INFOGRAPHICS BOOKLET OF

RESEARCH ON IMPACTS AND COSTS OF HANDLING NARCOTICS CRIME IN INDONESIA

IJRS Indonesia Judicial Research Society
CDS
LBHM Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Masyarakat
ICJR Institute for Criminal Justice Reform
Ekonomi dan Bisnis
Lembaga Demografi

Infographics Booklet of Research on Impacts and Costs of Handling Narcotics Crime in Indonesia

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This booklet was published by a team of researchers from Indonesia Judicial Research Society (IJRS) in collaboration with Center for Detention Studies (CDS), Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Masyarakat (LBHM), Institute for Criminal Justice Reform (ICJR), and Lembaga Demografi Fakultas Ekonomi dan Bisnis Universitas Indonesia. Views and findings outlined in this publication are views and findings of the team of researchers.

A. UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF COST OF CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE TO EXAMINE THE COST OF HANDLING NARCOTICS CRIME

The concept of Cost of Crime and Criminal Justice is a multi-disciplinary analytical approach by identifying and estimating **impacts** (negative) and **costs** arising from a crime, including the cost expended for criminal justice process.

The cost and impact estimation framework covers all costs expended by all parties, both paid by **offenders** who undergo legal process, **victims** who incur losses from a crime, the **government** that operates the criminal justice process, and the **community** as part of a social ecosystem.[1] Collective accumulation of all costs should illustrate a "**price**" for (a) crime.

When estimating the cost arises from a crime, this study will estimate **direct cost** of a crime. Direct cost refers to any costs expended in an exchange/transaction expressed in the form of money (monetary exchange), for example the cost expended by victims to pay for healthcare in hospital. This study will also estimate **indirect cost.** It refers to any costs expended for any "derivative" impacts of a crime. This indirect cost will estimate opportunity cost, for example, suspects/ defendants who undergo legal process indirectly loss their productive opportunity from any work left behind. In addition, this study will also consider **intangible cost,** the opposite of direct cost, which takes form as non-monetary cost. The intangible cost will estimate the cost of psychological condition that is altered after a crime occurred, for example, the cost inflicted by trauma, low self-esteem, or fear that emerges as a result of a crime.[2]

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1 See the Conceptual Framework section.
2 Cohen, M.A. (2020). The Costs of Crime and Justice (2nd ed.). Routledge.

1. WHY COST OF CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESEARCH IS NECESSARY TO BE CONDUC-TED?

- A doctrinal (normative-juridical) legal research is constricted by **limitations** because it tends to view a crime narrowly as a violation of state legal norms that leads to criminal punishments with its consequence which only impacts the offender (individualization of criminal punishment principle).

- However, every event, including a crime, always generates responses from various parties (from the perspective of victims, offenders, community, and the state), which these responses can be calculated in financial terms, that if collectively estimated, all of those costs should illustrate the "actual" impact of a crime.

- This cost of crime and criminal justice model research aims to supplement the capture of the "actual" impact of a crime, by using the empirical approach, particularly an economic estimation model to learn and perceive a crime.

- The "actual" impact estimation of a crime will ultimately reflect the "price" of a crime that may be better conceptualized and put in comparison in a measurable manner by using a standard unit cost (rupiah).

- Snapshot of the "actual" impact and "price" of a crime undoubtedly will be beneficial for policymakers to forecast consequences of a policy model option, and automatically, it will help choosing more effective, efficient, and just policy alternatives.[3]

3 The policy refers to any policy, for example, a policy concerning criminal justice system, a policy concerning crime mitigation (not necessarily in criminal justice sector), crime prevention policy, a policy concerning restitution for victims (including Victim Trust Fund), and others.

2. WHY NARCOTICS CASES ARE CHOSEN FOR THIS RESEARCH?

Narcotics crime is the highest criminal cases processed in the Indonesian criminal justice system. Quoting the 2023 Annual Report of the Indonesian Supreme Court, there were a total of 44,830 narcotics cases processed by district courts throughout Indonesia in 2023, or equivalent to 38.06% of the grand total of 117 thousand cases of general crimes.[4] Referring to the 2023 Annual Report of the Directorate General of Corrections, narcotics inmates made up 53.04% of total prison inmates. Since the number is extremely dominant, narcotics cases are critical to be used as the object for the preliminary research on cost of crime and criminal justice system in Indonesia. In the future, the estimation of cost of crime and criminal justice system should also be adopted for other types of crime.

3. BRIEF SUMMARY OF RESEARCH ON IMPACTS AND COSTS OF HANDLING NARCOTICS CRIME

Many argue that the narcotics issue is restricted only to legal issues: a person who has violated the law by being caught using or trafficking narcotics, which is then responded to with criminal punishments (end of question). However, from an empirical perspective, legal issues related to narcotics generate a massively broad factual impact, affecting various socio-economic life aspects of a person, and the community.

Although narcotics crime does not produce any victim (victimless crime),[5] but empirically a narcotics crime generates other impacts, sustained from the perspective of the offender, offender's family, and even the community and government. When a person allegedly commits narcotics crime and is subject to legal process, this research captures

4 2023 Annual Report of the Indonesian Supreme Court, p. 101.

5 Narcotics crime generally includes a consensual transaction between narcotics users and illegal narcotics traders (distributors), making it classified as a non-violent crime which also constitutes a victimless crime.

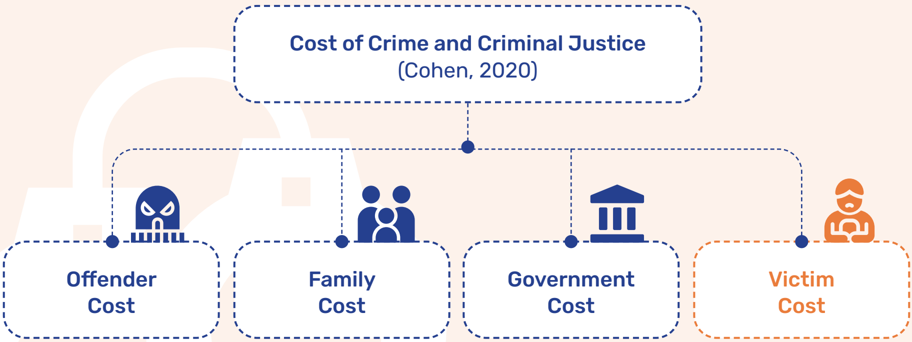
direct costs expended by suspects/defendants, such as paying for advocate's fees. If estimated further, the criminal justice process also incurs indirect cost. For instance, suspects/defendants lost their job opportunity when they were detained/imprisoned (opportunity cost). When suspects/defendants act as the breadwinner, very often this condition leads to chain effects to their family. They could be drowned in pile of debts, could lose their home because it had to be sold to pay a criminal fine, their children could be dropped out because they had to start working immediately to replace the primary breadwinner who had been detained or imprisoned, and others. Moreover, legal process undergone by a person also incurs cost relating to psychological conditions suffered by relevant parties (intangible cost), such as experiencing trauma, mental instability, and others.

When a crime, including the criminal justice process as its reaction, generates a meaningful impact to a person undergoing legal process and their family, in a bigger picture, it is not impossible for the community, as a larger collective composed of numerous families, and the state to also bear the "side effect" and the social cost of a crime.

B. ESTIMATING IMPACTS AND COSTS OF HANDLING NARCOTICS CRIME

1. Conceptual Framework

Figure 1. Cost of Crime Framework by Mark A. Cohen (2020)



The general framework of cost of crime and criminal justice developed by Mark A. Cohen provides a structured approach to estimate economic and social impacts of a crime and its law enforcement process. This framework consists of four main components: offender cost, family cost, government cost, and victim cost.

Offender cost

This component estimates losses sustained by the offender, such as loss of expenses for legal fees, loss of income due to being imprisoned or undergoing legal process, and loss of opportunity because of reputational damage that affects their future economic and social aspects.

Family cost

This component estimates impacts endured by the offender's family. For instance, the family may face a decline in household income due to missing breadwinner's role, and psychological stress due to social stigma and embarrassment. This component also includes additional cost expended by the family to support the legal process of the offender.

Government cost

This component estimates costs expended by the government to perform law enforcement measures, including the cost of law enforcers to perform preliminary investigation and investigation, administrative judiciary fees, correctional cost, rehabilitation programs, and other supporting costs. All of those costs contribute to significant state fiscal burden.

Victim cost

This component estimates cost sustained by the victim, such as physical injury, psychological trauma, loss of assets, and recovery cost (e.g. medical or counselling fees). Usually, victim cost remains as the primary focus in conventional crimes involving violence or theft.

In this research, the victim cost aspect will be excluded because the object of this research is narcotics cases that are deemed as a victimless crime.

2. Methodology

This research adopts a mix method, an approach that uses quantitative and qualitative data. This approach is useful in presenting perspectives from various data sources, including justice seekers, experts, and other data. Hence, collected data are able to demonstrate existing conditions in more precise and representative manners. Quantitative data are collected through surveys and interviews with offenders and their family, while qualitative data are collected from literature study, analysis of Government budget documents and interviews with Ministries/Agencies.

Surveys and Interviews with Offenders and Their Family

Surveys were performed against

380 respondents

selected through quota sampling in Jabodetabek (Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, Bekasi) area with the following criteria:[6]

6 These 380 respondents were selected by quota sampling. While these 380 respondents in this study are not methodologically representative of all population narcotics cases in Indonesia, but these 380 respondents still provide several preliminary findings to kickstart subsequent research.

Table 1. Category and Number of Respondents

Category and Number of Respondents	Status of Respondents
Inmates: 150 respondents.[7]	Narcotics Inmates who are convicted with: ◎ imprisonment >0 - 5 years ◎ imprisonment >5 - 10 years ◎ imprisonment >10 - 15 years ◎ imprisonment >15 - 20 years ◎ life imprisonment ◎ capital punishment, as regulated in Narcotics Law (2009). Those Narcotics Inmates were put in the following Correctional Facilities: ◎ IIA-Class Correctional Facility, Cipinang Jakarta ◎ IIA-Class Correctional Facility, Salemba Jakarta ◎ IIA-Class Women Correctional Facility, Jakarta ◎ IIA-Class Women Correctional Facility, Tangerang
Rehab Patients: 41 respondents.	Narcotics rehab (rehabilitation) patients are those who are given the referral to receive medical rehabilitation service and whose criminal case is discontinued at the pre-adjudication stage (without any decision rendered by a criminal court).
Ex-Inmates: 101 respondents.	Persons who have served their imprisonment sentence.
Offender's Family Members : 88 respondents.	Family members refer to: ◎ Parents of inmates or ex-inmates; ◎ Biological Relatives/Persons who live under one roof with the inmates or ex-inmates; ◎ Persons who know the legal process of their family members who have undergone narcotics criminal process

7 Inmates are different from Convicts. Convicts refer to those who have been proven guilty and sentenced with (any) criminal punishment, while Inmates are Convicts who are sentenced with criminal punishment and currently serving that criminal sentence in the form of deprivation of freedom, e.g. imprisonment.

In the data presentation below, the respondent categories of **Inmates** (1), **Rehab Patients** (2), and **Ex-Inmates** (3) are collectively referred to as **'Offender Respondents'**, distinguished from the offender's **'Family Members Respondents'** category. This distinction is intended to facilitate the separation of offender costs and family costs, as outlined in the Conceptual Framework section above.[8]

Studying Government Budget Documents

Analysis study of government budget documents was performed to estimate costs expended by Ministries/Agencies. Information regarding the cost estimation expended by Ministries/Agencies was obtained by accessing various public documents concerning the budget of Ministries/Agencies responsible for handling narcotics crime, include the Supreme Court, Attorney General's Office, Police, National Narcotics Board (*Badan Narkotika Nasional* – BNN), and Directorate General of Corrections of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. Documents that are analyzed include Financial Audit Reports produced by the Audit Board of Indonesia (*Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan* – BPK), Budget Implementation Checklists (*Daftar Isian Pelaksanaan Anggaran* – DIPA), Input Cost Standards, Output Cost Standards, and other relevant documents.

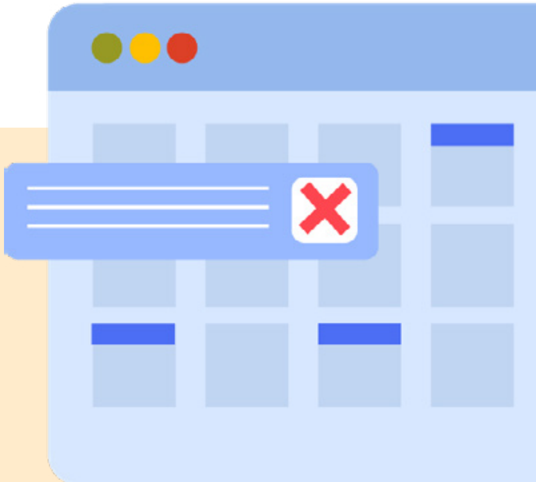
In-Depth Interviews

In-depth interviews were performed with source person from Ministries/Agencies responsible for administering narcotics crime, namely the Directorate of Narcotics Crime of the Criminal Investigation Agency of the Indonesian National Police, General Crime Unit of the Indonesian Prosecutor's Office, Directorate General of General Judiciary Body of the Indonesian Supreme Court, and Directorate General of Corrections. Those interviews were performed to collect additional information concerning the allocation and expenditure of the state budget for handling criminal cases, especially narcotics cases. In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted to explore on-the-ground challenges related to budget utilization that are not apparent from reviewing budget documents of Ministries/Agencies, such as budget shortfalls in certain sectors, absorption issues, and strategies for budget utilization.

8 See the Conceptual Framework section. Also see Cohen, M.A. (2020).

This research passed the ethics test based on the ethics approval number 0005B/III/PPPE.PM.10.05/5/2024 issued by the Ethics Development Center, Research and Community Service Institution, Unika Atma Jaya Jakarta.

3. Research Limitations



1. Due to limitations in access and time, this research was only able to involve 380 respondents using quota sampling.

2. Due to the use of quota sampling technique, data findings on offender cost and family cost in this research cannot be generalized. It means those data do not represent the conclusion of all population of narcotics criminal cases in Indonesia. However, this research is still valuable, because the findings of this research can show several phenomena which are still happening in the narcotics criminal justice process in Indonesia. The findings of this research will be useful as preliminary data for future researches.

3. In terms of the scope of objects measured, this research does not estimate all components presented in the cost of crime and criminal justice system analysis framework. This research does not estimate any costs expended by offenders to commit narcotics crime. This research only estimates impacts and costs sustained by offenders and their family when undergoing the criminal justice process and

serving sentences (cost of criminal justice system).[9] This research also excludes estimation of several criminal justice process components, such as the value of lost freedom when offenders being detained and imprisoned.[10] It's because this research doesn't involve conversion calculation of impacts in the form of pain, depression, loss of freedom, and other intangible cost components in the form of money.[11]

4. In addition, this research does not estimate several components of the government cost, such as legal aid budget and rehabilitation service budget expended by the government.
   This research also excludes costs expended by the government for management support, such as salaries and operating expenses for handling criminal cases at the Police and Directorate General of Corrections of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. It's due to research limitations in separating specific management supporting expenses for criminal justice process from expenses for activities other than the criminal justice process at those Ministries/Agencies.

9 The cost of crime and criminal justice theoretical framework comprehensively estimates costs expended to commit a crime (including preparation), and to respond the committed crime through the criminal justice process. See Cohen, M.A. (2020). In practices, those two costs are used for different purposes. For instance, the cost of crime is usually used by policymakers to determine crime prevention programs using the cost and benefit analysis, which is not the goal of this research.

10 See Cohen, M.A. (2020), pp.12-13. The author also estimates the value of freedom lost during imprisonment and detention.

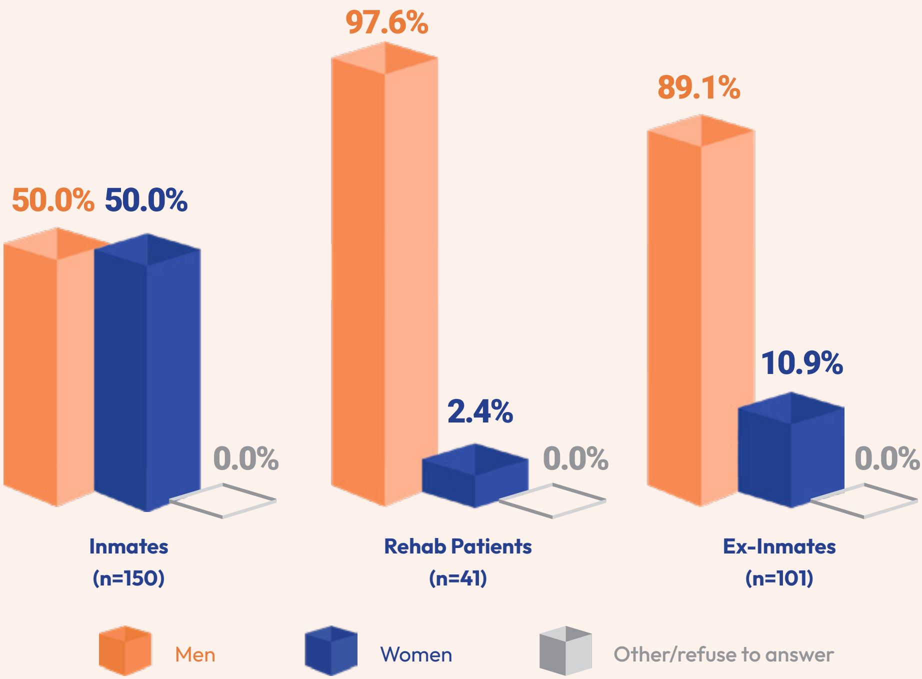
11 See Cohen, M.A. (2020), pp. 38-41, and 64. The author explains several methods used to convert intangible losses into money form, for instance, using the QALY (Quality Adjusted Life Years) method, or the willingness-to-pay method. Unfortunately, the limited resources available for this study made it impossible to implement methods for estimating intangible costs.

C. KEY FINDING #1

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF OFFENDER RESPONDENTS

1.1 Gender of Offender Respondents

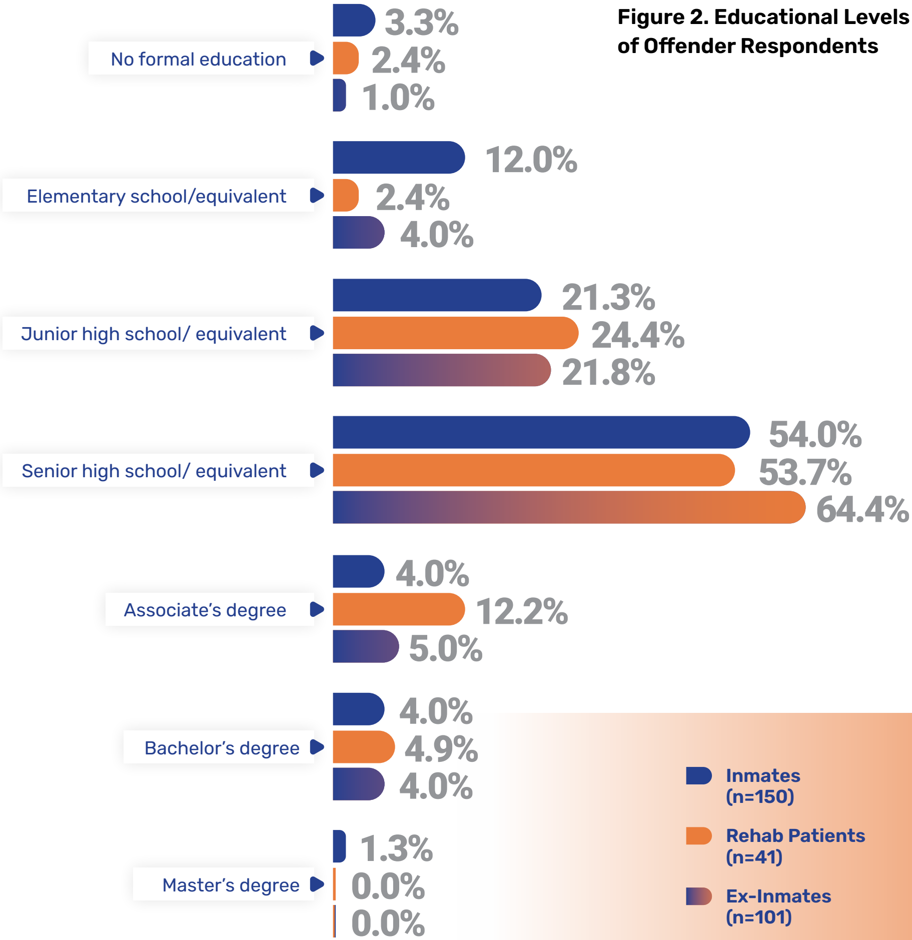
Figure 1. Gender of Offender Respondents



According to the figure above, the majority of respondents are men. Particularly, the distribution of gender in the Inmate Respondents is equal between men **(50.0%)** and women **(50.0%)**. Meanwhile, the Rehab Patient Respondents are mostly filled with men **(97.6%)** rather than women **(2.4%)**. Similar condition also applies to Ex-Inmate Respondents, which mostly consist of men **(89.1%)** rather than women **(10.9%)**.

1.2 Educational Level

Figure 2. Educational Levels of Offender Respondents



According to the figure above, in general, the majority of those three categories of Offender Respondents, namely

Inmate Respondents **54.0%**

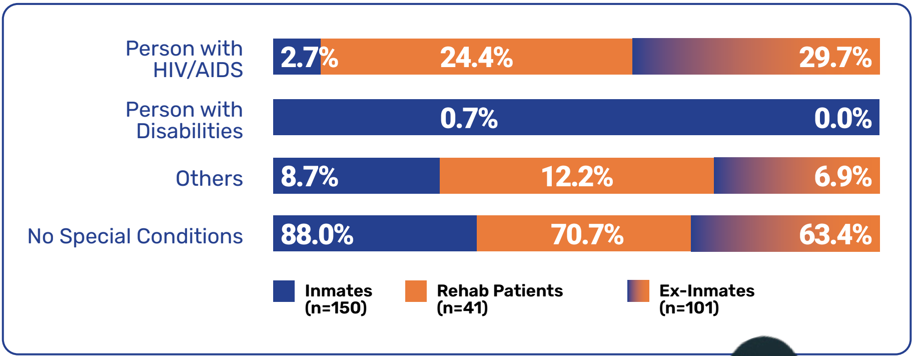
Rehab Patient Respondents **53.7%**

Ex-Inmate Respondents **64.4%**

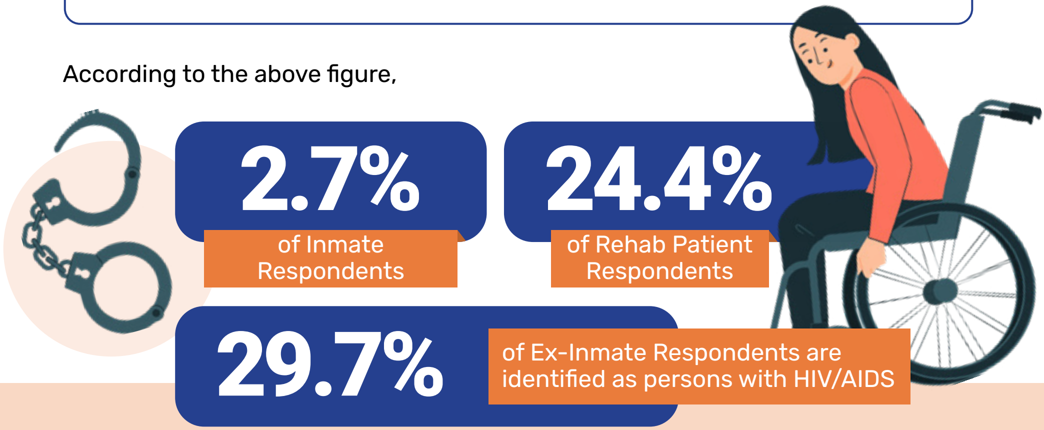
are senior high school graduates or its equivalent.

1.3 Special Conditions

Figure 3. Special Conditions of Offender Respondents
*respondents may choose more than one answer



According to the above figure,



Out of those three categories of respondent, the figure shows that occupants of correctional facilities have higher prevalence of vulnerability in terms of HIV infection. This phenomenon conforms with what happens in prisons in the United States of America, that the proportion of inmates with a history of narcotics use is significantly higher, up to four times higher, which is suspected to contribute to the spread of HIV.[12] However, it is important to conduct follow-up research to examine the connection between special conditions of narcotics offenders with impacts on health and sustainability of HIV treatment and ARV[13] medication. In addition, the above figure also shows that **0.7% of Inmate Respondents are Persons with Disabilities.**

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12 Holly Swan, "Different Patterns of Drug Use and Barriers to Continuous HIV Care Post-Incarceration," *Journal of Drug Issues Vol. 45(1)* (2015), p. 39

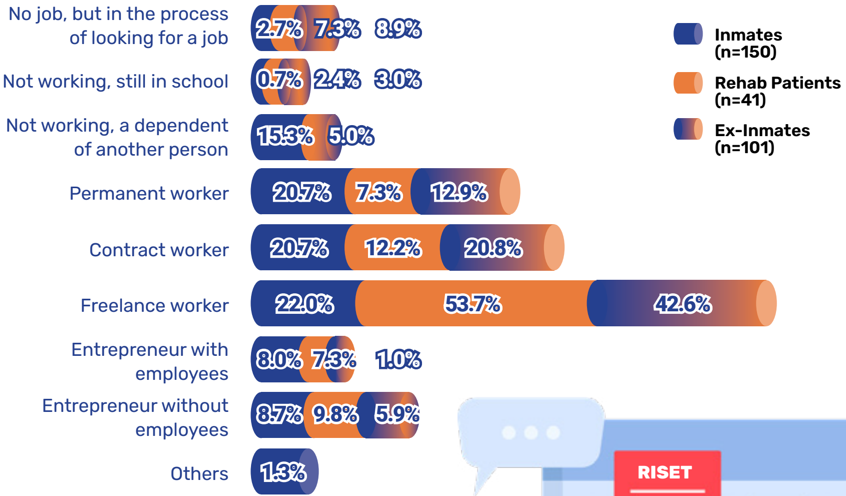
13 Antiretroviral therapy (ART) is the treatment for HIV (human immunodeficiency virus) infection using a combination of antiretroviral (ARV) drugs. See UNDP, *Benefits of ARV Treatment*, n.d., p. 1.

D. KEY FINDING #2

CONNECTION BETWEEN ECONOMIC VULNERABILITY OF THE OFFENDER RESPONDENTS AND CRIMINALITY

2.1 Occupation before Involvement in Narcotics Cases

Figure 4. Occupation of Offenders Respondent before Being Involved in Narcotics Cases



Referring to the figure presented above, most Offender Respondents are freelance workers, which can be seen in the

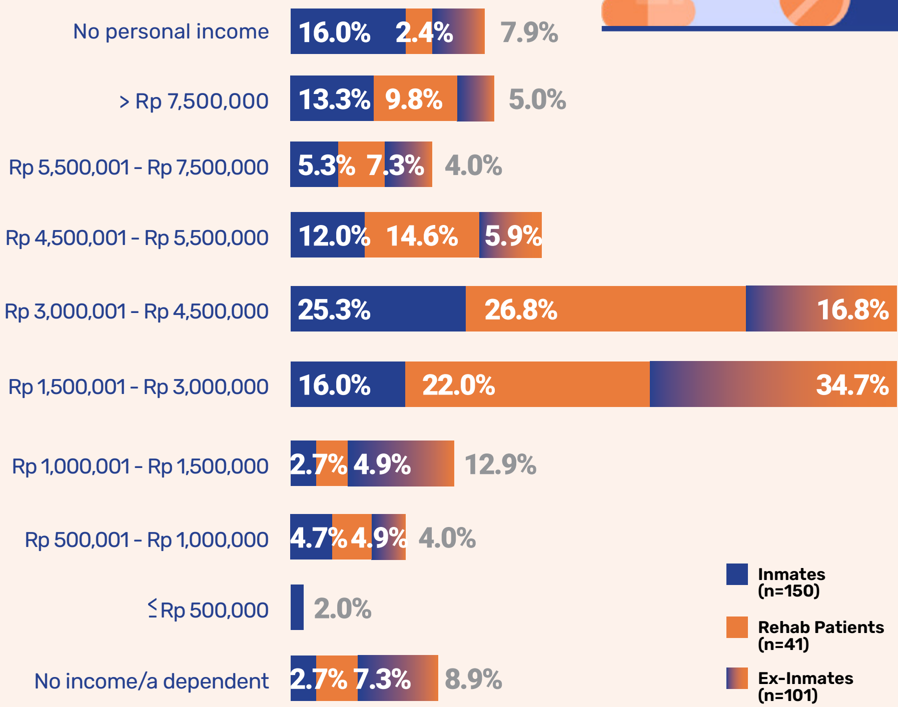
Rehab Patient respondents (53.7%), Ex-Inmate Respondents (42.6%), and Inmate Respondents (22.0%).

This condition shows that narcotics offenders (as the highest number of offenders in Indonesia's criminal justice system), tend to be economically vulnerable in terms of income sources and labor rights protection, because of their status as persons who have no permanent job.[14] A portion of the remaining respondents had ever worked as contract workers and entrepreneurs, while others were not employed at all.

14 Hancock, P., Tyler, M. (2025). Precarity in Freelance Work and Self-Employment. In: Performing Artists and Precarity. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-66119-8_2, p. 14

2.2 Net Income before Involvement in Narcotics Cases

Figure 5. Net Income of Offender Respondents before Being Involved in Narcotics Cases



The average Provincial Minimum Wage (*Upah Minimum Provinsi* – UMP) in Indonesia in 2024 is:

Rp3,315,728.00

and according to the figure above, the majority of Offender Respondents who generated income below the national average UMP before being involved in narcotics cases are **Ex-Inmate Respondents (34.7%)**. In addition, the majority of **Inmate Respondents (25.3%) and Rehab Patient Respondents (26.8%)**, generated income between:

3 million – 4.5 million rupiah

DID YOU KNOW?

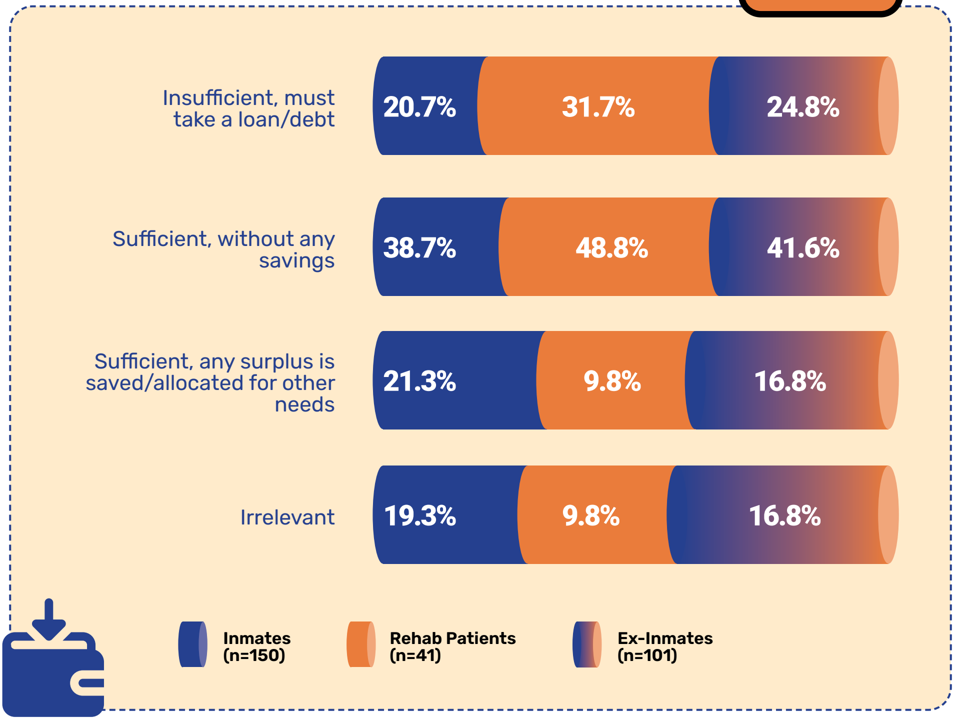
Several researches show that economic vulnerability is one of the (main) contributors to the increase in crime rate. Based on a research conducted by Jason Hung on crime and poverty in Indonesia, it was concluded that poverty is a significant factor contributing to the occurrence of crime.[15] The research argues that poverty causes social dysfunction and disorder, and individuals who continuously experience financial distress suffer from emotional stress and rising frustration, that in turn, they will increase the possibility of committing a crime.[16]

Not only in Indonesia, various researches conducted in the 21st century also indicate that the decrease in crime rate is actually more affected by factors such as wage increase[17] and decline of unemployment rate.[18] For example, a study in Sweden found that for every 1% increase in the unemployment rate, was followed by property-related crimes, which are a 0.15% increase in the number of robberies, a 0.16% increase in car thefts, a 0.07% increase in bicycle thefts, and a 0.22% increase in fraud cases.[19] By contrast, when a population has a low unemployment rate, property-related crimes also tend to be low.

15 Elzati et. al. (2020) dalam Jason Hung. Sociological and Policy Examination of Poverty-Led Crime in Indonesia: Case Study of (Child) Prostitution. Journal of Poverty. 2024. p. 2 https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/10875549.2024.2379766?needAccess=true
16 Ibid, p. 8
17 Liedka, Piehl, & Useem. The Crime-Control Effect of Incarceration: Does Scale Matter?. *Criminology & Public Policy 5(2)*, 2006. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2006.00376.x
18 Steven D. Levitt, Alternative Strategies for Identifying the Link Between Unemployment and Crime. Journal of Quantitative Criminology, Vol. 17, No. 4 2001. p. 377
19 Karin Edmark. Unemployment and Crime: Is There a Connection?. *Scandinavian Journal of Economics 107(2)*, 2005/ Hlm. 362.

2.3 Sufficiency of Income before Being Involved in Narcotics Cases

Figure 6. Sufficiency of Income of Offender Respondents before Being Involved in Narcotics Cases



The figure above suggests that, out of three categories of Offender Respondents, the majority of them stated that their income they had prior to facing legal proceedings for narcotics was perceived as sufficient, even though there was no money left to be saved. However, there are

20.7%
Inmate Respondents

31.7%
Rehab Patient Respondents

24.8%
Ex-Inmate Respondents

who stated their income before facing legal proceedings was insufficient and must depend on loans or debts.

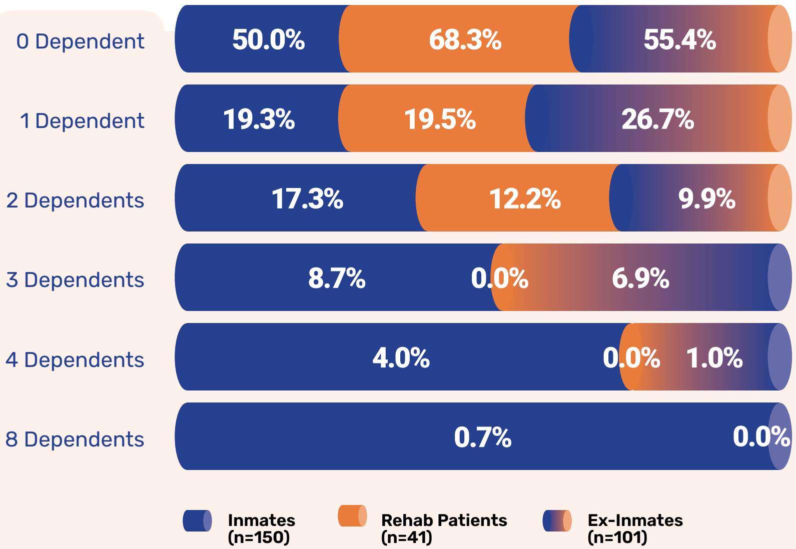
There is a tendency for persons who commit narcotics offenses to come from lower socio-economic backgrounds. The research conducted by Daniel Cullen and Carolyn Hoyle explains that narcotics use activity and involvement in narcotics trade happen in all social strata in Indonesia, however, those with lower socio-economic status make up a bigger proportion in the criminal justice system.[20] This means of such disproportional impact on those who are socio-economically "marginalized" has even been acknowledged in the Indonesian justice system.[21] Additionally, there is a study conducted in 2020 quoting a District Court Judge who stated that, on average, people who were alleged/indicted of consuming narcotics come from underprivileged/poor backgrounds.[22]

The disproportionate involvement of lower socio-economic backgrounds is also evident in other types of crime. A study on the conditions of prostitution in Indonesia reveals that commercial sex workers are often compelled to enter the profession due to economic hardship and low levels of education. These two factors create a situation in which women—deemed of working age and capable of contributing to their family's economic condition—are pushed into employment that does not require high educational qualifications. This condition is exploited by pimps who recruit women from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Similarly, drug traffickers exploit the same economic vulnerability to recruit couriers. The role of a courier is seen as a means of economic support. This pattern of the relationship between poverty and crime is consistently found in various studies in Indonesia, which confirm that poverty has a significant impact on the increase in criminal offenses.[23][24]

20 Daniel Cullen dan Carolyn Hoyle, "The Role of Socio-Economic Factors in the Punitive Narcotics Policy Regime in Indonesia", Death Penalty Research Unit (DPRU) Centre for Criminology, University of Oxford (2025), 22.
21 *Ibid*., p. 1
22 Musafa, Malloch dan Hamilton-Smith in Ibid, p. 23
23 F. Armin and I. Idris, "Analysis of the Effects of Education, Unemployment, Poverty and Income Inequality on Crime in Indonesia," in *Proceedings of the 4th Padang International Conference on Education, Economics, Business and Accounting (PICEEBA-2 2019)* (Padang, Indonesia, 2019), 373.
24 A. Abdila et.al., "The Effect of Unemployment and Poverty on Criminality in East Java Province in Supporting State Defence," *Journal of Research in Business, Economics, and Education 4*, no. 4 (2022), 18.

2.4 Dependents Taken Care before Being Involved in Narcotics Cases

Figure 7. Dependents <18 Years Old Taken Care by Offender Respondents before Being Involved in Narcotics Cases



The figure above shows the distribution of dependents (under 18 years old) of three respondent categories. Those three respondent categories, which are:

Ex-Inmate Respondents **26.7%**

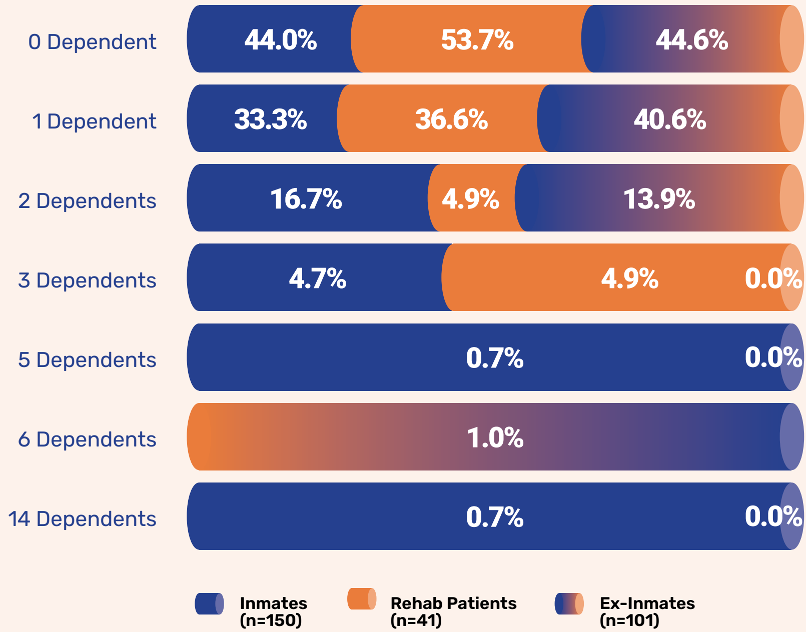
Rehab Patient Respondents **19.5%**

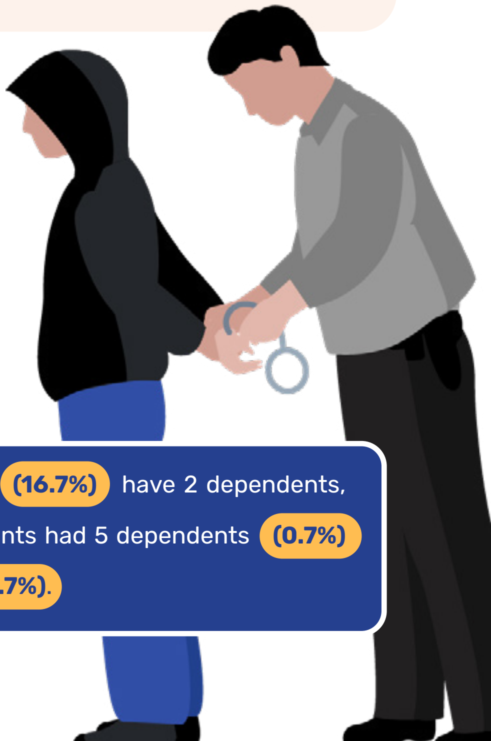
Inmate Respondents **19.3%**

have at least 1 dependent.

Upon closer examination, most Inmate Respondents have more than 1 dependent, which is 17.3% of them have 2 dependents, 8.7% of them have 3 dependents, 4.0% of them have 4 dependents, and 0.7% of them even have 8 dependents.

Figure 8. Dependents > 18 Years Old Taken Care by Offender Respondents before Being Involved with Narcotics Cases





The figure above shows the distribution of the number of dependents older than 18 years old of three respondent categories. Those three respondent categories, which are **Ex-Inmate Respondents (40.6%), Rehab Patient Respondents (36.6%), and Inmate Respondents (33.3%)**, have at least 1 dependent who was older than 18 years old.

In addition, some Inmate Respondents **(16.7%)** have 2 dependents, one Inmate Respondents had 5 dependents **(0.7%)** **and another had** **(0.7%)**.

2.5 Role as the Breadwinner before Being Involved in Narcotics Cases

The majority of

Inmate Respondents
40.0%

Rehab Patient Respondents
39.0%

Ex-Inmate Respondents
48.5%

were the **breadwinners.**

This condition indicates that when a family breadwinner is criminally processed due to being involved in narcotics cases, they are prevented from working, which causes the (primary) source of income of their family to decrease significantly. As a consequence, the family members (especially the dependent ones) are having difficulty to fulfill their basic needs.[25] This illustrates how the imposition of criminal sanctions on a family breadwinner ultimately affects other family members who are not subject to punishment. Moreover, the family members who are already living in poverty, are pushed deeper into economic hardship due to the financial burdens arising from the legal process imposed on the family's breadwinner. In other words, the imposition of criminal sanctions on an individual also has the potential to worsen the quality of life of their remaining family members, and to extend their poverty.

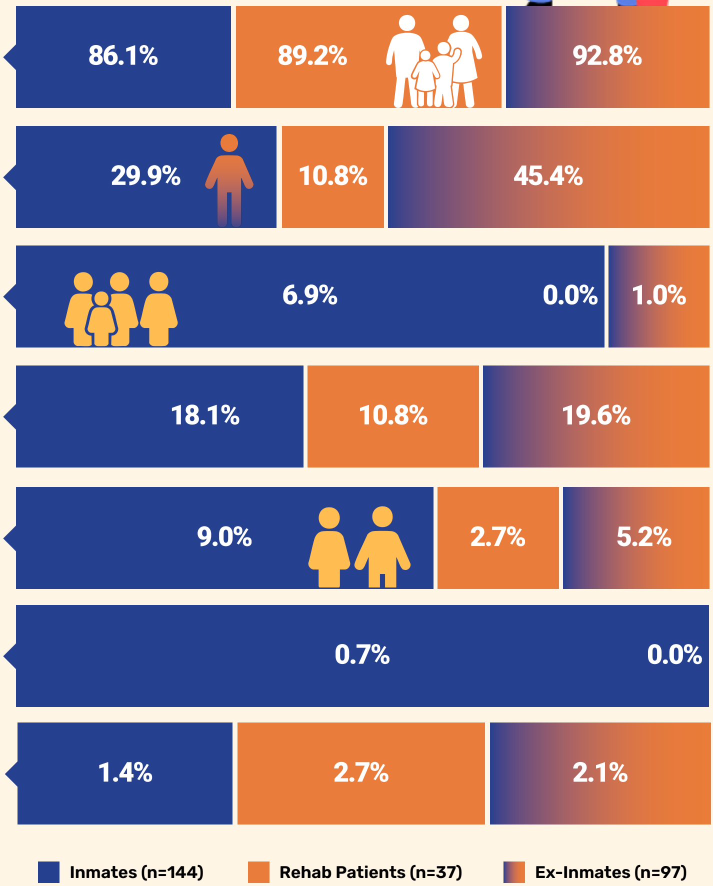
25 Saneta deVuono-powell, Chris Schweidler, Alicia Walters, and Azadeh Zohrabi. Who Pays? The True Cost of Incarceration on Families. Oakland, CA: Ella Baker Center, Forward Together, Research Action Design, 2015. p. 7

E. KEY FINDING #3

FAMILY MEMBERS VULNERABILITY WHEN BREADWINNERS ARE CONVICTED

3.1 Parties Paying for Costs Imposed in Legal Process

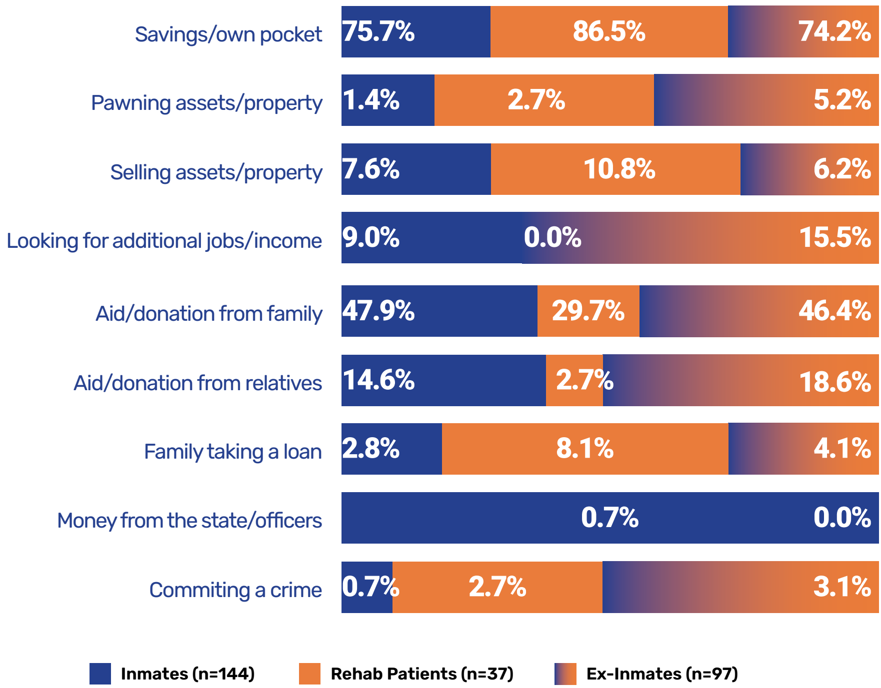
Figure 9. Parties Paying for Costs Imposed in Legal Process
*respondents may choose more than one answer



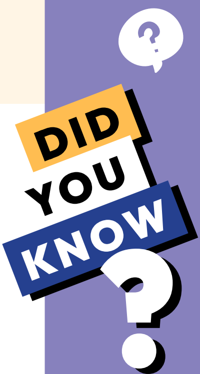
The figure above reveals that the family is the most affected party, as they pay the costs imposed in the legal process faced by Offender Respondents. This condition is sensible because the majority of **Ex-Inmate Respondents (91.8%), Rehab Patient Respondents (89.2%), and Inmate Respondents (85.4%)** entrusted their family to pay for their costs imposed in the legal process they faced. Even though most costs were paid for by family, there are also Ex-Inmate Respondents (45.4%), Inmate Respondents (29.9%), and Rehab Patient Respondents (10.8%) who paid for costs imposed in the legal process out of their own pocket.

3.2 Sources of Fund to Pay for Costs Imposed in Legal Process

Figure 10. Sources of Fund to Pay for Costs Imposed in Legal Process
*respondents may choose more than one answer



Referring to the above figure, most funds to pay for costs imposed in legal process were sourced from savings of the Offender Respondents' own selves, followed by aid or donation from the offender's family. In addition, there are some **Inmate Respondents (7.6%), Rehab Patient Respondents (10.8%), and Ex-Inmate Respondents (6.2%)** who had to sell their assets/property to cover the costs imposed in the legal process. Not only that, there are some **Rehab Patient Respondents (2.7%) and Ex-Inmate Respondents (3.1%)** who were even forced to commit a criminal act to pay for their costs imposed in the legal process.



According to a criminal legal theory, criminal liability leans on the individualization concept/the principle of personal liability.[26] This criminal individualization concept is a consequence from defining criminal liability as criminal punishment that may only be imposed on the convict themselves. In contrast to civil liability, criminal liability, in theory, cannot be transferred to another person (vicarious liability), let alone it being inherited.

However, the reality is not constricted only to criminal legal theories. This research shows that the offender's family, even though they are not legal persons that are convicted, they also bear costs arising from the criminal justice process. A huge part of the costs imposed in the legal process is paid by the offender's family. The offender's family even took out a loan from a third party.

In addition, punishment served by offenders is also suffered by their family. For instance, criminal punishment does not only make offenders lost their job or education when they served their imprisonment sentence. This research reveals that **37.5%** of Family Member Respondents were unable to pay for educational tuition, and even worse, **25.0%** of Family Member Respondents had to drop out from school due to the criminal justice process that must be undergone by the breadwinner.[27]

Apparently, this phenomenon is not novel. Several studies conducted in the United States of America also show similar trends. Undergoing the legal process definitely incurs various costs. The amount expended by individuals and their family for the costs imposed in the legal process is quite hefty, such as lawyer's fees, court fees, and communication and visitation fees.[28] Those costs imposed

26 The punishment individualization concept is a consequence of defining criminal liability as criminal punishment that may only be imposed on the convict themselves. In contrast to civil liability, criminal liability, in theory, cannot be transferred to another person (vicarious liability), let alone it being inherited.
27 For further explanation, please read Key Finding 12: Educational Costs and Impacts Sustained by Respondents.
28 Saneta deVuono-powell, p. 7

are typically equal to one-year household income and may drive a family to be in debt.[29]

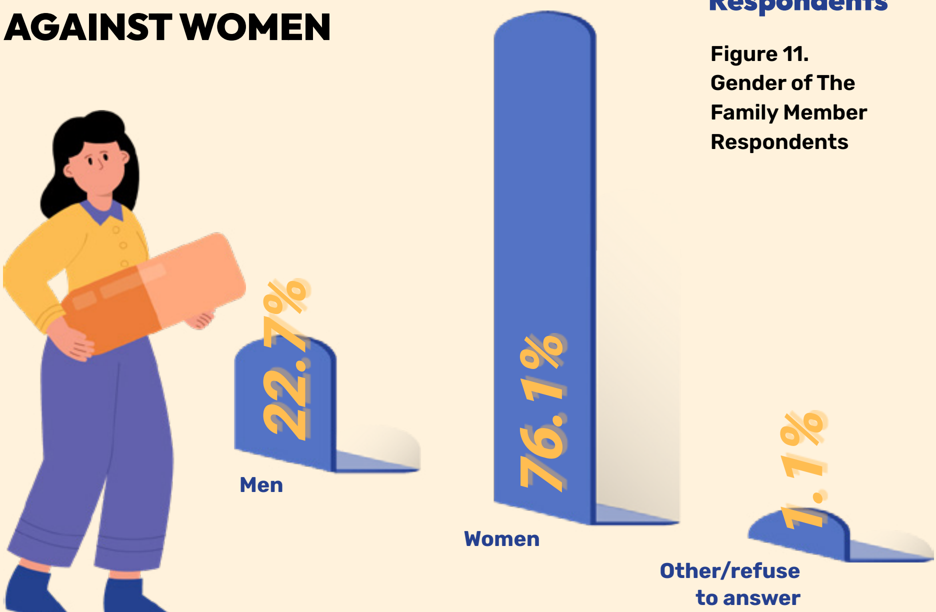
Beyond the financial impact, the legal process experienced by the offender also has other effects on family members. A study in Sweden also shows that children—especially those from lower socio-economic backgrounds—are significantly affected by the absence of a parent. The incarceration of one of their parents is associated with a 71% increase in juvenile delinquency, a 222.2% increase in teenage pregnancy, and a 41.8% decline in youth employment.[30]

F. KEY FINDING #4

IMPACTS OF NARCOTICS PUNITIVE POLICY AGAINST WOMEN

4.1 Gender of The Family Member Respondents

Figure 11. Gender of The Family Member Respondents



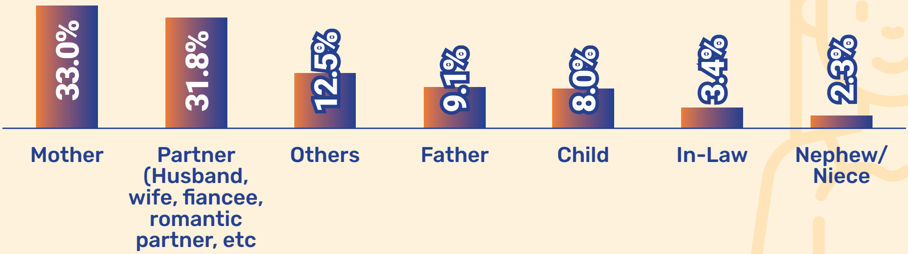
The majority of Family Member Respondents of narcotics offenders are women.

29 Ibid. p. 7. See also Douglas Husak, *Overcriminalization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 6-7.
30 Will Dobbie, et.al., *The Intergenerational Effects of Parental Incarceration*, NBER Working Paper Series, http://www.nber.org/papers/w24186, pg. 2

When associated with findings on family relationships with offenders who mostly are mothers and partners of the offender, this condition shows a pattern that impacts from imprisoning narcotics offenders are mostly suffered by women.

4.2 Relationship Between Family Member Respondents when One of Their Member Facing Legal Process Because of Narcotics Cases

Figure 12. Relationship Between Family Members when One of Their Member Facing Legal Process Because of Narcotics Cases



According to the above figure, the majority of respondents are mothers of the narcotics offenders **(33.0%)** and partners (husbands, wives, fiancées, romantic partners, etc.) of narcotics offenders **(31.8%)**.

DID YOU KNOW?

Research expresses that, for instance, in the United States of America, for the past 4 decades, its unfair criminal justice system has created an inter-generational legacy and it is mostly suffered by women and family member who possess inferior financial power.[31] Women frequently bear the heaviest burden, both financially and emotionally, from the imprisonment of their family member. Women are primary family members who are responsible for bearing the cost of criminal justice process that must be undergone by an inmate.[32]

31 Saneta deVuono-powell., p. 7
32 Saneta deVuono-powell, p. 9

G. KEY FINDING #5

SNAPSHOT OF NARCOTICS CRIMINAL CASES INVOLVING OFFENDER RESPONDENTS

5.1 Distribution of Imposed Criminal Articles under Narcotics Law[33]

Table 2. Distribution of Criminal Provisions under the Narcotics Law Applied or Charged Against Offender Respondents in Narcotics Cases

Articles under Narcotics Law (previous and current)	Inmates (n = 150)	Rehab Patients[34] (n = 41)	Ex-Inmates (n = 101)
Article 60 (Previous Narcotics Law)	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Article 62 (Previous Narcotics Law)	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Article 72 (Previous Narcotics Law)	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Article 78 (Previous Narcotics Law)	0.0%	0.0%	8.9%
Article 102 (Previous Narcotics Law)	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Article 111	6.7%	2.4%	5.9%
Article 112	43.3%	2.4%	47.5%

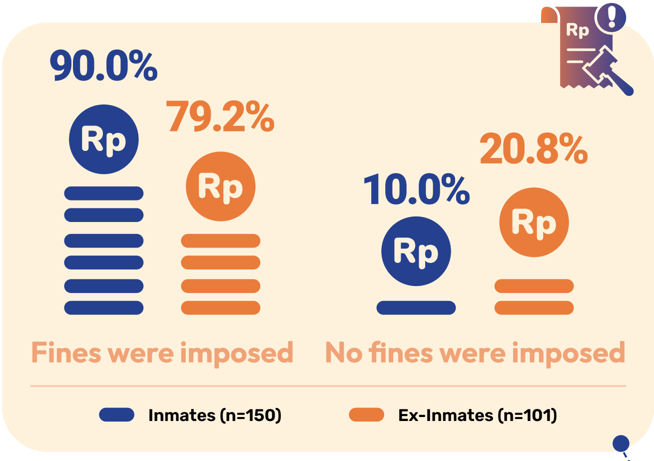
33 This distribution of articles refers to provisions remembered and chosen by respondents when they were asked about the narcotics crime committed by them. Those articles not only consist of articles convicted based on court decisions, but also indictment articles relating to their case. Hence, this condition may cause the percentage to exceed 100%.

34 Rehab patients refer to those who receive medical rehabilitation service before undergoing trial proceedings (pre-adjudication). Please see the methodology table. Some of these respondents had been informed of the specific criminal provisions they had allegedly violated or were charged with prior to being referred for rehabilitation. However, others received rehabilitation referrals without being informed of any specific criminal provision they had violated ('Pure rehab without any articles being imposed').

Articles under Narcotics Law (previous and current)	Inmates (n = 150)	Rehab Patients (n = 41)	Ex-Inmates (n = 101)
Article 113	4.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Article 114	81.3%	0.0%	38.6%
Article 115	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Article 116	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Article 117	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Article 118	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Article 119	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Article 120	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Article 121	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Article 122	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Article 123	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Article 124	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Article 125	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Article 126	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Article 127	0.7%	14.6%	6.9%
Unknown/Unable to Recall	1.3%	24.4%	14.9%
Pure rehab without any articles being imposed	0.0%	56.1%	0.0%

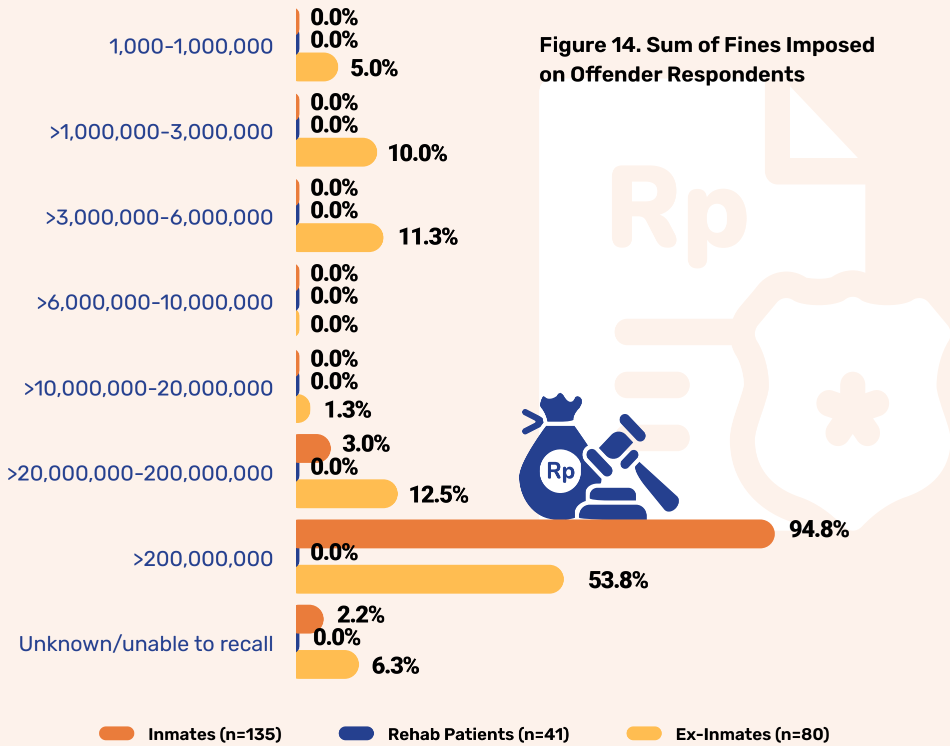
5.2 Sum of Fines Imposed on Offenders

Figure 13. Fines Imposed on Offender Respondents Relating to Their Narcotics Case



According to the graphic beside, the majority of respondents who are Inmate Respondents **(90.0%)** and Ex-Inmate Respondents **(79.2%)** are sentenced with fines in relation to their narcotics case.

Figure 14. Sum of Fines Imposed on Offender Respondents



Data presented above reveal that fines less than **Rp200,000,000** were only imposed on

3.0% **of Inmate Respondents**
40.1% **of Ex-Inmate Respondents**

In contrast,

94.8% **of Inmate Respondents**
53.8% **of Ex-Inmate Respondents**

received fines higher than **Rp200,000,000**

Those hefty fines are the consequence of specific minimum sentences attached to criminal provisions under the 2009 Narcotics Law, where those offenses carry minimum fines of **Rp400,000,000,**[35] **Rp600,000,000,**[36] **Rp800,000,000,**[37] and **Rp1,000,000,000.**[38]

Despite the mandatory provisions to impose specific minimum fines, this condition does not prejudice the authority of judges to impose fines below the specific minimum fines using Circular of the Supreme Court 3/2015.[39] As unveiled in the previous IJRS's research on sentencing disparity in narcotics criminal cases, 23.8% of narcotics cases were sentenced with the sum of fines below the specific minimum fines using that Circular.[40]

5.3 Offenders Respondent' Ability to Pay Fines

99.3% of Inmate Respondents (n = 135)

98.8% of Ex-Inmate Respondents (n = 101)

The majority of them were unable to pay fines

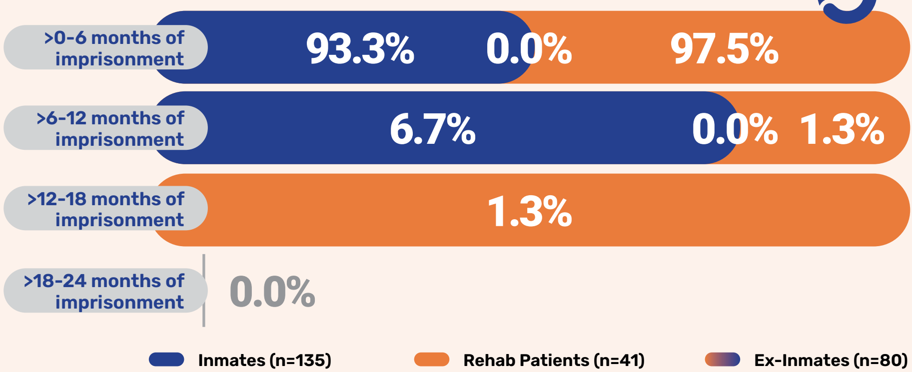
35 Articles 122 and 125 of the 2009 Narcotics Law.
36 Articles 117, 120, 123, 124 and 126 of the 2009 Narcotics Law.
37 Articles 111, 112, 115, 118, 119, and 121 of the 2009 Narcotics Law.
38 Articles 113, 114 and 116 of the 2009 Narcotics Law.
39 Circular of the Supreme Court Number 3 of 2015 on Implementation of Deliberation Results of the Plenary Meeting of Supreme Court Chambers in 2015 as a Guideline for the Performance of Duties of the Court introduces several new sentencing guidelines. One of the guidelines produced by the criminal chamber addresses that, in the event that Public Prosecutors indicted using Articles 111 or 112 of the 2009 Narcotics Law without using Article 127 of the Narcotics Law, but it is found in the trial that the defendant is a narcotics abuser as addressed under Article 127 and Circular of the Supreme Court Number 4 of 2010, then judges are allowed to decide in accordance with the indictment and deviate from specific minimum sentences by providing sufficient considerations.
40 Matheus N., et.al. Penelitian disparitas pemidanaan dan kebijakan penanganan perkara tindak pidana narkotika di Indonesia: studi perkara tindak pidana narkotika golongan 1 tahun 2016-2020 (pasal 11-116 dan pasal 127 UU Narkotika 35 tahun 2009), IJRS, 2022. p. 73.

DID YOU KNOW ?

Various data outlined in Key Finding 1[41] suggest that the majority of Offender Respondents come from the middle-low economy class, generating daily income which is barely enough by doing freelance works that are vulnerable to economic certainty. Hence, it is imminent that the majority of them who only generate Rp3,000,000 – 4,500,000 per month should be unable to pay fines between Rp400,000,000 up to Rp1,000,000,000. Moreover, according to data published by the Deposit Insurance Corporation (*Lembaga Penjamin Simpanan* – LPS), only 1.2% of total account holders in Indonesia have savings greater than 100 million.[42] Reflecting from these findings, it is not surprising that only less than 1% of Inmate Respondents and Ex-Inmate Respondents were able to pay fines.

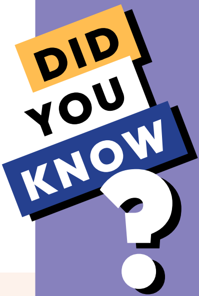
5.4 Imprisonment Sentence as Substitute to Fines Imposed on Offenders

Figure 15. Duration of Imprisonment Sentence as Substitute to Fines Imposed on Offender Respondents



Most Offender Respondents, namely **Inmate Respondents (93.3%)** and **Ex-Inmate Respondents (97.5%)** were sentenced by Judges with **less than 6 months of imprisonment as substitutes to fines**. Other Offender Respondents, **6.7% of Inmate Respondents** and **1.3% of Ex-Inmate Respondents** were sentenced with **>6-12 months of imprisonment as substitute to fines** and **1.3% of Ex-Inmate Respondents** were sentenced with **>12-18 months of imprisonment as substitute to fines.**

41 See Key Findings 2.1, 2.2 dan 2.3.
42 Lembaga Penjamin Simpanan. Distribusi Simpanan Bank Umum November 2023. 2024. p. 7 https://lps.go.id/konten/unggahan/2024/05/Data-Distribusi-Simpanan-Publikasi-BU-November-2023.pdf,



Article 148 of the 2009 Narcotics Law states that if offenders are unable to pay imposed fines, the offenders shall be sentenced with imprisonment of 2 years at maximum as substitute to unpayable fines. This concept rolls over in the 2023 Indonesian Criminal Law Code (*Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana* – KUHP), which accommodates imprisonment sentences as a substitute to fines as addressed under Article 82. However, Article 83 of the 2023 KUHP mentions that before offenders sentenced with imprisonment-substituted-fines, assets or incomes of convicts may be seized and auctioned by Prosecutors to settle their unpaid fines. This condition aggravates the imprisonment condition explained above, offenders who are unable to pay fines, after serving their imprisonment sentence, they will no longer have any savings or deposits needed to continue their daily lives. This situation indirectly motivates them to commit another crime to fulfill their daily needs, considering that the majority of them do not have any permanent job.

Without any capital after completing their punishment, ex-inmates will have problems funding their daily lives or their families. Other than barriers caused by their criminal records,[43] the lack of funds caused by criminal sanctions hinders their ability to get further training or certification, causing an unfair playing field in the job market where most of the workforce has either training, certificates, or work-experience. Ex-inmates also cannot be self-employed or start their own business without any initial capital. The limited number of options accessible to ex-inmates can lead them to commit other crimes to meet their daily needs. This repetition of crimes, also known as recidivism, will create new victims. Ex-convicts previously convicted for victimless crimes such as drug abuse are ultimately forced to commit other property crimes that create victims, such as extortion and theft. It is also very possible for ex-convicts who were previously drug abusers to join drug networks, acting as couriers or sellers, simply to earn a living. These examples illustrate how excessive sentencing can have counterproductive effects on society.

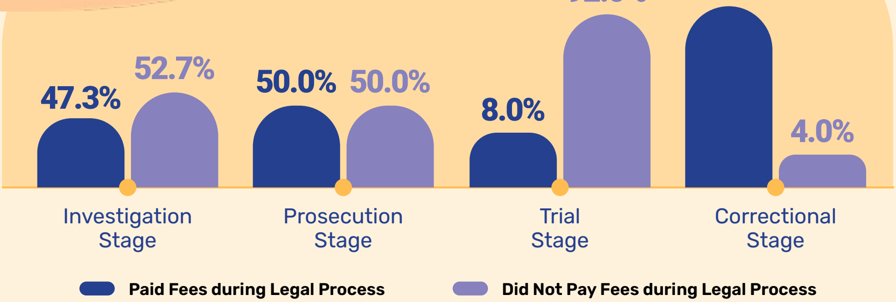
43 Refer to keyfindings number 10.

H. KEY FINDING #6

COST EXPENDED BY OFFENDERS FOR GENERAL LEGAL FEES

6.1 Types and Total Cost of Criminal Justice Expended by Inmate Respondents

Figure 16. Experiences of Inmate Respondents Paying for Legal Fees (n = 150)



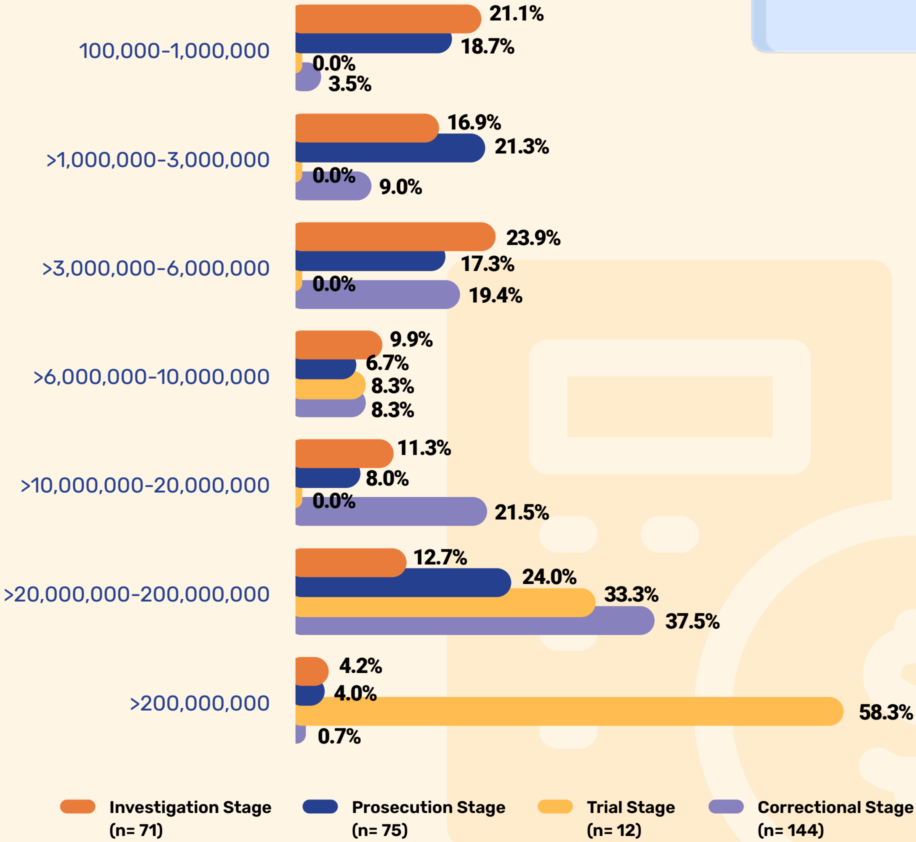
The figure above indicates varying experiences of Inmate respondents in paying for legal fees at every stage of the criminal justice process. At the investigation stage, **47.3%** **of Inmate Respondents admitted they paid for some legal fees.**

At the prosecution stage, **50.%** **of Inmate Respondents paid for some legal fees**

50.% **did not pay any fees.**

However, at the trial stage, only **8.0% of Inmate Respondents paid for legal fees**. Subsequently, at the correctional stage, as high as 96.0% of Inmate Respondents paid for some legal fees. This context shows the cost expended by Inmates is apparently higher at the investigation (initial) stage and the correctional (final) stage.

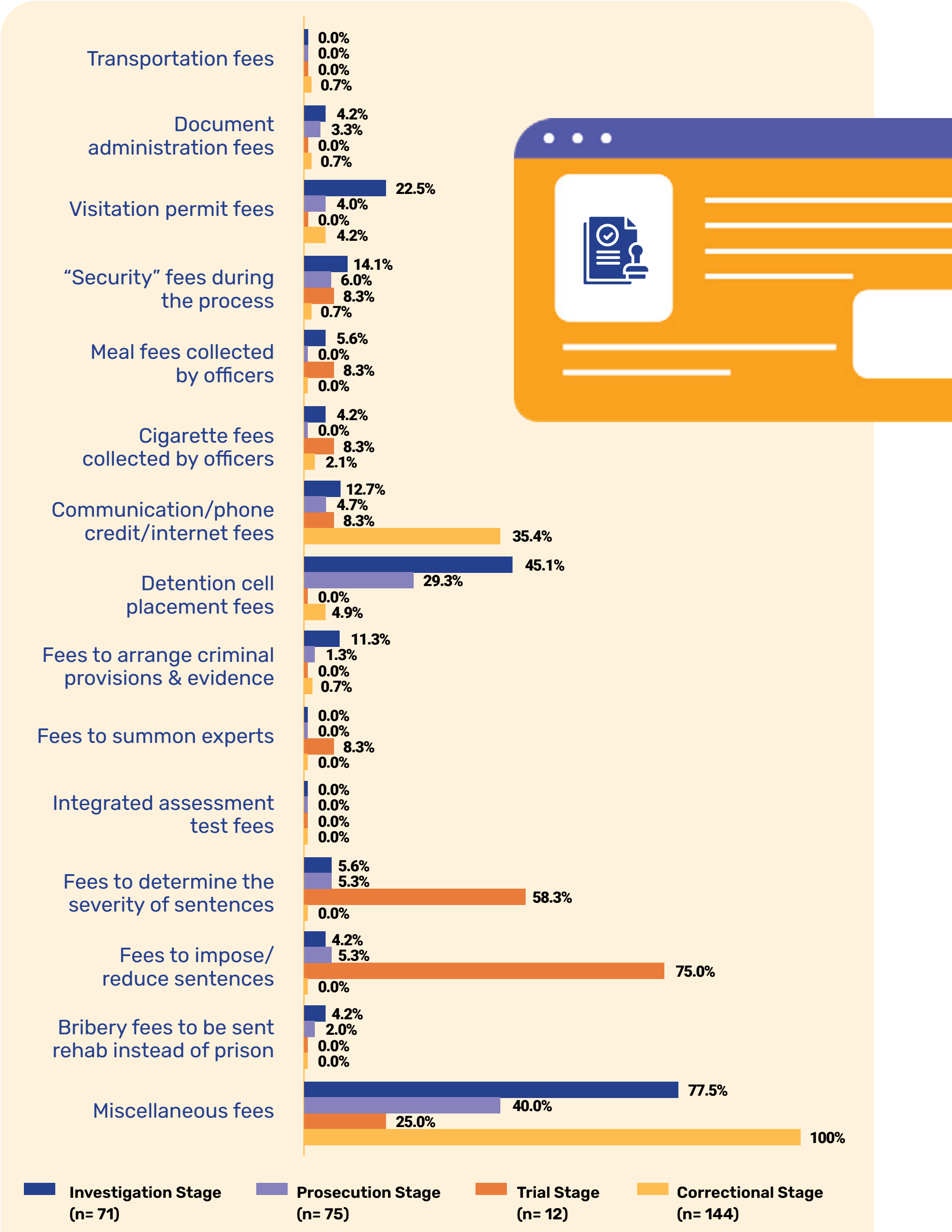
Figure 17. Ranges of Cost Expended by Inmate Respondents at Every Stage of Legal Process



The above figure suggests varying ranges of significant cost expended by Inmate Respondents who paid for legal fees at every stage of the legal process. At the investigation stage, 23.9% of Inmates spent **>3,000,000 - 6,000,000**. At the prosecution stage, 24.0% of Inmate Respondents spent **>20,000,000 - 200,000,000**. At the trial stage, the highest proportion of Inmate Respondents (58.3%) spent more than 200,000,000. Meanwhile, at the correctional stage, 37.5% of Inmate Respondents also paid significant fees within the range of **>20,000,000 - 200,000,000**. Even more, a respondent admitted paying more than **Rp3,000,000,000.** These data affirm that the cost expended by Inmates at the trial stage is generally higher compared to other stages, which is followed by the cost expended at the correctional stage.

Figure 18. Types of Cost Expended by Inmate Respondents at Every Stage of Legal Process

*respondents may choose more than one answer



The figure above shows a variation of needs "purchased" by Inmate respondents at each narcotics legal process. Percentage wise, at every stage, the majority of cost was allocated to miscellaneous fees, **100.0%** at the correctional stage, **77.5%** at the investigation stage, 40.0% at the prosecution stage, and **25.0%** at the trial stage. However, by viewing each legal process from the beginning to end, the variation of types of cost expended is discernible.

At the investigation stage, Inmate Respondents paid for:

detention cell placement	family visitation permits	security fees during the process
45.1%	22.5%	14.1%

At the prosecution stage, Inmate Respondents paid for detention cell placement **(29.3%)**, security fees during the process **(6.0%)**, and determining the severity of sentences **(5.3%).**

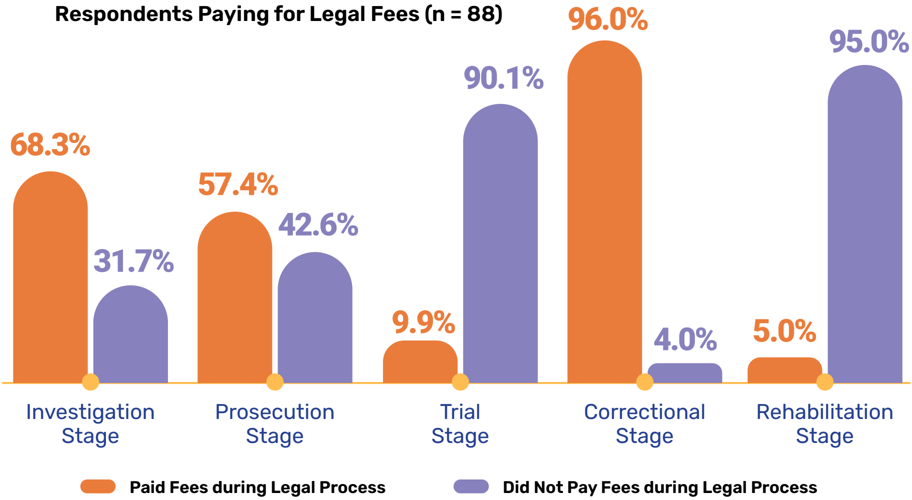
Subsequently, at the trial stage,

Inmate Respondents paid for imposition/reduction of sentences	determining the severity of sentences	summoning of experts
75.0%	58.3%	8.3%

At the correctional stage, Inmate Respondents paid for communication access (35.4%), detention cell placement (4.9%), and family visitation permits (4.2%). In this context, it is clear that narcotics Inmates bear significant and varying costs at every stage of the legal process, where most of these costs are illegal.

6.2 Types and Total Cost of Criminal Justice Expended by Ex-Inmate Respondents

Figure 19. Experiences of Ex-Inmate Respondents Paying for Legal Fees (n = 88)



The figure above shows varying experiences of Ex-Inmate Respondents in paying for legal fees at every stage of the criminal justice process.

At the investigation stage,

68.3%

of Ex-Inmate Respondents admitted paying for some fees.

At the prosecution stage,

57.4%

of Ex-Inmate Respondents admitted paying for some fees

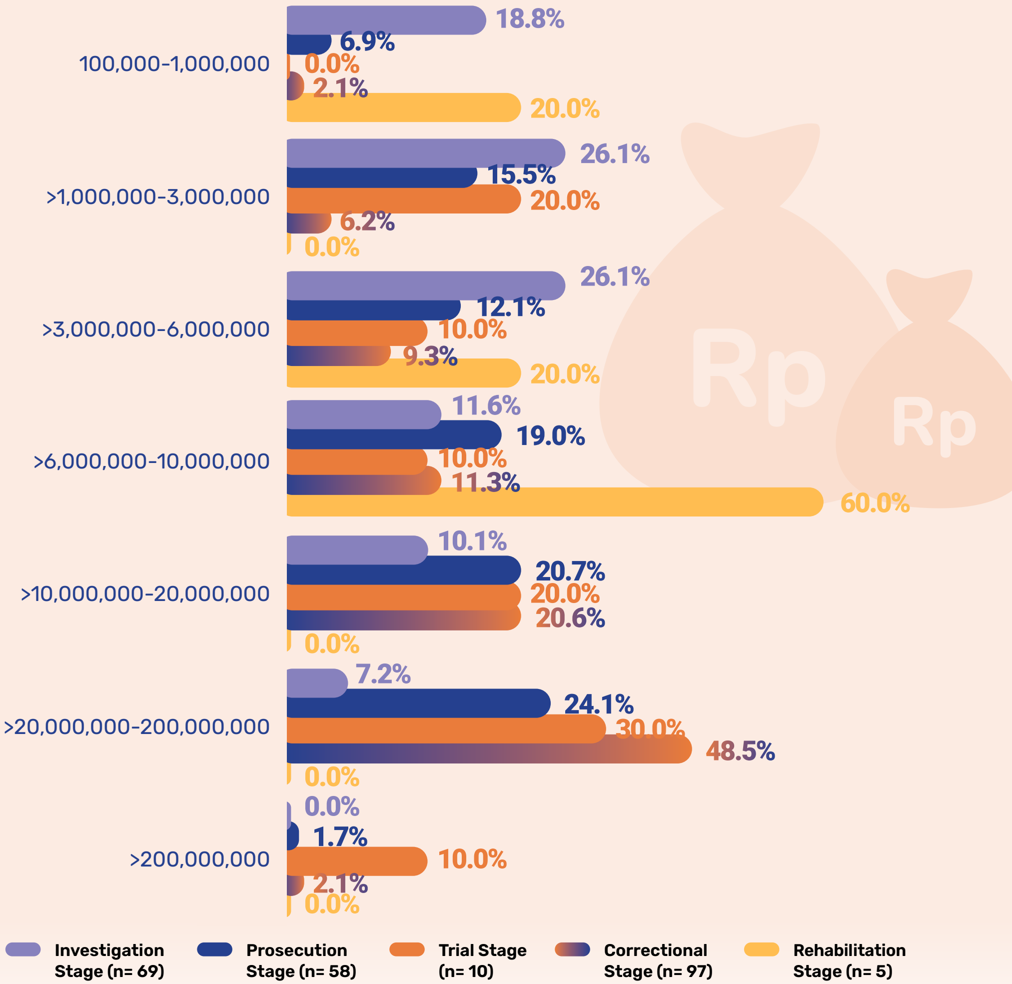
At the trial stage,

9.9%

of Ex-Inmate Respondents admitted paying for some fees.

The similar case also applies to the rehabilitation process, only **5.0%** of Ex-Inmate Respondents admitted paying for some fees. Meanwhile, at the correctional stage, a significant rate of **96.0%** of Ex-Inmate Respondents admitted they paid for some fees at that stage. The same pattern resonates with findings from Inmate Respondents where the cost expended is apparently higher at the investigation (initial) stage and the correctional (final) stage.

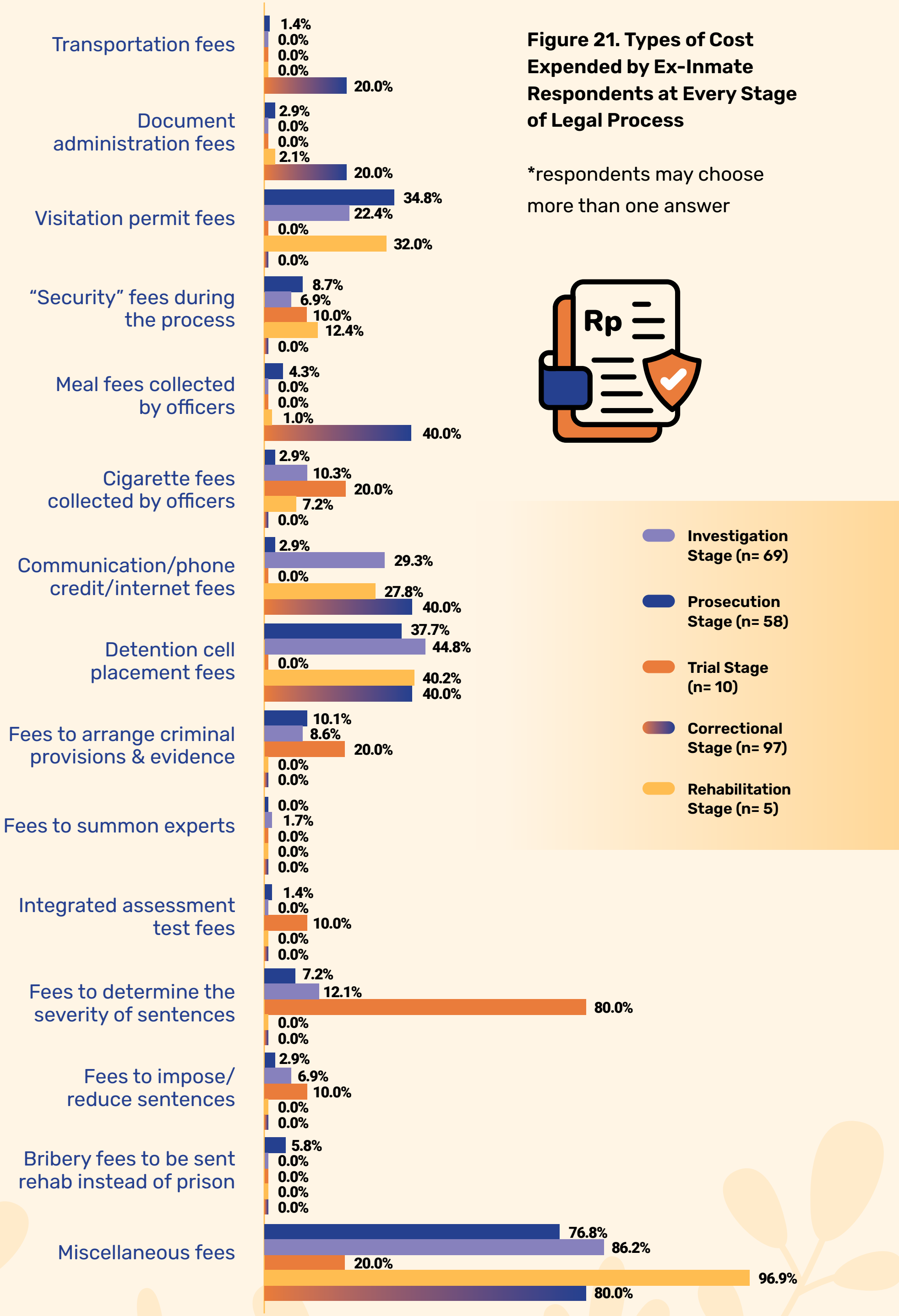
Figure 20. Ranges of Cost Expended by Ex-Inmate Respondents at Every Stage of Legal Process



The figure above reveals varying ranges of significant cost expended by Ex-Inmate Respondents who paid for some fees at every stage of the legal process. At the investigation stage, **26.1%** of Ex-Inmate Respondents spent within ranges of >1,000,000 - 3,000,000 and >3,000,000 - 6,000,000. At the prosecution stage, **24.1%** of Ex-Inmate Respondents spent within the range of 20,000,000 - 200,000,000. The same also applies to the trial stage, **30.0%** of Ex-Inmate Respondents spent within the range of 20,000,000 - 200,000,000. And at the correctional stage, **48.5%** of Ex-Inmate Respondents spent within the range of 20,000,000 - 200,000,000. In the rehabilitation process meanwhile, **60.0%** of Ex-Inmate Respondents spent within the range of 6,000,000 - 10,000,000.

Figure 21. Types of Cost Expended by Ex-Inmate Respondents at Every Stage of Legal Process

*respondents may choose more than one answer



The figure above suggests a variation of types of cost expended by Ex-Inmate Respondents at every stage of their narcotics legal process. Similar to other respondents, percentage wise, the cost was mostly expended for miscellaneous needs, **96.9% at the correctional stage, 86.2% at the prosecution stage, 80.0% in the rehabilitation process, 76.8% at the investigation stage, and 20.0% at the trial stage**. Furthermore, by looking at each legal process from the beginning to end, the variation of types of cost expended is discernible.

At the investigation stage, Ex-Inmate Respondents paid for detention cell placement **(37.7%)**, family visitation permits **(34.8%)**, and arranging criminal provisions and evidence **(10.1%)**. **At the prosecution stage**, Ex-Inmate Respondents also paid for detention cell placement **(44.8%)**, communication access **(29.3%)**, and family visitation permits **(22.4%)**. Subsequently, **at the trial stage**, a significant amount of Ex-Inmate Respondents paid to determine the severity of sentences **(80.0%)**, with some paying to manipulate criminal provisions and evidence **(20.0%)**, as well as cigarette money collected by officers **(20.0%)**. In addition, **at the correctional stage**, Ex-Inmate Respondents also paid for detention cell placement **(40.2%)**, family visitation permits **(32.0%)**, and communication access **(27.8%)**. **In the rehabilitation process**, Ex-Inmate Respondents paid for meals **(40.0%)**, communication access **(40.0%)**, and transportation fees **(20.0%)**. In this context, it is clear that Ex-Inmate Respondents of narcotics crimes bear significant and varying costs at every stage of the legal process, where most of said fees are illegal.

DID YOU KNOW ?

According to data provided above, one of the costs that is frequently expended by respondents is communication access fee. This transaction pattern apparently also occurs outside Indonesia. In several studies conducted in the United States of America, phone communication fee is one of the highest fees expended by individuals and their family in the long term when they were undergoing a legal process. This fee often equals to a total of one-year household income.[44] On one hand, considering the ability of respondents and their families who have financial power below the regional minimum wage, this fee may become a burden for them. This situation may potentially create an endless poverty cycle, especially to the family left behind.

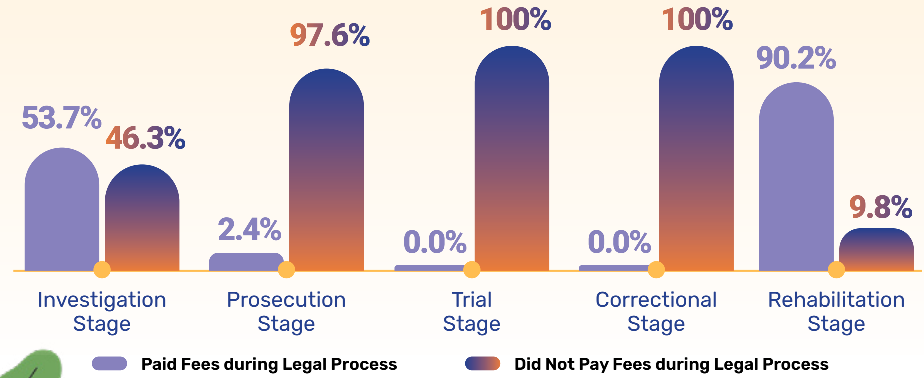
44 Saneta deVuono-powell, p. 7

I. KEY FINDING #7

COST EXPENDED BY OFFENDERS TO OBTAIN REHABILITATION SERVICE

7.1 Types and Total Cost of Criminal Justice Expended by Rehab Patient Respondents

Figure 22. Experiences of Rehab Patient Respondents Paying for Legal Fees (n = 41)



According to the figure above, the majority of Rehab Patient Respondents **(90.2%)** admitted they paid fees during the rehabilitation process, **53.7%** paid fees at the investigation stage, and **2.4%** paid fees at the prosecution stage. This condition indicates that the highest cost expended by respondents who are Rehab Patient Respondents was during the rehabilitation process itself.

Rehab Patient Respondents (n = 41) are those who were referred to receive medical rehabilitation service at the pre-adjudication stage (without any court decision rendered by a criminal court).[45] To obtain rehabilitation service during the pre-adjudication stage, a person may be referred to by police investigators (Police Regulation 8/2021)[46] or by public prosecutors (Attorney General's Guideline 18/2021).[47] This data shows that many offenders chose to pay fees at the beginning (pre-adjudication stage) to avoid their case going to trial.

45 Please refer to methodology on pages 6-7.
46 Regulation of the Police Number 8 of 2021 on Handling of Crimes Using Restorative Justice grants an authority for the Police to resolve narcotics criminal cases for Narcotics addicts and victims of Narcotics abuse who request for rehabilitation.
47 Guideline of the Attorney General Number 18 of 2021 on Resolution of Narcotics Abuse Criminal Case Process through Rehabilitation by Adopting Restorative Justice as the Implementation of Dominus Litis grants an authority for Public Prosecutors to resolve narcotics cases if the suspect is qualified as a narcotics abuser and the suspect is willing to undergo rehabilitation.

Data shown above also indicate that most transactions took place at the investigation stage, and those transactions drastically drop at the following stage. This is sensible because when respondents had transacted to secure rehabilitation before the trial starts, the case will be ceased and will not proceed to the next stage. This conforms with the data presented above[48] suggesting that all of Rehab Patient Respondents undergo rehabilitation without any court decision being rendered.

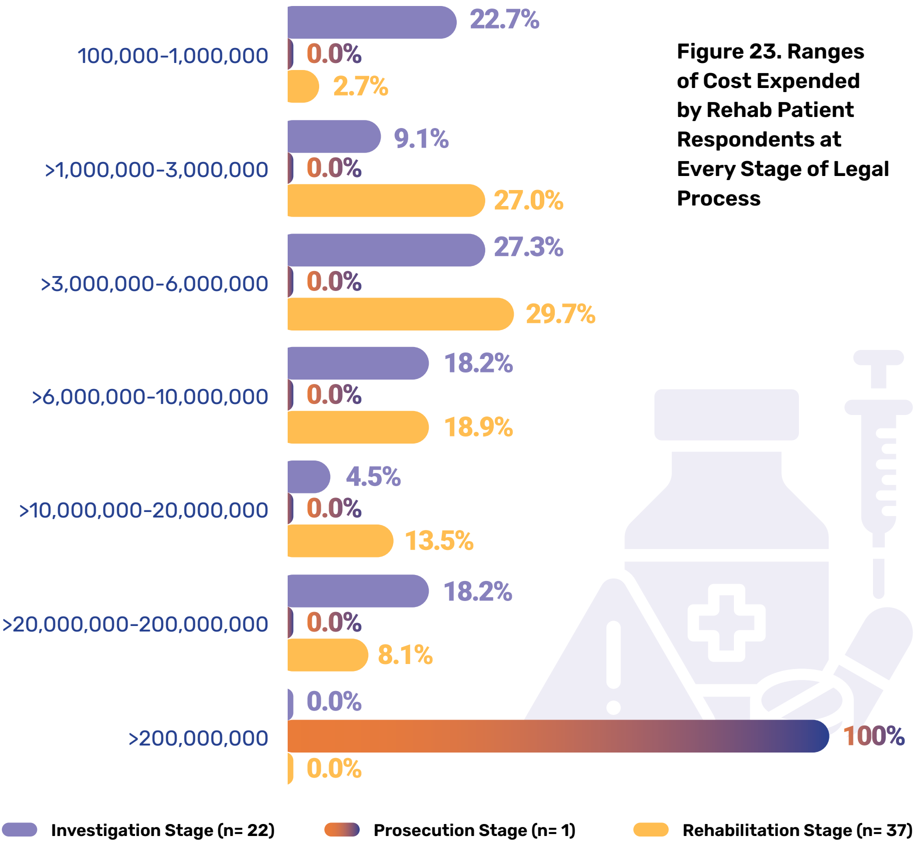
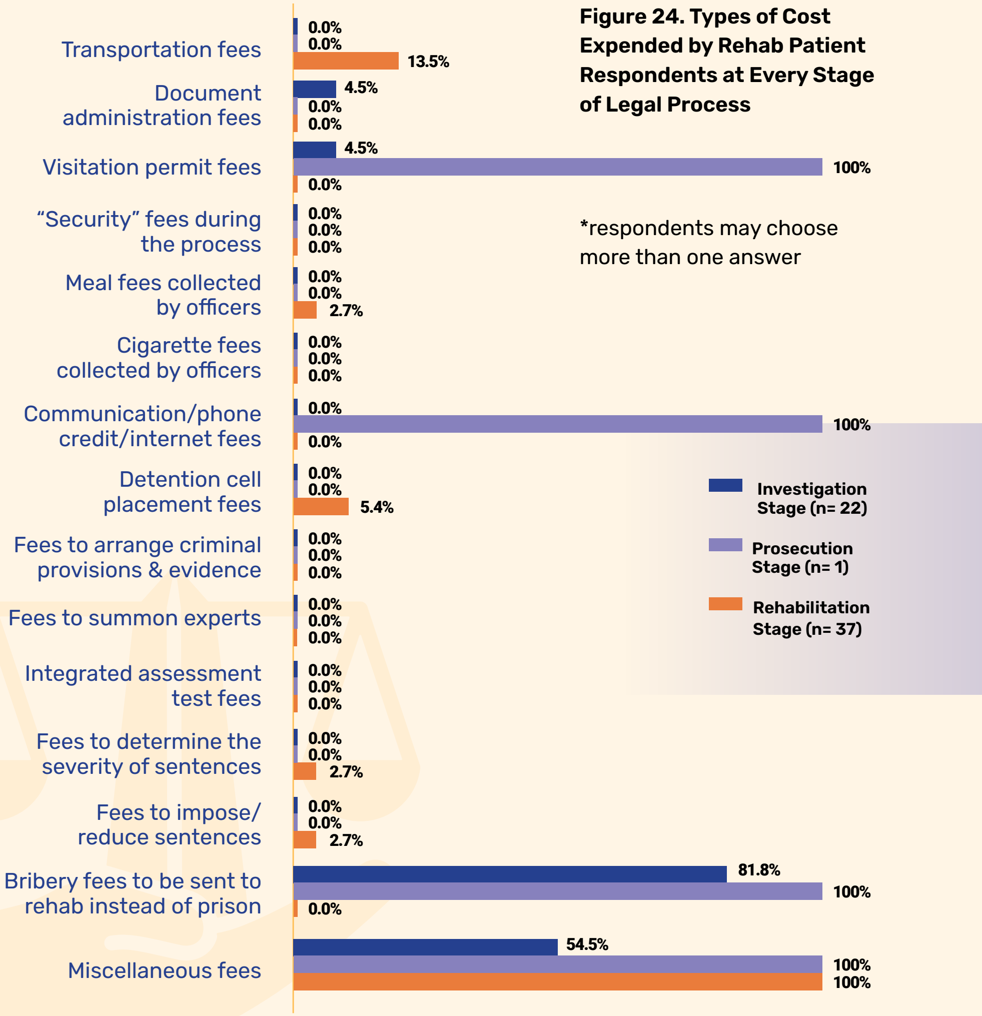


Figure 23. Ranges of Cost Expended by Rehab Patient Respondents at Every Stage of Legal Process

48 See p. 21.

The figure above displays a variation of ranges of cost spent by Rehab Patient Respondents. At the investigation stage, 27.3% of Rehab Patient Respondents spent **>Rp3,000,000 - Rp6,000,000.** Meanwhile, only one Rehab Patient respondent paid during the prosecution stage, but the fee was significantly higher than those paid during the investigation process, which is **>Rp200.000.000.** Subsequently, in the rehabilitation process, 29.7% of Rehab Patient Respondents paid between **>Rp3,000,000 - Rp6,000,000,** while there are 8.1% of Rehab Patient Respondents who paid within the range of **Rp 20,000,000 up to Rp 200,000,000.** This situation affirms that the highest cost burden arises during the rehabilitation stage in a more varied cost distribution.

Figure 24. Types of Cost Expended by Rehab Patient Respondents at Every Stage of Legal Process



*respondents may choose more than one answer

The above figure laid out a variation of types of cost expended by Rehab Patient Respondents in every step of the legal process, including the rehabilitation process. Similar with Inmate Respondents, percentage wise, at every stage, the cost was mostly expended for miscellaneous needs. Furthermore, by viewing each legal process, the variation of types of cost expended is discernible. At the investigation stage, Rehab Patient Respondents paid a significant amount of bribe to receive rehab referrals and avoid court trial and imprisonment **(81.8%)**, paid fees to obtain documents **(4.5%)**, and paid for family visitation permits **(4.5%)**. At the prosecution stage, even though there is only 1 respondent, the Rehab Patient paid bribes to be sent to rehab instead of court trial which may lead to imprisonment, as well as communication access fee and family visitation permits **(100.0%)**. During the rehabilitation process, Rehab Patient Respondents paid for transportation fees **(13.5%)**, cell placement fees **(5.4%)**, and meal fees collected by officers **(2.7%)**.

DID YOU KNOW?

This research discovers corruption practices in the form of bribery in order to settle narcotics cases through out-of-court means or diversion[49] during the investigation and prosecution stages. Referring to the definition of corruption presented by Robert Klitgaard (1988), corruption may occur if a work system is filled with uncontrolled discretion, monopoly of unchecked power, and lack of accountability. In the context of the existing diversion mechanism in Indonesia, there is a monopoly of power and lack of accountability which eventually lead to a high rate of corruption in provision of rehabilitation referrals.

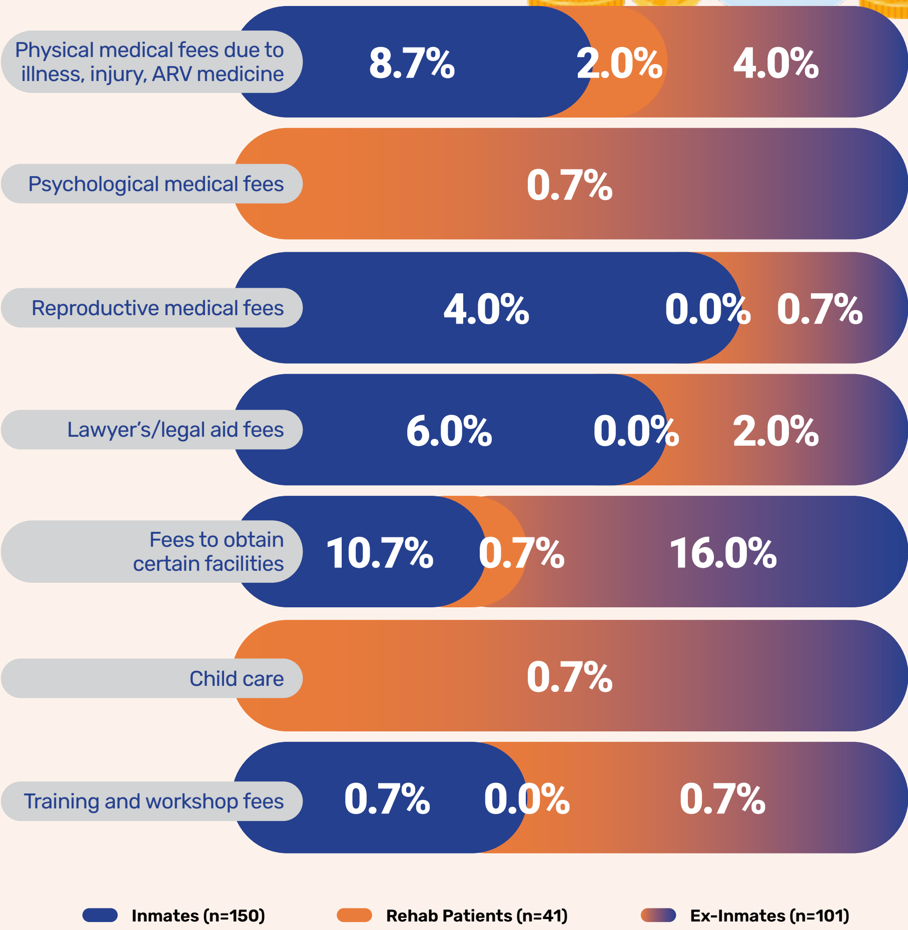
This condition may be perceived from the monopoly of diversion authority by several law enforcers, where police investigators monopolize rehabilitation referrals at the investigation stage (Police Regulation 8/2021), and public prosecutors monopolize rehabilitation referrals at the prosecution stage (Attorney General's Guidelines 18/2021). Police investigators or public prosecutors may give rehabilitation referrals for offenders and settle the criminal case without any supervision from other institutions, such as the court for instance (See Diversion under the 2012 Juvenile Criminal Justice System Law). Without any court order being required as a checks-and-balances mechanism, police investigators and public prosecutors are able to drop cases and give rehabilitation referrals for narcotics abusers without any accountability checks from other parties.

49 This out-of-court cease mechanism is performed based on Attorney General's Guidelines 18/2021 and Police Regulation 8/2021 on restorative justice. However, both legal frameworks misuse the term of restorative justice, because the correct term is "diversion" which originates from "to divert" as in diverting the case settlement out of court. See Peter J.P. Tak, "Methods of Diversion Used by the Prosecution Services in The Netherlands and Other Western European Countries."

J. KEY FINDING #8
ADDITIONAL COST EXPENDED BY OFFENDERS

8.1 Types of Additional Fees Expended by Offender Respondents

Figure 25. Types of Additional Fees Expended by Offender Respondents
*respondents may choose more than one answer



The figure above shows a variation of additional fees expended by Offender Respondents during their legal process. In this context, additional fees refer to fees or money expended to fulfill daily needs during imprisonment/rehabilitation relating to their narcotics case.

According to the above figure,

Inmate Respondents

10.7%

Ex-Inmate Respondents

16.0%

Rehab Patient Respondents

0.7%

paid some fees to obtain certain facilities.

Certain facilities refer to facilities inside Detention Houses and Correctional Facilities, such as beds and televisions. The Interviewers also discover that Inmate and Ex-Inmate Respondents paid for facilities to perform sexual activities, namely by requesting a vacant room which is commonly referred to as "romantic chamber" when their spouse is visiting.

The second highest cost that is frequently paid by Offender Respondents is physical medical fees due to illness or injury sustained by offenders, including antiretroviral (ARV) medicine for persons with HIV, at the rates of **8.7% of Inmate Respondents, 2.0% of Rehab Patient Respondents, and 4.0% of Ex-Inmate Respondents.**

The survey also reveals that Inmate Respondents paid for fees to upgrade their skills/training and workshop during imprisonment. This skill upgrade program at Correctional Facilities usually covers cooking courses, make-up courses, gardening, and others.[50]

50 According to interviews with respondents.

K. KEY FINDING #9

LACKING ACCESS TO LEGAL AID FOR POOR COMMUNITIES

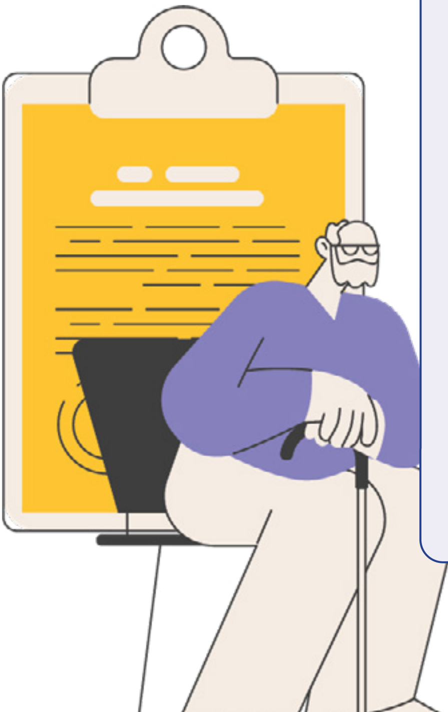
9.1 Offender Respondents Using Legal Aid

61.8% of Inmates (n = 150)	90.2% of Rehab Patients (n = 41)	82.2% of Ex-Inmates (n = 101)
The majority of Offender Respondents did not receive any legal aid		

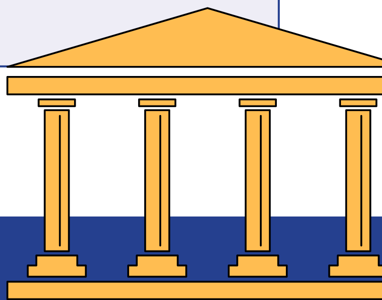
Based on interviews during the survey, the majority of Offender Respondents opted to continue their legal process without any counsel or legal aid. There are several factors which might lead to this phenomenon. First, considering that most of the respondents are vulnerable in terms of economy,[51] they would not be able to hire a quality legal counsel to assist them in the legal process. This issue supposed to be solved with Article 56 of the Indonesian Criminal Procedural Code, (*Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Acara Pidana* – KUHAP) which states that defendants who face imprisonment sentences of five years or longer, or who are economically underprivileged, have a right to be accompanied by a legal counsel.[52] The second factor is in relation to the implementation of this right.

51 See Key Findings 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3.
52 For further information, see Article 56 of Law Number 8 of 1981 on the Criminal Procedural Law Code.

Even though **Article 56 of KUHAP acts as a formal guarantee,** in practice, legal counselling still faces various obstacles.



One of essential findings from a research conducted by IJRS, Asosiasi LBH APIK Indonesia, PBHI, and YLBHI (2023) **reveals that limited legal-aid budget serves as a crucial factor which affects the quality of legal counselling for poor and vulnerable groups.**[53] The public legal-aid budget that should have supported the provision of quality legal counsels still fails to adequately cover all community legal needs. The legal-aid budget allocated by the Government through Legal Aid Organizations (*Organisasi Bantuan Hukum* – OBH) oftentimes is disproportionate compared to case load that must be handled.



This situation results in the quality of legal service to be not optimum.[54] This condition should be highly concerned to substantially fulfill the right to legal aid which constitutes part of the right to a fair trial. The third factor comes from an explanation by the respondent, where one of them stated that using legal counsel would lead to a bigger criminal sentence. They stated that this is due to the fact that law enforcement officers feel they need to put more effort in dealing with defendants with legal counsel, and would prosecute them with a bigger punishment.

53 Arsa Ilmi Budiarti, et. al. Kebutuhan Anggaran Bantuan Hukum Yang Berperspektif Kelompok Rentan. IJRS: 2023. pp. 9-25

54 *Ibid*

L. KEY FINDING #10

ECONOMIC COSTS AND IMPACTS SUSTAINED BY OFFENDERS

10.1 Economic Costs and Impacts Sustained by Offender Respondents

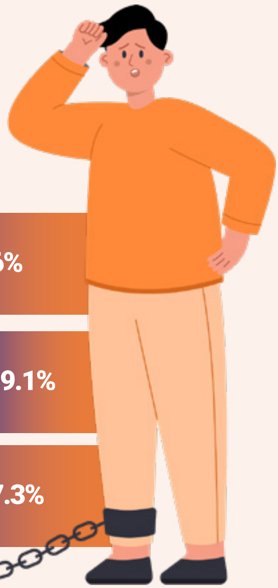
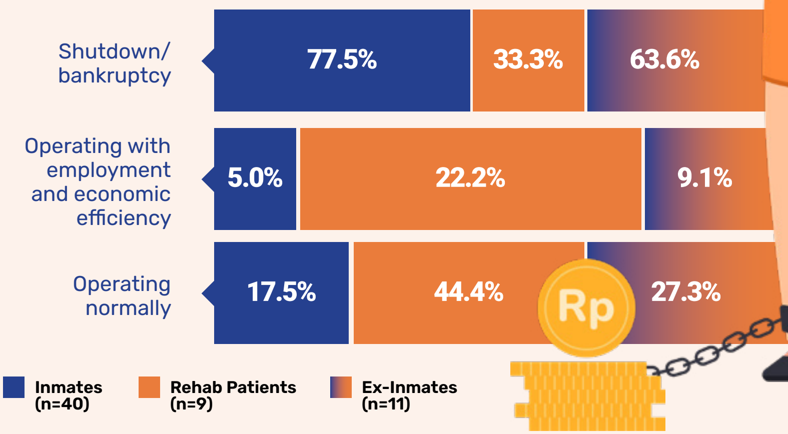


Figure 26. Economic Costs Sustained by Offender Respondents Relating to Their Business After Being Involved in Narcotics Legal Process



According to the above figure, after going through their legal process, most Offender Respondents who owned a business felt that their business was affected. The majority of businesses owned by convicts tend to go bankrupt, with:

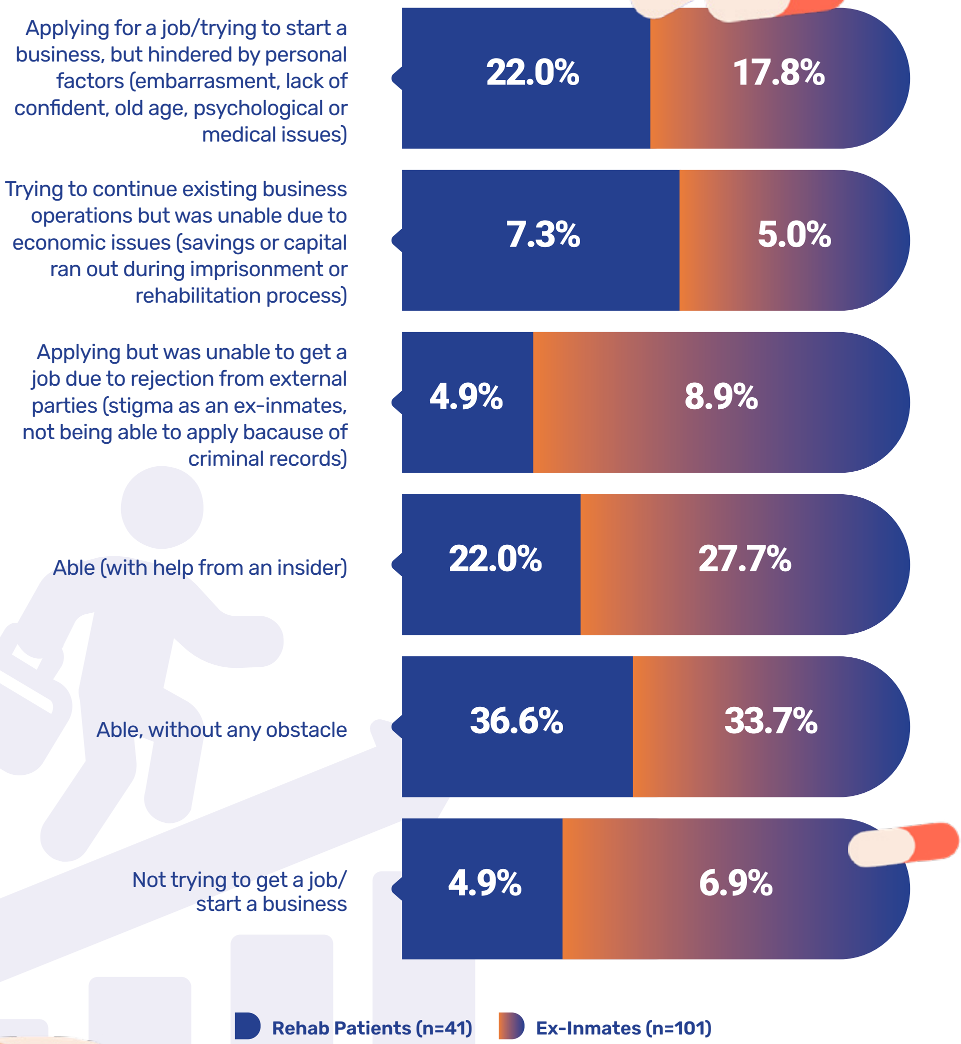
77.5% of businesses owned by Inmate Respondents

63.6% of businesses owned by Ex-Inmate Respondents went out of business.

Meanwhile, Rehab Patient Respondents' businesses tend to continue operating (44.4%), with some of them experiencing efficiency (22.2%).

42.4% of Inmates (n = 33)	**60.0%** of Rehab Patients (n = 5)	**75.0%** of Ex-Inmates (n = 8)
Sustained losses up to >Rp7,500,000		

Figure 27. Getting a Job/Economic Opportunity after Narcotics Conviction

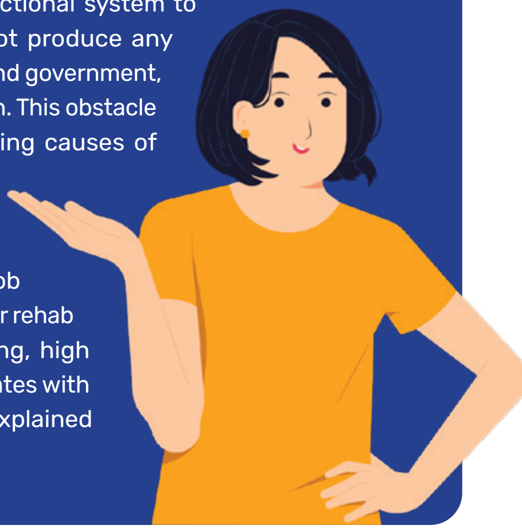


The figure above suggests that even though most respondents are still able to get a job, there are some **Rehab Patient Respondents (34.2%) and Ex-Inmates Respondents (31.7%)** **who face certain obstacles that prevent them from accessing the workforce.**

DID YOU KNOW?

Financial impact, cost from imprisonment as well as various obstacles to jobs and economic mobility after serving the criminal sentence strengthen the connection between imprisonment and poverty.[55] Those who are known or believed to have consumed narcotics or have a criminal record in general face significant obstacles in getting a job in this current economy, where it is sometimes even impossible for them to secure a job.[56] Research in the United States shows a significant decline in job acceptance rates with a criminal record. Without a criminal record, 34% of white respondents and 14% of Black respondents received callbacks for their job applications. Meanwhile, with a criminal record these numbers decrease significantly, with only 17% of white respondents and 5% of black respondents receiving callbacks.[57]

In Indonesia, a criminal record does not always prevent someone from returning to the workforce, but there are regulations that limit convicts from obtaining certain jobs. For example, Article 23 Paragraph (1)b of Government Regulation No.11 from Year 2017 regarding Management of Civil Servant states that convicts who have been imprisoned for 2 (two) years or more are prohibited from applying for the civil servant position. The vocational training programs held by the correctional system to promote social reintegration will not produce any result if there is no one, both private and government, willing to accept a convict's application. This obstacle to the workforce is one of the leading causes of ostracization towards drug users, which later pushes them further into criminal activities, such as drug trafficking, since there is no decent job available for them post-incarceration or rehab process.[58] Other than drug trafficking, high number of unemployment also correlates with high number of property crimes, as explained in previous findings.[59]



55 Saneta deVuono-powell, et. al., p. 9
56 Daniel Cullen dan Carolyn Hoyle, p. 25
57 Lawrence D. Bobo & Victor Thompson, "Unfair by Design: The War on Drugs, Race, and the Legitimacy of the Criminal Justice System.", Social Research, Vol. 73, No.2, p. 453.
58 *Ibid.*
59 See key finding 5

10.2 Economic Costs and Impacts Sustained by Family

These findings show changes in family economic condition before and after undergoing the criminal justice process and difficulties to fulfil basic needs:

When Arrested (n = 66)	After Serving the Sentence (n = 66)
66.7% of families — Had **Sufficient** Funds to Fulfil Monthly Needs	**45.5%** of families — Have **Sufficient** Funds to Fulfil Monthly Needs

Total cost of family needs starts at the range of **Rp 1,500,001** up to **> Rp 7,500,000**

Out of **66 Family Member Respondents** who are impacted from the conviction of narcotics cases against their family member, the majority of them were having difficulty to fulfill needs in terms of:

- **34.8%** primary needs (food, basic needs)
- **22.7%** child education tuition
- **31.8%** routine monthly expenses (electricity, water, rent, installment)
- **16.7%** family medical bill

Conviction of narcotics cases against Family Member Respondents also becomes an economic burden for families in terms of having difficulty fulfilling primary needs, education, and healthcare. These findings at the very least confirm that **the impact of a punitive regime may extend to other persons, especially family**.[60] On the other hand, there are no policy introduced by the state to support families during the offender's prison term, even though the most significant financial impact is sustained by the offenders' family, which mostly originated from alow socio-economic groups.[61]

Studies conducted in New Zealand also reveal that **financial distress is primarily suffered by women due to the imprisonment of male partners who were previously the family breadwinner**. This impact is immensely felt by mothers who now have to support their own and their children's livelihood, while simultaneously supporting the finances of their family member who was sent to prison. Consequently, many families eventually cut their food consumption, and in some cases, are no longer able to fulfill basic needs and other supporting needs.[62]

60 *Ibid*, p. 28
61 *Ibid.*

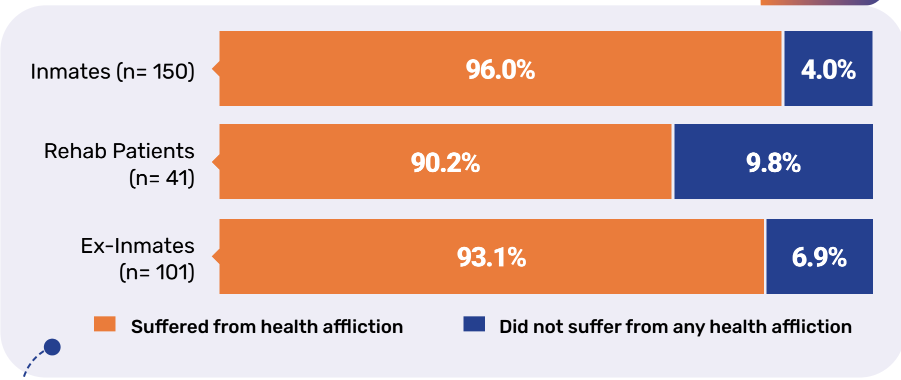
62 Dr Michael Roguski dan Fleur Chauvel. *The Effects of Imprisonment on Inmates' and their Families' Health and Wellbeing*. 2009. p. 10. http://www.antoniocasella.eu/salute/Roguski_2009.pdf

M. KEY FINDING #11

HEALTH COSTS AND IMPACTS SUSTAINED BY OFFENDERS

11.1 Health Costs and Impacts Sustained by Offender Respondents

Figure 28. Experiences of Offender Respondents who Suffer from Health Impacts



Inmate Respondents	Rehab Patient Respondents	Ex-Inmate Respondents
96.0%	90.2%	93.1%

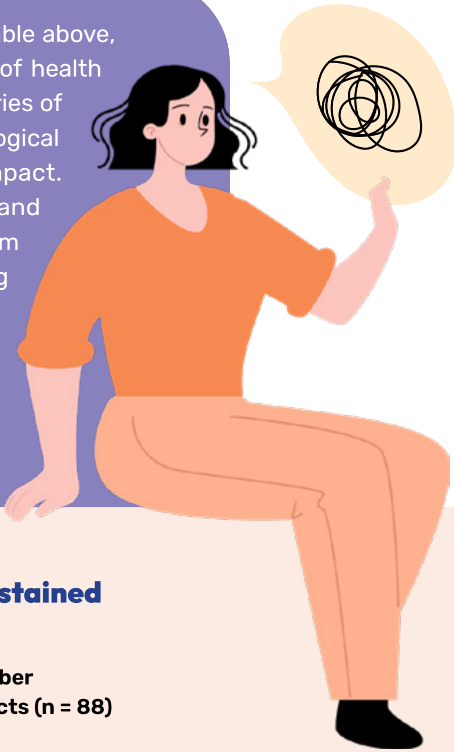
suffered from **health impacts** caused by their narcotics case. Health impacts that were suffered include:

Table 3. Types of Health Impact Suffered by Respondents
*respondents may choose more than one answer

Health Impacts Suffered by Respondents	Inmates (n = 144)	Rehab Patients (n = 37)	Ex-Inmates (n = 94)
Illness	14.6%	21.6%	20.2%
Physical Injury	16.0%	27.0%	42.6%
Mental disorder/stress	6.3%	5.4%	3.2%
Disability	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%

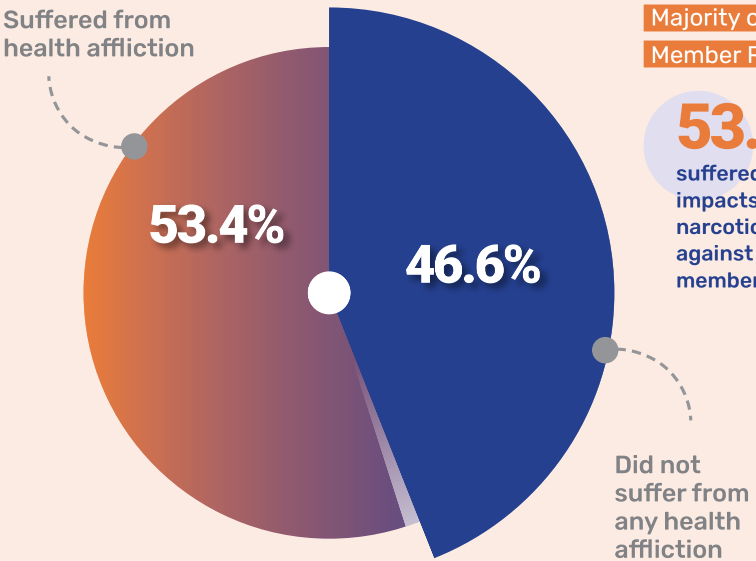
Health Impacts Suffered by Respondents	Inmates (n = 144)	Rehab Patients (n = 37)	Ex-Inmates (n = 94)
Starting to consume alcohol/consume more than before	2.1%	0.0%	8.5%
Starting to use other narcotics	4.9%	0.0%	23.4%
Starting to overly consume sedatives, sleeping pills, etc.	4.9%	13.5%	4.3%
Change of behavior (bad tempered, rarely communicate, etc.)	15.3%	13.5%	13.8%
Feeling despair/losing hope	34.7%	40.5%	27.7%
Frequently angry/annoyed/upset, more than before	31.3%	24.3%	25.5%
Feeling embarrassed, refuse to meet people	47.9%	62.2%	44.7%
Feeling guilty, blaming themselves for what happened	79.2%	78.4%	72.3%
Feeling excessive anxiety, having trouble sleeping/performing activities	54.2%	54.1%	43.6%
Frequently daydreaming with nothing to think about	47.2%	16.2%	31.9%
Feeling excessive sadness that disrupts daily activities	61.1%	59.5%	35.1%
Feeling abandoned/shunned/hated by closest persons (family and/or friends)	38.9%	27.0%	31.9%
Unable to focus on working, forcing them to take a leave/quit	0.0%	2.7%	0.0%
Terminated from their workplace on the ground of declining performance due to health and/or psychological disorder	13.9%	2.7%	6.4%
Others	1.4%	0.0%	3.2%

According to information listed in the table above, it may be inferred that the prevalence of health impacts suffered by those three categories of respondents relates to mental/psychological health impact and physical health impact. The majority of Inmate Respondents and Rehab Patient Respondents suffered from psychological issues in the form of feeling guilty and excessive sadness. Meanwhile, most Ex-Inmate respondents suffered from psychological issues in the form of feeling guilty and physical issues in the form of injury.



11.2 Health Costs and Impacts Sustained by Family Members

Figure 29. Experiences of Family Member Respondents in Terms of Health Impacts (n = 88)

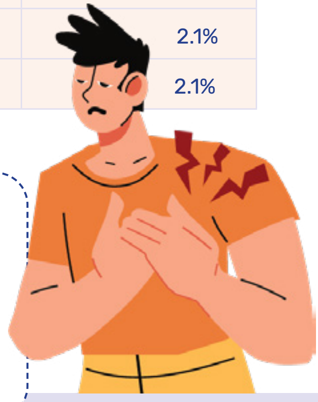


Majority of Family Member Respondents

53.4% suffered from health impacts caused by narcotics conviction against their family member.

Table 4. Types of Health Impact Suffered by Family Respondents
*respondents may choose more than one answer

Health Impacts Suffered by Family (n = 47)	
Feelings of excessive sadness that disrupts daily activities	51.1%
Feelings of embarrassment, refuse to meet people	42.6%
Physical illness	38.3%
Feelings of excessive anxiety, having trouble sleeping/ performing activities	36.2%
Feelings of guilt, blaming themselves for what happened	25.5%
Frequently angry/annoyed, more than usual	23.4%
Frequently daydreaming with nothing to think about	21.3%
Feeling abandoned/shunned/hated by closest persons	17.0%
Feelings of despair/losing hope	8.5%
Mental disorder/stress	2.1%
Consuming sedatives, sleeping pills, etc. excessively	2.1%



According to information provided in the above table, it may be inferred that the significant prevalence of health impacts suffered by Family Member Respondents also relates to mental/psychological and physical health issues. The majority of Family Member Respondents suffered from psychological health issues such as:

feelings of excessive sadness
51.1%

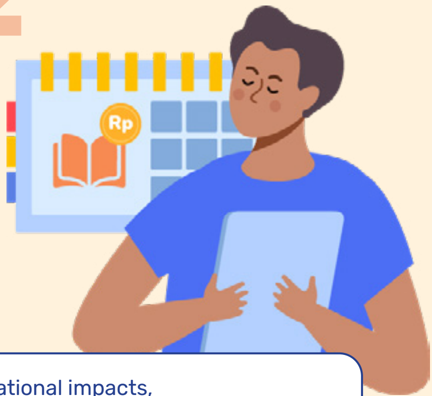
feeling embarrassed
42.6%

feelings of excessive anxiety
36.2%

Meanwhile, physical health issues suffered by Family Member Respondents are mostly related to **physical illness (38.3%)**, with there being some who had to consume sedatives, sleeping pills, etc. **excessively (2.1%)** because of the incarceration of a family member (offender).

N. KEY FINDING #12

EDUCATIONAL COSTS AND IMPACTS SUSTAINED BY OFFENDERS AND FAMILY MEMBERS



12.1 Educational Costs and Impacts Sustained by Offender Respondents

6.9%	**of Ex-Inmate Respondents (n = 101)**	Sustained educational impacts, including: **3.0%** dropped out from their school/university **3.0%** forced to take academic leave **1.0%** transferred from their school/university
1.3%	**of Inmate Respondents (n = 150)**	Sustained an educational impact, namely dropping out from their school/university on the ground of conviction of narcotics case involving them.

12.2 Educational Costs and Impacts Sustained by Family Member Respondents

9.0% **of families sustained educational impacts (n = 88)**

37.5% were unable to pay for education. **25.0%** were unable to continue education. **25.0%** were transferred from their school/university. **12.5%** skipped school (n = 8)

Several researches indeed show a connection between children's lacking educational achievement and their parents being imprisoned.[63] Children of imprisoned parents have a higher possibility of being suspended or expelled from school.[64]

63 Eric Martin, "Hidden Consequences: The Impact of Incarceration on Dependent Children," *NIJ Journal 278*, (March 2017), https://nij.gov/journals/278/Pages/impact-ofincarceration-on-dependent-children.aspx. p. 3

64 *Ibid.*

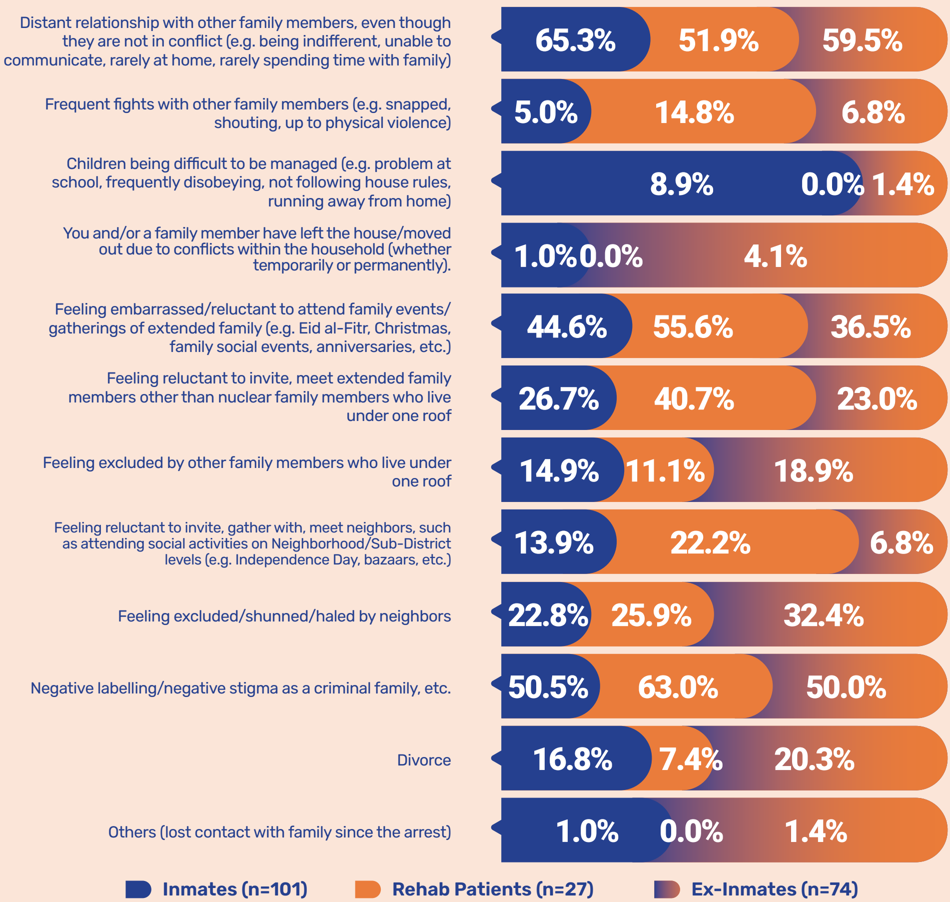
O. KEY FINDING #13

SOCIAL RELATION COSTS AND IMPACTS SUSTAINED BY OFFENDERS

13.1 Social Relation Costs and Impacts Sustained by Offender Respondents

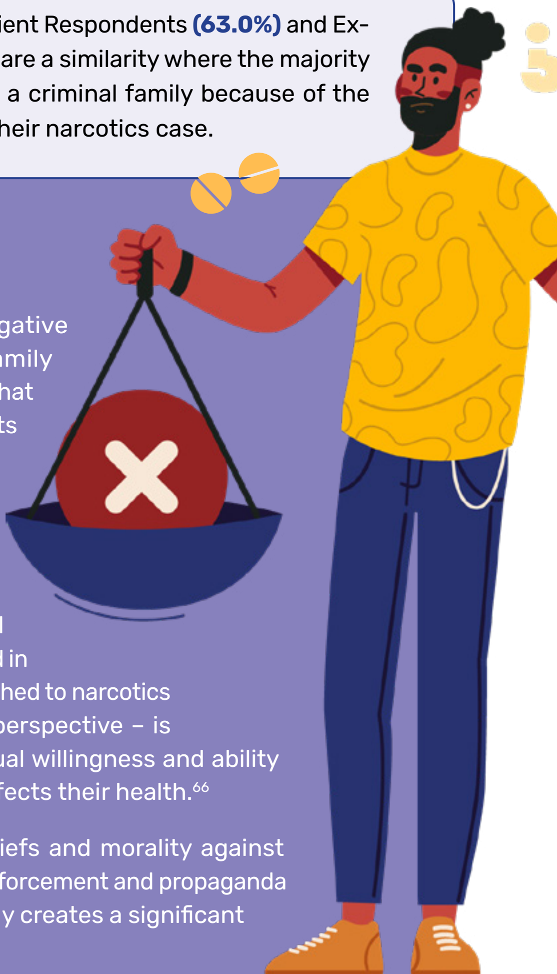
67.3% of Inmates (n = 150)	65.9% of Rehab Patients (n = 41)	73.3% of Ex-Inmates (n = 101)
Sustained Social Relation Impacts from Conviction of Their Narcotics Case		

Figure 30. Social Relation Impacts Sustained by Offender Respondents
*respondents may choose more than one answer



Most Inmate Respondents felt that their relationship with other family members became distant **(65.3%)**, they were being negatively labelled/stigmatized as a criminal family **(50.5%)**, and they felt embarrassed/reluctant to attend family events/gatherings of extended family **(44.6%)**.

As for respondents who are Rehab Patient Respondents **(63.0%)** and Ex-Inmate Respondents **(50.0%)**, they share a similarity where the majority of them received negative stigma as a criminal family because of the conviction/rehabilitation relating to their narcotics case.



DID YOU KNOW?

Findings laid out above reveal that negative labelling and stigma as a criminal family becomes a social relation impact pattern that is frequently experienced by respondents who are Rehab Patients (63.0%), Inmates (50.5%), and Ex-Inmates (50.0%). These findings confirm imprisonment as a factor that exacerbates various social and community issues experienced by persons who undergo narcotics legal process/use narcotics.[65] Studies conducted in Canada also point out that the stigma attached to narcotics consumption – namely negative public perspective – is also a direct factor that restricts individual willingness and ability to access healthcare, which obviously affects their health.[66]

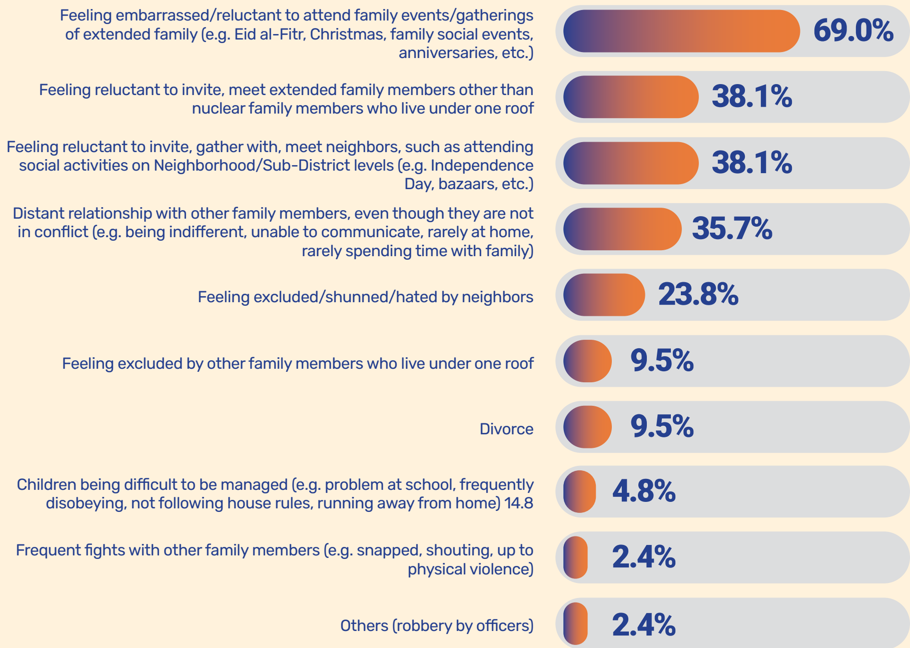
Social stigma formed from negative beliefs and morality against narcotics users is also influenced by the enforcement and propaganda of narcotics criminal law, which eventually creates a significant obstacle in daily lives.[67]

65 Benjamin D. Scher, et. al. Criminalization Causes the Stigma: Perspectives From People Who Use Drugs. Contemporary Drug Problems Vol. 50 (3). 2023. p. 403
66 *Ibid*. p. 410
67 Benjamin D. Scher, *et. al.*, p. 410

13.2 Social Relation Costs and Impacts Sustained by Family Member Respondents

47.7% of Families sustained social relation impacts (n = 88)

Figure 31. Social Relation Impacts Sustained by Family Member Respondents (n = 42)
*respondents may choose more than one answer



Referring to the figure above, the majority of Family respondents sustained social relation impacts from the narcotics conviction against their family member, including feeling embarrassed/reluctant to attend family events **(69.0%)**, feeling reluctant to invite and meet other family members **(38.1%)**, feeling reluctant to meet and gather with neighbors **(38.1%)**, distant family relationship **(35.7%)**, and feeling excluded/shunned/hated by neighbors **(23.8%)**. Social pressure, exclusion, and stigma frequently exist as primary burdens borne by parents, partners, and other family members of Inmates.[68] Several families whose family member was imprisoned choose to stay away from social communities and tend to keep a distance from their friends and family because of shame and inability to overcome the exclusion[69] which eventually leads to loss of social support and strong family relationships.[70]

68 Dr Michael Roguski and Fleur Chauvel, p. 9
69 *Ibid*. pp. 51-55
70 *Ibid.*

P. KEY FINDING #14

VIOLENCE OR POOR TREATMENT EXPERIENCED WHEN UNDERGOING LEGAL PROCESS

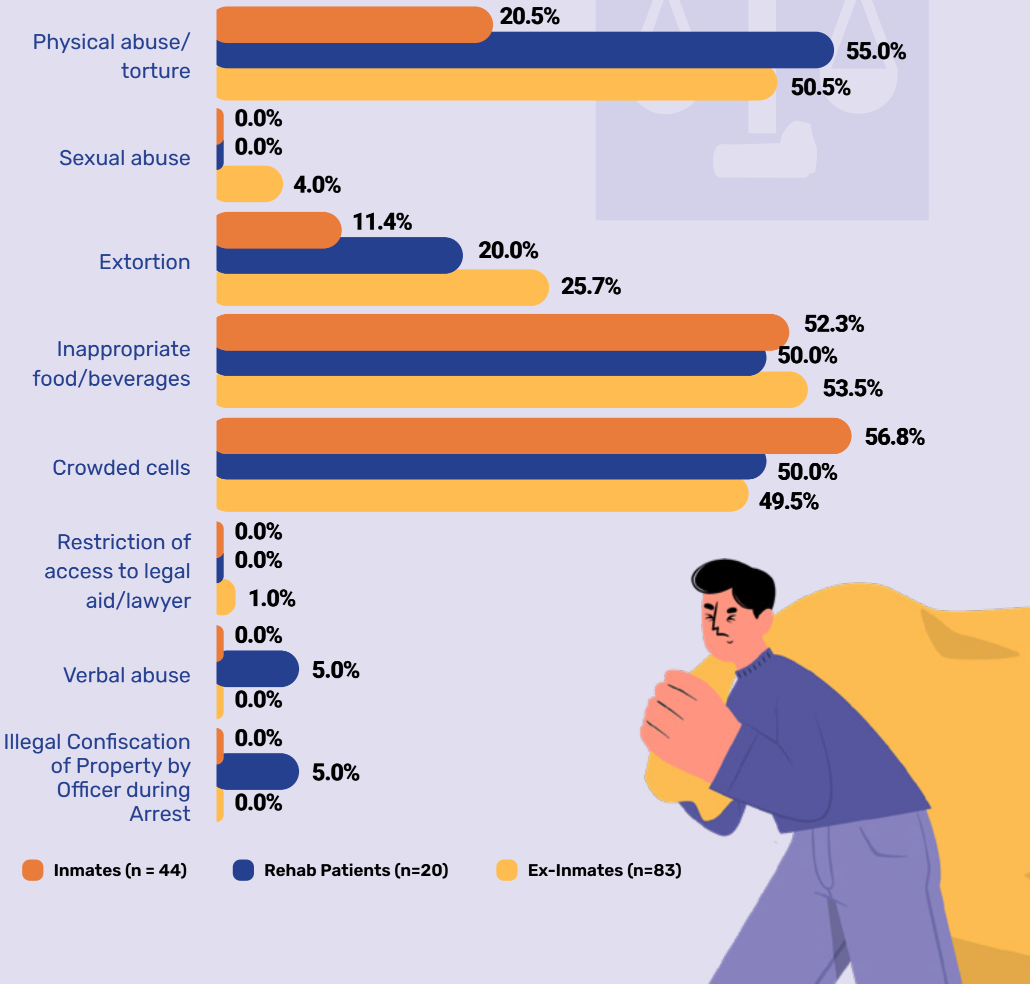
29.3% of Inmates (n = 150)

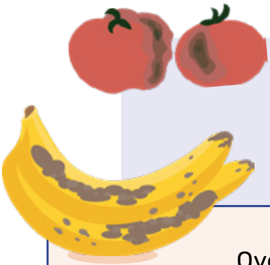
48.8% of Rehab Patients (n = 41)

82.2% of Ex-Inmates (n = 101)

Experienced Horrible Conditions when Undergoing Their Narcotics Legal Process

Figure 32. Violence and Poor Treatment Experienced by Offender Respondents when Undergoing Legal Process
*respondents may choose more than one answer





The figure above reveals that all three categories of Offender Respondents experienced different kinds of violence/abuse and poor treatment when undergoing the legal process.

Over half of the total **Offender Respondents (52.3% of Inmates, 50.0% of Rehab Patients, and 50.0% of Ex-Inmates)** felt that they were being fed with inappropriate food or beverages when they were detained or imprisoned.

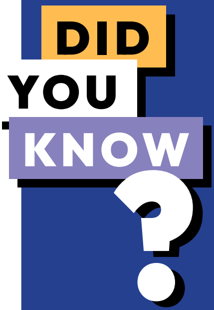
Another horrible condition experienced by:

Inmates **56.8%** **Rehab Patients** **50.0%** **Ex-Inmates** **49.5%**

is overcrowded cells at Correctional Facilities.

Rehab Patients **(55.0%)**, Ex-Inmates **(50.5%)**, and Inmates **(20.5%)** admitted they had experienced physical abuse or torture during the criminal justice process.

4.0% of Ex-Inmates admitted they had experienced sexual abuse.



Violence and poor treatment phenomena experienced by all three respondents cannot be separated from the primary factor of overcrowding at Correctional Facilities. The number of Inmates and detainees steadily rises, while the space capacity at Correctional Facilities remains unchanged.[71] Prison inmates currently sit at 188.7% of maximum capacity, where ±52% contributors to that overcrowding condition are Narcotics inmates.[72] This overcrowding undoubtedly generates numerous consequences, including limited infrastructures and facilities to fulfill basic needs of Inmates as well as high workload of correctional officers/wardens, leading to the lack of supervision and services. This situation happens because the ratio between officers and Inmates is not balanced,[73] at 1:21 ratio, which is quite low compared to the international standard at 1:15.[74] Hence, correctional officers/wardens are overwhelmed and have limitations when performing their duties and tend to commit violence to easily manage inmates.[75]

In addition, in terms of sexual violence issue in prison, a study unveils that Prison is a place that is prone to sexual victimization. Sexual victimization encompasses a range of behaviors, ranging from sexual abuse up to non-consensual sexual violence, and they produce various consequences or impacts.[76] Researchers argue that sexual violence does not merely reflect an aggressive act, but also a consequence of deprivation experienced by Inmates (especially male Inmates).[77] Imprisoning heterosexual male Inmates may encourage them to seek for homosexual relationship in prison which frequently involves sexual violence acts.[78]

71 Iqrak Sulhin, "COVID-19, Pemenjaraan Berlebihan, Dan Potensi Katastrofe Kemanusiaan," *Jurnal Hukum & Pembangunan: Vol. 50: No. 2, Article 8*, (2023).
72 World Prison Brief (WBP), Indonesia, 2025, https://www.prisonstudies.org/country/indonesia.
73 Rully Novian, et. al. Strategi Menangani Overcrowding di Indonesia: Penyebab, Dampak, dan Penyelesaiannya. Institute for Criminal Justice Reform (ICJR): 2018. p. 9 https://icjr.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Overcrowding-Indonesia_Final.pdf
74 *Ibid*. p. 114
75 Marfuatul Latifah. Overcrowded Pada Rumah Tahanan Dan Lembaga Pemasyarakatan Di Indonesia: Dampak Dan Solusinya. Info Singkat Vol. XI, No.10/II/Puslit/Mei/2019. 2019. https://berkas.dpr.go.id/pusaka/files/info_singkat/Info%20Singkat-XI-10-II-P3DI-Mei-2019-222.pdf, p. 3
76 Nancy Wolff, et. al. "Sexual Violence Inside Prisons: Rates of Victimization," *Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine, Vol. 83 No. 5* (2006). p.835
77 Carly M. Hilinski-Rosick & Tina L. Freiburger. Sexual Violence Among Male Inmates. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, NP3285-NP3303. 2018. p. 6 https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260518770190
78 *Ibid.*

Q. KEY FINDING #15

ESTIMATION OF TOTAL COST EXPENDED BY THE GOVERNMENT FOR NARCOTICS CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESS

This research estimates the budgets of Ministries/Agencies (hereinafter referred to as “Institutions”) involved in handling narcotics cases, namely the Police, Prosecutor’s Office, Court (Supreme Court), Directorate General of Corrections of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, and National Narcotics Board (*Badan Narkotika Nasional* – BNN). Unfortunately, due to limitations to this research, this research excludes the budget of several institutions, such as the budget for medical rehabilitation for narcotics addicts at the Ministry of Health and social rehabilitation for narcotics addicts at the Ministry of Social Affairs. That exclusion is employed due to difficulties in identifying and analyzing data from available budget documents provided by those two institutions, and time limit to obtain them through direct requests.

Total Realization of Institutional Budget at Institutions Involved in Handling Narcotics Criminal Cases

Before estimating expenses for narcotics cases in the Indonesian criminal justice system, it is important to identify the total budget of each institution involved in the criminal justice system to understand the allocation of state budget for each institution.

Table 5. Total Realization of Institutional Budget between 2019-2023

Ministries/ Agencies	Total Institutional Budget for Handling Narcotics Criminal Cases (Trillion)				
	2019[79]	2020[80]	2021[81]	2022[82]	2023[83]
Police	Rp 98.2	Rp 100.4	Rp 102.3	Rp 114.2	Rp 119.8
Attorney General's Office	Rp 6.7	Rp 6.8	Rp 8.5	Rp 10.8	Rp 15.9
Supreme Court	Rp 8.9	Rp 9.9	Rp 10.5	Rp 11.3	Rp 11.6
Ministry of Law and Human Rights	Rp 13.8	Rp 12.4	Rp 14.3	Rp 16.1	Rp 18.4
National Narcotics Board (Badan Narkotika Nasional – BNN)	Rp 1.5	Rp 1.6	Rp 1.4	Rp 1.7	Rp 1.8
Total Cost of Criminal Justice System	Rp129.1	Rp 130.1	Rp 136.9	Rp 154.1	Rp 167.6

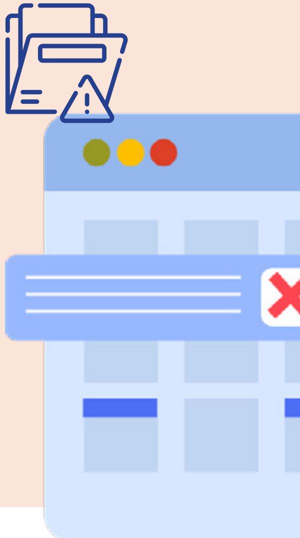
79 Total budget realization per institution in 2019: the 2019 Audited Central Government Financial Statements, published by the Ministry of Finance in June 2020, Appendix 2.A, Report of Realization of Central Government Expenditure Budget According to Ba and Echelon I for the 2019 Budget Year, L.14-L.28.

80 Total budget realization per institution in 2020: the 2020 Audited Central Government Financial Statements, published by the Ministry of Finance on 31 May 2021, Appendix 2.A, Report of Realization of Central Government Expenditure Budget According to Ba and Echelon I for the 2020 Budget Year, L.13-L.124.

81 Total budget realization per institution in 2021: the 2021 Audited Central Government Financial Statements, published by the Ministry of Finance on 30 May 2022, Appendix 2.A, Audited Report of Realization of Central Government Expenditure Budget According to Ba and Echelon I for the 2021 Budget Year, L.13-L.28.

82 Total budget realization per institution in 2022: the 2022 Audited Central Government Financial Statements, published by the Ministry of Finance in May 2023, Appendix 3.A, Report of Realization of Central Government Expenditure Budget According to Ba and Echelon I for the 2022 Budget Year, L.23-L.32.

83 Total budget realization per institution in 2023: the 2023 Audited Central Government Financial Statements, published by the Ministry of Finance in May 2024, Appendix 3.A, Report of Realization of Central Government Expenditure Budget According to Ba and Echelon I for the 2023 Budget Year, L.38-L.48.

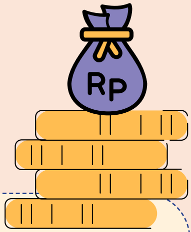


Data listed above are not necessarily the budget for criminal justice. Those data reflect the realization of the total budget expended by those institutions annually. Hence, the budget mentioned above was not entirely expended for the criminal justice system. For instance, the budget at the Ministry of Law and Human Rights also includes the budget for the Directorate of Establishment of Laws and Regulations and other directorates that do not perform any criminal justice functions. The same also applies to the budget at the Police, other than the budget for investigation (criminal justice function), the budget also includes the funds to perform security and order functions.

The data above reveal that the state budget was mostly allocated to the Police, considering that Police functions are not only limited to law enforcement (criminal justice) such as preliminary investigation and investigation, but also maintaining public safety (non-criminal-justice), such as conducting patrols, administration of permits and safety of demonstration, administration of driving licenses, and crime prevention programs. Meanwhile, BNN is the institution with the lowest annual budget, considering that BNN is an Agency equipped with specific functions, namely prevention and handling of narcotics cases.

In general, there is a budget increase for the criminal justice process on an annual basis. Even though there was a budget cut for handling of narcotics cases in 2021 due to COVID-19, the criminal justice budget shows an uptrend. However, this trend needs to be analyzed further by considering other factors, such as inflation, existing case-handling policies during those years, case data, and other factors to examine which factors affect the annual budget increase.

Estimation of Total Cost Expended by the Government for Narcotics Criminal Justice Process



A cost of criminal justice system study consists of several components as follows:[84]

1. Cost of programs or activities to handle criminal cases; and
2. Cost for management supports, which is proportionally estimated according to the percentage of criminal cases compared to all cases (criminal and non-criminal) handled by each agency.

Management support and operational supporting costs are classified as indirect costs in performing duties related to criminal justice enforcement. Those costs are expended to support the performance of duties without directly relating to certain duties or services (overhead or fixed cost). Fixed cost refers to the cost that will always be expended by the government, even though there is no case being handled.[85]

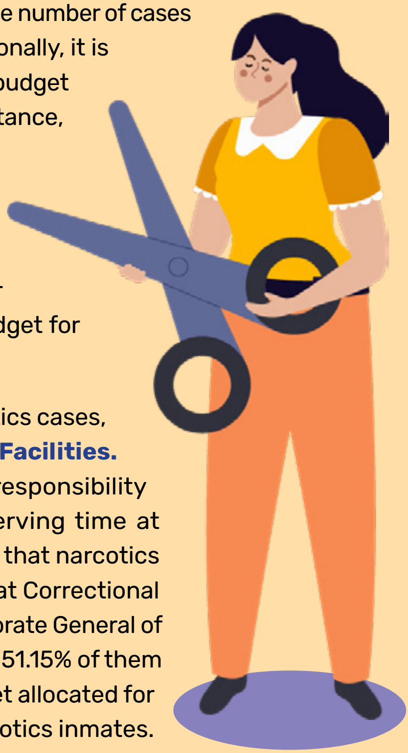
Below are the estimation of the cost of the criminal justice system expended by the state. This cost not only applies to handling of narcotics cases, but also to all criminal cases, as estimated from several law enforcement agencies involved in handling narcotics criminal cases.

Table 6. Estimation of Cost Expended by the Government for Narcotics Law Enforcement in the Criminal Justice System between 2019-2023

Year	Police (billion)	Prosecutor's Office (trillion)	Supreme Court (billion)	Directorate General of Corrections (trillion)	National Narcotics Board (trillion)	Estimation of Cost Expended by the Government for Narcotics Criminal Justice Process (trillion)
2019	Rp582.4	Rp1.2	Rp73.9	Rp2.9	Rp1.5	Rp6.3
2020	Rp906.9	Rp1.6	Rp129.5	Rp2.7	Rp1.6	Rp6.9
2021	Rp834.7	Rp2.7	Rp191.4	Rp3.4	Rp1.4	Rp8.6
2022	Rp826.4	Rp3.1	Rp156.5	Rp3.7	Rp1.7	Rp9.5
2023	Rp841.5	Rp4.6	Rp174.1	Rp4.3	Rp1.8	Rp11.7

84 Matthew Heeks, et al., "The economic and social costs of crime, Second edition", *Home Office Report* (Juli 2018), pp. 51-54.
85 *Ibid.*

Data presented above are an estimation[86] of the cost of criminal justice specifically for narcotics cases between 2019-2023. **The budget to handle narcotics criminal cases increases each year. This situation conforms with the institutional budget uptrend in general each year. On the other hand, this budget increase does not entirely conform with the trend of narcotics cases.** The number of narcotics cases handled does not always show an uptrend. For example, narcotics cases handled by the court tend to decline. The number of cases rose once, from 68 thousand cases handled in 2019 to 71 thousand cases handled in 2020, however, in the following years, the number continued to decline up to 2023 at only 59 thousand cases.[87] Another example, narcotics cases at the Prosecutor's Office increased from 39 thousand in 2019 to 42 thousand in 2022, afterwards however, the number of cases went down to 38 thousand cases in 2023.[88] Additionally, it is discovered that the increase in the criminal justice budget was not only triggered by annual inflation. For instance, the 2021 budget increased **19.9%** compared to the preceding year's budget, however, the inflation or increase in prices of goods in that year was only **1.55%** compared to the preceding year. This finding needs to be analyzed further to examine other factors that contributed to the increase in the budget for handling narcotics cases in Indonesia.



Among all institutions authorized to handle narcotics cases, **the highest expense is held by Correctional Facilities.** This condition is affected by the government responsibility to fulfill daily needs of inmates during their serving time at Correctional Facilities. Moreover, it must be noted that narcotics inmates make up more than half of total inmates at Correctional Facilities. Referring to data published by the Directorate General of Corrections in 2023, out of 222,094 total inmates, 51.15% of them were narcotics inmates.[89] Hence, half of the budget allocated for Correctional Facilities was expended only for narcotics inmates.

86 An estimation that produces exact and the most actual numbers is impossible to be generated, especially if budget data management performed by relevant institutions is still very limited as explained in this research. However, this study on cost of crime and criminal justice system allows us to estimate those costs.

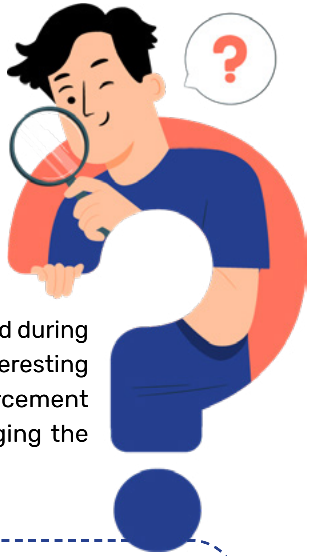
87 2019-2023 Annual Report of the Indonesian Supreme Court.

88 Data Management Unit of the Planning Bureau and Data Management Unit under the Deputy Attorney General for General Crimes of the Indonesian Attorney General's Office (29 October 2024). *Data are unpublished.*

89 Sub-directorate of Data Information, Directorate General of Corrections (1 August 2023). *Data are not published.*

R. KEY FINDING #16

INTERESTING FINDINGS IN PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT OF BUDGET FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESS



Although the budget increases annually, interviews conducted during this research also discover numerous obstacles and other interesting findings in terms of management of budget by law enforcement institutions. Every institution has their own way of managing the budget, expense needs, and sectoral issues, among others:

THE SUPREME COURT

in this context, faces an obstacle relating to conformity between the case handling plan and the final output. If the number of cases handled exceeds the initial estimation, then the Court expenditures in that year will exceed the available budget or the budget that was planned beforehand. This obstacle occurs because of an issue in the implemented budget planning method. The Supreme Court still generalizes a single budget for all cases handled, even though each case has a different process. There are cases that are handled using a summary examination procedure that only takes one trial, and there are also cases that require more than one trial. There are cases that only involve one defendant as well as cases that involve more than one defendant. There are cases that pose high security risks and there are those that are not. Those factors affect different budget expenses when providing consumption for defendants and security in court during trial. With those varying factors between each case being dismissed, in practice, the court will often face hardship to fulfill trial needs.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE

Faces a similar obstacle relating to budget planning based on cases handled. The Prosecutor's Office generalizes the amount of budget to settle cases through out-of-court mechanism, namely at one and a half million rupiah[90],

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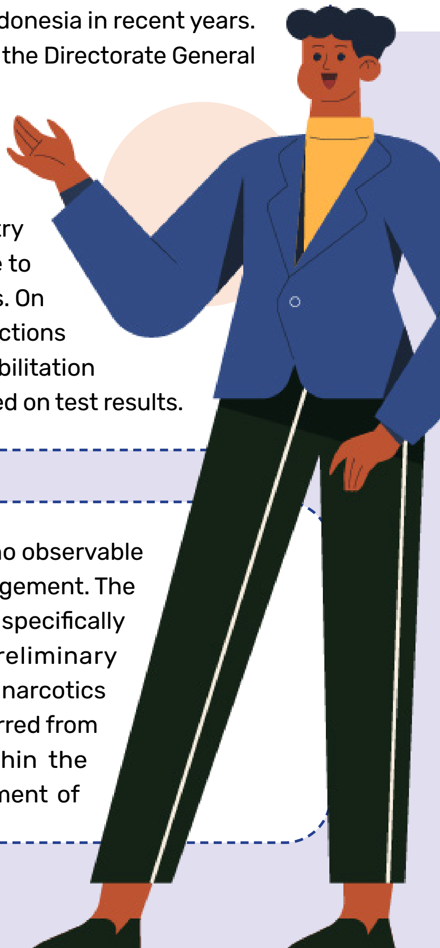
90 Data Management Unit of the Planning Bureau and Data Management Unit under the Deputy Attorney General for General Crimes of the Indonesian Attorney General's Office, an interview performed by IJRS and LBHM at the Indonesian Attorney General's Office, on 29 October 2024.

even though there are practical differences in narcotics cases compared to other cases. In narcotics cases, the process is not completely stopped when an agreement is reached to settle the case through out-of-court mechanism. Afterwards, the offender must still undergo the rehabilitation process, requiring prosecutors to periodically supervise the performance of rehabilitation. In such cases, an additional budget is needed for transportation fees. Additionally, similar to the Supreme Court, the Prosecutor's Office also has the same budget for all cases, whether they are settled using a summary examination procedure or not.

THE DIRECTORATE GENERAL OF CORRECTIONS OF THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Faces the overcrowding issue at Correctional Facilities, which is mostly the fault of the Narcotics Law misimplementation. This overcrowding issue at Correctional Facilities has been ongoing in Indonesia in recent years. At least, according to the 2022 Annual Report of the Directorate General of Corrections, this overcrowding has been ongoing since 2019 and the number of inmates exceeds two times the original capacity on an annual basis. Considering this situation, the Directorate General of Corrections of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights is having a hard time to fulfill proper housing and basic needs for inmates. On the other hand, the Directorate General of Corrections must bear additional expenses to provide rehabilitation service for inmates who are narcotics users based on test results.



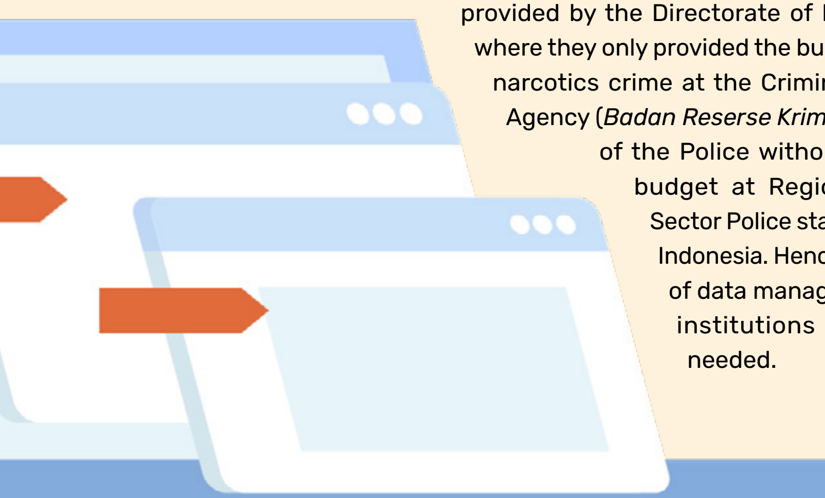
THE POLICE

Which so far in this research, has no observable problems in terms of budget management. The Police is the only institution that specifically separates the budget for preliminary investigation and investigation of narcotics cases. This separation may be inferred from the division of directorates within the Police, resulting in the establishment of

the Directorate of Narcotics Crime. Unfortunately, this research has not yet managed to obtain specific data on handling of narcotics cases in all Police stations throughout Indonesia. Hence, the estimation of the narcotics budget at the Police in this research is not based on the estimation made by the Directorate of Narcotics Crime. Oppositely, the estimation is made by researchers based on the total budget of the Indonesian Police institution by using the cost of crime and criminal justice system method.

Based on those findings, almost every institution reported a deficiency in their budget for their various needs. This research finds that one of causes of budget deficit is the improper budget planning method which leads to discrepancies between available budget and factual needs on the field. Thus, factual-based budget planning needs to be encouraged by performing in-depth assessments and research.

From another perspective, this research finds it difficult to obtain budget data from public institutions, primarily in terms of data on budget allocation for every detail of activity. This difficulty is caused by the lack of access to budget documents, and lack of data management by respective institutions. Those institutions are irresponsive when researchers submit a request for collecting budget data. The budget data provided are usually limited to the total program's budget without any detailed budget for each component of activity. For instance, the Prosecutor's Office provided the total budget for handling general crimes, but those data fail to show how much budget is expended for out-of-court resolution activities. Budget data for this activity are only discovered in interviews. Meanwhile, performing an analysis will be challenging if the detailed budget can only be obtained from individual explanations. Detailed budget should ideally be documented entirely in an accessible and transparent budget documents. Another example relates to data provided by the Directorate of Narcotics Crime, where they only provided the budget for handling narcotics crime at the Criminal Investigation Agency (*Badan Reserse Kriminal* – Bareskrim) of the Police without including the budget at Regional Police and Sector Police stations throughout Indonesia. Hence, a development of data management for public institutions is desperately needed.



S. RECOMMENDATIONS

Issues/Findings	Recommendations	Ministries/ Agencies/ Stakeholders
This research still finds plenty of persons who are going to consume narcotics to be indicted, prosecuted, and convicted using articles on illicit narcotics trafficking.	There must be a restructuring of narcotics offenses using a formulation that may explicitly separate an act with the purpose of consuming narcotics from an act with the purpose of gaining illicit profits from narcotics transactions (illicit trafficking or illegal trade). The most important articles to be reformulated include: Article 111, Article 112, Article 114, and Article 127 of the 2009 Narcotics Law.	Ministry of Law
This research finds inability to pay fines is caused by the irrational amount of fines sentences (specific minimum fines sentences which amount to hundreds of millions of rupiah). Consequently, only less than 1 percent of total offenders who paid fines. The remaining, who were unable to pay fines, their fines sentence will be converted into imprisonment sentence as substitute to fines which eventually leads to additional imprisonment term. It is very unfortunate considering that if fines are paid, it will prevent convicts from long-term bad effects of imprisonment, and the payment shall contribute to the state treasury.	1. There must be a reformulation of proportional fines sentences for every Narcotics offense, considering its nature being a victimless crime and non-violent crime. 2. Implementing a day-fine system as a fairer and more proportional alternative under the Narcotics Law. This system allows the sentencing of fines to be adjusted to the daily income rate of offenders (or daily income based on the local regional minimum wage) and the degree of seriousness of the crime, resulting in sentencing of fines to be proportional, both to those who are economically wealthy and those who are underprivileged.	1. Ministry of Law 2. House of Representatives

Issues/Findings	Recommendations	Ministries/ Agencies/ Stakeholders
There is no clear Diversion mechanism for Narcotics cases which, in practice, has become a process for transactional settlement. The legal basis is still scattered in various internal regulations of Ministries/ Agencies which are not yet integrated.	1. There must be an integrated regulation, which should be stipulated at the statutory level, addressing the Diversion mechanism in Indonesia (including narcotic cases). 2. When the Diversion model is going to be used, there must be a checks-and-balances mechanism which generally involves the court (judicial scrutiny) to render Diversion orders.	1. Ministry of Law 2. Police 3. Prosecutor's Office 4. Supreme Court 5. National Narcotics Board
There is no certainty on requirements for providing rehabilitation services for those who are undergoing legal process. There is a view which believes that rehabilitation may only be provided to those who are put as suspects under Article 127 of the 2009 Narcotics Law concerning narcotics abusers. Another view states that every person proven to be an addict may receive rehabilitation service, despite of which articles being charged.	1. There must be a reevaluation of the regulation regarding narcotics rehabilitation. Narcotics rehabilitation service should be provided to anyone who battles with narcotics addiction, despite of which articles charged in their ongoing criminal justice process. 2. Since the provision of rehabilitation service is based on the addiction status of a person, the final decision on whether rehabilitation is needed or should be made by those who have competence in the sector of drug addiction treatment, instead of law enforcers.	1. Ministry of Law 2. Ministry of Immigration and Corrections 3. Ministry of Health 4. Prosecutor's Office 5. Police 6. National Narcotics Board
There are respondents who admitted that the economic impact from the criminal justice process drove them to commit another crime to fulfill their life necessities (re-offending).	1. Impacts from convicting narcotics abusers must be reevaluated. There are many arguments supporting the medical approach to resolve issues on narcotics abuse and addiction which do not hinder life continuity of inmates after completing their legal process.	Ministry of Law

Issues/Findings	Recommendations	Ministries/ Agencies/ Stakeholders
	2. Reevaluated regulation on pre-trial detention to ensure their application is objective and not excessive, as such practices may result in suspects losing their jobs or sources of income. 3. Revising the sentencing guideline for narcotics cases (and other cases) to include economic impacts as an indicator to impose an alternative sentence.	
This research finds a barrier to access jobs after undergoing the narcotics legal process, both because of social stigma, personal problems, and lack of supporting economic reintegration schemes.	1. Reformulating the development program for Inmates to be more focused on job reintegration preparation, including facilitating skill certifications which are valid and applicable by ex-Inmates when looking for a job after serving their sentence. 2. Including ex-Inmates as targets of national programs on job training and certification. 3. A study on effectiveness and relevance of Police Clearance Certificates (Surat Keterangan Catatan Kepolisian – SKCK) is needed because it becomes a stigma and hinders the social reintegration for ex-Inmates. That document is counterproductive against the correctional goal of supporting social rehabilitation and reintegration.	1. Ministry of Immigration and Corrections 2. Ministry of Employment 3. Civil Society Organizations

Issues/Findings	Recommendations	Ministries/ Agencies/ Stakeholders
This research finds a connection between low socio-economic conditions and vulnerability to being involved in a narcotics case and its inequality in the criminal justice system.	1. Integrating the socio-economic vulnerability in relation to narcotics risks as an indicator into the national development plan and sectoral programs. For example, establishing a Social Vulnerability to Narcotics Index which consolidates variables such as educational level, unemployment rate, and narcotics exposure rate. This index may give birth to more intensive socio-economic interventions. 2. Revising the sentencing guideline for narcotics cases (and other cases) to include socio-economic vulnerability of offenders as an indicator to impose an alternative sentence. 3. Integrating an economic-based social rehabilitation program for ex-narcotics-offenders who were involved due to economic pressure by developing skills and collaborating with regional social affairs offices to map and provide economic mentoring after the social rehabilitation.	1. Ministry of Social Affairs 2. Ministry of Law and Ministry of Immigration and Corrections 3. Supreme Court 4. Ministry of Finance 5. Ministry of National Development Planning/ National Development Planning Agency
This research finds that imprisoning offenders yields impacts to economic and social aspects of their family, especially loss of income because the family breadwinner is involved in a narcotics case.	1. Revising the sentencing guideline for narcotics cases (and other cases) to include impacts to family as an indicator to impose an alternative sentence. 2. Expanding and intensifying the role of Correctional Centers (Balai Pemasyarakatan – Bapas) to not only guide offenders,	1. Ministry of Immigration and Corrections 2. Ministry of Social Affairs

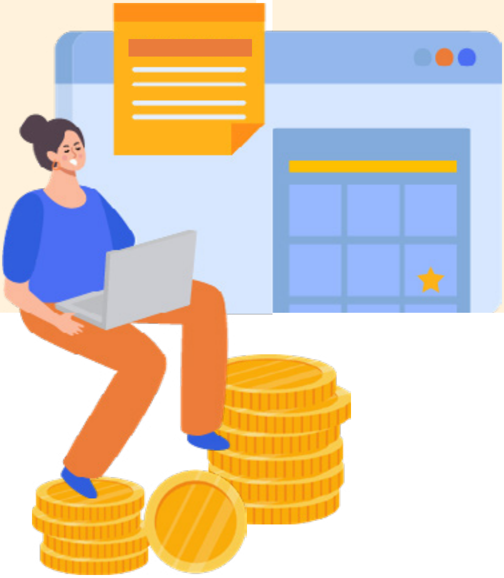
Issues/Findings	Recommendations	Ministries/ Agencies/ Stakeholders
	but also actively support them to overcome socio-economic impacts on their family. For instance, performing an assessment of conditions of clients' family relating to economic risks caused by the legal process and acting as an intermediary between ex-offenders and economic reintegration programs. 3. Providing social aid based on emergency condition to families impacted by the imprisonment of their family head, and the aid may be integrated into the Family Hope Program (Program Keluarga Harapan – PKH).	
This research finds that many women bear disproportional burdens due to imprisonment of their family members in a narcotics case. Serious impacts from imprisonment against women as family members include financial and emotional impacts.	1. Considering gender impact when handling narcotics cases and performing social assessment on offenders based on gender impact, which is included in the post-imprisonment recovery plan, that addresses factors such as who will be impacted, how is the family's condition and involving women as offenders' family members in the offenders' reintegration program, including family resilience trainings. 2. Integrating supporting programs that specifically target women impacted by imprisonment of their family member in a narcotics case, such as counselling services, giving pro-bono legal aid to reduce legal fees, and women economic empowerment program based on emergency needs.	1. Ministry of Immigration and Corrections 2. Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection

Issues/Findings	Recommendations	Ministries/ Agencies/ Stakeholders
This research finds lack of medical services at Correctional Facilities, especially access to ARV medicine for Inmates with HIV, reproductive and psychological medical services, and there is a gap between the funding and its implementation.	1. Financing allocation and logistics for HIV/AIDS services and ARV must be structurally ascertained by Correctional UPT, including consumables. 2. Including Correctional UPT as the specific beneficiary of HIV/AIDS service program in the DIPA of the Ministry of Health and local health offices. 3. Evaluating the financing scheme of the Correctional UPT in the State Budget Plan, especially to prevent medical services to be generalized and make them adjustable to the actual case load (e.g. number of persons with HIV/AIDS at each Correctional Facility).	1. Ministry of Health 2. Ministry of National Development Planning/ National Development Planning Agency
This research finds that offenders suffered from mental/psychological health impacts because of their criminal justice process and imprisonment, such as depression, anxiety and trauma.	1. Reinforcing mental health service that upholds human rights at all Correctional UPT, for instance, establishing a routine psychological supporting program for Inmates. 2. Integrating psychosocial rehabilitation into Inmates' development program.	1. Ministry of Immigration and Corrections 2. Ministry of Social Affairs
This research finds that educational impacts are often forgotten in the context of imprisonment and narcotics rehabilitation, both on offenders and their family, especially children of the family impacted by the imprisonment. They frequently face extreme difficulty in education which may exacerbate poverty cycle and social exclusion.	Developing an affirmative educational program for children of the family impacted by conviction against their parents and those who are having hardship to pay for educational tuition.	1. Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education 2. Ministry of Higher Education, Science, and Technology

Issues/Findings	Recommendations	Ministries/ Agencies/ Stakeholders
This research finds intense social impacts caused by imprisonment or rehabilitation of narcotics users, especially social stigma that not only affects offenders, but also their family. This social stigma creates an exclusion, rift in relationship, and lack of access to services that should have been provided to them. Social stigma attached to narcotics users and their family causes rift in social relationship, exclusion, and barrier to access medical, educational, and social services.	1. Developing a social empowerment program for family impacted by imprisonment of their family member to overcome the social stigma and repair their social relationship. 2. Providing psychosocial aid in the form of psychological counselling for family to help them managing their shame, anxiety, and isolated feeling that manifest because of the stigma.	1. Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection 2. Ministry of Social Affairs
This research finds that experiences of poor treatment against offenders during the legal process/imprisonment still happen. For instance, limited facilities/rooms (scarcity) enables illegal transactions to persist. In addition, there are torture and violence incidents during the legal process/imprisonment.	1. Improving the correctional quality (including development by correctional officers, performance of optimum correctional programs, etc.). Resolving the prison overcrowding issue is a must. Because of the overcrowding phenomenon, access or facilities during the legal process will always be limited, opening corruption opportunities. Resolving the prison overcrowding issue needs to be started from reformulating criminal provisions under the 2009 Narcotics Law. 2. A complaint/objection mechanism needs to be addressed when violence/torture occurs during the legal process/imprisonment.	1. Ministry of Law and Ministry of Immigration and Corrections 2. Commission for Eradication of Corruption 3. Ombudsman 4. National Commission for Human Rights

Issues/Findings	Recommendations	Ministries/ Agencies/ Stakeholders
This research finds lack of access to detailed budget information, such as budget containing detailed programs and activities.	The government must provide an open system to access complete information/data to the public. So far, researchers were greatly helped by the availability of Annual Reports of Ministries/ Agencies which are published periodically. However, not all documents containing data or information on budget, operations of works of Ministries/Agencies are accessible.	1. Ministry of National Development Planning/ National Development Planning Agency 2. Ministry of Finance
This research finds discrepancies between planned budget of Ministries/ Agencies and factual expenses in practice. There are expenses of Ministries/ Agencies that are not yet listed in the existing budget plan. Eventually, expenses are estimated using other budget components (allocation), or using other sources.	Improving the budget planning based on factual needs and budget administration of Ministries/ Agencies.	All Ministries/ Agencies addressed in this research
Further researchers are needed to provide comprehensive answers to existing problems	Further studies are required to assess several factors, among others: a. Assessment of cost components to implement medical approach and human rights approach against narcotics users, and their comparison to the cost needed to operate law enforcement against narcotics users.	1. Civil Society Organizations 2. Development Partners

Issues/Findings	Recommendations	Ministries/ Agencies/ Stakeholders
	b. Assessment of the public willingness to pay against the cost allocated by the state for law enforcement needs in narcotics cases. c. An opportunity study on the implementation of innovative financing to finance recovery of narcotics users.	



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