Media Framing on Indonesia Sinking Illegal Foreign Fishing Boats in National and International Press

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Abstract

Indonesian and foreign media have been reporting a dramatic blowing up and sinking foreign fishing boats that were illegally fishing in Indonesian waters. While the crackdown of illegal fishing has been cheered and may play well at home but the tougher policy has at times caused tension with neighboring countries. This study explores media framing by national and international press pertaining to the policy through a qualitative content analysis. The typology of frames by Semetko & valkernburg's (2010) consist of conflict, responsibility, economic consequences, human interest, and morality is used in the analysis. The research question is the following: What is the main frame used in the national and international press pertaining to the stories of sinking illegal foreign fishing boats by Indonesian authorities. The results showed that both national and international newspapers framed the news about the sinking of foreign fishing vessels by the Indonesian government with the frame of responsibility.

1. Introduction: Since President Joko Widodo or Jokowi took office in 2014, Indonesia has taken a tough stance against illegal fishing. The world's largest archipelago nation has destroyed 317 foreign boats since President Jokowi launched a battle against the poaching of fish in October 2014 (Costa, 2017). The vessels were destroyed at sea in various locations around the archipelago. Most of the vessels were from neighboring countries such as Vietnam, Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand. These countries are considered the major source of illegal fishing in Indonesian waters. It was estimated in 2014 that illegal fishing was costing Indonesia 101 trillion rupiah ($7.58 billion) a year (Costa, 2017).

The minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Susi Pudjiastuti said Indonesia was combating illegal fishing and upholding its sovereignty. Pudjiastuti declared immediately after taking office a fishing moratorium for foreign vessels. She stressed, "The state's sovereignty has to be upheld," adding that she would maintain her tough stance on the crime

since illegal fishing in Indonesian waters remained a serious problem. The move is seen as an attempt to reiterate the country's aspiration to become the world's maritime axis.

For the last few months Indonesian media has been making a show of dramatic blowing up and sinking foreign fishing boats that were illegally fishing in Indonesian waters. The tough policy that lasted over the last two years had been fruitful as the production of fish had doubled to 12 million tons from 6 million tons per year ("Minister Susi to sink", 2017). Pudjiastuti also announced in September 2017 that she would issue an instruction to sink another 100 ships seized on charges of conducting illicit fishing activities in Indonesian territorial waters. "Within the last two years, we have sunk 317 fishing boats. This year, we will sink 100 more foreign ships," Pudjiastuti said. Indonesia hoped the destruction of the illegal vessels would be a deterrent for culprits of illegal trawling.

The crackdown and the rise of fish production have fueled the popularity of Pudjiastuti, a single-mother who was initially criticized for being a chain-smoker, divorced, and tattooed, but on the back of defending the nation's rich marine resources, she is now one of the <u>most</u> popular ministers in the government. Despite her explosive methods, Pudjiastuti also earned awards and plaudits from conservationists as far away as Washington DC when she won the Peter Benchley Ocean Award for Excellence in National Stewardship from the Smithsonian Institute in the U.S capital.

In June 2017, Indonesia announced at the United Nation's Ocean Conference that it becomes the first nation ever to publish Vessel Monitoring System (VMS) data revealing the activity and location of its fleet of commercial fishing marking the beginning of a new transparency era to end unreported and illegal fishing. In a video presentation on the deteriorating ocean life produced by environmentalist and Hollywood actor, Leonardo DeCaprio, and shown at the UN headquarters in New York in commemoration of the World Ocean Day, DeCaprio said:

> "Not long ago some 10,000 fishing vessels were illegally trespassing in Indonesian waters, decimating fish stocks and profiting while local fishermen suffered the impacts. Fisheries Minister Susi ramped up monitoring efforts, held illegal fishers accountable and is leading the way to a new era of transparency in fisheries management by making Indonesia's Vessel Monitoring System available to the Global Fishing Watch platform, which my foundation was very proud to fund and launch." ("Viral DeCaprio Praises", 2017)

While the crackdown of illegal fishing has been cheered and may play well at home but the tougher policy has at times caused tension with neighboring countries. The hardline stance against illegal fishing runs the risk of infuriating its neighbors, in a region that has been the scene of clashes for years. Analysts said the move has the potential to undermine the process of ASEAN community building and raise unnecessary friction in long-standing bilateral relations with neighboring states.

"Indonesia is playing with fire in the south china sea," said Thayer (2014) in the title of his analysis adding that President Widodo could jeopardize bilateral relations and destabilize ASEAN unity with his maritime shock therapy. Last year, China expressed concern after a Chinese boat was blown up. In other event, in waters near the contested South China Sea, a Chinese coast guard vessel intervened when Indonesia attempted to detain a Chinese vessel for fishing illegally.

Responding to the boat sinking, Vietnam stated that it felt deeply concerned about the sinking of fishing boats belonging to Vietnamese fishermen who had violated Jakarta's territorial waters, adding that it is seriously concerned about Indonesia sinking Vietnamese boats for illegally fishing in Indonesian waters, (Parameswaran, 2015). In a diplomatic note to Indonesia, Vietnam advised Jakarta to pay attention to the strategic partnership of the two nations in dealing with Vietnamese fishermen. Indonesia dan Vietnam in June 2013 upgraded their relationship to the level of a strategic partnership under Jokowi's predecessor Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

According to Noor (2014), there is nothing wrong with hardline stance against illegal fishing, and it is indeed laudable that the Indonesian government does what it should do, which is to safeguard the territory and protect wealth of the nation. "But what is troubling about the incident of the public burning of the ships is that it was a demonstration of power in terms that seem harsh, over-the-top and contrary to the Asean spirit of compromise and dialogue," Noor said (Noor, 2014, para. 3).

For Asia, fishing is all the more crucial as fish accounts for 22 per cent of the protein intake by the continent's populations, compared to a global average of only 16 per cent. For instance, the Chinese eat 26.3 kg almost twice as much fish as the world average of 26.3 kg ("Jakarta cracks down", 2015). Additionally, large parts of the coastal populations of Vietnam, China and the Philippines rely on fishing for their livelihood, making it a potent cause for conflict. At the same time, coastal pollution as well as declining catch rates in traditional fish grounds have pushed local fishermen to ship further from their coast where sovereignty over water territory is disputed ("Jakarta cracks down", 2015).

The Southeast Asian nation has a portion of the world's wealthiest fishing grounds, but authorities have attempted to prevent trawlers, frequently from Asian neighbors, from making incursions into the seas around the tremendous archipelago. Smaller-scale fishing incidents happen regularly between Chinese, Vietnamese and Filipino vessels, as those countries' historical fish grounds overlap. Now, as fishing ships from neighboring countries lie down at the bottom of Indonesian sea, tensions in the South China Sea could worsen and mass media could play an important role either to cool down the tension or to fan hatred among the neighboring countries.

This study tries to find out the main frame used by national and international press pertaining to the sinking of foreign fishing boats in Indonesia through a qualitative content analysis of the news stories. This qualitative content analysis use Semetko & Valkernburg's typology of frames consist of conflict frame, responsibility, economic consequences, human

interest, and morality frame. The research question is the following: What is the main frame used in national and international press pertaining to the sinking of foreign fishing boats in Indonesia?

2. Media Framing: Media framing suggests how something is presented to the audience and influences the choices people make about how to process that information ("Framing theory", n.d.). Framing works similarly as a frame around a picture: attention gets focused and concentrated on what is important and relevant and away from external things in the field of view (Noakes & Johnston, 2005, p.2). Thus, in their news stories, reporters act as framers: they create a socially constructed process, producing their own vision of reality (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Gitlin, 2003). An impressive literature has helped our understanding of frames and framing effects over the past 25 years (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

Agenda-setting research shares with framing analysis a focus on the association between issues on public policy in the news and the public perceptions of these issues. However, framing analysis "expands beyond agenda-setting research into what people talk or think about by examining how they think and talk about issues in the news" (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 70).

Despite the fact that there is no single definition of framing or news frame, the various that have been utilized point up similar characteristics. News frames set the parameters in which citizens talk about public events (Tuchman, 1978, p. 4). They are conceptual instruments which media and individuals rely on to evaluate, convey and interpret information (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 60). Frames are to help audiences identify, locate, perceive and label information flow around them (Goffman, 1974, p. 21) and to narrow the political alternatives available to them (Tuchman, 1978, p. 156). News frames are persistent emphasis, selection and exclusion (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). Framing is selecting some parts of an apparent reality to strengthen their salience so as to advance a specific problem definition, moral evaluation, causal interpretation, and/or treatment recommendation (Entman, 1993, p. 53).

A framing effect is one in which notable attributes of a message (selection of content, organization or thematic structure) render specific considerations applicable, bringing about their activation and use in evaluations (Price et al., 1997, p. 486). Put another way, framing effects are "changes in judgment engendered by subtle alterations in the definition of judgment or choice of problems" (Iyengar, 1987, p. 816). For example, experiments with question wording indicate that the framing of choices can have intense consequences for audiences' risk perception (Kahneman, 1984; Kahneman & Tversky, 1982). Frames have also been shown to form public perceptions of institutions or political issues. Depending on how the issue is framed in the survey question, the opinion of publics about certain issues can easily be swinged in different directions, (Saris, 1997).

The importance of certain frames in the news has been identified by a number of recent studies by focusing on their consequences for the public's meaning of issues and events

(Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Neuman et al., 1992; Norris, 1995; Patterson, 1993; Graber, 1988, 1993; Iyengar, 1987, 1991). These studies have provided important information about the effects of frames or the occurrence. However, there isn't yet a standard arrangement of content analytic indicators that can be utilized to reliably gauge the commonness frames in the news (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

Studying developments in the news over time necessitate a reliable set of content analytic indicators. It is also used to study differences and similarities in the ways in which politics and other topics of international and national importance are framed in the news in different media outlets. There are two possible approaches to content analyzing frames in the news: deductive and inductive (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

A deductive approach includes predefining certain frames as content analytic variables to confirm the extent to which these frames happen in the news. Since the frames that are not defined from the earlier might be disregarded, this strategy makes it important to have a clear thought of the sorts of frames likely to be in the news. This approach can be duplicated effortlessly, can easily recognize differences in framing between media and can cope with large samples (e.g., TV versus press) and within media (e.g., tabloid-style media vs. highbrow news programs or newspapers).

The inductive approach *endeavor to uncover* the variety of possible frames that includes analyzing a news story with an open view, starting with very loosely defined preconceptions of these frames. This technique is labor intensive, frequently in light of small samples, and can be hard to repeat however it can identify the numerous conceivable ways in which an issue can be framed (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

The literature to date focus on the existence of one or another frame in the news and its consequences for public opinion. Many studies recognized a handful of frames that happen regularly in the news, *despite the fact that not really at the same time* (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). For example, the attribution of responsibility in the news has been the subject of much discussion (Iyengar, 1991) as well as the conflict frame (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Patterson, 1993). A recent study by Neuman, Just, and Crigler (1992) is a special case in that several different frames that were regular in U.S. news coverage of a scope of issues were identified including conflict, human impact, morality frames and economic consequences.

A research by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) extends the study of Neuman et al. (1992) by looking at the occurrences of the various frames that have been talked in the earlier literature. They elaborate on the *hypothetical* work of Iyengar (1991), who explicitly measured how audience members framed who was responsible for different social issues after they were presented to two sorts of news formats: "thematic" news, which alludes to more contextual, analytical or historical coverage and "episodic" news, which alludes to particular events.

An additional review of the literature about the nature of news in the U.S. and Europe

confirmed that the aforementioned frames largely account for all the frames that have been found in the news (Brants & Neijens, 1998; Diez-Nicolas & Semetko, 1995; Kleinnijenhuis, Oegema, & de Ridder, 1995; van Dijk, 1988; van der Eijk & van Praag, 1987; Neuman et al., 1992). The literature, therefore, affords us the chance to opt for the second, deductive approach to evaluate the pervasiveness of frames in the news. In particular, this study researched the following five news frames that have been recognized in earlier studies:

Conflict frame. This frame underlines the contention and conflict between people, groups, or organizations as a means of catching audience interest. According to Neuman (et al.1992, pp. 61–62), the media draw on a few central frames for reporting a range of issues. He found that conflict was the most common in the handful of frames in U.S. news they identified. Another research has also studied that talk show among political elites frequently reduces political debates with complex content to *oversimplified* conflict. For instance, campaign news of presidential election is framed to a great extent as conflict (Patterson, 1993). The news media have been lashed out for inciting public cynicism and pessimism as well as mistrust of political leaders as a result of conflict accentuation in the news (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997). This research is interested in determining how visible a conflict frame in respect to other common frames in the news.

Responsibility frame. This frame demonstrates an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either a government, group or an individual. As indicated by Iyengar (1987), the U.S. news media have been credited with (or reprimanded for) shaping public understanding of who *is in charge of causing or taking care of key social issues*, such as poverty.

Human-interest frame. Editors and reporters are at pains to create a product that catches and holds audience interest as the market for news wherever turns out to be more competitive (Bennett, 1995). Frame of human-interest brings an emotional angle or a human face to the presentation of an issue, event, or problem. Neuman et al. (1992) depicted this as the human effect frame, and, next to conflict, found it to be a typical frame in the news. Keeping in mind the end goal to catch and hold audience interest, media utilize such a frame with an end goal to personalize the news, emotionalize or dramatize the news. Framing news in human-interest terms is one approach to accomplish this.

Economic consequences frame. This frame reports an issue, event, or problem in terms of the consequences it will have *monetarily* or economically on a country, region, organization, group or an individual (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). *As indicated by* Graber (1993), an event with the wide impact is an important news value, and economic impact are frequently considerable and significant. Neuman et al. (1992) also identify economic consequence as a common frame in the news.

Morality frame. This frame of morality puts an issue, problem or event with regard to or in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. Reporters and editors frequently make reference to moral frames indirectly by having *another person* raise the question pertaining to certain issue, problem or event in order to maintain the professional norm of

objectivity (Neuman et al., 1992). For instance, media could utilize the perspective of an interest group to raise issues about sexually transmitted diseases. Such a report or story may contain moral messages about how to behave or particular social prescriptions. Neuman et al. (1992, p. 75) recognized this frame as among the *few utilized* in reporting however they found this frame to be more typical in audiences' minds than in the substance of news.

In spite of the fact that the presence of a responsibility frame in the news has not been measured unequivocally, Iyengar (1991) contended that TV news offer individual-level explanations for social problems by covering an issue or problem in terms of an event, instance, or individual (episodically) rather than in terms of the larger historical social context (thematically). Thus, the poor man on welfare is held responsible for his fate, rather than the system or the government (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000: 96).

According to Nabi (2003, p. 227) the framing of issues may be linked to emotions since they shape one's understanding and interpretation as well as provide an affective insight into the thoughts or events. Kim & Cameron (2011) expanded Nabi's "emotion-as-frame" hypotheses to *the setting of corporate emergency circumstances*. They found that the persons exposed to sadness-inducing news tended to have less negative attitudes toward the responsible company than those exposed to the anger-inducing news.

3. **Methods:** This research investigated the main frame related to the news of the sinking of illegal foreign fishing boats in Indonesia through a qualitative content analysis of the stories in the national and international press through their online version. Some 17 articles pertaining to the sinking of illegal boats, published in national newspapers during 2017, were analyzed including from: Kompas, Tempo, Merdeka, Harian Terbit, Republika, Jawa Pos, Harian Jogja, Koran Sindo, Kontan, Tribun, Solo Pos, Semarang Pos and Madiun Pos. Some 20 articles published in international media during 2017 were also analyzed including: Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, Dailymail, The Economist, and The Guardian.

There are two conceivable ways to deal with content analyzing frames in the news: inductive and deductive. The inductive approach involves analyzing a news story with an open view to attempt to uncover the variety of possible frames, starting with very loosely defined preconceived idea of these frames. A deductive approach involves predefining certain frames as content analytic variables to confirm the degree to which these frames appear in the news. This study will use analysis with both a deductive and an inductive method. Through a deductive approach this study use Semetko & Valkernburg's frames, as analytical variables so as to check to which degree these five frames (responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequence, morality frame) are visible in the articles of the media.

Through an inductive approach, an in-depth analysis of the articles will be provided keeping in mind the end goal to accentuate the themes and emotions identified with the frames. The author and two other assistants served as coders. There is always a risk that different researchers draw dissimilar conclusions from the same data. In this study, at least

two investigators should perform the analysis separately (read and code the articles and comments independently) and constantly discuss the findings and obtain consensus in order to increase the validity. This type of checking may serve as the quantitative "inter-coder reliability" within a qualitative analysis and it is essential for meeting the criteria of conformability and credibility (Baxter & Babbie, 2004). The research questions were the following: What is the main frame used in the national and international press on the events of the sinking of illegal foreign fishing boats in Indonesia?

4. **Results**: The results showed that national and international newspapers framed the news about the sinking of foreign fishing vessels by the Indonesian government using a frame of responsibility. Of the 17 articles on the sinking of foreign fishing vessels in Indonesian newspapers published throughout 2017, 14 articles (82%) frame the event of sinking the ship using a frame of responsibility. The remaining three articles (17.6%) can be judged as objective articles.

International media also framed the incident of foreign ship sinking in Indonesia in the frame of responsibility but not as much as the Indonesian media. Fewer than half of articles appearing in the international media frame the event in a frame of responsibility. Of the 19 articles on the drowning of foreign fishing vessels in international media published throughout 2017 some nine articles (47.3%) frame the event using a frame of responsibility. A total of 6 articles (31.6%) frame the event with a conflict frame; only two articles contained a framework of economic consequences and two articles (10.5%) were considered objective.

National newspapers tend to blame foreign fishermen responsible for violating sea borders and illegally fishing in Indonesian waters that result in the low welfare of Indonesian fishermen. Media in Indonesia uses the following sentence examples to show those responsible for fishing theft in Indonesian waters, for example: "On the other hand, fishing companies and overseas fish production are very prosperous. Thailand for example. Operating in Indonesian waters, one of the companies in the country succeeded to dredge up profits up to 3.5 billion US dollars per year ". (Kompas, October 29, 2017); "According to Susi, the ship's sinking policy that has been done in the last few years has gained tremendous results. Foreign ships that used to make profits from the Indonesian sea crowded away. 'There are already more than ten thousand foreign ships going from the sea of Indonesia,' said Susie. "(Tempo, November 14, 2017). Both media, Kompas and Tempo, assessed foreign fishermen as responsible parties by stressing the term "dredge up" to show their bad deeds that have robbed the welfare of Indonesian fishermen.

Some other Indonesian media use the frame of responsibility by writing the following line: "The Natuna Regent, Hamid Rizal, praised the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Susi Pudjiastuti in addressing the foreign fishermen who committed illegal fishing or illegal fishing." (Merdeka, September 7, 2017); "The Government through the Task Force on Eradication of Illegal Fishing or Task Force 115 again carry out the destruction of 23 pieces of evidence of foreign fishing vessels (KIA). A number of ships were proven to

conduct illegal fishing ". (Republika, April 5, 2016); "Susi said, the sinking of foreign fishing boats is a form of Indonesian government's stern action towards illegal fishing. In this law enforcement, the government will not be indiscriminate. All foreign vessels caught and found guilty will be destroyed, including Chinese fishing vessels ". (Jawa Pos, June 25, 2016).

International media generally tend to defend the Indonesian government's action to drown the illegal foreign fishing vessels that catch fish in Indonesian waters and blame the foreign ships for violating Indonesian marine territory, but some media tend to see the Indonesian government's actions as a form of arrogance that has the potential to trigger conflict in a region known to be prone to conflicts since a long time ago.

Two international newspapers, The Washington Post and The Wall Street Journal, reported this event with two different frames. The Washington Post writes this issue in the framework of responsibilities as follows: "Authorities in Indonesia blew up the last of the so-called *Bandit 6* poaching vessels Monday to send a message to those in the illegal global fishing industry". "The ship, dubbed the Viking and wanted by Interpol, was a Nigerian-flagged vessel known for poaching tooth fish, a valuable deep-water species known commercially as Chilean sea bass. It was the last remaining ship from the Bandit 6, a name given to six illegal fishing vessels". (Washington Post, March 15, 2016). In this article, the Washington Post emphasizes the use of the word 'Bandit' which bear very negative connotation namely criminals to show responsibility on the shoulders of those who control the ships.

The New York Times also framed the news of the sinking of foreign fishing vessels with the responsibility frame as the following: "After years of neglect, the Indonesian government said on Thursday that it would take a hard line against thousands of illegal foreign fishing vessels that it says rob the local industry of as much as $25 billion a year in lost catches. In recent weeks, the Indonesian Navy has seized and sunk dozens of foreign fishing boats from neighboring countries like Malaysia and Vietnam. The government said this week that those vessels did not have permission to be in local waters and that they were often in search of high-value species like tuna". (New York Times, December 18, 2014). The New York Times stressed on the responsibility frame using the word 'rob'.

The British Dailymail newspaper quoting the Associated Press made the following report: "Indonesian authorities on Monday bombed the last major ship internationally wanted for years of illegally taking toothfish from southern waters, reiterating a strong message to would-be poachers who enter the country's waters". (Dailymail, 14 March 2016). Dailymail indicated responsibility frame by mentioning "illegally taking toothfist" which mean the perpetrators who catch the fist illegally are the culprits and they must be responsible for what they did.

The Guardian newspaper emphasized the economic consequences of framing the news of the sinking of foreign ships as follows: "According to the World Bank, illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing (IUUF) costs an estimated $20 billion in lost revenue

annually. Around a quarter of these losses occur in Indonesia, whose fishing industry is second only to China in size" (The Guardian, 3 February, 2016). The Guardian shows the perceived benefits due to the Indonesian government's policy of taking decisive action against foreign fishing vessels that illegally catch fish in Indonesian waters by the following line: "In the last quarter of 2015, Indonesia's fisheries sector grew by 8.37%, almost double the country's overall economic growth in the same period". (The Guardian, 3 February, 2016).

The Star newspaper from Malaysia, The Wall Street Journal of America, and BBC of England framed the case in a conflict frame as the followings: "The sinking of a large Chinese fishing boat by Indonesia in June had earned the wrath of Beijing but Jakarta is adamant that Wednesday's sinking of boats is a strong message not only to China but to other countries and their fishing fleets. On the other side of the South China Sea, it is China versus four Asean members and Taiwan, putting a stake on their own maritime claims. It has been tough for Asean to negotiate with China on how the claimant countries should conduct themselves in the contested maritime areas while Beijing was actively developing certain areas". (The Star, August 20, 2016); "Indonesia sank 60 fishing boats it impounded for illegally fishing in its waters, marking its independence day Wednesday with a message to other nations that it won't tolerate incursions into its territory. The move is largely aimed at asserting Indonesia's sovereignty over its resource-rich waters as territorial conflicts between China and other countries continue to build in the nearby South China Sea. Indonesian officials are particularly concerned about the way China's fishing fleet has expanded in recent years, sometimes encroaching on other countries' territorial waters. This in turn has raised fears in Jakarta that the growing presence of Chinese trawlers has become another way for Beijing to exert its own influence in the oil-and-gas-rich area around the Natuna Islands, off the northern coast of Indonesian Borneo. While Indonesia doesn't have any territorial disputes with China, and Beijing hasn't challenged Indonesia's control of the Natunas, Indonesian coast-guard vessels have confronted Chinese fishing boats there several times this year. Indonesia has also challenged China's argument that the waters around Indonesia are part of its traditional fishing grounds". (The Wall Street Journal, August 17, 2016).

"China has accused the Indonesian navy of opening fire on a Chinese fishing boat in disputed fishing grounds. China's foreign ministry said on Sunday that one fisherman was injured and several detained. A spokeswoman for the Chinese foreign ministry described Indonesia's actions as an 'indiscriminate use of force', adding: 'We urge the Indonesian side to refrain from any action that complicates or magnifies the dispute, or impacts the peace and stability of the region". (BBC, June 20, 2016).

In the articles published by The Wall Street Journal and the BBC it appears that the two media strongly emphasize the potential conflicts that could arise between China and Indonesia because of the sinking issue of this foreign ship, specifically The Wall Street

Journal wants to show the concerns among high officials Indonesia for the presence of Chinese fishing boats in Indonesian waters.

In line with the name, international news magazine like The Economist is more inclined to display the economic consequences frame which focuses on news and economic analysis. The Economist put forward the following statement: "Meanwhile, as small Indonesian vessels work inshore, well-funded foreign pirate fleets, often sailing under flags of convenience, plunder Indonesian fisheries further offshore". "Jokowi has been wooing foreigners to invest in maritime infrastructure. He has little to show so far. But he is right that the sea road is a long-neglected path to his country's prosperity". (The Economist. Dec 30, 2014). In his report, The Economist pointed out that the actions taken by the Indonesian government are true because the marine wealth must be protected and the sea is the way to the welfare of Indonesian society.

5. Discussion & Conclusions: The Indonesian government's action to sink foreign fishing vessels is part of efforts to increase the deterrence power against violations of the region that could harm and threaten the sovereignty of the state. Government policy is one way to show the sovereignty of Indonesia caused by the increasing number of fish thefts that cause huge losses. Surely the drowning is expected to cause deterrent effect to the thieves. The strict policy of the Indonesian government has attracted the attention of national and international media.

The results showed that both national and international newspapers framed the news about the sinking of foreign fishing vessels by the Indonesian government with the frame of responsibility. Of the 17 articles on the sinking of foreign fishing vessels in Indonesian newspapers published throughout 2017, some 14 articles (82%) frame the events with a frame of responsibility. The international media also frames the incidents of sinking foreign ships in Indonesia with the frame of responsibility but not as many as the Indonesian media. Of the 19 articles on the drowning of foreign fishing vessels in the international media in 2017, some 47.3% frame the event with the responsibility frame and 31.6% frame the event with the conflict frame.

This study provides results that are not too different from previous research like a study by An & Gower (2009) and Valentini & Romenti (2011) on business crisis news coverage which highlighted a visibility of attribution of responsibility, economic consequences and conflict frames, and also a study by Coman and Cmeciu (2014) on Chevron Protests in National and International Press that also highlighted attribution of responsibility and conflict.

Tabel 1: Summary of Newspapers Framing on Sinking Illegal Fishing Vessels

Media	Conflict frame	Responsi-bility frame	Human-int. frame	Economic Cons.frame	Morality frame	Objective	**Total**

National	0	14 (82%)	0	0	0	3 (18%)	**17 (100%)**
International	6 (31.5%	9 (47.3%)	0	2 (10.5%)	0	2 (10.5%)	19 (100%)

Based on the secondary data, it can be discussed in this section several notes on the Indonesian government's policy to drown the foreign fishing vessel. First, the socialization of the regulations by the government is considered inadequate even though the regulations on the act of sinking the vessel have been in existence since 2009. The lack of socialization occurred both in domestic and overseas, especially through the Indonesian embassies in countries bordering the sea with Indonesia. This is what causes many foreign fishermen who still violate the territory of Indonesia because they do not feel threatened since they do not know any firm action against the violations. On the other hand, if the regulation is implemented without sufficient socialization toward foreign fishermen abroad, it is feared that it will disrupt Indonesia's diplomatic relations with countries whose fishermen commit violations.

There are five reasons why the foreign fishing vessel sinking policy is worthy of support and will not exacerbate relations between countries (Juwana in Setiawati, n.d.). First, no country in the world justifies the actions of its citizens committing crimes in other countries. The drowned foreign vessels are unlicensed so they don't have the permit to catch fish in Indonesian territory, so it is called a criminal act. Second, the act of sinking is executed in the territory of sovereignty and sovereign rights of Indonesia (exclusive economic zone). Third, the act of drowning is conducted on the basis of legal provisions, namely Article 69 paragraph (4) of the Fisheries Law. Fourth, other countries should understand that Indonesia is harmed by such criminal acts. If such wrongdoings continued to be left out then the losses will be greater.

However, this ship's sinking policy still raises the pros and cons. The instruction of President Jokowi aims to show the firmness of the Indonesian government in protecting the territory and Indonesia's natural resources. But neighboring countries like Malaysia states that the agreement about the sea territory and border between Indonesia-Malaysia stipulated only drive away, not drown.

Although Indonesia as a sovereign country is entitled to fully secure its national interests and, in this respect, keeping territorial boundaries to secure existing marine resources, but implementation of such regulations will be difficult if Indonesia has a bilateral agreement with a specific country. For example, Indonesia has a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with Malaysia on the treatment of fishermen agreed in Bali, January

27, 2012. Regarding the violation of the territory by the fishermen, each country agrees on the precaution in detail.

This is contrary to the Indonesian fishery law that requires strict action, but the rules of the MoU put forward more persuasive efforts. The contradiction in the regulation is one of the reasons the Indonesian government raised the issue of firm action against foreign fishermen to the national and international scope. It is part of the Indonesian government's diplomacy strategy to reduce territorial violations by foreign fishermen. The Indonesian government prefers not to take risks by changing the bilateral agreement because it will affect the relations between the two countries. Therefore, the current issue is directed more directly to perpetrators to give psychological effects by spreading fear through the threat of drowning and burning vessels. This is what then causes deterrence effects.

This method will certainly be much safer than the Government of Indonesia must deal directly with the government of the country concerned that could adversely affect diplomatic relations between countries. However, Malaysia also insinuated Indonesia that the fishing boat sinking policy is merely imaging. Indonesia is also considered arrogant if it seriously implements the sinking of foreign fishing vessels (Setiawati, n.d).

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