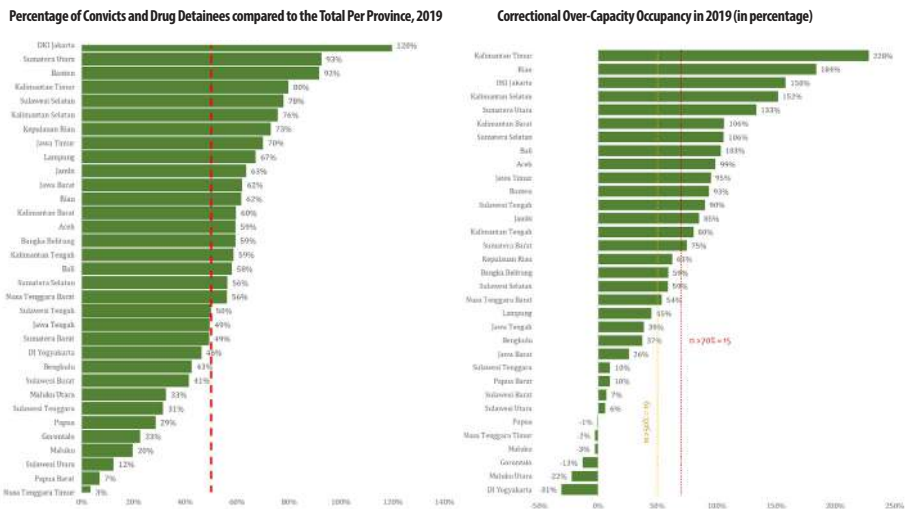


The motivation to gain profit by doing whatever it takes is not only relevant to the poor. The various corruption cases by officials, religious leaders, and even former anti-corruption activists are all fond of this idea, let alone the syndicates/narcotics druglords. In other words, when we confirm “economic motivation” in order to elaborate the distribution at the border, extra cautiousness is significantly essential, not to get trapped in bias and stigmatization of poor people.¹⁰⁵ Instead of stereotyping poverty as catalyst, this research recommends to view the issue of social-economic structural gap at border that drive their exposure on the influence of various risk factors that in turn will make them vulnerable towards the exploitation of profit hunters in the illicit narcotics business. **Poverty is a result, not a cause.** Empowering and prospering the border/coastal community are the responsibility of the state and us all, with or without narcotic cases.

105. Examples of bias and unproven assumptions that attribute the poverty factor as the main motivating factor for Passing by as a courier, see Ayu Widowati Johannes, "Penanganan Masalah-Masalah Sosial Di Kecamatan Kawasan Perbatasan Kabupaten Sanggau" *Journal of Equatorial Voice Government Science* 4, no. 2 (2019): 50–61; Rendi Prayuda, "*Kejahatan Transnasional Terorganisir di Wilayah Perbatasan : Studi Modus Operandi Penyelundupan Narkotika Riau dan Malaysia*" *Andalas Journal of International Studies (AJIS)* 9, no. 1 (30 May 2020): 34; Novana Veronica, Julenta Kareth, and Reni Shintasari, "Kebijakan Badan Narkotika Nasional Dalam Penanggulangan Narkoba Wilayah Perbatasan" *Musamus. Journal of Public Administration*, 3, no. 1 (2020): 20–31.

7.3.3. Punishment Regime Blunders (Penitentiary and Rehabilitation)

It is widely known that detention centers and correctional facilities in Indonesia have been overcrowded and have exceeded their assigned capacity. It is also known that in narcotics cases, both dealers/druglords and users are the main contributor to the overcapacity state. The following table may convince better about the general knowledge.



Graph 7. Overcapacity prisons due to narcotics cases, data from the Correctional Data System, Director General of Correctional Institution

In a special interview with Kompas a while ago, the Minister of Law and Human Rights, gave the latest confirmation on this problem.

*“As per now, the population of correctional facilities has reached 260.000 people. That has exceeded the capacity. It brings us to question, why is there one type of crime that dominates (illicit drug abuse), more than fifty percent of (total population) correctional facilities. What is even more horrifying is that now, users, couriers, and dealers are all in one correctional facility.”*¹⁰⁶

106. “Mencari Jalan Keluar untuk Pencandu Narkotika | Special Interview with Yasonna Laoly,” Kompas, 26 November 2020, <https://www.kompas.id/baca/polhuk/2020/11/26/mencari-jalan-keluar-untuk-pencandu-narkotika/>.

In fact, when asked about the possibility of building new correctional facilities to overcome the capacity issue, he stated his reluctance.¹⁰⁷ Instead of building a new correctional facility, Yasonna urges to have the Law on Narcotics (35/2009) to be amended. Specifically, on the measurement of reference, whether one suspect is merely a user, courier, or someone/part of a dealership. The legal assessment process through TAT (Integrated Assessment Team) has regulated this with several actual prerequisites: surely, when one is assessed as a user, then he shall be rehabilitated; when proven of dealing, then it is imprisonment. The problem is, according to Yasonna, the line between user and courier is “so slim,”¹⁰⁸ and so is between courier and dealer that, “when examined thoroughly, in certain cases, the prisoner is also the victim.”¹⁰⁹ This definitional issue is what, one of many, to have its affirmation encouraged through the law revision. About the urgency of definitional clarification, a UNODC representative also confirmed this in an in-depth interview, saying that there were four to be clarified: users, dealers, druglords, and syndicate/cartel. All four are certainly the basis of differentiation of the punishment.¹¹⁰ Both the Minister and UNODC agreed that severe punishment should be convicted to the druglords and cartels, but not to users or dealers/couriers who often are the victims of the first two.

In a field observation, daily stories on overcapacity and the weak supervision in the correctional facility are not uncommon. In terms of control and transaction of illicit drugs from correctional facilities is not a surprise that we heard in the field. In fact, a story from one of our team members who went to Merauke tells that he saw himself a prisoner ordered food from the seller directly. Ironically, the prisoner was the prisoner that he/she had just interviewed. In Yogyakarta, the new head of correctional facility managed to break open and found tens of bunkers (digs within cells) to store illicit drugs, hundreds of mobile phones along with the chargers. There were also found socket terminals to charge the hidden phones connected to the electricity source neatly. And, surely, several “delinquent” officers were put under discipline. The head of prison security (the KPLP) even showed us a

107. “Ogah Bangun Lapas Baru, Yasonna Laoly Pilih Revisi UU Narkotika,” *detikNews*, 11 April 2020, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4973556/ogah-bangun-lapas-baru-yasonna-laoly-pilih-revisi-uu-narkotika>.

108. “Mencari Jalan Keluar untuk Pencandu Narkotika” | Special Interview with Yasonna Laoly.”

109. “Ogah Bangun Lapas Baru, Yasonna Laoly Pilih Revisi UU Narkotika.”

110. Active Defense Research Team BNN-UBJ, Jakarta - WM UNODC - Country Director, Collie Brown (112520).

671-pages long report document that reported fantastic findings from the sweeping done inside the correctional facility: one of them was an operation conducted between July and August 2020, which alone found 214 bunkers.

We are thrilled to witness how a theory “comes to live” on a daily basis, that is, the theory of “school of crime.”¹¹¹ This theory sees that for the types of crime that require specific skills and knowledge, and also strong network cooperation/collaboration, the law of imprisonment will actually elevate the prisoner’s level of expertise instead of making him deterred.¹¹² “On to the next level he went. When he got in, it was because of marijuana. Later, he got arrested for consuming methamphetamine in prison,” said an FGD participant in a correctional facility in Skouw, Papua. In our indexation, it is interesting that this terminology of “up to next level” (“*naik kelas*”) has been heard from Aceh, Medan, Entikong, Jakarta, Motaain (NTT) to Papua. This research field study confirms that the view that when a user is imprisoned, he/she is upskilled to be a dealer is not just a rumor.

A more concerning note is the view that imprisoning a user will potentially make him a dealer, is confirmed by several researchers from Florida University through the publication of *Crime & Delinquency* journal at the end of October 2020.¹¹³ This research studies the impact of imprisoning drug-related criminals with charges/prosecution of drug trafficking crime. By conducting the multilevel modeling analysis and by taking samples from 38 countries, they have reached an astounding conclusion: the increase of imprisonment correlate linearly with the increased number of dealers at large—or, in academic terms, for every one unit addition of imprisonment level affects to 15% increase of numbers of non-recidivist drug-related criminals prosecuted as dealers.¹¹⁴ Based on the data from Indonesian Drug Report 2020 that records 52.709 suspects of illicit drug crimes and a

111. Anna Piil Damm dan Cédric Gorinas, “Prison as a criminal school: Peer effects and criminal learning behind bars,” *Journal of Law and Economics* 63, no. 1 (2020): 149–80; Aurelie Ouss, “Prison as a School of Crime: Evidence from Cell-Level Interactions,” *SSRN Electronic Journal*, no. December (2012).

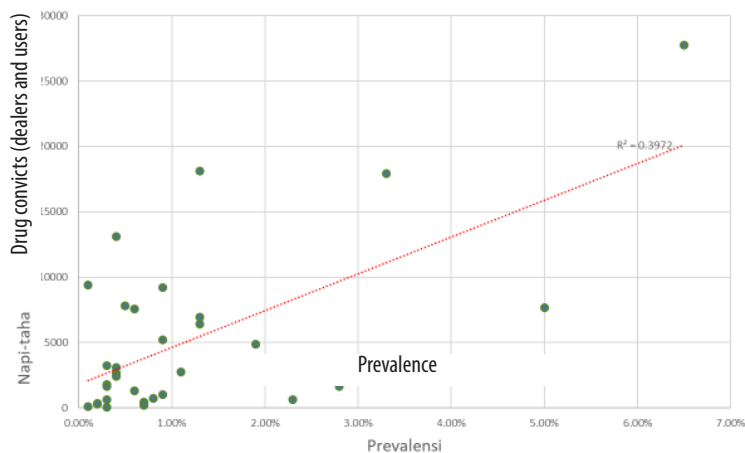
112. Damm dan Gorinas, “Prison as a criminal school: Peer effects and criminal learning behind bars.”

113. Christopher E. Torres, Stewart J. D’Alessio, dan Lisa Stolzenberg, “The Replacements: The Effect of Incarcerating Drug Offenders on First-Time Drug Sales Offending,” *Crime and Delinquency*, 2020.

114. One of their units is a function of the total number of convicts and drug prisoners divided by the total population of the country and multiplied by the constant 100,000.

total of 128.716 prisoners and detainees of illicit drug cases in Indonesia, and based on the calculation of Torres and friends, it can be concluded that **for each imprisonment verdict for one (1) suspect, Indonesia will have to prepare to witness the emerging 324 new potential dealers**. The fury of the Minister of Law and Human Rights is indeed justifiable.

Another interesting thing to see is that when we measure the correlation between prevalence data with the data of prisoner of users and dealers/druglords from Correctional Data System, Directorate General of Corrections, we found that each variable (total prisoner-detainee of dealer/druglords and total prisoner-detainee of user) in itself does not affect significantly to prevalence rate. (First $p=0,19$ and second $p=0,48$, with alpha value threshold of 0,05). However, if these two variables are considered as one unit, then significance may increase immensely ($p<0,01$) with considerably strong correlation ($R^2=0,4$). Again, the fury of Minister of Law and Human Rights is indeed reasonable



Graph 8. Correlation between prevalence rates and the total number of combined prisoners/detainees of dealers and users.

Imprisonment is not the only punishment for narcotic case offenders. Another punishment is rehabilitation. The question is, as a punishment, has rehabilitation truly provided the deterrent effect? In fact, a more philosophical question asks whether punishment is the proper motivation for rehabilitation? Unfortunately, this research has not yet been able to provide a firm answer in the form of concrete data

that can be treated as common reference, as there has been none—or at least not yet found.

During the dialogue conducted by our team through FGD and in-depth interviews with rehabilitation actors, **not even one is able to provide concrete and objective data to measure success (or failure) of rehabilitation programs:** “that is actually my question as well, no research on it yet (while laughing).”¹¹⁵ **Yet, one thing for sure, all agree that the relapse rate of rehabilitation is high.** In the interview with pesantren-based rehabilitation agency management (Nurul Jannah) in Cikarang, we heard: “maybe 60% to 80% will relapse.”¹¹⁶

In the discussion in Rehabilitation Center in Lido, an estimate of a “relapse rate of 70%” has emerged (without post-rehabilitation programs and 30% with programs). In other places, although still unable to provide empirical justification or at least a range of data, people confirm it with anecdotes. Such as in Tanjung Pinang, one head of the rehabilitation desk (Kepala seksi) of BNNK, who is also a counselor, shared in a frustrated tone, “there was one, who almost completed the program. And then I asked, ‘after your release, what is your plan?’—the answer was, **‘back to (drug) dealing, mam.’** The answer came out so straightforward.”¹¹⁷ On the contrary, we also received confessions that confirm the relapse from the perpetrator’s perspective, “after I got out of here (Loka Rehab Medan) in the afternoon, and got home in the evening, I just it again right away. So, it happened again in less than a day.”¹¹⁸

It is now complete on how punitive system through corrections nor rehabilitation actually become blunder for the measures to handle the narcotic issue itself. This still excludes the discussion of correctional facility (and parole & probation office) culprits who worsen the situation

115. Active Defense Research Team of BNN-UBJ, Jakarta - Lido Counselor Coordinator Interview (091820), 2020.

116. Active Defense Research Team of BNN-UBJ, Jakarta - in-depth interviews with Pak Hamzah (Managers) and Iqbal (Users), Cikarang, (093020), 2020.

117. Active Defense Research Team of BNN-UBJ, Riau Islands, Tanjung Pinang - Group 1 FGD (090920), 2020.

118. Active Defense Research Team of BNN-UBJ, North Sumatra, Medan - Client Interview (31 years old) rehabilitation center (091220), 2020.

until now.¹¹⁹ However, there is one thing that might have missed the limelight in discussing the blunder of these punitive measures, that is the paradigm of punishment itself—not merely on the corrections or rehabilitation, but both as the punitive regime on drug law offense. The big question is: does punishment work as a solution? Does a heavier punishment work as the proper intervention?

In regards to this, it seems that the community and top officials all agree that the answer is affirmative. Recently, a clinical psychologist was asked why illicit drug user that has been rehabilitated may still repeat their actions. The answer was: *“probably, because the punishment is not heavy enough? Maybe it should be heavier.”*¹²⁰ The Chief of Indonesian Police also commented, as quoted by media, “while we have the prosecutors, people of courts, do not hesitate to put the heaviest verdict to illicit drug dealers.”¹²¹ In addition to that, “throughout 2020 alone, there are more/less 100 death sentences on drug cases all over Indonesia.” In his directives shared in a limited meeting in the Presidential Office on 24th February 2016, it was recorded that Jokowi has used six times of the word “more” in emphasizing his directions to prevent and eradicate illicit drug trafficking: *“more aggressive, bolder, and more comprehensive, [...] law enforcement must be harder and firmer.”*¹²² In fact, in regards to the druglords, Jokowi without hesitation, instructed “just shoot. No mercy.”¹²³ On such affirmation, this research is not to refute, yet also not to justify. Because, again as said, there

119. “Petugas Lapas Garut Selundupkan Narkotika,” *Republika Online*, 9 November 2020, <https://republika.co.id/berita/gjix-he384/petugas-lapas-garut-selundupkan-narkotika>; “Bongkar Jaringan Narkoba di Lapas, BNNP NTB Tangkap Napi dan Oknum Petugas Lapas,” *Kompas*, 2 November 2020, <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2020/11/02/19332851/bongkar-jaringan-narkoba-di-lapas-bnnp-ntb-tangkap-napi-dan-oknum-petugas?page=all>; “Polri di Jaringan Dikenal Napi,” *Kompas*, 2020, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/10/29/22152081/polri-tangkap-oknum-petugas-lapas-pekanbaru-diduga-kurir-narkoba-di-jaringan?page=all>. Tangkap Oknum Petugas Lapas Pekanbaru, Diduga Kurir Narkoba.

120. “Sudah Direhab Masih Terjerumus Narkoba, Ini Kata Psikolog,” *detikNews*, 28 November 2020, https://20.detik.com/e-flash/20201128-201128021/sudah-direhab-masih-terjerumus-narkoba-ini-kata-psikolog?tag_from=wpm_videoRekomendasi_list.

121. “Kapoli Sebut 100 Pelaku Narkoba Divonis Mati Sepanjang 2020,” *Merdeka.com*, 2 Juli 2020, <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/kapoli-sebut-100-pelaku-narkoba-divonis-mati-sepanjang-2020.html>.

122. “Jokowi Nyatakan Perang terhadap Bandar Narkoba,” *Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika*, 26 Februari 2016, https://kominfo.go.id/content/detail/6928/jokowi-nyatakan-perang-terhadap-bandar-narkoba/0/sorotan_media.

123. Jokowi : Sudah, langsung tembak saja, jangan diberi ampun, *Tribunews*, 21 Juli 2017. <https://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2017/07/21/jokowi-sudah-langsung-ditembak-saja-jangan-diberi-ampun>

is no sufficient data and studies that can be an empirical foundation to analyze correlative or even causal relation between punitive action (rehabilitation, corrections, or capital punishment) with deterrent effect, and the solving of narcotic problems as a whole.

However, when we look into the scientific discourse and study overseas, the situation may be the opposite: a punitive regime is not proven to lessen narcotic problems. In addition to the research discussed above on the 15% addition of dealers only by imprisoning one new user, several other studies seem to also need specific considerations as well. Pew Research Center, one of the reputable research and survey agencies in the United States, conducted a statistical test on government official data and to the findings that refuted the assumption of deterrent effect of imprisonment punishment. On the available data, it was found that *“no correlation between imprisonment and the level of drug use, drug-related arrest, and death due to overdose.”*¹²⁴ They reached a conclusion that an “aggressive approach, not only has no benefit, it actually increases costs” and suggest that the government needs to start diverting punitive actions into preventive actions—an orientation properly chosen by BNN.

Deeper into the circulation of study in the academic community. There is more research that supports the disapproval of the punitive regime. In the study on recidivism between drug case convicts, some researchers found that those who are tried in drug court (n=824 people), almost 15% of them repeat their crime on the first year post-release, and the number increased 29% on the second year, and 37% on the third year.¹²⁵ Other study analyzes data from the Japanese Ministry of Justice to obtain dataset on recidivism rate within ten years span upon 1807 people who received parole from the court for ATS (Amphetamine-Type Stimulant)¹²⁶ abuse case. The finding was that the recidivism rate reached 47,5%. In fact, it was also found that the longer one is incarcerated before parole, the higher the possibility of recidivism. In

124. The Pew Charitable Trusts, “More imprisonment does not reduce state drug problems,” no. March (2018): 1–19.

125. Benjamin R. Gibbs, Robert Lytle, dan William Wakefield, “Outcome Effects on Recidivism Among Drug Court Participants,” *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 46, no. 1 (2019): 115–35.

126. Kyoko Hazama dan Satoshi Katsuta, “Factors Associated with Drug-Related Recidivism Among Paroled Amphetamine-Type Stimulant Users in Japan,” *Asian Journal of Criminology* 15, no. 2 (2020): 109–22.

China, a study concludes multiple reports and academic studies that reflect on how compulsory rehabilitation program, especially those who have no post-rehab guidance program, actually resulted to high recidivism.¹²⁷ There is still a lot more studies that discover how punitive system resulted to various blunders in practice.¹²⁸ One thing that seem to gain consensus among scholars by these evaluative studies is that narcotic problems require treatment rather than punishment.

To close the finding and analysis on this punitive regime blunder, both corrections and rehabilitation, one point to learn is that while we are looking for the proper punitive solution and rehabilitation, the punishment itself requires a paradigmatic consideration. The suggestion to revise the Law on Narcotics should not only be motivated by overcapacity prisons, but should be more fundamental on what intervention method that should be regulated and directed legally through the new law. Due to the limit on objective, this research limits only on macro strategic level only. Deeper research is required to empirically evaluate the effectiveness of punishment and rehabilitation, in terms of result achieved, and not only the outcome of performance. This is immensely significant as, Active Defense strategy, the success of recovering and re-integrating a citizen, victim of abuse and distribution of drugs into the community (curative function) is the key modality to improve community's resilience and defense to prevent harm and threat of narcotics in the future.

7.3.4. Youth Well-Being: Psychological Demand vs. Social Supply

Since the past few years, prevalence surveys have been reporting increases in the number of users among young people. The motivation for this abuse is by far mostly caused by the desire to try and also association/friendship. The prevalence survey in 2019 found that 'Friend' is the most responsible party in supplying drugs the first time to the users, with a score of up to 92,4%. It is interesting that as recorded by the 2019 Illicit Drug

127. Liu Liu dan Wing Hong Chui, "Rehabilitation policy for drug addicted offenders in China: current trends, patterns, and practice implications," *Asia Pacific Journal of Social Work and Development* 28, no. 3 (2018): 192–204.

128. Damm dan Gorinas, "Prison as a criminal school: Peer effects and criminal learning behind bars"; Ojmarh Mitchell et al., "The effectiveness of prison for reducing drug offender recidivism: a regression discontinuity analysis," *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 13, no. 1 (2017); Benjamin R. Gibbs dan Robert Lytle, "Drug Court Participation and Time to Failure: an Examination of Recidivism Across Program Outcome," *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 45, no. 2 (2020): 215–35.

Abuse Impact on Health Research team, since 2013, BNN's own research has shown the emerging trend of young users.¹²⁹ Six years later, in 2019, it seemed that there had been no meaningful change yet to ease this trend. There have been many programs of dissemination of information, education, information, even insertion into school's curriculum, yet quantity does not determine achievement of success. Why?

In regards to this question, our source-person was also in awe during the field visit. That the numerous measures of prevention and dissemination of information still cannot restrain young people from entering the vicious cycle of narcotic abuse. Throughout this research, we have reached the assumption that there has been a problem in the mindset that underlies the prevention approach measures to young people. Although 'young people' have repeatedly called out in slogans and rallies of programs, yet it seems that this young people's problem has not been handled accordingly.

In the FGD in Yogyakarta, this auto-critic was raised from within BNN itself, *"Maybe, we have been wrong in understanding the behavior of young people,"* said a representative of BNNP Yogya. The mistake in understanding this behavior surely impacted implicit assumptions in the design of program, messages, and rallies related to the prevention/dissemination of information. The impact is that the program becomes ineffective in preventing, if not it will actually trigger the desire to try. In the interview with a young user from middle-upper class in Jakarta, we in fact received ridicules that these messages to stay away from drugs (received in High School) tend to be *"a very patronizing dissemination of information, not appealing at all.."*¹³⁰ The phrases stating about this ineffectiveness also received in interviews with former user in Medan and in Lido, Bogor.

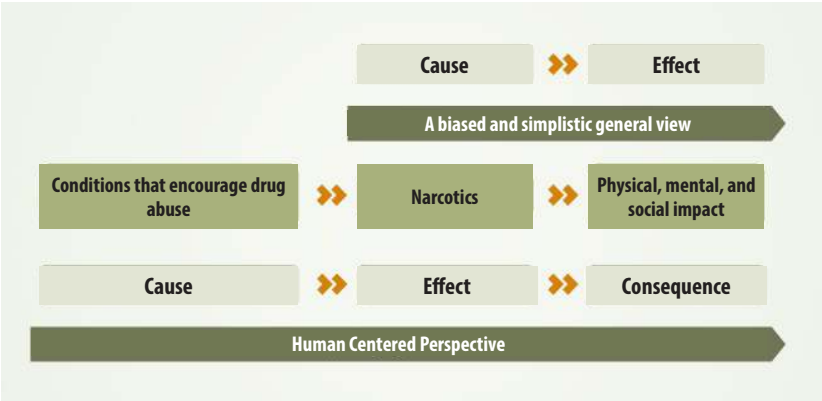
This research sees that there is an underestimation and overgeneralization towards the behavior, mindset, and social patterns of young people within the dissemination of information program draft team. This underestimation leads to **stigmatization and stereotyping of**

129. BNN RI, Unika Atma Jaya, dan Ministry of Health RI, Health Research on the Impact of Drug Abuse (Puslitdatin BNN RI, 2019).

130. Active Defense Research Team of BNN-UBJ, Jakarta - Interview with John (Ex-Drug Users) (101320), 2020.

young people’s behavior and psychology.¹³¹ Unfortunately, the limited young informants hampers the research from sharing much about this topic. However, based on the secondary source tracing, and particularly academic literature that have done research on this, we can at least see that the existing dissemination of information measures tend to get trapped in two biases; **“healthy person” bias** and **“good people” bias**.

In order to understand this, we need to twist in order to see on what cause young people to become users, this time is by deep dive further than data shown by prevalence survey. Actually, looking at the researches that have been often done, we can see that “trial” and “friend’s invite” don’t just happen. The effort to protect young people from these two factors is compulsory to understand why the two factors are likely to exist. A human-centered, sympathetic approach that is based on young people’s perspective is required, to understand why this “trials invited by friend” frequently occur. We also need to understand on how drugs itself actually functions more than just substance/drug, that it has its own social/symbolic function for young people. This means, that instead of considering abuse as cause, this research recommends otherwise, that is to see abuse as the cause led by multiple factors



**Scheme 2. Narcotics as a consequence, and not a cause.
Comparison of two views**

131. Daniel Romer, Valerie F. Reyna, dan Theodore D. Satterthwaite, “Beyond stereotypes of adolescent risk taking: Placing the adolescent brain in developmental context,” *Developmental Cognitive Neuroscience* 27, no. May (2017): 19–34.

The first thing that needs to be focused on is **the emerging psychological demand between young people**. This psychological demand is raised from the social, economic, and even cultural pressures around them. Socially, the need to be part of a group is the most dominant demand.¹³² Not only to be part of it but to also feel safe within the group is also what young people demand to have. The absence of this element makes young people become vulnerable to the invite to try drugs. This is confirmed by one of the rehabilitation participants in loka rehab Batam who said that *"it ain't cool not to try,"* although the person understood the harm of narcotics—"yes, I know, I've joined some dissemination of information from BNN."¹³³ Young people identified themselves with a peer group that feel insecure when they don't adopt anything that is perceived as good by the group. In other words, the psychological reward received from abusing narcotics is larger than the risk they have to bear by abusing narcotics.

On the contrary, young people who feel excluded from the social relationship, with low self-esteem and insecurity in their daily lives, tend to have high psychological burden. Upon easing this burden, it is promised a reward that can offset the risks of abstaining from using drugs. This also answers the riddle that emerged in two BNN research that the youth has already known the law and punishment of drug abuse.¹³⁴ And so, why still abusing/using? The answer is simple: because the reward that narcotic use is promising can beat the risk it tags along. Deficit or underestimation of this rewards element may cause the dissemination of information that have been done so far for prevention purpose, fails to hit the target, and give minimal results.

How about the long-term effect? Again, the knowledge on this long-term risk will not be able to compete with the bias of short-term reward. This is proven by neuropsychological study on addiction phenomenon via the concept of delay discounting and now appeal, whereas when the pressure is exhorting, then the value of a reward before them will seem

132. Cédric Kempf et al., "What's new in addiction prevention in young people: A literature review of the last years of research," *Frontiers in Psychology* 8, no. JUL (2017): 1–16; Michèle Preyde et al., *Foundations of addictive problems in adolescents: Developmental and social factors*, *Adolescent Addiction*, 2nd ed. (Elsevier Inc., 2020).

133. Active Defense Research Team of BNN-UBJ, Riau Island, Batam - Interview with Benta, Ex-Drug User (091220), 2020.

134. BNN and LIPI, "Drug Abuse Survey" 2019; BNN and UI Health Research Center, "Results of Survey on Drug Abuse and Illicit Traffic in Student and Student Groups in 18 Provinces in 2016," 2017

larger than the reward promised if one does not take what is in front of them, even if the future reward is far more significant (such as successful career, etc.).¹³⁵ That is why **all dissemination of information and prevention programs for young people need to empathize and sympathize in sensitive manner, to matters that pressurize the psychology of young people that makes them vulnerable to be triggered to taste the reward that narcotics offered and ignore the long term risk.** On another occasion, we found out that the psychological demand that pressurized young people does not only comes from friends, but also from work, and economic factor. Stressful and dull work and life problem can also drive young people to seek a “temporary escape” from life pressure through drugs, which again confirmed in many of the latest studies.¹³⁶

Next up is the **social supply**. This concept has recently been used to portray the dynamics of illicit drug distribution among young people. This social supply concept captures a phenomenon that giving illicit drugs has become normalized in a way and tend to have the same status as giving gifts, giving help, etc.¹³⁷ By giving narcotics, the social supplier is seen as not trying to do harm to the receiver, but instead perceived as sincerely “*helping a friend*.”¹³⁸ Those who are having difficulty understanding this are almost certainly due to the ignorance on the fact that narcotics is a symbolic manifestation of a reward for young people. Surely, this social supplier may be dragged further and become a dealer (drug dealer).¹³⁹ But, the most important thing here is that for certain peer group in young people, drugs is perceived as gift instead of “*haram (prohibited) item*.” The failure to anticipate this will end on the failure to persuade young people to be critical on social supply.

These two factors—psychological demand and social supply—are two things that are often ignored, mainly by not considering empathetic perspectives on the well-being of young people. The impact is the two

135. Marc Lewis, *The Biology of Desire. Why Addiction Is Not A Disease* (New York: Public Affairs, 2015), 83.

136. Rana EL Rawas, Inês M. Amaral, dan Alex Hofer, “Social interaction reward: A resilience approach to overcome vulnerability to drugs of abuse,” *European Neuropsychopharmacology* 37 (2020): 12–28.

137. Ross Coomber, Leah Moyle, dan Nigel South, “The normalisation of drug supply: The social supply of drugs as the ‘other side’ of the history of normalisation,” *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy* 23, no. 3 (2016): 255–63.

138. Bright dan Sutherland, “Just doing a favor for a friend’: The social supply of ecstasy through friendship networks.”

139. Matthew Taylor dan Gary R. Potter, “From ‘social supply’ to ‘real dealing’: Drift, friendship, and trust in drug-dealing careers,” *Journal of Drug Issues* 43, no. 4 (2013): 392–406.

biases abovementioned: the “healthy people bias” assumes that everybody has resources to meet their psychological health needs (well being); the “good people bias” will always assume that they themselves are a good standard while discounting the possibility of social supply as a form of true social interaction. These two biases are not only counter-productive towards prevention measures, but they will continuously reproduce and institutionalize social stigma to the users and automatically refrain the user from the possibility to get the 100 percent life back (#hidup100persen). Just exactly as **the stigmatization that is frequently repeated by those who has the healthy people bias: “incurable, but may recover.”** Ceasing to reproduce this phrase is the appropriate initial step to start embracing a human-centered perspective.

7.3.5. Insularity in Research on Drugs

In the previous preliminary research phase (February until April 2020), the research team combed as many recent research as possible on the topics around drugs from the five perspectives employed: strategy, security, policy and politics, antro-psychology, and socio-economy. The result becomes the basis of the ensuing systematic literature review material (SLR), and also the points of which are spread out in all parts of this report. This sub-section presents our interesting findings when searching for this academic research, especially in relation to the research condition on narcotics in Indonesia.

First of all, what we were searching for was state-of-the-art scientific research. Thus, we limited the type of literature that we searched to peer-reviewed scientific journal articles type. The reason is that journal is the most prominent means of academic communication and dissemination for the latest research among academics, instead of books. This is due to the character of a journal that, in terms of production and publishing speed, is considerably much faster. The journal we used is peer-reviewed by academic experts in a manner of blind review; thus, objectivity is well maintained—a character that is not embedded in types of publications such as books and/or reports (especially in Indonesia).

By using the world’s top journal portals, such as ScienceDirect, Taylor & Francis, SAGE, MUSE, IEEE, PubMed, Plos, Frontiers, PNAS, Annual Review, etc., we screened 1220 articles relevant to deep-dive information

on the five dimensions/modules. And then, we read the abstracts and used the skimming method on those 1220 articles to select 200 articles that have high relevance to be included in the list of literature to be analyzed in the next meta-review phase.¹⁴⁰ About 18 journals with the most articles we selected came from ones that are indexed Scopus Q1, and then the next four journals with the most articles came from Scopus Q2. Hence, we are quite confident that the articles we use as a meta-review basis already have a representative academic basis, as well as meaningful knowledge in formulating an Active Defense strategy that is based on scientific research.

An interesting yet ironic thing to note is that out of 1220 articles, only 24 of them discussed Indonesia. Meanwhile, out of 200 selected articles, the number has shrunk into just 13. This number went lower when the we selected only those who study Indonesia exclusively, and it went down to only five (5).¹⁴¹ Indeed, at that time, our search was not about Indonesia specifically, as a more specific search on Indonesia is conducted in Phase IV. However, this fact has itself already become a finding to ponder upon, namely **only a very few academic studies that successfully reached publication in the world's top peer-reviewed journal that discussed Indonesia**. Indonesia has homework to produce quality scientific studies on the drug issues.

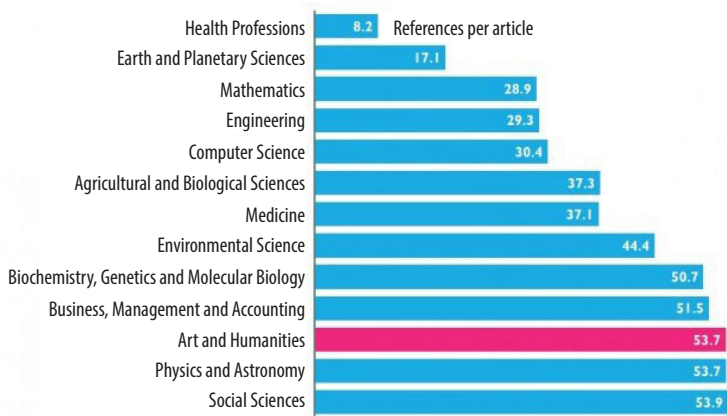
In Phase IV of research, we carried out a deeper investigation. We wanted to have a concrete description of the research conditions in Indonesia, mainly on the narcotics issue. The assumption is that with good research, policy-makers will obtain good scientific insights and guidance as well. We searched through Google Scholar and inserted keywords of

140. A list of 200 articles is attached in the form of Literature Curation. For a list of 1220 articles, please contact the author for a bibtex (.bib) or RIS (.ris) file format.

141. Ria Christine Siagian and Dumilah Ayuningtyas, "Gap analysis for drug development policymaking: An attempt to close the gap between policy and its implementation," *PLoS ONE* 14, no. 8 (2019): 1–13; Riefqi Muna, "Securitizing Small Arms and Drug Trafficking in Indonesia," in *Non-Traditional Security in Asia: Dilemmas in Securitization*, ed. oleh Mely Caballero-Anthonny, Ralf Emmers, dan Amitav Acharya, London & N (Routledge, 2016); Felicity Gerry Qc et al., "Is the Law an Ass When It Comes to Mules? How Indonesia Can Lead a New Global Approach to Treating Drug Traffickers as Human Trafficked Victims," *Asian Journal of International Law* 8, no. 1 (2018): 166–88; Gideon Lasco, "Drugs and drug wars as populist tropes in Asia: Illustrative examples and implications for drug policy," *International Journal of Drug Policy* 77 (2020): 102668; Anita Hardon dan Nurul Ilmi Idrus, "On coba and cocok: Youth-led drug-experimentation in eastern indonesia," *Anthropology and Medicine* 21, no. 2 (2014): 217–29; Vivi Ariyanti, "The victims of drugs abuse and their legal status in the indonesian narcotics law," *International Journal of Business, Economics, and Law* 13, no. 4 (2017): 119–23.

“narcotics” and “illicit drugs” by filtering scientific research articles written in the past five years (since 2015). Our search resulted in a total of 16.200 articles. With a 95% level of confidence and a 5% error margin, we decided the number of 376 as samples. The total number of articles that were processed was 414, and all were issued between 2015 and October 2020.

Of all the articles, we conducted an analysis on total citation/reference distribution, total cited scientific journal reference, and total reference under the span of five (5) years since the article was issued. These three variables are being used to measure how situated these researches are to academic debate between scientists. Because, as discussed in the previous section about the nexus of science and policy, un-situated research in state-of-the-art debate will be prone to bias, cherry-picking, random matching, and definitely far from innovative/novelty standard. A research that is committed to excellence, both academic and policy, must always have dialogue and rooted to academic debate in respective field, and one of the dialogue platform sources is no other than, the field, and one of the dialogue platform sources is no other than, the academic journal.¹⁴² Finally, the selection of five years span is based on the commitment to always be relevant, contemporary, and based on latest condition.¹⁴³



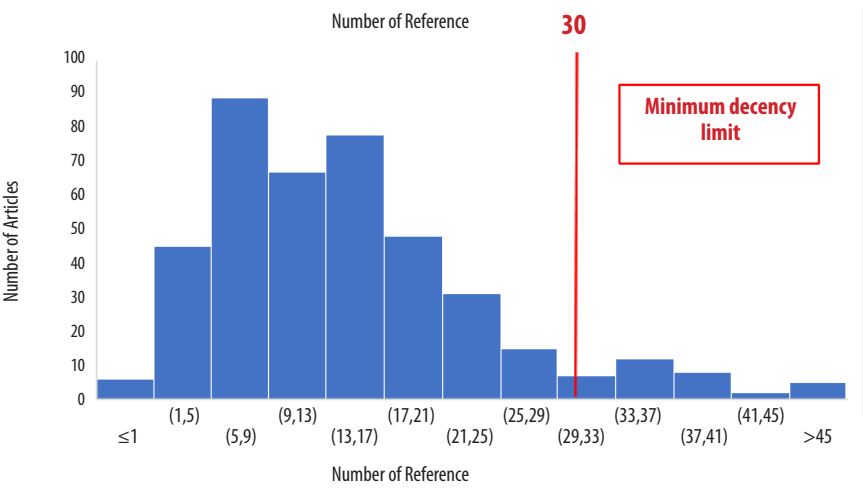
Graph 9. Average number of citations, articles, journals, by field.¹⁴⁴

142. Dag W. Aksnes, Liv Langfeldt, dan Paul Wouters, “Citations, Citation Indicators, and Research Quality: An Overview of Basic Concepts and Theories,” SAGE Open 9, no. 1 (2019).

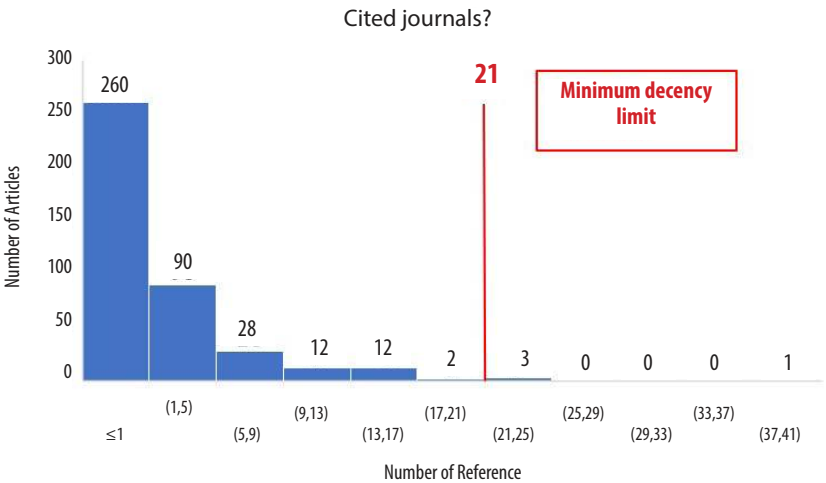
143. Citation of references above the last five years is usually done to refer to seminal or phenomenal thoughts or knowledge.

144. Gali Halevi, “Citation characteristics in the Arts & Humanities,” Research Trends 32 No. March (2012), [https:// www.research trends.com/issue-32-march-2013/citation-characteristics-in-the-arts-humanities-2/](https://www.research-trends.com/issue-32-march-2013/citation-characteristics-in-the-arts-humanities-2/)

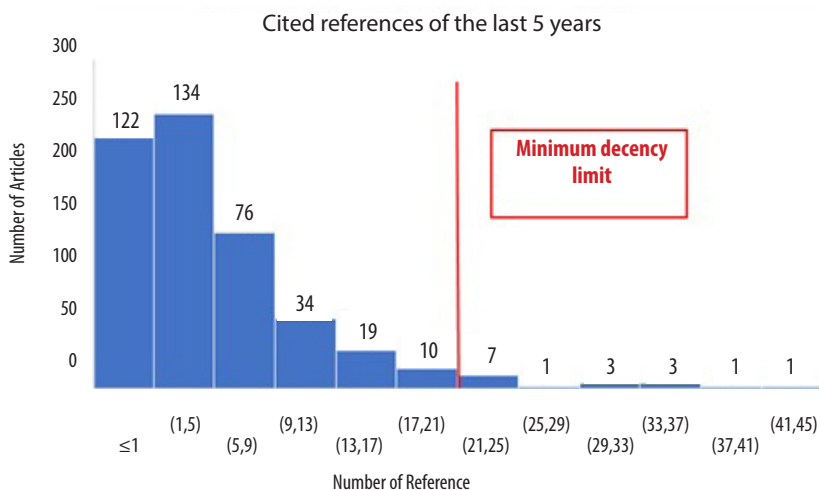
As for the two other variables, we also used professional estimation with the lowest standard, which is 70% of the total lowest citations. In other words, we set 21 citations both for the minimum standard of total journal cited and the minimum standard of reference from a maximum of five (5) years since the article was published. With these parameters, we found:



Graph 10. Number of references cited by scientific articles on narcotics in Indonesia.



Graph 11. Number of journal references cited by scientific articles on narcotics in Indonesia.



Graph 12. Number of references less than the last five (5) years cited by scientific articles on narcotics in Indonesia.

Based on this distribution, we may conclude that research in and is conducted by Indonesians around the topic of narcotics are still far from the standard of academic excellence, let alone the international academic standard. Out of total cited references alone, only 34 articles (8,21%) have more than 30 total citations. Should international standard be applied, then it will leave only three (3) (0,72%) that meet the standard. (Note: this calculation fully overrides quality beforehand). All articles are appallingly minimal in citing the journal, except 4 (0,97%) that have cited slightly more above the minimum appropriateness standard. Also, from the total reference composition of the most recent articles, that does not reach 4% (16 pieces) that consider the state-of-the-art literature. Furthermore, after evaluation, apparently, many of the article citations refer to news articles. So, if a new filter is carried out based on this, without a doubt, the result will be much lower.

With such a result, it may be concluded that academics in Indonesia is still far from capable of being a powerful force in guiding studies in regards to issues, dynamics, and policies related to narcotics. The low number of citations, isolation from academic debates; all of these findings confirm the conclusion that academics in Indonesia is suffering from insularity that disconnected it, not only from academic debates in respective

disciplines and/or daily reality,¹⁴⁵ but also from the social functions of academia itself as mandated by the Law: to serve the betterment of the society, people, and country. Universities and think- tanks in Indonesia have a huge homework to start building a robust academic research culture in the topic of narcotics, as a scientific way in taking part in the effort to suppress and prevent illegal trafficking and narcotic abuse.

7.4. BNN Internal Institutionalization

As conveyed in the discussion about strategic environment analysis, an overall view about strategic challenge must also consider aspects, situation-condition, and modality of the institution. In this matter, it is the agencies relevant to P4GN program, mainly BNN. The urgency is by considering the condition of this institutionalization, we will be able to measure what type of strategy appropriate to be carried out when we start to direct orientation outward. Moreover, this internal institutionalization mapping will direct corrective and ameliorative measures to develop organization to better and more effective direction in guiding the strategy outward.

7.4.1. Problematic Relation between Output and Outcome

One sympathetic expression that is often heard by the research team from the community about BNN's effectiveness in handling illicit drug emergency problems and in facing the reality of increasing prevalence and arrest of dealers/druglords that never cease is: "with the existence of BNN, the total of prevalence and catch has reached this much, imagine if there is no BNN." This expression is clearly tautological (self-referring) and irrefutable/verifiable. Thus, this sympathetic expression cannot be used to defend BNN from unfriendly allegation, as what happened recently that demands BNN to be dismissed due to "no progress."¹⁴⁶ BNN has shown well attitude not to confront, and humbly answered "we just work."¹⁴⁷

145. Inaya Rakhmani, "Reproducing Academic Insularity in a Time of Neo-liberal Markets: The Case of Social Science Research in Indonesian State Universities," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 00, no. 00 (2019): 1–23.

146. "Gebrak Meja, Masinton Pasaribu: BNN Ecek-ecek Tangani Narkoba," *Tempo.co*, 21 November 2019, <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1275019/gebrak-meja-masinton-pasaribu-bnn-ecek-ecek-tangani-narkoba>.

147. "Soal Pernyataan BNN Dibubarkan Saja, Heru Winarko: 'Kita Bekerja Saja,'" *Tribun News*, 6 Desember 2019, <https://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2019/12/06/soal-pernyataan-bnn-dibubarkan-saja-heru-winarko-kita-bekerja-saja?page=all>.

However, this requires a meticulous follow-up, for the actual problem here is the BNN's performance indicator as a public institution.

The fundamental challenge of all public policies is to ensure that there is a continuity between performance, output, outcome, and, most importantly, the organization's vision. The design of the institution and business process cycle of an organization must be able to answer conceptual questions, such as: does the performance output gained really reflect the members' performance; does the impact/result of this performance output can be measured in the outcome; and also, to what extent does this planned outcome contribute to the achieved vision of organization. In policy science literature made as guidance by OECD, all of these questions are related to theory of change.¹⁴⁸ Theory of change speaks about how far does structure design and public institution performance in implementing policy can bring changes into the direction imagined by the organization's vision. In other words, this theory of change is an organizations' statement on how its performance will affect the output and outcome in achieving the vision. Not only a statement, theory of change will be an assumption that guides the existence of an organization.

Still on the continuous relationship among performance, output, outcome, and vision, more equally important questions are operational ones: for example, how do we know whether a series of performance output is impactful (or not) towards outcome? This operational question is relevant to the measured indicators. Hence, a public organization must have two tools to guide its work to achieve the vision: a conceptual tool, that is, the theory(ies) of change, and an operational tool, that is, a set of output indicators.

BNN already has both. Theory of change heading to the vision of battle against illicit drugs and #hidup100persen are written in the renstra (strategic plan) document.¹⁴⁹ As well as performance indicators that have been written since Inpres (Presidential Instruction) 2/2020, within

148. Lucia Cerna, "The Nature of Policy Change and Implementation: A Review of Different Theoretical Approaches," 2013; Peter John, "Theories of policy change and variation reconsidered: a prospectus for the political economy of public policy," *Policy Sciences* 51, no. 1 (2018): 1–16.

149. National Narcotics Board, *Strategic Plan BNN 2020–2024* (BNN, 2020).

renstra, and other documents. Indicator measurements for the outcome in the past one year have also been intensively carried out, in addition to Prevalence Survey, BNN also produced numerous indexes, such as Anti-Narcotics Responsive City Index (*Indeks Kota Tanggap Anti-Narkotika - IKOTAN*),¹⁵⁰ Adolescence Self-Resilience Index (*Indeks Ketahanan Diri Remaja*),¹⁵¹ Family Resilience Index (*Indeks Ketahanan Keluarga*),¹⁵² and two other indexes that are currently being drafted, which are P4GN Index¹⁵³ and Rehabilitation Capability Index (*Indeks Kapabilitas Rehabilitasi*).¹⁵⁴ It is inevitable that in relation to organization design, BNN can be considered as one of the most advanced compared to other line ministries.

The true challenge for BNN is no longer about whether conceptual and operational tools exist or not, yet it is one level further, that is on how far does output indicator and outcome index truly reflect and justified by the existing theory of change, and how far does performance output indicator become the predictor to outcome index, which is a policy change. These two matters are what we consider as a homework for BNN.

First, BNN needs to **better situates**¹⁵⁵ the existing indexes into the existing, if not the latest academic studies so that the produced index can be more precise in representing the situation as it is supported by the most recent study. For example, the most striking example is the Family Resilience Index, the relation of this index with P4GN program is based on a normative assumption that a high-resilient family will be able to counteract the harm of narcotics. Unfortunately, not one literature is cited by this research, whether in discussing the relation between family resilience variable and the success to deter illicit drug activities of its members. As if the long list of accumulated knowledge on this matter (role of family in counteracting narcotics) disappear in this index study. Although the

150. PSPK UNPAD and BNN RI, Mapping of City Index Responding to Drug Threats (BNN, 2019).

151. Directorate of Information and Education, Deputy of Prevention BNN, *Panduan Indeks Ketahanan Diri Remaja* (BNN, 2020).

152. Directorate of Advocacy, Deputy of Prevention BNN, *Indeks Ketahanan Keluarga* (BNN, 2020).

153. "Puslitdatin BNN dan Politeknik Statistika STIS Sepakati Kerja Sama Lakukan Penelitian Indeks P4GN," BNN.go.id, 10 Maret 2020, <https://bnn.go.id/puslitdatin-bnn-politeknik-statistika-stis-sepakati-kerja-sama/>.

154. "Arahan Kepala BNN Dalam Penyusunan Indeks Kapabilitas Rehabilitasi," BNN.go.id, 14 November 2020, <https://bnn.go.id/arahan-kepala-bnn-dalam-penyusunan-indeks-kapabilitas-rehabilitasi/>.

155. It should be noted here that situating is not the same as quoting. Situation is a Mapping of all existing state of the art studies, and then positioning the study within that mapping. In other words, the existence of citations does not at all guarantee that the study is well positioned in the field State of the art.

statistic tests delivered are “significant,” the absence of this literature review cause the loss of justification and context in the consideration,¹⁵⁶ and furthermore, is prone to fall into what has become a hot topic lately, that is the ‘false-positive’ (false p-value).¹⁵⁷ The absence of setting into the latest relevant study can also be seen in other indexes produced by BNN (it is sufficient just by considering the amount of literature reference cited in the past five years to discuss and justify the dimension-variable frame).

Second, BNN needs to **harmonize** between performance indicator and outcome index. Ideally, the outcome index variables’ connection to performance output components must be traceable. Again, ideally, this outcome index must be drafted in advance to have each variable subsequently derived into performance output, which at turn, is measured by key performance indicator or KPI. In another words, outcome index is the reflection of KPI, and vice versa, KPI is the embodiment of visioned outcome. In this context, as all indexes produced by BNN were carried out after the work programs are formulated, then this ideal condition cannot be used to measure the level of performance measurement harmonization with output. Thus, it is understood that when dimension-variable of the produced indexes are not specifically referring to performance output component from relevant field. Going forward, all work units in BNN will need to first formulate dimension-variable from the outcome which work unit is visioned, and then draft work program and performance output.

Third, in the middle of these multiple outcomes measuring indexes, BNN needs to **integrate** all of its indexes into a sort of single composite index that can be the threshold of the final decision, whether BNN will succeed or fail in implementing its duty to protect the nation from the threat of illicit drugs. This integration can be the motor of work professionalism of all apparatus in all work unit within the institution. With this integration, BNN will have performance output indicators for respective deputy of field, which all connections can be justifiable (with theories of change) and verifiable through outcome indexes for all deputy of fields.

156. Rebecca A Betensky, “The p -Value Requires Context, Not a Threshold,” *The American Statistician* 73, no. sup1 (29 Maret 2019): 115–17.

157. Joseph P. Simmons, Leif D. Nelson, dan Uri Simonsohn, “False-positive psychology: Undisclosed flexibility in data collection and analysis allows presenting anything as significant,” *Psychological Science* 22, no. 11 (2011): 1359–66; Daniel Lakens et al., “Justify your alpha,” *Nature Human Behaviour* 2, no. 3 (2018): 168–71; David Colquhoun, “The False Positive Risk: A Proposal Concerning What to Do About p-Values,” *American Statistician* 73, no. sup1 (2019): 192–201.

With the guarantee of connection between performance and result of the three delivered matters—the latest academic situating, indicator-index harmonization, and integration of all indicators and indexes—then BNN will be able to accelerate its measures in more confident and directed manners. On the contrary, without well-justified indicators and indexes, the performance of BNN will be prone to get stuck in a sort of solipsism—using its own measurement reference to assess itself. To end this section, one simple example that needs to be seriously tackled is the BNN’s social media strategy performance.

On our first visit to Social Media Center in BNN, it is said that this is a strategy to outreach the community, mainly young people. And then, we asked whether there is a real-time matrix that works as outcome indicators that this outreach measure like to achieve. The answer was none. In order to display how significant this matrix is to be a quick data source to improve strategy, we tried to do a text-mining of tweets with hashtag narcotics and map the user-network’s social network.

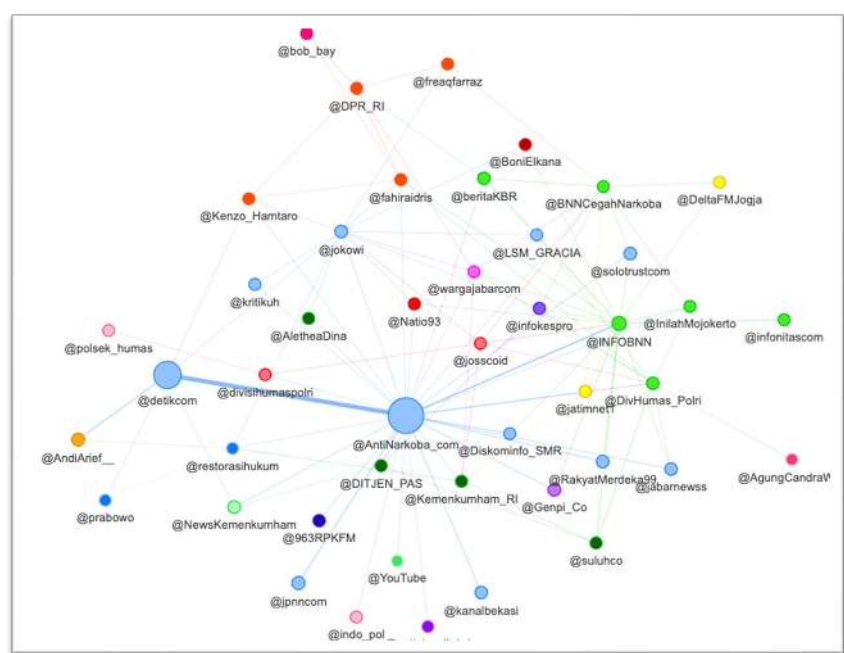


Figure 19. An analysis map of social networks with Narcotics hashtags on Twitter which are dominated by closed circles.

(Source:: Active Defense Team of BNN-UBJ).

User or account in Twitter that is involved in conversations that have Illicit Drug as keywords or hashtags are dominated by government official accounts or national online news portal accounts. At the same time, other users or accounts are those that campaign anti-drug. If BNN's social media would like to reach the community, young people, or today's generation, as mentioned by SMC's officer, then clearly, this is not the map that should be displayed. This is the importance of having indicators and indexes with justifiable connectivity.

7.4.2. Shortage of Human Capital with Specific Qualification on Narcotics

In one of our FGDs in Sambas, West Kalimantan, a participant said, "we've had this kind of FGD quite often, .. *we'll forget about it soon. .. my message, easy, just send addiction counselors here.*"¹⁵⁸ This narrative is one that is considered most extreme in representing the issue of lack of human capital with specific qualifications to handle narcotics issues. The need to have addiction counselors is what we often hear, whether they are counselors in rehabilitation centers or for the rehabilitation service in correctional facilities. In Tanjung Pinang, Riau Islands, for example, due to limitation, to fill the absence of addiction counsellor, the rehabilitation unit there uses regular staff who has no specific qualification other than interacting with addicts, since, according to them, "*the most important thing is to be persevering and able to motivate.*" Another interesting phenomenon about addiction counselors during our dialogue with private rehabilitation institutions or managed by local non-governmental institutions (in Yogyakarta, in Sambas, and in Cikarang) is that many recruited ex-users and ex-dealers who have quit their drugs activity to be an assistant. It is true that the best approach, may be, carried out by those who have the same experience in illegal narcotics environment. However, the concern is that during the daily assistance; these exes have no specific skills to handle addicted clients, and thus, it is not impossible that they are only relying on soft skills in motivating and becoming a best friend.

Another thing that requires serious attention is the security guards, whether in correctional facilities, airport, even police. One of the representatives of PT. Angkasa Pura II, Medan, shared about how the

158. Active Defense Research Team of BNN-UBJ, West Kalimantan, Aruk - FGD Group 2 Sambas (092920), 2020.

Avsec (airport security) officers are only trained to detect substances that threaten the safety of the flight, *“no understanding of how illicit drugs look like, how to detect it; ... When it comes to illicit drugs, these Avsec officers don’t actually know the difference between illicit drug pill and regular pills.”*¹⁵⁹ The same thing happens at correctional facilities, as complained by Pontianak Prison and Pakem Narcotics Correctional Facility, Yogyakarta. In general, the officers have no knowledge whatsoever about what narcotic drugs look like. *“The officers here have limited knowledge on types of drugs, as they have never seen directly of how marijuana, methamphetamine, or other illicit drugs actually look like. So far, the checking is conducted manually by naked eyes, when passing through x-ray, coffee and sugar have the same form, making it difficult to differentiate. That is why they need to be included in training programs.”*

There are more that we heard on the ground when talking about human capital’s limitations. In addition to addiction counselors and psychologists, as well as the knowledge for security officers, there are also needs of expertise in narcotics to be source-persons (other than from BNN) in the regions. There are also many demands on specific human capital who have the understanding about illicit drugs and also skillful in drafting dissemination of information programs, in being facilitators, etc., to avoid monotonous activities. Some would overcome these limitations by initiating self-learning, as what the Head of KPLP Pakem has done by learning the behavior and movement of prisoners when hiding evidence. Apart from that, there is still a systemic limitation in the effort to equip personnel on the ground, in quantitative as well as qualitative manners. Here, BNN can play the role in providing Human Capital as well as trainings to provide knowledge about narcotics (know-what), skill in handling issues related to narcotics (know-how), and equally important, is to induce mindset and commitment to build resilience and active defense (know-why).

7.4.3. Problem on the Approach to Community

In the previous section, it was mentioned on how dominant view in the community when looking at narcotic issues tend to be problematic due to the “healthy people” bias and “good people” bias that they tend

159. Active Defense Research Team of BNN-UBJ, North Sumatera, Medan - FGD Group 1 (090820), 2020.

to be simplistic and moralist in looking at things. Instead of being effective in preventing young people and community from the influence and persuasion to abuse drugs, it strengthens stigmatization and stereotyping. The problem next, from the Active Defense perspective, is how successful are BNN's approaches to the community in improving resilience and self-defense from persuasion and social supply of narcotics that are rampant, especially among young people?

Two survey results about narcotic abuse carried out by BNN in 2016 and 2019 can be the entry point to answer this question.¹⁶⁰ On the first survey, it was found that actually, 80% of Indonesians already have the knowledge of the risk and harm of narcotics, yet the number of narcotic users is still high. Three years later, on the second survey, it was found that from all users in the group of respondents of young people and college students, there are 50% of them understand the negative impact of narcotics that they tried—yet, they still use it. On this note itself, we can see how BNN's approach to the community apparently has not yet given any result of self-resilience and self-defense towards the harm of narcotic abuse.

What is interesting—in an ironic sense—in these two survey findings is not the number, but on the recommendation that seemed to be disconnected from the finding. This means that the two findings testify that a significant relationship between knowledge acquisition about the harm of narcotics and the decision to use narcotics is nowhere proven. But then again, although it is not proven, the recommendation is yet again knowledge dissemination and counselling activities: “improved knowledge needs to start at earliest possible,” “distribute correct and accurate P4GN information,” “P4GN's dissemination of information and education at schools and universities,” and “integrates the material about illicit drugs into all school lessons” as recommended by 2016 Survey; whilst 2019 Survey, with its own findings as mentioned above, apparently is not able to hold the writers to conclude that “lectures/ counselling is still considered as the most appropriate method in sharing about the harm of illicit drugs” and that “dissemination of information about the harm of illicit drugs [...] needs to be improved.”

160. BNN and UI Health Research Center, “Hasil Survei Penyalahgunaan dan Peredaran Gelap Narkoba Pada Kelompok Pelajar dan Mahasiswa Di 18 Provinsi Tahun 2016”; BNN dan LIPI, “Drug Abuse Survey Prevalance 2019.”

It is unfortunate that there has been no effort taken taken to explain why this dissemination of information tends to fail, yet immediately conclude the same old recommendations.

In order to research this issue further, we tried to look into the rollout of several activities to disseminate information and education, both on the presentation document and recorded video available in the public domain (YouTube). The following is a brief review that we have carried out on the randomly selected materials.

1. *BNN's dissemination of information at SMPN 1 Trowulan, Mojokerto in 2019.*

During the dissemination of information, the situation was crowded and noisy. Many students were busy talking to each other. It did not seem conducive to delivering the dissemination of information material. An interesting statement was said by the counselor, *".....and then this third class of illicit drugs is often sold in the pharmacies, such as drugs for ulcer, headache, stomachache..."*. This surely caused bias of information and confusion to the audience. A proportionate knowledge and appropriate delivery play important roles in delivering accurate and complete information.



Figure 20. Screenshot of the counseling atmosphere at SMPN 1 Trowulan, Mojokerto in 2019

In addition, dissemination of information also showed a video when a user is using the illicit drug and having a withdrawal. In contrast, the research on scary footage in anti-illicit drug dissemination of information has been conducted by UNODC and has proven to have a less positive impact and cannot change one's behavior (BNN 2014 Annual Report).

2. Virtual counselling during school orientation of new school year in MAN 2 Yogyakarta in 2020.

This video is provided in one way with a written explanation about the definition of illicit drugs, the negative impacts of illicit drugs on health, and the consequence of abuse, including the punishment sentenced when abusing narcotics. A one-way written explanation surely can trigger questions and confusion among the audience, moreover on types of illicit drugs, both the existing ones as well as the new ones. At the end of the segment, the speaker only emphasized that should the audience have any questions, they may contact the BNN via social media and phone line.



Figure 21. Screenshot of exposure to virtual socialization at MAN 2 Yogyakarta, 2020.

Some issues that we saw during this virtual dissemination of information was that it had not touched on the importance of life skills

to take life decision. It has not yet touched the substance of aspects that drive one into using narcotics, and there is no material yet that can persuade one to avoid narcotics. The presentation also displayed a lot of writing explaining the definition and law on narcotics, as well as the usage of unfamiliar terminologies, such as the utilization of chemicals that many people were unaware of that may potentially cause confusion for them.

3. *Virtual dissemination of information by BNN Bandung District, 9 November 2020*



Figure 22. Virtual socialization of the Ratu Pelangi Indonesia Foundation with the Bandung Regency National Narcotics Board and the Education Office Bandung Regency, 2020

As with any other BNN dissemination of information in general, the presenter explained the standard information on anti-illicit drugs: prevalence condition, president’s message, and the harm of narcotics. However, when asked about what can be done to prevent someone from using narcotics, unfortunately, there was no solutive answer given. While it is actually important to involve the smallest unit of the society, such as family and school to understand and solve the initial core issue. Below is the quotation.

Questioner: "Then what would be a good appeal to be delivered to the students who have shown indications leaning on trying, Sir? And to all students in general, so that the student will have a fear of trying narcotics... thank you, Sir!"

Presenter: "Actually, it is not easy, Sir! The school must be able to coordinate with BNN. If the counseling teachers find it difficult to advise them, then come to BNN, ask dissemination of information from the BNN."

Basically, the question represented the community's restlessness which has no knowledge about any prevention method. If BNN can formulate this, then it will be highly potential to prevent one from using narcotics. Moreover, this also aligns with BNN's spirit to also involve the society, family, community, school, and private sector in prevention.

Another point to consider is the usage of terminology of narcotics chemical substance that is foreign or unfamiliar, such as ethylene glycol, which is also not easy to pronounce for the presenter. The usage of unfamiliar language can be a barrier for the audience in understanding the presenter's explanation.¹⁶¹

4. The Material of Threat and Harm of Illicit Drugs in the Era of Industry Revolution 4.0

The slides of this material also include a long explanation about the development of narcotic crime with a visual display packed with writings and images of President Joko Widodo. While first 'impression' always determines the attention, the overall message conveyed has not yet touched the impact of narcotics on one's life directly, instead: explanation of Indonesia's illicit drugs emergency, narcotic user prevalence rate, development on types of drugs and its legislation, and the absence of family as the factor that drives abuse and condition of narcotics illegal trafficking. The material has not mentioned the substance of aspects that drive someone into involvement in the dark circle of narcotic abuse and illegal distribution, and what are dealers generally 'show off' so that the audience has the picture and able to prepare themselves critically when facing any.

161. Stephen Lucas, *The Art of Public Speaking* (McGraw-Hill Education, 2019).

Unfortunately, this material does not include the description of psychological conditions that drive someone to use narcotics, as at that time, there was a debate on the narrative provided by dealers or friends when persuading with narrative to reject illicit drug abuse. In addition, the presentation material did not provide solutions such as practical life skill training that is useful when encountering a problem or making decisions that can persuade one not to use narcotics. The support on these life skills has a positive correlation to one's ability in facing daily social pressure, such as a friend's offer to use narcotics.¹⁶²

Those four examples are expected to give general illustrations of the issues in BNN's strategy to approach the community and specifically young people. A human-centered perspective still needs to be improved. Dissemination of information program designers need to start using young people's standpoint and their daily challenges that potentially give pressure—starting from friendship, parents, and also economic problems, to name a few. However, the relieving latest development is that BNN's internals is aware of the issues and have also taken measures to improve them. This can be viewed with the release of the Adolescence Self-Resilience Index Guideline on August 2020.¹⁶³

In the guideline, aside from the index findings presentation, there are recommendation directions to formulate a more persuasive anti-narcotics campaign, providing options, more aspirational and not rigid. This guideline is considered as one step to improvement that deserves appreciation. However, a small note from this research is that this guideline is still formulated with an approach that tends to view the topic of self-resilience in a general common sense (and rather outdated) and has not yet specifically dived into the context of narcotic abuse, let alone specific on young people. This is unfortunate as not only that young people's issues need to be handled in a more specific young people-centric manner, but the existing abundant studies that

162. Rosmala Dewi et al., "Self-resilience model of drug initiation and drug addiction (A structural equation model approach)," *Archives of psychiatry research* 56, no. 1 (2020): 5–18; Hamed Ekhtiari et al., "Neuroscience- informed psychoeducation for addiction medicine: A neurocognitive perspective," in *Progress in Brain Research*, vol. 235 (Elsevier B.V., 2017), 239–64.

163. Directorate of Information and Education Deputy of Prevention BNN, *Panduan Indeks Ketahanan Diri Remaja*.

have discussed this become neglected and ignored.¹⁶⁴ Whereas, we can actually build based on the available options.

Subsequently, equipped with two factors of psychological demand and social supply in the previous section, we can see issues in the medium of dissemination of information/education from BNN. In the videos published on YouTube, there are three videos that can be considered as judgmental with phrases saying “Not Cool,” that even in one of the videos there are stereotyping upon specific fashion (jumper jacket and reversed hat that is prone to negative association to illicit drugs). Obviously, it is true that it is not cool to use illicit drugs. However, these three videos have not positioned themselves on the perspective of young people, on how to handle their daily problems that are depressing, worrying, and make them vulnerable in seeing that the reward promised by illicit drugs will be higher than the reward to not use it. Instead of inviting young people to question why they have to be ‘cool’—i.e., the recognition category according to other people’s standards—these three videos actually work as a new stressor by providing another standard about ‘coolness.’ In fact, the pressure to be cool itself has been proven in many research as a serious problem that always haunts the self-image of young people.¹⁶⁵

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164. Dewi et al., “Self-resilience model of drug initiation and drug addiction (A structural equation model approach)”; Vera P. Zeleeva dan Tatyana N. Petrova, “Prevention of addictive behavior based on the formation of teenagers’ resilience,” *International Journal of Environmental and Science Education* 11, no. 8 (2016): 2015–23; Janna Cousijn, Maartje Luijten, dan Sarah W. Feldstein Ewing, “Adolescent resilience to addiction: a social plasticity hypothesis,” *The Lancet Child and Adolescent Health* 2, no. 1 (2018): 69–78; David S. Yeager, Ronald E. Dahl, dan Carol S. Dweck, “Why Interventions to Influence Adolescent Behavior Often Fail but Could Succeed,” *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 13, no. 1 (2018): 101–22; EL Rawas, Amaral, dan Hofer, “Social interaction reward: A resilience approach to overcome vulnerability to drugs of abuse”; Katherine Rudzinski et al., “Is there room for resilience? A scoping review and critique of substance use literature and its utilization of the concept of resilience,” *Substance Abuse: Treatment, Prevention, and Policy* 12, no. 1 (2017): 1–35.
165. Caterina Fiorilli et al., “Predicting adolescent depression: The interrelated roles of self-esteem and interpersonal stressors,” *Frontiers in Psychology* 10, no. MAR (2019): 1–6; Hye Young Yun dan Sandra Graham, “Too tough at the top: Using latent class growth analysis to assess cool status during middle school,” *Journal of Adolescence* 75, no. January (2019): 47–52; Alvin Thomas, Wizdom Powell Hammond, dan Laura P. Kohn-Wood, “Chill, be cool man: African American men, identity, coping, and aggressive ideation,” *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 21, no. 3 (2015): 369–79.



Figure 23. Three screenshots of public service advertisements for young people who are still biased, judgmental, and stereotypical.

7.4.4. The Importance of Upscaling to Research Excellence

In a recent opening remark, the Head of Research, Data, and Information Center of BNN stated about the importance of the role of research for policy formulation in BNN:

“Research is a crucial matter that needs to meet the standard or principles of research in order to obtain the accurate result. Therefore, we can create a policy brief for the Head of BNN as material to make policy.”¹⁶⁶

In the middle of domestic research and academic study climate about narcotics that, as findings have been presented in the previous section, is

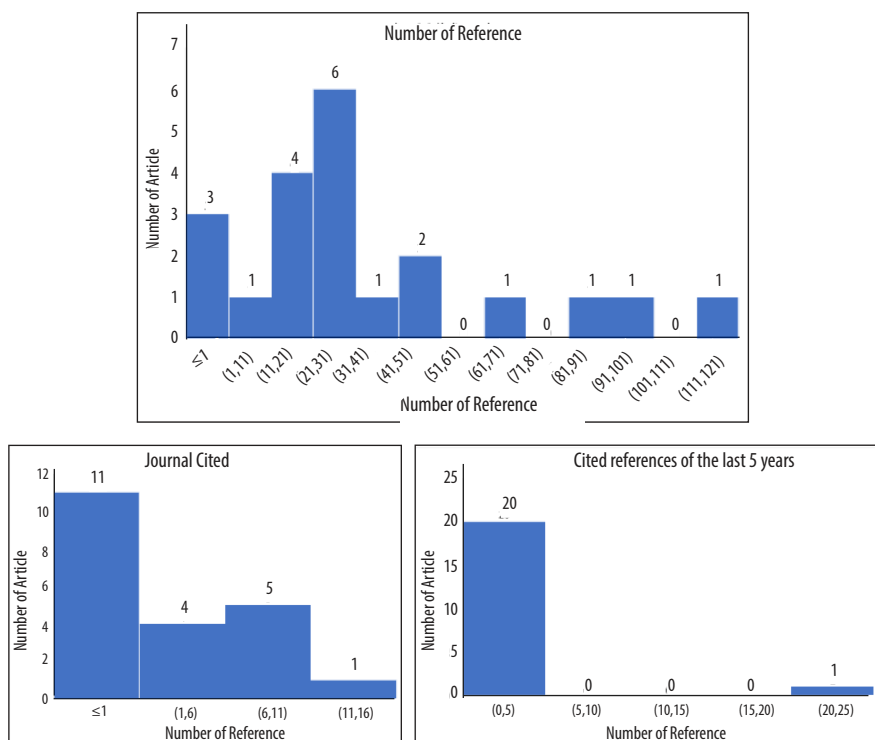
166. “Puslitdatin BNN dan Politeknik Statistika STIS Sepakati Kerja Sama Lakukan Penelitian Indeks P4GN.”

still insular (disconnected from the latest global debate in the discipline) and have relatively insufficient capacity to guide the policy. BNN has a heavy task to maximize the role of research in the formulation of evidence-based and science-based narcotics-related policy. BNN must self-initiate (together with partners) or maybe even carry out the research themselves. BNN cannot just passively wait, receive or monitor the existing studies..

However, the statement from Head of Research, Data and Information above does not stop to be an opening speech. BNN's heavy task to guide its policies with research fundamentals has truly been fruitful. At least since 2018, there has been a significant increase in study and research title productions from BNN. Out of 22 titles that we have inventoried from BNN's website in terms of research that have been conducted in the past five years, 20 of them were conducted since 2018. In terms of output, this is surely an achievement in itself in guiding research performance, considering that out there, complaints on science and narcotic policy disconnection are rampant.¹⁶⁷

Then, what can still be pushed further? From the observation of this research, the question about awareness and quantity have no longer an issue for BNN, so the next thing to examine is the quality. Therefore, we replicate the method and parameters that are being used to evaluate domestic scientific research and studies about narcotics and apply them to BNN's research which we have accessed through PPID's website. (Just to refresh our memory, we assess to what extent does a scientific piece is situated in the most updated state-of-the-art literature in its respective field by measuring three indicators in terms of reference citation). Out of the total 22 research reports that we have found, the score for 'total citation' indicator that exceeds the minimum appropriateness threshold is considered very high compared to the studies produced outside BNN, which is 38,1% compared to 8,21%. In other words, we can find one research that is sufficient in reference in every 2.5 BNN research, compared to research outside BNN, which is obtained from every 12 research. However, based on the total journal citations and citations in the past five (5) years, the scores are lower than the previous group outside BNN: only very few research whose total journal citation and citations in the past five years exceed the minimum appropriateness threshold.

165. Global Commission on Drug Policy, "Classification of Psychoactive Substances: When science was left behind"; Susan R.B. Weiss, Katia D. Howlett, dan Ruben D. Baler, "Building smart cannabis policy from the science up," *International Journal of Drug Policy* 42 (2017): 39–49, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2017.01.007>; Werb et al., "A call to reprioritise metrics to evaluate illicit drug policy"; Lancet, "Reforming international drug policy."



Graph 13. The condition of BNN's internal research in terms of the situation in the scientific field

From the consideration above, it can be seen that, in fact, research at the National Narcotics Board (BNN) has not been excluded from the insular character of research on narcotics in Indonesia. However, it must be admitted that this problem is actually not just a problem with BNN, but a big problem on the one hand for the academic world in Indonesia and also a big task for the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. Even so, the fact that the significant increase in research productivity in the internal environment of BNN shows that BNN has the modality to be the leading sector in narcotics research in Indonesia. It only needs one thing, which is to raise its standards towards what is called **research excellence** or superior research..

Another thing that is also important to note next is the relationship between research and policy. In a discussion about public policy based on evidence (evidence-based policy, EBP) and also supported by science

(science-backed policy, SBP),¹⁶⁸ it is often criticized how research and academic studies conducted by the policy formulation team are not truly integrated into the policies. Furthermore, studies and research are not conducted systematically and integrated with the decision/policy-making cycle in institutions. One of the major causes is politics. However, if politics is put aside for a moment, the issue of the **non-integration of science in policy** is often also the impact of organizational design that is not yet EBP/SBP patterned.

This may have been missed from BNN's attention. In the midst of the many and incessant research conducted by BNN—in almost all field deputies—imperatives and obligations to base policies on scientific evidence still have not been institutionalized in a written internal regulation/policy. As far as our investigation of institutional rules on the Legal Documentation and Information Network (JDIH BNN) website, **there has not been found a single rule that regulates**, for example, that policies must go through academic studies first, that there is research for objective evaluation of each policy conducted, or that there is a special mechanism to follow up on research conducted by an institution or outside the institution (from journals, books, or developments in the discipline as a whole). What is worrying is that the need to have policies based on science and evidence is only an initiative of individuals who happen to be in office rather than a commitment of the organization as a whole. As a result, when the leadership changes, this commitment also fades.

In addition to the absence of written rules to guard the spirit of science and scientific evidence, BNN also needs to make some sort of indicator of the results of research performance in directing the policy changes within BNN itself. That is, there needs to be an instrument that measures the extent to which a policy is issued by adopting the results of research or the extent to which a study is able to contribute to policy. In addition to guarding the spirit of evidence-based and science-based policies, this instrument can also direct the improvement and development of the BNN's own internal research ecosystem to move further towards excellence. If in the previous section it has been discussed how an excellent research

168. Nancy Cartwright and Jeremy Hardie, *Evidence-Based Policy: A Practical Guide to Doing It Better* (Oxford University Press, 2013); Deborah Gbate, "Developing theories of change for social programmes: co-producing evidence-supported quality improvement," *Palgrave Communications* 4, no. 1 (2018).

is measured by its situatedness in the realm of state-of-the-art academic debate in a discipline globally, then by institutionalizing the integration of science and policy in written rules and also by developing indicators of research linkage with policy, BNN is also actively guarding the internal situation of its own research. By always being situated in the needs and ecosystem of the institution's internal policies, BNN will get research excellence as well as policies that are evidence-based and science-based in character. As a bonus, the world will see the commitment of BNN to emerge as the leading sector in science and evidence-based narcotics policy in Southeast Asia. Of course, this is a separate modality for BNN to succeed in the international arena

7.5. BNN External Institutionalization

The fourth and final dimension of the strategic environmental analysis in this report is the institutional aspect outside BNN. In general, it can be said that the enthusiasm and commitment in implementing the P4GN program are still not evenly distributed among Ministries/Institutions/Regions outside BNN and in the community. This can most clearly be seen from the achievements of the NAP P4GN as in Presidential Instruction 2/2020, which has not yet reached 50% in its first year. The various obstacles that cause the uneven distribution will be discussed into three big topics, which in our opinion, demand extra attention. If an active defense strategy is to be initiated, it must begin with the proactive involvement of all elements of the nation at home. The following three points are three points where BNN can begin to prioritize its attention.

7.5.1. Spirit of Prevention in the Law Enforcement is Not Yet Mainstreamed

The adjustment by Law Enforcement Officers (LEO) to directive steps through rehabilitation of narcotics/illicit drug abusers has actually been carried out on a number of occasions, but in its implementation, there is still a gap between the rehabilitation budget—which should be provided by the State—and the financial capacity of each family of narcotics abusers. Because when the rehabilitation assessment was given, in the end, it was the family's submission and forcedness that immediately disqualified their financial ability to bear the costs of the rehabilitation and finally chose prison.

From this, at least two things become apparent problems: first, that there has been an ‘awareness’ at the TAT level to differentiate between narcotics addicts and the categories of croupiers/dealers and syndicates/producers; second, that inevitably there is a kind of distinction that is always widening when illicit drug addicts are faced with recommendations for rehabilitation (the constraints of the high cost of treatment and the financial situation become an unacceptable urge). On the other hand, APH seems to be ‘stopped’ at the level of ‘providing recommendation’ alone but ignores the fact that technical constraints related to the calculation of budget and financial system in each family of illicit drug abusers/addicts are not part of ‘their problems, in fact, this clearly has a significant impact when each family of abusers/abusers/narcotics addicts is faced with a rehabilitation decision.

In order to strengthen the aspect of prevention, particularly prevention through rehabilitation mechanisms, the dimension of prevention must be at the forefront rather than eradication in the law enforcement process. That is conducted considering that the context of eradication which leads to the arrest, raids, extermination, eradication, and chasing of narcotics perpetrators, has not succeeded in suppressing the rate of increase/growth in the circulation of narcotics. A number of activities by *Tim Assesmen Terpadu* (TAT/Integrated Assessment Team) which have specifically sorted out and recommended the pure illicit drug abusers/illicit drug addicts for rehabilitation, do not seem to fully resolve the problem of raising the dimension of prevention versus eradication.

This is because the biggest problem that is still ongoing is the high cost of rehabilitation that must be met by the families of illicit drug abusers/addicts who have the potential to become prospective rehabilitators. The fact that the position of pure illicit drug abusers/addicts always enters the criminal justice/criminal sentence route is due to the high cost of rehabilitation that must be taken— and even tends to be maintained in a status quo manner with the reason of insufficient budget. There is bureaucratic confusion that surrounds the dimensions of the rehabilitation budget, and finally, it is also visible when mapping the components of financing—for example: what causes it to be expensive, especially on what are the most significant funding factors to track the high cost of rehabilitation.

Repeated events always occur, even when TAT—both medical and legal analysts—recommend rehabilitation, what happens is a deadlock at the family level of the abuser/addict/prospective rehab participant who feels ‘objectionable’ or financially inadequate, and finally has to ‘give up again’ to other recommendations, namely via legal channels/narcotics punishment. However, the logic of this problem could be reversed into: The government is not ready and is taking seriously—with various notes and reasons related to the rationalization of the budget—with the expansion/enrichment of infrastructure, technology, and rehabilitation of human resources. As a result, the offer of the TAT assessment results to rehabilitation seems to be carried out only on the surface or is limited to mere procedural performativity, but in reality, it hardly touches the substance of rehabilitation as a means of preventing/decreasing the circulation of narcotics which can be measured its reduction performance effectively when compared to an illicit abuser/illicit drug addict being delegated to the criminal process.

APH’s efforts in recommending rehabilitation of abusers will be in vain if it is not supported by financial stability and measured efforts to carefully address the theme of rehabilitation as an effective preventive effect. In addition, the condition of the criminal sentence that ends in imprisonment will further increase the number of cases that must be handled at the level of the District Court (First Decision), High Court (Decision on Appeal), Supreme Court (Cassation), and the Supreme Court (Judicial Review), so that the impact of the accumulation in the Supreme Court case chambers will be even greater only for Narcotics and Psychotropic cases (in the period of 2012-2020, the number of cases that was still ‘registered’ and registered as ‘decided’ which was released by the Directory of Supreme Court Decisions was 198,887). The excess/accumulation of case chambers in the Supreme Court will result in the same accumulation in other institutions, such as the Attorney General’s Office, and of course, the Directorate General of Prisons, Ministry of Law, and Human Rights.

On the other hand, the Directorate General of Prisons still has to be busy responding to various negative stigmas related to the narcotics circulation network from internal prisons, and not to mention over-capacity, which has always been a perennial problem for the prison sector. With a

comprehensive rehabilitation recommendation (from the process of offering and providing recommendations for illicit drug abusers/addicts, then well-planned rehabilitation executions in terms of financial/budget adequacy; availability of sufficient costs/budget for each individual rehab participant, to the end of the determined rehabilitation duration and the imposition of post-rehabilitation systems and mechanisms for ex-narcotics abusers/addicts), actually, the Prison side does not need to worry anymore about the complications that occur in prisons, even so, it will reduce the impact of collusion between prison guards and narcotics prisoners who have great potential to control the flow of narcotics from behind bars.

Deputy Dayamas, in an in-depth interview, also once said that the highest trafficking was in prison, controlled from behind the prison. The reason is that for a drug kingpin, it will be easier and safer when controlling in prison because he feels he will not be punished for “the second time” – for example, if he is sentenced to life, the sentence will increasingly pump him to carry out and control the circulation from the prison because he is sure that there will be no more chance for him other than to continue to rake wealth through illicit drug trafficking—that the results can be used optimally to support his family).

It is not enough to recommend that “prison is not an option to reduce the number of drug trafficking,” prevention through rehabilitation must be “turned on the value and urgency,” and the most important thing is that—before everything is judged in vain because it is done half-way—it can emerge quickly related Preventive evidence stating that the rate of circulation can be reduced more effectively through rehabilitation, with the hope of showing the public that the effective overcoming of the drug problem is not through gunfire and chases, but through rehabilitation.

7.5.2 The Performance Limitations of P4GN among Ministries/Institutions/Departments

One interesting fact that we learned during the dialog with the staff at BNN is that Mrs. Risma, the Mayor of Surabaya who won hundreds of awards both nationally and internationally,¹⁶⁹ thought that P4GN was a

169. “Tri Rismaharini Raih 259 Penghargaan Sembilan Tahun Terakhir,” *Bisnis.com*, 29 Juli 2019, <https://surabaya.bisnis.com/read/20190729/531/1129976/tri-rismaharini-raih-259-penghargaan-sembilan-tahun-terakhir>.

program of BNN. So that she saw her involvement as “helping” the BNN. Bringing together the leaders of government institutions in the regions is a challenge for BNNP/Ministries. In almost every city we visit, this complaint is always sounded. The most touching one was that there was even a section head of the BNNP ¹⁷⁰ who was willing to wait three hours at the mayor’s office just to get the answer, “*so we have to have a program too, anyway at P4GN?*” Of course, this kind of incident cannot be generalized to all regions or all regional officials. However, an incident like this is also not uncommon and often becomes one of the obstacles to the success of P4GN, and even the success of efforts to overcome the narcotics problem in general.

The two stories above can actually be explained by the lack of dissemination of information among Ministries/Institutions, especially in the regions. So that communication problem between central and local governments and within vertical institutions become homework to be evaluated and corrected. Apart from the communication problem, there are two other things that seem more critical than disturbed communication. The first is the issue of **goodwill from regional leaders**, if not the political will. In the BNN research on the Village Potential in 2019 Drug Abuse Prevention,¹⁷¹ it was found that village officials often did not dare to use village funds for P4GN activities or other activities that had not been budgeted before. Only some villages had the initiative to use the village budget, such as one village in West Java that already had the initiative to use the Village Budget (APBDes) to implement P4GN activities. The P4GN activities, which had been routinely carried out, were parts of youth development activities, not separately budgeted. Other village officials still wanted special instructions for the implementation of P4GN in the village environment and wanted a special budget given instead of reducing the budget already allocated for other activities. This means that there is a structural budgeting limitation that prevents leaders at the regional level from being able to participate actively.

However, when the team made a visit to Condongcatur Village in Yogyakarta, we found a fact that was contrary to the findings in the research. Based on interviews with the head of the village, we have found

170. He asked for his identity to be disguised.

171. BNN RI and BKKBN, *Potensi Desa dalam Pencegahan Penyalahgunaan Narkoba* (Puslitdatin BNN RI, 2019), 62

that many programs supported the achievement of the P4GN program. The programs are not only carried out ceremonially and incidentally but are programmed in the long term, even institutionalized in the guidelines and daily rules. For example, the rules for boarding house residents who are caught using drugs will be expelled from the village. These achievements have earned Condongcatur an award for Desa Bersinar (abbreviated from Desa Bersih Narkoba or a Shining Village/a Drug-free Village).

This Condongcatur phenomenon shows that it is not that the village heads cannot budget/allocate their APBDes, but there are other factors that prevent them from doing this. This was also confirmed when asked to the Head of Condongcatur Urban Village about why other regional heads did not do the same thing even though there were already two Presidential Instructions of RAN P4GN: "Well, it's back to each individual. Because everyone has their own priorities."¹⁷² These different prioritization shows that P4GN participation from the regions still tends to be centered on goodwill, if not the political will of each regional head.

Another problem that we think is also critical, and we found this in the majority of cities we visited, is **confusion in designing programs** suitable in their respective regions. *"But we don't know what the budget means; which ones to buy. The program must be detailed, whether the narcotics prevention is just talking like this, mustn't it?"* Actually, the program also contains a positive aspect: on the plus side, the regions should know that dissemination of information is not enough. It's just that, to organize programs outside of this dissemination of information, the regions seem to have difficulties. Even one of our informants in Aceh left a message asking BNN to provide assistance in program design. *"If there is indeed a collaboration between BNN through the Village Fund regarding the issue of narcotics prevention, we ask direction in relation to the issue of the implementation: what is the real thing, concretely, it is a program to prevent narcotics—which is, in our opinion, not just a dissemination of information."*¹⁷³

Three things that seem to restrain or slow down regions from having the same prevention mindset as BNN's are the central to regional communication factor, the goodwill factor of the heads of regional

172. Tim Riset Active Defense BNN-UBJ, DIY, Jogja - WM Lurah Desa Condong Catur (092220), 2020.

173. Tim Riset Active Defense BNN-UBJ, Aceh - FGD Kelompok 1 (091620), 2020.

institutions/ apparatus, and the need for assistance in program design. The hope is that by addressing these three problems, regions can become the main motors for holding P4GN simultaneously and evenly throughout the archipelago. The strategic issue here is that—we remind you again—without the active participation of the community, the active defense strategy will become irrelevant. This is because resilience can never be built top-down; it has to be bottom-up.

7.5.3. Low Popularity of Prevention Mindset in the Society

In general, Indonesian people tend to perceive drug issues as related to fights or actions and still have not associated them as prevention efforts. As in an interview with the Directorate of Narcotics, Criminal Investigation Division of Indonesian National Police, for example, stated that “our society’s way of thinking is wrong ... it prefers chasing and shooting, bang bang bang.” According to him, this mindset has contributed to the unpopularity of prevention programs. Likewise, on social media, when the police released news about the arrest of tons of drugs, the news immediately went viral. As a result, the media has also welcomed the market’s appetite for commercialization of eradication actions (such as broadcast on television: program “86” - NET TV, program “Patroli” – Indosiar, program “Jatanras” – TV ONE, program “Custom” - NET TV, etc.). The interest in eradication, especially in the images of this fight, is confirmed by our analysis of the news over the past year, in which the media always broadcasts topics that, under the rule of thumb, are generally associated with eradication (arrest, disclosure, raids, etc.). (Here, of course, the assumption used is that the media always try to follow market tastes).

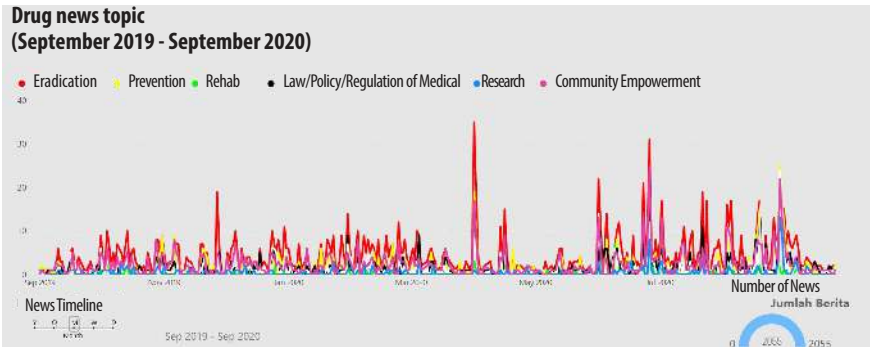
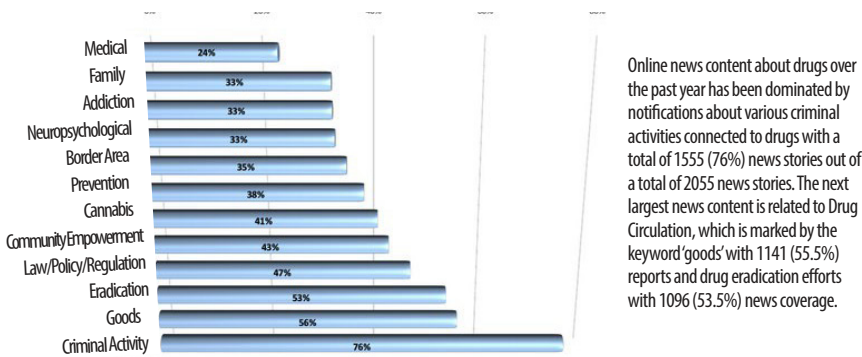


Figure 24. The dominance of eradication topics in online mass media coverage, 2019-2020.

In fact, the public perception of narcotics is much more complex than what has been stated above. From the field studies, we see that there is a tug-of-war between risk (negative reinforcement) and reward (positive reinforcement) in society when facing narcotics trafficking in their area so that it also affects social control. When the community sees that the risks posed by the circulation of narcotics are greater than the rewards obtained, the community tightens social control and takes both repressive and coercive actions towards the circulation of narcotics. Meanwhile, if the reward factor is considered to be greater than the risk, then social control will be looser, and the community will actually support the circulation of narcotics..

Frequency of Online News Topics Based on Active Defense Code System



Graph 14. Domination of crime reporting on drug issues

Some members of the community who feel bored with the stigma of the environment where they live due to narcotics trafficking have independently initiated activities and programs to reduce and eradicate narcotics trafficking. The community feels disadvantaged by the label as a drug-prone area attached to the area where they live. For example the community experiences difficulties when they want to find work outside the area where they live. One of the efforts to eradicate the circulation of narcotics can be seen in Ujung Pacu Village, Lhoksumawe, Aceh, which since several years ago initiated the eradication of narcotics circulation and abuse. At that time, narcotics transactions were rampant and carried out openly in the Ujung Pacu Village area until the area was labeled as second Thailand. Community members gave warnings, prosecution, and resistance, which resulted in several casualties.¹⁷⁴

174. In-depth Interview of Ujung Pacu Village on September 18, 2020.

Meanwhile, some members of the community who feel that they have benefited from the circulation of narcotics also perpetuate and cover up the transactions and illicit trafficking of narcotics. The dealer carried out his social role as a “Robin Hood” by providing a certain amount of money and assistance from the income of narcotics transactions for the community so that the public thought that the dealer had a positive contribution to the development of society. In this perspective, the community considered the dealers to improve the welfare of the residents. For example, the community in Gampong Lorong Lima, Lhoksumawe, helped block the police prosecution process when the police wanted to eradicate narcotics trafficking. Not to mention in Kampung Beting, Pontianak, and the drug villages in Palangkaraya.

At this point, we can see that people’s perceptions are not monotonous. On the one hand, the public viewed it as an “entertainment” show by treating eradication action like a reality show.¹⁷⁵ But on the other hand, the community was also pragmatic in responding to illegal addiction businesses as far as the business were “profitable” and could become an “alternative” economic source amidst the minimal and limited reach of the national development outcomes in their area.¹⁷⁶ Apart from these two different views, one thing is prevalent, that the prevention mindset is arguably still absent in our society.

A crucial thing to be considered is mainstreaming education and dissemination of information, which is no longer a matter of the danger of narcotics, but a matter of what the community can do to be able to actively participate in prevention. This mainstreaming effort, of course, needs to start by providing an understanding of what it means to prevent, even what it means to have an active defense strategy to prevent narcotics trafficking and abuse. The community needs not be just positioned as a target for narcotics and a subject that must be protected by the BNN. On the other hand, it is also necessary to explore the possibilities of the community to take on their own role in prevention: not as informants to

175. Steven A. Kohm, “Naming, shaming and criminal justice: Mass-mediated humiliation as entertainment and punishment,” *Crime, Media, Culture* 5, no. 2 (2009): 188–205.

176. Gutierrez, “The paradox of illicit economies: survival, resilience, and the limits of development and drug policy orthodoxy”; Deborah Alimi, “An Agenda in-the-making: The Linking of Drugs and Development Discourses,” *Journal of Illicit Economies and Development* 1, no. 1 (2019): 37–51; Ray Hudson, “The illegal, the illicit and new geographies of uneven development,” *Territory, Politics, Governance* 0, no. 0 (31 Oktober 2018): 1–16.

the BNN/law enforcement, not just to protect themselves. More than that, the community needs to have an understanding of how, for example, to rehabilitate and not isolate/stigmatize the abusers, which is also a form of prevention. In short, **we need to begin to see that the lack of a prevention mindset in people's minds is not a cause but rather a result**. Exploring what causes people not to have a prevention mindset is one step in the right direction to mitigate it.



BORDER POST - MOTAMASIN EAST NUSA TENGGARA

8.1. Theory of Change

Before presenting recommendations, it is necessary to convey that the spirit of this research is to safeguard narcotics policies that have the latest scientific evidence and scientific support, or what is often referred to as evidence-based policy (EBP). One of the prerequisites for a policy based on the principles of EBP is to put forward the so-called theory of change. A theory of change is basically a: *“planned route to outcomes: it describes the logic, principles and assumptions that connect what an intervention, service or program does, and why and how it does it, with its intended results.”*¹⁷⁷ The theory of change is the idea that underlies why a policy/recommendation is carried out/proposed, as well as the argument why such policy intervention will be able to reap positive results. The following are some of the theories of change that we formulated by taking lessons from analysis and findings from research, and in turn, we use them as a basis for developing recommendations, both strategic (long/medium-term) and practical (short term).

8.1.1. Regime-Building Diplomacy: Leadership with Ideas

Indonesia, with the BNN as the lead, needs to take a dominant role and leadership in dealing with the narcotics issue by becoming an alternative to ASEAN. The strategic environmental analysis above leads us to the conclusion that ASEAN has acute limitations when it deals with China—and because the narcotics issue is also closely related to China’s national interests (particularly BRI in the region), this is how ASEAN’s limitations apply. Likewise, with the Asian style of diplomacy, which tends to use informal and cultural channels, the significance of ASEAN-style institutionalization is also increasingly limited. The dilemma is that

177. Ghate, “Developing theories of change for social programmes: co-producing evidence-supported quality improvement.”

without an integrated and coordinated action from ASEAN countries, it is difficult for the region to protect its citizens from the threat of narcotics. This means that it is also difficult for BNN to reap success from its Active Defense prevention strategy. So, it is in the interest of Indonesia that BNN is able to take the leadership in ASEAN, also informally and culturally, in blocking, if not eradicating, the illicit trafficking of narcotics in Southeast Asia.

The grand strategy we propose for this is through the concept of **'leadership with ideas'**, and more specifically, what is known in the academic environment as **regime-building**. The diplomacy that Indonesia needs to do is diplomacy that is oriented towards developing norms and common consensus, or what is called a 'regime'—and not binding standard rules, nor formal agreements that have punitive powers (in the sense of giving diplomatic sanctions). Once again, the context of the ASEAN Way and Asian values need to become Indonesia's diplomatic torch. The leadership with this idea answered Indonesia's need to orchestrate cooperation at the regional level while responding nimbly to the challenges of BRI diplomacy from China and also without compromising multilateral harmony—no matter the formality—in the ASEAN forum. Above all, this strategy is very relevant in relation to the principles of Indonesia's Free and Active Foreign Policy: freedom in establishing international cooperation; active in contributing to solving international problems; but still in the corridor of achieving national interests.

With **'anti-narcotics regime development-oriented diplomacy' (anti-narcotics diplomacy)**, Indonesia can, for example, contribute ideas and ideas for alternative prevention and development, initiate a culture of sharing intelligence information for an integrated eradication, develop a system of interdiction and a collective interception, among other law enforcers, it can even be done by proposing a norm that can be used as guidance and common reference in protecting ASEAN citizens from the threat of narcotics. Indonesia's success in diffusing/disseminating these ideas by means of initiating and providing examples,¹⁷⁸ will in itself consolidate an anti-narcotics norm in the region with Indonesia as a

178. Martha Finnemore dan Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887–917; Laura Allison-Reumann, "The Norm-Diffusion Capacity of ASEAN: Evidence and Challenges," *Pacific Focus* 32, no. 1 (2017): 5–29.

leader as in Ki Hajar Dewantara's language, "*ing ngarso sung tulodo, ing madyo mbangun karso*" (in the front, sets an example; in the middle, sets spirit in motion). However, one prerequisite for the success of this strategy is: Indonesia must prove—and utter to other countries in the region—that these ideas really work, that Indonesia is indeed walking the talk. The following points will propose several strategies that can be carried out by BNN to achieve this leadership, along with the prerequisite.

Evidence-Basis and Scientific-Basis

This conception of regional leadership with the model of Ki Hajar Dewantara is consistent with the latest study on international leadership: that leadership in the international world tends to be formed when countries introduce new norms as standards of legitimacy, then consolidate support from other countries, and by showing that these norm standards are for the sake of achieving common interests.¹⁷⁹ However, the idea of such leadership needs to be distinguished from approaches (liberal institutional) that use a base of forces that tend to be "hard" and "sticky" power such as military and economic aid, which are binding in nature or through the hands of dictating institutions.¹⁸⁰ In contrast to that, the leadership we propose, inspired by this Ki Hajar model, is closer to constructivist approaches that emphasize leadership as a social function that "facilitates collective agency to achieve common goals in an international community."¹⁸¹ Because if there will be a power that can win the hearts of ASEAN countries, then that power will be none other than a social force.

Regime development diplomacy by means of idea leadership is actually not strange to Indonesia. We already have this, and the international community is taking note of and even actively studying its success. There are two successes, namely Indonesia's diplomatic success in fighting for

179. Truong Minh Vu, "International leadership as a process: The case of China in Southeast Asia," *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 60, no. 1 (2017): 1–21; Gábor Illés, András Körösenyi, dan Rudolf Metz, "Broadening the limits of reconstructive leadership: Constructivist elements of Viktor Orbán's regime-building politics," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 20, no. 4 (2018): 790–808.

180. Joseph S. Nye, "How Sharp Power Threatens Soft Power. The Right and Wrong Ways to Respond to Authoritarian Influence," *Foreign Affairs*, 2018; G. John Ikenberry dan Daniel H. Nexon, "Hegemony studies 3.0: The dynamics of hegemonic orders," *Security Studies* 28, no. 3 (2019): 395–421.

181. Robyn Eckersley, "Rethinking leadership: understanding the roles of the US and China in the negotiation of the Paris Agreement," *European Journal of International Relations*, 2020.

a maritime boundary regime through UNCLOS in 1982 and in building and maintaining a regional security regime of Confidence Building Measure (CBM) in Southeast Asia through the Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM), which reconciled the conflict in Indochina in 1988.¹⁸² In both examples, Indonesia played central roles: first to lead by expressing ideas, then to set an example at the front by actively campaigning and pursuing, and finally, together with the countries it consolidated to strive for these ideas in the international arena. History recorded, and indeed its success is proven to this day.¹⁸³ At present, when the illicit trafficking of narcotics has escalated to become a real threat to regional security, as many experts believe,¹⁸⁴ it could be a moment for Indonesia to take a central role again in maintaining security in the region in line with the Free Active Foreign Policy.

8.1.2. *Strategi Pertahanan Aktif untuk Cegah-Edar (SPACE)/ Active Defense Strategy for Prevention of Distribution*

Going back to the institutional function of the BNN and the meaning of prioritizing prevention as an institutional work paradigm from the perspective of Active Defense. The active defense strategy directs BNN to strategize its entire work programs towards preventive goals and achievements. With strategization, a policy program is not only carried out for the outcome and achievement of a policy per se but it is placed as an inseparable prerequisite for achieving the outcome and attaining a broader policy vision.¹⁸⁵ This means that a policy is assigned a strategic role, in the macro and long-term schemes, as a function of the success of

182. Joanna Dingwall, "Commercial Mining Activities in the Deep Seabed beyond National Jurisdiction: the International Legal Framework," in *The Law of the Seabed*, vol. 1 (Brill | Nijhoff, 2020), 139–62; M. Nagendra Prasad, *Indonesia's Role in the Resolution of the Cambodian Problem* (Routledge, 2017).

183. There is an interesting story even about this Cambodia as we carry out our research. A relative A member of our team who happens to be a diplomat in Phnom Penh said that the Cambodian authorities requested Linked to the Indonesian National Narcotics Board. He said, they managed to catch narcotics dealers from Indonesia and want to extradite him back. What's interesting is that they want to do it without the media knowing it in order to help maintain Indonesia's good name in the region. The motive?—"because we once owed Indonesia for peace in our country."

184. John Coyne, "Southeast Asia's looming drug crisis threatens regional security," *The Strategist*, 14 Maret 2019, <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/southeast-asias-looming-drug-crisis-threatens-regional-security/>; Pascal Tanguay, "Asia is hurtling towards a fentanyl disaster," *East Asia Forum*, 25 Juni 2020, <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2020/06/25/asia-is-hurting-towards-a-fentanyl-disaster/>.

185. Jackson Nickerson and Nicholas Argyres, "Strategizing Before Strategic Decision Making," *Strategy Science* 3, no. 4 (2018): 592–605.

other policies.¹⁸⁶ The goal of learning a variety of apple cutting techniques, for example, is not just mastering the knowledge of cutting apples. But it has a strategic meaning to streamline our time in the future when we want to eat apples, so that time and energy can be saved to complete other more important works (than just looking for tape to wrap our amateur knife cut fingers when peeling apples).

As stated by the Head of BNN, the Active Defense strategy needs to be holistic. This means that BNN does not only eradicate, but they also have to rehabilitate; as with rehabilitation, they must also empower it. The Head of BNN also emphasized that the Active Defense strategy must also be holistic in the sense that it includes all three approaches to tackling the narcotics problem: supply, demand, and also harm-reduction.¹⁸⁷ As the follow-up of this view, this study offers a way to appreciate the unified dimension of prevention strategy from a variety of approaches. This means that the three approaches are necessary and can actually be interpreted in the corridor of prevention.

The meaning of prevention from supply reduction is preventing people from getting supplies of narcotics and preventing people from being forced or tempted to become agents of supply, either dealer, couriers, or even joining in croupiers and cartels. Then the meaning of prevention of demand reduction is to prevent people from being thought of or tempted to seek narcotics or preventing the creation of conditions in which people feel a need or are tempted to abuse. Finally, for harm-reduction, prevention can mean preventing people from hurting/damaging themselves and their own lives, preventing society from prolonging the damage to the lives of abusers and ex-abusers by its stigmatization and rejection, and also preventing policy excesses that have a negative impact on society, either social and health.

186. Bencherki et al., "How strategy comes to matter: Strategizing as the communicative materialization of matters of concern."

187. Active Defense Research Team of BNN-UBJ, Jakarta - In-depth Interview with the Head of BNN



Scheme 3. Prevention strategy for supply, demand, and harm-reduction policies.

Of the four defense functions in the Active Defense strategy discussed in the previous section (protective, preventive, curative, and immunitive), two of them are on the spectrum of prevention, namely preventive and immunitive, because they relate to threats that have not yet manifested. The difference is the threat to preventive measures has been predicted, while for immunitive, it has not. However, if observed carefully, curative and protective functions can also have preventive meaning and effect. The success of the curative function will prevent the emergence of new requests or prospective suppliers. Likewise, with protective, the success of efforts to protect the community from supply and dealers—for example, by eradicating it, will in itself have a deterrence effect which, *nota bene*, falls within the spectrum of prevention. (Unfortunately, the deterrence effect of this coercive eradication effort has been refuted too much by academic studies.¹⁸⁸ In fact, it is very difficult to find scientific evidence about the positive correlation of coercive actions.¹⁸⁹ Therefore,

188. D. Décarry-Héty dan L. Giommoni, “Do police crackdowns disrupt drug cryptomarkets? A longitudinal analysis of the effects of Operation Onymous,” *Crime, Law and Social Change* 67, no. 1 (2017): 55–75; Michelle Keck dan Guadalupe Correa-Cabrera, “U.S. Drug Policy and Supply Side Strategies: Assessing Effectiveness and Results,” *Norteamérica* 10, no. 2 (2015): 47–67; Jorrit Kamminga, “States simply do not care: The failure of international securitisation of drug control in Afghanistan,” *International Journal of Drug Policy* 68 (2019): 3–8; Fiona Godlee dan Richard Hurley, “The war on drugs has failed: Doctors should lead calls for drug policy reform,” *British Medical Journal* 355 (2016): 1–2; International Drug Policy Consortium (IDPC), “10 Years of Drug Policy in Asia: How Far Have We Come?,” 2019; *Lancet*, “Reforming international drug policy”; Dolliver, “A supply-based response to a demand-driven problem: a fifteen-year analysis of drug interdiction in Poland”; Alexander G. Toth dan Ojmarh Mitchell, “A qualitative examination of the effects of international counter-drug interdictions,” *International Journal of Drug Policy* 55, no. January (2018): 70–76.

189. There is at least one interesting study looking at the effects of deterrence, even if it is small. See Caitlin Elizabeth Hughes et al., “The deterrent effects of Australian street-level drug law enforcement on illicit drug offending at outdoor music festivals,” *International Journal of Drug Policy* 41 (2017): 91–100.

it is necessary to study further how this deterrence effect can be the same applies to coercive policies, as is the case for more persuasive and empowering policies).

Protective	It is hoped that the accumulated success of community protection efforts from real/existing threats will by itself have a deterrent effect that prevents and discourages suppliers
Preventive	Prevent potential threats that will sooner or later manifest
Curative	Prevent new requests or potential new suppliers that could potentially arise due to prolonged addiction
Preventive	Prevent pthe fatal impact of threats that can arise from anywhere, anytime, unexpectedly

Scheme 4. Strategy to the prevention mindset for the four Active Defense functions

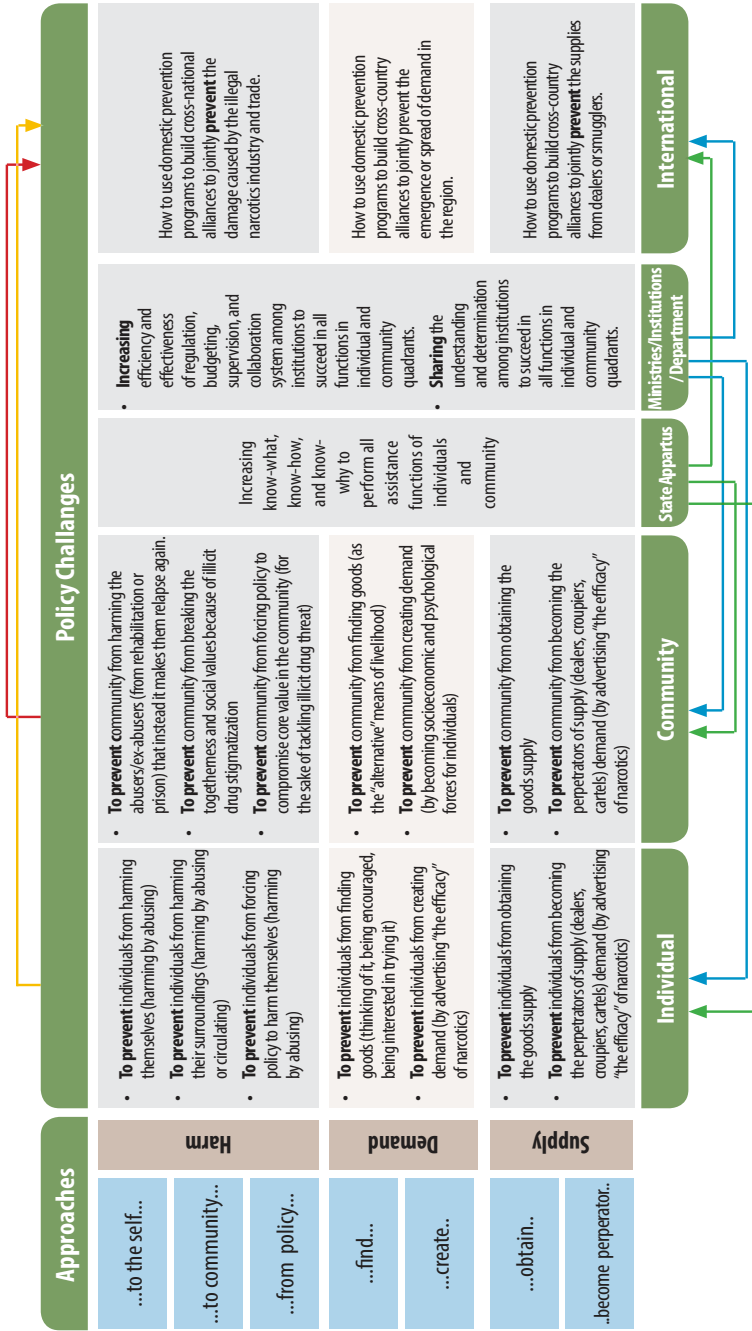
Finally, to finalize the prevention strategy formulation, the following is a guideline scheme in the form of a policy challenge matrix for institutions in integrating and mainstreaming the prevention paradigm in their work programs. Using this guide, all the challenges of preventive policies on all fronts are exposed: to think about, formulate programs, and plan. What needs to be done is, by using the perspective of each unit/work unit, try to answer these challenges with policies that have measurable outcomes and achievement.

(For the record, this study does not provide recommendations to fill the entire quadrant, but only a few that are considered important and can become the focal points of the Active Defense strategy. If adopted, all BNN officers are expected to use this guide to start creating, or even co-creation together with partners and related stakeholders, programs that are considered to be able to answer various policy challenges.)

These are some of the formulations that can be conveyed in order to mainstream and prioritize a prevention perspective by drawing inspiration from the Active Defense strategy. The important lesson to learn here is not to look at deputies as essentialists and fixate on their “traditional” programs. Rather, to look more at its strategic orientation and then

translate it into policies, and then into their respective work programs and activities. It is also important to see the importance of the achievement of programs in each internal unit as a strategy in guarding the success of the prevention strategy externally (international, regional). Because in Active Defense, the external prevention strategy is determined by the success of efforts to increase defense and resilience domestically, which means the success of all prevention programs carried out by all parts of the BNN institution.

Matrix of Challenge of Prevention Policy in the Framework of Active Defense Strategy for Prevention of Distribution (SPACE)



Scheme 5. Matrix of prevention strategies in the inventory of policy challenges in all lines, with the three approaches of supply, demand, and harm-reduction.

8.1.3. Re-securitization of “Circulation” from “Preventive” Perspective

From the elaboration on the inspiration for the Active Defense strategy, along with the four paradigms (protective, preventive/preemptive, curative, and immunitive), this section elaborates further specifically in the context of Prevention of Distribution. For this, again, we continue to relay recommendations from the *Nasmik Renstra* that the formulation of strategies **must be formulated based on the types and patterns of crimes**: *“handling of crime must be based on the business process of how the crime occurs and harmonized with integrated handling.”*¹⁹⁰ This point is very crucial because the patterns and mechanisms of operation of crimes of abuse and circulation are very diverse. Especially if an analysis looks at the direction of prevention interventions, it must enter into the factors that facilitate persuasion and command to abuse and to circulate, which, *nota bene*, is very, very diverse and complex. It is not only related to mere lawlessness but also enters the complexities of socioeconomics, biopsychology, and even policymaking politics. That is why it is important for policies to be based on scientific evidence (*evidence-based*).

Notwithstanding, slightly different from the *Nasmik Renstra*, this study does not use the term “types and patterns of crime” but “types and patterns of threats.” This research does not merely look at the problem of narcotics as just a crime which standard is a legal corridor, but it is an existential threat which meaning is very dynamic along with the situation and conditions (economic, social, and political). As a result, rather than simply seeing the narcotics problem as a crime issue, this research pushed it further by combining strategic and security analyzes.¹⁹¹

In general security analysis, each threat has its own particularities that need to be considered if we wish to defend against it or even strike back. Thus, a threat can be broken down into at least four components: 1) threat agent (threat agent), namely the source/carrier of the threat as well as the perpetrators of the attack; 2) attack lane (attack vector), or

190. BNN-RCCP FIA Brawijaya University, Academic Document for the Preparation of the Agency's Strategic Plan National Narcotics 2020-2024, 69.

191. On how security analysis and criminological analysis can collaborate, see Didier Bigo, “Rethinking Security at the Crossroad of International Relations and Criminology,” *British Journal of Criminology* 56, no. 6 (November 2016): 1068–86.

how the attack mechanism is carried out; 3) attack field (attack terrain), or the level at which an attack is launched; and 4) attack tree, which is a threat agent stage scenario attack the vulnerable point until it paralyzes/compromises it. Together, these four components make up what is called **threat modeling**.

By using threat modeling, it can be seen that the dimensions of the threat of narcotics are not single. It “strikes” in many ways, and by many agents, and with different targets and impacts. This means that the strategies for fighting, defending, and recovering can vary greatly. For example, in the persuasion attack vector, a drug can enter its target through persuasion, which is, nota bene, in the domain of communication and social interaction. Facing this, the form of defense that must be built is also in the domain of communication and social interaction. Strategies such as inoculation and prior belief defense in communication psychology theories are very important here. In short, each opponent’s attack has a different lane, type, and field of attack, so the form of resilience, defense, and resistance that must be prepared must also adjust these attack patterns. Facing this, the form of defense that must be built is also in the domain of communication and social interaction. Strategies such as inoculation and prior belief defense in communication psychology theories are very important here.¹⁹² In short, each opponent’s attack has a different lane, type, and field of attack, so the form of resilience, defense, and resistance that must be prepared must also adjust these attack patterns.

With a holistic understanding of the threat of narcotics incarnated in its dimensions ranging from neurobiological, psychological, communication, to social and political, it becomes clearer when we want to launch a vision of security against abuse and drug trafficking itself. The vision that has been found about the Active Defense strategy is the vision of Prevent circulation. By framing the deterrent vision of Active Defense into this threat modeling, then NNB needs to re-do securitization for narcotics illicit trafficking issues. (Securitization is efforts to declare and interpret a threat and then take extraordinary steps to address it).

192 . BNN-RCCP FIA Brawijaya University, Academic Paper on Formulating the Strategic Plan of the National Narcotics Agency 2020-2024, 69, emphasis from original.

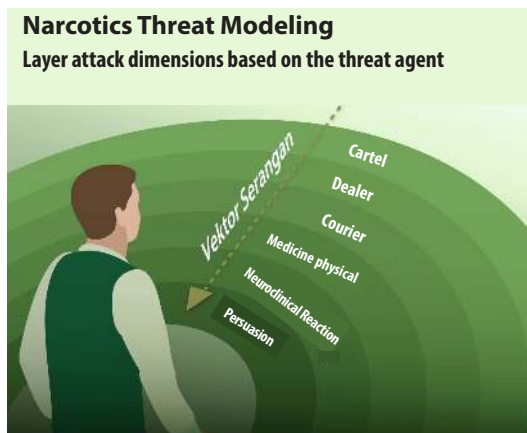


Figure 25. Modeling the threat of drug abuse and illicit trafficking

Table 7. Matrix of the threat of narcotics abuse and illicit trafficking by lane, terrain and attack tree

	Aspects of narcotics				
Threat agent	Additive substance	Persuasion	Reseller	Croupier	Cartel
Attack vector	Recurrent use, cues (symbols, triggers/ stimulus/recalling memory)	Friends' invitation, promise of efficacy, socio-symbolic values	Invitation, cheap offer, social media advertisement	Money for couriers, resellers, smugglers, corrupt individuals	Big money for croupiers, state apparatus, and corrupt politicians
Attack terrain	Neuropsychological (formation of habit)	Communication arena (friendship, private message, social media), psychology of social/friendship	Communication platform arena (friendship, private message, social media), words of mouth advertisement, social media, dark web, Tor network	Social-business relation, threat relation, drug addiction relation, collusion relation with individuals	Social network of organized crime, collusion business relation
Attack tree	DAVTA -> Nacc -> dIPFC & GP Happiness hormone overflows the brain part of reward, that finally forms habit, and accumulated in the weakening of the executive and critical functions of brain in making decision.	Abusing friend invites to try -> subject is reluctant/ FOMO -> try -> recurrent	Using friendship/ giving early discount -> becoming fixed supplier	Croupier offers a lot of money or use debt/addiction with reward of drug, and so on, to the courier/ smuggler -> up to the reseller's hands -> ready to market	Cartel promises big money -> promise of financial support for politics -> providing "access" via connivance

Instead of rehabilitating the existing P4GN securitization strategy, run for almost ten years, then through active defense research, the research team offers a form of second-wave securitization by making society not only a protected object (i.e., a referent object) but also as an active security actor in the success P4GN strategy. In line with the spirit of Active Defense, in this second wave of securitization, the outcome of securitization should be to eliminate the potential dangers of drugs by raising community resilience in the face of circulation and drug abuse. So that in this second wave of securitization, then the active defense is made as a pivot point to shift P4GN strategy by prioritizing prevention.

The Active Defense strategy in this second wave of securitization is interpreted as an active effort at the community level to create an ability to withstand the threat of trafficking and drug abuse. Not only a defensive ability but also one to maintain core values as a society, namely to free themselves from the threat of drug trafficking and abuse and free to move actively in countering the threat of circulation and Drug abuse. Early prevention at the most micro level requires the active involvement of the community, and community resilience to the dangers of drugs must be the spearhead.

8.1.4. Result-oriented Policy and Zero Prevalence Target

One measure of the professionalism of public institutions is when the policies are based on evidence and also evaluation. The evaluation includes at least three things: performance outcomes (outputs), results (outcomes), and the impact of changes (impact). The daily performance of apparatus and institutions is required to not only be seen as aborting tasks only, but it also needs to be measured and evaluated to what extent it linearly correlated with the achievement of results. Rehabilitation, for example, not Just stop by measuring how much has been rehabilitated (i.e., external), but also how many are able to endure inside his post-rehab life and not relapse in time, for example, Five years (i.e., achievement). However, it doesn't stop here. If a state institution is committed to being relevant to society, then it must also be able to show that the achievements have an impact on the community side. It means work performance must be able to be designed, predicted, and proven empirical impact on the field, even its cumulative impact on vision achievement.

Between the output and the achievement, it must be accountable conceptual by what is called a measurement theory which gives an explanation of why an outcome variable is measurable by an output indicator. Then between the results of the work with the impact change, there must be a theory of change that provides a basis for why achievement is believed to have an impact on change. The designated change, of course, is a change in the path corridor towards achieving the vision.

In the context of the National Narcotics Board and the prevention of narcotics trafficking, the main problem is actually not on the supply side. On the other hand, the main problem is on the demand side. Without any demand, then there will be no illegal narcotics and addiction business and industry to this day. The problem of demand should also be measured on the demand side.¹⁹³ Therefore, we recommend using the prevalence target as the main indicator. More specifically, we encourage BNN to strengthen its heart to boldly and loudly declare the P4GN vision as a zero prevalence. (Score zero does not have to mean nothing at all, but it can also be interpreted as <0.5, which when rounded off will be 0).

Prevalence is an important indicator to measure performance. From a market perspective, when narcotics are actually consumed (actual, not potential), this state reflects an equilibrium—the meeting of supply and demand—because price and quantity have been met at an agreed point between the supplier and the demander. In other words, the consumption experience by members of society shows ‘how common’ narcotics are (mis)used. The more many members of society who have experience of consumption, the more ‘common’ narcotics are in the midst of society. This “How Common” reflects a distribution, how wide is narcotics consumed at the community level, how many community members with consumption experience.

This ‘distribution’ or ‘how common’ reflects the condition (status) at the community level. The condition (status) of the community is the ultimate outcome of a policy; In this case, P4GN. In other words, the prevalence is a substantive, not administrative, measure of P4GN’s

193. Dolliver, “A supply-based response to a demand-driven problem: a fifteen-year analysis of drug interdiction in Poland.”

performance. Because this concerns 'how common', alternative jargon that can be proposed is the 'narcodemic level'. This is an epidemic-level narcotics abuse from the perspective of biostatistics. Other indicators which can potentially be used as an alternative or complementary are: Incidence, morbidity, and even mortality which are directly related to drug abuse in the community categorized as as "population at risk".¹⁹⁴

This prevalence index can also be mediated with proximal indices, such as existing indices, for example, the Narcotics Responsive City Index, Adolescent Self Resilience Index, Family Resilience Index, and the two indices that are currently under discussion, namely the P4GN index and the rehabilitation index. In other words, referring to the out-of-achievement triadic impact (output-outcome-impact), then we can place the Prevalence Index as an index measuring impact; Then indices proximal such as IKOTAN, IKDR, IKK, etc., as a measuring index achievement; and finally, the P4GN index, also LAKIP, was used as the index measuring the performance of related institutions. The hope is that with BNN further internalizing its efforts and awareness in indexing that has been done often, then surely BNN will be better able to direct its steps with clear and clear measurable markings.

8.1.5. Addiction as a Basis for Intervention

If traced back to the deepest roots of the problems around, actually the biggest problem of narcotics is not drugs, or precursors, or cartels, or shot on sight policies. The source of all these drug misfortunes is actually an addiction. If only the consumption of marijuana, methamphetamine, or ecstasy did not cause addiction, then narcotics would not be a problem as complicated as it is today. If only drug users were not addicted and continued to buy the drug, surely there would not be narcotics "businessmen" like Escobar, El Chapo, Khun Sa, and Sam Gor. If addiction does not interfere with the cognitive and developmental functions of brain development, and therefore the addict can think clearly in his career as a good and productive citizen, then of course, the state does not have to bother about prohibiting and combating the use of narcotics. The frenzied

194. The basic biostatistics literature covers these issues technically. See, for example U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2012). Principles of Epidemiology in Public Health Practice: An Introduction to Applied Epidemiology and Biostatistics. Third Edition. SELF-STUDY Course SS1978

news about narcotics and the commotion about implementing complex anti-narcotics policies seem to have disguised the fact that addiction is the root cause of all these narcotics problems. The image below is our illustration of how addiction is at the center of the problem.

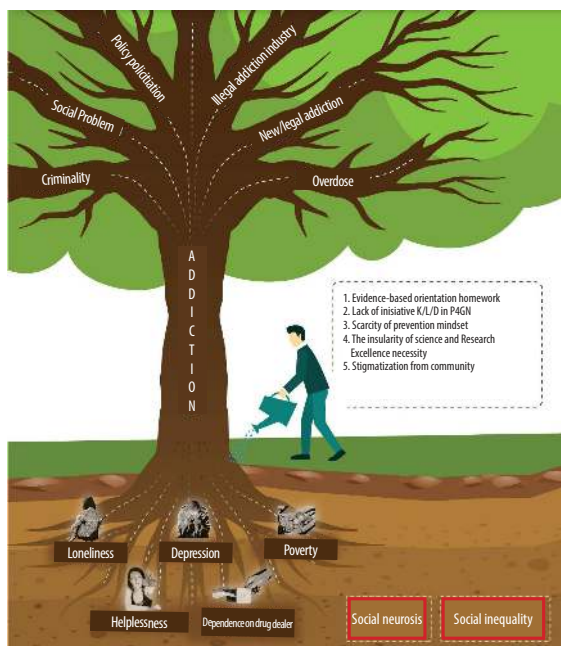


Figure 26. Tree allegory for understanding the centrality of addiction in a holistic analysis of narcotics situations.

This research believes that there will be no effective policy or study around narcotics if it does not go out and address addiction issues completely. Ignoring and not taking into account addiction as the root of the problem will make an intervention act ahistorical, not human-centered, not result-oriented, and its effectiveness is doubtful. This is where the problem arises: our view of addiction is problematic, partial, biased, if not completely wrong.

There are two facts that seem to be taboo in Indonesia in both public and even academic discussions about addiction. One of them is even a global taboo. First, addiction can be cured without treatment. The majority—yes, the majority—addicts can afford to heal on their own even without treatment or so-called Natural healing. This fact that is not contrary to popular belief uniquely has the support of a lot of scientific

research, which has even been published since 1983.¹⁹⁵ Neuroscientist Gene Heyman concluded, the median natural cure, or what he called ‘maturing out’ of this addiction, varies by substance: 6 years of cocaine, eight years of marijuana, 20 years of alcohol, and the longest is cigarettes, 42 years. Generally, addicts quit around their early 30s.¹⁹⁶ Rehabilitation of any method needs to be made by taking natural healing data seriously¹⁹⁷

A recent Australian study even found that in a non-treatment cohort followed for five years, 56% succeeded abstinence—for the ‘last month use’ indicator.¹⁹⁸ In fact, as far back as 2006, research has shown that there is no evidence that the 12-Step Method of Alcoholic Anonymous (AA) is better than no treatment method at all.¹⁹⁹ In fact, other studies show that the majority addicts who voluntarily join this program and have high self-motivation have already recovered from their addiction even before the 12-Step program they are participating in is complete.²⁰⁰

The second taboo is that abuse does not automatically become an addiction. All research published in neuroscience journals and psychology operates on the assumption that abuse does not automatically become an addiction. So their question is around how to explain (and prevent) first-time or intermittent abuse can develop into addiction.²⁰¹ Or, if formulated in the language of neuroscience, how dopamine effects from the excess ventral tegmentum area (VTA) in the ventral striatum can propagate to the dorsal striatum and eventually paralyze the function. Critical thinking

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195. Gene M. Heyman, “Quitting drugs: Quantitative and qualitative features,” *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology* 9 (2013): 29–59; Stanton Peele, “People Control Their Addictions: No matter how much the ‘chronic’ brain disease model of addiction indicates otherwise, we know that people can quit addictions – with special reference to harm reduction and mindfulness,” *Addictive Behaviors Reports* 4 (2016): 97–101; Sarah Breidenbach dan Samson Tse, “Exploratory Study: Awakening With Natural Recovery From Alcohol or Drug Addiction in Hong Kong,” *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 56, no. 5 (2016): 483–502.
 196. Heyman, “Quitting drugs: Quantitative and qualitative features.”
 197. Kenneth Anderson, “Why Addiction Treatment Needs to Be Informed by Natural Recovery Data,” *American Addiction Centers | National Rehabs Directory*, 4 November 2019, <https://www.rehabs.com/pro-talk/why-addiction-treatment-needs-to-be-informed-by-natural-recovery-data/>.
 198. Chloe Lanyon et al., “Five-year Changes in Methamphetamine Use, Dependence, and Remission in a Community-recruited Cohort,” *Journal of Addiction Medicine* 13, no. 2 (2019): 159–65.
 199. M Ferri et al., “Alcoholics Anonymous and other 12-step programmes for alcohol dependence,” *The Cochrane Collaboration*, no. 3 (2009): 10–12.
 200. Anne M. Fletcher, *Inside Rehab: The Surprising Truth About Addiction Treatment—and How to Get Help That Works* (Penguin Random House, 2013).
 201. Mauricio Alvarez-Monjaras et al., “A developmental model of addictions: integrating neurobiological and psychodynamic theories through the lens of attachment,” *Attachment and Human Development* 21, no. 6 (2019): 616–37.

in the orbitofrontal cortex (OFC) and executive function in the dorsolateral prefrontal cortex (dlPFC) while erasing the memory of a “drug-free world” in the hippocampus²⁰² In other words, using psychological language, for example, how to explain the act of initiating drug-taking, can develop into behavior Drug-seeking and ends up being compulsive drug addiction. In Indonesia, these questions are very faintly heard because it is generally seen that once abused, it is a oneway ticket to addiction and a bleak future. Stigma.

Summarizing these two taboos in the most common language: The first use does not necessarily encourage the second use, etc., and it does not necessarily develop into addiction; and when at worst possible, a person becomes addicted, he is likely enough to stop on its own without treatment program/“rehab.” It is said to be taboo because almost everyone never questioned these two things, as he immediately sentenced and stigmatized abusers. Instead of helping the abusers, this taboo actually has a negative impact on the healing subject, and in its accumulation, this taboo actually distances us from putting things in a more level headed manner.

In addition to these two things, there is one more thing related to the mindset that contributes to the misunderstanding about addiction, and in the end, it keeps us away from the right solution. That thing is a paradigm of ‘brain sickness’—addiction is considered a brain disease. The daily derivative of this paradigm is the assumption that is repeatedly reproduced, namely that ‘addicts cannot be cured, but can be recovered.’ In our reflection, this phrase is not only useless, but it even undermines the willpower or agency of the addicted subject to return to ‘normal.’ This view is interestingly in line with the so-called third wave of addiction research and treatment, which is beginning to be skeptical and antagonistic to this brain disease paradigm.

The first wave is the view of addiction as a moral issue: addicts are ‘evil’ people who must be severely punished. This paradigm was criticized by the second wave, which began to see the problem of addiction as a

202 Barry J. Everitt dan Trevor W. Robbins, “From the ventral to the dorsal striatum: Devolving views of their roles in drug addiction,” *Neuroscience and Biobehavioral Reviews* 37, no. 9 (2013): 1946–54; Feng Zhou et al., “Shifted balance of dorsal versus ventral striatal communication with frontal reward and regulatory regions in cannabis-dependent males,” *Human Brain Mapping* 39, no. 12 (2018): 5062–73; David M. Lipton, Ben J. Gonzales, dan Ami Citri, “Dorsal striatal circuits for habits, compulsions and addictions,” *Frontiers in Systems Neuroscience* 13, no. July (2019): 1–14.

medical problem, namely a brain disease. This paradigm is echoed by America United States through its National Institute of Drug Abuse [NIDA]. Since the last five years, the third wave has started rolling and has begun to divide the world of academics and health towards a pole away from the hegemony of 'brain sickness' in the US style. This second wave actually saved the addicts well from demonization and moralization and, in turn brought them closer to intervention health/medical care, and also to accommodate social security laws and regulations for a definite illness to receive state health services. However, massive industrialization and the intervention of large pharmaceutical companies in AS/NIDA have raised criticism that this addiction medicalization paradigm has been sabotaged by the interests of big pharma investors in the pharmaceutical sector.²⁰³ As a result, this has sparked academics and practitioners alike. World health to consolidate a counter to this brain disease paradigm: the offer is a neurodevelopmental-learning model paradigm.²⁰⁴

Long story short, addiction studies and interventions in the world have been polarized into two dominant poles: the brain disease model of addiction (BDMA) and the neurodevelopmental-learning model of addiction (NLMA). One of the NLMA's most definitive criticisms of BDMA is that changes that occur in the brain of an addict are not necessarily a 'disease.' Because: 1) the brain changes experienced by narcotics addicts also occur in those who are addicted to other non-substance things (internet, social media, even religious fundamentalism); 2) everyone experiences brain changes. In fact, the changes in the brain (in the cortex, in the executive functioning) that addicts experience happens in all infants up to the age of 20: synaptic pruning (see figure 27).

203. Emiliano Rodríguez Mega, "The psychiatrist at the centre of the opioid crisis," *Nature* 580, no. 7802 (2020): 178–81.

204. Nick Heather et al., "Challenging the brain disease model of addiction: European launch of the addiction theory network," *Addiction Research and Theory* 26, no. 4 (2018): 249–55.

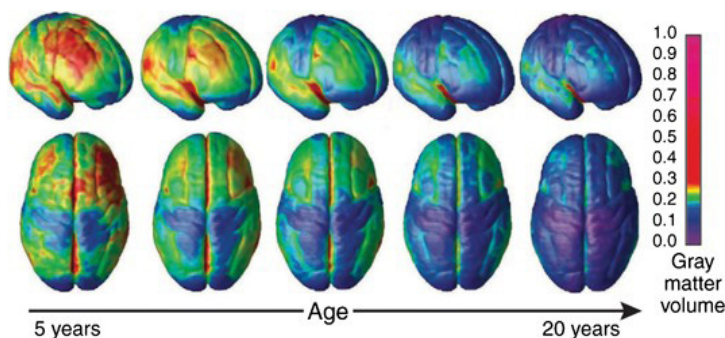


Figure 27. Brain changes (synaptic pruning) that result in thinning of the normal gray matter occur in all children to young adults.²⁰⁵

In short, synapse pruning is done to make the nerves more efficient as our actions and behaviors get longer, also growing/learning to be more efficient (not running here and there, not thinking as wildly as a child, etc.). The difference is, in addicts, synaptic pruning and the ‘efficiency’ of these actions and behaviors occur because the addict is already fixed (through repeated ‘learning’) on actions and thoughts to consume and take drugs only. In other words, in intervention against addiction, it is necessary not to carelessly call this a disease but rather to look at efforts to reverse the ‘learning addictive’ process narcotics experienced by these addicts.

Recent developments, the BDMA stronghold is increasingly cornered. In the famous open debate between BDMA pioneer Nora Volkow and NLMA pioneer Marc Lewis²⁰⁶ at the Universiteit von Amsterdam (UvA)²⁰⁷, the term ‘disease’ was completely untenable. Volkow finally admitted that the word ‘disease’ is actually ‘not to be taken to an extreme,’ but to refer to a condition with ‘negative effects’ (negative outcomes). Here, the argument becomes moderate and becomes easily refuted by Lewis. In reply, a habit with a negative impact does not have to be a bad habit.

205. Nitin Gogtay et al., “Dynamic mapping of human cortical development during childhood through early adulthood,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 101, no. 21 (2004): 8174–79; This research has been replicated many times, some of them : Gregory Z. Tau dan Bradley S. Peterson, “Normal development of brain circuits,” *Neuropsychopharmacology* 35, no. 1 (2010): 147–68, <https://doi.org/10.1038/npp.2009.115>; Sarah Jayne Blakemore, “Imaging brain development: The adolescent brain,” *NeuroImage* 61, no. 2 (2012): 397–406.

206. Lewis, *The Biology of Desire. Why Addiction Is Not A Disease*; Marc Lewis, “Brain Change in Addiction as Learning, Not Disease,” *New England Journal of Medicine* 379, no. 16 (2018): 1551–60, <https://doi.org/10.1056/nejmra1602872>.

207. “Volkow Lewis Debate 2018 - YouTube,” *SA Drug Policy Week*, 2 Maret 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=05PH-IY-ELs&ab_channel=SADrugPolicyWeek.

Extreme sports hobbies (parachuting, boxing, hunting, etc.) also have the potential for negative impacts. But of course, these extreme hobbies are not called ‘diseases’.

Unfortunately, in Indonesia, this debate is almost completely unheard. Not only at BNN but also at universities, especially in public spaces. BNN can take the initiative to start studying and adopting this NLMA model by inviting the pioneers directly: Marc Lewis from Canada and Alison Ritter from Australia. It is hoped that by mainstreaming this neurodevelopmental-learning model, efforts to reduce relapse rates can be more successful.

8.1.6. Evidence-based and Science-backed Strategic Policy Design

It is an open secret that the bureaucracy kills policy innovation with excessive administrative demands. World-referenced publications such as Forbes, Harvard Business Review, Industry Week, etc., have repeatedly warned world leaders to balance, if not eliminate, bureaucracy altogether.²⁰⁸ In fact, an American anthropologist who studied modern bureaucracy found that these bureaucrats secretly enjoyed their bureaucratic status quo even though they complained of a daily basis about the intricacies they had to go through on a daily basis.²⁰⁹ This dilemma is one that must be resolved by BNN if it is to take its commitment further towards integrating science and scientific evidence into its institutional business process cycle because only scientific research can save policy innovation from the vortex of the bureaucracy. The urgency, without policy innovation, which faces a transnational cartel as neat and strong as Sam Gor and solves the problem of narcotics abuse that never gets better, is arguably impossible.

208 Steve Dennig, “Why Bureaucracy Must Die,” Forbes, 7 November 2014, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/stevedennig/2014/11/07/why-bureaucracy-must-die/?sh=f1885435f7ff>; Ken Banta dan Jeff Karp, “Rescuing Scientific Innovation from Corporate Bureaucracy,” Harvard Business Review, 15 Mei 2020, <https://hbr.org/2020/05/rescuing-scientific-innovation-from-corporate-bureaucracy?ab=hero-subleft-1>; Josh Cable, “For Innovation to Flourish in Your Organization, ‘Bureaucracy Must Die,’” Industry Week, 25 Mei 2012, <https://www.industryweek.com/the-economy/article/21957483/for-innovation-to-flourish-in-your-organization-bureaucracy-must-die>; “How Bureaucracy Kills Creativity And Innovation At Big Companies,” Business Insider, 5 Januari 2015, <https://www.businessinsider.com.au/how-bureaucracy-kills-creativity-and-innovation-at-big-companies-2015-1>.

209 David Graeber, *The Utopia of Rules: On Technology, Stupidity, and the Secret Joys of Bureaucracy* (Melville House Books, 2015).

Regarding scientific research, which is the determinant of policy innovation, it is better to look briefly at the case referred to as “The European Paradox.” Around 1995, the European Union released a Green Paper on Innovation, which stated that there was a paradox in the development and dynamics of innovation in Europe as a whole, especially compared to the United States. At that time, the idea of academic research and research and development (R&D) working together to act as a motor of innovation began to slowly enter and become a mainstream idea in government. Paradoxically, however, is the fact that Europe employed more than twice as many researchers and nearly twice as much publication volume, yet its innovation rates were three times left behind that of the United States. (The level of innovation is measured by the number of funds allocated for academic research directed at R&D) In research in 2018, two researchers from the European Commission found that there was a mediator variable linking academic research to R&D/innovation research, namely excellence (research excellence).²¹⁰

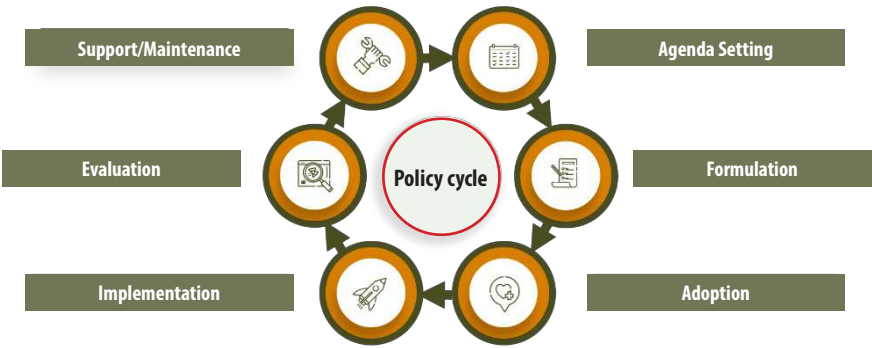
Their findings, which distinguished researchers from America and Europe at the time, was how the former placed great emphasis on dialog, debate, and mutual quotations from one another, while researchers in Europe tended to be limited in their interactions with one another, and even in other languages. As a result, American research tended to have a higher impact than Europe’s. Interestingly, it is the high-impact research that tends to have a great chance to be iterated into innovative R&D research. The excellence of research is thus seen to what extent it has an impact on other researches, and this can be seen from the citation network. The research from the European Commission is relevant in showing how superior research is crucial for innovation. The condition is that **a research has to be superior and novelty among its academic peers in the discipline, then it can be transformed into R & D research to create innovation, either public policy or industrial products.**

There are at least **four (4)** things that can be used as a reference for directing and developing towards policy research excellence, and all three are related to **situatedness**. The first is that it must be positioned

210. Koen Jonkers dan Frédérique Sachwald, “The dual impact of ‘excellent’ research on science and innovation: the case of Europe,” *Science and Public Policy* 45, no. 2 (1 April 2018): 159–74.

and able to take a position and novelty in a state-of-the-art **academic debate**. For this, dialog, reference, and constant monitoring of the development of discourse and debates in journals, books, and major publications of the discipline are imperative.²¹¹ Then, it must be situated and able to offer a novelty position **amidst the existing best policy practices**. Here, monitoring official archives and mass media coverages is important to be carried out systematically and continuously.

The third situatedness is within the organization/institution itself. Connecting the previous section on institutionalizing scientific research into the policy-making process through the rules and indicators/metrics of linkage and situatedness within organizations refers to integration into the organizational policy cycle. Using a commonly used model, the following schema shows how each point of the policy cycle can and should be accompanied by superior and scientific research. The adoption and formalization of this scheme into written rules is highly recommended.

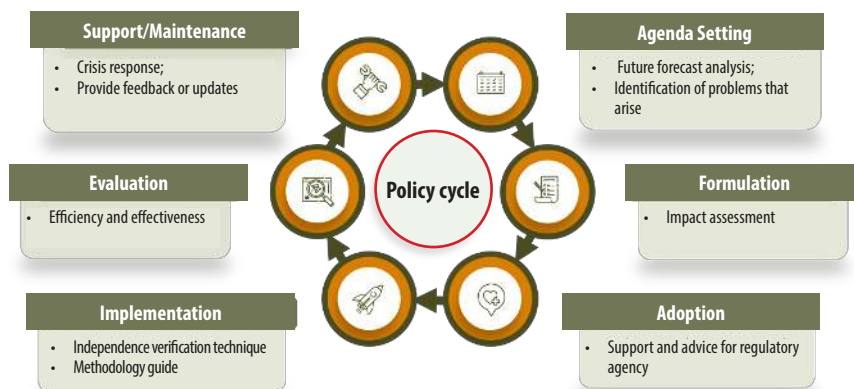


Scheme 6. Policy Cycle²¹²

211. For this point, it is also necessary to pay attention to the moral hazard to hack this academic situation by using despicable, dishonest and embarrassing ways such as unnatural circumcision, selfie citations, and various other ‘cobra effects’ in the world of academic publications, especially in Indonesia. See Rizqy Amelia Zein, “Efek kobra, dosen Indonesia terobsesi pada indeks Scopus dan praktik tercela menuju universitas kelas dunia,” The Conversation, 16 November 2018, <https://theconversation.com/efek-kobra-dosen-indonesia-terobsesi-pada-indeks-scopus-dan-praktik-tercela-menuju-universitas-kelas-dunia-105808>

212. Adapted from Sarah Connors, “GeoPolicy: Science and the policy cycle,” GeoLog, 14 November 2016, <https://blogs.egu.eu/geolog/2016/09/14/geopolitics-science-and-the-policy-cycle/>.

Integration of scientific research in the policy cycle



Scheme 7. Policy cycle integrated with scientific research.²¹³

The last is the situatedness of policy research **amid the community**. Leading research is necessary to be able to draw the implications of its study for solving problems and solving the problems experienced by the community in real terms. Engagement and dialog with the community in a democratic context are crucial here. At this point, science has a distinct role to play. In the context of a democratic society based on the supremacy of law, science offers a universal language to become the standard for rational dialog. Because with its scientific principles, science is open to investigation and correction. By developing this situatedness aspect, the BNN also consolidates active participation from the community to oversee the narcotics policies.

These are the four conditions that need to be adopted by BNN in its efforts to develop superior policy research internally. Four kinds of situatedness—academic state of the art, policy best-practices, policy-making process cycles, and community dynamics—that the main requirement of this excellent research is the prerequisite for producing research that is capable of safeguarding the policy innovation. Here, if it becomes clear that the dichotomy of academic research and policy research which is often reproduced on both sides (Ministrial/Institutional

213. Adapted from Sarah Connors, "GeoPolicy: Science and the policy cycle," GeoLog, 14 November 2016, <https://blogs.egu.eu/geology/2016/09/14/geopolity-science-and-the-policy-cycle/>.

researchers and academicians) is clearly counterproductive to innovative policy safeguarding. By understanding the significant continuity between academic research, R & D research, and policy innovation, in the future, BNN is expected to start developing all aspects of excellent policy research.

8.2. Strategic Recommendations

Facing the challenge of organized international crime in the form of illegal addiction business giants like Sam Gor, there is no other choice: it is not enough that Indonesia has to strengthen its own resilience and defense, but Indonesia needs alliances in the region to gather power and also respond to the challenges of the threats in an organized manner. This section will translate the theories of change that have been previously presented into recommendations that are strategic and macro in nature, not only in order to strengthen resilience and defense but also in order to build a solid anti-narcotics regime in Southeast Asia. The strategic and macro recommendations presented in this section are what can and should be done in the medium, even long term. There are eight points presented in this strategic recommendation section, which are divided into two major groups. The first two can be categorized as a grand strategy, and the next six are programs that can be strategic in the context of the two major strategies. The two grand strategies will provide an outward-oriented direction, while the next six deal with what can—and must—be done domestically in order to be brought abroad. This formation is designed according to the principles of Active Defense that have been outlined previously: strengthening domestic resilience and defense in order to succeed in the overseas prevention mission.

8.2.1. Informal Regionalization and Program Capitalization

The first recommendation proposed by this research actually comes from the idea that the policies and programs implemented by BNN are actually good. Of course, there are some points here and there that could be improved. However, in general, they are good and progressive. However, the later technical problems that held these programs hostage did not run smoothly: the majority is due to the limitations (intentional or not, consciously or not) of the officers and officials and then due to cost constraints. The intuitive solution, of course, is to strengthen oversight

and incentives on the one hand, and on the other, to increase the budget. The next problem that arises is how to amplify all of this, considering the limited resources in the country. The option that emerges later is to explore foreign possibilities..

The first is the **regionalization of P4GN**. Regionalization is meant to bring, frame, and orient P4GN programs (and BNN programs and policies) into the Southeast Asian regional outlook. The basic idea is that gathering support, strength, and existing modalities in the region is an important factor in being able to tackle the narcotics problem in the region, which in fact significantly affects the magnitude of the narcotics problem in the country. Regionalization is meant to **increase the constituency of the P4GN issue to become not only a national concern but also a regional concern**. This also means directing the framing of the narcotics issue in the region into the P4GN style, more specifically, into the Active Defense strategy style. A footnote here, in practice, when regionalizing this issue to the Southeast Asian regional level, the name of the P4GN is not necessarily retained; it can be replaced with another name that can represent the aspirations of other countries. However, what is crucial to be guarded is the principle, spirit, and enthusiasm, namely Active Defense.

There are four paths that can be taken in order to regionalize P4GN. However, it is important to emphasize first, the principles of the ASEAN Way and Asian values in diplomacy and international relations are important to always be upheld: upholding sovereignty rather than sanctions-based intervention; incremental cooperation rather than “big reform”;²¹³ departing from issues/initiatives that tend to be low politics, rather than going straight to high-politics; cultural-informal relations, rather than legal-formal; and instead of multilateralism, the path to be pursued is what has recently been referred to as ‘minilateralism’ (an informal forum between two or more countries).²¹⁵ By adhering to the principles of the ASEAN Way, these four paths can be considered:

214. Suisheng Zhao, “From Soft to Structured Regionalism: Building Regional Institutions in the Asia–Pacific,” *Journal of Global Policy and Governance* 2, no. 2 (5 November 2013): 145–66.

215. Vannarith Chheang, “Minilateralism in Southeast Asia: Facts, opportunities and risks,” in *Minilateralism in the Indo-Pacific: The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, Lancang-Mekong Cooperation Mechanism, and ASEAN*, ed. oleh Bhubhindar Singh dan Sarah Teo (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2020), 103–19.

1. Organizing regional-scale narcotics events in the country that invite all countries in the region. These events can be started from just a seminar on the challenges of drug crime in the region, or about the challenges of the prevalence of abuse among young people in the region, etc. The point is the scale of the area here.
2. BNN needs to be more active in commenting (talkative) on narcotics issues in the world, and especially in the region. Active comments are conveyed through media outlets that are also on a regional scale, such as The Straits Times, The Diplomat, the East Asia Forum, Nikkei Asia, Asia Times, etc. Comments can be conveyed through writings in the opinion column. Comments can also through holding press releases and conferences. Also, don't forget to always invite these international media to cover BNN programs in the context of P4GN. Regional and international exposures are the goals of this pathway.
3. Indonesian government delegations need to consistently bring and touch on the issue of narcotics and P4GN in the spirit of Active Defense in every international forum they attend. Either presidential forum, ministerial forum, or senior officers (SOM) meeting forum. This is to send a signal to the world that not only is Indonesia serious about tackling the narcotics problem, but also more so that Indonesia is ready to take the leadership role for this. (Thick note: leadership here should not be interpreted as chairmanship in a formal sense; we prefer to interpret this 'leadership' in Ki Hajar Dewantara's style—"*ing ngarso sung tulodo [example], ing madyo mbangun karso [enthusiasm]*".)
4. Always strive to initiate cooperation or joint activities on a regional scale starting with people-to-people (P-to-P), but must be guarded until it bears concrete government-to-government (G-to-G) cooperation. This means that in designing the program, an incremental structure (in stages) must be made: from community-based to government/minilateral. The strategic function of P-to-P here is as a gateway to G-to-G.

These four pathways will certainly require material and substance to be regionalized, either in the form of ideas or programs. These ideas and programs will be discussed in the form of six packages of ideas in the next section. However, to get here, the hope is that it can be seen what trajectories can be taken in order to increase the scale of the constituency of the narcotics issue in the P4GN system based on Active Defense to the regional level.

The second major strategy is to capitalize on the P4GN program in the form of a **narcotics bond**. Like state securities, narcotics bonds are investment instruments for the private sector to participate in government programs. However, different from other state securities, these narcotics bonds are specifically for collecting investment for programs related to narcotics countermeasures, namely the P4GN program and Active Defense prevention strategies. If this recommendation becomes a reality, one more modality for Indonesia's international leadership in the field of tackling the narcotics problem will increase because Indonesia will be recorded in history as the first country in the world to issue narcotics bonds.²¹⁶

P4GN's capitalization in the form of narcotic bonds is recommended as a solution to the problem, firstly funding, and secondly, monitoring. In terms of funding, it will be able to raise large amounts of funds from the private sector, not only domestically but also from abroad. This will certainly provide much greater budget flexibility than the quota (1.6 trillion) that BNN currently gets from the State Budget (APBN) and also provides alternative financing for regions that "have not found fiscal space" for the P4GN program in their regions. More than this, with capitalization, BNN is also actively increasing the scale of the constituency of the P4GN program not only as a national concern but also as a concern for the international community. Narcotics bonds are also a strategy to harness the power of private capital from some investors who are concerned with social issues and who are interested in developing their investment portfolios in social impact bonds (SIBs).

In terms of supervision, it also makes BNN easier to ensure the implementation of the P4GN program in ministries/institutions. The issuance of narcotics bonds also means that programs in P4GN funded from this investment fund must be measurable, not only their achievements but also their impact. A budget tagging mechanism, for example, will record and track every rupiah allocated from bonds to concrete programs. In addition, the obligation to provide impact reporting periodically—if not real-time—will force all P4GN program implementers to be more serious in

216. In market psychology, this will trigger market reactions, both local, regional, and even international (positive surprise). If delivery to the market can be carried out elegantly, then the positive surprise will immediately be converted into subscription

doing it with an outcome-oriented and even impact-oriented approach. So that the P4GN implementation measure can no longer be evaluated solely on the basis of the suitability of budget absorption and performance outcome. The professionalism demanded by the narcotics bond financing mechanism goes even further: namely, the achievements and impacts of these performance outcomes.

Just to provide a background, the narcotics bond proposed here is actually one of the many bonds classified as social bonds or social impact bonds (SIB). Other examples of SIB are, among others, green bonds, green sukuk, SDGs (sustainable development goals) bonds, and pandemic bonds. This SIB is said to be able to answer the “longings” of many investors for efforts to improve communities, communities, and even the planet. This type of investor is more concerned with rewards in the form of real impacts on the social changes of the bonds they fund. Indonesia itself already has a good precedent regarding the issuance of such SIB. For bonds and green sukuk, Indonesia has issued US\$2.5 billion and listed it on the Singapore Stock Exchange and NASDAQ. The result was a great success; in fact, they were oversubscribed up to 6.7 times larger (i.e., US\$16.66 billion).²¹⁷

Then in terms of supervision, SIB bonds like this always use a results-based payment model (payment by result). This means that a program financed is only one that is able to provide a measurable impact report, even monitored in real-time. For example, to capitalize on the rehabilitation program, it is not enough for the National Narcotics Board to provide output reports on what has been done. Rather, it is the achievement of how many relapse rates can be suppressed with the rehab program. In addition, to capitalize on research on community-based prevention, it is not enough that BNN only reports the number of FGDs and interviews that have been conducted, but how many intervention methods can be patented and how many articles produced are published in reputable indexed journals (even, global journals).

Even further, in “persuading” investors to invest, BNN must be able to develop a theory of change—in the form of storytelling—which

217. Pemerintah Terbitkan Sukuk Global US\$2,5 Miliar, Kelebihan Permintaan 6,7 Kali,” *Bisnis.com*, 17 Juni 2020, <https://market.bisnis.com/read/20200617/92/1254067/pemerintah-terbitkan-sukuk-global-us25-miliar-kelebihan-permintaan-67-kali..>

persuasively connects these achievements with the impact on the progress of narcotics control. For example, to what extent the success of rehab and scientific innovation has contributed to a reduction in prevalence, etc. Here, the indexes that have been developed by BNN will play a strategic function, especially if all of them can be integrated into one macro composite index. As a result, as a whole, the P4GN programs will be encouraged to be more scalable, professional, and transparent.

In its implementation efforts, narcotics bonds can take two optional ways:

1. First, it is established in a **separate bond framework** that is specifically defined in terms of use of proceeds, evaluation and selection, management of proceedings, and reporting—the four principles of bond issuance. This means that the Narcotics Bond needs a separate organization that initiates, develops, and manages the bond from pre-issuance to post-issuance. Special consultations are recommended to the Fiscal Policy Agency (BKF), Director General of Budget (DJA), and Director General of Financing and Risk Management (DJPPR) for initiation and budget tagging.

The potential difficulty at the global level is that there is no reference yet—in fact, the Narcotics Bond will become a reference for the world market. However, within the framework of the ICMA (the International Capital Market Association), Narcotics Bond can be categorized as a social bond. Another potential difficulty is the lack of external reviewers, both as Second Party Opinion (SPO) and Third Party Assurance (TPA) in pre- and post-issuance. However, as long as the ICMA social bond construction is used, this difficulty can potentially be answered. In fact, given the uniqueness of this bond, it can be assumed that external reviewers will actually offer themselves so that the assumption of a scarcity of external reviewers can be broken.

2. They are in the SDGs bond framework, which is currently being developed. Some of the reasons for this are that the name of BNN is mentioned in the *SDGs Indicator Metadata* ²¹⁶ for Pillar of

218. Public Consultation on Metadata Design for SDGs Indicators Edition II," Ministry of National Development Planning - Bappenas, 14 Agustus 2020, <http://sdgs.bappenas.go.id/peta-jalan-tpb-sdgs-indonesia-dan-konsultasi-publik-rancangan-metadata-edisi-ii/>.

Legal Development and Governance in indicator “16.3.2.(a): The proportion of prisoners who exceed the period of detention to the total number of detainees.” The BNN is referred to as the ‘data source’ here. Then, more nosedive and substantial than the first reason is the control of narcotics abuse, including the issue that is the target of the SDGs (SDGs Indicator Metadata for Social Development Pillars).

“Target 3.5. Strengthen the prevention and treatment of substance abuse, including narcotics abuse and harmful alcohol use.

- *Indicator 3.5.1.(a). Number of narcotics, alcohol, psychotropic, and additive substance abusers receiving medical rehabilitation services.*
- *Indicator 3.5.1.(b). Number of those accessing post-rehabilitation services “*

The technical implication should P4GN financing is within the SDGs Bond framework is that P4GN projects and programs must be registered in SDGs projects and programs as reported in the publication of Indonesia’s Sustainable Development Projects 2019-2030.²¹⁹ This means that P4GN first needs to compile a list of eligible projects and programs with reference to the publication above. Interestingly, with this mechanism, the pressing monitoring will increase. Apart from political, social, and market channels, there is also additional technocratic supervision because P4GN is in the SDGs technocratic system in its own character. Organizationally, intensive consultation with the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) and the Ministry of Finance (particularly the three echelon units mentioned above) is urgently needed.

8.2.2. Concentric Circle of Indonesian Anti-Narcotics Diplomacy

The strategic advice that we propose to initiate anti-narcotics diplomacy is to first establish a concentric circle of diplomacy. This will make it easier for BNN to perform and measure the prioritization of focus, attention, resources, and risks.

219. Ministry of national planning and development, Indonesia’s Sustainable Development Projects 2019-2030, 2020.

1. The first concentric circles are the Southeast Asian countries that have direct borders with Indonesia, particularly in West Indonesia. Among others: **Malaysia and Singapore**. With these two countries, Indonesia shares a national interest in preventing inflows from the Golden Triangle region, particularly Myanmar. For countries in this concentric circle, diplomatic missions are more emphasized on sharing information, both **intelligence**, and programs related to prevention and **rehabilitation**. To further increase trust, BNN can also initiate more cultural cooperation: our main proposal is cooperation in the field of **joint research** by cooperating with communities/ universities from both sides of the country. In fact, it would be much better if it was done together with the three countries at once.

A research idea that can be explored is to build a **prevalence database in the area**. This idea is actually the basis of complaints from UNODC and RAND,²²⁰ namely that there is a lack of credible and cross-border data in Southeast Asia. Another think tank from Oxford also regretted the lack of forensic capacity in Southeast Asian countries.²²¹ Of course, the development of this database is not in any way to please these three large organizations. However, all three have important points for our common attention. With this data, not only can policies become more data-driven and evidence-based. More importantly, it can be a score for Indonesia's diplomacy to build an anti-narcotics regime in the region. Outside the region—in the presence of UNODC and RAND, for example—the BNN initiative will be accepted as a signal that Indonesia has started to actively take a leadership role in the area of non-traditional security in the region particularly in the matter of narcotics.

2. **The second concentric circle** is the Golden Triangle countries, namely **Thailand, Laos, and Myanmar**. The diplomatic strategy for these countries should include an emphasis on developing **alternative developments** in rural communities in the producing areas, particularly in border areas on the Mekong river. The alternatives in question

220. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), *Synthetic Drugs in East and Southeast Asia. Latest developments and challenges*; Pardo, Kilmer, dan Huang, "Contemporary Asian Drug Policy: Insights and Opportunities for Change."

221. John Wojcik, "Southeast Asia has a synthetic drug problem, China has key stake in fixing it," *Oxford Political Review*, 15 Agustus 2020, http://oxfordpoliticalreview.com/2020/08/15/southeast-asia-has-a-synthetic-drug-problem-china-has-key-stake-in-fixing-it/#_ftn5.

are, of course, those that are beyond dependence on the narcotics business and which are oriented towards improving the livelihoods that have been damaged by the narcotics business and industry. For this, BNN needs to maximize track two (i.e., non-government) diplomacy, particularly with, for example, startup businesses, NGOs, religious institutions, and also universities (within the framework of Community Service). Also, to expedite this, close collaboration with our permanent representatives (PTRI) in these countries needs to be increased because it is their main duty to become the main facilitator of this collaboration.

At the macro level, these two lines of cooperation—alternative development and livelihood improvement—need to be seen as “entry points” to other vital collaborations, including, for example, intelligence sharing and joint training for law enforcers in the narcotics sector. Again, collaboration in the field of research can also be used to guard this collaboration, as well as a vehicle to start sharing the field information before moving on to sensitive information.

3. **The third concentric circle is China.** Indonesia needs to increase anti-narcotics cooperation with China, especially in order to stem the precursors of the Bamboo Curtain country. Here, Indonesia’s success in consolidating the support of ASEAN countries to put pressure on the Chinese government is important. As in the previous section, we have described how China was able to “break” the unity that was formed among ASEAN countries. China did this with a bilateral and informal diplomacy model following the “Asian ways”—the diplomatic style which was also used by Southeast Asian countries. **Consolidating the same diplomatic stance among Southeast Asian leaders** is the first and foremost modality that Indonesia—and all Southeast Asian countries—have in order to successfully carry out anti-narcotics diplomacy with China. No other way. The first achievement of Indonesia’s diplomatic leadership, then, is this unity.

With Indonesia successfully demonstrating its diplomatic leadership and with the unity of Southeast Asian countries, we can enter into a discussion about the second diplomatic achievement. We see that what is arguably the best and strongest model of cooperation with

China regarding this anti-narcotics policy is with Australia. In the Australian Strategic Policy Institute's report, the relationship between the two countries is described as very close.²²² Its proximity has even resulted in the acceptance of at least six AFP (Australian Police) liaison officers to stay in China. AFP and China have also established joint operations together at least 68 times since 2015, namely Task Force Blaze, and even this is still being extended to this day.²²³ In other words, we can imagine that the achievement of a diplomatic mission with China **is the placement of liaison officers to live and operate** there. In fact, the highest achievement was when the official not only represented his country but also represented ASEAN countries.

4. **The fourth concentric circles** are Australia and New Zealand, particularly in their position as destination countries (see figure below). The position of the two countries as destination countries is none other than because of their retail prices, which are arguably among the highest (see chart below). Under these circumstances, the two countries have a very big interest in the success of the preventive efforts carried out by Indonesia and countries that are geographically closer to the "production heart" in Myanmar, and therefore become transit countries. The diplomacy strategy recommended, ironically, is precisely by **capitalizing this transit position into diplomatic capital** to deal with Australia and New Zealand. The diplomatic program that we propose is to invite and involve both of them to actively participate in, first of all, **funding** anti-narcotics programs initiated by Indonesia for the region, then **sharing** experiences in handling narcotics domestically and internationally, and ultimately supporting (even **brokering**) our efforts in the region to force China to seriously stem the circulation of precursors in and through its BRI corridors in Myanmar..²²⁴

222. Simon Norton, Australia–China law enforcement cooperation (Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2019).

223. "Australia re-signs landmark deal with China," Australian Federal Police, 13 Desember 2018, <https://www.afp.gov.au/news-media/media-releases/australia-re-signs-landmark-deal-china>.

224. The idea of "broker" or diplomatic broker is not foreign to diplomacy studies. It has existed since the nation-state itself was born, and has itself become the basis of alliance politics. See Selim Can Sazak, "Bad influence: social networks, elite brokerage, and the construction of alliances," *European Journal of International Relations* 26, no. 1_suppl (2020): 64–90; Yolanda Kemp Spies, "Third-Party Diplomacy: The Diplomacy of Peace and Intercession," in *Global South Perspectives on Diplomacy* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 109–52.

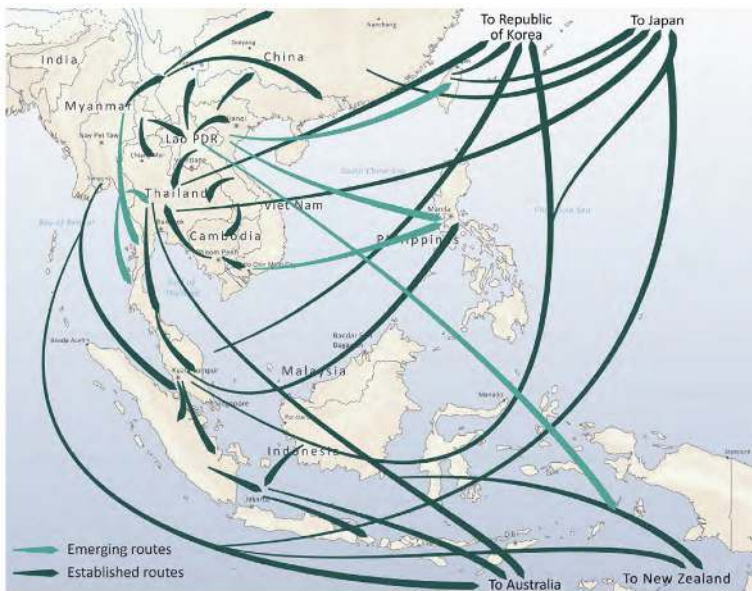
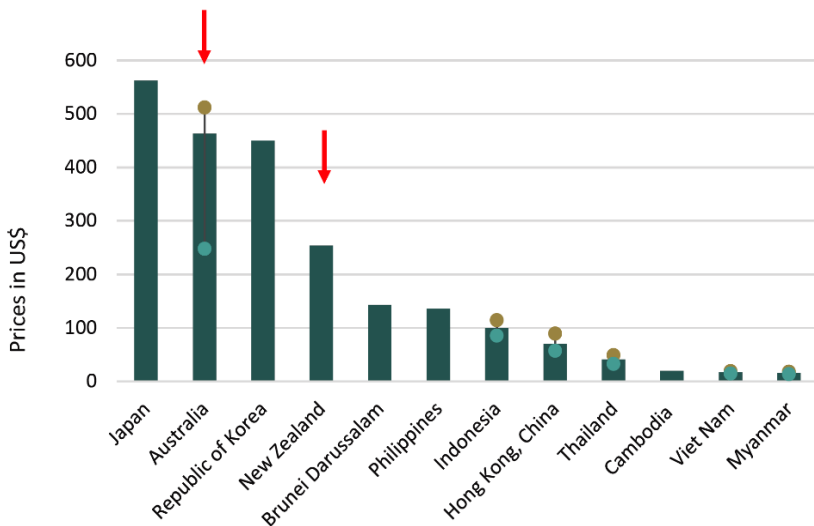


Figure 28. Distribution routes of crystal methamphetamine in East and Southeast Asia in 2019.²²⁵



Graph 15. Retail price of crystal methamphetamine (ice).²²⁶

225. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), Synthetic Drugs in East and Southeast Asia. Latest developments and challenges.

226. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). Red Arrow Tanda panah show the charts for Australia and New Zealand

Other programs can be added, but the principle of functionalism that needs to be held tightly from cooperation in the framework of diplomacy is much more important cooperation which is small and with a small scope but works, rather than broad and ambitious but does not work. Also, the principle of regional cooperation must really pay attention to Asian values, especially the ASEAN Way, which emphasizes cultural and low-political cooperation as a bridge for collaborations that are more high-political and security-centric in nature. This bridge will manifest what has been “ingrained” in ASEAN diplomacy: namely confidence-building measures (steps to build mutual trust).²²⁷

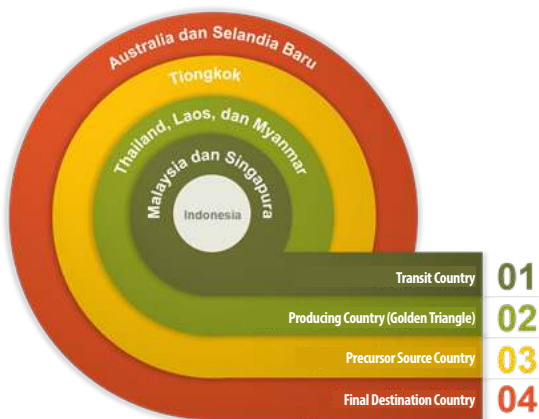


Figure 29. Illustration of the concentric circle of diplomacy Indonesian anti-narcotics

Derivative Policies and Programs

After outlining the concentric circle of Indonesia’s anti-narcotics diplomacy, the next thing to note is what programs can be done to fill the diplomatic days and who can and should do it. To this end, we see opportunities in implementing a systemic framework of **multitrack diplomacy**.

227 . Shaun Narine, “Forty years of ASEAN: A historical review,” Pacific Review 21, no. 4 (2008): 411–29; Nesadurai, “ASEAN during the life of The Pacific Review: a balance sheet on regional governance and community building”; Atena S Feraru, “ASEAN Decision-Making Process: Before and after the ASEAN Charter,” Asian Development Policy Review 4, no. 1 (2016): 26–41.

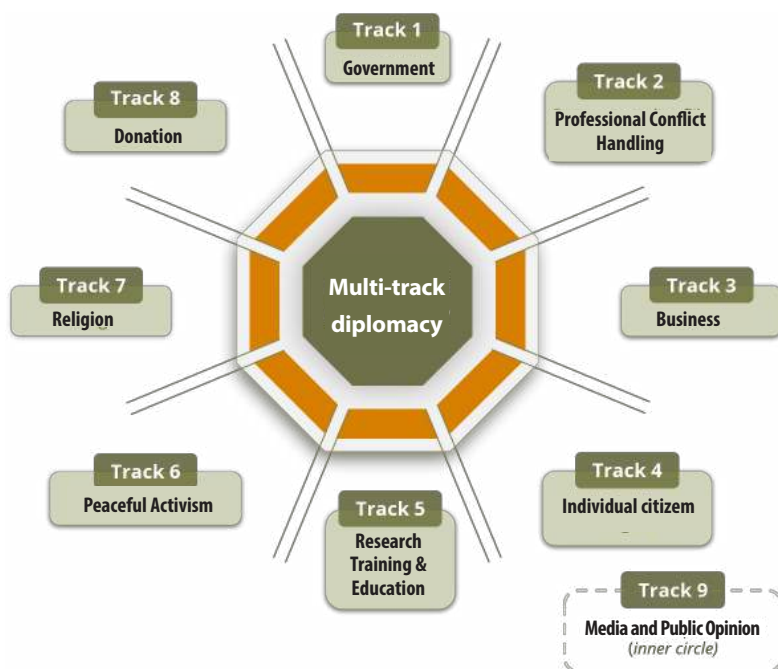


Figure 30. Multitrack Diplomacy Diagram

Multitrack diplomacy is a diplomacy concept proposed by two veteran United States diplomats, Louise Diamond and John McDonald, since 1996. This model of diplomacy is considered relevant and successful, especially in the context of post-Cold War and globalization, which, *nota bene*, has begun to elevate the role of non-state actors in international relations. The basic idea of this diplomacy is that, in essence, there are two pathways that a nation can take to fight for its interests in the international world: the first route is the state, and the second route is non-state actors. In the discussion of diplomacy studies, the term ‘track two’ includes many actors. So that in the end, the two diplomats standardized it in this nine-track diplomacy model or multitrack diplomacy (See figure 30).

In the context of international relations in the Southeast Asia region, this diplomacy has had many positive results, such as in the South China Sea and in the ASEAN Regional Forum.²²⁸ In the security sector,

228. Alica Kizeková, “Multitrack Diplomatic Approaches to Border and Territorial Disputes in Southeast Asia and Soft Balancing,” in *Unresolved Border, Land and Maritime Disputes in Southeast Asia*, ed. oleh Alfred Gerstl dan Mária Strašáková (Brill, 2017), 143–67; Shixin Zhou, “Think Tanks and Preventive Diplomacy in ASEAN Regional Forum,” in *Case Studies on Preventive Diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific*, ed. oleh Yanjun Guo dan Lin Wu (World Scientific, 2020), 245–67.

the research path and think/academic tank (fifth track), for example, have proven to facilitate security cohesiveness between countries, for example, in terms of reconciling Vietnam and the Philippines in the South China Sea,²²⁹ and even in the formation of the ASEAN Community itself.²³⁰ Indonesia itself has also used this a lot through community leaders (track four) and religious institutions (track seven), for example, in the case of peace in Southern Thailand and the release of the Abu Sayyaf detained vessel crew. This is because the principle of multitrack diplomacy is in line with the ASEAN Way in that it builds small, non-state, non-formal, and cultural collaborations as a vehicle for building trust and friendship (amity)²³¹ to then spill over to other collaborations which are higher-profile, high-politics, and security-sensitive.

In carrying out the diplomacy for the development of the anti-narcotics regime, BNN can do several things, either by itself or in collaboration with related Ministries / Institutions and the community. In essence, these are strategic and tactical steps for the success of the diplomatic mission to build an anti-narcotics regime in the region. To guide, some of our recommended milestones for success are:

1. Implement a system of experts and well-known people in the field of anti-narcotics in the region (fourth track). This system is widely used, for example, the Eminent Persons Group (EPG), which led to the ASEAN Charter (2007). In fact, a kind of consensus was formed among regional researchers that without such a system, almost no political economy and security policies in the Asia Pacific region could really have a meaning: starting from the Expert and Eminent Persons ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF-EEPs),²³² Ad-hoc High-Level Experts Group on Immigration Matters for immigration issues,²³³ Executives' Meeting of East Asia Pacific (EMEAP) to harmonize central bank

229. I A Satyawan, "The diplomacy of scientific research in the South China Sea: the case of joint oceanographic marine scientific research expedition between Vietnam and the Philippines," IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science 129 (Maret 2018): 012024.

230. Diane Stone, "The ASEAN-ISIS Network: Interpretive Communities, Informal Diplomacy and Discourses of Region," *Minerva* 49, no. 2 (2011): 241–62.

231. It should also be remembered that ASEAN even had an agreement called the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in 1976, again in the context of increasing confidence-building measures.

232. Chung In Moon dan Chae Kwang You, "The ASEAN regional forum's experts and eminent persons group: Achievements, limitations, prospects," *Global Governance* 23, no. 3 (2017): 363–81.

233. Ralf Emmers, Beth Greener-Barcham, dan Nicholas Thomas, "Institutional Arrangements to Counter Human Trafficking in the Asia Pacific," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 28, no. 3 (2006): 490–511.

policies,²³⁴ and even the formation of the ASEAN Community itself.²³⁵ In short, what is going to be proposed is that Indonesia initiates a forum filled with experts in the field of interdisciplinary narcotics policy and research who have a reputation and are respected in the region to function as a means of gluing cohesiveness of policymakers and law enforcers in the field of illicit drugs.

2. **Initiating the issue of narcotics at and through Indonesian embassies and consulates** in neighboring countries, particularly in Southeast Asia and China. By starting simple daily activities such as campaigns, media content (social and website), speeches from diplomatic/state events, to facilitating dialog and cooperation in the form of joint programs and projects, the countries will begin to receive diplomatic signals on Indonesia's anti-narcotics. For the part of the cooperation, of course, it should be spearheaded by BNN, so that our representatives only facilitate it.
3. **Induce P4GN and Active Defense matters on as many Indonesian citizens as possible who live in countries that are the destination** of anti-narcotics diplomacy. Of course, it's not only for diplomats who have experience. But also, for example, students, trade representatives, scientists, civil society, and so on. Especially for diplomats, BNN can work with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (can be the Director General for Asia Pacific and Africa as well as the School of Foreign Education) to, at a minimum, include the curriculum and discourse on anti-narcotics policy/diplomacy launched by BNN, and maximally make the standard of narcotics knowledge a prerequisite for placement (posting) to the country.
4. **Initiating real cross-sector/and cross-track cooperation** on narcotics and starting from collaborations that may seem small and trivial (student exchanges, researcher/lecturer exchanges, agricultural expert exchanges, joint seminars, etc.). The point to be made here is emphasized not on the magnitude of the cooperation but on the

234. Kanishka Jayasuriya, "Regulatory Regionalism, Political Projects, and State Transformation in the Asia-Pacific," *Asian Politics & Policy* 7, no. 4 (October 2015): 517–29; Helen E.S. Nesadurai, "Economic surveillance as a new mode of regional governance: contested knowledge and the politics of risk management in East Asia," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 63, no. 3 (September 2009): 361–75.

235. Stone, "The ASEAN-ISIS Network: Interpretive Communities, Informal Diplomacy and Discourses of Region." 240. Tim Riset Active Defense BNN-UBJ, "Jakarta - Wawancara Deputy Huker BNN (131120)," 2020.

performative effect, namely the mere fact that there is cooperation. In the logic of functionalism, this kind of cooperation will first of all “train” trust among state leaders and in turn, have the opportunity to expand to other more significant and even sensitive collaborations.

Moment and Urgency

Anti-narcotics diplomacy recommendations based on leadership-oriented regime development can actually provide additional ammunition for BNN representatives in speaking at international forums such as INCB, ASOD, DAINAP, etc. As the Deputy for Law and Cooperation of BNN²³⁶ and the Head of the Center of Research Data and Information (Puslitdatin) complained, Indonesia/BNN are often asked to speak, but in fact, this is just an arena to question controversial Indonesian policies (such as the death penalty and shooting orders) in public. In order to dispel these charges, the two BNN officials used the argument for national sovereignty. However, there was dissatisfaction that was told to us the researchers about the “stock of arguments” for answering questions like this, “so that the sovereignty is not always the answer,” said the Head of Puslitdatin in a speech in the research team meeting.

From the perspective of the study of diplomacy and international relations, it is true that the argument of sovereignty cannot be said to be an argument in its true sense. In a sense, arguing for sovereignty is the same as saying that the sun rises from the East. In addition, he also tended to give a non-diplomatic impression when conveyed in a dispute, and instead put up a barrier that actually further increased the distance to arrive at a diplomatic consensus.²³⁷ Moreover, in fact, as many have observed, arguments for sovereignty were almost invariably articulated by small states (or aspiring states), who were at a “lower leeway,” who were concerned about their international position, and who sought to dramatically rally endorsement.²³⁸ Indonesia, as a major country in the

236. Tim Riset Active Defense BNN-UBJ, “Jakarta - Wawancara Deputy Huker BNN (131120),” 2020.

237. Rebecca Adler-Nissen, “Just greasing the wheels? Mediating difference or the evasion of power and responsibility in diplomacy,” *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 10, no. 1 (2015): 22–28.

238. Ryan K. Beasley dan Juliet Kaarbo, “Casting for a sovereign role: Socialising an aspirant state in the Scottish independence referendum,” *European Journal of International Relations* 24, no. 1 (2018): 8–32; Gözüm Visoka, “Metis diplomacy: The everyday politics of becoming a sovereign state,” *Cooperation and Conflict* 54, no. 2 (2019): 167–90; Jane K. Cowan, “Who’s Afraid of Violent Language? Honour, sovereignty and claims- making in the League of Nations,” *Anthropological Theory* 3, no. 3 (2003): 271–91.

region, needs to anticipate impressions and signals that are prone to be misunderstood by other countries when we assert sovereignty on the diplomatic stage. Therefore, the diplomatic speech stage needs to be taken seriously; the arguments presented need to be truly persuasive, diplomatic, and—as we recommend—demonstrate clout of leadership authority. Because, in essence, the diplomatic speech itself is a strategy of power title in international relations.²³⁹

Here, we consider the meaning of diplomacy from our strategic recommendation from the matter of regional leadership and the establishment of the anti-narcotic regime, in terms of Indonesia with its ideas and concept to be offered to and for the region, where the ideas need to be resonated with authority in international forums. The ideas that are presented in the next part are considered as “argument ammunition” ready to be offered or even to be made into rhetorics in the international community. Here, the argument of sovereignty can be emphasized as the ultimate idea because it is at that moment the argument’s rhetorics can be maximized to resonate with authority and leadership.

Legal Basis and Institutionalization

In determining the who and the who’s who in terms of the diplomatic strategy implementation, it must be clearly elucidated that diplomacy is not synonymous with cooperation, and (international) cooperation is not always diplomatic. In its broadest sense, diplomacy is a tool to achieve national interest in the international dynamics where the implementation of which is in line with foreign policy. Cooperation is one of many forms of diplomatic manifestation, even though it is obvious that one of the indications of success in diplomacy is the establishment of international cooperation. The point here is that the cooperation programs need to be made in line with the diplomatic horizon of Indonesia specifically and the international world in general. In other words, BNN anti-narcotics diplomacy needs to be in line with the Indonesian diplomatic infrastructure and apparatus: from the ministry level (not limited to Ministry of Foreign Affairs), permanent representatives, and all ambassadors, consulate, and diplomats.

239. Craig Hayden, “Scope, mechanism, and outcome: Arguing soft power in the context of public diplomacy,” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 20, no. 2 (2017): 331–57.

In Presidential Instruction 2/2020 regarding RAN P4GN 2020-2024, the Foreign Affairs Ministry is instructed (first on the list) to disseminate the information related to P4GN across the world. This opportunity can be utilized by BNN to strengthen relations between institutions and to synergize the anti-narcotics diplomacy strategy into Indonesia's major diplomatic strategy in the region. If necessary, BNN can invite the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to bind itself in a memorandum of understanding (MoU) which regulates cooperation on anti-narcotics campaign content in PTRIs in the region, about induction of the spirit of P4GN / narcotics among diplomats, about connecting BNN activities to abroad, etc.

In the next section, some program idea recommendations are described, and they can be used as an ideal modality in performing diplomacy. The ideas of this program will later play a strategic diplomatic role as the norm in the regional grand strategy to combat the threat of narcotics in the region.

8.2.3. Idea Package 1: Narcotics Certification with the Corporate University Model

To encourage the existing BNN Professional Certification Bodies (LSP) towards an international narcotics certification program with a corporate university model. This certification covers all fields of work related to narcotics matters, from bureaucracy administration, program management, campaign design, public relations, counseling, psychologists, assistants, programmers, researchers, as well as security officers, in the community, at sea, at the border, and even law enforcers, prosecutors, judges, diplomats, and so on. The basic idea is that Indonesia initiates an increase in the quality of human capital in the region while including its citizens in the program. With the BNN Corporate University model, the certification program can be designed in a more professional, accountable, and elegant manner.

8.2.4. Idea Package 2: Policy Research Excellence

To encourage the INARCELL (International Anti-Narcotics Center for Excellence) initiative that has been carried out by BNN to become

the first epistemic community in Southeast Asia that specifically deals with narcotics issues. The work programs can be carried out in line with BNN Corporate University, but the basic idea is that INARCELL to become a Center for Policy Research Excellence in which academics, experts, researchers can gather, and together with the strategic policymakers in the region to conduct joint studies and dissemination to discuss the current challenges in the narcotics field. INARCELL, in its iteration, could become a research funding center (such as the National Institute on Drug Abuse [NIDA] in the United States) that specifically examines Southeast Asia. It is important to mention here that NIDA finances up to 90% of research on addiction in the world - and one of the conditions is to be published in the world's top journals.²⁴⁰ As reported by the Nature journal, the total funds allocated in 2020 alone are up to USD \$ 1.3 billion.²⁴¹

Funders
related to your search Reset indicators

Publications | Citations | Citations (Mean)
Publication Mean Change

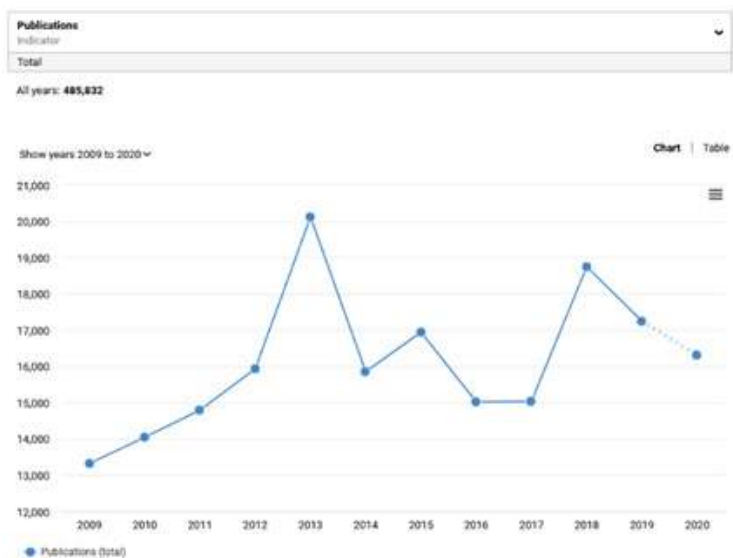
Organization <small>(Country)</small>	# Publications	Citations	Citations (Mean)
National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) <small>United States</small>	4,228	127,692	30.19
National Center for Advancing Translational Sciences... <small>United States</small>	1,538	34,840	28.02
National Natural Science Foundation of China (NSFC) <small>China</small>	1,399	19,919	18.99
National Cancer Institute (NCI) <small>United States</small>	1,172	31,907	44.08
National Institute of Diabetes and Digestive and Kidn... <small>United States</small>	982	46,182	47.08
National Institute On Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (... <small>United States</small>	969	28,969	34.13
European Commission (EC) <small>Belgium</small>	873	26,627	30.48
National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) <small>United States</small>	840	32,782	39.03
Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR) <small>Canada</small>	599	19,288	27.52
National Institute of General Medical Sciences (NIGM... <small>United States</small>	683	22,933	33.61

Table 8. List of Top 10 largest lenders in the world for research around addiction

240. Kathleen Phalen Tomaselli, “A Fix Special Report—The Maddening State of Addiction Research Funding,” *The Fix: addiction and recovery*, straight up, 5 Juni 2014, <https://www.thefix.com/content/fix- special-report-maddening-state-addiction-research-funding?page=all>.

241.. Emiliano Rodríguez Mega, “The psychiatrist at the centre of the opioid crisis,” *Nature* 580, no. 7802 (2020): 178–81.

The other function of INARCELL for BNN is also as a platform for processing and reaping the results of this vast amount of research. Research on addiction that already exists today is abundant. In 2020 alone, research on ‘narcotics’ has reached 16,000 publications (see table). To be able to keep up with the latest scientific developments, BNN needs to be able to reap the benefits of all of this. It is necessary to initiate a platform to accommodate (repositories), to continuously update digests/ brief literature reviews to help update the insights of BNN devices with the latest developments.



Graph 16. Number of research publications with the keyword “narcotics” as indexed on server dimensions.ai (further development from Google Scholar)

This proposal can be carried out with the BNN Corporate University. However, the basic idea is that INARCELL becomes a Center for Policy Research Excellence in which academics, experts, researchers gather, and also involves strategic policymakers in the region to conduct joint studies and dissemination to discuss and discuss the latest challenges in the narcotics sector.

8.2.5. Idea Package 3: Regional Data-driven Interdiction

Data-Driven Regional Interdiction Platform initiatives. This program is achievable only when there is a strong mutual trust among

countries in the region. The basic idea is to initiate a database platform and visual dashboard that can be accessed by all narcotics authorities in the region as the main source of reference for coordinating actions. As a step, countries need to agree on various kinds of meta-data to share, access, and witness in real-time. Then each assigned one of the units to oversee the filling and updating of the data. One of the datasets that can be started is the formation of Prevalence Data in the area first, before propagating to other data that is more sensitive.

8.26. Idea Package 4: Post-Sentencing Support

Formulation of post-sentence (correctional and rehabilitation) programs together at the regional level. Even though the implementation is in respective countries, the formulation and reporting are carried out at the regional level. This post-sentence program can be a signatory program that glues countries in the region together because of their character, which tends to be people-centered and low-politics. This idea, on the one hand, addresses the need for post-rehab and post-containment programs, and on the other hand, will be incremental (gradual from Small) to consolidate the power of countries in Asia Southeast

These post-sentence programs need to emphasize efforts to provide and amplify social capital/recovery capital: “drug treatment programs; Non-drug-using family and friends; Religious/spiritual groups; Workplace networks, and social clubs/activities”²⁴⁰ Both post-rehab and post-confinement, BNN must think about that. Unfortunately, during the field visit, it was said at Lido that it was beyond their responsibility. Another attempt is to provide life skills training; however, because it is still new, there are no results to be used as a benchmark for evaluation. Even so, capital problems are still often encountered. Even for people who have life skills, if they don't have the capital to start their own business, then they will inevitably have to work for someone else. This is where the problem arises: often, these former abusers are difficult to accept to work or even just to live in the neighborhood.

240. Miriam Boeri et al., “‘I don’t know what fun is’: examining the intersection of social capital, social networks, and social recovery,” *Drugs and Alcohol Today* 16, no. 1 (2016): 95–105.

Against this, we propose a cooperative-based collective economic strategy. Cooperatives are considered suitable because they consolidate people with relatively the same background into one product group. This is to respond to reality (bitter) and inevitable that until now, the main difficulty for these ex-prisons and ex-rehab to be able to return to society (reintegration) is precisely the stigma of the community itself, which applies a system of discrimination, prejudice, and even rejection. Of course, this is something that has to be solved as well. But for the short term, while efforts destigmatization is intensified, the daily economic defense of these exes is crucial to prioritize. This ex-prison and ex-rehab community-based collective economic strategy can be a solution.

Ministry of Manpower, Ministry of Villages, Acceleration Development Backward Regions, and Transmigration, and the Ministry of Cooperatives Small and Medium Enterprises can cooperate together to co-design this program. With the Ministry of Manpower, work skills training is carried out. Meanwhile, with the Ministry of Villages, Acceleration Development Backward Regions, and Transmigration and the Cooperatives Small and Medium Enterprises, funds for initial joint venture capital can be disbursed. This is done in both rural and urban areas. Business management assistance needs to be carried out. That is why BNN needs to collaborate with the relevant ministries that are indeed more capable—indeed, in fact—for this.

8.2.7. Idea Package 5: Consolidation of National Rehabilitation Strategic Achievements

There have been many complaints about the arrangement for drug rehabilitation which is divided between three national-scale government agencies: The Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Health, and the BNN. This arrangement is undoubtedly a priority, especially in the revised Narcotics Law, which is currently being discussed. However, apart from the institutional arrangement issues, we believe that the arrangement of the rehabilitation program content is equally important. The variety of rehab centers with different parent groups (in the three institutions) has an impact on the variety of methods used

However, it is unfortunate that despite the variety of methods, one commonality is almost unanimously recognized: the high relapse rate. (It

should also be noted that the term “high” here refers more to estimation because indeed we have failed to find a clear standard measure against which to measure this relapse rate.) So it is urgent for rehabilitation activists and administrators to work together to reduce this relapse rate to its lowest point, even to zero.

If it is too difficult to uniform the rehabilitation method - as such doubt has been addressed by many of our informants - then what the government can do, through the National Narcotics Agency, is to determine a mutually agreed scale of rehabilitation success measures, and then apply it to all rehabilitation providers. Therefore, each institution is free to use its respective methods, but all should still be oriented towards low relapse outcomes whose indicators are determined and agreed upon at the national level. In fact, if needed, the three agencies could issue a Joint Decree (SKB) on national rehabilitation standards within the framework of P4GN and Active Defense. So, whatever the method, the indicator remains one.

In addition to the performance indicators, other proposed arrangements that haven't addressed methods and programs shall be decided by the respective institutions according to their orientation, to their “spirit.” The National Narcotics Agency needs to propose a systematic design of rehabilitation programs and strategies nationally with a human-centered intervention (human-centered intervention). This design involves all activists, practitioners, researchers, and also rehabilitation center organizers. For this, BNN needs to consolidate all elements and stakeholders in the rehabilitation sector so that they can agree to create a program based on measurable outcomes and outputs.

For a human-centered paradigm, BNN is recommended to explore alternative models for addiction towards a “neurodevelopmental learning” model – instead of the “brain disease” model, which has proven to be counterproductive – which is starting to be widely accepted around the world, both academically and practically/clinically. As an initial effort, BNN can hold cross-disciplinary addiction studies and conferences (public health, social welfare, psychology, neuroscience, sociology, anthropology, etc.) or invite experts (e.g., Marc Lewis) to provide workshops and guide the development of the following therapeutic techniques and instruments, as well as the national rehabilitation achievement measurements. This nationally consolidated rehabilitation program is then upscaled as high-

profile as possible to become a program that can be brought to regional forums, and even invites participation in a kind of communication platform for the rehabilitation of Southeast Asia. This way, people-to-people cooperation can be realized, and one more score for Indonesia's cultural diplomacy is achieved.

8.2.8. Idea Package 6: Societal Active Defense Program for Community Security

Referring to the conceptual exploration findings regarding the Active Defense strategy, which were inspired by the cybersecurity field as mentioned in the previous sections, it is said that almost all cyberattack incidents are carried out by exploiting the vulnerabilities of its users, or what is called social engineering techniques.²⁴³ It was noted that only 3% of attack incidents exploited technical infrastructure vulnerabilities, while 97% took advantage of user negligence. As many as 91% of cybercrime attacks start from an email that, when opened, immediately provides penetrating access to the joints of the system firewall. Interestingly, 55% of the email circulating in the world is spam-containing malware.

The lesson learned is very relevant to narcotics cases. As stated in the internal strategic environment problem section above, crimes related to narcotics (illicit trafficking and abuse) has penetrated by exploiting the social vulnerabilities of society: starting from young people with depression and fall into drug abuse to poverty and socioeconomic inequalities that provide high-risk incentives to become narcotics dealers and transporters. We, therefore, see that it is urgent to translate the Active Defense strategy into community empowerment programs.

With a community that can defend himself from narration and persuasion, he will also be able to help others in combating the manifestations of drug abuse and illicit trafficking around him. People who have high resilience will undoubtedly participate proactively. On the other hand, low resistance has the potential to seize the community, in fact, it becomes an abuser and even a facilitator of circulation. We present the spectrum of community resilience With a community that

243. Wilson, "Statistics You Need to Know About Social Engineering."

can defend himself from narration and persuasion, he will also be able to help others in combating the manifestations of drug abuse and illicit trafficking around him. People who have high resilience will undoubtedly participate proactively. On the other hand, low resistance has the potential to seize the community, in fact, it becomes an abuser and even a facilitator of circulation. We present the spectrum of community resilience in the following illustration.



Figure 30. Spectrum of Community Resilience to the Risk and Threat of Narcotics

Community engagement in efforts to increase resilience and active defense from, by, and for the community: **Societal Active Defense Program (SADP)**. BNN’s existing programs, such as the Recovery Agent (AP), can be further iterated here. The basic ideas of this program are, on the one hand, to strengthen the community by providing information, early detection training, daily handling/counseling training (for handling sharing session, especially), content creation and awareness-raising campaign activities, and also on the other hand inviting the public to actively involved in the policies formulation for BNN, and other Narcotics agencies in the region, in the policy co-creation scheme. Here, the basic idea of resilience and active defense achieve its peak moment, when together with the community, they fight the danger of narcotics.

8.3. Practical Recommendations

8.3.1. Media Persona Rebranding to Prevention

BNN (on behalf of the Government) put the effort in expanding the context of “war” in “war on drugs,” and it must be resolved, especially in terms of raising the theme of prevention in which it can be equivalent to the context of eradication. Obviously, it is not an easy task, especially

when the society ideas are deeply rooted and familiar with the themes of eradication as they saw on national televisions. The scene of raids, arrests, disclosure of the network of dealers, and even the shooting action clearly has become a stark image and embedded in the minds of most citizens. However, it is precisely at this moment where the heroic dimension emerges and reinforces the impression of “fighting” as the effort to eradicate the narcotics problem.

The discourse ‘war on drugs’ is often interpreted in terms of military affairs, which resulted in rampant practice and implementation that tends to be “physical,” violent, and coercive dimensions. In other words, the effects of eradication are the ones that were clearly shown. The eradication effect displayed more law enforcers and presented with the gimmicks of ‘heroism’ by the mass media in television shows, broadcasting it repeatedly. This will emphasize a certain effect of truth, namely to concretize anti-narcotics heroism into the idea of eradication.

On the level of law enforcement by the law enforcement officials (APH), this is reflected in the actions of APH, which will only rely on the success of preventing narcotics/drugs without taking further steps on prevention in the context of implementing maximum rehabilitation. Mass-mediated democracy research that has been carried out by the Center for International Relations Studies (CIReS) confirms that the dominant discourse in society can be shown through the effect of reporting - deliberately - repeated by all elements of apparatus (apparatus here, borrowing the concept Louis Althusser, cannot be attached only to institutions, buildings, emblems, special uniforms, authorities, regulators, and so on, because by doing so it will obscure the process of meaning the prevailing discourse in society).²⁴⁴ The apparatus referred to here is not only limited to the police, the National Narcotics Board, the army, the President, the Minister, the Deputy, or the Director, but can also be played by meatball vendor sellers, office janitors, online motorcycle taxi drivers, celebrities, scholars, lecturers, elementary school students, Najwa Shihab, Raffi Ahmad, or even doctor Tirta who participated in reproducing the idea.

This is where the ‘consciousness’ of society is overshadowed/ disguised by the rationality which is constructed and becomes normal

244. Nur Iman Subono, Hizkia Yosias Polimpung, and Prasajo, *Oposisi Demokratik di Era Mediasi-Massal Demokrasi* (UI Press, 2012).

as it is continuously reproduced. “War” in the context of the war on drugs must be separated from the context of ‘military language’ for two things: first, as a justification for realizing the preventive dimension through the rehabilitation process (both in terms of energy, strategic planning, human resources, infrastructure. and financial-support), so that in the future they are able to match the rhetoric and glory of eradication which has been deeply ingrained in the minds of the people against it. Second, the focus of “war” is not removed but “shifted.” The focus in question must be directed towards taking sides with ‘strengthening the community’, and not necessarily fighting against the community itself (arresting street drug dealers, criminalizing abusers/addicts is proven to not provide significant results and progress in reducing illicit narcotics/narcotics trafficking. Instead, it makes ‘leveling up’ among addicts who were originally predicated as soft users to become hard users when put in prison - and all decision-makers at the central level must understand that!). “War” must be put as an excuse for the State to limit and suppress the amount of circulation from abroad (in other words, focusing on transnational syndicates, kingpins, or organized crime), without exception, and thus prevent the public from the dangerous context of “war on drugs,” that is what the State has done so far to society (which is aimed at eradicating).

The recommendation then is that any strategy idea by APH to prevent illicit drugs/narcotics trafficking should boost prevention ideas and reduce the ideas of the eradication effort. The existing cooperation with the mass media must be increased in line with the strengthening of strategies with a prevention dimension - towards rehabilitation (this is where strong and adequate financial support becomes very relevant and concrete). With the shift of active cooperation to the dimension of prevention that leads to rehabilitation, the target of ‘news consumption’ must also be prioritized towards directions that visually show the activities of the ‘rehabilitation apparatus’, competent human resources (through strict addiction counselor certification), and shows that - with careful consideration - show the rehab participants who are being treated for them. In other words, a conversion strategy for the effects of heroism in society on prevention, rehabilitation, community empowerment, G to non-G coordination is needed, from the effect of heroism that continues to be attached to and loved by the community (shooting of narcotics criminals - shooting, arresting and raids against drug abusers/addicts, conflict displays, thrilling effects of APH’s chase with narcotics case suspects, etc.).

In general, BNN has a good image in the community which in fact can be the main asset. It can also be confirmed from our analysis of media coverage. At least in the past year, the BNN has been quite popular in the news.

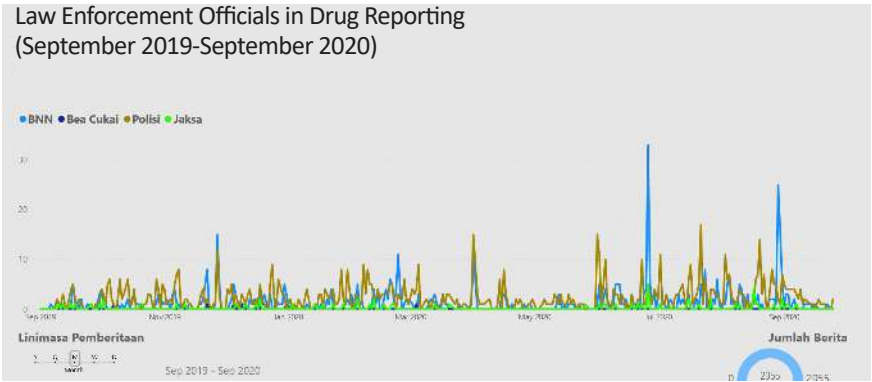


Figure 31. Law enforcement officials in the news.

However, even with a good media image, BNN needs to pay serious attention to its image, which is more familiar with the spirit of eradication - in the heroic sense as discussed above. BNN policy approach in handling drug abuse that dominates the news are the eradication steps that often overshadow the handling of addiction and the efforts to increase the capacity of community resilience.

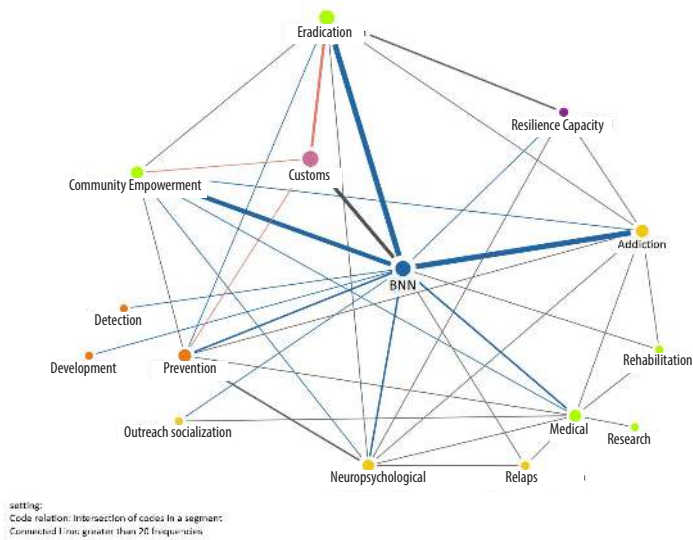


Figure 32. Association of BNN reporting with topical codes.

BNN prevention strategy includes counseling, information dissemination, and detection measures which also have received significant media attention and are closely linked to medical efforts. In terms of addiction victims' treatment, another BNN policy that has received media attention is the neuropsychological and medical approaches that are also close to rehabilitation efforts. BNN and Customs are the two State officials whose policy measures have dominated the online news related to drug handling. Meanwhile, with regard to Customs, the policy approach that gets the most attention from the online media is the policy of eradication, community empowerment, and prevention.

In an effort to put prevention in the highlight, BNN can use addiction and neuropsychological (brain and behavioral) issues that have received a lot of attention from the public. This can be seen from the news codes that we collect below.

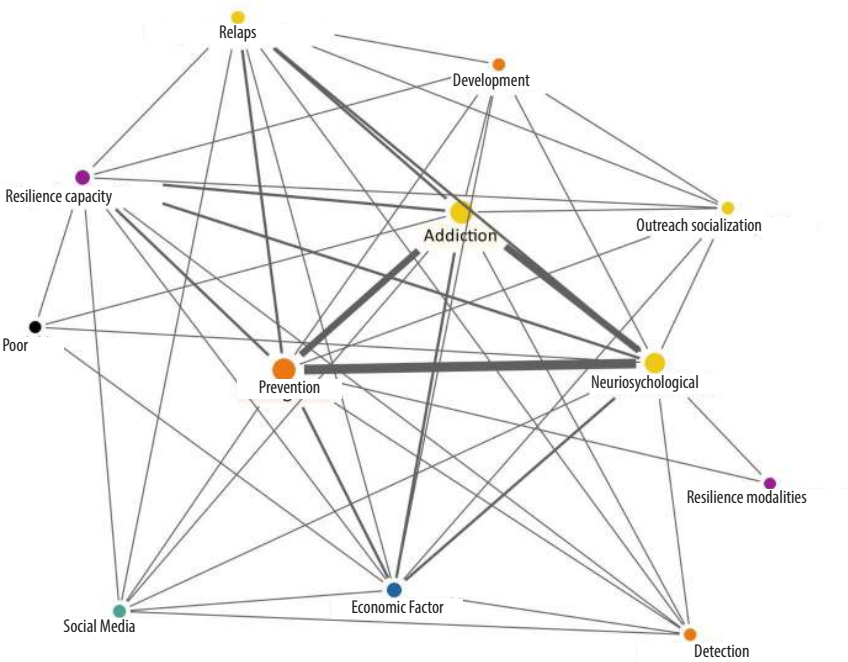


Figure 33. Association of prevention policies in media coverage.

The news coverage regarding prevention policies was mostly related to the neuropsychological approach in overcoming addiction as well as efforts to detect potential relapse (going back to addiction). In relation to reporting on addiction, the main prevention policy is mostly associated with coaching and outreach programs through social media to increase the community's resilience capacity to drugs. In relation to increasing community resilience, coverage of prevention policies is often linked to the economic dimension as one of the factors causing drug abuse. By using these popular issues to start mainstreaming active defense strategies for prevention, it is hoped that the BNN's rebranding strategy towards an image of prevention could yield positive results.

8.3.2. Approach Reorientation to the Society Based on the Latest Addiction Model

BNN, in particular the deputy for Prevention, Rehabilitation, and Community Empowerment need to adopt the latest approach to addiction as a flashlight in directing its intervention efforts to the community. Based on the neurodevelopmental-learning model, the intervention must be able to increase/restore the critical power of the subject who is being eroded by a flood of dopamine (the happy hormone). That means, already, there can no longer be a patronizing and frightening approach about the future, about the nation, about parents, and so on. The approach must be enabling the subject to independently activate his thinking power to criticize (meaning activating the critical system in his brain).

One way to enhance this critical thinking is to show the big picture. Several studies that have been discussed previously show how simply saying 'stop drugs' will not only have any effect, but it will be counterproductive. On the other hand, subjects who are shown the big picture of how the narcotics business can happen, how he gains profit from exploiting youth addiction, and other macro-socio-economic contexts, activates his critical mind. As a result, his resilience became much higher than being forced to continue reciting "stop drugs."

Another approach strategy that has been supported by scientific studies, especially in young people, is to make them take an active

part in taking the risk and being responsible for stopping this circulation. The social role of the individual needs to be emphasized in approaching the community. In line with the Active Defense strategy, the people here are not only positioned as victims; Rather, he is positioned to actively become an agent to prevent drug abuse and trafficking. And more importantly, this recommendation to be active is not just ceremonial and rhetoric. With a critical understanding, the community will be able to form their own defense and resilience against narcotics.

BNN needs to sit together with multimedia learning experts, communication experts, project management experts, and community development experts (comdevt) to start designing programs, digital content, service advertisements, etc., by referring to the assumptions Assumptions in the neurodevelopmental-learning model. In fact, BNN could also invite, for example, NLMA pioneer Marc Lewis to guide this workshop or even guide efforts to formulate such a National Rehabilitation Strategy. In this way, the work of BNN can be more in a situation with the latest developments in science.

8.3.3. (Big) Data-Driven P4GN

BNN needs to start budgeting and building Big Data infrastructure and socialize it to other ministries/agencies/services to participate in filling out the database according to their respective outputs and work achievement as regulated in Presidential Instruction 2/2020 concerning RAN P4GN. Like the spirit of professionalism, the performance of P4GN's supporting institutions needs to be measured and monitored so that it can be evaluated proportionally. Therefore, as has been proposed, BNN, as the leading sector, needs to initiate operational indicators to measure and monitor performance outcomes, achievement of results, and impact of changes.

The suggestion here is to make it not on an annual basis but in real-time. That is, the process and measurement results can be carried out and observed directly, gradually, and thoroughly. The next step is to create predictive and prescriptive scenarios related to emerging data. This is the importance of collecting and presenting data in real-time, that is, so that policies can always be updated in a data-driven manner. With big

data technology and nationally connected cloud computing, BNN can develop an analytical platform or dashboard that can be accessed by all stakeholders so that they can know each other's performance positions and can also measure shared achievements.

8.3.4. Developing Learning Management System for Education

BNN needs to invest in the development of scientific and systematic educational content that has more than motivational, advisory, or even subduing content. (Fortunately, the latter has become a note in the BNN's research on Youth Resilience).²⁴⁵ This systematic and scientific-educational content can be tutorials and even e-learning to provide a better systematic understanding of narcotics. For example, the visualization/videography of the latest findings on the causes of addiction, about the illegal addiction business, about approaches to handling narcotics (supply-, demand-, harm-reduction), and so on.

The content can be made distinguished, for example, the level of complexity according to the audience: officers/apparatus, society, or students/students. For the wider community, this knowledge is certainly systematic knowledge that can be used in everyday life, for example, in identifying and preventing the dangers of drugs. For apparatus/officers, the required content must be technical, practical, and accompanied by a legal basis. For students, educational content needs to appreciate intellectuality more, namely by presenting argumentative points and sufficient data/evidence. Furthermore, this educational content needs to be designed so that these young intellectuals can grow interested in studying and conducting further research on the issues of narcotics. (As a side note, the majority of content for young people that we see tends to assume they are passive generations who by default are vulnerable to influence, rather than critical people who can use their cognitive power independently).²⁴⁶

The form of educational content doesn't have to be videos uploaded via YouTube and social media in general (Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, TikTok). BNN can also involve universities to build a Learning Management

245. Directorate Information and Education, Deputy Prevention BNN, *Panduan Indeks Ketahanan Diri Remaja*.

246. For this point, see the previous discussion about "Well-being youth psychological needs vs. social supply."

System (LMS) platform for e-learning (for example, in forms such as Skill Academy, Udemy, SkillShare, etc.). In this LMS, which can be accessed by the public for free, the modules presented can be from many disciplines and are graded in terms of complexity (basic, intermediate, to advanced). This way, BNN can be a media source of information and knowledge that is not only informative (informing / warning), but also scientifically explicit. If P4GN is truly committed to total community involvement, the community must also be equipped with knowledge that is not only on the surface. This facilitation of learning and knowledge development by the community can be carried out by, for example, the Deputy for Prevention by investing in scientific and systematic educational content, not only through social media, but also through the LMS digital learning platform.



Figure 34. BNN needs to reproduce more systematic educational content like this.

The last recommendation is a bit about the management of instructional media. There is a confusion of content curation strategy between the two BNN YouTube channels: “humasnewsbnn” and “PREVENT DRUGS”. In both cases, it is almost indistinguishable which is public relations content, which is public service content (public service announcement, PSA), and which is educational content. BNN needs to clearly separate content that communicates activities and activities of BNN as an institution, with content aimed at appealing to the public and also content that is intended for education. This media content curation strategy needs to be carried out separately and by upholding the principles

of auditing communications and public relations (to the extent where certain messages and media have an impact on their communication objectives). The first small step that can be taken regarding the YouTube channel is **to dedicate separately which channels are for public relations, for public service advertisements, and which are for education**. Then, the use of the playlist feature will also help categorize content, for example, for learning/education, for example, in scientific categories: health, medical, social, humanities, etc.

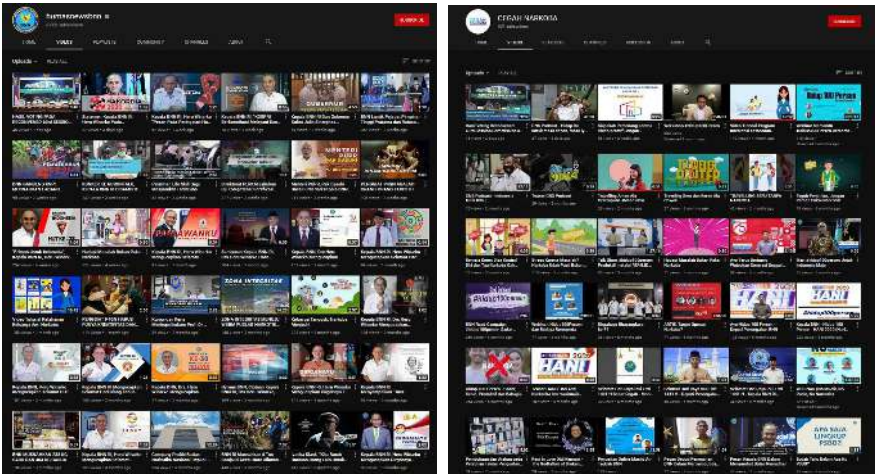


Figure 35. Confusion of content curation strategies in two BNN YouTube channels; A mix of public relations content, public service advertisements, and education.

8.3.5. Guidelines and Technical Assistance for P4GN Stakeholders in the Regions

Another managerial-technical obstacle found in practice is regarding the fact that regional apparatuses still face difficulties in implementing and initiating the P4GN program: difficulties in designing programs, difficulties in budget planning, and so on. This kind of problem clearly requires technical assistance and guidance. Here, BNN can use digital and online learning platforms to be present remotely and at any time. By developing program/project managerial content that contains guidelines for compiling program proposals, planning budgets, formulating campaign strategies, and using uniform templates in order to improve corporate branding, this can be done through a platform like this. Discussions on legal and institutional aspects

in the context of implementing P4GN in the regions can also be included as one of the modules published on this platform.

BNN is recommended to immediately compile practical guidelines even technical assistance to local agencies and apparatus to formulate programs budgets and implement P4GN programs in their regions. This effort can be made simultaneously offline and with e-learning content guides that can be accessed anytime and from anywhere. The learning management system (LMS) platform can be used as the vanguard of educational technology, tutorials, and training for these stakeholders. The LMS method has an advantage where all study materials and tutorials are uploaded online and can be accessed anytime, anywhere, and most importantly, can be accessed repeatedly. In a further development, and in relation to recommendations for Certification questions through the Corporate University model, participation and graduation in e-learning through this LMS can be used as a standard for issuing licenses or certificates, or even as entry requirements/employee orientation, for example.

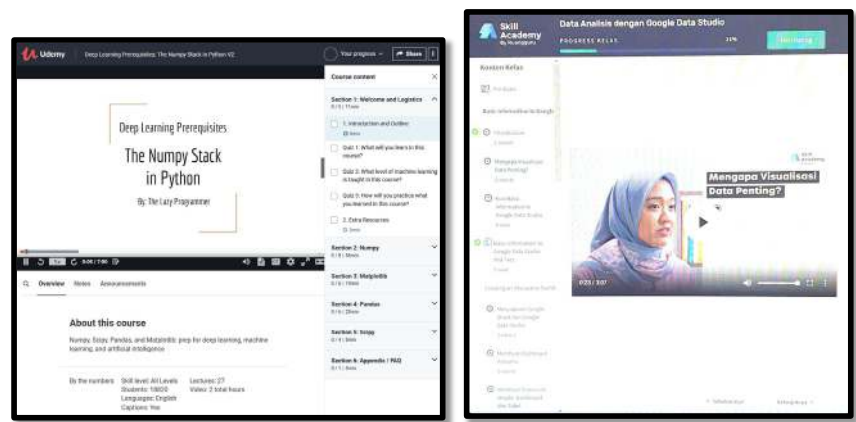


Figure 36. An example of the display (user interface) of the Udemy and Skill Academy platforms that can be used as a reference for the BNN LMS (Image copyright is available on both platforms).

8.3.6. Alternative P4GN Financing Solutions in the Regions

Although many government apparatuses/apparatus in the regions tend to be indifferent to the implementation of the P4GN program, there are also many of them that are enthusiastic. However, it is unfortunate that their spirit has not been much put into concrete programs and actions that have had an impact on results. In the previous section, we have shown that the obstacle lies in the allocation of the budget from the APBD / Des. This is because, within the local government, it must be recognized and understood that P4GN is only a “minor activity” compared to other regional priorities such as infrastructure development, health/nutrition programs, etc. Therefore, it needs a creative way out to help the regions to obtain more fiscal space to be able to run P4GN in the regions.

In addition to the external payment strategy through narcotics bonds that have been discussed earlier, another strategy that can be used here is to take advantage of opportunities that are already in the regulations concerning regional government. There are two ways to propose the financing capacity of P4GN in which BNN is the leading sector. The first is the Deconcentration/Assistance Task Fund (Dekon/ TP). Based on Law 35/2009 on Narcotics, the BNN is a vertical institution. In the tradition of fiscal technocracy, vertical institutions can develop the Dekon/TP Fund. Law 23/2014 on Regional Government defines Dekon/TP as follows:

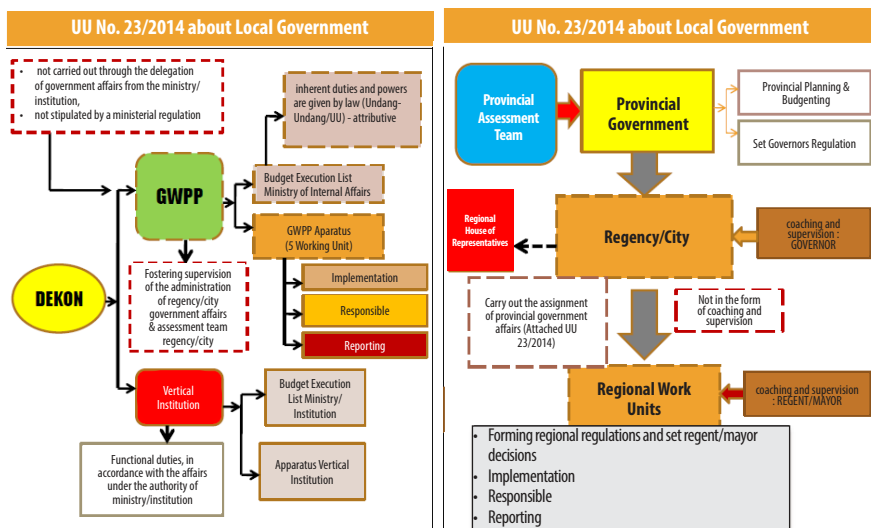
- “Article 1 (10). Vertical Agency is an apparatus of ministries and/ or non-ministerial government agencies that manage Government Affairs that are not submitted to autonomous regions in certain areas in the context of Deconcentration.
- Article 1 (9). Deconcentration is the delegation of some of Government Affairs from the authority of the Central Government to governors as representatives of the Central Government, to vertical agencies in certain areas, and/or to governors and regents/ mayors as the person in charge of general government affairs.
- Article 1 (11). Assistance Tasks are assignments from the Central Government to autonomous regions to carry out part of the Government Affairs which fall under the authority of the Central Government or from the Provincial Government to Regency / City

Regions to carry out part of the Government Affairs which are the authority of the Provincial Regions

- Article 5 (4). The Administration of Government Affairs, as referred to in paragraph (2) in the Regions, is carried out based on the principles of Decentralization, Deconcentration, and Assistance Tasks.
- Article 23-24: Further provisions regarding Deconcentration and Assistance Tasks shall be regulated by government regulations
- Article 24 (1) Ministries or non-ministerial government agencies together with the Regional Government carry out the mapping of Mandatory Government Affairs that are not related to Basic Services and Preferred Government Affairs prioritized by each province and regency/city.

The second way that can be used is the **Special Allocation Fund (DAK)**. DAK is a fund from APBN revenues allocated to certain regions with the aim of helping to finance special activities, which are Government Affairs which fall under the authority of the Region:

- “Article 91.4.b. In addition to carrying out the guidance and supervision as referred to in paragraph (1), the governor as the representative of the Central Government has the duties and authorities: to provide recommendations to the Central Government on DAK proposals in regencies/municipalities in their territory.
- Article 292 (1). DAK as referred to in Article 288 letter (c) originates from APBN allocated to Regions to fund special activities which are Government Affairs which become the authority of the Regions; (2) The DAK policy is discussed in the regional autonomy advisory council forum prior to the stipulation of the Central Government work plan. “



Scheme 8. Flow of implementation of Deconcentration/Assistance Tasks regulated in Law 23/2014 concerning Regional Government ²⁴⁷

Consequently, the legal foundations above regarding the use of the Dana Dekon / TP and DAK channels, then the keyword lies in 'government affairs.' Thus, in the context of alternative financing for P4GN, what is needed is to find P4GN diction as a "government affair." So far, P4GN diction has only been listed in the issue of social rehabilitation as a central, not regional affair.

- "Central Affairs. Social Rehabilitation. Rehabilitation of former victims of drug abuse, people with Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS).
- Provincial Affairs. Social rehabilitation does not include former victims of drug abuse, people with HIV/AIDS who need rehabilitation in an institution.
- District / City Affairs. Social rehabilitation does not / does not include former victims of drug abuse and people with HIV/AIDS who do not require rehabilitation in homes and rehabilitation of children who are in conflict with the law."

In other words, a bigger space is needed to interpret and develop the 'division of government affairs', so that the Deconcentration and

247. Directorate General of Regional Administration Development, Ministry of Home Affairs, Implementation of Deconcentration and Co-administration Tasks based on Law no. 23/2014 on Local Government (Slide), n.d.

Assistance Fund and the Special Allocation Fund can be placed in this space. The Deputy of Legal Affairs of BNN can start exploring the two possible channels for financing, and in the medium term, guarding its inclusion into the upcoming revision of the Narcotics Law so that the use of the Dekon / TP and DAK Funds for P4GN can have a stronger foundation.

8.3.7. Reinforcement of Cross-Border Rules

The big problem is the matter of crossing national borders, especially as frequently complained by informants at the State Border Post (PLBN) in all the areas we visited (Aruk, Entikong, Nanga Badau, Nunuka, Motaain, Motamassin, Wini, Skouw, and Sota) it is relatively easy for passers to enter and exit the border, especially when the passer has a Cross Border Identity Card (KILB). With KILB, officers do not need to check the passer's belongings. Therefore, we believe that BNN needs to propose a review on KILB, which has been suspected to be widely used to smuggle narcotics, especially at land border posts. The Deputy of Legal Affairs needs to consult and coordinate with the Ministry of Finance that issued this card, and also with the Ministry of Home Affairs / BNPP (National Board for Border Management) as the border authority.

Another issue is the need to increase the capacity and quality of technology and human resources. Several complaints from the sea and airport authorities (airports) argued that they lack tools that have the capacity to detect narcotics and illegal drugs, even when they have taken a new form/synthesis (new psychoactive substances/NPS). As a result, they have to use manual labor to check, which of course, has limitations. Not only in terms of volume – especially during peak season – but, what is more important, is the lack of knowledge to identify drugs and NPS.

Therefore, rearrangement and standardization of technological capacity (read: updating technology in line with the state of the art development) is absolutely necessary. The installation of surveillance cameras at border post points connected to the BNN situation room can also be considered. Then, BNN also needs to promote education about narcotics for officers who are at the forefront of their daily lives, not only BNNP/K officers themselves but also, among others, Avsec

officers, customs, police, and others. This education is not only a matter of knowledge to identify evidence but also to identify techniques that have been the *modus operandi* of hiding and smuggling evidence.

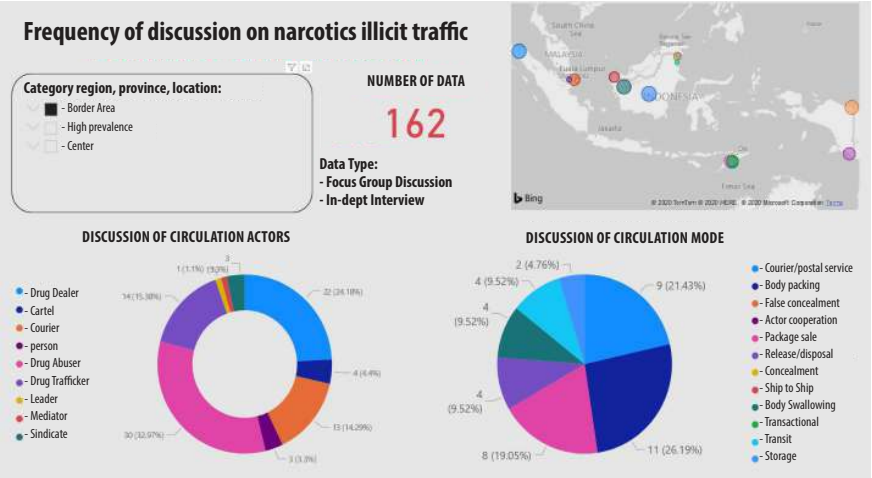


Figure 37. Information that can be gathered from field studies on actors and modes of drug trafficking/smuggling.

Lastly, it is a matter of monitoring and anticipating officers who are “tempted” to facilitate smuggling crimes. In an FGD agenda in Sambas, a doctor on duty at the PLBN Aruk land port stated that law enforcement officers or the officers on duty in PLBN are very vulnerable to being exposed to drug trafficking and trafficking activities. Therefore, not only did BNN was recommended to perform regular urine tests for all officials, but also do rotation among officers for anyone who is on duty at the PLBN.

8.3.8. Maximum Security Prison for Drug Dealers

To prevent incidents that further support the “school of crime” theory, BNN needs to propose and oversee correctional policies at the Directorate General of Correctional at the Ministry of Law and Human Rights to include detainees and inmates who are suspected and charged as dealers and/or part of a cartel to maximum-security prisons, separated from other prisoners. Not only does this facility function to isolate the transmission of the “skills and knowledge” of the narcotics business, but it also contributes to starting to reduce the negative stigma of prisons as places to control drug trafficking.

The negative stigma attached to prisons should not be tolerated and must be intervened if needed since one of the effects of prevention inevitably also requires a criminal dimension that leads to imprisonment. This is particularly needed to anticipate an incident where someone who has been rehabbed goes back to drugs and starts using in doses that exceed the previous one. Therefore, not all drug abusers/addicts are given “relapse freedom” because when a ‘relapse’ occurs, rehabilitation as prevention loses its meaning.

Periodic evaluations and audits of special prisons for narcotics must be carried out openly and transparently, involving the participation of elements of the community, and placing BNN as one of the heads of the audit team (to avoid negative stigma against one’s interests that will emerge from critical public thinking, audit the performance of prisons can be done many times; in order to avoid any symptoms of ‘one-sided truth’). This evaluation must also receive equal attention, in the sense that it has the same degree of openness and transparency that the media is incessantly welcoming in every eradication commercialization agenda (such as broadcasts on a television program: “86” - NET TV, “Patrol” - Indosiar, “Jatanras” - TV ONE, “Custom” - NET TV, and so on).

8.3.9. Unifying Perceptions about the Function of TAT as a Prevention

Prevention strategies are more difficult to “satisfy” audiences/communities than their immediate effects of eradication (direct effects of eradication: arrest, shootings, exposure, chasing, and so on). The commitment to mainstreaming prevention against illicit narcotics trafficking must be proven by all law enforcers in being brave enough to ‘take risks’ in setting the standards and qualifications for pure abusers/narcotics addicts. The TAT mechanism, which consists of a medical assessment team and a legal assessment team, must be directed and strengthened in that direction. The reason is, a number of articles in Law 35 of 2009 on Narcotics, namely Article 111 and Article 112 (followed by a plan to revise the Narcotics Law, which until now has not been finalized), are often used as the basis for efforts to punish drug abusers/addicts rather than considering Article 127 in a mature manner — which should have received rehabilitation steps through a medical assessment recommendation.

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Friction could occur as concerned. Generals and high officials in all agencies involved collaboratively tend to solve the problem of illicit narcotics/drug trafficking through their own means. This all ultimately resulted in the frequent TAT recommendations dragging pure abusers/narcotics addicts to the realm of criminal prosecution, which resulted in imprisonment and fines. Some others even automatically become convicted without going through assessment and recommendations. Consequently, TAT assessment as a ‘tool’ and ‘mechanism’ is clearly still a problem that must be taken care of in order to be able to determine the level and level of addiction of narcotics abusers/addicts so that they can recover through rehabilitation.²⁴⁸ Examples of a number of abusers/addicts who did not receive the assessment and were instead directed to ‘punishment’ are as follows.²⁴⁹

248. Law Enforcers Called Often Ignore Assessments of Drug Users,” Kompas, 24 Juni 2019, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/06/24/08201001/penegak-hukum-disebut-kerap-abaikan-asesmen-terhadap-pengguna-narkoba?page=all>.

249. The chronology of the non-assessment sample for abusers/addicts is taken from the decisions of the Bandung Class IA District Court, and the Kuningan Class II District Court decisions which have permanent legal force (*inkracht Van gewijsde*) in the case of narcotics/drug abuse. For further information, please go to the website of the Directory of Supreme Court Decisions and enter a description of the case, year of case, name of perpetrator, or chronology above through the search engine provided.

No.	CASES	CASE CHRONOLOGY
1.	<p>A case in Bandung, West Java in 2016, the offender named M.Sidik Permana Bin Ujang Kurnia, was caught red-handed by the police at his house where the drug, marijuana, was found. Defendant M SIDIK PERMANA Bin UJANG KURNIA, on Monday, November 16, 2015 at around 10:10 p.m. Wib or at least at some point in 2015, at the Defendant's located in his house in Panyaweuayan Village as much as one small package concealed in a rice pack weighing 2.4 grams.</p>	<p>The defendant M SIDIK PERMANA Bin UJANG KURNIA, on Monday, November 16, 2015 at around 22:10 WIB or at least at some time in 2015, was located at his house in Panyaweuayan Village Rt 01 / Rw 03, Ciherang Village, Pacet District, Cianjur Regency or at least in a place that is included in the Huktun area of the Cianjur District Court, but since the Defendant was detained and most of the witnesses resided closer to the Bandung District Court, based on the provisions of Article 84 paragraph 2 of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 8 of 1981 concerning Criminal Procedure Law, The Bandung District Court has the authority to examine and try this case, class I narcotics abusers as self-consumer, which the Defendant did in the following ways: Whereas previously the Defendant at around 15.30 WIB came to DENDI (still on search) in Pasekon District, Cipanas District, Regency Cianjur to ask about shirt printing. After arriving at DE's house NDI, shortly afterwards the Defendant asked to leave and DENDI gave the Defendant a small package of narcotic marijuana wrapped in brown rice paper and after that the Defendant went straight home and after arriving at the Defendant's house, the Defendant used the narcotics by rolling it using cigarette paper, and burned like smoking. After using the marijuana, the Defendant felt relaxed and lost his tiredness. That the cannabis type of narcotics smoked by the Defendant using cigarette paper is positive marijuana, including Narcotics class 1 (one) according to Law No. 35 of 2009 concerning Narcotics in accordance with the Certificate of Urine Examination issued by the Bhayangkara Hospital Bandung Number: B / SKET-1491 / XU2015 / RSB dated 17 November 2015 which was signed by dr. Diah Hestiningrum SpPk who explained that the results of the test / urine test of the Defendant tested positive (+) for containing Cannabinoids based on Law No. 35 of 2009, attachment No.8 is an addictive substance contained in narcotics of the type of marijuana and in the event the Defendant uses the item, the Defendant does not have permission from the competent authority.</p>
2	<p>Case in Kuningan, West Java in 2013. The offender named Imam Suci Apriliasnyah was caught by the police while hanging out with his friends, 2.8 grams of marijuana was found in a cigarette pack in the offender's pants pocket.</p>	<p>The offender IMAN SUCI APRILIANSYAH bin EMAN ROHIMAN on Thursday, March 14, 2013 at around 23.00 WIB or at least at a certain time in March 2013 at the Lengkong bridge, West Sakerta Village, Darma District, Kuningan Regency, committed a criminal act of wrongfully or illegally possessing, keeping, controlling Narcotics Category I in the form of plants, these actions are carried out in the following ways :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> On Tuesday 12 March 2013 at around 16.00 WIB, the defendant sent an SMS to the witness UJANG ADUNG (Splittings file), the contents of the SMS: "ordered 2 (two) packages of marijuana each for Rp. 50.000, - the witness Ujang Adung answered: "Yes, I will first contact the person named witness ERWIN (splittings file)"; Whereas on Thursday, March 14, 2013 at around 16.00 WIB, witness Ujang adung sent an SMS to the Defendant Imam: "MAM, the marijuana goods already exist", the Defendant Imam replied: "After sunset I will come to you", the witness Ujang Adung replied: "Yes, I'll wait at home". Around 19.30 WIB, the defendant came to witness Ujang Adung's house in Cijoho sub-district, Kuningan district, Kuningan district and met Witness Ujang Adung and was given 2 (two) small packages of marijuana wrapped in rice wrappers, but the defendant had not paid for it; Then, the two packages of marijuana were kept in the front pocket of the right of his shorts as he headed home;

No.	KASUS	KRONOLOGI KASUS
2		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On his way on the new road area of Cijoho, Cijoho Village, Kuningan Regency, both marijuana packages were combined into one, put into a pack of Star Mild cigarettes, then he continued the journey back home; At around 22.30 WIB at home, the Defendant opened the marijuana and mixed it into one, then the Defendant took a small amount and rolled it into one roll then burned and smoked it for about 8 puffs; The remaining marijuana was rolled again by the Defendant into one roll again and rewrapped with rice wrapping paper into 1 package, then put in star mild wrappers; On Thursday, March 14, 2013 at around 23.00 WIB, the Defendant went to hang out at Lengkong Bridge, West Sakerta Village, Darma District, Kuningan Regency while carrying the package of marijuana, not long ago the Defendant was arrested by the Police.; That is true based on the News of the Scaling / Estimation Report from the Pegadaian Office in Kuningan Number: Um.113 Pol / 04180/2013/1993 dated 18 March 2013 which was drawn up and signed by ANDREAS BARIYUN Nik: 060062930 as the Head of the Kuningan Pegadaian Branch, weighing 1 (one) package of Narcotics weighing 3.29 grams; That was true based on the investigation report of Criminal Laboratory of the Forensic Laboratory of the National Police for Criminal Investigation Lab Number: 750 / NNF / 2013 dated March 25, 2013 which was made and signed by the examiner: Drs. SULAEMAN MAPPASESSU, et al. as the Head of the Sub Division of Narcotics at the Forensic Laboratory Center, with the conclusion of the results of the examination: Evidence Number: 354/2013 / NF 2.9611 grams net weight of dry leaves which belongs to the defendant IMAM SUCI APRILIANSYAH bin EMAN ROHIMAN is true contains marijuana which is registered in Group I Serial number 8, attachment of Law No. 35 of 2009 on Narcotics; That is true based on the Certificate of Urine Examination results from a sample belongs to IMAM SUCI APRILIANSYAH bin EMAN ROHIMAN Number: SKHPU / 12 / III / 2013 / UR DOKKES, March 15, 2013, with positive (+) Marijuana results.;

To ensure that the TAT process and implementation continue to be on a path that favors the interests of all levels and elements (government and society), it is necessary to involve elements of society in TAT, which has been guaranteed through regulation of the Head of BNN. The goal is not to intervene in the law enforcement process but to ensure that the TAT process is in line with democratic ideals, namely transparency and accountability. This recommendation also guarantees that the existence of rehabilitation institutions organized by the community to help the government work, operate and be accountable to the maximum, and most importantly, it is recognized as an important part of the effort to rehabilitate abusers/addicts as it should be.

The logic of rehabilitation must be placed at the highest as a preventive measure to assist the community in also “rehabilitating” the stigma impact of narcotics/drug abusers/addicts. The fact that narcotics will never go away (there will always be) leads the Government and society to stimulate ‘new’ patterns and prevention mechanisms. They should not be satisfied with prioritizing continuous arrests, raids, and extermination, as the following opinion.

*The drug problem is expansive, cutting across many segments of the population. As such, it is impossible to eliminate drugs. Therefore the police should make harm reduction the criterion by which to guide drug enforcement planning and to evaluate enforcement programming. Because the police will never eliminate law enforcement or social problem, they must expend their energy and resources in such a way that the harm to the community as a result of drugs is minimized. Priority must be given to solving problems that are the most harmful to people and the community; [...] the focus must be on problem-solving as opposed to bean-counting.*²⁵⁰

Community engagements will be very important in relation to support and monitor the development of post-rehabilitation events. Usually, they are not easy for addicts who have recovered, especially those who are ex-drug abusers. Those addicts have to deal with society again. In a number of regions in Indonesia, the role of community-owned rehabilitation institutions is much more to ‘emotional closeness’ with citizens / communities than with the government (and of course this will affect the extroverted or introverted attitude of the abusers / addicts to the institution). Public fear of government institutions is not without reason, because law enforcement officers are ‘infatuated’ and always prioritize hard attitudes, rather than soft attitudes.

8.3.10. Guarding the Mindset of Active Defense in the Revision of the Narcotics Law

In an effort to revise the Narcotics Law, this study recommends guarding several issues, including the international and strategic mindset of the formulation, prevention orientation, rehabilitation standardization,

250 Victor E. Kappeler & Larry K. Gaines, “Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective” (Waltham, MA, USA: Elsevier, Inc., 2011) hal. 366-367, dikutip dari: Mardjono Reksodiputro, “Mengantisipasi Pemberantasan Perdagangan Ilegal Narkotika melalui Sistem Peradilan Pidana (Suatu Observasi untuk Diskusi)”, Jurnal Peradilan Indonesia, Vol. 5, Agustus 2016 – Januari 2017, Hal. 53-69.

strict definitions for abusers/dealers/smugglers/druglords, central-regional coordination, international involvement in interdisciplinary science (psychological, social, and medical), intra- and inter-ministerial/institutional/offices relations, regional financing strategies, and measurable outcome-based program imperatives. This study also recommends incorporating the term 'resilience and active defense' into the new law so that the mindset and programs it carries can last a long time and be relatively consistent with institutional dynamics.

To guard against this, BNN needs to form a solid team consisting of experts from across disciplines, as well as from the community. Efforts to guard it also need attention, even to lobbying strategy in the parliament to make the mission of revising the Narcotics Law a success. All of the above issues, which the inclusion of the new law would like to guard against, also prepare for the data and science support. If there is not yet, then it is necessary to conduct research on the basis of evidence immediately. Some of the recommended research is about the recidivism of people from prisons and from rehab. Also, about the effectiveness of punishment for the rehabilitation process by referring to the latest addiction theories. Next, also about the classification of the subject of a narcotics crime. Nevertheless, as similarly important to model formulation to measure the P4GN impact as precisely as possible at zero prevalence achievement.

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HOUSE BORDER OF TWO COUNTRIES

SEBATIK ISLAND, NORTH KALIMANTAN

A

Abstinence	: Efforts to refrain from using narcotics. A high abstinence rate is one of the signs the success of the rehabilitation program
Active Defense Strategy	: Strategies to minimize joint vulnerabilities to neutralize the risk of enemy attacks.
Addiction	: Addiction or dependence physically and mentally on a substance
Apparatus	: State apparatus, especially covering the fields of institutions, management, and staffing, which have the responsibility to carry out the daily wheels of government
APBD	: Regional Budget and Expenditure Revenue
APH	: Law Enforcement Officials
ARF-EEPs	: Expert and Eminent Persons ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN Way	: Norms and principles of non-intervention, peaceful dispute resolution, non-confrontational action against conflict, and emphasis on deliberation and consensus
ASEAN	: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
Assessment	: The assessment step by collect, analyze, and interpret data or information. In the context of P4GN, TAT.
ASOD	: ASEAN Senior Officials on Drug Matters
Aviation Security (AVSEC)	: Security officers in charge of maintaining & ensuring the safety of flight service users

B

Bappenas	: National Development Planning Agency.
Bias	: A presentation of material filled with prejudice
Big Data	: All datasets are so large, complex and unstructured that they are difficult to handle using only database management tools ordinary or traditional data processing applications
Big Syndicate	: A large family that combines and houses a number of syndicates (groups of bad people with various skills).
Bilateral	: From two sides; Between the two parties
Biostatistics	: Application of statistics to the biological sciences
Boarding House	: temporary private house where people can pay for accommodation
Bounce Back	: One sign of resilience, which a person can bounce back after exposure to stress or attack

Brainware : A person who uses or operates a computer device.

C

Cannabis : Depressant drugs made from the cannabis plant, contain tetrahydrocannabinol and cannabidiol which make feel euphoric.

Capitalization : The process that makes all assets owned in education as capital goods that must bring profits.

Cartel : Cooperation between producers to increase profits and market power.

Catalytic : Substances that can speed up or slow down a reaction which at the end of the reaction is released back into its original form.

Cegah-Edar : Prevention of circulation

Cegah-Lahgun : Abuse Prevention

Cherry-picking : Selective action by only taking or choosing something that is desired, or most profitable

Cocaine : Synthetic compounds that trigger cell metabolism to be very fast. A powerful drug that some people take illegally for pleasure and can become addicted to.

Coercion : The action of making somebody do something that they do not want to do, using force or threatening to use force

Cognitive : Connected with mental processes of understanding

Cohesive : Forming a united whole; Solid; Attached;

Cohort : A group used as part of a research study. This group consists of people who have the same character.

Commercialization : Actions that make something as an object to be sold

Concentric : Having the same center

Consentric Circle : In the context of diplomacy, concentric circles refer to efforts to group countries into order of priority and in the dimensions of national interest.

Coping : Ways to solve problems or deal with something difficult and adapt to change

Cortex : The outer layer of an organ in the body, especially the brain

Counselor : A person who has been trained to advise people with problems, especially personal problems

Courier : Delivery service (in this case refers to drugs).

Glossary

Covid-19	: Coronavirus Disease 2019, which is a disease caused by Sars-CoV-2 which attacks the human respiratory system
Curative	: Have the power to deal with problems (treat)
Curhat	: The activity of telling something personal to another person, often a close friend or relative
Curriculum	: The subjects that are included in a course of study or taught in a school, college, etc.
Cyber	: Computer and information systems; Cyberspace; Related to the internet.

D

DAINAP	: Drug Abuse Information Network for Asia Pacific
DAK	: Special Allocation Fund
Data-Driven	: Data determines the decision-making process
Defense Economy	: A study of resource allocation, income distribution, economic growth; And stabilization applied to defense-related topics
Defensive	: Be defensive; Worn or intended to last
Deconcentration	: Delegation of authority from the government, regional heads, top-level vertical agencies to regional officials
Delegation	: A person who is appointed and sent by an association (state and so on) in a negotiation (consultation and so on)
Demand	: A process in asking for something or a number of goods purchased or requested at a certain price and time
Depressive	: Associated with or causing depression; Prone to depression
Design	: Shape framework; Design: – the agricultural machine was made by engineering students; 2 motifs; Pattern; Pattern: – Indonesian batik is widely imitated abroad
Destigmatization	: Efforts to remove stigma.
Destructive	: Causing destruction or damage
Determinant	: A factor that decides whether or how something happens
Developmental	: The development and changes in the human psychological aspect from birth to death.
Diplomacy	: Affairs or administration of official communications between one country and another; Efforts to advance and fight for the national interest
Diplomat	: A person whose job is to represent his or her country in a foreign country, for example, in an embassy

Glossary

Disruption	: Interruption to a system, process or activity that has been taking place on an ongoing basis with a permanent impact
dIPFC	: Dorsolateral Prefrontal Cortex. The frontal lobe regions most commonly associated with executive function include working memory and selective attention.
Domestic	: Relating to or regarding domestic matters
Dopamine	: A chemical produced by nerve cells that has an effect on other cells. One of the organic chemical compounds comes from the catecholamine and phenethylamine families
Dorsal Striatum	: Consists of the caudate nucleus and the putamen
DPO	: A list of fugitive
Drug-addiction	: The condition of being unable to stop using illegal drugs
Drug Dealer	: The person who organizes, controls, and finances the drug abuse
Drug-seeking	: A person who willfully violate the law by seeking and obtaining illegal drugs
Drug-taking	: The activity of taking illegal drugs

E

EF	: Executive Functions. The individual's ability to execute or initiate initiatives, adapt, regulate, monitor, and control information processes and behavior
E-learning	: Learning activities with online methods
EMEAP	: Executives' Meeting of East Asia Pacific
Endurance	: Regarding the condition of being strong and steadfast from influences that can damage or harm.
EPG	: Eminent Persons Group
Epistemic Community	: Association of experts and scientists or researchers from various scientific backgrounds, as contributors to ideas or ideas to create policies for the government
Epistemic	: Relating to knowledge
Evidence-based	: An approach based on the latest scientific evidence
Expendable	: Can be spent; Can be sacrificed

Glossary

F

- Fentanile** : Illegal depressant drugs which sold cheaply, but have a strength 20-50 times higher than heroin and 100 times morphine. Used for pain relief by those who cannot afford expensive commercial healthcare. In the United States, in 2019, fentanyl overdose victims reached 71,000 people
- FGD** : Focus Group Discussion is a technique used by researchers to gather a group and discuss a specific topic
- Fixation** : A very strong interest in somebody/something, that is not normal or natural
- Firewall** : A system designed to prevent unwanted access to or from an internal network. The term information technology
- First Strike** : A spectrum of strategies that emphasizes early attacks
- Fora** : Forums
- Friction** : A term in strategic studies that refers to differences in knowledge about the situation and conditions of the battlefield between generals/policy makers and soldiers/officers in the field

H

- Harmonization** : Trying to find harmony
- Hegemony** : The influence of leadership that functions informally or even unconsciously
- High-politics** : Political activities related to national and international security, and more or less related to the state
- Hippocampus** : The part of the forebrain, specifically in the medial temporal lobe, which has the limbic system.
- Holistic** : Considering a whole thing or being to be more than a collection of parts
- Human-Centered* : The human-centered paradigm in the process of creating something is based on common natural characteristics and focuses heavily on the psychological state and perception of humans.

I

- ICG** : International Crisis Group
- IKDR** : *Ikatan Keluarga Duanu Riau* (Riau Duanu Family Association.)
- IKK** : Construction Cost Index

Glossary

IKOTAN	: <i>Indeks Kota Tanggap Narkoba</i> (Anti-Narcotics Responsive City Index)
Immune	: Immune (to something) that cannot catch or be affected by a particular disease or illness
INARCELL	: International Anti-Narcotics Center for Excellence
INCB	: International Narcotics Control Board
Insecure	: Is a feeling of insecurity, fear, to feel insecure
Institutionalization	: The process of institutionalizing or giving character to the institution.
Insularity	: A condition in which there is a lack of interest in or ignorance of a culture, idea, or person outside of one's own experience
Integration	: Blending until it becomes a unified whole or round.
Intelligence	: People who make observations on something that is closed to the public.
Interdiction	: Prohibition efforts or activities. the act of stopping something that is being transported from one place from reaching another place, especially by using force
Interception	: The act of stopping somebody/something that is going from one place to another from arriving
Intervention	: Intervene in a dispute between two parties
IPM	: <i>Indeks Pembangunan Manusia</i> (Human Development Index.)

J

Judgemental	: A situation in which a person judges another person without going through the process of exploring that person
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K

K/L	: <i>Kementerian / Lembaga</i> (Ministry/Institution)
K/L/D	: <i>Kementerian / Lembaga/ Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah</i> (Ministry/ Institution/ Regional Apparatus Work Unit)
Kingpin	: The most important person in an organization or activity
KPLP	: <i>Kesatuan Pengamanan Lembaga Pemasyarakatan</i> . (Penitentiary Security Unit.)

L

- LAKIP** : *Laporan Akuntabilitas Kinerja* (Performance Accountability Report)
- Low Politics** : Fields of affairs that are not directly related to the dynamics and constellation of the state's formal power/sovereignty. Usually covers the social and cultural fields
- LSM** : *Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat* (Non Government Organization)

M

- Measurement Theory** : A term that refers to the assumptions or ideas that underlie why a concrete indicator is used to indicate an abstract concept
- Metamfetamin** : Central nervous system stimulant drugs to treat hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), obesity, and are able to raise blood pressure
- Morbidity** : Morbidity, can refer to a statement of disease, severity of disease, prevalence of disease: number of cases in the population, incidence of disease: number of new cases in the population
- Mortality** : Mortality, a measure of the number of deaths in a population, the large scale of a population, per unit times
- Multilateral** : Involving more than two nations

N

- NAPZA** : *Narkotika, psikotropika, dan zat adiktif* (Narcotics, Psychotropic, and Addictive Substance)
- Narcotics** : Substances or drugs that come from plants or non-plants, are natural, synthetic, or semi-synthetic which cause a decrease in consciousness, hallucinations, and excitability (such as opium, marijuana)
- Nasmik Renstra** : Strategic Plan Academic Paper
- NATO** : North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Pakta Pertahanan Atlantik Utara) is a military alliance of 28 European and American countries North
- Natural Recovery** : Natural Healing
- Neuropsychological** : The field of clinical and experimental psychology that seeks to study the relationship between brain structure and function and psychological processes and behavior.
- Neurosains** : The science that deals with the structure and function of the brain and the nervous system

Glossary

NIDA	: National Institute on Drug Abuse
Nomenclature	: Naming used in a particular field or science
NPS	: New Psychoactive Substances.

O

Obligation	: A loan with a certain interest from the government that can be traded.
OFC	: Orbitofrontal Cortex, prefrontal cortex areas in the frontal lobe brain involved in cognitive decision-making process.
ODB	: Offense-Defense Balance; balance scale of defense and attack
OD-Scaling	: Offense-to-Defense Scaling; scale change from attack to defense
Opiates	: A psychoactive substance derived from the opium plant
Overdose	: Serious side effects from misuse of excessive amounts of the drug

P

P4GN	: Prevention and Eradication of Narcotics Abuse and Illicit Trafficking, strengthening efforts by inviting the public to assist and support BNN in an effort to break the chain of illicit narcotics trafficking.
Pandemic	: A disease that spreads over a whole country or the whole world
Paradigm	: Models in the theory of science; Framework of thinking
Peer group	: A group of people of the same age or social status
People-centred	: Tending to think about the needs or feelings of other people
PPID	: <i>Pejabat Pengelola Informasi & Dokumentasi</i> (Information Management & Documentation Officer.)
Preemitive	: Preventing a hazard/attack before it manifests
Precursor	: Substances or chemicals used in the manufacture of Narcotics and Psychotropics
Presidential	: With regard to the president: government, republican government
Prevalensi	: The total number of cases of a disease occurring at a given time in an area
PTRI	: <i>Perutusan Tetap Republik Indonesia</i> (Permanent Mission of the Republic of Indonesia.)
Punitive	: Sanctions are only intended to give punishment to someone

Glossary

Puslitdatin : Research, Data, and Information Center

R

RAN P4GN : National Action Plan for the Prevention, Eradication, Abuse, and Illicit Trafficking of Drugs Program

RAND Corporation : A non-profit, non-partisan, think tank corporation committed to the interests of objective research-based policy development

Regionalism : Organization consisting of countries at the regional level

Rehabilitation : Efforts to recover addicts from their dependence on narcotics and illegal drugs

Relapse : Reoccurrence of old patterns of drug abuse take place again on a regular basis.

Recidivism : The act or habit of continuing to commit crimes, and seeming unable to stop, even after being punished

Resilience : The ability of people or things to recover quickly after something unpleasant, such as shock, injury, etc.

Retaliation : A counterattack aimed at countering a previously received attack

RPJMN : National Medium Term Development Plan

S

Science-backed : Conditions are supported, informed, and based on the latest scientific findings.

SDM : Human Resources

Selundupan : Something that is entered darkly or surreptitiously.

Sestama : *Sekretaris Utama* (Main Secretary)

Syndicate : A group of people with various skills and goals to achieve a common interest.

Situation Room : Operation Control Room

SKB : *Surat Keputusan Bersama* (Joint Decree.)

Soft skill : Communication skills, individual characteristics, inherent social intelligence, and the ability to adapt well in life and the world of work.

Sophisticated : Upper economic group with a luxurious lifestyle

State of the arts (SoA) : Previous research that is used as the basis of research to be criticized or developed further.

Glossary

Status quo	: The situation remains as it is now or as it was before
Stereotype	: Concepting the nature of a group of people with certain characteristics based on subjective and inappropriate prejudices
Stigma	: Negative feelings that people have about particular circumstances or characteristics that somebody may have
Stigmatization	: Treatment of somebody that makes them feel that they are very bad or unimportant
Strategic	: Explain the impact or beneficial influence in a particular goal; Related or based on strategy.
Strategy	: Efforts to frame a small-scale action/activity into the big picture of strategic achievements that are more macro and long-term.
Supply-side	: The supply side that supplies and provides narcotics to consumers/abusers
Synthetic Opiat	: Opioid group that works similar to opiates but is not obtained from opium or artificial synthesis.

T

Taboo	: Things that are known but not accepted in society, and therefore there is an unwritten agreement not to bring it up or discuss it in the public sphere.
TAT	: <i>Tim Asesmen Terpadu</i> (Integrated Assessment Team)
Technocratic	: Concerning organizational management and resource management in industrialized countries by technocrat groups.
Text-mining	: Techniques in computer science to collect data in the form of text automatically, usually in large quantities and volumes and over a long and wide time and scale.
Theory of Change	: Theory of Change, a systematic exploration that comprehensively explains how a change desired to occur under certain conditions.
Think Tank	: Institutions conducting research and advocacy on topics such as social policy, political strategy, economics, military, technology, and culture to contribute ideas to evidence-based policy making (evidence-based).
Track Two Diplomacy	: The practice of “non-governmental, informal and unofficial contacts and activities between citizens or groups of individuals, sometimes called ‘non-state actors’.
Triangulation Scheme	: The practice of “non-governmental, informal and unofficial contacts and activities between citizens or groups of individuals, sometimes called ‘non-state actors’.

Glossary

U

UNODC : United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

User : A person or thing that uses something

V

Ventral Satrium : The nucleus (a group of neurons) in the subcortical basal ganglia of the forebrain

VTA : Ventral Tegmentum Area, A group of neurons located close to the midline at the base of the midbrain.

W

WHO : World Health Organization.

Z

Zero Day : The term cyber security to refer to the duration of time during which a defense computer system administrator is not aware of any loopholes/exploits in his system while the attacking party knew it.

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(ACTIVE DEFENSE)

STRATEGIC DESIGN IN THE PREVENTION OF ILLICIT NARCOTICS DISTRIBUTION

In the mechanism of preventing the illicit trafficking of narcotics, we must work extra hard to block the potential for inflows narcotics. What kind of Active Defense-based preventive measures should Indonesia take seriously, both in terms of the context of the internal and external strategic environment?

The formulation of the Active Defense strategy design as “a strategy to minimize joint vulnerability to neutralize the risk of enemy attacks” must be parsed holistically according to the dynamics of changes in the internal and external strategic environment.

The narrative fragment above is a number of highlights from a series of research processes on Active Defense Strategy Design in Preventing Narcotics Illicit Trafficking in 2020. This study offers a study of the 'design' of strategies and a thorough mapping of the narcotics problem within the P4GN framework. A number of research procedures have been carried out, such as meta-review and meta-analysis, literature review work, literature parsing, and annotated bibliography, primary data mining (FGD, in-depth interview), secondary data, big data processing, formulation and preparation of several recommendations (theory). Of change, strategic recommendations, practical recommendations). Hopefully this book can be a bridge to literacy which is critical for anyone who cares about narcotics issues, and its presence at the same time strengthens efforts to prevent the current illicit trafficking of narcotics.



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