

Attitude Fosters Support for Indonesia's Drug War: A Quantitative Analysis of The University Students of Indonesia

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Abstract

This quantitative study investigates the direct attributors to the formation of the intention of the Indonesian university students in supporting the War on Drugs of the Widodo administration. The core of this research rest upon the imperative role of public support to the furtherance of the enforcement of contentious policies such as the War on Drugs. This study is theoretically anchored from the Theory of Planned Behavior of Icek Ajzen which links Attitude, Subjective norm, and Perceived Behavioral Control to intention - the intention to support the War on Drugs of Jokowi's administration. In answer to the questions raised by the research, a self-reported questionnaire survey was conducted to 194 students enrolled in selected universities in Indonesia, namely, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Universitas Islamic Institute, and Universities Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. Structural Equation Modelling and regression analysis was employed in evaluating and analyzing the results gathered from the survey. The analysis revealed that among Attitude, Subjective Norm, and Perceive Behavioral Control, only Attitude has emerged to have a positive impact over the intention of the students to support Indonesia's Drug War Strategies. Hence, positive attitude towards the drug war is argued to drive intentions of support from the public. Consequently, in programs aimed at increasing public support for Drug War, attitude transformation strategies must be the core focus.

Indexing terms/Keywords: Public Support, Attitude, War on Drugs, Indonesia,

Type (Method/Approach): Survey

Introduction

Illegal drugs remain to be a colossal challenge in Indonesia. In the year 2014, the National Anti-Narcotics Agency or BNN conducted a joint study with the University of Indonesia (UI)'s Health Research Center, revealing a death rate estimate of 33 deaths per day- death caused by abusive drug use (Maulia 2015). In a report of South China Morning Post, Sulistiandriatmoko, the chief representative of the National Anti-Narcotics Agency, revealed that the official data shows there are nearly six million drug users across the Indonesian archipelago, out of a total population of 261 million (Hambali 2017). The immensity of the data figures puts Indonesia as the largest drug market in Asia, according to the National Anti-Narcotics Agency Head (Hambali 2017). In addition, the United Nation Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) revealed that Indonesia is one of the countries with the most number of narcotic user which is estimated to be at an average of 1.5% of Indonesia's population and 22 percent of the 1.5% that are reported to be involved in narcotic abuse are teenagers (Linchia et al. 2017).

Consequently, Indonesia strongly implements the war on drugs approach in response to the alarming drug rate (Fransiska et al. 2011). The Indonesian version of the War on Drugs is described to be leaning on a more punitive slant (Stoicescu 2017). In fact, the government of Indonesia considers drugs to be its 'first and foremost enemy' hence why drug elimination remains to be the government's top priority (Fransiska et al. 2011).

Encouraged by the strict approach of the neighbouring country, Philippines, while under the Presidency of Rodrigo Roa Duterte, President Joko Widodo of Indonesia called for a stricter anti-drugs approach. Prior to taking the reins of Presidency, Joko Widodo was long known for his vocal support to tough measures in tackling the drug issues hence, after assuming office, President Jokowi announced the return of executions of convicts under death sentence; most were drug offenders (Cook 2018). The approach of the government of Indonesia has received international condemnations after the executions of the 14 people convicted with drug-related offences in the year 2015. The refusal of clemency to drug offenders on the death row and the increase of the budget to expand the anti-drug campaign operations were measures undertaken by the Indonesian government in answer to the invocation of President Widodo for a stronger drug campaign (Stoicescu 2017). The National Narcotics Agency (BNN), continues the “war against drugs”, which is described to target not only drug producers, dealers and couriers but also users (Irwanto 2015). President Jokowi has in fact stated in strong and bold terms in July of 2017: “Be firm, especially to foreign drug dealers who enter the country and resist arrest. Shoot them because we indeed are in a narcotics emergency position now” (Reuters Report 2017; Cook 2018).

President Jokowi’s Drug war is argued to have yielded more harm than benefits for the Indonesians in terms of the increase in coercive measures documented, the overcrowding in prisons, compulsory detentions, raids and forced drug testing (Stoicescu 2017). Stoicescu (2017) argues that this caused breaches in confidentiality whereby disclosures of personal details and medical records of suspected drug users were handed over to authorities which consequently placed the suspected users away from health services. Furthermore, the initial deterrent of the drug offensive launched by the Indonesian government was revealed by the United Nations Office on Drugs Crime to have remained unchanged (Stoicescu 2017).

Critics emerging against the Indonesian version of Drug War stresses that Widodo’s thrust for punitive measures was a strategic attempt to revive his popularity and to be casted as a strongman rather than a puppet of the political elites of Indonesia (Stoicescu 2017). Stoicescu (2017) further argued that the violent attempt of solving the drug problem in Indonesia is analyzed to be an attempt by President Widodo to redeem his credibility from his voters for a prospective reelection. Despite international and local condemnations, popular support towards Jokowi’s strategy to tackle illegal drugs remains wide and massive (Cook 2018). This means that domestically, the violent and punitive approach to counter the drug problem remains to be widely supported by President Widodo’s constituents. The execution of drug offenders in the death row, a manifestation of Indonesia’s drug war, is claimed to have gained the widespread support from the Indonesian public despite the being criticized internationally (Indonesia Investment 2016). Simatupang (2016) argued the same notion stating that public and mass media tend to support the punitive approach as a manifestation of war on drugs.

This case is similar to the domestic setting in the neighboring country, Philippines where support for Duterte’s Drug War is unquestionably widespread (Aquino 2017). Indonesia’s War on drugs has also remained strengthened by the support of the public to the stricter drug policy and the tougher strategy in tackling the issue of illegal drugs. This wide support fuels the continuance of the policy. In fact, Strang et al. (2012) argued that debates on drug policies are minimally informed by scientific evidences but are more driven by the values and political processes. Also, public support is important for the policy to achieve its intended impact (Schneider and Ingram 1990). Consequently, the support of the Indonesian Public must not hastily be dismissed as it is an interesting research and this public support provides legitimization to Jokowi’s Drug War.

Thus, analyzing public support becomes very imperative. To ask why the people of Indonesia supports the Drug War despite the negative remarks from the international community is the gap that the research had focused to address. The significance of this research focus brings about awareness on the more impactful interventions that would be aid the smoother and wider enforcement of the policy.

In analyzing the factors of public support, the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) Model of Icek Ajzen (1991) is utilized. The Theory of Planned Behavior introduced three constructs, Attitude, Subjective Norm, and Perceived behavioral control, and described the three to be the predictor variables that form the intention of an individual in performing a behavior. The Theory of Planned Behavior is employed in various studies in different fields of

study. In fact, in the field of education, the TPB model has successfully predicted drop-out and graduation behavior (Fichten et al. 2016), and the adoption of Public Relations faculty of online courses features (Knabe 2012). The potential of TPB model in analyzing fertility intentions as an aid to public policy is also explored (Ajzen and Klobas 2013). Environmental activism (Fielding et al., 2008) and Cyber-Faking (Grieve and Elliott 2013) have also been a subject for research through the employment of TPB Model. The main argument of the Theory of Planned Behavior rest upon the notion that the analysis of behavioral intention would have predictive potentialities for the performance or non-performance of the behavior. This is borne out of the argument of Ajzen (1991) that intention is the greatest predictor of behavior and that most likely than not, individuals perform certain behaviors out of their intention to do so, for as long it is within the individual's volitional control. Behavioral Intention is defined as a function of an individual's attitude toward the behavior, the subjective norm surrounding the performance of the behavior, and the individual's perception of the ease with which the behavior can be performed (Otieno et al. 2016). Subsequently, this means that if the individual's performance of a behavior is a product of his or her intention; this intention is formed out of the attitude, subjective norm (perceived social influence), and perceived behavioral control of the individual. Since supporting a policy is an active behavior, the research aims to employ the TPB model in analyzing how attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control positively impact the individual's intention to support the War on Drugs of Indonesia.

In framing the research, hypothesized relationships of three predictor variables with the dependent variable which is behavioral intention were constructed. The first hypothesis is that Attitude has a positive association with the intention to support Indonesia's War on Drugs. Attitude is defined to be the negative or positive evaluation of an individual to the performance of a particular behavior (Ceder and Chowdhury 2013). It is determined by beliefs about the outcomes of performing the behavior and the evaluation of these outcomes (Otieno et al. 2016). Specifically, in this study, attitude is defined to be the evaluation of the respondents to the act of supporting the drug war. It is hypothesized that the more positive the attitude are, then there would be greater intentions to support the Drug War. Hence, the first hypothesis states:

H1: Attitude positively affects the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies

The second hypothesis states that subjective norm has a positive relationship with the intent to support Indonesia's drug war. Subjective norm is defined to be the individual's perception of the social obligation to conform or to not conform to how the people around him or her see the act of supporting Indonesia's drug war. Particularly in this study, subjective norm is defined to be the construct that refer to the respondents' perception of the social pressure of the people surrounding them regarding the act of supporting Indonesia's War on Drugs. It is hypothesized that the greater the perceived social expectations are, then there would be greater intentions to support the Drug War. In relation, the second hypothesis states:

H2: Subjective norm positively affects the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies.

The third hypothesis states that perceived behavioral control has a positive association with behavioral intention. Perceived Behavioral Control is defined to be the ease and difficulty in performing the behavior (Knabe 2009). It is defined as a perception of the factors facilitating or inhibiting performance of the behavior (Ajzen 1991). In this study, perceived behavioral control refer to the perception of the respondents to the ease and difficulty of the act of supporting Indonesia's War on Drugs. This is measured by asking the students whether they are in control of their decision to support War on Drugs and whether they find it easy or difficult to show support. It is hypothesized that the greater the perceived control of the students are towards their decision to support the Drug War, the more likely would they intend to support the Drug War. Hence, the third hypothesis states:

H3: Perceived Behavioral control positively affects the intent to support the 'War on Drugs' strategies.

These three hypotheses bring direction to the aims of the research. Testing and analysis of these three hypotheses would shed light on which among the three is the strongest predictor of intention. The results could

then potentially become a guidance for the policy makers and agencies in understanding, what the citizens consider as acceptable and what the citizens would willingly support, in the context of Indonesia's Drug Policy.

The chosen research setting is Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Yogyakarta is among the provinces with the highest drug rate in the country. Specifically, three universities in Yogyakarta were chosen as the specific research setting. Universities were chosen specifically because of the reason that there is high illicit drug use in universities (Yi et al. 2017). A report from the National Narcotics Agency (2016) revealed that the highest prevalence of drug abuse is among ages 20 to 29; the same age group of the students in university. Simatupang (2016) has in fact argued that the war on drugs in Indonesia is considered to be a war on young generation because the policy has primarily victimized the lives of the young generation.

This research would facilitate the understanding of why Indonesia's drug war remains widely supported despite its growing negativity as portrayed in the international community. Furthermore, this research would significantly provide a guidance to government agencies on how the war on drugs of Indonesia could foster wider public support and more impactful results. This research particularly contributes to the area of Behavioral Public Administration which is a developing perspective in Public Administration research. Grimmelikhuijsen et al. (2016) defined Behavioral Public Administration as the matrimony of Psychology and Public Administration. It is a micro-level perspective in the field of public administration, aimed at integrating theories, models, and concepts of psychology into the practice of public administration. The goal is to connect both fields by employing what Grimmelikhuijsen et al. (2016) called a psychology-informed approach in analyzing the people's support towards the Drug War of President Joko Widodo.

Materials and Methods

The study employs a quantitative research design. A self-questionnaire survey was conducted to a total of 194 students from three of the universities in Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Universitas Gadjah Mada, Universitas Islam Indonesia, and Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. SPSS Version 22 and the SPSS AMOS Version 22 was used to evaluate the measurement model, to conduct the regression analysis and Structural Equation Modeling, and to assess the relationships of the constructs and the fitness of the model used. AMOS which is known as Analysis of Moments Squares provides a statistical technique of analyzing the graphical model, its measurements, and its regression relationships. AMOS has provided a technique for analysis that would verify the relationships of the attributors chosen and the attributors' relationship to the intention of supporting the Drug War. Yogyakarta is specifically chosen since it was listed as one of the top provinces with the highest drug rate. In a survey conducted by the National Anti-narcotics Agency in the year 2015 and it was revealed that Yogyakarta is among the provinces that has the highest drug rate, alongside Jakarta (BNN 2016). Three universities were chosen for the research; all three are situated within Yogyakarta. The university students were chosen as the respondents because of the reported high prevalence of illicit drug use among university students in Indonesia, Philippines, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, and Singapore (Yi et. al, 2017). Students enrolled in the bachelor's degree for Governmental studies were requested to participate in the survey. The researchers chose students of governmental studies to securely assume that the respondents of the study are politically aware and adequately informed about the Drug policies of President Widodo. Given that the Governmental studies is a field that is closely linked to the subject matter, students of the bachelor's degree in governmental studies were chosen as respondents. Furthermore, Chang The survey was conducted from December of 2017 to February of 2018. All the respondents were enrolled in the university during the duration of the survey.

Results and Discussion

The study analyzed three main predictor variable that were hypothesized to have a positive relationship with the dependent variable, behavioral intention. These three predictor variables are Attitude, Subjective Norm, and Perceived Behavioral Control. The statistical results are presented in this part of the paper.

The first step in conducting a Structural Equation Modelling is to assess the indicator items constructed and designed to measure the constructs or the variables of the research. Confirmatory Factor Analysis is a statistical procedure that can be ran using the SPSS AMOS software. The procedure provides an assessment of how well the indicator items designed to measure the construct, relate to the construct and how reliable these indicator items are as measurements of the constructs. Results of the Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) come in the form of Standardized Regression coefficients or Factor Loadings and are located within the arrows that connect the indicator items to the constructs. Covariances or the interrelationship of one variable to another variable can also be obtained through CFA. Three main constructs and its respective set of indicators are analyzed and the reliability of the chosen indicators are confirmed out of the results of the CFA. A summary of the results of the CFA is presented in Table 2. It must be noted that some of the indicator items with the lowest factor loadings were removed in order for the constructs to arrive at an Average Variance Extracted (AVE) value of 0.50 or greater. Presented in the Table 2 are the Factor Loadings, the Cronbach Alpha, the Composite Reliability, and the Average Variance Extracted.

Table 2. Measurement Model

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

<i>Perceived Behavioral Control</i>	PERC 1	0.84	0.874	0.876	0.587
	PERC 2	0.81			
	PERC 3	0.74			
	PERC 4	0.68			
	PERC 6	0.75			

- a. Factor Loadings must be above 0.50
- b. Cronbach Alpha must be above 0.70
- c. Composite Reliability must be above 0.70
- d. Average Variance Extracted must be above 0.50

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

Table 2 above presents the fitness of the indicators used in measuring every construct. It is noteworthy that all of the indicator items hold factor loadings of above 0.50 which indicates strong indicator reliability. Factor Loadings obtained from a Confirmatory Factor Analysis conducted using AMOS Version 22 reveals that the indicator items constructed as measurements of the variables have reached the required threshold which is 0.50 (Hulland 1999, 198; Hair et al. 2010). Component Loadings were also presented in the measurement table that indicates the correlation of every indicator item to the construct or variable. It is also revealed that the component loadings are strong and well-above the threshold of 0.50 which indicates that the indicator items chosen are correlated to the construct that it meant to measure. Cronbach Alpha values are also presented in Table 2 and as evidenced by the values that are all above 0.70, the reliability of the indicator. Cronbach alpha values are also considered to be both validity and reliability coefficients (Garson 2016) and good Cronbach alpha values must be above 0.70 (Nunnally 1978). Furthermore, the composite reliability values are also presented. Composite Reliability values indicate internal consistency and must be well-above 0.70 (Gefen et al. 2000).

The second step of the analysis is the structural model test which involves the evaluation of the model fitness prior to its analysis. The fitness of the model depicts the measures of merit of the model.

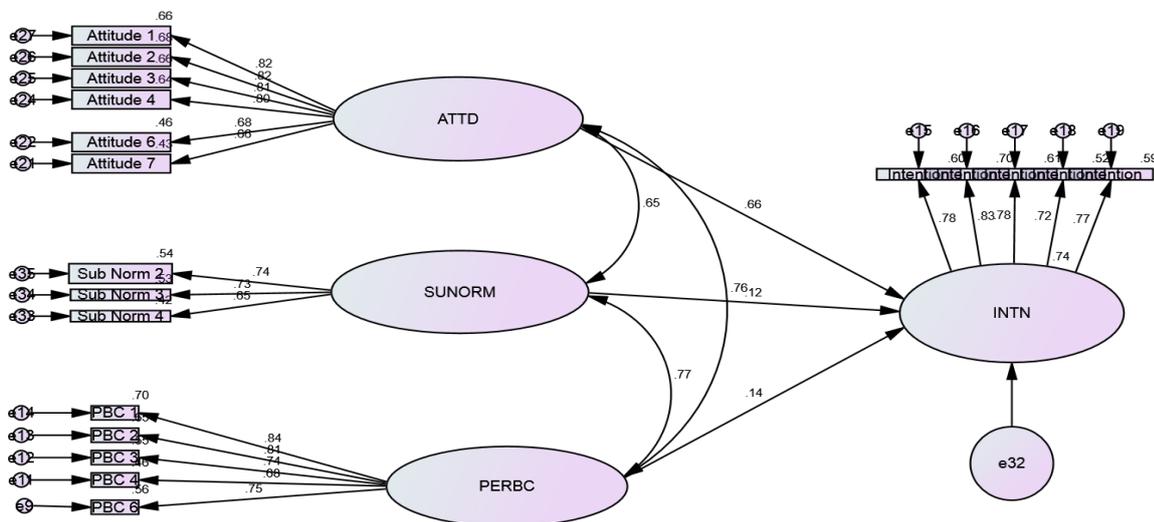
Table 3. Model Fitness Results

Fit Indices	Recommended Value	Model's Value	Remarks
Chi Square/ Degrees of Freedom (CMIN/DF)	Less than 3	1.836	Good
Tucker Lewis Index (TLI)	A value close to 1 indicates a very good fit	0.934	Good
Incremental Fit Index (IFI)	A value close to 1 indicates a very good fit	.0945	Good

Comparative Fit Index (CFI)	A value close to 1 indicates a very good fit	0.944	Good
RMSEA	Values less than 0.07 (Steiger 2007)	0.066	Good

It can be observed that the model used in the research has met the recommended fit indices. As evidenced from the values that the model obtained and is presented in Table 3, it is confirmed that the model has passed all fit indices which a CMIN/DF value of 1.836, a TLI, CFI, and IFI of all above 0.90 and a RMSEA of less than 0.07. These results confirm the model's fitness and merit. Subsequently, the third step of the Structural Equation Modelling is the path analysis which connects the three independent variables or predictor constructs to Behavioral Intention. The regression results that can be obtained using this step of the research analysis confirms the relationships of Attitude, Subjective Norm, and Perceived Behavioral Control in the intention-formation of the respondents to support the Drug War of President Joko Widodo.

Figure 2. Structural Equation Modelling Results



It is depicted in Figure 2, the coefficient of determination, also known as the regression is 0.74. This means that the model designed by and analyzed for the study explains 74% of the variance in Behavioral Intention. This means that 74% of the increase or decrease of intention can be explained by the model while the remaining 26% are explained by other unaccounted variables. Regression Square is largely affected by the relationships of every construct to Behavioral Intention. These relationships are portrayed from the regression results generated from AMOS that are exemplified in Table 4.

Table 4. Regression Weights

	Estimate	C.R. ^a	p ^b
Behavioral Intention <--- Attitude	.655	6.417	***
Behavioral Intention <--- Subjective Norm	.140	1.175	.240

	Estimate	C.R. ^a	p ^b
Behavioral Intention <--- Perceived Behavioral Control	.123	1.159	.246

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

b. p refer to the p value which indicates the significant

Note: *** refer to p values of less than 0.001.

Regression weights which are reflected in Table 4 represent the influence of the respective variable to behavioral intention, which is the dependent variable. Relationship among variables are confirmed if certain criteria are attained, namely, a regression weight of more than 0.10 which indicates a certain effect (Urbach and Ahlehmann 2010), a critical ratio of greater than or equal to 1.96, and a significant p value of less than or equal to 0.05. With these criteria in consideration and in reference to the results presented in Table 4, it can be observed that among the three variables, only attitude has a positive impact over the intention of the students to support Jokowi's Drug policy. This positive impact is evidenced by Attitude's regression weight of 0.655, a relationship that is significant at a p value of less than 0.001 and a Critical Ratio of greater than 1.96. This means that Hypothesis 1, which stated that Attitude positively affects the Intent to support the War on Drugs Strategies, is supported.

However, the second hypothesis indicating the positive relationship of Subjective Norm to Intention is rejected as it has obtained a regression weight of 0.14, at a non-significant p value of .240, and a critical ratio of less than 1.96. Same is true with the third hypothesis which stated that perceived behavioral control has a positive impact over intent. Hypothesis 3 is rejected as the results fail to support the hypothesis from an apparent regression weight of 0.123, at a non-significant p value of 0.246, and a critical ratio of 1.159 which is less than 1.96.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the popularity of the Drug War and on why it has gained widespread support from the Indonesians is primarily driven by the attitude of the citizens towards the drug war. The research argues that the students' attitude towards supporting Drug War and their evaluation of whether supporting it is good or bad, primarily propels the intention of the students in supporting the policy. Increase in positive attitudes therefore would lead to the increase in the intention to support. Logically, efforts to foster positive attitudes towards the drug policy of Widodo would promote the furtherance of the public's support in the drug war. The research also argues that despite the strong social bonds between families, peers, and even within the school environment, the decision of the students with regards to the Drug War appear to be unaffected by the social forces. Lastly, the ease of supporting the policy does not appear to have any effect to the student's decision of supporting the Drug War.

The results of the study imply that strategic government interventions aimed at increasing the public support towards Jokowi's Drug War strategies, must take into account the pivotal role played by the public's attitude towards the Drug War. In other words, a more impactful drug war that is garnered from the public's widespread support, can be furthered and attained by conducting more attitude-transformative programs. These are founded from the results of the research that argues that the more positive the attitude of the people are towards the Drug War, the more the people would be keen enough to support it. Attitude transformation programs may come in forms of seminars, information drive, publicity strategies, and other engagements that would promote the people's understanding of the Drug War and what it aims to address. Open dialogue and increased communications would positively advance the drug policy towards more policy analysis and evidenced-based interventions that can enhance the anti-drug strategies and provide more opportunity for the public to give inputs. It can also shed light to the controversies surrounding Indonesia's Drug War and could shift the negative connotation of the Drug War and how it is conducted in Indonesia.

Data Availability

The data may be accessed by contacting queenietomaro@gmail.com. The data are in both excel and .sav format.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare that there are no conflicts of interest in the submission of this article for publication.

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