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Research Report

Negative Effects of the proposed Alcohol Prohibition Bill on Safety and Public Health in Indonesia: Studies in Six Cities

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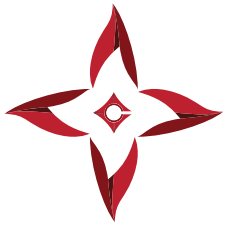
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Negative Effects of the Proposed Alcohol Prohibition Bill on Safety and Public Health in Indonesia: Studies in Six Cities

By Rofi Uddarojat

www.cips-indonesia.org

**Negative Effects of the Proposed Alcohol Prohibition Bill on Safety
and Public Health in Indonesia:
Studies in Six Cities**

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Jakarta, Indonesia

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Executive Summary and Policy Recommendation

Alcohol consumption is being regarded as an activity that poses risks to health. Intoxication as the direct, observable result of drinking is perceived as undesirable and the source of many ills in society. Legislators at the House of Representatives currently debate a bill that seeks to eliminate the production, distribution and consumption of alcoholic beverages in most parts of Indonesia.

While the intentions might be laudable, a prohibition actually has adverse effects on public health. Our research in six Indonesian cities confirmed that, instead of curbing the desire for intoxication, prohibition facilitates the growth of black markets, a case especially evident in areas with partial prohibition that limits the distribution of alcohol to particular zones. In our survey, in both total and partial prohibition areas, consumers perceived an increase of undocumented alcohol stores by more than 75% since the year 2010, when legal liquor was still widely available at affordable prices.

The lack of access to documented alcoholic beverages reinforces a general preference of Indonesian consumers for stronger spirits and pushes them to even consume extremely dangerous concoctions, so-called *oplosan*. *Oplosan* is widely available and regarded by consumers as a fast and potent way to get intoxicated. Sellers appreciate that it is distributed in smaller portions than beer or wine and easier to hide from law enforcement agencies. The Indonesian case proves the “Iron Law of Prohibition” that a prohibition inadvertently leads to heavy and harmful drinking.

The Indonesian government tried to curb the consumption of alcohol by imposing high excise taxes, while local governments created prohibition zones around mosques, hospitals, schools, public squares etc. Both policies have had undesirable results. Imposing high taxes in 2010 made recorded alcohol so expensive that consumers turned to unrecorded alcohol. The reported death toll from bootleg liquor increased from 149 deaths in 2008-2012 to 487 deaths in 2013-2016. Meanwhile, local zoning policies are often so expansive that they rule out all possible sales locations and have all the adverse effects of a general prohibition.

This study recommends, instead, that taxes and tariffs should be lowered so that documented and safer alcoholic beverages become affordable and consumers can avoid purchasing dangerous bootleg alcohol. In order to prevent under-age drinking, it should be compulsory for purchasers of alcoholic beverages to prove their age. There should also be strict licensing requirements for authorised sellers of alcoholic beverages. Finally, public education programmes need to create an awareness and understanding of the dangers of excessive alcohol consumption.

Background

Recorded and unrecorded alcohol consumption in Indonesia

The alcohol bill is one of the priorities of Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR) targeted to be ratified in 2016. Indonesian policy makers cited health and safety reasons in supporting their argument to impose restriction on alcohol production, consumption and distribution.¹ The bill is also aimed to protect Indonesian people from hazardous effect of alcoholic beverages, believed to have contributed to several accidents and massive deaths in several places.²

This rationale appears to be unsubstantiated. Data shows that the harmful and fatal use of alcohol mainly arises from bootleg alcohol, which includes moonshine alcohol, counterfeit alcohol, and an *oplosan* mix. The World Health Organization (2014) defines bootleg alcohol or unrecorded alcohol as alcohol that is not taxed in the country where it is consumed because it is usually produced, distributed, and sold outside formal channels. It includes the consumption of home-made or informally produced alcohol, smuggled alcohol, alcohol intended for industrial or medical uses, and alcohol circulating in cross-border shopping (which is recorded in different jurisdictions).

In Indonesia, unrecorded alcohol includes moonshine alcohol, which are drinks produced in a homemade distillation process, and counterfeit alcohol, which is unrecorded alcohol sold in bottles of branded producers. Thirdly, there is *oplosan*, which denotes alcohol mixtures of ingredients that have not gone through the distillation process and often contain non-food ingredients such as methyl alcohol and non-food ethyl alcohol. These three types are not clearly distinguishable from one another. Both *oplosan* and moonshine liquor are, for instance, occasionally being sold as counterfeit alcohol. The number of deaths and injuries reported in recent years are the effect of these types of unrecorded alcohol. They have not gone through a proper distillation process or contain dangerous and poisonous non-food materials.³

The WHO indicated in 2014 that Indonesians consumed 0.5 litres of unrecorded alcohol, while they consumed only 0.1 litre of recorded alcohol.⁴ These numbers do not support the legislators concern with recorded alcohol consumption in Indonesia. Instead, the problem appears to be the consumption of unrecorded alcohol.

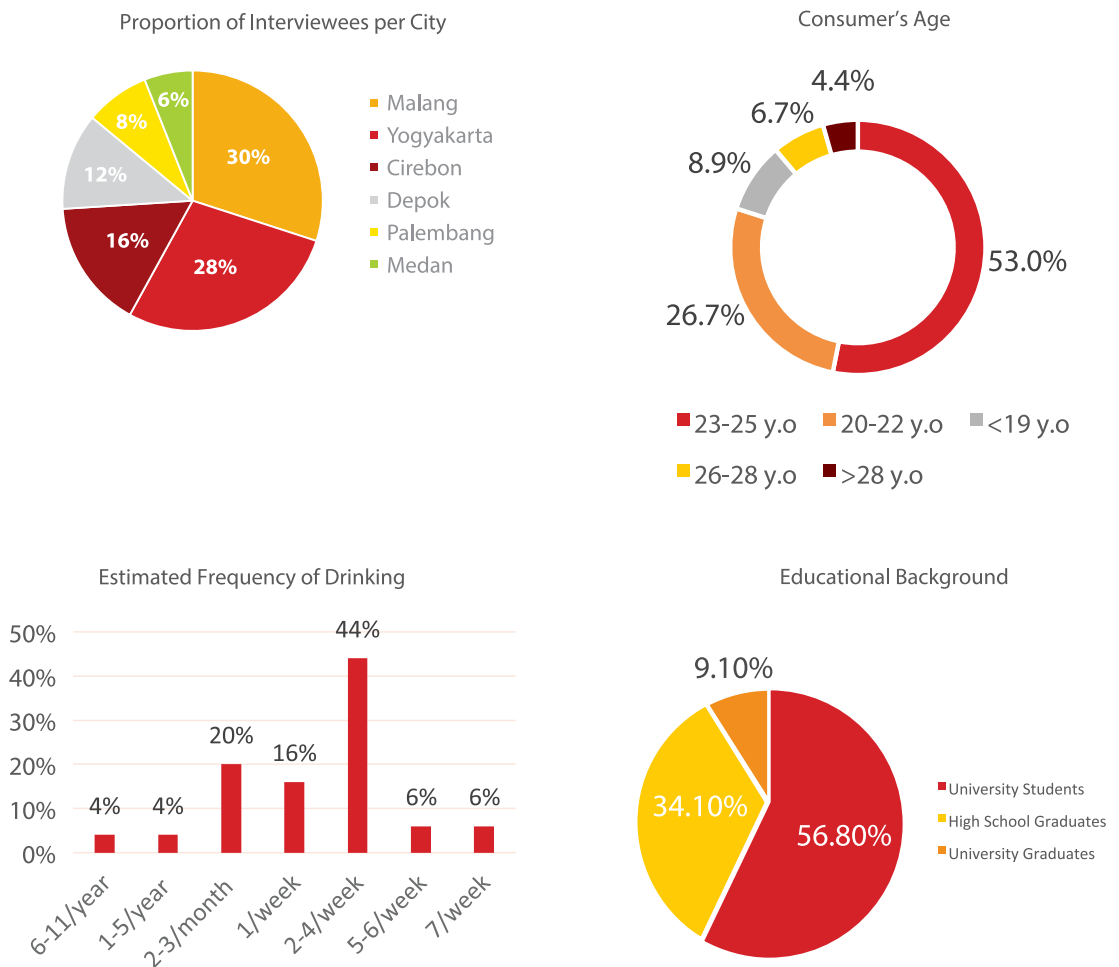
Our study has found that there is a correlation between the cities that have applied local alcohol prohibition rules and elevated numbers of victims who died because of bootleg liquor consumption. This indicates that the alcohol prohibition might inadvertently accelerate a shift from recorded alcohol consumption to unrecorded alcohol consumption.⁵

The study included 50 interviews⁶ with alcohol consumers in Cirebon, Depok, Malang, Medan, Palembang, and Yogyakarta (including the districts of Sleman and Bantul)⁷. These districts were chosen because Indonesian media reported a high number of unrecorded alcohol victims in these areas.

“Alcohol prohibition might inadvertently accelerate a shift from recorded alcohol consumption to unrecorded alcohol consumption.”

The consumers that we interviewed were between 18 and 34 years old, with those ranging between 20-25 years making the majority of the interviewees. Since most of them attended high school or college, they can be expected to be aware of the consequences of consuming illegally produced alcohol. The consumption frequency varied between very frequent and occasional consumption. The profile of the consumers is given in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Consumers' Profile

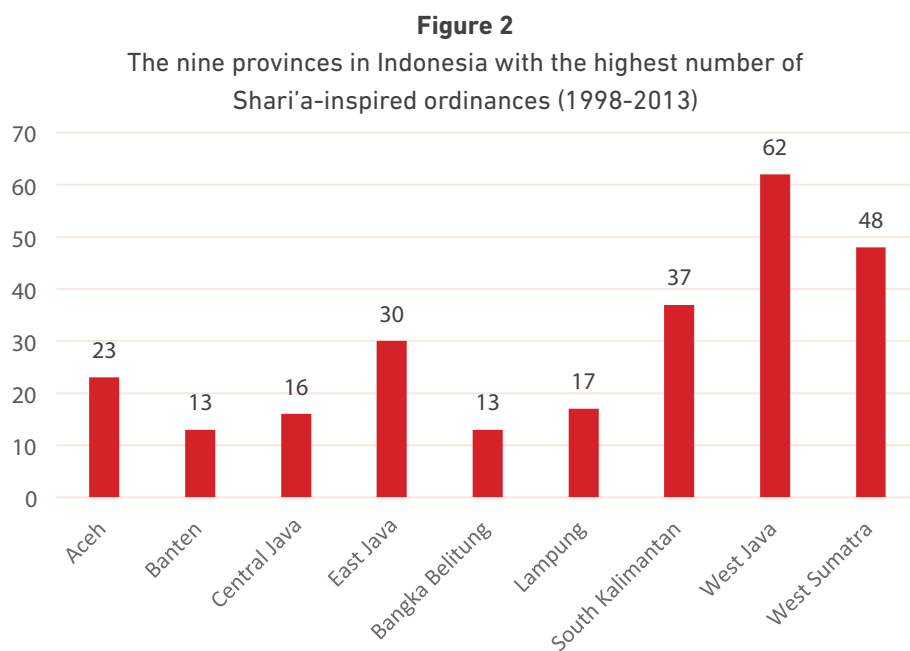


Source: Interviews with consumers (n=50)

In addition to the 50 consumer interviews, we also conducted interviews with government officials, hospital staff and police officers.

Current alcohol prohibition regulations in Indonesia

The fall of authoritarian regime in 1998 also marked a turning point for more regional autonomy. This change initiated the introduction of religiously inspired ordinances that regulate moral conduct, decency in dressing, the obligation to recite the Quran, male female interaction, alms giving, as well as a prohibition of gambling and drinking liquor.⁹ The study by Buehler (2016) documented 377 ordinances (Perda) inspired by Islamic Shari'a law in districts and municipalities in 29 Provinces in Indonesia.¹⁰ The study found that these ordinances were often enacted to support the populist agenda of particular political leaders, rather than pursuing an evidence-based policy agenda.¹¹



Source: Adapted from Buehler (2016)¹²

Different local jurisdictions implement different levels of alcohol prohibition¹³, either a total or just a partial prohibition. Respective local regulations address tax retributions, licensing and permits, open and restricted areas, as well as the total prohibition of alcohol. In general, there are three scenarios:

Scenario 1 with no prohibition or restrictions

Scenario 2 with a partial prohibition that restricts places licensed to sell alcohol and that limits vendors to places such as three-star hotels, restaurants, or nightclubs. Other restrictions prevent the proximity of alcohol vendors from schools, hospitals, mosques, city squares, or other public spaces. This so-called “zoning policy” aims to prevent underage drinking and consumption in particularly religious or public spaces.

Scenario 3 with a total prohibition that prohibits the sale and consumption of all alcoholic beverages

Figure 3
The three scenarios in six Indonesian cities

Cities	Regulations implemented	Scenario
Medan	N/A	Scenario 1
Yogyakarta	<i>The Province of Yogyakarta Ordinance No.12, 2015 on the Control and Supervision of Alcoholic Beverages and the Prohibition of "oplosan"</i> ^{14 15 16}	Scenario 2
Depok	<i>Ordinance No. 6, 2008 on the Supervision and Control of Alcoholic Beverages</i> ¹⁷	Scenario 2
Palembang	<i>Ordinance No 11, 2006 on the Prohibition of the Distribution and Sale of Alcoholic Beverages</i> ¹⁸	Scenario 2
Malang	<i>Ordinance No 5, 2006 on Supervision, Control and Prohibition of Alcoholic Beverages</i> ¹⁹	Scenario 2
Cirebon	<i>City of Cirebon Ordinance No 4, 2013 on Prohibition of the Distribution and Sales of Alcoholic Beverages</i> ²⁰	Scenario 3

“ In partial and total prohibition areas (Scenario 2 and Scenario 3), stores of recorded alcohol that were identified by the consumer sample decreased by 17.61%, while illegal bootleg alcohol stores increased by 76.49%.”

Analyses on the Degrees of Prohibition and Their Impact

Contrary to the belief of some legislators, our study showed that the implementation of prohibition had several negative effects.

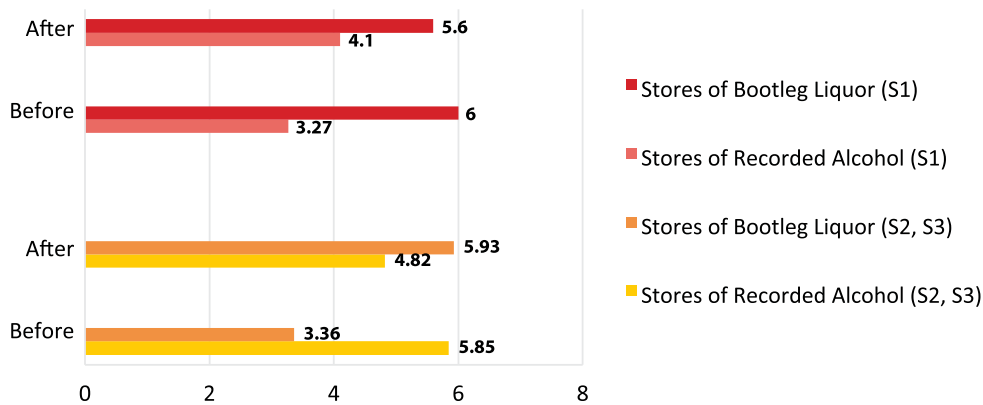
Elimination of access to recorded alcohol gives rise to a black market

Our interviews with consumers indicated that the number of bootleg alcohol vendors increased after the implementation of a local prohibition rules (see Figure 4).²¹ Consumers were asked whether they perceived a different amount of stores before a significant increase in taxes in 2010 and after 2015, when the government banned the sale of alcohol in Indonesian mini markets and convenience stores. In partial and total prohibition areas (Scenario 2 and Scenario 3), stores of recorded alcohol that were identified by the consumer sample decreased by 17.61%, while illegal bootleg alcohol stores increased by 76.49%.

The prohibition led to the confiscation and diminishing supplies of recorded alcohol. According to one consumer in Yogyakarta, stores of recorded alcohol started disappearing when the prices went up due to severe tax increases in 2010. Sellers started to sell cheaper bootleg liquor, such as oplosan lapen²², instead.

When the local government applied the prohibition and increased alcohol confiscations in 2015, stores moved out and people started selling alcohol illegally within their own homes.²³

Figure 4
Average Available Stores in Two Scenarios of Prohibition



Source: Interviews with consumers

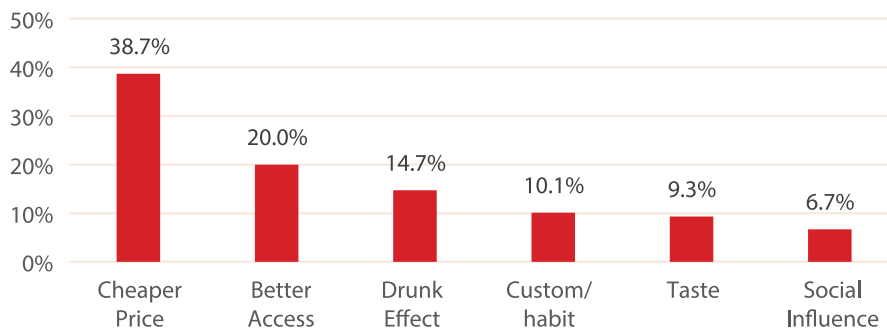
Meanwhile, in the non-prohibition (Scenario 1) area that was included in our study, the identified number of bootleg liquor stalls decreased by 6.67% while consumers found 25.38% more recorded alcohol stores.

Up to this date local governments appear largely ineffective in enforcing the prohibition and eliminating black markets. Cirebon, for instance, has applied a total prohibition in both the rural district and the municipality. However, in the absence of effective law enforcement, the alcohol circulation and consumption has gone underground. Cafés and karaoke lounge continue to secretly sell contraband alcohol that has been smuggled into the prohibition areas. Meanwhile bootleg alcohol has been seen being sold by street vendors mostly located in the suburban areas, such as in bus stations at the municipal borders.

Prohibition increases consumption of bootleg alcohol

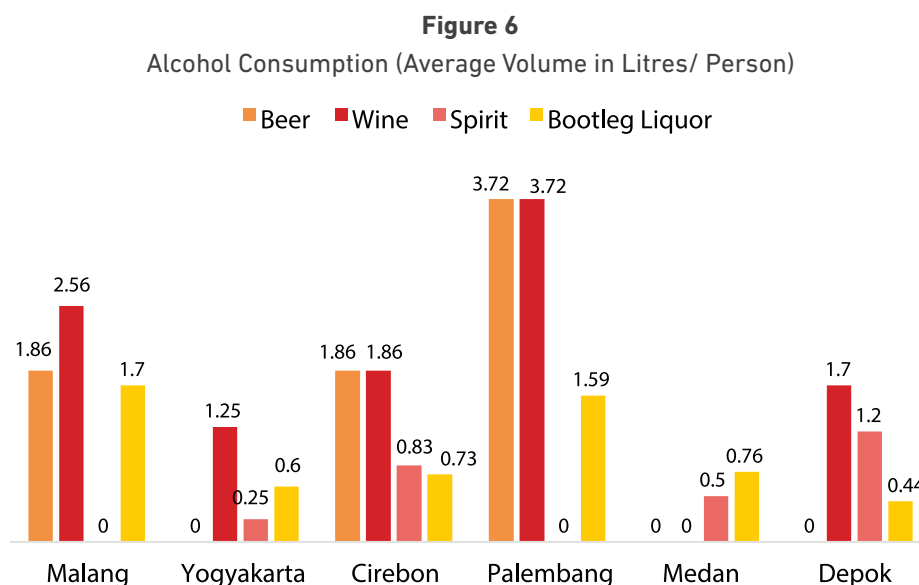
Our study showed that bootleg alcohol consumption increases with restricted access to recorded alcohol.

Figure 5
Reasons to Consume Bootleg Alcohol



Source: Interview with consumers

Figure 5 shows the breakdown of consumers' reasons to consume potentially harmful bootleg liquor. Cheaper prices (38.7%) are most frequently being cited as the reason for turning to bootleg liquor, followed by easier access to get those products (20%). Affordability and accessibility are the key factors why people take enormous risks of consuming unrecorded alcohol.



Source: Interview with Consumers

Figure 6 above shows a chart that breaks down the amount of both recorded alcohol (beer, wine and spirit) and bootleg liquor consumed by the interviewees in the six cities surveyed. The chart demonstrates that bootleg is not just an occasional substitute for recorded alcohol but it is a sizeable part of the alcohol that is being consumed.

This particular choice of consumers is in line with the “Iron Law of Prohibition”, a term coined by Richard C. Cowan in 1986 describing the adverse effect of drug prohibition regulations. Summing his adage into “the more intense the law enforcement, the more potent the drugs will become”, Cowan refers to the effects of a prohibition on both sellers and consumers. In order to avoid detection consumers prefer to hide, transport and consume concentrated and more potent drugs, while for the same reason sellers prefer the same type of

drugs as they are easier to smuggle, transport and sell.²⁴ With price and accessibility being the primary reasons for consuming bootleg liquor, it is understandable that both sellers and consumers desire smaller quantities with much stronger effects in an alcoholic product.

This effect can also potentially exacerbate Heavy Episodic Drinking (HED), a phenomenon in which consumers may not frequently drink alcoholic beverages but, when they do, they consume excessive amounts within a short period of time. The rate of HED in Indonesia is already considered high by international standards.²⁵ It can be reasonably argued that, in line with the Iron Law, a nationwide prohibition may stimulate a further growth of HED in Indonesia.

“Affordability and accessibility are the key factors why people take enormous risks of consuming unrecorded alcohol.”

Further research by Jeffrey Miron has proven that prohibition overly harms the weakest and least rational consumers that a prohibition actually set out to protect.²⁶ According to Miron a prohibition that substitutes self-control with state control eventually harms individuals.

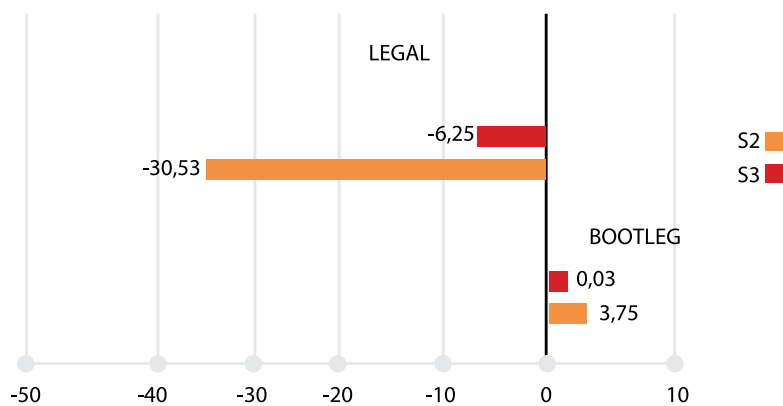
Initial restrictions appeared with tax increases that limited the access by increasing the prices of recorded alcohol, resulting in a shift of consumption into bootleg alcohol. In 2015²⁷, the import tariff on alcoholic beverages in categories B and C was increased to 150%. Meanwhile, the excise taxes on both imported and domestically produced alcohol had already been increased in 2010 by 380% for category A, by 500% for category B, and by 188% for category C. In 2014, the excise taxes on both imported and domestically-produced alcohol increased again by 11.6% for all categories. This significant increase has considerably affected the price of alcoholic products.²⁸

One consumer in Yogyakarta stated that, after the tax increase in 2010, the price of a bottle of locally produced alcohol called “Orang Tua” went up significantly from 2-3 USD to 6 USD. “We started trying bootleg alcohol while we slowly abandoned consumption of legal alcohol because of unaffordable prices,” he commented.²⁹

Our study actually measured the change of consumption patterns under both prohibition scenarios. We asked consumers their perceived drinking routine that might indicate how much they actually consume.³⁰ In scenario 2 of partial prohibition, recorded alcohol consumption reduced significantly by 30.53%, while in scenario 3 of total prohibition it only slightly decreased by 6.25% (See Figure 7). Scenario 2 has slightly increased by 3.75%, while it remained more or less stable under the scenario 3. These numbers demonstrate how a partial prohibition under scenario 2 significantly reduced the consumption of recorded alcohol and, reversely, increased the consumption of bootleg alcohol. The difference may be due to the fact that Cirebon, as a scenario 3 total prohibition area, is more strictly Islamic and local citizens do not have a preference for alcohol consumption. More affected are regions that are less Islamic, may be also ethnically more mixed, that experienced traditionally more alcohol consumption before the prohibition.

“Initial restrictions appeared with tax increases that limited the access by increasing the prices of recorded alcohol, resulting in a shift of consumption into bootleg alcohol.”

Figure 7
Average Change of Legal and Bootleg Alcohol Consumption
in Prohibition Area in % (2014-2015)



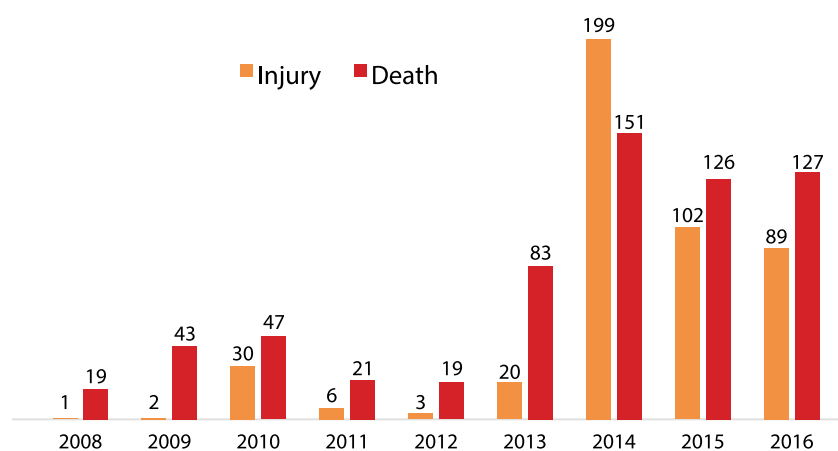
Source: Interviews with consumers (n=50)

Prohibition Endangers Safety and Public Health

Bootleg liquor consumption has significantly affected public health in Indonesia. In the absence of official statistics, we acquired data from various media reports that show that the total number of “oplosan” victims in 2013-2016 increased to 886 people. More than half of these cases resulted in death (487 victims). During the first 9 months of 2016 alone, the media recorded 127 deaths and 89 injured from oplosan.³¹ Media reports may not be fully accurate. Firstly, victims may not have died from *oplosan*, but also from moonshine liquor. The uncertainty arises because *oplosan* has become the umbrella term used by the media to describe all types of unrecorded alcohol. Moreover, media reports are unable to provide comprehensive coverage of all cases of deaths and injuries. Nevertheless, especially when considering they only highlight the tip of an iceberg, it demonstrates the scale of bootleg alcohol consumption and the circulation of bootleg alcohol in Indonesia.

Figure 8 shows an increase in the number of media-recorded victims of bootleg alcohol that may be due to decreases in accessibility by local prohibition regulations and the decrease in affordability due to increases in excise taxes and import tariffs. As stated above, affordability and accessibility are the two main reasons for the consumption of bootleg liquor. Although there were slightly reduced numbers of victims in 2015/16, the overall number still remains very high.³²

Figure 8
Deaths and injuries resulting from bootleg liquor consumption, 2008-2016
(up to November 15, 2016)



Source: Various Media Reports³³

The consumption of bootleg alcohol carries severe health risks. Methanol affects the optic nerves and can take the lives of consumers. Hazardous non-food ethanol (70%-95% ethyl alcohol) was found, for instance, in oplosan products in Yogyakarta, and some respondents of our survey reported they have tried several hazardous substances believed to boost intoxication. Moreover, the practice of mixing bootleg alcohol with additional food or non-food ingredients pose another risk. Dr. Siswanto, the head of research in the Ministry of Health stated that “a mix of alcohol with caffeinated drinking-materials, such as energy drinks, could lead to an increase of gas, amino acid, and kidney damage.”³⁴ Unscrupulous vendors also mix their oplosan with headache pills, battery fluids and mosquito repellent, which is a common practice acknowledged by respondents during our interviews. When supplies of recorded alcohol dry up as a result of prohibition, these harmful mixes are often the most affordable and accessible substitutes.

Box. 1 The "Red Wedding" in Palembang: Dangerous Liquor and A Family Ordeal



In Palembang a wedding reception turned into mourning after the consumption of bottles labeled "Vodka" (pictured) which actually contained a lethal dose of methyl alcohol. It claimed a number of victims. The bride's brother Edi died on his way to hospital while another brother required weeks of intensive care to help regain his eyesight. The picture shows the saddened mother Mursini going through her ordeal.

Conclusion and Policy Recommendation

Indonesian legislators currently deliberate a bill that aims to prohibit the production, distribution, and consumption of recorded alcohol. However, if enacted, this bill would actually increase the number of deaths and injuries.

Prohibition inadvertently leads to the rise of black markets and an increasing number of victims of bootleg liquor. In the absence of recorded alcohol or when recorded alcohol is being sold at unaffordable prices, ordinary consumers seek cheaper substitutes in the form of moonshine, counterfeit alcohol, or *oplosan* mixes.

The following are the findings from our research:

Firstly, the elimination of access to recorded alcohol gives rise to black markets. Mostly in areas with alcohol prohibition, stores identified by customers for selling recorded alcohol decreased by 17.61%, while consumers identified 76.49% more stores selling bootleg alcohol. Meanwhile, customers knew 6.67% less bootleg liquor stalls in the non-prohibition area that was included in our study and they perceived an increase of recorded alcohol stalls by 25.38%.

Secondly, our study found that the “Iron Law of Prohibition” is applicable in the case of alcohol prohibition in Indonesia. Defined simply “the harder the enforcement, the harder the drugs”, this adage describes the response of vendors and buyers to the prohibition of alcohol. Vendors reduce risks by storing and selling more intoxicating types of alcohol that come in smaller containers with the reduced risk of disclosure. Likewise, the consumers that engage in illegal drinking expect faster, harder effects in smaller amount of alcohol. This accelerates the existing trend of Heavy Episodic Drinking (HED) in Indonesia that has been observed by the WHO.

Thirdly, our study showed a disproportionate drop in recorded alcohol consumption and an increase of bootleg alcohol consumption in partial prohibition areas. The consumption of recorded alcohol that was reported by the respondents dropped by 30.53% while the perceived consumption of bootleg alcohol increased by 3.75%. Meanwhile, in total prohibition areas, recorded alcohol consumption decreased only by 6.25%, while bootleg alcohol consumption remained stable. These numbers show that a partial prohibition through zoning policies etc. has more adverse effects than a total prohibition. This might be due to the fact that partial prohibition areas had traditionally a larger alcohol consuming population and, therefore, the prohibition had a larger impact when it was enacted in these areas.

Fourthly, with bootleg liquor widely available in prohibition areas, the number of victims of moonshine liquor, counterfeit liquor and *oplosan* has risen dramatically. The reported death toll from bootleg liquor increased from 149 deaths in 2008-2012 to 487 deaths in 2013-2016. It seems urgent and imperative that the Indonesian government acts against the sale and consumption of hazardous unrecorded alcohol instead of banning recorded alcohol that is safe to consume in reasonable quantities.

The following are practical recommendations to be adopted to fight bootleg alcohol consumption:

- All sorts of traditional alcoholic drinks, which have strong cultural roots in Indonesia, should be considered as moonshine alcohol. The production of traditional alcoholic drinks needs to be licensed and monitored, if they are being commercialized and sold to the public.
- Partial prohibition policies, such as “zoning restrictions”, have particularly negative effects. They need to be abolished and replaced with licensing requirements for stores that intend to sell alcohol. Licenses should be granted under the condition that shops are limiting themselves to sell only recorded alcohol to customers above the legal drinking age. Customers are required to verify they are above the legal drinking age when acquiring alcoholic drinks. Shops should lose their license when selling bootleg liquor or selling recorded alcohol to customers below the legal drinking age.
- Tariffs and taxes for recorded alcoholic beverages should be lowered so that they become affordable for middle- and low-income customers. This will reverse the unintended shift to potentially hazardous bootleg alcohol.

Endnotes

¹ Tama Salim and Dylan Amirio, *House talks Alcohol Control*, available at <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/07/04/house-talks-alcohol-control.html> Retrieved on 29 September 2016 at 11:35

² Special Committee of Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat RI, *Rancangan Undang-Undang Larangan Minuman Beralkohol*, available at <http://www.dpr.go.id/doksileg/proses2/RJ2-20150626-022127-5059.pdf> Retrieved on 29 September 2016 at 11:34

³ Uddarojat, R. (2016) *Deaths and Injuries by Counterfeit Alcohol: Potential Consequences of an Alcohol Prohibition in Indonesia*, available at <http://cips-indonesia.org/en/publications/deaths-injuries-counterfeit-alcohol-oplosan-potential-consequences-alcohol-prohibition-indonesia/>

⁴ World Health Organization, *Global Status Report on Alcohol and Health 2014*, available at http://www.who.int/substance_abuse/publications/global_alcohol_report/en/ Retrieved on 29 September 2016 at 13:20

⁵ Before conducting the study and for the lack of official statistics, we checked media reports about victims who died from consuming oplosan in 2013-2016. Reportedly 331 died or injured in 11 districts with an alcohol prohibition, 192 died or injured in 12 districts with a partial prohibition, and 106 died or injured in 7 districts with no alcohol prohibition.

⁶ Fifty consumers are not a representative sample size and their responses can only indicate a trend that must be verified in a survey with a representative sample size.

⁷ Several factors make it difficult to identify consumers of unrecorded alcohol. We were, therefore, using the snowball sampling technique where one research subject provides access to another research subject. This method has been used to engage with 'hard to reach', hidden populations, or any group with officially "unacceptable" societal behaviour. The method allowed us to collect some data because official data is not available. On snowball research strategies see: Atkinson, R and Flint, J, *Accessing Hidden and Hard-to-Reach Populations: Snowball Research Strategies*, Social Research, available at <http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU33.html> Retrieved on 30 September 2016 at 15:25

⁸ High School Graduates refer to those who have completed senior high school, yet for some reasons have not entered university

⁹ Assyaukanie, L, *The Rise of Religious Bylaws in Indonesia*, available at <http://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/C007022.pdf> Retrieved in 06/10/2016 16:48

¹⁰ Buehler, M (2016) *The Politics of Shari'a Law: Islamist Activists and the State in Democratizing Indonesia*, Cambridge University Press, p.188

¹¹ *Ibid.* p.215

¹² Buehler, M (2016) *The Politics of Shari'a Law: Islamist Activists and the State in Democratizing Indonesia*, Cambridge University Press.

¹³ The Indonesian Association of the Malt Beverage Industry (GIMMI) found there are 150 local regulations, which regulate alcoholic beverages across the country and run counter to the Indonesian President's Regulation 74, 2013 on the control and monitoring of alcoholic beverages. See also: Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, *RUU Minol Selamatkan Bangsa* available at <http://www.dpr.go.id/berita/detail/id/12272> retrieved on 6 October 2016 at 16:45

¹⁴ Sleman enacted a partial prohibition by Perda No. 8 2007 *Pelarangan, Pengedaran, dan Penggunaan Minuman Beralkohol*. General Directorate of Regulations of Law Ministry, *Perda No. 8 2007 Pelarangan, Pengedaran, dan Penggunaan Minuman Beralkohol*, available at <http://ditjenpp.kemenkumham.go.id/files/ld/2007/sleman8-2007.pdf> Retrieved on 19 October 2016 at 12:38

¹⁵ Bantul enacted a partial prohibition by Perda No. 6 2007 *Pengawasan, Pengendalian, Pengedaran, dan Penjualan Minuman Beralkohol*, available at <https://hukum.bantulkab.go.id/unduh/peraturan-daerah/2007/06> retrieved on 19 October 2016 at 12:38

¹⁶ Ministry of Home Affairs, Perda No. 12 2015 *pengendalian dan pengawasan minuman beralkohol dan pelarangan minuman oplosan*, available at http://jdih.setjen.kemendagri.go.id/files/P_DIY_12_2015.pdf retrieved on 19 October 2016 at 12:38

¹⁷ Ministry of Home Affairs, *Pengawasan dan Pengendalian Minuman Beralkohol*, available on http://www.jdih.setjen.kemendagri.go.id/files/KOTA_DEPOK_06_2008.pdf retrieved on 19/20/2016 12:38

¹⁸ Ministry of Home Affairs, *Pelarangan Pengedaran dan Penjualan Minuman Beralkohol* available on http://www.jdih.setjen.kemendagri.go.id/files/KOTA_PALEMBANG_11_2006.pdf retrieved on 19/20/2016 12:38

¹⁹ East Java Province, available on *Pengawasan, Pengendalian, dan Pelarangan Penjualan Minuman Beralkohol* http://jdih.jatimprov.go.id/?wpfb_dl=13826 retrieved on 19/20/2016 12:38

²⁰ Cirebon Municipal City, *Pelarangan Peredaran dan Penjualan Minuman Beralkohol*, available on http://hukum.cirebonkota.go.id/pdf_files/PERDA42013.pdf retrieved on 19 October 2016 12:38

²¹ The data has been acquired by asking consumers to identify recorded and bootleg alcohol stalls they know and where they have been buying their alcohol before and after prohibition

²² Lapen is a popular alcoholic beverage mostly found in Yogyakarta, made by diluting alcohol with water and fruit essence. See also <https://m.tempo.co/read/news/2014/01/18/058546078/lapen-oplosan-alkohol-dan-air-dari-yogya>, retrieved on 6 December 2016 at 10.05.

²³ Interviewee 4, in Yogyakarta, 14 August 2016.

²⁴ Cowan quoted from Duke, Steven B., "Drug Prohibition: An Unnatural Disaster" (1995). Faculty Scholarship Series. Paper 812. http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/fss_papers/812. Retrieved 6 December 2016, 10.45.

²⁵ World Health Organization, Global Status Report on Alcohol and Health 2014, available at http://www.who.int/substance_abuse/publications/global_alcohol_report/en/ retrieved on 17 July 2016 at 13:20. The HED figure for Indonesian males (+15) is 42.8%, relatively high compared to the figure for Indian males (+15) which is 12.9%.

²⁶ Miron, J. (2016) *Prohibition Harms the Weakest: Does Consumer Irrationality Justify the War on Drugs?* Jakarta, CIPS. Online version is available at <http://cips-indonesia.org/en/publications/prohibition-harms-weakest-consumer-irrationality-justify-war-drugs/>

²⁷ Category A refers to beverages that contain ethyl alcohol or ethanol (C₂H₅OH) of 5%. Category B refers to beverages that contain ethyl alcohol or ethanol of more than 5% but less than 20%. Category C refers to beverages that contain ethyl alcohol or ethanol of more than 20% but less than 55%. Available at <http://www.kemendag.go.id/files/regulasi/2014/04/11/20m-dagper42014-id-1398307202.pdf> Retrieved on 8 December 2016 at 15.31.

²⁸ Uddarojat, R, *Death and Injuries by Counterfeit Alcohol and Oplosan: Potential Consequences of Alcohol Prohibition in Indonesia*, available at <http://cips-indonesia.org/en/publications/deaths-injuries-counterfeit-alcohol-oplosan-potential-consequences-alcohol-prohibition-indonesia/> page 9, retrieved on 29 September 2016 at 15:04.

²⁹ Interviewee 10, Yogyakarta 12 August 2016.

³⁰ It is also likely that respondents overstated their drop in recorded alcohol consumption because it has become illegal while they may have understated the increase in their bootleg liquor consumption

³¹ Media survey by the Center for Indonesian Policy Studies. Data can be retrieved from the author.

³² It is possible that almost daily media reports about victims of bootleg liquor and police action against the vendors increased awareness and caused a slight drop in consumption. This was mentioned by a few of the consumers that were interviewed in this study.

³³ The complete database can be retrieved from the author

³⁴ Interview with Dr. Siswanto, MPH, DTM, 4 October 2016.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Rofi Uddarojat is a Researcher at CIPS. He conducts research and engages policymakers in the Indonesian government in the area of international labour migration and entrepreneurship. He is also the co-founder and managing editor of "SuaraKebebasan.org", an Indonesian libertarian website which advocates for the ideas of individual freedom and free markets. Before joining CIPS, Mr. Uddarojat worked at the Freedom Institute in 2012-2014 as program officer. In that position he developed a youth network for civic engagement across the country.

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