Covering cops
Critical reporting of Indonesian police corruption

Abstract: The following article analyses contemporary newspaper representations of police corruption in Indonesia's premier English-language newspaper, *The Jakarta Post*. The article draws on primary data obtained from 114 articles published online between January and December 2013. The subsequent quantitative analysis found that *The Jakarta Post* reported on various forms of police corruption in both specific and general contexts with a majority of reports focusing on the investigation of corruption allegations where at least three people were involved. Information about suspects was also provided. Qualitative analysis indicated that the following themes were frequently discussed: the extent of police corruption; causes of police corruption; fighting police corruption; the belief that police cannot be trusted to investigate internal police corruption; and that police corruption interferes with external investigations. Despite many obstacles involved in reporting police corruption, the authors argue that overall *The Jakarta Post* takes a critical view in its reporting of police corruption.

Keywords: corruption, Indonesia, media, newspapers, police, *The Jakarta Post*

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F OR MANY decades Indonesia's media were heavily censored by an authoritarian government. However, since 1998 Indonesia has been undergoing democratic reform. A large part of this reform has focused on the liberalisation of the news media. Indonesia's media are now comparatively free to report on issues of concern to the citizenry. Of particular concern to the citizenry is the level of corruption in Indonesia.

Indonesia consistently scores poorly on international ratings of governance due to high levels of corruption (Transparency International, 2012). Transparency International's global corruption barometer indicates that 36 percent of Indonesian respondents reported paying bribes for services—only one percent of participants in neighbouring Australia claimed the same (Hardoon & Heinrich, 2013). Moreover, the global corruption barometer indicates that on a scale of 1 (not

being corrupt) to 5 (extremely corrupt) the Indonesian police rate 4.5 (Hardoon & Heinrich, 2013). Police corruption is thus a significant problem in Indonesia.

The way in which media report on police corruption influences how society thinks about corruption and the police. Unfavourable media coverage of police can negatively influence public trust in them (Chermak, McGarrell, & Gruenewald, 2006). At one extreme, police shootings of Black Americans shows how controversial incidents gravely damage public trust in police (Fridell, 2016). Yet while much is known about the reporting of police and police corruption in Western media, there is limited research examining reportage of police corruption in non-Western media. This article begins to fill this void by examining how *The Jakarta Post* reports on police corruption in Indonesia.

Method

This article examines coverage of police corruption in the English-language daily newspaper *The Jakarta Post* between January and December 2013. This time frame provides an understanding of how police corruption is constructed for public viewing and allows in-depth, qualitative analysis to be used in conjunction with a quantitative measure. *The Jakarta Post*, established in 1983, has local and expatriate readers, with Indonesian readers constituting 47 percent of the news audience (Jakarta Post Digital, 2014). Expatriate readers most often originate from Singapore, the United States, Malaysia and Australia (Jakarta Post Digital, 2014). Many of the Indonesian consumer audience possess at least a Bachelor's degree, are usually male and more than 50 percent have a household income greater than the national average annual income of Rp30 million (US$3000) (Jakarta Post Digital, 2014). *The Jakarta Post* is available in hardcopy and online versions with the online version not limited by space and thus able to provide extended coverage of events. The online version includes the following sections: editor's choice, headlines, business, national, archipelago, Jakarta, world, sports, photos, and videos.

The Jakarta Post was selected because it is Indonesia's largest English language paper and the authors wanted to know how police corruption is reported in an outlet with extensive foreign readership. *The Jakarta Post* is the second most popular newspaper in Indonesia (based on online visits to the website) and has a national circulation of about 85,000 (*The Jakarta Post*, 2014). Given the reach of the newspaper and its consuming demographic of wealthy, educated and politically influential readers, *The Jakarta Post* has the potential to influence social, economic, and political decisions.

Data sources

The sample analysed consisted of 114 articles published in the online version of *The Jakarta Post* between January and December 2013. The articles were

sampled using the website search-bar. The search term used was 'police corruption *month* *year*'. For example, the search might be entered as 'police corruption August 2013'. This term was applied to all 12 months within 2013. The first 100 search results for each month were downloaded for analysis. We selected the first 100 articles for each month to provide a manageable, but rich, data source. Of the original 1200 articles, 114 articles fitted the criteria of being originally published in 2013 and being specifically about a case of police corruption or corruption in general that could be linked to the police. Not all articles included in the final sample used the phrase 'corruption' explicitly, but described police engaging in what were readily identifiable as corrupt acts such as police accepting bribes for waiving a traffic fine or selling confiscated goods for personal profit.

Data analysis

Once collected, each article was read through to identify recurring themes and patterns. Based on these patterns, a coding sheet and booklet were drafted for the purposes of analysis. Each article was then read through again and coded according to the definitions developed in the coding sheet and booklet. The Word 'comment' function was used to add notes and comments that identified and linked together various themes from previous articles. A quantitative content analysis was used to examine the specific details of the articles while qualitative analysis was used to develop and examine recurring themes within the text.

Media in Indonesia

During the authoritarian reign of President Suharto (1966-1998), Indonesian media were heavily censored and only content that promoted the interests of the regime could be published. If a media outlet printed anti-government material its publishing licence would be removed (Harsono, 2002). Indonesia's embrace of democracy, coming after the forced resignation of President Suharto, resulted in greater levels of media freedom. With the passing in 1999 of the Liberal Press Law (LPL), Indonesia's media became one of the freest in Asia (Holm, 2008). Previously banned media sources, such as *Tempo*, *Detik* and *Editor*, were reissued publishing licences (Harsono, 2002). Media outlets found they could report on protests and previously taboo issues (Kakiailatu, 2007; Sen & Hill, 2000; Tapsell, 2012). This openness led to an increase in the number of newspapers, national television stations and journalists in Indonesia (Harsono, 2011; Lee & Maslog, 2005; Lee, Maslog, & Kim, 2006; Maslog, Lee, & Kim, 2007; Pintak & Setiyono, 2011; Sen & Hill, 2010).

Media freedom has not always resulted in critical engagement with contentious issues in Indonesia. For instance, Harjono (1998) argues that the legacy of

Indonesia's past and previous penalties for critical reporting influence contemporary journalism. Decades of fear continue to shape the way journalists report sensitive issues, meaning that some journalists write about contentious matters while hardly mentioning human rights, corruption or dictatorship (Leadbeater, 2008). Moreover, Indonesia's transition to democratic reform did not remove all censorship and indeed, there

> can be no simple connection between the erosion of government censorship, the opening up of the media and the establishment of a pluralist democracy as understood in the West. (Sen & Hill, 2010, p. 2)

Despite reform, then, many journalists find it difficult to play the role of 'watchdog,' where the media 'watch' the government and other state institutions to prevent wrongdoing (Pintak & Setiyono, 2011; Tapsell, 2012). Some Indonesian journalists struggle with conflicting challenges of being critical of institutional powers while maintaining their job (Harsono, 2002; Pintak & Setiyono, 2011).

One way that sensitive issues are covered in Indonesian media is in trivialised and sensationalised tones (Hartono, 2015). Indeed when media are run on a for-profit basis many topics are presented as scandals which become a form of entertainment (Buttle, Davies, & Meliala, 2015). Media trivialisation of political and other topics discourages meaningful citizen engagement. Further, a desire by Indonesian audiences to consume celebrity gossip and sensational stories also makes it hard to publish critical pieces (Coutas, 2006; Hobart & Fox, 2008). Other approaches to coverage, such as deliberative journalism where diverse and unpopular views about the community good are presented to encourage expressions of criticality and plurality, might be one way forward for Indonesia's media (Robie, 2013).

The Indonesian police and corruption
The Indonesian National Police (Kepolisian Negara Republic Indonesia) is known by its acronym Polri. It has undergone a number of democratic reforms aimed at securing public trust. In 1999, the police were separated from the military and greater autonomy from political influence was nominally ensured through Police Law No. 2/2002. The police were made an executive institution under Article 30 of the Indonesian constitution. Polri has also attempted to move away from its previous paramilitary style of law enforcement towards a community-policing model and in late 2005 the chief of police adopted a national community policing programme (Prasetyo, et al., 2005). How fully Polri has taken on more democratic policing values is debatable, however (Muradi, 2014).

There are low levels of public trust in the Indonesian police (Muradi, 2014). One survey conducted in 2011 by Polri itself indicated that 33.4 percent of public respondents were not satisfied with the police (Kepala Kepolsian Negara Republik Indonesia, 2012). Corruption is a key barrier to increasing trust and support in the Indonesia police (Davies, Meliala, & Buttle, 2016). Indeed, knowledge of police corruption has profoundly reduced public trust in Polri, and trust is essential in a well-functioning police service (Davis, Triwahyuono, & Alexander, 2009; Meliala, 2002; Olken & Barron, 2009; Smith, 2009; Stasch, 2001; Villaveces-Izquierdo, 2010; Waters & Brown, 2000).

Polri's institutional framework is arranged in a manner that facilitates corruption (Jansen, 2008; Muradi, 2014). Moreover, tolerance of police corruption by Indonesian society constrains attempts at reform (Buttle, et al., 2015). It is thus difficult to remove corruption from policing organisations when corruption is normalised and citizens expect and permit police to be corrupt. Police corruption can be challenged, though, by the media and hence it is important to understand how corruption is reported in the Indonesian press.

Results: Forms of corruption

The newspaper articles included within our sample discussed various forms of police corruption. While inconsistencies occurred between the use of terms (for instance, there was a conflation of bribery and extortion in some articles), we identified numerous acts widely understood as constituting corruption: embezzlement, bribery, interference with investigations, and nepotism (Buttle, et al., 2015). The different forms of corruption mentioned indicate that journalists with *The Jakarta Post* possessed an understanding of what behaviours constituted corrupt practices.

Specificity of the articles

As Table 1 indicates, the sample was evenly split between 'general cases', by which we mean instances of corruption where no particulars are given, and 'specific cases', by which we mean actual cases of corruption where explicit details are given and perpetrators named. The inclusion of general cases demonstrated a willingness by *The Jakarta Post* to treat police corruption as more than a series of unique incidents showing that journalists could establish links between cases, focus on broader causes and consequences of corruption and place specific cases within a wider context. Journalists framed corruption as a matter of problematic police culture rather than just as isolated incidents. Among specific cases of corruption that were identified in the newspaper articles, the majority focused on corruption cases involving large amounts of money or significant abuses of authority.

Of the 57 specific articles, 17 referred to a large case involving Former Chief

Table 1: Specificity of the articles		
	Frequency	Percent
Specific case	57	50
Police corruption in general	57	50
Total	114	100

of the National Traffic Police Corps Inspector General Djoko Susilo; this was the largest corruption case ever brought against the police. The second most frequently cited specific case reported was that of Inspector Labora Sitorus, which was reported in eight separate articles. Other cases that appeared multiple times involved three officers: National Police Chief General Sutarman; retired Commissioner General Susno Duadji and former Tegal Police Chief Agustin Hardiyanto, were all of them accused of being involved in corrupt practices.

Table 2: Stage of cases within articles discussing specific cases		
Stage of case	Frequency	Percent
Suspicion	7	12.3
Evidence found	1	1.8
Investigation in progress	33	57.9
In court	7	12.3
Post-trial	9	15.8
Total	57	100.0

Stage of the case
Of the specific case articles, most of the cases discussed (57.9 percent) were at the 'investigation in progress' stage. As Table 2 illustrates, other articles were divided among the stages of: suspicion; evidence found; in court; and post-trial.

Names of those involved given
Table 3 illustrates that the majority (94.7 percent) of specific case articles provided identifying information for at least one person involved in the case. This inclusion suggests that name suppression is not a common feature of Indonesian corruption trials, possibly reflecting a desire to 'name and shame' individuals allegedly engaged in corrupt practices. Alternatively it may be in keeping with principles of open justice where the courts keep the administration of justice transparent. The lack of name suppression could also suggest that those being tried for corruption are unlikely to be negatively affected if their name is released.

Table 3: Provision of identifying information in specific articles		
Name of those involved	Frequency	Percent
Given	54	94.7
Not given	3	5.3
Total	57	100.0

Number of people involved

As indicated in Table 4, most (56.1 percent) specific case articles described ins-tances of corruption involving at least three people, with fewer cases involving only one (26.3 percent) or two (17.5 percent) people. Reports in *The Jakarta Post* thus construct an image of corrupt practices involving multiple people. If multiple people are involved in police corruption it suggests that corruption is deeply entrenched (Sherman, 1974). Articles tended to focus on the main per-petrator while the fate of other suspects was generally not given.

Table 4: Number of people involved within specific cases		
Number of people involved	Frequency	Percent
One	15	26.3
Two	10	17.5
More than two	32	56.1
Total	57	100.0

Length of articles

The majority (59.6 percent) of articles were more than 31 lines, suggesting *The Jakarta Post* dedicates a considerable amount of space to discussing the topic of police corruption given that articles on other topics had average line counts below this number.

Table 5: Length of articles		
	Frequency	Percent
1-15 lines	16	14.0
16-30 lines	30	26.3
31 plus lines	68	59.6
Total	114	100.0

General tone of text

As Table 6 indicates, the majority (66.7 percent) of articles employed a pre-dominately neutral reporting style when discussing police corruption. By neu-tral reporting style we mean that corruption was neither framed as increasing

Table 6: Predominant tone of text within articles		
General style of text	Frequency	Percent
Predominantly optimistic	3	2.6
Predominantly neutral	76	66.7
Predominantly pessimistic	35	30.7
Total	114	100.0

nor decreasing. It is possible that a neutral reporting style is an attempt by journalists to avoid antagonising policing personnel (Harsono, 2002).

A number of articles framed police corruption in explicitly pessimistic terms (30.7 percent). For instance, articles noted that corruption was spreading. Such framing was especially evident in articles published as editorials, public comments or opinion pieces. Such articles are arguably not intended to be impartial and in fact these pieces provide an opportunity for journalists, editors, experts and members of the public to present their perceptions of police corruption. Only three articles (2.6 percent) in the sample suggested that corruption was decreasing within the police force.

Table 7: Types of articles included in the sample		
Type of article	Frequency	Percent
News	94	82.5
Opinion	6	5.3
Editorial	5	4.4
Public Letters	9	7.9
Total	114	100.0

Type of article
Most articles (82.5 percent) were news articles (see Table 7). The remaining 17.5 percent consisted of editorials, opinion pieces, and letters from the public.

Analysis
A number of recurring themes were present in the articles, including the extent of police corruption; causes of police corruption; fighting police corruption; the idea that police cannot be trusted to investigate internal police corruption; and the idea that police corruption interferes with external investigations.

Extent of police corruption
Many articles presented corruption as rampant across Indonesia, emphasising the entrenchment of corruption within the police force (cf. Jansen, 2008; Muradi, 2014):

> In 2009, the Transparency International Indonesia (TII) survey listed the National Police as the most bribery-riddled institution in the country. (Perdani, 2013b)

> 'No service is given by the police without money and corruption has become systemic in the police since they took over the public security role from the military,' he said… (Idrus & Sijabat, 2013)

> It would be a monumental task to list all the corrupt practices within the police force. From protecting slave labour to amassing billions of rupiah of state money, the National Police seem to be the only state institution untouched by reform… (Perdani, 2013a)

Both low and high-ranking officers were reported as participating in corrupt practices, contributing to the image that corruption is pervasive throughout the police force:

> The Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) has filed a new charge against the former chief of the National Police Traffic Corps Djoko Susilo and accused him of money laundering. (Parlina & Pramudatama, 2013)

At other times, police personnel were noted as appearing to be involved in corruption:

> Bali Police Chief Insp. Gen. Arif Wahyunadi said he has dismissed a police officer who appeared to extort money from a foreign tourist in an incident captured in a video uploaded to YouTube recently… He said the police officer, identified as Adj. Second Insp. Komang Sarjana, was now being questioned by the Bali Police internal affairs department. (*The Jakarta Post*, 2013a)

Other reports in *The Jakarta Post* lead readers to infer that the extensive and embedded nature of police corruption resulted in significant state losses:

> Semarang's Corruption Court's panel of judges sentenced former Tegal police chief Adj. Sr. Comr. Agustin Hardiyanto to three years in prison and fined him Rp 100 million (US$10,350) after finding him guilty of embezzling operational funds…Agustin embezzled Rp 1.09 billion out of Rp 6.6 billion of operational funds during his tenure as Tegal police chief in 2008. (Rohmah, 2013)

> Taufik was dismissed for his failure in tracking the illicit businesses of his subordinate, Adj. First Insp. Labora Sitorus. Labora controlled at least 60 bank accounts through which over Rp 1 trillion (US$102 million) has passed in five year. (Perdani, 2013a)

While most of the coverage of police corruption in *The Jakarta Post* concerned officers allegedly or actually involved in corrupt acts, the paper did also cover events where police officers worked to stamp out police corruption:

> Novel first came into the spotlight following the raid he led on his fellow officers at the National Traffic Police Corps (Korlantas) last year…The graft buster made headlines again last week, when he led investigators on raids that netted four suspects in a bribery scandal centred on meat imports involving the Muslim-based Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)... In July, Novel confiscated documents that led to the arrest of Korlantas chief Insp. Gen. Djoko Susilo, the first time an active duty police general has faced criminal charges in a graft case. (Perdani, 2013c)

> …a policeman in the small town of Gresik, East Java, has won praise for refusing to compromise with any traffic offenders, including his own wife… He has received numerous awards from a regional news channel, local communities and his own force. (Perdani, 2013b)

The Jakarta Post thus reports on the extensive nature of police corruption and highlights both negative and positive police actions, in contrast to Western media where Reiner (2000) found that news stories about police tended overall to be positive and depicted officers in heroic roles.

Causes of police corruption

The next recurring theme in our sample was the causes of police corruption, which included: childhood socialisation where children are raised in ways that facilitate corrupt practices; an education system that values making money by any means; media exposure to corrupt practices; personal characteristics such as greed; institutional factors like inappropriate organisational culture; the power and authority of police officers and the fact that police officers pay money to join the police, to get transfers and to be promoted. In the following article we see how *The Jakarta Post* provides an overview of the causes of police corruption.

> Stories of a pervasive culture of kickbacks emanate from the earliest stages of recruitment and permeate the entire process until an officer receives his or her posting…The force is literally a haven for practicing corruption… The police's permissive culture and the lack of external independent oversight have been blamed for the pervasive corrupt practices…The absence of such external supervision along with the police's overwhelming authority is the root of all evil plaguing the force... Due to a strong esprit de corps, the police regularly protect their own, particularly the top brass, even regarding gross violations...Aside from problems in oversight, the police's permissive culture in education and training have also undermined reform. (Perdani, 2013a)

The mention of a strong *esprit de corps* refers to what Skolnick (2005) describes as a tightly woven subculture where the threat of being exposed to public scrutiny engenders a sense of loyalty between police officers. This loyalty means that officers will keep silent about colleagues' corrupt practices (Chin & Wells, 1997; Wolfe & Piquero, 2011). Keeping silent is considered to characterise a trustworthy police colleague (Skolnick, 2005). This imperative of silence means that even officers who want to act ethically end up being complicit in the crimes of other officers. This code of silence thus facilitates corrupt policing practices.

Articles in our sample framed corruption as deeply entrenched within Polri. Readers are thus discouraged from developing the perception that corrupt policing practices are limited to a few individuals. Where corruption is deeply entrenched, and where institutional police culture and structure facilitate corruption as they do in Polri, efforts to stamp-out corruption are likely to be ineffective (Buttle, et al., 2015).

Fighting police corruption

Articles within our sample framed the fight against corruption as a difficult undertaking:

> As for Indonesia, it remains in the bottom 30 percent of the most corrupt countries in the world…The fight against corruption is an uphill battle in which the only way to win is with the commitment and collaboration of all members of society…Corruption eradication has never been an easy task. (Prabowo, 2013)

Articles also noted that members of the public believe corruption is so widespread that reporting corruption to the police is a pointless endeavour:

> According to this study, 47 percent of respondents said they would not report corruption to the authorities…others (32 percent) argued that there was no use in doing that since the law enforcers were also corrupt... Raymond is among those who doubt that reporting a corruption case would make a difference. 'Even if I file a report, I'm not sure it will be followed up,' he said. (Jong, 2013)

Some articles in *The Jakarta Post* used cynicism as a way of reporting police corruption. Cynicism may be a way of effectively portraying the systemic nature of police corruption. Other articles described efforts to eradicate police corruption in a defeatist manner. Such a manner may possibly discourage some members of the public from assisting future attempts to fight corruption, but it may also rally others to support anti-corruption campaigns:

> *The Jakarta Post's* Yuliasri Perdani looks into the approaching shake-up in
> the leadership of the force and looks forward to the promised installation
> of integrity…High performance and an impeccable track record are not
> the focal points in the appointment of a police chief, not in Indonesia…
> Given the existing regulations on the police, there is no chance of an out-
> side candidate with unimpeachable integrity leading the force of around
> 550,000 personnel and initiating the crucial reform…The choice, such
> as it is, comes down to the lesser of two evils. (*The Jakarta Post,* 2013b)

Articles in *The Jakarta Post* provide ideas on how corruption eradication can
occur, but as these ideas require significant cultural and institutional change
articles also noted that eradication programmes were unlikely to occur or to be
successfully implemented.

Police cannot be trusted to investigate internal police corruption

Many articles noted a distinct lack of public trust in internal police investi-
gations. Journalists stated that Indonesian police genuinely did not want to
eradicate corruption within their own organisation or within other institutions.
Evidence of police unwillingness to eradicate corruption was given through
examples of internal investigations of police corruption that were either not
pursued or where charges were dropped:

> Anti-graft and police watchdogs suspect that the sudden arrest by the Na-
> tional Police of Papua policeman Adj. First Insp. Labora Sitorus was part
> of a plot to protect higher ranking officers who could be dragged into the
> mire of a major graft case…' It's inconceivable that LS [Labora Sitorus]
> acted alone for five years. There have been reports of illegal logging and
> fuel smuggling that might involve members of the police in Papua, but
> it has all been ignored…It's impossible for members of the police to be
> involved in this kind of thing unless they have the support of their supe-
> riors.…Unless the KPK [Anti-Corruption Commission] is involved, the
> public will see a repeat of cases like the acquittal of Papua's Police Comr.
> Marthen Renouw. (Aritonang & Perdani, 2013)

Such examples explain in part why members of the public view reporting corrup-
tion to police as a pointless activity—even if police were made aware of corruption
allegations it was considered unlikely that a legitimate police investigation would
be conducted. That *The Jakarta Post* reports police failings suggests that the news-
paper critiques police corruption. In contrast, local newspapers tend be disinter-
ested in covering police corruption (Davies, Stone, & Buttle, 2015). Articles also
noted that to ensure the accuracy and fairness of investigations, activities conducted
by the police needed to be made transparent. Transparency allows for the external
scrutiny of police investigations and makes the organisation accountable for its

actions and decisions. The fact that *The Jakarta Post* highlights the lack of police transparency reveals critical reporting.

Police corruption interferes with external investigations

Police corruption extends beyond internal investigations, with articles in the sample outlining how corruption affects police work in general. Articles suggested that Indonesian police openly interfered with investigations; attempted to charge and arrest leading external corruption investigators; pursued cases against individuals under witness protection and deliberately delay and even ended investigations of police corruption.

   While police provided justification for behaviour such as interrogating people under witness protection, *The Jakarta Post* reported that such justifications were unsubstantiated. Identifying justifications as unsubstantiated demonstrates that *The Jakarta Post* challenges police corruption. Articles in *The Jakarta Post* also questioned the veracity of information provided by Polri.

> The police have charged senior KPK [Anti-Corruption Commission] officials before. Back in 2009, the police detained then KPK chairman Antasari Azhar for his involvement in the 2009 murder of Nasruddin Zulkarnaen, the director of pharmaceutical company PT Putra Rajawali Banjaran. The case is said to have been rife with irregularities… Later that year, the police arrested then KPK deputy chiefs, Bibit Samad Rianto and Chandra M. Hamzah, for alleged power abuse and extortion linked to graft suspect Anggoro Widjojo. Activists claimed that the case was orchestrated. (Jong & Perdani, 2013)

As seen in the quote above that when the anti-corruption unit, the KPK, exposed police corruption, police respond by levelling corruption allegations at the KPK to stall further investigation. Such coverages suggests that *The Jakarta Post* critically reports on police corruption in Indonesia.

Conclusion

Indonesia underwent dramatic reform in 1998. President Suharto's forced resignation ushered in an era of democratic change that saw, among other things, Indonesia's police become independent of the military and the media become some of the most free in Asia. Given that Indonesia's police is arguably the most corrupt organisation in the country, it is relevant to explore how journalists in a democratic Indonesia report on this organisation. To this end this research analysed articles in the English language newspaper *The Jakarta Post*. While the focus was on a single newspaper, readership numbers suggest that *The Jakarta Post* influences a significant international and national audience. We recognise, though, that any attempt to generalise from the findings of this study to other

media outlets in Indonesia, or to extrapolate findings to another time period, must be undertaken with caution. Indeed the limitations of this study suggest an avenue for future research such as a longitudinal study, including analysis of a larger number of media outlets, to map changes in reporting practices in a more representative way.

A number of recurring themes are evident in *The Jakarta Post*'s coverage of police corruption: the extent of police corruption; causes of police corruption; fighting police corruption; the belief that police cannot be trusted to investigate internal police corruption and that police corruption interferes with external investigations. The results of the analysis also indicated that *The Jakarta Post* discussed police corruption in both the context of specific cases and as a broader topic. With regards to specific case articles, the majority focused on extensive instances of corruption that were at the stage of investigation and involved at least three people. In terms of reporting length and style, *The Jakarta Post* allocates considerable space to the discussion of police corruption and articles frame police corruption as undesirable and adversely affecting Indonesian society. To reinforce the detrimental effects of police corruption, *The Jakarta Post* incorporates comments on police corruption from various people and institutions. The style in which *The Jakarta Post* reports on police corruption is not sensationalist and seeks to raise awareness of the pervasiveness of corruption. *The Jakarta Post* is critical of institutions within Indonesia that facilitate police corruption.

Articles in *The Jakarta Post* provide a number of explanations for the origin and perpetuation of police corruption, explanations that reflect the cultural constraints theory of police corruption (Buttle, et al., 2015). These explanations include both positioning police culture as a corrupting influence on officers and police structure and showing how cultural norms in wider Indonesian society work to constrain attempts to eradicate police corruption. *The Jakarta Post* articles do not support the notion that police corruption extends from the wrongdoing of a single officer, but rather reinforce the idea that police corruption is a systemic institutional issue. *The Jakarta Post* thus provides a critical view of police corruption and further investigative journalism can hopefully inspire heightened demand for effective reform to end police corruption.

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