

## Framing the Border Disputes of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu by *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia*

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### ABSTRACT

*Provincial boundary disputes in Kalimantan Island have not been resolved. Boundary issues persisted and this has caused international relations friction between Indonesia and Malaysia. Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu conflict was one of the most recent border disputes reported by Indonesian's Kompas and Malaysian's Utusan Malaysia. Both of these newspapers framed the news stories from different perspectives. Using framing analysis, the construction and interpretation of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu issue reported by Kompas and Utusan Malaysia were analysed. The issue begun when an Indonesian Member of Parliament claimed ownership to the land in West Kalimantan and Sarawak in October 2011. This research attempted to uncover how Kompas and Utusan Malaysia framed the issue with the journalistic four-function approach of problem definitions, problem causal interpretations, moral judgements, and treatment recommendations. The findings apparently affirmed that both newspapers see the same reality with a totally different perspective. However, they shared the common view that negotiation can be the best way in resolving the problem of boundary disputes.*

*Keywords: journalism; media framing; border news; regionalisation*

### BACKGROUND

Border issue between Indonesia and Malaysia has ups and downs since the two countries gained their independence. The peace between the two countries is often perturbed by dispute of border, be it on the mainland or the sea.

The latest and popular border dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia is the claim of ownership over Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu, escalating tension on the already strained relationship between the two countries. Both the areas are located at the border of West Kalimantan and Sarawak. Both the government of Indonesia and Malaysia consider Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu as its territory.

The issue gained international attention in the Indonesia Parliament RI meeting on October 10th, 2011. Deputy Chief of Commission I of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle TB Hasanuddin said Indonesia has lost 1,400 acres of land on the Camar Bulan and 800 meters of Tanjung Datu. He said both of the places are claimed by Malaysia.

That statement caught both Malaysia and Indonesia media's attention about the Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu case. Throughout October 2011, the public of two countries received

daily information and updates. Various angles of the issues were covered by the mass media, from the statements of the government officials, parliament assemblymen, experts, army and non-governmental organisations to ordinary people.

Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu dispute considered the climax of the long border dispute history between Indonesia and Malaysia. Many border disputes between the two countries remained until today for areas such as Ambalat Block, Sipadan and Ligitan Island.

It is no wonder that the issue of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu gained such high news coverage from two mass media. The news values are far above the ground as this issue involved the public and government of both countries. Many events were happening at that point, but not all events were considered important and interesting to be broadcasted by the media. Only events with news value will be broadcasted by the mass media. In other words, the mass media pick and choose news to be disseminated to the public and the sort of news that the media consider as important.

In accordance with the principles of news value, Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu case are considered as news with elements of conflict and dispute involving the government elites of Indonesia and Malaysia. The news, from the journalistic point of views, are hot selling news, deserving the limited space in the print media. Galtung and Ruge (in Brighton & Foy, 2007: 7) stated that news value consists of aspects such as popular public figures and government. The discussion of current issues, especially issues that are impactful to a country are considered as important cases. MacShane (in Brighton & Foy, 2007: 8) on the other hand, concluded that news that is full of conflict as news with high value.

Mass media in Indonesia and Malaysia reported on the case of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu. Ideally, the media should be professional by presenting news objectively and abide by the journalism ethics. They should not take a side and discredit the other. But the reality is, many media institutions often have particular personal interests in the issue, hence highlight news in their interest.

Westersthal (in McQuail, 1994: 112) stated that objective news consists of factuality and impartiality. Factuality relates to the truth and relevance. Factuality relates the form of presentation of a report on the events or statements that have been verified by the source and it is presented without comment. Impartiality includes balance and neutrality. It constitutes a neutral manner in which the reporter keeps out personal judgement and subjectivity.

Moreover, the mass media should also emphasise on the concept of peace journalism. The content of the news should emphasise the concept of peace message, and not war journalism (Faridah, 2010).

Newspaper is the mass media that disseminate tremendous information to the readers. As mass media, it certainly contains element of persuasion and propaganda. Jeniri Amir (2007) said that the mass media play an important role in the political arena, and does not only primarily produce news, but at the same time defining reality through the choice of words in the news reports.

Media often present any conflict in two ways, taking either the neutral or bias stand. This is concluded through the positioning of the news, the frequency of publication, selection of sources, coverage style, or choice of words, and headings in the news. Furthermore, biasness is also evident from the presentation of the news to the public.

For in depth understanding of news coverage in *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* in regard to the case of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu, content analysis and framing analysis methods are applied in this research. Content analysis aimed to systematically identify whether the communication was presented objectively, valid, reliable, and replicable (Eriyanto 11). Berelson (1952) described it as quantitative analysis that is to be carried out objectively, systematic only scrutinise on manifest meanings.

News of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu in *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* were collected and analysed using framing analysis. Framing analysis is the precise methodology for this study in understanding how reality has been framed by both newspapers. Framing refers to the process of news construction in order to shape and construct a certain perception towards reality.

According to Entman (2008), framing is a process of selecting a perceived reality and making it more prominent. The four functions of framing identified by Entman are to define problems, giving causal interpretation, making moral judgements, and providing treatment/recommendation.

Chong and Druckman (2007) said that an issue can be viewed from various perspectives and be interpreted with multiple values. Framing is that process by which people develop certain concepts and perspectives to an issue or renegotiate what they think about an issue. On the other hand, Schuck and de Vreese (2006) said framing involves observation by the media and then describing the same topic in a different way. Different media might choose to emphasise certain perception towards issues or a part of the issue.

Gamson (in Pan & Kosicki, 1993: 75) stated that framing analysis is a neatly-arranged storytelling and presentation of reality meaning in the form that is similar to individual scheme of reality while Nisbet (in D'Angelo and Kuypers, 2010: 46) asserted that in telling a story, communicator essentially selects an interpretation and emphasises that interpretation.

Through framing analysis, Eriyanto (2002) points out that, it will be known how an issue or event is highlighted by the mass media and what technique is being used. Is there any section in news that had been removed, hidden, emphasised or increased? The mass media select, relate, and highlight an event in order to attract their readers, in a way that the readers can comprehend.

The two media that are the subject of study for this research are *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia*. The selection of both newspapers is due to the fact that they are the mainstream newspapers in respective country. *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* also provided much coverage on the border dispute issues between Indonesia and Malaysia.

## RESEARCH PROBLEM

*Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* were said to differ in presenting news of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu case. The distinctions were claimed from the news positioning and frequency. For example, what is on the front page of one newspaper might only receive minor coverage in the other newspaper (only a small column given to the issue).

Another difference to be noted is the choice of news sources. As noted by Faridah et al. (2011), some of the news item might use many sources to support its coverage whereas the others might be lacking of any sources. Coverage can also be different, depending on whether the journalist is doing on-site reporting or merely covering an event from second source, example, getting the news from news agencies. Photos, caricature quotation, and graphics used in enhancing the report are also different between the two newspapers. Apart from that, the frequency of news and writing style also differ. The difference in *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* presentation of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu issue certainly raises an important question, why are there difference and statistically, how much do they differ?

As national newspapers, both *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* news must be taken seriously in terms of its reporting. The decision made in the newsroom constituted the news positioning, broadcasting intensity, news sources to be quoted, choice of words in the headline, lead and the news flow are very important. In addition to that, each special supporting item such as photos, graphics, and quotations must also be looked upon closely.

There are many questions to be answered in comparing *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* coverage for the issue of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu. Why is it on the front page? Why certain headlines were used? In terms of day, why do the amounts of news from one day differ from the next day? Why are the photos, quotations, logos, and graphics different for both papers? What kind of news would need validation from many different sources? Why some news is not from direct reporting, but rather news from secondary sources (such as government sources or news agencies)? This research aimed to study the coverage of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu issues by *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* using framing analysis in order to understand the process of messages construction in the news room and its meaning.

## PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVITY

*Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* both covered the news of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu border dispute. Both newspapers have their own concept and agenda while developing the news frame. News were not only broadcast and disseminated, but rather were put into certain light in order that the public too, might express the same view after reading the newspapers.

Two questions arisen with regard to the issue of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu issue, 1) what is the news slant used by both *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia*? And 2) how does the two newspapers build their frame regarding this issue?

Based on the purpose above, the objectives of research are: 1. To find out the news slant in *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* on news of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu. 2. To find out *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* frame in publishing news of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu.

## ISSUE AND LITERATURE

Scholarly studies on border dispute using news framing analysis have been mushrooming. However, up to now, studies of Indonesia and Malaysia border dispute, especially Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu are limited. Many scholars instead examined Ambalat Block and Sipadan and Ligitan Island border dispute.

Inayati (2007) examined border dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia for Ambalat Block. At that time the mass media in two countries disseminated news of Ambalat Block case in the Sulawesi Sea. There are four groups with interest on the island: Asean members such as Australia, the country concerned to the fisheries and installation of communication cables on the seabed, maritime countries concerned over sea shipping traffic, and the major maritime countries have an interest to the military strategy such as the United States and Russia.

This study offered five solutions to the case of Ambalat Block, with the emphasis on bilateral negotiations. If a status quo practiced during the cooling period failed for five years, renegotiation should be done. If it fails, case should be taken to the High Council as stipulated in the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) or known as the Bali Declaration 1976. If it fails again, the issue will be brought up to the ASEAN Regional Forum meeting. And if all means failed, this case should be brought as a legal non-political issue to the International Court.

Lai et al. (2007) examined the reaction of Indonesian mass media over the Ambalat Block by using framing analysis. The researcher analysed selected media based on types of mass media, news headlines title, news sources, and news content. The study aimed to observe the overall news theme broadcasted by Indonesia mass media about Ambalat Block.

It was an initial exploratory study, and it shows that the mass media in Indonesia still takes Ambalat Block case as sensational issue. Nevertheless, it brings about question of what triggers the deep interest of Indonesian mass media in sensationalizing the news of Ambalat Block. It is safe to assume that study findings of border dispute often discovered media are often divided into two groups; the ones that disagree or the ones that support.

There are various factors influencing news making in mass media. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) identified the ideology of a state and internal media as the influential factors. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2006) concur by mentioning five factors that influence news framing in the mass media: (1) social norms and values, (2) the obstacles and pressures in the workplace, (3) pressure of group interest, (4) regular working journalists, and (5) the ideological orientation of political journalists.

Sitompul (2010) used framing analysis to understand the slants of newspapers in the outer islands of Indonesia at the border of Straits of Malacca. Based on the interviews with various parties, it was concluded that the government needs to collect data continuously in the outer islands in order to avoid claims by other countries. Malaysia was alleged to specify the need to obtain Malaysia government clarification at the border of the outer land.

Study was also done on West Kalimantan and Sarawak border issue by Ema (2012). This study did not focus on the media but rather discussing the implementation of development, community safety, and social impact in the border region study which benefited the community since it provides information about the development policy in the two countries and the social approach of development and community relations in the region. This study provides an overview about the social life and local daily life in the border. Infrastructure development, welfare, education, income, population participation and local participation were obtained through this study.

Comparison of newspapers using framing analysis was also conducted by Herman and Nurdiansa (2010). This study analyses the framing Palestine-Israel conflict in *Radar Sulteng* and *Kompas* and comparison was made between both newspapers in constructing the reality. First, the pattern of news presentation for the conflict between Palestine-Israeli was observed, such as the hard news, opinions, and features. It discovered that *Kompas* was more dominantly portraying Palestine as the cause of problem, while *Radar Sulteng* made Israel as the cause of the problem.

The assessment of moral judgement for the Israel or Palestine was also very different in the two newspapers. *Kompas* provides the moral judgement that Israel was forced to defend itself after Palestine started the conflict *Radar Sulteng* focused on Israel as the cause of all problems and portrayed Palestines as victims.

It is also interesting to note, *Kompas* looks at the issue from a more international perspective, while *Radar Sulteng* sees the issue from the local perspective. Although both have differing perspectives, *Kompas* and *Radar Sulteng* both advocate for peaceful solutions. The two countries have a truce or war agreements to subtract the suffering of victims of war.

Idris (2011) examined the dispute of Ambalat Block by questioning the background of international conflict and the reasons why Ambalat Block is disputed. This study found that dispute may occur due to a misunderstanding, deliberate violation of the rights and interests of other countries, opinion differences, and violations of law and international treaty.

Another reason why Ambalat Block is disputed by Indonesia and Malaysia is due to the desire to expand each territory as well as gain of the abundant natural resources. Ambalat Block with an area of 15,235 square km allegedly contains oil and gas that can be used up to 30 years. It is a valuable asset to the country that owns it. When the oil and gas are utilised, the locals will get benefit. Geologists estimated oil and gas in Ambalat reached up to Rp 4,200 trillion (USD 323 billions). Both of the governments see this potential. Two oil corporations Eni Oil Sp. A and Chevron Pacific Indonesia are warranted to operate in Ambalat which is divided into three blocks, East Ambalat, Ambalat, and Bougainvillea.

Rahardjo (2013) found the conflict in Thailand and Kamboja was in high tension due to involving civilians. It was used to be inter-military but lately the civilians get involved and became victims. Some militaries and civilians killed in armed conflict. As a member of

ASEAN, the two countries could discuss in ASEAN Forum. Due to unsolved issues, the government of Kamboja and Thailand then brought it up to the International Court of Justice.

## METHODOLOGY

Methodology used in this study is descriptive content analysis. Descriptive content analysis does not test hypotheses or relationships between variables, but provide only descriptions about the variable (Eriyanto, 2011).

The content analysis is also more qualitative in nature as it produces descriptive data about the words spoken or written and behaviors that can be observed of those surveyed. Qualitative research has the objective to explain the deep phenomenon through deep data collection (Kriyantono, 2007).

This research describes the frequency of news coverage, the news source, the positioning of news, writing style and news supplements by *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* regarding Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu.

Framing analysis model used by Robert Entman were applied for the data analysis. Entman (1993, 2008) asked four questions to understand a news frame, a) how to define problems/issues seen? b) What is the cause of problem and what is the problem? Diagnose causes is what the events seen are caused by? What is the cause? Who is the cause? c) What is presented to explain the problem? What moral values to legitimise or delegitimise used an act? d) What is the treatment and recommendation offered to solve the problem?

This model of analysis had been adopted by Chang et al. (2009) to understand how a government agency in Malaysia framed the advised information that are disseminated to the public. This model sees framing in two big dimensions, namely the selection of issues and prominence of certain aspects of reality or issues. Prominence is the process of making information more meaningful and interesting for the audience to gain retention power.

## FINDINGS

The result of the present study showed that both *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* gave extensive coverage to the news of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu since it was first mentioned by the member of Indonesia's House of Representatives. The issue begun with allegation that Indonesian territory was invaded by Malaysia on 10<sup>th</sup> of October 2011. *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* responded with news broadcast one day after Deputy Chief of Commission I TB Hasanuddin declared that Indonesia lost 1.400 acres of land on the Camar Bulan and 800 meters at Tanjung Datu coastline.

Almost every day in the month of October, *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* presented information on Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu. The news was supported with photos, graphics, quotations and logos. The news were constantly on the front cover of both newspapers, often with big headlines. It can be concluded that both newspapers viewed the news as important and prominent.

News frequency by *Kompas* was 18 items while *Utusan Malaysia* was 28 items. The issue was headlined by *Utusan Malaysia* three times while the *Kompas* only once. *Utusan Malaysia* also positioned the news on front cover four times, while the *Kompas* only three times. *Utusan Malaysia* use more supporting elements in the news compared to *Kompas*. The number of photos, graphics, quotations, and logos on *Utusan Malaysia* is more, 26 times compared to 21 times in *Kompas*. The data can be seen in the following Table 1, 2 and 3:

Table 1. Frequencies of News

Date (October 2011)	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>Utusan Malaysia</i>
11	3	-
12	2	1
13	3	3
14	1	8
15	1	4
17	2	-
18	3	6
19	-	1
20	1	2
21	1	2
22	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>28</b>

Table 2. Frequencies of Elements Supporting Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu News in *Kompas*

Date (October 2011)	Photos	Graphics	Quotations	Logos	Amount
11	1	1	1	1	4
12	1	1	-	-	2
13	1	2	-	2	5
14	1	1	-	-	2
15	1	-	1	-	2
17	1	-	-	-	1
18	1	-	-	-	1
20	1	1	-	-	2
21	1	-	-	-	1
22	1	-	-	-	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>21</b>

Table 3. Frequencies of Elements Supporting Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu News in *Utusan Malaysia*

Date (October 2011)	Photos	Graphics	Quotations	Logos	Amount
12	2	-	-	-	2
13	1	-	-	1	2
14	6	-	-	-	6
15	3	1	1	1	6
18	4	-	-	1	5
19	1	-	-	-	1
20	2	-	-	-	2
21	1	-	-	1	2
22	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>26</b>

Both *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* put a lot of emphasis on photos as news supporting element. Almost every news for both newspapers had photos in order to highlight the importance of the news as well as leaving the readers with visual images. *Utusan Malaysia* had 20 photos, while the *Kompas* had 10 photos.

In term of graphics, *Kompas* presented six graphics, while *Utusan Malaysia* fewer. *Kompas* makes two quotations, while *Utusan Malaysia* just one. For logos, there were three in *Kompas* and four in *Utusan Malaysia*. The comparison can be viewed on Table 4.

Table 4. Supporting Elements on Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu News Coverage

Supporting News	<i>Kompas</i> (%)	<i>Utusan Malaysia</i> (%)
Photos	10 (48)	20 (77)
Graphics	6 (29)	1 (4)
Quotations	2 (9)	1 (4)
Logos	3 (14)	4 (15)
<b>Total</b>	<b>21 (100)</b>	<b>26 (100)</b>

*Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* journalist alike were hands-on in obtaining the news. From all the news written, 95% (*Kompas*) and 85,7% (*Utusan Malaysia*) of news coverage were written by the journalists of the newspapers. They put reporters in the capital of each country, Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur.

However, the two newspapers differed in term of network utilisations. *Kompas* did not utilise news from foreign news agency as much as *Utusan Malaysia*. Both newspapers gave prominence to news by news agency judging by the space given to the news. *Kompas* only took once, while *Utusan Malaysia* did it three times. The differences can be seen in Table 5.

Table 5. Comparison of News Sources for Both Newspapers

News Source	<i>Kompas</i> (%)	<i>Utusan Malaysia</i> (%)
Journalist themselves	17 (95)	24 (85,7)
News Agency	1 (5)	3 (10,7)
Networking Affiliation	-	1 (3,6)
<b>Total</b>	<b>18 (100)</b>	<b>26 (100)</b>

The weightage given by *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* for the border dispute were quite similar where news positioning is concerned. A total of 17% of news on the issues were placed on front cover for *Kompas* and 14% for *Utusan Malaysia*. However, majority of the news for the issues appeared on the supplementary pages for both newspapers as can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6. Position of News

News Placement	<i>Kompas</i> (%)	<i>Utusan Malaysia</i> (%)
Front Cover	3 (17)	4 (14)
Inside Cover	15 (83)	24 (86)
<b>Total</b>	<b>18 (100)</b>	<b>28 (100)</b>

Both *Kompas* (80%) and *Utusan Malaysia* (100%) used direct factual reporting in terms of style reporting. However, on two occasions, *Kompas* used the humanist appeal in its feature writing. This was not seen in *Utusan Malaysia*. Please refer to Table 7.

Table 7. News Writing Style of Both Newspapers on The Border Dispute

News Writing	<i>Kompas</i> (%)	<i>Utusan Malaysia</i> (%)
Direct Reporting	16 (89)	28 (100)
Feature	2 (11)	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>18 (100)</b>	<b>28 (100)</b>

Once the descriptive data is understood, the resources moved on to analyzing the news using the methodology of framing analysis.

The analysis showed that *Kompas* presented news of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu intensively in October 2011. There were 19 news as shown by *Kompas* with headline such as “Indonesia Dianggap Serahkan Wilayah” (Indonesia Seen As Giving Away Territory), “Tak Ada Kompromi Soal Batas” (No Compromise When It Comes To Border) with subtitle such as “Sejahterakan Warga di Perbatasan” (Make Peace for Borderland Citizens), “Tak Ada Pergeseran Patok” (There Should Not Be Dispute), and “Utamakan Perundingan” (Prioritise on Negotiation).

**Problems Identification.** *Kompas* identified news of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu as a matter of sovereignty of Indonesia, whereby Indonesia's area breached by Malaysia. The Indonesia's parliament claimed that Indonesia is losing territory in Camar Bulan and Taniung Datu. The poles shifting boundaries is resulting in the reduction of Indonesia's area and the



area are given to Malaysia. The problem was definitely framed as Malaysia taking over what is rightfully Indonesia. The statement is found in the story titled “Indonesia Dianggap Serahkan Wilayah” (Indonesia Seen As Giving Away Territory) dan “Sejahterakan Warga di Perbatasan” (Make Peace for Borderland Citizens).

**Causal Interpretation.** In *Kompas* news, Indonesia parliament insisted that the territory taken by Malaysia, For the Indonesian government, there should be no compromise in the dispute. *Kompas* however also presented the view different from the government's view that the shift by the Malaysian border was due to sea erosion rather than a deliberate act.

**Moral Judgement.** The Indonesian government was viewed as source of the problem. Firstly, the government of Indonesia did not have complete data related to Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu. *Kompas* was wary with the dispute, as can be seen from one of the news with the headline “Jangan Ulangi Kasus Pulau Sipadan-Ligitan” (Do Not Repeat Sipadan-Ligitan Island Case) when the newspaper quoted Affairs Minister Gamawan Fauzi. *Kompas* also made moral judgement that the Indonesia government has responsibility towards the disputed area and that the government needed to address the problem of monetary insufficiency in sustaining Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu. The infrastructure and social services need in Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu was highlighted by the papers too. *Kompas* in the news titled “Camar Bulan Minim Infrastruktur” (Camar Bulan’s minimum infrastructure) quoted Rosadi saying that the locals claimed to buy basic needs in Sarawak because the price is cheaper than in Paloh by a huge difference of Rp1.000-Rp2.000 per kilogram.

**Treatment Recommendation.** *Kompas* recommended Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu issue to be solved through negotiations. Both countries insisted or their rights on the two places should go through negotiations in order to decide the rightful owner.

On the Malaysia side, *Utusan Malaysia* also presented news of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu when the border dispute was made known in October 2011. Some of news headlines presented by *Utusan Malaysia* were Empat Menteri Indonesia Nafi Malaysia Menerokai Tanah Haram” (Four Indonesia Minister Deny Malaysia Explore Illegal Land). “Kedutaan Malaysia Diserang” (Malaysian Embassy Attacked), Malaysia Mangsa Permainan Politik Ahli Parlimen Pembangkang Indonesia” (Malaysia victim of Indonesia Opposition Party Political Ploy), “Pelik, Tidak Pernah Didengar Pantai Tanjung Datu Diambil dari Indonesia (Weird, Never Heard Before Tanjung Datu Taken From Indonesia), “Tiada Wilayah Diambil (No Territories Taken) and “Propoganda Cuba Gugat Hubungan Malaysia-Indonesia” (Propaganda To Strain Indonesia-Malaysia Relationship).

**Problems Identification.** *Utusan Malaysia* did not view the issue as a border dispute. *Utusan Malaysia* quoted TNI Chief Agus Suhartono from Indonesia confirming no territory had been taken by Malaysia. Here, written four ministers reject charge due to no solid principle. Another source, Djoko Suyanto denied the allegations, saying that Hasanuddin received wrong information on the issue.

The border dispute was framed as a matter of internal politics of Indonesia. It may be seen in the news titled “Tidak Terlintas Campur Ehwal Politik Jiran” (Not Interfering Into Neighboring Country Politics). Here the Malaysian Defense Minister Datuk Seri Dr Ahmad Zahid Hamidi stated that Malaysia do not wish to interfere into Indonesia's internal political arguments.

*Utusan Malaysia* was refocused on how the issue is affecting Malaysia, especially violence imparted on Malaysian Embassy in Indonesia. These can be proven from headlines of *Utusan Malaysia*, such as “Kedutaan Malaysia Diserang” (Malaysia Embassy Attacked), “Lagi Provokasi di Kedutaan Kita” (More Provocation at Our Embassy), “LMP Pula Serang Kedutaan Besar Malaysia” (LMP Attacked Our Malaysia Embassy), “FRB Usaha Terancang Laga Dua Negara” (FRB Planned Attack To Strain Two Countries). News sources were quoted

as saying FRB sparked tension by breaking light on the railing and damaging building in Rasuna Said Street.

**Causal Interpretation.** *Utusan Malaysia* framed the cause of the issue of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu as Indonesia's political problem, as proven by headlines such as "Propaganda Cuba Gugat Hubungan Malaysia-Indonesia" (Propaganda To Strain Indonesia-Malaysia Relationship). Here Army Commander Datuk Zulkifli Zainal Abidin stated the whole issue was raised as propaganda of certain parties to strain the relations between the two countries.

In the editorial "Dakwaan Orang Berhalusinasi" (Hallucinating People's Claim), Ramadan Pohan from Indonesia's House of Representatives said the allegations that Malaysia are taking Indonesia's territory was a mere hallucination. It was merely a baseless assumption.

**Moral Judgement.** Diplomacy was seen as a solution to the problem by *Utusan Malaysia* through the news titled "Tuanku Mizan Mahu Hubungan Lebih Baik Malaysia-Indonesia" (Tuanku Mizan Want Better Malaysia-Indonesia Relationship), Tuanku Mizan Zainal Abidin wanted to see a bilateral relationship of the two countries strengthened to a higher level for the common interest and benefit of both countries. There was also news used "Jaga Sensiviti Rakyat Indonesia" (Guard Indonesian's Sensitivity). Here Minister of Education Datuk Seri Mohamed Khaled High Nordin asked everyone to stay calm, especially Malaysian and not to invoke the anger of the Indonesians through rash actions.

**Treatment Recommendation.** *Utusan Malaysia* recommended Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu case to be resolved through kinship. *Utusan Malaysia* presented an article titled "PM. TPM Visited Chairman of the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly". Taufiq stated that government of Indonesia hope the case is settled amicably before being taken to the Supreme Interstate Justice (ICJ), There has to be open discussion as a family.

*Utusan Malaysia* asserted the need of negotiation to resolve the border issue through the news titled "Pendekatan Najib-Susilo Merungkai Kemelut Malaysia-Indonesia" (Najib-Susilo Approach to Undo the Malaysia-Indonesia Conflict). Annual summit was suggested as a way to solve the conflict between the two countries and improve the bilateral ties. The most appropriate solutions to prevent and resolve incidents affecting Malaysia-Indonesia relationship is through negotiation without emotions running high on both sides. Table 8 compares the approach used by both *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* in framing the issue.

Table 8. Comparison of Frames

<b>Framing Analysis</b>	<b><i>Kompas</i></b>	<b><i>Utusan Malaysia</i></b>
Define problems	Border dispute	Indonesia's internal politic issue
Diagnose Causes	Government and parliament dispute	Propaganda to strain Indonesia-Malaysia Relationship
Make Moral Judgement	Government needed to pay attention to the welfare of people	Relation of both countries to be kept harmonious
Treatment Recommendation	Negotiation	Negotiation

## DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

The results above showed the similarities and differences between *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* in broadcasting news of Camar Bulan and Taniung Datu. The main similarity between them is the writing style whereby the emphasis is very much on direct factual reporting. The reports are also mostly covered by the newspapers own reporter rather than using the services of the network and news agency.

That shows the confidence of the newspaper agency to journalists to cover the issue. As primary print media in their country, they do not depend on another news source in getting the issue of Camar Bulan and Tanjung. They have skilled resources to collect data about the current issue.

In terms of the positioning of the news, both *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* perceive in Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu as important issue and highly valued the news, hence the news placed on prominent pages even when they are not on cover.

The above study also revealed how the same reality may be constructed and interpreted differently by *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia*. In Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu case, *Kompas* sees the border dispute as a matter of sovereignty, while *Utusan Malaysia* does not see it as an issue of sovereignty but rather as internal political problem of Indonesia.

*Kompas* also covered the border dispute from social aspect. The government of Indonesia paid less attention in the border. This is reinforced by studies on border by The Indonesia Institute (2011). This book describes the border dispute of Indonesia and Malaysia is manifestation of the lack of understanding of the central and local government regarding space boundaries of the country. Second, the government and local government as well as the public have not had a high discipline related border stakes. The government and parliament should have frame of mind as well as data and information that the same mutual synergies in guarding the borders and protect the interests of the marginalised people of Indonesia there.

*Utusan Malaysia* saw the whole issue as Indonesia's internal problems. There was political motive that causes Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu case to be brought up. *Kompas* discussed it more extensively probably due to a freer Indonesia's media system. Mohd Safar (1996) said that every country has its own newspapers system.

Negotiation is a part of solving a border dispute involving at least two countries. Mangku et. al (2018) said Indonesia and Timor Leste had a serious problem in Noel Besi, Bidjael, and Subina. Both Indonesia and Timor Leste then forming Joint Border Committee (JBC) in order to accelerate the border dispute.

*Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* obviously have their own way of constructing the news of Camar Bulan and Taniung Datu case in accordance with the interests of their countries, *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* repeatedly suggested solutions in the form of settlement through negotiations. In other words, both of the newspapers promote peace, not war journalism in order to keep the relation of Indonesia and Malaysia in harmony.

This study showed a consistent finding with other research A student from Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (2010) also examined news on Ambalat Block dispute in *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia*. *Kompas* was portrayed as seeing Ambalat dispute as a national problem. *Malaysia* is the cause of the problem. The news were very much negatively covered. *Kompas* suggested the case must be solved explicitly. As for *Utusan Malaysia*, Ambalat is Indonesia-Malaysia diplomatic issue and Indonesian media were the cause of the problem. *Utusan Malaysia's* suggested solutions were through diplomatic negotiations.

Raharjo (2018) said there are two factors as the causes of border dispute: tangible and intangible. The tangible factor is about the size of disputed territory, population, natural resources, and numbers of victims of the dispute. While the intangible factor relates to historical grudges, culture difference and the involvement of the third parties.

Wuryandari (2010) in her book *Keamanan Perbatasan Indonesia-Timor Leste, Sumber Ancaman dan Kebijakan Pengelolaannya* discussed about the Indonesia-Timor Leste border. Not only that, it also addressed border management, policy implementation, or road map for the creation of comprehensive security in Indonesia-Timor Leste border, it also recommended that both governments must resolve the issue on land and sea border.

In conclusion, it was affirmed that both newspapers from the neighbouring countries reported the same issue with a totally different perspective. *Kompas* and *Utusan Malaysia* have differing perspectives in viewing case of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu due to their nationality and patriotism. Besides that, these two newspapers viewed conciliation as a good option in minimising the conflict of Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu. Both governments can

argue with their own official evidence, but a bilateral negotiation is always preferred in problem solving.

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