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University
of Glasgow

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Political Sciences

**The Challenge of Criminal Investigation in the
Global South: a Study of Detectives in South
Jakarta, Indonesia**

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**Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the MSc
degree in Criminology and Criminal Justice**

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Abstract

Criminal investigation is a core police activity (Dean, 1995) of finding and collecting evidence and other information leading to arrest a suspect (Glomseth & Gottschalk, 2005). This topic is rarely researched compared with other topics in the police field (Brodeur, 2010). To contribute to the literature of the Global South, which might be different from the literature in western countries, this study will focus on the challenge of criminal investigation detectives face in South Jakarta, Indonesia. It describes criminal investigation, its methods, and the nature of the work. The research was conducted using semi-structured interviews with detectives in South Jakarta Metropolitan Police Resort who have more than three years of experience there. This research produced a number of key findings. First, the study finds that criminal investigation processes and methods used out in Indonesia were similar to those employed in the United Kingdom. The stages and the way of doing them are the same even though the law applies and the terms of the investigation are different. Furthermore, the important point is that detectives in South Jakarta only really learned and knew how to carry out criminal investigations after they joined the criminal investigation department because at the academy, they were only taught the basics. This differs from conditions in the United Kingdom, where information can be accessed freely through literature books, journals or articles. Second, the study illuminates the challenges of criminal investigation in the context of its techniques and methods. It explains the challenge of investigative interviewing, which aims to get empathy from the victim and witnesses and to make the suspect confess in interrogation. Third, it analyses the challenge of profiling the offender due to the lack of a criminal information database and the core challenge of covert policing technique to gain the trust of the operating target. The last finding is about the institutional challenge of criminal investigation in South Jakarta, where the fundamental difference between Global South countries and western countries is their economic conditions. In the Global South, street crimes are more often caused by economic factors. The perpetrators commit these crimes to meet their daily living needs. In addition, detective cultural factors pose a challenge for implementing criminal investigation from both external and internal factors. External factor includes the fact that some people are indeed resistant to the police, so investigation and extracting information from those people will be difficult.

Internal factors include the canteen culture and also a cop's code governing the relationship between detectives. The challenge from internal factors is that young detectives just entering criminal investigation departments need to immediately adapt to the detective's work culture so they can avoid social sanctions.

Keywords: *criminal investigation, challenge, detective, method of investigation, technique of investigation, detective culture*

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Research background and motivation

Investigation is a core police activity (Dean, 1995) that is concerned with ‘(1) the apprehension of criminals by the gathering of evidence leading to their arrest, and (2) the collection and presentation of evidence and testimony for the purpose of obtaining convictions’ (Glomseth & Gottschalk, 2005; Thibault, Lynch, & McBride, 1998, cited in Dean et al., 2007: 119-120). Du Preez (1996: 1) defines investigation of crime as ‘a systematised search for the truth, with the primary purpose of finding a positive solution to the crime with the help of objective and subjective clues’. In the investigation of crime, the detectives deal with abundant information that they turn into evidence. Therefore, to successfully investigate crimes, a detective must be able to process data and crime information into something useful (Govender, 2011).

Criminal investigation is a police action that is supposed to be regulated by law. However, in fact, Manning (1978) found that a police officer never knows exactly what will happen next and what conditions will be faced, so that he or she assumes that the work was uncertain and unclear. Thus, without improvisation and merely guided by theory, they will never be able to solve difficult criminal cases (Dean et al., 2007). The police officer needs to be creative in the investigation, and sometimes, he or she needs to improvise even though it might violate the rules. Nevertheless, not all police officers can afford to do the same. Therefore, this complexity of investigation needs to be further investigated to identify what challenges police officers actually face in the field.

Furthermore, Brodeur (2010) argues that one of the least researched topics in the field of police studies is criminal investigation. He stated that of the six topics in the police field that are rarely researched, criminal investigations always appears in first place. There has been a lot of research on police investigation, but none that has explored its challenges.

Furthermore, this research will discuss the challenges of criminal investigation in the Global South, which differ from those in western countries. Countries in the Global South are still in the process of organising and structuring themselves. Thus, social, economic, political and cultural conditions in these countries tend to change over time and may even change rapidly (Arthur and Marenin, 1995; Marenin, 1982). Certainly, this will affect the police as officers in charge of maintaining security and safety. Police are required to keep evolving to adjust to the development of the country. Moreover, Arthur and Marenin (1995) used modernisation theory to find that developing towards a more modern society will cause changes in social systems, social values, lifestyle, and economic conditions, which will cause the crime rate to escalate as well. Thus, this study will conduct a case study that focuses on the challenges of investigation that police detectives face in South Jakarta. It will be useful for criminal investigation because the crime rate in Indonesia continued to increase until it reached its peak in 2015 (Indonesia Police Headquarters, 2016). The study will also focus on South Jakarta city because it is the biggest city in Jakarta Province (Ministry of Internal Affairs of Indonesia, 2011) with a dense population and complex communities. By focusing on this city, this research will explore the challenges of police investigation in the Global South context because generally, much of the research on police investigations has been based on samples from western countries. Thus, there is an empirical gap here.

Moreover, this research will explore the influences of police culture on the performance of police investigations. As Chan (1997: 79) argued, in police investigation, the decisions taken by police officers are 'based on experience, common sense and discretion, rather than an abstract theory of policing, the law, or police regulations'. Decisions are often taken spontaneously based on the circumstances. This might result in a lack of police management's control over subordinate officers. To improve the efficacy of criminal investigation, it is important to examine police culture to understand what informs the decisions of officers undertaking investigations.

1.2 Research questions

What are the challenges of investigating crimes in a Global South context?

Focussing on South Jakarta,

1. How do detectives conduct criminal investigation in South Jakarta?
2. What are the challenges of criminal investigation in terms of technique?
3. What are the institutional challenges of criminal investigation in general?

1.3 Value of research

Research on criminal investigations is mostly conducted in western countries. In contrast, this research focuses on the challenge of criminal investigation detectives face in South Jakarta, Indonesia, face so that the research may contribute to the literature about the Global South. In addition, studies by Otwin Marenin (1982), Arthur and Marenin (1995) and Alice Hills (2007) only describe the situations and conditions of the police in Global South in general. Therefore, this study specifically focuses on how police officers do their jobs on the street, particularly low-level officers rather than those at the management level.

1.4 Outline of the dissertation

This dissertation will be divided into five chapters. Chapter one introduces the study and discusses its background and motivation. This includes a brief discussion of why this study focuses on the challenges that arise in criminal investigations conducted by detectives in South Jakarta, Indonesia. In addition, this chapter delineates the research questions and describes the benefits and contributions this study can make to the literature.

Chapter two reviews the literature. It will introduce the general description of the criminal investigation and discuss whether detective work is a 'craft', an 'art', or a 'science'. It then will illustrate exactly how the detectives conduct criminal investigations. Finally, it will discuss police culture, starting with the policeman's personality and the cop's code.

Chapter three will describe the methodology used in the research. It will detail how the data were collected and analysed; and give details about the participants involved in the research. It also discusses the ethical considerations and limitations of the research. Chapter four will reveal the findings and discuss the analysis of the research. Finally, chapter five will present the conclusion of this study, summarising the findings, explaining the study's limitations, and making suggestions for future research.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 South Jakarta, Indonesia, as an Example of a Global South Country

The aim of this study is to examine the challenges of criminal investigation in the context of Global South countries, in which situations, conditions and society of the country are still developing (Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2013). To get appropriate results, this study focused on South Jakarta, Indonesia, a Global South country, which researcher considered an appropriate area for describing the lives of people in developing countries. As a comparison, the researcher looked at the United Kingdom as a representative of western countries.

Perhaps South Jakarta, Indonesia is not representative of all Global South countries, but for countries that have the same criteria and characteristics as the South Jakarta region, most likely the results of this research will be reliable. Therefore, the criteria and characteristics in question are grouped into the following topics.

Economy

Indonesia's economic conditions can be analysed based on its gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. According to the World Bank (2018), Indonesia's GDP per capita in 2017 was US\$ 3,540, while United Kingdom's GDP per capita was US\$ 40,530. According to the World Bank's (2016) classification system, Indonesia is classified as a lower middle-income economy because its GDP per capita is between US\$ 1,026 and US\$ 4,035, while United Kingdom is included in the high-income

economies category, which stipulates a GDP per capita above US\$ 12,476. In addition, the poverty rate and the level of inequality between rich and poor are still high (BPS, 2017), so many crimes (especially street crime) tend to be caused by economic factors, not by psychological factors or the influence of the social environment.

Socio-culture

In terms of socio-culture, Indonesia has a unique eastern culture, the culture of 'gotong-royong', which makes citizens in a community always help each other and makes it hard to see others in difficult circumstances (Koentjaraningrat, 2000). This culture was formed due to a unique historical process since the colonial era, when people developed a high sense of responsibility to help each other. The Indonesian people believe that work will be completed faster and more easily when it is done together. In addition, they feel discomfort and restlessness when they see other people in distress and they are able to help them, so there are initiatives to help others, and vice versa. This is bolstered by the population system and the form of residences, which are still non-storied houses, as are the houses in the countryside, unlike residences in urban and developed countries that are widespread apartments and high-rise buildings. Thus, residents in Indonesia know one another well and their neighbouring relatives are also close. Sometimes, even large families live in the same house, so their relationships will be closer. The consequent effect on criminal investigation is that the community will tend to be more closed and perhaps cover up the illegal actions of one of the residents if that person is known to have committed a crime. People will be reluctant to divulge information because they feel they are very close to the suspect, and if they help the police arrest the suspect, they will be considered traitors by those around them and might suffer social sanctions in consequence.

Police organisation

Police organizations in Indonesia are multilevel and based on the administrative regions of the Indonesian government, so that there are police offices at the sector level for sub-districts, resorts for regencies/cities and regions for provinces, as well as police at headquarters level that have national jurisdiction (The Regulation of the Chief of Indonesia Police Number 23 of 2010). Thus, in the process of investigation, the prevailing system is that the police can handle a case when the crime scene is in its jurisdiction and the upper-level station can automatically help handle cases in its jurisdiction. Thus, the police at the headquarter level can investigate cases that occur throughout the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. If a crime scene is outside their jurisdiction, then the police cannot handle the case and can only provide assistance, for example, assistance or joint action between police station A and B in the case of investigation and arrest of suspects from cases that occurred in area B who had escaped to the jurisdiction of station A.

2.2 Criminal investigation in Indonesia

The literature examining criminal investigation in Indonesia is still limited and tends to come from the internal police organisation. However, to describe criminal investigations by the Indonesian police in general, we can look at the applicable laws and regulations, namely KUHAP Act Number 8 of 1981, which was then clarified by the Chief of Police Regulation Number 14 of 2012 concerning Management of Criminal Investigations. Based on these two regulations, the act of handling criminal cases by the Indonesian police is divided into two stages called 'penyelidikan' and 'penyidikan'. In article 1.5 KUHAP Act Number 8 of 1981, 'penyelidikan' can be called the 'preliminary investigation', a series of actions to search for and find an event that is suspected to be a

criminal offense to determine whether an investigation can be conducted according to the method set out in this law. Meanwhile, the officer conducting 'penyelidikan' is called a 'penyelidik', which means the Indonesia police who is authorised by this law to conduct an investigation. On the other hand, 'penyidikan' or 'investigation' is a series of investigators' actions regulated by this law to find and collect evidence that makes clear that criminal acts have been committed. The fundamental difference between the two stages is that in the 'penyidikan', the incident (case) is clearly a crime and violates the applicable criminal code. In contrast, in the 'penyelidikan' phase, police officers are still in the stage of finding out and ascertaining whether the event is a crime. This research will analyse the stage of a 'penyelidikan' carried out by Indonesian police officers.

Chief of Police Regulation Number 14 of 2012, articles 11 and 12, states that the 'penyelidikan' activity can be carried out well before or after a police/complaint report is filed. The criminal investigation is carried out to determine whether an event was a crime or not; identify the perpetrator; and arrest the suspect. Several activities are carried out within the criminal investigation.

1. Crime scene examination

Search for and collect information, instructions, evidence, identity of the suspect, and witness/victim for further investigation; and obtain an overview of the modus operandi of the crime that occurred.

2. Observation

Examine certain objects, places and environments to acquire needed information.

3. Interview

Gather information from certain parties about the crime that occurred by finding answers to the questions of who, what, where, with what, why, how, and when.

4. Surveillance

Follow someone who is suspected of being a criminal or other persons who can direct the offender.

5. Tracking

Seek and follow perpetrators of criminal acts using information technology.

6. Undercover

Infiltrate certain environments without being identified to obtain information.

7. Document research and analysis

Compile documents that are allegedly related to a criminal act.

The activities of the criminal investigation are not phased in stages that must be carried out sequentially, but are the types of activities that can be carried out when investigating a crime case. What action must be taken first is determined by the detective who handles the case. No reference or literature explains what actions must be done first when dealing certain types of crime or facing certain conditions (Glomseth et al., 2007). Everything turns on the credibility, ability and experience of each detective, so experience in dealing with various types of crime will have a significant impact on the detective's competence.

2.3 Criminal investigation in United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, the College of Policing (2013) explains that there are four stages in handling crime cases: instigation, investigation, suspect management and case management. The detective's efforts will vary depending on whether the criminal investigations use the proactive or reactive method.

Essentially, criminal investigation is a reactive process in which activities are carried out to reveal how the crime was committed, who the perpetrator was, where the perpetrator went and where the evidence was disposed of (Brodeur, 2010). Reactive investigation is a traditional style of investigation in which the search for evidence is conducted after the discovery of circumstances considered a crime.

In contrast, proactive investigation is aimed more at handling serious crimes. It focuses on the criminals rather than the crime itself. This style of investigation puts forward the use of intelligence by gathering information from informants, profiling techniques and crime pattern analysis. To improve efficiency of operations, sometimes investigations are also tasked with surveillance and undercover operations.

Therefore, the ways of handling a case are different. At the initial stage, the investigations can be instigated using a proactive or reactive approach (College of Policing, 2013). In the reactive approach, criminal investigation can begin with reports or complaints from the community. In the proactive approach, criminal investigation can begin with the emergence of information from both an informant or as a result of infiltration of officers into a criminal network.

At the next stage, the detective must determine whether the cases being handled need to be done fast-tracked. Fast-tracked actions are “any investigative actions which, if pursued immediately, are likely to establish important facts, preserve evidence or lead to the early resolution of the investigation” (College of Policing, 2013: 1). In certain

situations, detectives need to carry out investigative actions as soon as possible to pursue the perpetrators or secure information or other matters that are urgent and must be done immediately. Assessment, analysis and determination of investigative actions are based more on the insight and experience of the detective who handles the case because each situation can produce different processes.

Then, the next stage is further investigation based on how much initial information has been obtained. Further investigative techniques that can be carried out include investigative interviews, offender profiling and covert policing. This investigation does not take place in stages that must be carried out sequentially, but rather that can be carried out based on the information that is needed about the crime.

If the detective has already obtained the information, the next step is suspect management and case management that will subsequently be submitted to the court. However, in certain cases, the detective can immediately proceed to the suspect management stage without the need to first conduct an investigation because the information and instructions are complete.

Thus, in general, no significant differences are evident between the criminal investigation process and techniques used in Indonesia and the United Kingdom. Both carry out similar types of investigative actions. The steps taken are almost the same, although there are differences in rules, applicable laws and the terms of criminal investigation. However, one important similarity in both countries is that decision-making is important in criminal investigation.

Tong et al. (2009) studied decision-making techniques by analysing the differences in how well detectives do their jobs. Tong et al. used the question of Smith and Flanagan (2000), who examined what makes the 'effective detective'. They analyse what strategies and abilities expert investigators use to solve crimes more quickly than

less competent detectives. The skills and knowledge expert investigators need are communication skills, 'people skills' and the ability to formulate the path of investigation. The primary key in case settlement, however, is effective decision-making. Such an ability will be obtained through experience in the field. In addition, decision-making abilities are necessary if detectives are able to think logically and clearly, analyse the material sharply and pay attention to the smallest details (Cook and Tattersall, 2008).

2.4 Detective work: Craft, art, or science?

To understand how detectives think and make decisions more deeply, this section examines the nature of detective work. Three approaches characterise criminal investigation, 'art', 'craft' and 'science' (Repetto, 1978; Tong and Bowling, 2006). All three approaches are debated, but it can be deduced that criminal investigation ranges from any one of these three approaches to a combination of all (Repetto, 1978). The first approach, which comes from the traditional investigation style, is the 'craft' of detective work. The 'craft' is seen as a result of the detectives' experience in the field and how they understand the suspects, victims, witnesses and police involved in criminal investigation (Hobbs, 1988). Detectives who have the 'craft' are able to arrange and organise cases in an appropriate and suitable way in accordance with the court's requirements. 'Craft' is closer to the 'skill' detectives have, such as communicating, interacting and negotiating with victims, suspects and chief of police to achieve organizational goals or justice deemed appropriate by all detectives (Chatterton, 1995; Corsianos, 2001; Ericson, 1993; Rose, 1996).

Meanwhile, the 'art' of detective work concerns the philosophy, intuition and instinctive feelings that detectives employ in solving the case (Tong and Bowling,

2006). In addition, 'art' is also concerned with the detective's ability to identify effective and creative lines of inquiry (Ericson, 1993; Sanders, 1977). 'Art' detectives create these lines of investigation by 'reading' criminal behaviour and those who commit or witness the crime and considering the motivations and strategies criminals are likely to have used to avoid detection. Furthermore, Simon (1991) identifies the 'art' of detective work as the 'internalised and instinctive' mechanism that emerges within the detective to guide the action. Simon argues that the 'art' of detective work can emerge from the experience of the detectives during the field work. They cannot acquire it only by studying it because no theory in the classroom or books can help them 'read' the streets. Nor is there any script or training method for mastering the 'art' abilities. Therefore, those who have the 'art' ability are regarded as successful detectives with brilliant insight and sharp intuition (Reppetto, 1978).

On the other hand, another perspective contradicts the concept of the detective as an artist, stating instead that the detective is a scientist. The 'science' of detective work means that a great detective is skilled in scientific investigation methods, such as crime scene management, social science, collection and use of evidence, investigative interview techniques, management of investigative processes, offender profiling and handling of informants (Osterburg and Ward, 2000; Rachlin, 1996). Detectives who have the 'science' will seek to gain more knowledge that can support criminal investigation, not only forensic science but also other sciences such as the psychology of the perpetrator, communication science, crime analysis and police science. Bayley (2002) argues that the concept of the 'science' approach can develop detectives' abilities significantly compared with older styles. The 'science' approach makes it is possible that there will be more reliable detectives born with scientific investigation since scientific investigation can be studied in the classroom and through books (Tong et al., 2009),

unlike 'craft' and 'art' detectives who gain their abilities through experience and learning from the streets.

2.5 Detective work on the street

Although detectives with a scientific approach can be created in a shorter time, Tong et al. (2009) found that experienced detectives will have more effective capability in handling cases in the field. Therefore, discussing what actions and practices they actually undertake in the field is necessary. This section focuses on three primary activities of detectives conducting criminal investigations: investigative interviewing, offender profiling and covert policing. These three actions provide a picture of the differences between experienced detectives and less competent detectives, although the literature only explains how the three investigative techniques should be carried out without analysing more deeply the implementation process and the influencing factors.

Investigative interviewing

Practically, there is a difference in how detectives actually conduct interviews with suspects, victims and witnesses. Gudjonsson (2003) explains this in detail. Detectives do not need to tape-record interviews with victims and witnesses, even though it is possible. Detectives need not worry too much about the issue of self-incrimination, and they only want victims and witnesses to verbalise their knowledge of the crime. In addition, victims and witnesses also do not have the right to legal advice when interviewed, and those who are immature (under 18 years old) do not need to be accompanied when the interview takes place.

Conversely, it is different when the interviewee is a suspect. When the interview takes place, the detective must tape-record the entire process. The detective also needs

to be concerned about the issue of self-incrimination that can be done or directed by the detective because the detective needs to acquire details from the suspect about how exactly the crime took place and what intention the suspect had in committing the crime. Furthermore, the suspect is entitled to obtain legal advice, and the immature are entitled to assistance.

Offender profiling

Offender profiling is the use of various techniques to assist detectives in obtaining information about a person responsible for a crime (Horvath and Brown, 2009). Such information can also be obtained from archives and information databases of previous offenders that describe their personalities and behavioural characteristics. McGrath (2000) emphasises that basically, offender profiling is indeed a process designed to assist criminal investigation efforts. Furthermore, Holmes and Holmes (2002) explain that offender profiling can assist criminal investigation by (1) providing information regarding the nature, behaviour and psychological condition of the perpetrator; (2) providing information relating to the linkage of evidence found with the arrested perpetrator; (3) providing advice to detectives in deciding what kind of interview strategy to take; and (4) assisting detectives in avoiding linkage blindness, especially for repeated offenses that are allegedly interrelated.

To get a complete picture when doing offender profiling, the detective needs to follow several steps. First, when a crime occurs, the detective needs to come to the crime scene to see the situations and conditions and thereby further analyse the behavioural clues that can be obtained there. The investigation continues by identifying five factors that are crucial to producing profiles that could facilitate the investigation: residential location, criminal biography, domestic/social characteristics, personality

characteristics and occupational/educational history (Ainsworth, 2001). The next process is analysing the complete chronology of the crime and if possible also determining the modus operandi and the perpetrator's possible motivation for committing the crime (Britton, 1997). The last step is determining whether the crime has links to a similar crime in another place. If there is a similarity between the crimes, then it can be concluded that the crimes are mutually related (Rossmo, 2000). It is possible that the perpetrator may be the same person. From this point, the detective works to solve the case by applying the crime linkage analysis.

Covert policing

Taylor (cited in Newburn et al., 2007) states that using covert and surveillance operations helps detectives obtain high-quality evidence that makes it easier to make the suspect confess his or her actions without being interrogated. One covert operations technique detectives commonly use is informants. Many successful investigations and prosecutions have involved the use of informants. The Regulation of Investigatory Power Act (RIPA) in the United Kingdom defines an informant as:

an individual [because of] whose very existence and identity the law enforcement agencies judge it essential to keep confidential and who is giving information about crime or about persons associated with criminal activity or public disorder. Such an individual will typically have a criminal history, habits or associates, and will be giving the information freely whether or not in the expectation of a reward, financial or otherwise (ACPO, 1999, cited in Newburn et al., 2007: 432).

Typically, the informant is a criminal who deliberately comes to the police to negotiate exchange of information that is useful to them, whether financially or specific policies relating to punishment for the crimes the informant has committed. Clark (2007) explained that criminals who become informers and help detectives by providing information that results in a subsequent conviction receive a lesser sentence for their

crimes. On the one hand, people who become informants play an important role in the law enforcement process. On the other hand, they are also a threat to detectives because they can potentially disrupt the trial process and threaten the integrity of the proceedings. This does not mean that detectives do not dare use this method, but its use must be thoroughly monitored.

2.6 Police culture: The detective's working personality

To better understand the detective's performance, the culture of detectives in the workplace, especially that of the detectives themselves and in general of the police organisation is discussed. Philosophically, police work is closely related to the two main variables attached to the 'personality', danger and authority (Skolnick, 1994). First, the element of danger seems to make the police figures who are alert to the signs of the potential for violence and lawbreaking. The police are accustomed to seeing the 'normal' situation of a place so that when a little suspicious change occurs, the police unconsciously and indirectly will be able to judge whether it is a threat. As a result, police in general, are people who can be said to be suspicious. Moreover, the police are specially trained to have a suspicious nature. Thus, they can detect changes occurring in the environment, especially those that indicate potential threats and security disturbances. For example, a police officer who used to patrol somewhere on a regular basis has already explored the various sectors and streets of the neighbourhood. Over time, he or she will get to know the people who live and work in the area, their habits, their vehicles and their friends. He or she understands when shops close, when the streets become empty, which areas are dark, which buildings are empty and other routine issues. This is a normal occurrence in everyday life. Thus, if there is a change in

the 'normal' life, he or she will immediately realise it, analyse whether potential threats will arise and then take action.

In terms of authority, the police are given special powers to enforce the law and maintain the security and safety of citizens. The police are the ones who inevitably have to deal with dangers and sometimes with the community itself because of those who break the rules. The police as law enforcement must perform their duties by providing warning, prevention or even punishment for violating individuals. This affects the status and social system of police officers. They will be judged as different from the general public because of their authority. Thus, more than a few people do not want to relate and make friends with the police. Police became isolated in their own neighbourhoods, which can result in a high level of solidarity among police officers that was very beneficial to implementation of tasks in the field.

When the police are on duty, facing danger and relying upon their own authority, they are not always guided by the rules governing the procedure of execution of tasks in the field because the rules cannot cover the task at hand. Field officers face many situations that are not regulated. Police officers will never know what they will face next (Manning, 1978), and sometimes the situation changes very quickly. Police officers need to assess complex and ambiguous situations quickly before taking further action (Holdaway, 1995). Thus, sometimes police officers take action in accordance with what they generally know, which enhances a police culture. Sometimes, they take action in accordance with what is considered a police sub-culture that Fielding (1984) calls 'canteen culture'. Manning (1989: 360) defines police sub-culture as 'accepted practices, rules and principles of conduct that are situationally applied and generalised rationales and beliefs'. This is what guides the police when they are on duty in the field.

Cop's code

The cop's code is one form of the canteen culture. It is an informal rule that all police officers understand and implement. Such rules are not written down, but they can be considered formal rules because they are often related to the formal structure of the organization as it relates to the social system of the officer (Reuss-Ianni and Ianni, 1983). Thus, the cop's code acts as a link between formal and informal values within police organisations, giving officers a degree of freedom in acting on their discretion. In this context, when officers violate the formal rules of the police organisation, they will be caught and sanctioned, but it also means that the rules are considered acceptable behaviour in the workplace. When a police officer does not act in accordance with the rules, he or she will receive social criticism and social sanctions from colleagues.

Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983) identified twelve maxims about one officer's relationship with other officers at the street cop level.

1. Watch out for your partner first and then the rest of the guys working that tour.
2. Don't give up another cop.
3. Show balls.
4. Be aggressive when you have to, but don't be too eager.
5. Don't get involved in anything in another guy's sector.
6. Hold up your end of the work.
7. If you get caught off base, don't implicate anybody else.
8. Make sure the other guys know if another cop is dangerous or 'crazy'.
9. Don't trust a new guy until you've checked him out.
10. Don't tell anybody else more than they have to know, it could be bad for them.

11. Don't talk too much or too little.

12. Don't leave work for the next tour.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research design, the strategy approach, and the research methods. To give a clear picture of the study, the chapter will be divided into several sub-sections: research design, sampling method, research materials, procedure, ethics, and analysis.

3.2 Research design

To get a detailed picture of the challenges detectives face in criminal investigation, this study uses descriptive strategies. This strategy focuses on uncovering information about the research topic (Semmens, 2011). It also elaborates in detail on a phenomenon, identifies key research themes and examines any patterns that occur. To complement the strategy, this study used a qualitative approach in its data collection methods. The qualitative approach means the research focused on producing descriptive data in the form of interviews to explain the phenomenon in detail (Robson, 2007).

For data collection, this study uses semi-structured interview. In this technique, the researcher prepares a list of questions to ask the participants, but the researcher could change the questions to fit the conversation by changing the order of the questions or asking additional questions (Denzin, 1988). Semi-structured interviews allow participants to explain their answers in as much detail as possible to explain their perspective (Robson, 2007). It was also possible for participants to answer the questions

in their own way even if their answers were slightly off the core point of the research question but remained within the same context. Semi-structured interviews help the researcher gain valid and reliable answers from the participants and generate rich information that will not necessarily be obtained by a focus group or a survey. For instance, when using survey methods, the researcher may only get limited answers because participants have little chance to explain an issue in detail because of the constraints of the survey method. In the focus group method, the participants may not speak honestly and may hesitate to explain a problem in detail in front of other participants. They may feel threatened and fearful of other participants' responses because there may be something about their work that should not be disclosed.

3.3 Sampling method

This study focused on the members of the street crime unit because the police detectives in this unit had more experience with investigations and had dealt with more cases, particularly with difficult and complicated cases. To recruit participants, the researcher contacted a colleague in the South Jakarta Metropolitan Police Resort who helped the researcher make contact with detectives (potential interviewees) in the South Jakarta Metropolitan Police Resort via telephone, email or WhatsApp messenger. The researcher contacted all 31 detectives in South Jakarta to ask to them to participate in an interview to explore the challenge of criminal investigation in South Jakarta. The researcher explained that this research would attempt to recruit participants who had experience as detectives in South Jakarta for more than three years because they would have more experience in investigation and a better understanding of the field situation in South Jakarta and might have cooperated with many other detectives. Finally, nine participants were willing to be involved in the research. For those individuals, the

researcher suggested dates and times for the interview to take place and also asked whether they want to see the list of questions before the interview was conducted. Moreover, all participants were interviewed with the same questions about the challenges of police investigation.

3.4 Research materials

To make sure the research would work appropriately and in accordance with the ethical standards established by the University of Glasgow, before the research was conducted, the researcher prepared several documents to obtain research permission. The researcher addressed a letter of permission to the chief of the criminal investigation unit, who had the authority to decide whether research could be conducted at the South Jakarta Metropolitan Police Resort. Enclosed with the letter was the institutional consent form that needed to be filled out to indicate that the research was permissible.

Moreover, the researcher prepared an individual consent form, participant information sheet, and support service information sheet for the participants prior to the interview. The documents outlined further what the research was about and what was expected of the participants. They included contact details of both researcher and his supervisor if they had any questions. All documents were in the Indonesian language.

Furthermore, the researcher prepared a list of interview questions designed for the semi-structured interview method. This questionnaire was designed to explore the research questions. The researcher compiled the questions through the trial and error method by testing them on another student who had worked as a police officer to make sure the questions were suitable and could be used to explore the research questions.

3.5 Procedure

For participants who were willing to take part in the research, the researcher suggested a date and time for the interview take place, or the participants might ask for different time. However, it was difficult to choose an appropriate time for interviewing because the detectives had a lot of work to do. Therefore, the researcher only interviewed one participant each day to ensure that the detective's work was not interrupted, as the chief of unit requested. Before the interview was conducted, the participants had been told about the research description and its conditions because they had received the individual consent form, participant information sheet, and support service information. If participants were willing, they filled out the consent form according with the conditions they specify. Moreover, the participants must decide whether they were willing to be recorded. Three of the nine participants were not willing to be recorded. However, sometimes the interview was more difficult when it was being recorded because the officers seemed afraid and hesitant to explain the actual conditions. This differed from the interviews that were not recorded. The interviews were conducted using the Indonesian language because there was the possibility that some participants did not speak English.

3.6 Ethics

The ethics of research were described in the individual consent form, which explained that participation in this study was entirely voluntary and that they were free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. Although the researcher has worked at South Jakarta Metropolitan Police Resort and it is possible that some participants might be familiar with him, measures were taken to ensure that this did not influence their decision. This was achieved by explaining to the participants that the researcher

would interview them in his capacity as a University of Glasgow postgraduate student. Furthermore, the results would strictly used for academic purposes, and there would be no direct impact on the South Jakarta Metropolitan Police Resort. The researcher asserted that their participation or non-participation in this research would not affect their employment. All interviews would be conducted in a private area or another quiet place to maintain confidentiality and privacy by choosing a setting in which no one could overhear.

In this study, all names and other information that were likely to identify individuals would be anonymised. During the research process, the material would be treated as confidential and stored in secure storage. Furthermore, the material would be disposed of when the dissertation (the research result) has been submitted. In addition, prior to the interview, participants could decide whether the interview should be recorded, and their decisions would be written on their consent form.

3.7 Analysis

The researcher transcribed all interviews into a Microsoft Word file. After the transcription, the researcher translated it into English. The data were analysed in accordance with the identified themes and subtopics. Then the results of the interviews were grouped and reorganised according to those subtopics so that the data became structured thematically. To input the evidence of the interviews, the participants were identified by codes using the letters 'AA', 'BB' and sequentially up to 'II'. Then the researcher compared the findings of the interviews with the literature to assess the significance of the results.

Chapter Four

Results, Analysis and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the results of the field research and data from the semi-structured interviews. The data will be analysed based on the key themes to answer the research questions in this study. Therefore, this chapter will be divided into three main sections, beginning with an analysis of criminal investigation in South Jakarta. The next section will discuss the challenges of criminal investigation in a technical context. The last section will discuss the institutional challenges of criminal investigation.

4.2 Analysis of criminal investigation in South Jakarta

The results of the interviews with nine detectives in South Jakarta illustrate that criminal investigations carried out in South Jakarta were wider than what was outlined in KUHAP Act Number 8 of 1981 and Regulation of the Chief of Indonesia Police Number 14 of 2012. In fact, the investigation activities detectives conduct in South Jakarta resemble those carried out in the United Kingdom. The College of Policing explained (2013) that investigation of a case depends on whether they use the reactive or proactive method. The detectives in South Jakarta explain that they do both reactive and proactive investigation depending on what kind of crime is being handled. If the case is a street crime, then they always start investigations after the crime occurs and/or is reported by the public.

We, from the street crime unit, always move and start the investigation after the crime occurs or some reports come from the people. It is how the process of

handling street crime cases. We cannot start investigations if crimes have not yet occurred. Our task is to investigate the crimes that have just happened and capture the perpetrators. ... The types of crimes including street crime, namely theft, murder, robbery and so on, are the crimes that we usually handle. (CC, 11/07/18)

Criminal cases that do not require a victim's reports or the occurrence of a crime will be investigated with a proactive investigation style. Criminal investigations can be started when there is intelligence or other information from the criminal network (College of Policing, 2013). Then the detectives will determine the most appropriate step to expose the crime, whether by arresting the perpetrator, by surveillance or by entering the criminal network. Crimes that require proactive investigation include 'illicit trafficking, illegal goods, people smuggling, and others' (AA).

Further investigation

After determining what kind of crime is being handled and what has instigated the criminal investigation, detectives in South Jakarta conduct further investigation. It should be noted that this study focused on street crime units, so the investigation process used clearly was reactive.

The reactive investigation process has several stages. First, after police officers learn of a crime or get reports from the public about a crime, detectives will determine whether fast-track actions will be carried out. Such actions are decided based on the initial information detectives obtain (College of Policing, 2013). As an example,

if there is information that the suspect escaped to a location and there is already an estimation of the hiding locations, and we know what the suspect is like, we will immediately try to chase the suspect before the suspect goes further. Meanwhile, the job of examining the crime scene and handling the witnesses and victims will be left to other officers who stand by at the crime scene or in the office. Chasing the suspect has become our priority so that cases can be resolved more quickly. (FF, 16/07/18)

BB described another situation he had experienced in a case in which witnesses saw the perpetrator throw evidence and a tool used to commit the crime into the lake before he escaped. Thus, BB spontaneously went into the lake to look for the evidence and tool because evidence is very important in prosecuting the perpetrator in court.

However, if there is no initial information encourages detectives to take fast-track actions, usually the first stage of the investigation they conducted is to go to the crime scene, examine it and interview victims and key witnesses. After that, the detectives re-examine the crime scene while considering the victims' and witnesses' accounts. Then they search for and collect the evidence.

This is the main step that the detectives always undertake. However, the steps taken 'after that depend on the clues and hints that have been obtained in the first step earlier' (EE). 'When we already know who the perpetrator is from the victim's account or key witnesses or, perhaps, from CCTV in the crime scene, and also have obtained enough evidence, then we just look for the perpetrator and arrest him' (EE). Contrarily, EE added that if the victims and witnesses did not know who the perpetrator was and no CCTV was around that showed who the perpetrator was, the detectives needed to conduct an investigation with a wider scope than the crime scene. Detectives need to find witnesses who know about a crime or who can guide them to the perpetrator. Otherwise, they can also find CCTV on the access roads toward and away from the crime scene. 'Hopefully, from here we can obtain clues and hints for further investigation' (BB). However, if no hints identify the perpetrators, then detectives need to make a 'deeper investigation' (BB). Actions that can be taken include 'utilizing networks and groups of people who have been controlled by detectives to help arrest the perpetrator' (BB); offender profiling with the 'information from the detained suspect' (II); or 'infiltrating a criminal network' (EE) to seek information that leads to the

perpetrator. But of course, the most appropriate step should be determined 'depending on the situation and condition at that time' (AA).

Analysis of criminal investigation in South Jakarta

Two important points emerged from the analysis of the results of interviews with detectives in South Jakarta. First, not all investigative activities mentioned in article 12 of the Chief of Police Regulation Number 14 of 2012 were carried out in the criminal investigation process because not all cases require tracking, undercover or surveillance. The use of these techniques depends on the situation and condition of the cases the detectives are handling. What the detectives are facing will determine what action will be taken next. The detectives' decision-making process the field tends not to be based on theories or rules, but rather on rational and practical reasons.

Not all cases are difficult, sir, there are cases where suspect information and evidence is clear. We don't need to search and investigate more deeply. But sometimes, there are also cases that need a long process. We need to infiltrate the criminal network first, build trust with them so they can give information about the perpetrators who committed the crimes we handled. In other cases, I sometimes need to wait and observe a location for several days until the suspect comes out. What makes it difficult is that I never see the suspect. We only depend on the information obtained and imagine what the perpetrator looks like. So we have to be really observant, not careless at all. (AA, 09/07/18)

Second, the most important matter that distinguishes the conditions of criminal investigation in Indonesia from those in the United Kingdom is that in Indonesia, the detectives learn about how to conduct criminal investigation after they are on duty in the field. They have not studied it since they were in the police academy, where they 'only studied criminal investigations in general, based on applicable regulations' (GG). Although the investigation techniques and methods conducted in South Jakarta are similar to those used in the United Kingdom, detectives in the United Kingdom learn about criminal investigation while they are still in the academy.

I learned how to investigate crime when I joined the criminal investigation department and had become a detective. I was taught and trained by senior detectives on how investigation of a crime should be. I know what investigations and techniques are from the rules that guide us to work, but don't know what to do if we have to handle a case. Everyone learns from the process. From the experience we have, we can become more proficient detectives. (BB, 10/07/18)

4.3 The challenges of criminal investigation in a technical context

Several techniques can be used in criminal investigations, but this research focuses only on three investigative techniques that emerged from the interviews that detectives will always carry out in each case. These three techniques are investigative interviewing, offender profiling and covert policing. Unfortunately, the literature only explains how the three investigative techniques should be carried out without analysing more deeply the implementation process and the influencing factors. In addition, the literature is only in the context of western countries, and there is no more in-depth explanation about investigative techniques in Indonesia. Thus, this study intends to explore the picture of criminal investigation in South Jakarta and what challenges the detectives actually face in the field.

The results of interviews show that the implementation of investigative techniques by detectives in South Jakarta seems to be the same as what was described in the literature review (see Chapter Two). However, in particular, there is little difference in the offender profiling process in which detectives do not carry out the five-factor identification (residential location, criminal biography, domestic/social characteristics, personality characterisation, and occupational/educational history) Ainsworth described (2001). Thus, offender profiling is done by 'going to the crime scene, analysing the chronology of the event and then matching the information obtained with other cases, whether there is a link between the case and the previous cases' (HH).

The results of the interviews also show that each investigation technique has its own unique challenges. The subsections discuss these challenges.

Investigative interviewing

There is a difference between how interviews are conducted with witnesses/victims and with suspects (Gudjonsson, 2003). Six participants explained that investigative interviewing of witnesses or victims had specific challenges to obtaining information from the interviewees. The challenge is how the detective ‘gets sympathy’ (II) from victims and witnesses so they will give the detective all necessary information. In addition, an important ability in this context is the ‘communication skills in the information-gathering’ (II). Meanwhile, challenges of at investigative interviewing of suspects yield different results. Participants explained that the most difficult achievement for them was ‘getting confessions’ (EE) from the suspects. This is what distinguishes the street crime case (reactive investigation) with other crimes. For example, sometimes there are no witnesses who see who the perpetrator is and no other evidence there such as CCTV exists that shows who the perpetrator is. This provides an opportunity for the suspect to deny his criminal act during interrogation. In such a situation, the detectives need to find strong evidence first.

Offender profiling

Another underlying challenge to the investigation is the ‘absence of a criminal information database’ (CC). It is actually important to obtain information about a person who responsible for a crime (Horvath, 2009). However, in the absence of a criminal information database, detectives face challenges in conducting investigations. Detectives need to ‘open the old files and search the old file in the warehouses to

retrieve old cases' (EE) that are related to the current case. If it is difficult to find the old files, the detectives need to 'ask the former office investigator who handled the case' (EE) that is related to the current case. Furthermore, the detectives need to 'dig up information from networks and groups of people who have been controlled' (II). They are 'quite accurate sources of information' (II) because they know more about what is happening in their communities than the detectives who only watch from afar. Thus, for detectives who do not have a network and relationship to groups of people, this becomes an additional challenge because building networks and creating a relationship with groups of people are not easy tasks that can be achieved in a short time.

Covert policing

In the covert policing technique, detectives have two options, but the core aim remains the same: to make the suspect confess his or her actions without being interrogated (Taylor, 2003). The first option is to conduct a surveillance operation in which the detective goes directly to the community, while the other option is for the detective to look for a trusted person to help him or her acquire information and evidence. These techniques are usually used to handle criminal cases via the proactive investigation method approach.

Me and the team usually look for people who can get into the network because if we do it ourselves, it will be much more difficult. The criminal network tends to be antipathetic and resistant with new people, so there is no other option besides infiltrating their network. We usually seek the informant from former perpetrators we've ever caught. The process is so long to gain his trust. From the beginning, when I arrested him, I already decided to choose him as my informant. The process should begin as early as possible to show that the recruitment process is natural. Therefore, I always met him since he was in custody, in the trial process, getting out of custody, until when I see that there is the opportunity, the right time, then finally, I decide to give him the agreement and the job. (CC, 11/07/18)

However, both processes incur the same challenge of ‘gaining trust’ (II) from the operating target, although the difference is that in covert operation, the detective only needs to gain the trust of people who will be given a ‘special job’, while in the surveillance operation, the detective must gain trust ‘from a particular community’ (II). Both operations have a high level of risk, so they must be ‘guaranteed confidentiality and if leaked’ (DD), the operating officer’s safety will be threatened. It is a matter of ‘life and death’ (DD). Thus, the challenge for detectives in the early stages is to plan exactly how the operation will work to minimise the possible failure.

Analysis of the relationship between competent detective and investigative techniques skills

These three investigative techniques are the basis of competencies that a detective should possess so he or she can become competent. The interviews show that in each case, detectives will communicate with witnesses and victims; face a suspect; and extract information from controlled informants or criminal networks. However, five out of nine participants think that those three techniques skills do not determine how competent a detective is. A detective must have a high work ethic and be willing to work hard. 'People who are great at digging up information but do not want to work hard will only interfere with the investigation process' (AA) because investigating crimes is not a job that can be handled by one person and will usually require a lengthy process, so an officer's resilience and willingness to work will be a factor in determining whether the case was successfully handled. However, the opinions of those five participants are not yet valid and still need further research because logically, even though a detective wants to work hard and has a high work ethic, if his ability is still not great enough (e.g. a new detective), then the handling of the case will actually be

hampered. Moreover, this opinion is only from the perspective of detectives at the lower level, and it does not include various parties from the police organization.

On the other hand, the results of other interviews explain that other factors play an important role in determining whether a detective is competent, specifically decision-making ability. This aligns with Tong et al.'s (2009) opinion that a competent detective has effective decision-making ability. The three investigative techniques can only be used by detectives in carrying out investigations, but this does not mean that all investigative techniques must be carried out. Moreover, there is no definite sequence in the investigation process (Glomseth et al., 2007). Thus, the ability to analyse the situation of the case at hand and to make decisions about what steps should be done first is important to the success of an effective and efficient investigation. Furthermore, eight of the nine participants argued that the right decision-making ability in the field could not be learned in class. The most important element is experience in the field. The nature of a 'detective job is down to the field' (FF) and 'learning from the field' (GG).

I'm a field man. I am all-day in the field, work on the street, and study in the field. Indeed, the lessons at the academy are important as our basic idea and initial guidance on duty, but the detective job is not really based on the book and rules. What I saw in the field is completely different from what is in the books and rules. It is true that the general picture in the detective work is described in the book, but that is only the general picture. The details I faced need improvisation, need a lot of experience. (II, 19/07/18).

Thus, comparing the results of the research with Reppetto's (1978) and Tong and Bowling's (2006) work about the three characteristics of criminal investigation, some conclusions emerge. II's explanations are more applicable to detective work as 'art'. Probably the techniques and methods of conducting an investigation can be mastered at the academy so that the process could create a 'science' investigator. However, in fact, an important capability that determines whether a detective is competent is the decision-making process. Furthermore, decision-making is not taught in books but is acquired in

the field and is experience-based. Compared to the 'science' approach, the work of detective as 'craft' is suitable. But as EE explained, the higher the 'art' ability of a detective, the better he or she will be at deciding which strategy is the most appropriate. Meanwhile, the decision-making process itself is based more on 'feeling, intuition, and instinct' (BB) than thought processes, considerations and analysis of the evidence and accounts. Thus, sometimes the detective himself 'does not understand how he actually thinks in making decisions' (BB) because everything is based on the feelings and insights he or she gained from experience in the field.

Thus, the concept of criminal investigation as 'art' presents a challenge for the detectives. To be competent, a detective has no other option than to gather a lot of experience in the field and to often be in the field. This means that there is no shortcut to being a competent detective in a short time. However great his or her ability, skills, and knowledge in the academy, he or she remains incompetent and not ready to deal with the real challenges in the field. But it is not a disadvantage for junior detectives to have insight into books and rules because it can guide their work and help them survive in the field.

4.4 The institutional challenge of investigation

Based on the interviews, it can be concluded that the differences in the process of conducting criminal investigations between Indonesia and the United Kingdom have no significant impact. The difference is only in the applicable laws and the terms of criminal investigation, but in fact, the detectives still implement the same stages of in the same field.

The difference that is considered to have a significant impact is the difference in the situations and conditions of Indonesia compared to the United Kingdom. Indonesia,

which is included in the lower middle-income economies (The World Bank, 2018), have a gap between the poor and the rich (BPS, 2017) that creates the main causes of street crime because the perpetrators tend to commit crimes due to financial shortages and difficulties in fulfilling their daily needs. They carry out criminal activities to help them survive and carry on their daily lives. In addition, the poor population of Indonesia is 12.57% (BPS, 2017) of the 261.1 million populations (BPS, 2017), making the possibility of crime is very high. Indeed, data from the Indonesia National Police Headquarters (2016) state that street crime is the most common sort in Indonesia, and it continued to increase every year until it reached its peak in 2015. The effect is that 'detectives are forced to be burdened with the number of cases that must be handled' (DD). Investigations are difficult if many cases must be handled because ideally, a case must be carried out from the initial stage until it is complete. 'A detective must focus on the case he is handling and cannot move to another case before the case is over' (DD).

However, if a detective is given many cases simultaneously, then he or she will not be able to work all of them competently, and there is a risk that the evidence and hints will be lost because he or she cannot handle the case immediately. Especially in the case of street crime, if it is not addressed immediately, then the hints and evidences will quickly disappear and the process of finding further hints and information will be much more difficult. This condition is not present in the United Kingdom and other high-income economies that have relatively low levels of street crime.

Criminal cases in South Jakarta are very high. Almost every day, there are always criminal reports coming from the community. We may not reject the report, and we still have to handle it. Yeah, as a result, there will be a high caseload, and many cases will be delayed. It can't be helped, the number of personnel here is limited, while the number of crimes continues to increase. (EE, 13/07/18)

Analysing the internal context of police organisations, three categories pose challenges for the criminal investigation in South Jakarta: time management, resources and detective culture.

Time management

First, in terms of time management, all participants stated that their main job of investigating crime was inevitably disturbed by their side job. They have to carry out 'escort and protection jobs' (BB) that are not their responsibility. It is 'rare for detectives to get orders of this kind' (FF), but currently almost all police officers in South Jakarta Metropolitan Police Resort can be ordered to provide these services. Probably, this work was forced on detectives because in 2018, 'the political situation in the South Jakarta area is intense ahead of presidential elections' (GG). Furthermore, the number of police officers in South Jakarta is not adequate to handle the security disturbances caused by the political conditions of regional elections. Detectives in the field were affected because they were 'forced to put aside their main job to investigate and handle cases they hold' (EE). This has an impact on the detectives' focus in handling cases and the occurrence of 'delayed cases' (FF).

Resources

Furthermore, detectives face resource-related challenges. Resources in this context are facilities and technology that help detectives in the investigation process. The detectives in South Jakarta did not have access to equipment that helped them in the investigation process, even though the equipment is actually owned by the police, but its use is limited to the level of police headquarters. Thus, detectives in South Jakarta 'cannot directly use the facility and need a series of bureaucracy and stages if they want

to use the tool or just get access to information' (AA). This is a challenge for detectives at levels below headquarters because they have limited access to equipment and technology that can help them in the investigation process. However, this actually tends to increase the detectives' sense of 'art' because 'even though they cannot use equipment and technology freely, the detectives inevitably have to solve the case being handled' (AA). Thus, they are obliged to be more creative to resolve their cases. Logically, this condition might occur in South Jakarta, but to obtain more valid data, further research is needed to analyse the relationship between the limited resources available with the detectives' sense of 'art'.

Detective culture

The culture and values of detectives is the most difficult topic to address in interviews because the participants tend to be closed to outsiders and are adverse to critique (Milne and Bull, 1999). However, the results of interviews obtained a picture of detective culture in their external relationships with the community and internal relationships between detectives.

First, detectives' relationships with the community can be difficult because they resist the presence of the police. This is due to the inherent elements of 'danger' and 'authority' in a detective's working personality (Skolnick, 1994). Both elements are formed naturally in detective work because a detective must be able to detect crimes that occur in the community and enforce the applicable laws. At the academy, detectives are taught to be 'suspicious', so they are sensitive to potential threats to public security.

It is difficult when I have to gain information from people who do not want to deal with the police. There are indeed people who are like that, maybe because they are afraid of us. Afraid of getting into trouble, afraid of being exposed to danger. Even though our purpose is good. It's for their safety. (HH, 18/07/18)

Thus, such conditions make investigation, especially criminal information, difficult. Especially when a detective must dig up information from the public and moreover from groups that are resistant to the police, the process of finding information about a crime will be more difficult because basically, they do not want to deal with the police or even be involved in the legal process.

Second, the results of the study found several values that were not explained by Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983) in the 12 maxims of the code. In the beginning, detectives were reluctant to talk about the values, norms and informal values that prevailed between them because they 'feared if it turned out to provide information that disfigures police institutions' (AA). Therefore, the interview process was done by posing Reuss-Ianni and Ianni's (1983) 12 maxims to each participant one by one.

The results obtained from this process are answers of yes and no about the existence of these values in the relationship between detectives in South Jakarta. The maxims identified by participants about the relationship between detectives in South Jakarta are:

1. Watch out for your partner first and do not put him in danger.
2. Do your own job, do not bother others.
3. Do not move to another case before you finish your first job.
4. If you get caught off base, do not implicate anybody else.
5. Do not be a rat and tell if another is dirty, let him fall by himself.

In addition, the participants finally dared to identify the values that are not included in Reuss-Ianni and Ianni's 12 maxims: seniority and juniority; and respect, hierarchy and loyalty.

Seniority and juniority

All participants explained that all members of the Indonesian police still adhere to the principles of seniority and juniority in carrying out their duties. This principle overrides the age system by respecting each member. Even if a detective is older, if he is more junior in service, he still has to respect his seniors who are younger.

'In carrying out the task, there is no difference between senior and junior' (DD). All officers will be assigned the same tasks with almost the same burdens. The difference is that more senior detectives will be considered to have better abilities and experience compared to more junior detectives, so usually, the senior detective is given the responsibility to lead the team in the field. Although it is not always like that, the ability assessment is still carried out objectively and 'there are also junior detectives who become team leaders' (DD).

Respect, hierarchy and loyalty

This value explains the ethics of detectives' relationships with each other as this value relates to the principle of seniority and juniority. More junior detectives are asked to respect and be loyal to senior detectives. Furthermore, a subordinate must adhere to the hierarchical system in which a subordinate may not report directly to the highest leadership without first reporting the results of the execution of his or her duties to his or her direct superior, who is exactly one level upon him.

Since at the academy, I have instilled the values of respect, hierarchy and loyalty. When I am a subordinate, I must respect and be loyal to anyone who is my boss. We who are subordinates may not fight superiors under any circumstances unless the orders given violate the rules or violate human rights. At such times, we can only fight our superiors. In addition, we also cannot inflate to the highest leadership. We must respect our direct supervisor and report anything to him so that he is not confused when asked about the development of the task by the leadership. (AA, 09/07/18)

The challenge that arises from the cop's code that detectives in South Jakarta recognise is that a detective must immediately understand these values after joining the criminal investigation department. If they do not understand the value, they may get into trouble and be sanctioned. They can even receive administrative sanctions if the violation is severe (Reuss-Ianni and Ianni, 1983).

Chapter Five

Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the conclusion of the research in three main themes. Each theme will respond to answer every research question.

5.2 Summary of findings

First, the results of research on the criminal investigations conducted by detectives in South Jakarta are compared them with the literature that examines criminal investigation in the United Kingdom and western countries in general. Basically, what detectives in the Global South do turns out to be similar to criminal investigation in western countries. The initial stage that instigates the criminal investigation depends on the type of crime, which determines whether the investigation style is reactive or proactive. Furthermore, specifically in the reactive investigation process, the first time the detective gets information about a crime occurred, he or she needs to determine whether fast-track actions are needed to preserve evidence, establish important facts or find something to lead to the early resolution of the investigation. In the next stage, the detective generally goes to the crime scene, examines the crime scene, interviews witnesses and victims, and searches for and gathers evidence. At this point, the detective determines whether the acquired information is sufficient. If the information is still lacking, then the detective needs to further investigate to chase and arrest the suspect.

What distinguishes conditions in South Jakarta from those in the United Kingdom is that detectives in South Jakarta just learn about how exactly to conduct criminal investigations after they are on duty in the field. Literature that discusses how the investigation should be carried out is still limited, unlike studies of the United Kingdom. Thus, junior detectives need to be trained first by senior detectives so they can handle their own cases.

Second, the results of the study show that of all the investigative techniques, three investigative techniques are always used by detectives in each case. These techniques are very important to successful implementation of the tasks. Those three techniques are investigative interviewing, offender profiling and covert policing. It turns out that detectives in Indonesia carry out the three investigative techniques in accordance with the existing literature, but the difference was in the offender profiling technique, in which detectives did not follow Ainsworth's (2001) five-factor identification process.

In discussing these three investigative techniques, detectives described the challenges they experienced when carrying out investigations. The challenges to investigative interviewing are the ability to communicate, create sympathy and extract the required information from witnesses and victims, while the challenges in interrogating suspects are to get confessions. Meanwhile, the challenge of profiling offenders is the lack of a criminal information database. The core challenge of covert policing is gaining the trust of the operating target.

In addition, detectives argued that they gained their abilities and skills in carrying out investigations from their experiences in the field, not from books or classes. Books, rules or other literature do not describe in detail what they will face in the field. Particularly in investigative work, many possibilities arise in the field, and no

one can predict exactly what will happen next, so that the detective's experience will play an important role in determining what steps will be taken at that time. This study shows that detective work tends to be closer to the concept of detective work as an 'art' because at certain stages, the detective needs the right sense in making the right decisions that might not be possible with the 'science' or 'craft' approach. Certainly, knowledge and skills can be acquired, but intuition, instinct and sharp feeling can only be obtained from experience.

Third, the results of the study show that the greatest institutional challenge that distinguishes between Global South countries and western countries is their economic conditions. In Global South countries, street crimes tend to be caused by economic factors. In addition, the percentage of poor people and the gap between the rich and poor have resulted in a high number of criminals, which also affects the high crime rate. Consequently, detectives have difficulty solving all their cases because their caseloads continue to increase, while the number of detectives remains the same.

In addition, detectives in South Jakarta explained that the challenge of criminal investigations arises from time management issues because they are obliged to take on escort and protection jobs that should not be carried out by criminal investigation departments because the presidential election caused intense political conditions in South Jakarta. Another challenge is the limited access detectives at levels below headquarters have to investigative tools and technology and the need for detectives to adapt to the detective's work culture to avoid getting social sanctions.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the results of the study, several steps can be taken to improve detectives' performance in carrying out criminal investigations. First, because the

literature about the implementation of criminal investigation in Indonesia is still limited, more in-depth study and research are needed on this topic. Access can be open not only internally, but also to academic information in books or journals. Second, because detective work requires work experience in the field, young detectives need to get into the field immediately under the guidance of senior detectives. Economic constraints and lack of facilities can only be handled at the level of state government.

5.4 Future research

This study only analyses criminal investigations in general and does not focus on specific topics in the criminal investigation world. Moreover, the literature is still limited and has not discussed specific matters. Thus, this study can be a gateway for further research with more in-depth analysis and more specific topics.

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Appendices

- Appendix A: Ethics Approval
- Appendix B: Consent Form
- Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet
- Appendix D: Support Service Information
- Appendix E: List of Interview Questions

Ethics Committee for Non Clinical Research Involving Human Subjects

NOTIFICATION OF ETHICS APPLICATION OUTCOME – UG and PGT Applications

Application Type: **New**

Date Application Reviewed: 27 May 2018

Application Number:

Applicant's Name: Fauzy Pratama

Project Title: The Challenges of Police Investigation in the Global South: a Study of Police Detectives in South Jakarta, Indonesia

APPLICATION OUTCOME

(A) Fully Approved *Start Date of Approval: 27 May 2018 End Date of Approval: 1 October 2018*

(B) Approved subject to amendments

If the applicant has been given approval subject to amendments this means they can proceed with their data collection with effect from the date of approval, however they should note the following applies to their application:

Approved Subject to Amendments without the need to submit amendments to the Supervisor

Approved Subject to Amendments made to the satisfaction of the applicant's Supervisor

The College Ethics Committee expects the applicant to act responsibly in addressing the recommended amendments.

(C) Application is Not Approved at this Time

Subject to Amendments made to the satisfaction of the School Ethics Forum (SEF)

Complete resubmission required. Discuss the application with supervisor before resubmitting.

Please note the comments in the section below and provide further information where requested.

If you have been asked to resubmit your application in full, send it to your supervisor who will forward it to your local School Ethics Forum admin support staff.

Where resubmissions only need to be submitted to an applicant's supervisor.

This will apply to essential items that an applicant must address prior to ethics approval being granted. As the associated research ethics risks are considered to be low, the applicant's response need only be reviewed and cleared by the applicant's supervisor before the research can properly begin. For any application processed under this outcome, it is the Supervisor's responsibility to email socpol-pgt-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk with confirmation of their approval of the re-submitted application.

APPLICATION COMMENTS

Major Recommendations:

Minor Recommendations:

This application does present some risks but the note written by the supervisor as well as the depth of the student's application are reassuring. I would urge the student to keep in close contact with a family member (or close friend) before each interview and be very cautious when asking questions of potential risks for him/her and the Interviewees.



College of Social
Sciences

Consent Form (Institutional)

**Title of Project : The Challenges of Police Investigation in the Global South: a Study of
Police Detectives in South Jakarta, Indonesia**

Name of Researcher : Fauzy Pratama

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the Plain Language Statement/Participant Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my members' participation is voluntary and that they are free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I understand that the interview will be conducted during work hours. Therefore, I grant permission to the researcher to use the time provided for the interview and also allow my members to temporarily not perform their duties because of their participation in the interview. However, in case of an emergency or any other matter where the institution requires the member to return to work, the interview will be cancelled and rescheduled at a later date.
4. I acknowledge that participants will be referred to by pseudonym.
5. I acknowledge that there will be no effect on employment arising from my members' participation or non-participation in this research.
6. I understand that the researcher may use some of the interviewee's words in his research report and in the presentation of his findings. I understand that these will be anonymised and it will not be possible to identify my members.
7. I understand that the interview will last for about 45-60 minutes. The interview can take place in one session, or in a series of 15 minute sessions. The interview can be shorter or longer than this, depending on the situation and condition at that time.

Participant Information Sheet

Title of project and researcher details

Title of Project : The Challenges of Police Investigation in the Global South: a Study of Police Detectives in South Jakarta, Indonesia

Researcher : Fauzy Pratama

Supervisor : Dr Julie Berg

Course : MSc Criminology and Criminal Justice

You are being invited to take part in a research project in exploring the challenges of criminal investigation faced by police detectives in South Jakarta. This is part of my work towards gaining a Masters degree at the University of Glasgow.

Before you decide if you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the information on this page carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

What the project will involve

The purpose of this study is to investigate what are the challenges of criminal investigation in South Jakarta; to what extent is the crime information and knowledge sharing facilitating the work of detectives in investigating crimes; what kind of crimes are difficult to investigate and what are the obstacles in solving those cases; and what other influences are there on the performance of police investigation. I hope to have completed my data collection by June 2018. You are being asked to take part because you work as a police detective officer in South Jakarta Metropolitan Police Resort. If you decide to take part, I would like to ask you several questions relating to the topic above at a time suitable to you.

Taking part in this project is entirely voluntary. Should you decide to participate, you are still free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

Keeping information confidential

All data will be stored in a locked cabinet or in a locked file on my computer and will be dealt with confidentially (Confidentiality will be respected subject to legal constraints and professional guidelines). It will only be seen by myself and my supervisor. Neither you nor your place of work will be identified by name in any assignment or publication arising from the project. Participants may be referred to by a pseudonym. All electronic or paper copies of data will be destroyed when the research project is complete and the dissertation (research result) has been submitted.

The results of this study

I will present my findings in the dissertation that I am writing for my Masters degree. I will also provide a written summary of my findings for all participants if requested and can come back to your institution to discuss this with you if you wish. You may request a copy of the dissertation.

Reviewed of the study

This study has been reviewed and agreed by the School of Social and Political Sciences Ethics Forum, University of Glasgow

Contact for further Information

If you have any questions about this study, you can ask me, Fauzy Pratama (xxxxxxxx@student.gla.ac.uk) or my supervisor, Dr Julie Berg, email: (julie.berg@glasgow.ac.uk) or the Ethics officer for the College of Social Sciences, Jakki Walsh, email: socpol-pgt-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk

Thank you for reading this.

End of Participant Information Sheet

Support Service Information

1. Dwipayana Psychology Consultation Bureau

Address : Jl. Kavling Polri, Blok G-46,, Ragunan, RT.11/RW.7, Jagakarsa,
Kota Jakarta Selatan, Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta 12550,
Indonesia

Contact : [+62 21 7817477](tel:+62217817477)

Email : <https://dwipayana.com/page/homepage>

2. Psikomedika

Address : Blok M Square Lantai Basement Blok E No. 122, JL Bulungan,
Kebayoran Baru, RT.6/RW.6, Kramat Pela, Kby. Baru, Kota
Jakarta Selatan, Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta 12130, Indonesia

Contact : +62 852-2120-2090

3. Yayasan Pesantren Islam Al Azhar

Address : Jl. Raden Patah No.12, RT.2/RW.1, Selong, Kby. Baru, Kota
Jakarta Selatan, Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta 12120, Indonesia

Contact : [+62 21 7261233](tel:+62217261233)

Email : <http://www.al-azhar.or.id/>

List of Interview Questions

Title of Dissertation:

The Challenges of Police Investigation in the Global South: a Study of Police Detectives in South Jakarta, Indonesia

Opening Questions:

1. How is your work today?
2. Are you ready and willing to be interviewed?
3. What is your position in the Streetcrime Unit?
4. What does a typical day involve in your work?

List of Questions:

Subtopic 1 – the challenges in investigating crimes in South Jakarta

- a. Do you have any challenges when investigating a case/crime? Please explain (prompt: (1) time management, (2) resources, (3) existing rules and code of conduct, (4) team work, and (5) leadership)
- b. To what extent do these challenges affect you in investigating crime?
- c. What is the toughest challenge you have had in criminal investigation? And why is it?
- d. How did you deal with it?
- e. Do the methods and procedure in investigation help you in dealing with the challenges of investigation? Please describe.

Subtopic 2 – The challenges of criminal investigation in technical context

- a. What are the challenges faced when conducting interrogations against suspects?
- b. What are the challenges when digging up information from victims and witnesses?
- c. What are the challenges in offender profiling?
- d. Have you ever used covert policing or surveillance techniques, what's the challenge?

Subtopic 3 – What kinds of crimes are difficult to investigate and the obstacles in solving those cases

- a. Do different types of crime have different challenges of criminal investigation? Please explain.
- b. What kinds of crimes are difficult to investigate? What are the obstacles? Why is this? How did you deal with this?

Subtopic 4 – The other influences on the performance of police investigation

- a. How do you make decisions when at any time you are faced directly with a crime that is happening or other similar situation?
- b. Are the decisions you have taken always the same with what is explained in the book/rules or is it spontaneous or improvised? Please explain.
- c. What are the advantages of taking spontaneous or improvised action when you are facing such crimes?

- d. The nature of police work that is full of danger and tends to be rejected by the community, does this happen here? And is it a challenge in the investigation?
- e. Are there social values that apply in the detective environment, both formal and informal? Is there any challenges on from this value?
- f. Does the general situation (social, politics, culture) of South Jakarta city affect the performance of your investigations? Please explain.
- g. Please give any suggestions to improve the performance of crime investigation in South Jakarta.

Closing Questions:

Do you have any other comments?