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Taking Sides: The Frames of Online Media on the Bilateral Relationship Between Indonesia and Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

The relations between Indonesia and Malaysia are always full of dynamics. Indonesia is always known as old brother of Malaysia since it has similar history, religion also socio cultural background. Some decades show that the decline of relationship of both countries. Another time, as ASEAN members, the two countries devote their nationalities to purify their collective identities as Eastern nations. The objective of the research is to extricate the construction of *Kompas* online and *Utusan* online toward news coverage of the borders dispute between Indonesia-Malaysia in 2010. This research is proposed to examine central issues which reported by *Kompas* online and *Utusan* online consistently. As a media, *Kompas* coverage dominates circulation nationally. *Kompas.com* was the pioneer of online news in Indonesia and was born in reformation era. *Utusan* is a prominent media industry in Malaysia that was conducted by UMNO as the ruling party in Malaysia for some periods. The method used in this research is framing method by Robert N. Entman's which consists of four steps identification: defining problem, diagnosing causes, moral judgment and a treatment recommendation. This research found that *Kompas* news covered the border dispute must be negotiated as recognition of Indonesia dignity. On the contrary, *Utusan's* spectacle focused on the Indonesian demonstrators anarchism during the dispute.

Keywords: Online Media, media construction, the border dispute, Indonesia-Malaysia's Bilateral Relations

INTRODUCTION

The current issue of relations between

Indonesia and Malaysia that is up and down seems to never die. In 2009, Dr. Mahatir Mohamad, the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, reacted angrily to the action of Sweeping Malaysia by a group of young men who called themselves the Flag (*Utusan Online*, 12 September 2009). The action that is an expression of disappointment over claims of the traditional cultural heritage by Malaysia has happened over and over again. Since 1957 (*Terang Bulan*) to 2009 (Pendet Dance and Woven cloth from Sambas), there have been at least 24 items that are claimed as their cultural heritage.

A year later, precisely August 13, 2010 hot embers rolled again. The trigger was Malaysian marine police arbitrarily forcibly dragged three patrol officers of Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries who managed to catch Malaysian fishermen stealing the fish in the Indonesian sea.

Interactions between Indonesia and Malaysia are always in an unstable condition but they need each other. That is why the study of the two countries on contemporary issues seems never in silent in relation with the dynamics of the relationship patterns. Some studies particularly on media coverage of the fluctuated relation of the two neighboring countries have been carried out by several previous researchers. Ludiro Madu (2007) for example, explored in depth about nationalism when Ambalat crisis happened in 2005. Moreover, Sukandar and Handayani (2010) specifically did a comparative study of the confrontation in the Indonesian media in the 1960s and 2000s.

This study will specifically focus on the construction of the media towards the political confrontation in the crisis of bilateral relations between Indonesia vs Malaysia through the demonstrations coverage of anti-Indonesian in Malaysia and anti-Malaysian in Indonesia on *Kompas online* and *Utusan online*. As the media with depth news format, *Kompas* also often serves as a reference for the discourse or ideas development that relates to the interests of the wider community. In this study, the texts in *Kompas* will be used as a comparison of texts in *Utusan*. *Utusan* is the biggest media in Malaysia. Chamil Wariya, the founder of the Malaysian Press Institute expressed that *Utusan* keeps maintaining the press

idealism to inform and educate the nation. Based on the above phenomena, the research question of this research is how the media construction towards the bilateral relations of Indonesia - Malaysia in the demonstrations coverage of anti-Indonesian in Malaysia and anti-Malaysia in Indonesia in *Kompas.com* and *Utusan.com*?

LITERATURE REVIEW

MEDIA AND THE DINAMIC OF INDONESIA-MALAYSIA RELATIONSHIP

Despite on different levels, since 1998, both Indonesia and Malaysia have experienced waves of democratization. At the same time, the media as the fourth pillar of democracy plays a significant role in the dynamics of bilateral relations (Priyowidodo, 2010). The presence of post-reform media places the media as one of the players in political participation, public awareness and policy with regards to political events, locally, nationally or regionally. Interestingly, media portrays the dynamics of the relationship with Malaysia as an older - younger brother relationship.

Although the media in Malaysia is still under government control, but the end of the era of Mahathir 's leadership in Malaysia has had implications for the relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia. As a result of Mahathir's foreign policy towards Indonesia a radical era occurred in the history of the bilateral relations between Indonesia and Malaysia. Liow (Khalid & Jacob, 2012) sees that this due to the fact that leading figures are representations of the two countries, especially in conjunction to the political relations of these two allied countries. He further said:

The role of leadership (in particular personality and style) is an important determinant in understanding the dynamics of the domestic politics as well as foreign policy-making of both developed and developing societies. Consequently, the international relations of many of the countries in Southeast Asia have often been significantly influenced by the idiosyncrasies of their leaders and such is also the case of Malaysia and Indonesia.

As non - governmental actors, the news media plays the part of public diplomacy that determines public opinion in the two states. Sentiment and public antipathy

are largely determined by the agenda setting of news media in constructing the relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia. Indonesia-Malaysia border case is one of the classic cases of conflict that dominates discourses in these two countries. Confusion over maritime borders had also practically led to conflict between the marine officers of the two countries along with with Indonesian fishermen exacerbating the border issue.

The media in Indonesia which is actually much more independent and its news are considered more vulgar and provocative in terms of the border conflict. Former Malaysian Information Minister, Zainuddin Maidins once rebuked Indonesian media as it was considered too aggressive in reporting the case of the border so that it ultimately led to public protests Indonesia where protesters engaged in doing massive demonstrations in front of the Malaysian Embassy in Jakarta.

Maritime border conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia is the impact of the lack of agreement in the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea in May 1982 made by Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. As an archipelago, Indonesia considers that the territorial waters of the strait is a significant part of the Indonesian archipelago. There was difference in views between Indonesia and Malaysia. Overcoming the difference, the two governments signed a treaty of friendship and subsequently delimiting the territorial sea of the Strait of Malacca in 1970. Indonesia declared the territorial sea as far as 12 miles from the base line in 1957. In 1960 this was made as permanent border law. This Decree was then followed by Malaysia in 1969.

A conflict that has also obtained an extensive media attention and caused a problem the two countries are the islands of Sipadan and Ligitan. The two islands sparked an Indonesia - Malaysia dispute. It became one of the dominant discourses in news reports both in Indonesia and Malaysia in the early post-reform period. The handling of the problems of maritime and coastal borders of Indonesia and Malaysia is one of the indicators the ebb and flow of bilateral relations between the two countries. Several studies on the relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia has also been studied by several researchers.

Madu (2007) noticed that Ambalat crisis that occurred in 2005 triggered a war of messages in the virtual world. Each website expressed campaigns that carry the spirit of nationalism in which the point was to try to defend the

interests of the country based on their own perception or version.

Another similar study that focused more on the confrontation of the historical dimensions can also be seen from a study conducted by Sukendar (2010). He tried to make a comparison of media coverage on the confrontation incidents in the media in the 1960s and in the late 2000s. The result was, even there were differences in the emphasis but essentially every time the media raised the issue in a different period, each of the media tried to show emotional sensitivity of the readers. A few years earlier Woodard (1998) was also very interested in such a sensitive issue, but oriented more on the relation between the Malaysian-Indonesian confrontation and the Australian domestic political constellation as a close neighbor of Indonesia. Through several studies above, it can be concluded that the actual relations between the neighboring countries whether near or far, always experience fluctuating dynamics.

MEDIA CONSTRUCTION

Water Lippmann (1922 in Griffin, 2003, p. 390) argues that the mass media created the image of the events in our minds. Then, McCombs and Shaw develop, *“...as laid out by McCombs and Shaw, the agenda setting hypothesis is relatively straight forward one. Specifically, agenda setting is the process whereby the news media lead the public assigning relative important to various public issues. The media agenda influences the public agenda not only by saying “this issues is important” in an overt way, but by giving more space and time.*

In the perspective of social science, theory of media construction is a critique on the social construction theory described by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman (1966). Although it does not always reflect actual reality, the mass media remains a recording instrument of sort in capturing a variety of events or public affairs. That is why according Bungin (2008, p. 194-195) the social construction of the mass media has four stages namely: (a) phase of construction material preparation, (b) phase of construction distribution, (c) phase of construction establishment and (d) confirmation

stage.

However, no less important is that the construction of reality of the media is also determined by the interests of who runs the media (Severin & Tankard, 2007, p. 434-435). In 1999, for instance, Rupert Murdoch banned BBC news broadcasts from his Hong Kong-based satellites, Star TV, because China objected to the BBC's reporting on Chinese dissidents. Murdoch, in his statement, admitted that it was done because the Chinese authorities pressured him. A similar fact occurred when the Indonesian daily “Sindo”, in its reporting, took a position in favor for the its owner who went into politics. As shown by two of these media, social reality can be constructed based on the respective interests that lie behind media. On the last Indonesian presidential election, the newspaper “Media Indonesia” media was pro Nasdem party that was identical with its leader Surya Paloh. On the other hand, Sindo defended the party Hanura that carried Harry Tanu—the owner of Sindo's media group—as a candidate for vice president (Setiawan, 2014).

These empirical facts further confirm that the construction of reality and the dominant voice in the media is largely determined by agenda setting or editorial policies based on the interests of media owners. The principle of impartiality in the media has been sacrificed in order to present a false reality that is in accordance with what the agenda champions. According to McQuail (2005: 101) there are at least five propositions essential to the understanding of social construction, namely: (a) the society is a construct rather than a fixed reality, (b) media provide the materials for the construction of reality, (c) meaning are offered by the media, but can be negotiated or rejected, (d) the media selectively reproduce certain meanings, and (e) the media can not give an objective account of social reality (all facts are Interpretations).

On a conceptual level, it is very clear that media is prone to influences and control that stems from the various interests that lie behind it. It is, therefore, not surprising that in terms of news coverage that concerns national interests, media organizations would be prone to taking the position that “protects” the interests of their country. That is, even though the media organizations themselves should be impartial, but when another country attempts to intervene in matters of the state, then the media would be susceptible to defend its own country.

THE PERSPECTIVE OF FRAMING

According to Hallahan, K. (1999) Framing is a critical activity in the construction of social reality because it helps shape the perspectives through which people see the world. Although public relations practitioners commonly refer to framing effective messages (Duhé & Zoch, 1994) in the same way that a builder frames a house from the bottom up, the framing metaphor is better understood as a window or portrait frame drawn around in formation that delimits the subject matter and, thus, focuses attention on key elements within. Thus, framing involves processes of *inclusion* and *exclusion* as well as *emphasis*. Entman (1993, p.55) summarized the essence of framing processes with the following:

Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in the communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. Frames, then, define problems—determine what a causal agent is doing and costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of cultural values; diagnose causes—identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments—evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies—offer and justify treatments for the problem and predict their likely effects.

The frame chosen by the media is of course determined by the values that underlies and circumstances that surround a particular media organization and its personnel. These includes media ideology, media ownership and editorial policy. According to the logic of the affirmation, the media would collect data and evidence to support its evaluation of a particular situation prior to writing the news. Pan and Kosicki proposes that news media frame is in principle the same as the news themes the media chooses. In their statement:

A theme is an idea that connects different semantic elements of a story (e.g., descriptions of an action or

an actor, quotes of sources and background information) into a coherent whole”

The meaning of a word cannot be separated from the themes constructed by the news media. Further meaning lies in the individual level, but it is inevitable that such meaning is obtained after the individual received the meaning constructed by the media. This is stated by Reese:

Frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to structure the social world”

Reese (2007) further notes that Framing, unlike many more esoteric research concepts, has gained popularity in both the scholarly literature and the public imagination. Reese is also in agreement with D’Angelo (2002) that framing is more of a research program than a unified paradigm and that theoretical diversity has been beneficial in developing a comprehensive understanding of the process (if not a consistent terminology). D’Angelo(2002) notes that the framing program is guided by a combination of the cognitive, constructivist, and critical perspectives

Although a theoretically rich and useful concept, according to Hallahan (1999) framing suffers from a lack of coherent definition. An exhaustive literature search suggests the existence of more than 1,000 citations about framing in the academic literature. Framing has been adopted as a textual, psychological, and socio-political construct. Depending on the circumstances, the meaning of framing varies based on the research question, the level of analysis, or the underlying psychological process of interest. Entman (1993) characterized framing as a “fractured” paradigm that lacks clear conceptual definitions and a comprehensive statement to guide research. Other researchers have called for developing a more integrated approach that clarifies the framing concept within various domains (e.g., Brosius & Eps, 1995; Levin, Schneider, & Gaeth, 1998; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; Yows, 1995). Thus, to use the construct in research requires careful explication (Chaffee, 1991, see Hallahan 1999;209).

For the purposes of this study, the researchers specifically use the Entman framing model with a consideration that the model is relevant to the theme, which the

researchers has selected. It also provides sample devices for elaborating the data.

METHOD

This study used a qualitative approach with framing analysis method. Framing analysis focuses on the establishment of a message from a text. The model used to parse the news in *Kompas* and *Utusan* to the bilateral relations between Indonesia and Malaysia is the model of Robert N. Entman.

In the concept of Entman, framing basically refers to the provision of definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations in a discourse to emphasize a particular frame of the events under consideration. The following model is the framing of Entman: (1) *Define Problems* - How is an event/issue seen? As what? Or as what problem? (2) *Diagnose Causes* - What causes the seen event? What is considered as the cause of a problem? Who (actor) is regarded as the cause of the problem? (3) *Make moral judgment* - What are the moral values presented to explain the problem? What are moral values used to legitimize or delegitimize an act? (4) *Treatment Recommendation* - What are the solutions offered to address the problem/issue? What are the ways that are offered and should be taken to address the problem? This research consists of six articles from *Kompas* Newspaper and seven articles from *Utusan* Newspaper. News framing from both media was conducted within the period of 16-28 August 2010.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Some frames raised in *Kompas* online news and *Utusan* online to the coverage of marine and coastal border dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia after the incident on August 13, 2010. The following is the discussion.

FRAME: REGIONAL VIOLATION BY MALAYSIA OVER INDONESIA REGION

PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

Kompas wrote about claims and violations committed by Malaysia in the news on August 16, 2010. Indonesia-Malaysia tension on the border has happened not just this one. Notes related to the maritime boundary issue,

according to Fadel Muhammad, Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, has happened ten times. The incident occurred again on August 13, 2010. *Kompas* described the events in detail and mentioned Indonesian officials arrested by Malaysia. The text begins with

Three members of the fishery patrol supervisor of Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries were arrested and detained by Malaysian police in Johor. They were arrested while herding five Malaysian fishing boats which were stealing fish in Indonesian seas.

The Head of Supervision Station of Marine and Fisheries Resources in Pontianak, Bambang Nugroho said the three members of the patrol detained are Asriadi (40), Erwan (37), and Seivo Grevo Wewengkang (26).

In the text *Kompas* stated that Malaysia had conducted violation and desecration on Indonesian sovereignty by arresting officers on patrol in Indonesian maritime territory. The arrest of the state officer who is the symbol of the state in the region of the country itself is a form of humiliation.

CAUSAL INTERPRETATION

Kompas edition on August 16, 2010 clearly reported that the arrest of three officers of the Indonesian Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries violated the rules. They were in charge of running the obligations and responsibilities as the state officers. However, then they were treated improperly (arrested) by the Malaysian police. Thus, this was a form of infringement. The cause of the arrest was clearly discussed in the following news:

Patrol Officers of Indonesia maintained the principle that they would not release the Malaysian fishing boats. However, the Malaysian police dragged forcibly and brought the three patrol officers to Johor. The supervisor ship Dolphie 015 was also carried, but then returned to Batam.

Seven Malaysian crew who stole fish are now detained at Batam Water Police station. The seven

Malaysian fishermen who were caught are Faisal bin Muhammad, Muslimin bin Mahmud, Lim Kok Guan, Chen Ah Choy, Ghazaki bin Wahab, Roszaidy bin Akub, and Boh Khe Soo.

However, it seems the reason of Indonesian officers was not admitted. It is seen clearly from *Kompas's* quotation as follows:

General Director of Supervision and Control of Marine Resources, Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, Aji Sularso said Malaysia felt that their fishermen caught fish in the region. "We think it happens in our region," he said.

"Their status is not a prisoner, just being questioned," he said. The same thing, according to Yassin, applies to seven Malaysian fishermen who are currently at Water Police Station, Regional Police of Riau Islands in Batam.

MORAL EVALUATION

Kompas regretted this incident. However, Indonesia still wanted this problem to be resolved amicably.

Furthermore, *Kompas* wrote news as follows:

Coordinating Minister for Politics, Justice, and Security, DjokoSuyanto, at the State Palace, Jakarta, said President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono wanted the case of three officers arrested by Malaysian police to be resolved amicably and to promote diplomacy.

According to Djoko, the relevant agencies are attempting to resolve the issue.

The Minister's statement implies a message that the solution to the conflict is avoided as far as possible. It is more important to resolve the 'hot' problem by diplomacy.

TREATMENT RECOMMENDATION

Because it concerns the self-esteem of a nation, the diplomatic channel must be optimized. In details, *Kompas* wrote:

Fadel Muhammad in his press conference in Jakarta on Sunday evening, said, "The Indonesian government immediately sent a reprimand or a diplomatic note to Malaysia."

FRAME: THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT MUST TAKE A FIRM STAND

PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

The fundamental issue when bilateral relations happen is to keep the two countries have equality. If not, then the relationship will have an impact on the loss on one side and benefit on the other side. A firm action for shock therapy that could make the 'opponents' have to think twice in taking an action is needed to raise the self-esteem in the eyes of other countries.

CAUSAL INTERPRETATION

The insistence of national elements who wanted Indonesia to take decisive action to Malaysia exists because government is full of consideration. *Kompas* writes that the current wave of protests that took place cannot be separated from the accumulation of latent problem. The incident on August 13, 2010 is merely the trigger. *Kompas* proclaims if two observers from the University of Indonesia and LIPI cannot be separated from the surge of emotion that is impatient to see the slow of Indonesian government to take action:

Both commented on the seepage issues related to the case of illegal fishing by Malaysian fishermen in Indonesian territory.

Malaysian Foreign Minister Dato' Sri Anifah Hj Aman expressed readiness to negotiate with Indonesia to resolve problems between the two countries, both aquatic and terrestrial problems, although the process is certainly long and complicated.

MORAL EVALUATION

Because of its action that is not firm, the government is faced with a difficult choice. If it is true that Indonesia terminates the diplomatic relation, three million workers who now earn a fortune in Malaysia will stake their life. *Kompas* writes

Marty worries that the severance of diplomatic relations can be very difficult for Indonesian workers who work in Malaysia.

However, there is truth in the opinion of the observer that having conflicts does mean becoming enemies forever. Conflict is actually a solution to find elegant ways to organize the relations of the two countries for better future.

TREATMENT RECOMMENDATION

Severance of diplomatic relations is still a discourse voiced by some elements which are very concerned to see Indonesia treated inappropriately by Malaysia. However, before that happens, the pattern of diplomatic relations between the two countries that is better and mutually beneficial should be discussed. As proposed by the Chairman of the PDS and also supported by observers of international relations from Airlangga University, the pattern should be:

The Chairman of Prosperous Peace Party, Denny Tewu asked President Yudhoyono to revise the decision that has been taken related to this issue. He also admitted that he would send a letter to the President so that the government reviewed the diplomatic relations with that country. He thought the attitudes and government's statements so far did not evoke the sense of nationalism

Royal Malaysian Anifah Aman in Kinabalu, September 6, 2010, to discuss the maritime border between the two countries.

The sections below will reveal the news frames of *Utusan* online,

FRAME: THERE IS NO PROBLEM IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA.

PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

In the midst of a wave of anti-Malaysia and anti-Indonesia due to border issues, *Utusan* on August 17,

2010 right on the 60th Indonesian Independence Day, wrote news with the title PM is Sure the Relations between Indonesia and Malaysia continue to firm. In the news, *Utusan* proclaimed that between Indonesia and Malaysia there was no dispute or conflict. *Utusan* even quoted Malaysian Prime Minister expressing the relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia were getting better and strategic. Border issue is not deemed as a significant problem that is capable of blocking more productive cooperations between the two countries.

CAUSAL INTERPRETATION

In the news on August 17, 2010, *Utusan* did not mention the issue of the border that was threatening Indonesia-Malaysia relations at that time. Instead *Utusan* raised an issue about closer relations and cooperation that were more meaningful and productive between the two sides. *Utusan* also highlighted Malaysia's active role to create economic development and peace not only bilaterally with Indonesia but also in a regional and international scale.

In a congratulatory message to the President of Indonesia Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono on the 65th Indonesian Independence Day today, he said, it will contribute to the development, prosperity and harmony of the two countries at both bilateral and regional levels as well as international level.

The statement of Prime Minister of Malaysia who was raised just in the celebration of the 65th Indonesian Independence Day put the attention and respect of Malaysia to Indonesia. The statement of Prime Minister of Malaysia that was intended for the President indicated that the country's leaders never assume the existence of serious problems that disrupt bilateral relations.

Utusan also reiterated the position of Indonesia which was perceived by Malaysia as a country who has a close relation historically. Indonesia is considered as the older brother of Malaysia so both parties should have a good relationship and cooperation. It is derived by the following statement by Malaysia PM:

"Malaysia and Indonesia actually has a very special brotherly relations and a very close cooperation, he said. I hope that the two countries will continue to develop a more meaningful and productive cooperation for the interest and fortune of both countries," he said.

In the statement of Prime Minister of Malaysia, *Utusan* also described the political attitudes of Malaysian

society which also gives an appreciation on the Indonesian Independence Day. The attitudes of Malaysian society are in line with Malaysia's foreign policy that puts a good relationship and cooperation for the peace and prosperity of all.

"Najib, on behalf of the government and people of Malaysia, in the message expressed his heartfelt congratulations to Susilo in anniversary of Indonesian independence."

MORAL EVALUATION

Malaysia has a commitment to maintain peace and encourage other countries to develop and advance the economy. The border dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia will not widen into a serious conflict that will lead to political confrontation or war because peace is the essence of the Malaysian government in conducting foreign policy.

TREATMENT RECOMMENDATION

Based on the statements of Malaysian Prime Minister, *Utusan* concluded the importance of maintaining good relations and cooperation between Malaysia-Indonesia. Disputes and political problems should not be viewed as an important issue that leads to a conflict. Malaysia actually strives for the creation of relations and strategic cooperation between the two countries. This recommendation was also proposed so that bilateral relations between Indonesia and Malaysia become stronger.

FRAME: LIRA AND LMP BECAME A SOURCE OF UNREST IN THE MALAYSIAN EMBASSY IN INDONESIA

PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

Utusan on August 19, 2010 wrote an article with a title 40 Indonesian citizens held a demonstration in front of Malaysian embassy. It highlights the existence of the mass organizations in Indonesia, which became a source of trouble. Demonstrations and anarchism they did worsen the border problems being faced by Indonesia and Malaysia. *Utusan* also framed the discourse which was developed by such mass organizations as the party who is anti-Malaysia. Anarchism tinged with an option for Indonesia, namely Indonesian society boycotted products from Malaysia and made war with Malaysia. Descriptions proposed by *Utusan* show that Indonesia is a country with a low level of security so that the demon-

strators managed to damage the embassy area which should be protected and immune from the law. The following sentences were written by *Utusan*,

In today's incident, a representative of the organization submitted the statement to the Head of Chancery, Embassy of Malaysia in Jakarta, Raja Reza Raja Zaib Shah, and in the content of the statement, he urged Indonesian people to boycott products of Malaysia such as Petronas and Proton. They also declared war on Malaysia, which they claimed undermining the nation of Indonesia.

CAUSAL INTERPRETATION

In this article, *Utusan* identifies clearly that the source of the problem is a group of people who are members of mass organizations that have sentiment towards Malaysia. The sentiment then became anger after the arrest of three Indonesian officers by Malaysian marine officers. They made the borders problems worsen and acted over-reactive. In its article, *Utusan* mentions LIRA and LMP as the parties provoking anarchism.

The mass organizations acts destructively that violates diplomatic rules. Embassy area is an area that has legal immunity against the law in Indonesia so that the actions of the demonstrators who forcibly entered the Malaysian embassy is a violation of the Vienna Convention in 1961 governing diplomatic relations between states. *Utusan* wrote as follows,

This time it involves about 40 participants from Lumbang Information Rakyat (LIRA) consisting of youth, students and housewives, who gathered in front of the embassy building in Kuningan, South Jakarta.

A total of 100 policemen stood in guard in front of the embassy to prevent demonstrators running wildly as they did on Monday when a group of 80 protesters from Laskar Merah Putih (LMP) decided to destroy the plaque name of the embassy. Other participants climbed the embassy gate and the roof of guard building.

MORAL EVALUATION

In this article, there are two things concerning moral values framed by *Utusan*. The first is the weakness of the security forces in Indonesia. Demonstrations followed by anarchism show that the police and the state have failed to control the behavior of a group of people who violate the privileges and immunities of other countries in Indonesia.

The act of the NGO forced Malaysian Embassy to send a note of protest to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia and Indonesian police because the police failed to protect the embassy property from being destroyed, in accordance with specified protection under the Vienna Convention.

The second value framed by *Utusan* is the demonstrators did not have democratic ethics. This is shown by the evidences described by *Utusan* that they tended to be vigilante, refused discussions and discredited legal mechanisms for conflict resolution. They were identified as those who deliberately want to make border issues become a dispute and massive conflict for both countries.

The representative of the group refused to have a dialogue even though the Embassy of Malaysia was ready to accept their presence.

Before the demonstrations in front of the embassy, members of LIRA first gathered in front of the Petronas office in Mega Kuningan, and in the event they also refused to have a dialogue with Petronas.

TREATMENT RECOMMENDATION

At the end of its article, *Utusan* sees that the mechanism performed by the mass organizations is not the right solution for conflict resolution. Instead diplomatic efforts as well as the constitutional mechanism become the best option for Indonesia-Malaysia. This recommendation was expressed by *Utusan* in the following sentence,

The seven Malaysian fishermen and three patrol officers of Indonesian Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries were released last Tuesday through diplomatic efforts of the two countries.

DISCUSSION

The four devices i.e. definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations has worked in accordance with their functions and purposes. However, the understanding of how the media work in Indonesia and Malaysia cannot be separated from the political system prevailing in each country. The tightly controlled media in Malaysia certainly has implications on how news production works. Moreover, *Utusan* is the official media owned by UMNO, the ruling coalition of political parties. Almost in every edition, *Utusan* never shows negative image of the administration. This fact is understandable, because a negative image will further render UMNO susceptible to being targeted by counter-attacks carried out by the opposition group led by Dato Sri Anwar Ibrahim. The *Pakatan* coalition consists of PKR (Partai Keadilan Rakyat), DAP (Democratic Action Party) and PAS (Partai Islam se Malaysia).

The conditions are different from what happened with *Kompas*. As an independent media, *Kompas* is not held hostage by the burden of protecting the interests of a particular political party. The only thing that prevents *Kompas* from reporting news that portrays Indonesia in a negative light, is its editorial policy that refuses the practice of "fishing in murky waters". This means that *Kompas* is unwilling to make profit at the expense of the larger interests of the country. The framing of the news still applies as a way to build balance. But *Kompas* still promotes a sense of nationalism, which means Indonesia should not, in any way, submit to any other country.

Beside the political system, the construction of the news media also can't be separated from the ideology of the media that applied in the newsroom. This media ideology will influence policy in the newsroom of framing the news. Media ideology in principle will conform with the interests of capital owners reporting that construction will represent the interests of the owners of capital. Journalists are not the only individuals who role as a gatekeeper in the news selection process. Informants, correspondents, editors, chief editor are included as active actors of the process of framing inside the newsroom.

Herbert Gans (1979, in Shoemaker, Vos & Reese, 2009) identified that in addition to previous aspects, the social order is also influenced policy in the regard of framing news media. Gans explained more clearly,

"the news is not simply a compliant supporter of elites

or the establishment or the ruling class; rather, it views nation and society through its own set of values and with its own conception of the good social order”

Construction news about the border conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia is a product of the media as a result of negotiations between the various interests both politically, economically and socio-cultural. The different angle chosen by *Kompas* and *Utusan* is a representation of the system or the internal and external environment in which the media industry dwells.

CONCLUSION

The frames of *Kompas* and *Utusan* are different when viewing the border issues of Indonesia-Malaysia. The coverage of *Utusan* on anti-Malaysia demonstrations is constructed as an effort of parties who want to split and undermine the bilateral relations between Indonesia and Malaysia. Malaysian government saw that there was no problem or conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia. Demonstrators' action violated the culture and moral values that were deemed not represent the position of the Indonesian government on border cases. The coverage of *Kompas* consistently raised the waters and marine border disputes between Indonesia and Malaysia. *Kompas* saw the dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia on the sea area is a maritime boundary agreement with Malaysia that has not been completed. *Kompas* framed the source of the problem lies precisely in Malaysia's acts as an affront to national pride.

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