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THE BROADCAST MEDIA’S PORTRAYAL OF
MODERN MARITIME PIRACY

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ABSTRACT

CNN and Fox News report on maritime terrorism in the Western Indian Ocean with strikingly differing emphasis, potentially frustrating U.S. policy to mobilize public and allied support to address criminal maritime activity in this region. The broadcast media’s coverage of recent incidents of piracy or maritime terrorism influences the U.S. public’s perception of these events. Modern piracy in the form of maritime terrorism presents a serious military and commercial challenge to U.S. maritime interests. The U.S. was first exposed to piracy in April 2009 when four Somali pirates seized a U.S. vessel, Maersk Alabama, holding the captain hostage in exchange for a $1 million ransom. While incidents of modern maritime hijackings in this region have both preceded and followed this incident, the seizing of a U.S. ship, taking an American captain as hostage and its successful conclusion, brought the hijackings to prominence in the U.S. media. Incidents have been reported in the broadcast media from the perspective of linking maritime terrorism to romantic terms of piracy. Do false images of the spunky Jack Sparrow in Pirates of the Caribbean or Captain Blackbeard fog the reality of maritime terrorism and create a barrier to effective policy responses? This may prevent the public from gaining a clear understanding of the underlying problem of maritime terrorism. This study analyzes the broadcast media’s piracy coverage through a content analysis by noting token phases in the reporting. The broadcast media networks, CNN and Fox, are prominent global news networks representing opposing political views. The media networks’ contrasting coverage of piracy has implications on the public’s perception while in theory these networks profess to objective, realistic reporting of the
threat of modern maritime piracy. As an engaged citizen and student of the media, I am concerned that the American public may be misguided by some of the broadcast media’s simplistic and somewhat inadequate descriptions of modern pirates, thereby providing a measure of justification of these incidents. A more in-depth and accurate reporting of maritime terrorism would lead, in my opinion, to a greater understanding of the seriousness of piracy. The long-term consequences of the U.S. and its Allies failing to react to the seriousness of this problem would likely result in more hijackings, ransom and death while raising the cost of ocean transport for all goods. It is therefore in the long-term interest of the U.S. government and public to understand this problem in its various dimensions through accurate reporting by the broadcast media, and address it before it becomes a larger, more intractable problem in the future.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

The romantic connotation associated with pirates has shifted from the spunky Jack Sparrow image charming millions in Walt Disney Pictures’ billion dollar entertainment success to the adventurous, jewel-seeking Captain William Kidd, culminating in the less glamorous, shoeless, poverty-stricken Somali pirate. Unlike Captain Sparrow and Captain Kidd, today’s version of the conventional pirate is driven by regional anarchy (“Good Governance”). The modern form of piracy in the lawless nation of Somalia cruises the West Indian Ocean in a haggard fishing vessel (“Somali Pirates Turn to New Tactics”). In contrast to the entertainment industry’s portrayal of piracy, Somali piracy is more complex because of their dual political and economic motives. Somali pirates have terrorist ties to Al-Shabaab, an insurgency splinter group of Al-Qaeda (“Piracy Payback). The terrorist component reinforces the evolution of the modern threat of piracy to global seafarers. The threat of piracy is brought to reality in a new form because of the “socio-cultural-political matrix” (Young 46). The regional context influences modern maritime piracy’s divergence from its 18th century connotation. In the dangerous Indian Ocean off the coast of East Africa, Somali pirates associated with terrorist organizations pose a deadly threat to military and commercial shipping (“How To Combat Pirates”).

The broadcast media’s coverage of piracy communicates the western world’s
response to piracy and influences the public’s perception. Similar to terrorist organizations, pirates track the broadcast coverage of their ship hijackings to determine the international community’s strategy to combat their criminal activity. Policy makers, including global government officials, recognize the delicate relationship between the media and terrorism. As the Turkish Interior Minister Besir Atalay stated in June 2010, "We demand that the media re-examine their policy of covering terrorist attacks and ask them not to broadcast them in a way that might serve the aims of the terrorist organizations, even if they do so inadvertently" (Bar-el). Criminal and terrorist organizations, including pirates which are frequently linked with terrorist organizations such as Al-Shabaab, use the media as a resource. A Middle Eastern affairs analyst claims the media fuels terrorism (Bar-el). The media is therefore challenged to accurately report on the security threat while combating romantic stereotypes connected to piracy.
Chapter 2

Literature Review

Background on Piracy and International Law

The U.S. Navy originally formed in 1778 to combat the threat of piracy (Fox, High Seas Hijacking). Piracy is rooted in an issue affecting the Eastern Hemisphere including the seas around Europe, Africa, and Southeast Asia. The lack of an internationally accepted definition of piracy presents a challenge to lead a global coalition against maritime piracy (Young 4). The right to free and innocent passage in international waters is dictated by international maritime law treaties signed by the major powers and maritime nations (Lorenz). Maritime law requires adhering nations to cede defined levels of sovereignty and demands international cooperation to enforce policies. This makes it a unique field within law because it has the power to overrule national policies (Lorenz).

Military Use of the Law of the Seas

The first international attempt to address military rights of the sea occurred at the Hague Peace Conference of 1907 (Churchill 308). Traditional passage rights were formally adopted, including the right to search neutral merchant ships during wartime. Other more defensive laws, such as the right to maintain a close and effective blockade of enemy ports, were also established. Territorial waters and the terms for naval operations were also defined. Self-defense continues as the guiding principle for nations to initiate combat on the seas. The resolution adopted and enforced by the United Nations Security Council does not solely apply to military operations at sea. Self-defense relates to the
threat of an immediate armed attack on ships or aircraft to justify a nation’s use of military force. The Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 exemplifies a legitimate use of self-defense, according to the United Nations Security Resolution. As a result, the United Nations Security Council validated the United States military blockade against Cuba in 1962 (Churchill 308).

The 1958 and 1982 Conventions on the Law of the Sea outlined military privileges (Churchill 308). The objective of both conventions was to establish guidelines to maintain the laws of the seas during peace time. Prior to the convention, defense and military rights of passage were intentionally avoided as referenced by co-authors Robin Rolf Churchill and Alan Vaughan Lowe in “The Law of the Seas.” (Churchill 308). Nations rather independently drafted treaties that were officially recognized at the following global conference of the seas. The exclusive economic zone (EEZ) and civilian maritime ports may be built within the zones to accommodate international trade (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

**Sea Zones**

The establishment of the total exclusion zone (TEZ) was enacted to evaluate the level of threat imposed by unauthorized ships and aircrafts that intercept territorial zones. TEZ was established to legally protect a nation’s military acting in self-defense (Churchill 309).

The maritime territorial zones extend 12 miles (19.3 km) from the shore from the mainland to the sea. The contiguous zone follows the territorial zone. The contiguous zone also spans 12 miles which begins at the endpoint of the territorial zone. An exclusive economic zone (EEZ) is reserved for international passage such as international
trade and commercial use. EEZ is a 200 mile (321.9 km) zone stretching from the contiguous zone. These baselines function as the boundary between internal waters and the territorial sea. (25) Zoning and baseline codes were adopted at the 1958 Geneva Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone (Churchill 27).

Types of Piracy

A lack of a domestic or international naval response coupled with disparate working definitions of piracy heightens the issue’s complexity (Young 4). As referenced, piracy’s perspective within a region is dynamic, so its definition is subject to change. Young defines piracy as, “an act of boarding or attempting to board any ship with the intent to commit theft or any other crime and with the intent or capability to use force in the furtherance of that act, excepting those crimes that are shown or strongly suspected to be politically motivated” (Young 4). Contemporary pirate attacks are different from the classical perception of piracy because of their political and economic motives (Young 57). In contrast to other piracy scholars, Young separates political piracy from economic piracy (Young 16). Political piracy has evolved into its own nuanced form of piracy which can be more accurately defined as maritime terrorism (Lorenz). Maritime terrorism is defined by the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific region as the, “…the undertaking of terrorist acts and activities within the maritime environment, using or against vessels or fixed platforms at sea or in port, or against any one of their passengers or personnel, against coastal facilities or settlements, including tourist resorts, port areas and port towns or cities” (Defining Maritime Terrorism and Piracy). A more accurate description would emphasize that maritime terrorist attacks are intended to target civilian and private vessels for political gains (Defining Maritime Terrorism and
Piracy). Since maritime terrorism is representative of other forms of terrorism, it is also best understood through its regional context. Israel, for instance, is vulnerable to political piracy or maritime terrorism because of its dependence on sea lanes through the dangerous Straits of Tiran (Gulf of Aqaba) and the Gulf of Aden, its dependence on oil imports via these routes and hostile, unstable countries that border these passages (Lorenz).

Young continues to narrow the scope of piracy by defining the issue further into parasitic and predatory classes (Young 25). Parasitic piracy refers to pirates who solely attack ships crossing their path rather than hunting for victims such as in the predatory form. Thus predatory piracy is described as “organized raiding and plundering.” (Young 25) The political or terroristic component frequently overlaps with the economic objectives of pirates. A region’s political and economic status influences the type of piracy.

**Regional Variance of Piracy**

The ill-defined term "piracy" is best understood within a regional context. The myriad of myths and fairy tales, from Malaysia’s pirate hero, La Ma’dukelleng to England’s Blackbeard, evidences the great variance in defining piracy. Although the 2000 year old problem has been confronted by nations on six continents, contemporary scholars are still unable to provide a uniform definition (Young 4). This is because various entities regard piracy differently, ranging from grand theft to liberators, terrorists to local heroes. The books “Contemporary Maritime Piracy in South East Asia” and “Warrior: Life and Death among the Somalis” frame the issue of piracy as an
international threat most appropriately combated by understanding the region’s “socio-cultural-political matrix” (Young 46).

The world was exposed to modern piracy in April 2009 when four Somali pirates seized a U.S. cargo vessel holding the captain hostage in exchange for a million dollar ransom (Somali Pirates Threaten Americans). Many citizens were intrigued by the event due to the entertainment industry’s romanticized portrayal of piracy. Somali piracy is however quite different from this clichéd misrepresentation. Warrior: Life and Death among Somalis by Gerald Handley, provides social and cultural insights into understanding the political culture in Somalia. This book complemented Adam J. Young’s “Contemporary Maritime Piracy in Southeast Asia” because it provides an academic overview of piracy. When read together, the reader gains a holistic perspective of how a hostile culture is funneled into a global epidemic of piracy.

A nation’s political and economic status benchmarks piracy activity. According to Young, piracy case studies show that unstable governments are a precondition to nations with high piracy activity. A second precondition is that a country borders a major water passageway, especially a nexus of high commerce or military traffic. Young proposes the following conditions leading to piracy, “destabilization, leading to competition for power and wealth to expand their personal prestige and influence which in turn stimulated parasitic and predator raiding/piracy” (Young 46). The significance of these conditions reflects piracy’s roots in the nation’s “socio-cultural-political matrix”. Despite the ongoing debate for piracy to be handled by an intercontinental court order, the father of international law, Hugo Grotius of the Netherlands, defined piracy as a global threat to commerce on the open waterways. Grotius proposed a resolution to
piracy by creating an international naval force to police ocean traffic in shared territorial roaming zones (Young 7). Grotius’ proposal was astute in recognizing the problem in a global dimension. However it ignored the regional context of piracy. Although international piracy conventions have suggested an international naval force to monitor piracy, the issue stems from a failure within a nation’s infrastructure according to Young (Young 11). Some contemporary officials therefore concede a nation harboring piracy should be responsible to effectively address its internal problems.

Piracy’s prevalence in the Arabian Sea and Gulf of Aden is due to the near political and social anarchy in Somalia (“Reviewing our Policies on the High Seas”). Somalia’s lack of a cohesive military force symbolizes one of the many contributing factors to its weak infrastructure. The hostile nature of the Somali culture is a focal point in “Warriors: Life and Death Among the Somalis”. Hanley’s non-fiction account as a British military officer overseeing combat coordination in World War II with Somali warrior tribes is enlightening of the nation’s cultural narrative. Themes regarding Somali’s outlook of death prevail as an underlying value even in their culture today. The expectation of death, Hanley observes, represents a shared ideal among Somali warriors. This is reinforced by Hanley’s confrontation with a Somali soldier in the local marketplace. Hanley served as a British senior military officer over the operation and therefore both British and Somali soldiers fell under his oversight. Hanley had caught a Somali soldier stealing fresh meat from a neighborhood marketplace and confronted the Somali moments after he committed the crime. The Somali warrior immediately admitted to his lapse in judgment and responded by saying, “Now take your pistol out of
your belt and shoot me” (Hanley 29). The Somali’s sincere expectation of immediate death as a punishment for the minor crime of theft reflects the Somali’s outlook of death.

A second example reflecting a Somali’s expectation of death occurs at a later point. A Somali warrior commands Hanley to murder him after a disagreement ensues over using a derogatory term. The Somali orders Hanley to, “Finish with me… take me and throw me into a bush” (Young 168). The textual reference frames death as the ultimate threat to test a person’s character. As Hanley astutely acknowledged, death is treated as a game in which Somalis view as a “constant dare” (Young 30). The game of death is a thread throughout “Warriors: Life and Death Among the Somalis”. The title even connotes the Somali culture’s ultimatum between life and death. Somalis abrasiveness and threats to self-inflict death are reinforced by their culture’s “socio-cultural-political matrix” (Young 46). Ethiopians and whites are viewed by Somalis as intruders, further reinforcing their ability to trust citizens and outsiders (Hanley 29).

Hanley also describes Somalis’ attitude toward death as fearless. Prior to his encounter with the Somali soldier thief, Hanley clarifies his observation, “I never knew a Somali who showed any fear of death… If you have no fear of death, you have none for anybody else’s death either, but that fearlessness has always been essential to the Somalis who have had to try and survive hunger, disease and thirst while prepared to fight and die against their enemies, their fellow Somalis for pleasure in the blood feud or the Ethiopians who would like to rule them, or the white men who got in the way for awhile” (Hanley 29). Somalis’ arduous history influenced its citizenry to develop a tough, malicious temperament in order to survive. Piracy, as Young describes in his scholastic overview, requires an inhumane mindset (Young 57). The Somalis’ treatment of death of
as an ideal provides the insight into understanding how the culture developed this mentality. In addition to Somalia’s absence of a national welfare system, the irrefutable cultural values combine leading to piracy.

The Somalis’ view of death as an ideal and sacrifice define their national narrative while providing context for their debacle with piracy. Their glorified view of death compels some Somalis to engage in piracy. After tracking this issue for several years, I have observed a heroic connotation Somali natives associate with local pirate ringleaders. I read an article several years ago on an airplane containing an interview with a prominent leader of a Somali pirate group. The interview sparked my interest in the complexity surrounding modern maritime piracy. The leader claimed to donate 15% of his earnings to charities benefitting the impoverished and elderly communities. Conversely, from the vain classical pirate character of Captain Hook, the Somali pirate ringleader is perceived as a Robin Hood figure. Somali piracy’s philanthropic contributions also represent the organization’s communal relationship. Societal ties are important for a terrorist organization to maintain in order to cover their criminal fingerprints (Young 62). Somalia’s desolate society benefit from piracy organizations since their dysfunctional government is unable to care for its citizenry through welfare programs (“Somalia”).

Marginalization is a societal factor Young associates with nations that harbor piracy. There are common economic conditions and a shared national identity that indicate this activity trend. A negative and perhaps unexpected consequence of a weak government is an inability to sustain a job market (Young 62). Piracy is therefore emblematic of a country’s anemic economy combined with its inability to redistribute
wealth effectively. With a real per capita income of $600 and a life expectancy of 47 for males, it is not surprising that Somalia’s desperate citizens resort to criminal activity such as piracy and prostitution (“Somalia”). The “labor pool for piracy,” as coined by Young, was created by grinding poverty, virtual government anarchy and resulting widespread corruption fostering a culture of lawlessness (Young 59). Piracy is therefore a manifestation of this political chaos and a failed national economy.

Although piracy presents a global security issue, it is a problem traced to a basic lack of governmental control of territory and public order. A nation’s socio-political-cultural narrative provides the catalyst that sanctions piracy (Young 46). The multi-faceted, complex issue of piracy is illustrated through one nation’s cultural narrative as evidenced by Somalia through Gerald Hanley’s book “Warriors: Life and Death Among the Somalis”. Yet piracy is destined to persist as long as conditions of near anarchy and economy desperation exist in maritime countries.

**Media Coverage of Piracy**

CNN and Fox track piracy because it is an international issue with political and economic ramifications (Young 12). The issue’s romantic connotation with Hollywood underscores its appeal to viewers. Successful piracy operations are a financial and security burden to the shipping industry while a few corporations benefit by developing counter-piracy systems (“Anti-Pirate Preparation”). The U.S.’ War on Terrorism causes events connected with terrorist organizations such as piracy to receive media attention. Therefore, Somali piracy’s terrorist ties to Al-Shabaab contributed to its heightened media exposure. The modern threat of piracy’s overlap in politics, economics and the entertainment industry contributes to the media’s attentiveness to the issue.
Political and military officials comment on piracy’s international and national security threat. Piracy of course attracts responses from global leaders. The President of Somalia grants interviews and releases statements regarding the criminal activity of piracy (“Somali President Talks Piracy”). Military officials are however more frequently quoted as sources commenting on the strategies and counter-piracy deterrence methods (“U.S. Navy Talks Piracy”). The multilateral efforts to combat piracy are another reason for piracy’s prominence in international coverage. The collaboration combined with the broadcast network’s global viewership evidences the diverse nationality of reporters who report on the issue, especially on CNN (“Piracy Hikes Shipping Costs”).

Broadcasters also emphasize multinational corporations involved in the shipping industry and defense manufacturers’ interest in piracy (“Piracy Hikes Shipping Costs”). The shipping industry views piracy as a costly threat because of the expensive insurance fees to cover a pirate attack or payment of a hefty ransom. The expenses incurred by piracy are born by employees, stockholders and corporations in the industry. Corporations with maritime interests are therefore directly affected by the issue of piracy and track the broadcast media’s coverage (“Patrolling Piracy”).

Piracy conversely appeals to an audience with less direct interests due to its romantic connotation. The entertainment industry has framed piracy through century old novels to recent cinema hits (List of Pirate Films by Year). Viewers are therefore drawn to maritime piracy because of its exotic nature. The topic of piracy could therefore receive more coverage than it deserves because of its appeal to viewers. Broadcast networks such as CNN and Fox are therefore challenged to combat the romantic stereotype to convey the serious and realistic threat of modern piracy.
Piracy and the Entertainment Industry

The entertainment industry associates maritime piracy with romantic depictions through fairytales and movies. The public’s perception of piracy is influenced at any early age identifying pirates as menaces of the sea. Western culture treats pirates as villains whereas communities harboring piracy idealize the criminal activity (Young 27). The fairytales create stereotypes within cultures offsetting the realistic maritime threat of piracy.

Since the early 1900s, Wikipedia cited 151 cinema portrayals of maritime piracy. Hollywood’s depictions through movies such as “Pirates of the Caribbean,” “Peter Pan” and the 1940s classic “The Black Swan” resonate with the public influencing their first impression and perhaps ultimate and misrepresented understanding of pirates (List of Pirate Films By Year). Pirates are frequently portrayed as characters with obscure nicknames such as Blackbeard or Captain Blood with simplistic motives to pursue gold and women. Their savage warfare is a common thread among pirate characters in addition to their crude demeanor. The 21st century’s familiarity with piracy is no different than classical pirate characters from previous decades as evidenced by Captain Jack Sparrow in “Pirates of the Caribbean” and Captain Jamie Waring in “The Black Swan” (List of Pirate Films By Year). The seriousness of maritime piracy is counteracted by Hollywood’s portrayal and the media is challenged to combat the public’s misconception.
Chapter 3
Methodology

Klaus Krippendorff’s content analysis model guided the analytical review of CNN and Fox’s news clips. The content analysis is an appropriate method to study the cultural phenomenon surrounding piracy through the broadcast media’s portrayal. In Krippendorff’s “Content Analysis,” he describes the data obtained through a content analysis as a “symbolic phenomena.” (Krippendorff 7). The content analysis appropriately studies piracy’s affect as a social science through the context of the broadcast media.

The “Content Analysis Generalized,” as defined by Krippendorff, was recognized as a useful post-World War II tool “to understand larger political, attitudinal, and value trends” (Krippendorff 18). Through the application of Krippendorff’s “Content Analysis Generalized,” general trends in CNN and Fox’s coverage of piracy were uncovered. Piracy’s relationship with the entertainment industry, economics, and politics established a complex framework to analyze the modern threat. The content analysis captured CNN and Fox’s piracy coverage by providing an understanding of modern piracy’s roots in the political unrest in Somalia and its international threat to military navies and the shipping industry. Modern piracy’s complexity was exposed through the content analysis which reflects Krippendorff’s objective for the content analysis model. As Krippendorff describes, “there was a sophisticated concern with problems of inference from verbal material to its antecedent conditions as well as a focus on counting internal contingencies between symbols instead of the simple frequencies of symbols” (Krippendorff 19). Krippendorff’s method analyzes contextual patterns in broadcast communications to reveal cultural and political phenomenon. The content analysis captures the broadcast media’s coverage of piracy through its political and economic implications, and romantic connotation with the entertainment industry to provide a holistic perspective on the issue as a cultural phenomenon.
CNN and Fox were selected as the broadcast networks because they represent opposing sides of the political spectrum. This enabled the topic of piracy to be tracked from two U.S. political perspectives. This effectively revealed the patterns, differences, and similarities in the coverage to capture the cultural phenomenon surrounding piracy.

The news clips samples were compiled through the networks’ search engines. The word “piracy” was entered in the search tool which tracked all news clips containing the search word. The clips were further limited by selecting the video option in order to eliminate all print articles. The news clips were also sorted by date and were reviewed by the most recent. Since Fox had twice as many clips as CNN, the sampling was based on all news clips available from December 2008 through March 2011. The objective was to compare the overall coverage of maritime piracy stories in this timeframe.

A template containing 10 content codes was designed to track the broadcast media’s coverage of piracy. The content codes were composed of words frequently mentioned with piracy including drugs, hijacking, hostage, negotiations, piracy, ransom, terrorism, theft, threat, and weaponry. The context of the content codes in the news clips revealed how the broadcast network framed the issue of piracy.

In order to broaden the tracking of CNN and Fox’s coverage, the region, military forces involved, nations, and the nationality of the pirates were also noted. This was added to determine other trends such as the navies most commonly referenced in international coalitions to combat piracy. The region pinpointed high concentration areas of piracy activity which was reinforced by the pirates’ nationality. The coast of Somalia and Somali pirates prevailed as the general trend in coverage.

In addition, another mutually exclusive content code section was added to capture the differences in coverage. The political, economic and entertainment industry connotations were
important to track throughout the reviewing of news clips. This section noted romanticized coverage, such as references to Hollywood movies.

Below is the content code template applied to review CNN and Fox’s media coverage of piracy:

Broadcast Publication: CNN

Piracy Coverage:
title of feature:
date posted:
story based in:
website:
date of event:
region:
military forces:
water passageway:
country(ies):
nationality of pirates:

Content Codes:
1. drugs:
2. hijacking:
3. hostage:
4. negotiations:
5. pirate/piracy:
6. ransom:
7. terrorism/terrorist:
8. theft:
9. threat:
10. weaponry:

Mutually exclusive content codes:
1. political connotation:
2. economic/commerce/trade connotation:
3. reference to other piracy events:

Analysis:
did the media romanticize piracy?
overall verbal content and emotional tone:
While tracking the content codes, other buzzwords became apparent as words worth noting connected with the issue of piracy. The content code list could have been extended to include arrest, business, desperation, economic, international effort, and military. The specified list reveals the different connotations the broadcast networks associate with the threat of piracy.

Despite the retrospective changes, the content analysis effectively captured the broadcast media’s portrayal of modern maritime piracy and the cultural phenomenon surrounding the issue. Krippendorff’s content analysis helped identify trends in CNN and Fox’s coverage. The broadcast network’s framing of the maritime threat influences the public and decision-makers perception.
Chapter 4

Results

Patterns in Broadcast Networks’ Coverage

The broadcast networks CNN and Fox vary in their coverage of piracy. While there are similarities in their commentary on piracy, the networks diverge in their contrasting focal points. The varied perspectives offered by CNN and Fox send a mixed message to their listeners of the West’s commitment to defeat piracy. Coordinated military operations are emphasized more by CNN which questions the legitimacy of the exercises and the West’s serious treatment of the threat of piracy. Fox rather stresses the need for stricter enforcement measures of international law to guide a multilateral response. CNN and Fox’s differing coverage of piracy may be attributed to their opposing political ideology and political alignment of top CEOs. A cohesive effort on the media’s front would clearly communicate the global effort to combat piracy.
Table-1 compares the overall percentages of the content codes references in CNN (n=32) and Fox’s (n=79) broadcast coverage of piracy. As shown below in CNN’s news clips, drugs appeared in 6% of the news clips, hijacking 44%, hostage 60%, negotiations 28%, piracy 91%, ransom 44%, terrorism 15%, theft 13%, threat 19%, and weaponry 56%. In Fox’s coverage, drugs appeared in 9% of the news clips, hijacking 32%, hostage 35%, negotiations 17%, piracy 99%, ransom 24%, terrorism 35%, theft 6%, threat 20%, and weaponry 73%. Table-1 therefore evidences strong and weak content codes indicative of the broadcast media’s portrayal of the modern maritime threat of piracy.

Table-1: Content Codes for Broadcast Media Networks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content Codes: CNN and Fox</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percent (n=100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNN (n=32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox (n=79)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fox frames piracy by criticizing its regulation due to the lack of international laws and soft punishment sentences. A news clip addressing the March 2011 hostage of a Danish couple off the coast of Somalia suggested the need to expand international maritime laws to increase the punishment of piracy. The current rulings to punish the
crime of piracy are described by Fox reporters as ineffective deterents which is conveyed in the news clip “How to Combat Piracy.” Fox’s commentary noted the inconsistent persecution of pirates and referenced the ineffective deterrent of the “catch and release” method (“How To Combat Pirates”).

The political connotation associated with Fox’s piracy coverage referenced the need to restore the Somali government before the issue of piracy could be eliminated in the region. A Somali pirate named, Milk Sucker, said in a Fox news clip, “There’s nothing to do in Somalia. There is no government and there is no law and order, there is nothing” (“Dangerous Waters”). Citizens in Somalia, even pirates, recognize the limited resources and economic opportunities which drives citizens to participate in the criminal activity. In the news clip titled “Dangerous Waters,” an expert of African Studies and Security Issues states that “Piracy ultimately begins on land and ends on land” (“Dangerous Waters”). Somali piracy is classified by Fox as an issue stemming from the nation’s weak infrastructure. Dr. Pham, a frequent expert source on Somali piracy featured in both CNN and Fox news clips, describes Somalia’s weak political state in the Fox news clip by referencing piracy as a, “window of opportunity for people to behave lawlessly where there’s no governance and no one to restrain the pirates. That is one factor in the global phenomenon” (“Dangerous Waters”). The lawless nation coupled with the anarchy surrounding the region is blamed for the increase in piracy attacks, according to Fox (“Dangerous Waters”).

Longer court sentences as referenced by the network would send the message that piracy is a daunting and serious maritime crime (“How to Combat Pirates”). A Fox news reporter states, “They release of many of these bad guys after they’re caught red-handed
on the high seas. That’s right they let them go” (“End Catch and Release Policy for Pirates”). Clear international law addressing the specific issue of enforcement and punishment for piracy would serve as substantive guidance to the various international navies policing the region. The Fox news clip titled, “End Catch and Release Policy for Pirates?” criticized the lack of international law applying to the 27 nations policing piracy. More severe measures to combat piracy would need to be communicated to the thriving piracy networks in Somalia and surrounding regions harboring piracy in order to ensure it is an effective measure (“End Catch and Release Policy for Pirates”). The trends in the coverage conclude Fox’s focus on the lack of international law and its critical view on the existing methods to deter piracy.

CNN covers piracy from a more humanistic perspective by highlighting the international collaboration and existing military efforts to combat piracy. For instance, Western aid was provided to build more jails to contain a greater number of convicted pirates (“Patrolling Piracy”). In the same news clip, the Coalition Mission CTF-151 was featured representing an international effort. CTF-151 was cited as a “clear deterrent” of piracy in the international recommended corridor (“Patrolling Piracy”). The water lane is frequented by merchant ships and patrolled by the coalitional force. The countries joining the international effort to combat piracy were also noted. Traditional U.S. allies such as Turkey and South Korea, joined the coalition but international competitors such as Russia, India, and China typically do not participate. China for the first time has discussed joining the international effort as reported in the news clip. The oil industry was also suggested as a possible entity that should be responsible for policing piracy activity (“Patrolling Piracy”).
CNN humanizes piracy by referring to the desperation within Somalia as the justification for the crime. The potential high rewards pirates can win by hijacking a vessel or receiving ransom outweigh alternative incomes or the risk of getting caught ("Pirate Activity Grows off African Coast"). As shown in Table-2, CNN references the content code, hijackings, in 44% of the news clips (n=32) in comparison to Fox (n=79) with 32%.

Table-2: Content Code for Broadcast Networks CNN and Fox: Hijacking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content Code: Hijacking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CNN (n=32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox (n=79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent (n=100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CNN’s emphasis on the high rewards obtained through hijackings combined with regional desperation provides justification of the crime ("Donors Support Somalia").

CNN highlights piracy as a business in two ways. Various corporations have capitalized on the increased piracy attacks by developing new hardware, software and systems to combat piracy for ready buyers in the U.S. and overseas defense departments ("Anti-piracy Measures"). Secondly, a CNN reporter classifies modern-day piracy as an organized business ("Demystifying Modern-Day Pirates"). Somali piracy is framed as a
thriving business dependent on the high-rewards obtained by paid ransoms, as referenced by a maritime security expert on CNN. The pirates’ most valuable resources are hostages, allowing them to accomplish their objectives of ship theft and winning high ransoms (“Demystifying modern-day pirates”). It is also likely that some of the ransom paid by companies and individuals is laundered through legitimate banks and invested in private companies (Wadhams). By consistently comparing piracy to a business venture, viewers are able to detach the genuine threat of pirates.

**Piracy Coverage Evidences Military Success Story**

Fox utilized the U.S. Navy Seals special operations’ heroic rescue of the Captain on the Maesk Alabama in April 2009 as an example of the unit’s success story. The news clip titled “Inside Special Ops” featured Captain Phillips held hostage by four Somali Pirates for several weeks. The U.S. Navy Seals special operations unit rescued Phillips by shooting three of the pirates under tense conditions and capturing the fourth. Fox’s intro segment was used to introduce and build support for the units’ other military efforts including their coordinated exercises with Afghan forces in the ongoing War Against Terror. The U.S. Special Operations involvement with piracy was highlighted to captivate viewers (Inside Special Ops).

**Broadcast Network’s Regional Focus of Piracy Coverage**

CNN covers piracy with a more narrow regional focus than Fox. Although Somali piracy was the greatest nationality covered, Fox identified other nations potentially harboring pirates along their coastlines such as Israel, Mexico, and Sweden. CNN rather focused its reporting on Somali piracy attacks in the West Indian Ocean. As shown in Table-3, CNN (n=32) referenced Somali piracy in 75% of the news clips and did not identify the nationality of the pirates in 25% of the news clips. Table-3, also shows Fox (n=79) with news clips referencing the following nationalities, Somali 71%,
Not Identified 20%, Mexican 4%, Swedish 4%, and Israeli 1%.

Table 3: Broadcast Networks CNN and Fox: Nationality of Pirates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percent (n=100)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNN</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since piracy is reflective of a nation’s political and economic stability, Fox highlights other nations’ piracy encounters to bolster the U.S.’ image. Fox’s broader piracy coverage can be used to point out weaknesses in other countries. The piracy attack on the U.S. Mexican border was cited by Fox reporters as a “horrific example of security of the Mexican border deteriorating” (“Questions Surround Mexican Piracy Ambush”). Fox’s alignment with conservative ideology as referenced by Time may influence the networks broader coverage (Poniewozik). The network’s classification of the event at the border as piracy highlights the instability in Mexico and supports an increase in border patrol. The theme of strengthening the nation’s securities at its borders, especially along the border of Mexico, represents prominent conservative ideology.
Fox covered Israel’s naval clash with a Turkish flotilla in June 2010 but CNN did not mention the conflict as a potential form of piracy (“International Outrage”). On Fox, Palestinians stated Israel’s naval actions classified as piracy (“Eyewitness Account of Flotilla Raid”). A former ambassador said in an interview that the clash “would have been called piracy if it happened off the coast of Somalia” (“Eyewitness Account of Flotilla Raid”). Fox broadcasters defended Israel since the Turkish flotilla was a suspicious vessel and the Turkish crew did not comply with operations recognized in the international territorial zone (“Eyewitness Account of Flotilla Raid”). Although Fox defended the Israeli Navy, the association with pirates affects the audience’s perception. CNN rather did not associate the clash between Israel and Turkey as piracy since no reference of the event was made in the CNN’s network’s clip search. This is another example representing CNN’s narrow regional focus on piracy.

**Coverage of U.S. Court Trails Trying Piracy**

CNN presents U.S. Court trials trying convicted pirates from a one-sided perspective (“Somalis Convicted of Piracy”). The defense lawyers, representing the pirates, are more frequently interviewed than the opposition. The trial held to convict a pirate attack in April 2010 exemplifies CNN’s humanistic portrayal of piracy. The defense lawyers are able to more effectively appeal to the public since they are able to state their case first and monopolize the exposure of the trial. As stated in the CNN news clip, the defense lawyer representing the pirate humanized the pirate (“Somalis Convicted of Piracy”). The lawyer justified the pirate’s actions by referencing the lack of economic stability in Somali which caused his client to undertake the potentially high rewarding criminal activity. The defense lawyers said the alleged pirate was “forced to do this” (“Somalis Convicted of Piracy”). His client’s desperation and ignorance are identified as reasonable circumstances for a desperate person to participate in piracy (“Somalis
Convicted of Piracy”.

Fox connects pirates with terrorism more frequently than CNN as illustrated in Table-4. The broadcast network CNN therefore captures pirates as victims of their nation’s political unrest rather than criminals or enemies. As shown in Table-4, CNN references the content code terrorism 15% (n=32) in the news clips compared to Fox with 35% (n=79).

Table-4: Content Code for Broadcast Networks CNN and Fox: Terrorism

![Content Code: Terrorism](image)

**Similarities in Broadcast Coverage**

According to the media outlets, Somalia’s weak infrastructure funnels piracy. This conditional scenario sets a framework to understanding the leading causes of piracy off the East Coast of Africa. Piracy is classified by the broadcasting networks as a political indictor of a nation’s weak government. The “socio-cultural-political matrix” is further emphasized by Adam J. Young in *Contemporary Maritime Piracy in Southeast Asia* as an important factor connected to the issue (Young 46).
Both CNN and Fox frame piracy as a direct effect of the anarchic region. The media alludes that East African piracy evolves from a desperate business practice into a politically motivated form of terrorism (Somali President Talks Piracy). Somalia, the country most associated with harboring piracy, and neighboring Yemen and Kenya, all lack a cohesive government with effective leaders. The regional desperation drives citizens to resort to criminal activity for a fast source of money. For example, both CNN and Fox referenced the content code, ransom in their reporting. As show in Table-5, CNN references the content code 44% (n=32) in news clips compared to Fox with 24% (n=79).

Table-5: Content Code for Broadcast Networks CNN and Fox: Ransom

These inefficient governments are unable to control internal havoc, let alone monitor criminal activity in open waters. Somalia’s inability to form a coastguard or navy evidences the prevalent ineptness of the region. The citizens of Somalia have poor diplomatic abilities, making negotiations difficult between security forces and the criminal pirates. The content code, negotiations, was therefore not as commonly
associated with the issue of piracy. As shown in Table-6, CNN references the content code, negotiations, in 28% (n=32) of its new clips in comparison to Fox with 17% (n=79).

Table-6: Content Code for Broadcast Networks CNN and Fox: Negotiations

Recent coverage of piracy by both media outlets forecasts an increase in violence and links with the terrorist organizations. Fox referenced in the news clip “How to Combat Piracy Problem” that an increase in Somali piracy activity is inevitable if Somali continues to languish. The February 2011 murder of four civilian Americans may represent a vicious escalation of pirate tactics and ruthlessness (“How to Combat Piracy Problem”). This is a result of regional anarchy and economic desperation. Although Somali pirates already identify with Al-Shabaab, an insurgency of Al-Qaeda, security experts predict an increase in collaboration with terrorist organizations (“How to Combat Piracy Problem”). The great fear, as a Fox news clip acknowledges, is a shift in pirates’ motives from financial to ideological based (“Confronting the Piracy Problem”).
Politically motivated pirates, such as the maritime terrorists targeting Israel, represents an evolving form of piracy.

The content code weaponry was commonly connected with CNN and Fox’s media coverage of piracy. Over half of the news clips referenced the word weaponry evidencing the violence associated with the maritime crime of piracy. As shown in Table-7, CNN (n=32) referenced weaponry in 56% of the news clips and Fox (n=79) with 73%.

Table-7: Content Code for Broadcast Networks CNN and Fox: Weaponry
Chapter 5
Discussion of Findings

CNN and Fox’s coverage of maritime piracy is no longer romanticized. Although it is natural to associate piracy with its entertainment connotation, the romanticized cultural phenomenon surrounding piracy has dissipated through the media’s coverage of the issue. The broadcast networks relay the realistic threat of modern maritime piracy. Both networks identify piracy’s roots in its dual political and economic motives. The broadcast media’s emphasis on piracy’s “socio-cultural-political” context with Somalia accurately captures piracy as a symptom of political unrest (Young 46).

Although I anticipated the broadcast networks to romanticize piracy, the coverage has shifted since it became a prominent national security issue in April 2009. Hollywood references were made when piracy originally became a forefront issue. CNN and Fox frequently referenced modern piracy to the entertainment industry and especially in conjunction with the movie “Pirates of the Caribbean”. For instance, immediately preceding the Maersk Alabama hijacking, a Fox news clip stated “Pirates do not list themselves like ‘Pirates of the Caribbean’ ” (“Ridiculous Suggestion”). As the public and broadcast media became aware of the realistic threat of Somali piracy and as the activity increased, fewer references were made with the entertainment industry. When piracy activity began to increase along the Horn of Africa, a Fox reporter reinforced the importance to differentiate the modern form of piracy from Hollywood’s portrayal by stating, “forget ‘Pirates of the Caribbean’ ” (“New Face of Terror”). The media made a conscious effort to disassociate piracy from romanticized portrayals which is evidenced through the news clip titles, “Demystifying Modern-Day Pirates” on CNN and “New Face on Terror” on Fox.
Reporters combat the stereotypes by exploring possible multilateral solutions (“Pirates Must Be Brought to Justice”). In a CNN news clip, acting Secretary of the State Department, Hillary Rodham Clinton asked for a joint understanding of government and private shipping industry to address piracy (“Pirates Must be Brought to Justice”). An increase in military presence and private security forces on merchant ships were consistently proposed by both networks as possible deterrence methods to combat piracy (“A Learning Experience”). A former CIA Covert Operations Officer and terrorism expert, Mike Baker, endorsed both possible resolutions during an interview on Fox (“A Learning Experience”). The regional turbulence along the Horn of Africa was stated by numerous sources as the leading cause for the increase of piracy. Acting Secretary of Defense Robert Gates issued a statement in a Fox news clips stating “this problem has to be solved on the land before they get to the sea” (“Ridiculous Suggestion”). CNN and Fox impress on viewers modern maritime piracy’s association with Somalia and its threat on international navies, seafarers and the shipping industry. Thoughtful and detailed reporting on modern maritime piracy exposes the realistic threat of the international security issue.
Chapter 6

Conclusion

CNN and Fox’s coverage captures the political and economic motives of modern maritime piracy while positioning the issue within the “socio-cultural-political matrix” (Young 46). Somali pirates ply the open waters along the Horn of Africa, the preeminent region harboring the international criminal activity. To effectively resolve the issue of piracy, leading maritime nations must understand the cultural narrative causing the international crime to perpetuate.

The broadcast media’s focus on Somali piracy evidences the concentrated pockets of criminal activity in the lawless, desperate East African region. A multilateral coalition is needed to address piracy since it is rooted in an impoverished region (“Murky Line”). The broadcast media proposed remedies for piracy that were endorsed by respective experts in the field and by world leaders. Experts and reporters were therefore able to expose the public to the realistic threat of piracy by negating the entertainment industry’s romanticized portrayals. The media’s reporting therefore signaled modern piracy’s legitimate threat to international navies and the shipping industry.

The differences in CNN and Fox’s coverage are reflected by Klaus Krippendorff’s content analysis method through the tracking of ten content codes connected to piracy. The prevalence of certain contain codes alludes to the contrasting perspectives offered by the broadcast media networks. CNN humanistic versus Fox’s militaristic and legal perspective was evidenced by the greater use of certain content codes. CNN for instance referenced the word hijackings to convey the societal
desperation of the weak nations harboring piracy. Fox conversely referenced the content code terrorism more than CNN, framing piracy through a political lens. The implications of CNN and Fox’s coverage of modern maritime piracy influences the public and policy maker’s perception to combat the international threat.

Serious, life threatening events in the Western Indian Ocean forced the networks to a more objective, realistic portrayal of maritime terrorism. Particularly remarkable was the shift of CNN and Fox’s reporting of these events, now devoid of the romanticized rationalizations of maritime piracy that characterized earlier incidents prior to 2009. Therefore, I have some confidence that future reporting of maritime piracy will assume a more serious tone, less ideological that this topic clearly merit.
Chapter 7

Directions for Further Research

Further research could be conducted to analyze the public’s perception of piracy. The extended research will analyze whether the public views the maritime issue of piracy as a realistic security threat or if it is tarnished by Hollywood’s portrayal. The study will ultimately reveal if the media is effective communicating piracy as an existential threat, overcoming stereotypes instilled by the entertainment industry.

Individuals could be interviewed through a survey and asked to recall the first 10 words they associate with the word “piracy.” The 10 words should be ranked in order of prominence and connectivity to piracy. The individual’s familiarity with piracy must be analyzed by tracking their exposure to piracy through media sources, history of piracy, and entertainment industry. The individual’s background with the issue would undoubtedly influence his or her knowledge of piracy.

The primary objective of the study would be to review the media’s accuracy of modern maritime piracy. The study would also reveal stereotypes associated with piracy to further explore the social and cultural phenomenon connected with piracy. The study would capture the public’s perception of the issue and the receptiveness of the media’s portrayal of the modern threat of maritime piracy.
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- Alpha Kappa Psi, Co-ed Professional Business Fraternity
- Peer Mentor for College of Communications
- VH1, "Save the Music" Foundation Campaign
- Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder Public Relations Campaign