

Measuring the Effectiveness of Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Policies on Narcotics Supply and Demand in Indonesia

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Abstract. Law enforcement and the implementation of rehabilitation policies for drug abusers are positioned as the backbone for addressing the continuously increasing drug abuse. This research aims to find the ideal rehabilitation policy model to tackle the supply and demand of narcotics in Indonesia. This research is a normative legal study based on secondary data analyzed qualitatively and prescriptively. The implementation of rehabilitation policies through a voluntary system is hindered by the tendency of society to cover up the presence of drug abuse around them or in their families due to feelings of shame and fear, resulting in relatively low participation in the voluntary rehabilitation process. There is a disparity in rehabilitation through legal processes, where some drug abusers receive rehabilitation facilities without going through criminal justice processes by being placed directly in rehabilitation centers, while many others need to undergo criminal proceedings and serve prison sentences. An effective rehabilitation policy model to address the supply and demand of narcotics in Indonesia is a progressive rehabilitation policy. In this case, Investigators do not place drug abusers in detention cells but in rehabilitation centers because their status upon arrest is not that of individuals in conflict with the law, but individuals with health problems.

Keywords: Rehabilitation, Progressive, Supply and Demand of Narcotics

1 Introduction

Talking about narcotics abuse, what will be described in people's memory is that the number of abusers continues to increase, abusers target all genders, all professions, target all ages, abusers do not only target urban communities, rural levels of society are also not spared as a target of illicit narcotics trafficking.

The National Narcotics Agency (BNN) national survey regarding drug abuse in 2021 which was conducted on residents aged 15 – 64 years showed an increase from 1.80% in 2019 to 1.95% in 2021, where the average age of first using drugs is 19 years for those living in rural areas and 20 years for those living in urban areas. Globally, drug abuse also shows an increasing trend. The World Drug Report released by UNODC shows that 1 in 17 people aged 15 – 64 years in the world used drugs in the last 12 months. The estimated number of abusers increased from 240 million in 2011 to 296 million in 2021, which means an increase of 23% in 10 years.

The trend in the prevalence of drug abuse based on UNODC records indicates that drug abuse has developed in a structured, systematic, and massive (TSM) manner. Structured means that the illicit trafficking of narcotics is carried out and controlled with a well-organized work structure. Systematic means that the illicit trafficking of narcotics is designed with careful staging and planning, from the organs that act as distributors to their targets (market share). Massive means that the illicit trafficking of narcotics does not only target developed or developing countries; even the least developed countries are not exempt from the illicit trafficking of narcotics.

In facing the TSM illicit trafficking of narcotics, countries around the world implement strategic policies and technical measures to combat it. Creating regulations with strict and rigid provisions, strengthening state institutions that focus on handling narcotics, and even the "War on Drugs" campaign are parts of what countries around the world have undertaken to address the problem of illicit drug trafficking.

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, in the 2016 International Anti-Narcotics Day activities emphasized the fight against narcotics in Indonesia. Wherever there are narcotics in Indonesia, the President of the Republic of Indonesia ordered all Indonesian resources to be present to eradicate them. Indonesian President Joko Widodo reminded ministries, institutions, and law enforcement officers, especially the National Police at all levels of Regional Police, Regional Police, and Sector Police, not to hesitate to pursue and arrest illicit narcotics trafficking networks.[1]

The spirit contained in the President of the Republic of Indonesia Joko Widodo's assertion in 2016 is that law enforcement officers, especially the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia (Polri), do not need to hesitate/be uncertain in carrying out law enforcement to eradicate the illicit trafficking of narcotics. Law enforcement is the backbone in realizing the goals set out in Law Number 35 of 2009 concerning Narcotics (Narcotics Law), especially to prevent, protect, and save Indonesian society from the dangers of Narcotics abuse and eradicate the illicit trafficking of Narcotics and Narcotics Precursors.

Preventing, protecting, and saving the Indonesian people from the dangers of narcotics abuse is not an easy matter. The Government's various activities and efforts to protect the Indonesian people from the onslaught of illicit narcotics trafficking have not shown significant results. Law enforcement efforts with a repressive approach carried out by law enforcement officials have not been able to stem the onslaught of illicit narcotics trafficking coming from various international networks. The arrests of illegal traffickers and confiscation of narcotics which are carried out every day by the National Police throughout Indonesia have not been able to save the Indonesian people from the dangers of narcotics abuse.

Rehabilitation for narcotics abuse which is integrated with criminal sanctions to prevent, protect, and save the Indonesian people from narcotics abuse and eradicate illicit narcotics trafficking has not been able to overcome narcotics abuse. The opposite situation, rehabilitation of narcotics abuse by placing it as part of the punishment, gives rise to new problems, namely:

1. Rehabilitation for convicts who use, addicts and victims of narcotics abuse, from medical therapy to social therapy, does not run comprehensively, due to lack of supervision.
2. Rehabilitation institutions/homes are used as new "classrooms" to learn from initially just dabbling in using narcotics, learning to become users, then becoming addicts, then dealers and even dealers;
3. Rehabilitation is closely related to the level of awareness of the perpetrator, the rehabilitation pattern executed by the RSJKO is based on the full awareness of narcotics abuse patients/residents and the RSJKO cannot implement a prison system that must be maintained optimally in carrying out the rehabilitation program;
4. Unclear funding problems from the government.[2]

Implementation of rehabilitation is considered more appropriate because it is a program to recover people who have chronic illnesses, both physical and psychological. Rehabilitation is mandatory because, in terms of health, they are suffering people who must be treated and are victims of this usage (self-victimizing victims).[3] However, if faced with data showing that the number of narcotics abuses continues to increase, then rehabilitation as a legal policy needs to be reformed both in terms of substance, structure, and cultural aspects.

The problem is why is the rehabilitation policy for narcotics addicts ineffective in overcoming the supply and demand for narcotics in Indonesia. What is the ideal rehabilitation policy model to overcome the supply and demand for narcotics in Indonesia?

2 Research methods

This research is normative legal research sourced from secondary data. The secondary data used are primary legal materials, secondary legal materials, and tertiary materials. Primary legal materials include statutory regulations and documents published by BNN. Secondary legal materials include literature books and legal journals. The materials included are legal dictionaries, encyclopedias, websites, and mass media news. Secondary data was obtained utilizing a literature study and then analyzed qualitatively descriptively based on theories, legal principles, and positive legal provisions.

3 Result and Discussion

3.1 The Effectiveness of Rehabilitation Policies for Narcotics Addicts in Addressing the Supply and Demand of Narcotics in Indonesia

The terms supply and demand are often encountered in economic terminology. Linguistically, supply refers to the activity of supplying goods, while demand refers to the request for goods. The law of supply and demand is something that cannot be ignored in the business of buying and selling. They are interconnected, always side by side, and even influence each other. Supply is the amount of goods offered by sellers in a specific market, during a specific period, and at a specific price level. Demand is the quantity of goods or services desired to be bought or owned at various price levels at a certain time. The function of demand in economics is to show the relationship between the price of goods and the quantity of goods demanded by society.[4]

To reduce the prevalence of narcotics abuse and distribution, two strategies are needed, namely: a supply strategy and a demand strategy. The law of supply and demand is a theory that explains the interactions between sellers of resources and buyers of those resources. This theory explains the interaction between the existence or availability of a product and the demand for that product on the price of the product. In this case, the product in question is narcotics.

The supply strategy is popular and is still a renowned approach in many countries. The public still strongly believes that good law enforcement is the key to reducing drug abuse and trafficking, but in reality, this is not the case. As pleasure-seeking creatures, humans have extraordinary creative abilities to fulfill these pleasure needs. As in the case of eradicating opium fields in Afghanistan or marijuana fields in Aceh various efforts to eradicate drug abuse and illicit trafficking have not eliminated the availability of these illicit goods in this country. So it is not surprising, the establishment of a world body under the UN (UNODC) which is also responsible for the problem of drugs and crime in all corners of the country. Meanwhile, the demand strategy is carried out through various prevention efforts and rehabilitation therapy. For individuals who acquire skills in preventing drug abuse or who undergo rehabilitation treatment, if they can manage their addictive behavior, it will reduce the number of people involved in drug abuse, and the possibility of returning to the "black world" will decrease. Both of these strategies have their respective shortcomings. The supply strategy recognizes that it will not be possible to reduce the number of people who abuse drugs in a short time. Therefore, a demand strategy is needed to help reduce the amount of demand for drugs so that there will be fewer drug abusers, namely by implementing programs that support reducing the number of drug abuse and illicit trafficking, for example being active in socializing activities about the dangers of drugs or carrying out rehabilitation as a recovery effort for addicts who have already fallen into drug abuse and illicit trafficking.

Supply and demand are interconnected and binding links in the chain of narcotics circulation. Supply is highly dependent on demand. If demand continues, so will supply. Conversely, if there is no demand from society, then supply will naturally cease.

The drug problem can be addressed if both demand and supply can be managed proportionally. When there is no demand, the supply will automatically disappear because it won't

sell. To reduce demand, the government, through the National Narcotics Agency (BNN) and other related institutions, has implemented a series of programs that reach down to the smallest units within society, through prevention efforts including community empowerment and rehabilitation.

Rehabilitation is seen as a strategic policy in tackling narcotics abuse. Edward Omar Sharif Hiariej said that rehabilitation is a treatment to restore users by being treated so they don't use them again.[5] As a strategic step to tackle narcotics abuse, the rehabilitation policy is regulated in the provisions of Article 54 of Law Number 35 of 2009 concerning Narcotics which stipulates that "Narcotics addicts and victims of narcotics abuse are required to undergo medical rehabilitation and social rehabilitation". In the provisions of Article 54, those who are required to undergo rehabilitation are narcotics addicts and victims of narcotics abuse. For addicts and victims of narcotics abuse, the author then uses the term mandatory rehabilitation cluster. The author uses the term cluster because addicts and victims of narcotics abuse have different specifications, but both fall within the same scope. Narcotics addicts are people who use or abuse narcotics and are dependent on narcotics, both physically and psychologically. Meanwhile, a victim of narcotics abuse is someone who accidentally uses narcotics because they are persuaded, deceived, forced, and/or threatened to use narcotics.

The mandatory reporting provisions are regulated in Article 55, namely parents or guardians of Narcotics Addicts who are not old enough. The report must be submitted to public health centers, hospitals, and/or medical rehabilitation and social rehabilitation institutions appointed by the Government to receive treatment and/or care through medical rehabilitation and social rehabilitation, and Narcotics Addicts who are of legal age are required to report themselves or reported by the family to the community health center, hospital, and/or medical rehabilitation and social rehabilitation institution appointed by the Government to receive treatment and/or care through medical rehabilitation and social rehabilitation.

Based on the provisions of Article 54 and Article 55 of the Narcotics Law, drug rehabilitation is carried out through two models: voluntary and compulsory. The compulsory rehabilitation model, in current developments, is transformed by utilizing a restorative justice approach so that addicts, abusers, or victims of drug abuse do not have to go through a complete process of the criminal justice system (SPP).

In the voluntary rehabilitation model, emphasis is placed on awareness within the community, primarily the awareness of addicts, abusers, or victims of drug abuse who have a desire to recover from their dependence on narcotics. Awareness is also expected from parents/families of addicts, abusers, and victims of drug abuse who are minors. Furthermore, under Article 55 of the Narcotics Law, the level of awareness from parents/families regarding minors is mandatory.

Drug abusers who voluntarily report themselves to the Compulsory Reporting Receiving Agency (IPWL) or are reported by their family members will not be criminally prosecuted. Meanwhile, drug abusers who do not report themselves to IPWL can be arrested by the authorities and will be prosecuted. This IPWL provision expects an active role from the community to tackle narcotics abuse which is growing very widely throughout all levels of society. The community's obligation to overcome narcotics crimes can be carried out by reporting narcotics abuse. However, the community's rights and obligations appear to be very limited, especially in taking action against the perpetrators of these crimes.

Narcotics abuse is a social problem that must receive legal intervention to overcome/resolve it. In this legal intervention, a comprehensive policy is needed so that the increasingly widespread problem of narcotics abuse is quickly resolved. One way is through rehabilitation. The short-term goal of rehabilitation is to free addicts from drug addiction by treating them. Meanwhile, the long-term goal is to prevent, protect, and save the Indonesian people from narcotics abuse. To achieve this rehabilitation goal, in the provisions of Article 54 of Law Number 35 of 2009 concerning Narcotics, Narcotics Addicts and victims of Narcotics abuse are required to undergo medical rehabilitation and social rehabilitation.

Compulsory legal process model rehabilitation is a rehabilitation policy for addicts, drug abusers, and victims of narcotics abuse using a coercive approach through the working mechanism

of the criminal justice system (SPP). Rehabilitation through a legal process begins with the work of Investigators/Investigators carrying out inquiries or investigations into reports from the public or being caught red-handed by Police officers regarding incidents of narcotics abuse. The consequence of implementing rehabilitation through a legal process mechanism is that addicts, drug abusers, and victims of narcotics abuse are positioned as criminals (crimes), so that the person concerned must go through the process of enforcing criminal law, namely the person concerned must go through the process of investigation, prosecution, undergo a trial process in court and implement the Court's decision.

3.2 Ideal Rehabilitation Policy Model for Overcoming Narcotics Supply and Demand in Indonesia

Considering that the number of narcotics abusers continues to increase from year to year, the Indonesian Government needs to have a policy to accelerate the rehabilitation of narcotics abusers. The results of the findings of BNN together with the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN) and the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), the figure for narcotics abuse in 2021 is 1.95 percent or the equivalent of 3,662,646 abusers. This figure increased from 2017 and 2019, which respectively amounted to 1.77 percent or the equivalent of 3,376,115 abusers, and 1.80 percent or the equivalent of 3,419,188 abusers.

Seeing data on the prevalence of narcotics abuse which continues to increase, a progressive rehabilitation approach is needed.[6] The progressive rehabilitation approach entails rehabilitation services that are easily accessible to all clusters regardless of social status, position, economic status, and so forth. It is considering that addicts, abusers, and victims of drug abuse, according to Anang Iskandar, are viewed as chronically addicted individuals from a health perspective, while from a legal standpoint, they are perpetrators of criminal acts who can be handled by imposing rehabilitative sanctions to prevent recurrence of similar actions. Both from health and legal aspects, the implementation of rehabilitation for drug abuse aims to heal drug users from addiction caused by drug abuse.[7]

Rehabilitation as a transformation in the criminal system, namely from the backward-oriented principle of "punishment", to the idea of "fostering" which is more forward-oriented is the appropriate policy to be applied to narcotics addicts and abusers. Addicts and drug abusers are more likely to have health problems. So imprisoning them is not effective in turning them into better people. On the contrary, imprisoning drug addicts and abusers has far-reaching implications, namely overcrowding of prisons or detention centers, prisons as classrooms for "upgrades", and rehabilitation becomes stagnant because it is not properly managed and approaches healing.

The public has quite high expectations for rehabilitation policies in eradicating illicit drug trafficking. The high expectancy for the rehabilitation policy is starting from the postulate that by curing narcotics addicts or abusers, the demand for narcotics will decrease. By reducing the demand, the illicit circulation of narcotics will gradually end. However, the facts are quite the opposite, the recent disclosure of drug factories in Semarang and Bali around the beginning of April and early May 2024, indicates that the supply and demand for narcotics in Indonesia is still very high.

Joint officers from the Directorate of Narcotics Crime, Bareskrim Polri, Polda Jateng, and Customs and Excise raided a house on Jl. Ngesrep Barat, Kel. Sronдол Kulon, District. Banyumanik Semarang City on Wednesday, April 3, 2024. The house is suspected of being a drug factory for methamphetamine and happy water. During the raid, officers arrested two perpetrators who were caught red-handed while mixing drugs. The two suspects who were arrested with the initials PR and F acted as makers or compounders. They have been operating in Semarang for 2 weeks and the perpetrator is a drug recidivist.

Bareskrim Polri Headquarters succeeded in uncovering a drug factory controlled by foreign nationals (WNA) in Vila Sunny in the Badung area, Bali on Friday, May 2, 2024. This villa was used as a clandestine location for a hydroponic laboratory for marijuana and mephedrone for the Indonesian Hydra network. Officers arrested four suspects with evidence found in three different

places. The disclosure of this case was the result of developments from the Sunter laboratory on April 4, 2024, belonging to the suspect FP. The National Police Criminal Investigation Unit Sub-Directorate III Dittipid Narcotics Team carried out a joint operation with the Directorate General of Customs and Excise, Soetta Airport Customs and Excise Regional Office, Bali Customs and Excise Regional Office, and Bali Immigration. After in-depth development and investigation. As a result of a search at Villa Sunny Badung, evidence of narcotics was found in the form of 9,799 grams of hydroponic marijuana, methamphetamine, cocaine, hashish, and 437 grams of mephedrone. Also found were ecstasy printing equipment and several clandestine laboratory equipments along with various types of precursor chemicals for making mephedrone drugs totaling 520,032 kilograms.

Rehabilitation is a strategic option in combating drug abuse, up to this point, there hasn't been another option that can replace it. Therefore, from both a conceptual and legal policy standpoint, rehabilitation certainly remains a rational choice for treating individuals who are sick due to their dependence on narcotics. However, the question arises whether the steps/policies of rehabilitation currently being implemented meet the desired outcomes or not.

Judging from a simple measure, namely data on the number of narcotics abusers which continues to increase, while the number of patients receiving rehabilitation facilities is not yet proportional, this is a strong indication that the implementation of rehabilitation policies has not met the desired achievements. This desired achievement has not been met, of course, some factors influence the working of rehabilitation policies for addicts, drug abusers, and victims of narcotics abuse. These factors, if guided by Lawrence M. Friedman's legal system theory, are substance factors, structural factors, or community culture.[8]

The essence of the law involves substantive rules and guidelines for institutional conduct. In this context, legal structure, as defined by Friedman, pertains to the foundational framework of a system—the enduring form and institutional essence. Additionally, legal culture, according to Friedman, encompasses social attitudes and values, where behavior is influenced by assessments of utility and correctness. Legal culture encompasses elements of general culture, including customs, opinions, modes of conduct, and thought processes that either align with or diverge from the legal framework.[8]

1. Legal substance factor

From the legal substance factor, the Minister of Law and Human Rights, when delivering the President's Explanation on the Draft Law Concerning the Second Amendment to Law Number 35 of 2009 concerning Narcotics before the Members of Commission III DPR RI on April 4 2022 said, “In its implementation, Law Number 35 of 2009 concerning Narcotics does not provide a clear conception of narcotics addicts, narcotics abusers and victims of narcotics abuse.” The same treatment between narcotics addicts, narcotics abusers, and victims of narcotics abuse and narcotics dealers or dealers, gives rise to injustice in their treatment. “The treatment of narcotics addicts, narcotics abusers, and victims of narcotics abuse should be focused on rehabilitation efforts through comprehensive and accountable assessment mechanisms.”

From the substantive aspect of the formulation that has existed since the beginning, narcotics addicts in Law Number 35 of 2009 concerning Narcotics have been considered a criminal act which is equated with importing, exporting, producing, planting, storing, and distributing. It can be seen in the Consideration letter d "that importing, exporting, producing, planting, storing, distributing and/or using Narcotics without strict and thorough control and supervision and contrary to statutory regulations constitutes a Narcotics crime...". With this equal position, the legal policy that appears strong in overcoming the narcotics problem in Indonesia is through penal (criminal) means. So in practice, law enforcement appears to trump health, as can be seen from the quantity and quality of criminal law provisions which are much more numerous and concentrated than provisions that promote a health approach. In practice, the law enforcement approach also tends to be dominant so the health approach becomes increasingly neglected.

2. Legal structure factors

The control and key to whether a person suspected of committing a crime of narcotics abuse receives rehabilitation facilities or not, rests with the Integrated Assessment Team (TAT). The problem is, the availability of TAT is not yet in line with the number of 514 Polres in 34 Polda. It certainly makes things difficult for investigators, especially since the investigation process is limited to 3 days.

The availability of rehabilitation places (homes) as well as adequate facilities and infrastructure are factors that hinder the implementation of rehabilitation. So, investigators chose to place narcotics abusers in detention.

Bahagia Dachi said that many rehab homes exist only for business purposes and restorative justice (RJ) is often misused for certain interests.[9]

According to Hengki, the problems related to the legal structure in implementing rehabilitation policies are:

- 1) It is too easy for rehabilitation homes to be established without established standards (requirement standards, service standards, regulatory standards)
- 2) There is no supervision (SOP) for existing rehabilitation centers, especially those managed by the private sector.
- 3) There are many transactional practices in the rehabilitation center environment[9]

Yos Guntur Yudi Fauris Susanto added that suspects who have been recommended for rehabilitation cannot enter the Lido rehabilitation center (limited quota). Suspects who want to enter a rehabilitation center must have a KIS card so that no fees are charged, if they don't have a KIS card they won't be accepted (they don't have a KIS card because of the cost factor). Another problem is the availability of rehabilitation homes managed by the Government located far from the Police Station.[9]

3. Cultural factors/community culture

Addicts are reluctant to undergo rehabilitation because they are already semi-insane (dual diagnosis) or have a serious illness that requires special medical treatment. It is due to the use of narcotics for years and has led to becoming a serious addict. Addicts don't want to open up and realize that narcotics are very dangerous, they are afraid of being operation targets.

The success or failure of the rehabilitation process is also determined by family support. There are still many people whose families are drug addicts who have not reported themselves. Society does not yet have a culture of voluntary rehabilitation. The view of law enforcement officials (APH) is that they still apply prison sentences for narcotics addicts.

Former narcotics addicts are not always able to adapt to their environment when they return to society. One of the causes that influence the difficulty of adjusting to the environment of former Narcotics Addicts is the inability of stakeholders and the wider community to protect and supervise Narcotics Addicts. The societal stigma against former Narcotics Addicts that has already been established has resulted in social attributes being built to discredit an individual or group regarding narcotics abuse. It has been established in society through internalizing social norms that already exist in society regarding determining the good and bad values of social behavior. It is suspected that society already believes that drugs and alcohol are the root of criminal acts, so individuals who are involved in drug or alcohol abuse are deviant behavior which will refer to stigma. The visible impact is that former Narcotics Addicts are alienated in the process of social integration into society

Former Narcotics Addicts cannot be said to be 'cured' because the sensation of the addictive substance will continue to be remembered by them and can relapse at any time

if they cannot control themselves well. One of the triggers for relapse is 'momentum' where at certain times or certain moments, Narcotics Addicts will remember the moment of drug use if the momentum is repeated, such as New Year's Eve, birthdays, and others. Suggestions for relapse are a disease that cannot be separated from the disease of addiction. When former Narcotics Addicts find it difficult to adapt to society, the socialization of values and norms is difficult for them to internalize which causes former Narcotics Addicts to become alienated from society. Those who are alienated will look for other ways to continue to have their existence recognized. Unfortunately, the social groups that are most receptive to them are social groups that tolerate the same values and norms as them, namely social groups that have a history or are even still involved in narcotics abuse. Intense association or interaction with social groups like this will worsen the condition of former addicts, making it very difficult to get out of this circle.

The factors mentioned above result in suboptimal implementation of rehabilitation policies and insignificant achievements in law enforcement efforts to combat drug abuse. To maximize the implementation of rehabilitation policies, in the next steps, rehabilitation must be established as a constitutional right to be obtained by all clusters of drug abusers from the outset.

Addicts, abusers, and victims of drug abuse, once apprehended by Investigators, are immediately placed in rehabilitation centers. While in rehabilitation centers, Investigators conduct examinations for deepening (tracking) to determine whether the individual is involved in the network of drug trafficking or is purely a user. Additionally, through this tracking, Investigators can obtain information about others in their circle who also use drugs.

Drug Investigators, with their experience, can surely determine whether someone is a drug user or a user involved in the drug trafficking network. This instinct of the Investigators is then strengthened/validated scientifically in an assessment forum by the Treatment Assessment Team (TAT). The initial indications serve as guidance for Investigators to place the apprehended individuals in rehabilitation centers, namely:

1. At the time of arrest, evidence of daily use of narcotics was found; or
2. Witness statements.

Laboratory test results on suspects are used in the TAT forum. So, in the initial stages of an arrest, investigators rely on evidence found during the arrest or witnesses who provide information/information about who is using/using narcotics. In this case, investigators are only guided by 1 (one) piece of evidence.

4 Conclusion

Based on the results of the analysis above, it can be concluded:

1. There are 2 (two) models for the rehabilitation policy for narcotics abusers, namely the voluntary model and the compulsory legal process model. The implementation of the rehabilitation policy through a voluntary system is hampered by the attitude of the community which tends to cover up the existence of narcotics abuse in their surroundings or their families because there are feelings of shame and fear, so the rehabilitation process through the voluntary system is relatively small. Rehabilitation through the legal process is faced with expensive costs and requires a long time waiting for a court decision. There is a disparity in rehabilitation through the legal process, namely those who obtain rehabilitation facilities without going through the criminal justice process are placed directly in rehabilitation centers/homes, but on the other hand, quite a few narcotics abusers do not receive rehabilitation facilities and have to undergo a criminal process until they finally have to undergo a criminal sentence in prison.
2. An effective rehabilitation policy model for tackling the supply and demand for narcotics in Indonesia is a progressive rehabilitation policy. The progressive rehabilitation policy means that narcotics abusers from the start receive rehabilitation facilities/services in

rehabilitation centers. In this case, investigators did not place narcotics abusers in detention, but placed them in a rehabilitation center. Because of the status of those arrested, their status/position is not that of people in conflict with the law, but rather people who have problems in the health sector.

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