Exploring The Root Causes and Operational Tactics of Sea Piracy Against Fisherman in Indonesia

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Abstract

Piracy remains a significant issue in global maritime security, particularly in strategic seas that are crucial for international trade. Previous research highlighted that fishing vessels rank as the second most common target of piracy, following cargo ships. In Indonesia, piracy targeting fishermen continues to be a growing concern, with both economic and social implications for coastal communities. This research aims to understand the underlying causes and operational strategies of piracy targeting fishermen in Indonesia, focusing on the structural factors that drive these crimes and the methods employed by perpetrators. Using qualitative approach and utilizing secondary data, this study applies the Model of Condition and Model of Operation from William and Godson to analyze the situation. The findings reveal that weak state governance, characterized by low law enforcement and insufficient prosecution, is a key determinant in the proliferation of piracy. The Model of Operations further explains how opportunities, motivations, and resources drive individuals to engage in piracy. Economic desperation, lack of viable employment, and exploitation of local knowledge are critical factors, with perpetrators often originating from the same communities as their victims. This study underscores that piracy against fishermen is not only a legal issue but also a social and economic problem, exacerbated by ineffective legal frameworks and socio-economic disparities. Addressing this issue requires a multifaceted approach, integrating legal reform, socio-economic development, and stronger enforcement mechanisms to mitigate piracy's root causes.

Keywords: Sea Piracy, Fisherman, Transnational Organized Crime, Maritime Security, Indonesia

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Introduction

The sea has become an important element in global transportation, with around 46,000 ships and 4,000 ports shaping the world's maritime transport system. In addition, cargo shipping is one of the most crucial aspects of global trade, with the majority of world trade being conducted via sea routes, accounting for 80% (Sinai, 2004). Anderson (2004) argues that the presence of the sea, which allows for the movement of goods and people at lower costs, has also given rise to predators threatening maritime security worldwide, commonly referred to as pirates. Sea piracy is a form of transnational organised crime, one of the 18 types identified by the United Nations (UN). Furthermore, various security forums and organisations have been established, producing numerous agreements, ranging from legal treaties to regular agendas addressing this issue (Lautensach & Lautensach, 2020).

The word piracy has been applied to acts of murder, robbery, plunder, rape and other villainous deeds which have transpired over centuries of mankind's history (Dubner, 1980). Sea piracy, or 'Perompakan Laut' in Indonesian, is a serious criminal activity that poses a significant threat to the stability of maritime navigation and trade in the affected waters. It disrupts vital shipping routes and has the potential to undermine global trade systems. In addition to the economic impacts, piracy often leads to the tragic loss of life, particularly among crew members who are directly targeted (Rehatta, 2014). The consequences of such criminal acts extend beyond immediate physical harm, causing long-term economic losses for the victims and damaging the broader economic environment. According to Yani *et al.* (2023), piracy continues to be a prevalent crime that remains a significant concern in various international waters around the world. It is especially common in strategic seas, which are frequently used for international trade and are crucial to global commerce. These areas, often referred to as international maritime zones. Sea piracy has long been a threat to global maritime security, posing risks to both human lives and economic stability. This form of transnational crime continues to affect various international waters, disrupting trade and causing significant losses. Despite ongoing international efforts and legal frameworks designed to address piracy, it remains a persistent issue, highlighting the need for continued cooperation and action to safeguard the safety and security of global shipping routes.

The existence of this criminal activity undoubtedly disrupts the security of maritime routes. Furthermore, according to a report by the World Bank in 2013, it is estimated that piracy causes global economic losses, particularly in the field of trade, amounting to approximately US$18 billion. This loss is significantly higher compared to the annual average ransom payments, which have only reached US$53 million per year since 2005, and this figure pertains solely to the waters off Somalia (The World Bank Regional Vice-Presidency for Africa, 2014). Moreover, the disruption caused by piracy has the potential to damage the reputation and stability of international trade routes, which in turn could affect the supply of critical goods, including energy and industrial raw materials. Therefore, maritime piracy

represents not only a threat to those involved in the maritime industry but also has a broader domino effect that can adversely impact the global economy as a whole.

Indonesia is one of the largest maritime nations in the world, with over 17,000 islands and a long coastline that supports a significant portion of the country's economy. The marine sector accounts for roughly 7.86% of the overall economy. It contributes approximately 6.06% to the income of local communities and provides employment for about 4.12% of the workforce (Nuryadin, *et al.,* 2016). The fishing industry plays a vital role, providing livelihoods for millions of Indonesians, especially those living in coastal communities. In addition to cargo ships, another type of vessel frequently targeted in maritime piracy is fishing boats. A study conducted by Forsyth et al. (2009) concluded that fishing vessels are the second most common type of ship to fall victim to piracy, following cargo ships, which accounted for 1,377 incidents. Fishing boats ranked second, with a total of 80 incidents.

This phenomenon underscores that, in addition to cargo ships, which are typically the primary targets in international trade, the fishing sector also faces significant security threats at sea. Attacks on fishing vessels not only result in immediate economic losses, such as the loss of catch and equipment, but also create long-term insecurity for local fishermen. This uncertainty disrupts the sustainability of their livelihoods, as the threat of piracy may deter fishermen from going to sea, reducing their income and worsening the socio-economic conditions in coastal communities. According to a report by CNN (2023), fishermen in Indonesia are increasingly facing a growing threat from the escalating phenomenon of maritime piracy in their waters. This form of piracy not only results in direct material losses but also generates a pervasive sense of uncertainty, which disrupts the livelihoods of local fishermen. In certain regions, the fear of pirate attacks has led to reluctance among fishermen to venture into the sea, thereby exacerbating the economic vulnerability of coastal communities that are heavily reliant on marine resources for their livelihoods. In light of this pressing issue, it is imperative to conduct comprehensive research on maritime piracy in Indonesian waters, with a particular focus on attacks targeting fishing vessels.

In previous studies, such as Flückiger's (2015) panel analysis of 109 countries, it was found that a decline in the economic conditions of the fisheries sector leads to an increase in maritime piracy attacks. Meanwhile within more local context, Phayal et al. (2024) found a close relationship between Illegal, Unreported, and Unregulated (IUU) fishing and maritime piracy in Indonesia. Although these studies provide important insights, none have specifically addressed sea piracy targeting fishermen. This study aims to fill that gap by explaining the relationship between sea piracy and the fisherman as their target, and exploring in greater depth the root causes and operational methods of piracy. This research aims to comprehensively understand the underlying causes and operational strategies of piracy targeting fishermen in Indonesia, with the goal of providing insights into the root causes of maritime piracy and the operational methods employed by perpetrators, ultimately contributing to the development of a clearer framework for

addressing the issue and informing policies that better protect the livelihoods of local fishermen and coastal communities affected by this growing threat.

Analytical Framework

The ability of criminal networks to operate across borders allows them to access lucrative markets, minimize risks, evade law enforcement, and complicate legal jurisdictional challenges, while also blurring the lines between criminal and legitimate worlds (Williams, 2001). As Wiliams (1994) also points out, Transnational Organized Crime represent significant challenges to both national and global security, proving highly resilient to efforts aimed at their containment, disruption, or dismantling. In examining the causes and impacts of maritime piracy on the national fishing industry, this research will employ the models of transnational organized crime introduced by William and Godson (2002) in their work *Anticipating Organized and Transnational Crime*. They categorizes existing models into five main types, these models fall into two categories, those that explain the conditions conducive to the growth of organized crime (model of conditions) such as Political, Economic, and Social Models and those that describe how organized crime operates (model of operations) such as Strategic and Composite Models. The article emphasizes the importance of these models in helping predict the future behavior of criminal organizations, offering both well-established and newer models, and providing propositions for future directions based on these frameworks.

In the first category of the Model of Conditions, the Political Model consists of four forms: First, Weak States, When a state has weak governance, low legitimacy, and ineffective law enforcement, organized crime thrives. Second, Strong Regimes Becoming Weak, even authoritarian regimes can foster organized crime when there is a lack of oversight and accountability. Third Weak states characterized by ethnic conflict or terrorist activity, that collapse due to ethnic conflicts or terrorist activity provide fertile ground for organized crime. Fourth Democratic states with high legitimacy as crime-resistant states Well-established democracies with strong rule of law, political legitimacy, and accountability hinder the growth of organized crime. In such systems, organized crime struggles to form alliances with political elites, as transparency and legal structures make it difficult for criminals to infiltrate the political system. Each model illustrates how the strength and legitimacy of political institutions directly influence the rise or suppression of organized crime.

The Economic Model also consists of two forms: First The Market Model, this model focuses on the dynamics of supply and demand in illegal markets, where criminal organizations are not typically the dominant players but rather small participants who cooperate and compete in complex ways. Second, The Enterprise Model, this model views organized crime groups as profit-driven enterprises, similar to legal businesses but operating in illegal markets. Criminal organizations, like legitimate businesses, scan the environment for opportunities, assess risks, and seek to maximize profits. While they differ from legal businesses in their need for

secrecy, use of violence, and corruption, their core behavior is driven by the pursuit of profit.

The final category in the Model of Conditions is the Cultural Model, which consists of The Ethnic Network Model, that explains how diaspora communities, often marginalized in their adopted countries, facilitate transnational organized crime by providing recruitment, support, and cover, with ethnic ties creating barriers to law enforcement. And The Social Network Model that emphasizing the fragmented, decentralized nature of organized crime, where informal networks and patron-client relationships, rather than rigid hierarchies, allow criminals to maximize opportunities and influence across political and economic spheres.

The first model in the Model of Operations is The Strategic or Risk Management Model posits that criminal organizations operate in a competitive, adversarial relationship with both law enforcement and rival groups. These organizations not only aim to maximize profits and ensure survival but also focus on minimizing the risks associated with law enforcement actions and inter-gang competition, using strategies that may range from simple evasion to more complex organizational structures designed to protect leaders and operations from external threats. The second model is Hybrid or Composite Models where is combine multiple factors—political, economic, social, and strategic—to better understand the dynamic nature of organized crime, particularly transnational criminal activities. This model an example, explaining the rise of global criminal organizations through a convergence of opportunities, motivations, and resources. Weak states offer opportunities, while economic pressures drive individuals into illicit economies, supported by ethnic networks that facilitate cross-border operations. On a global scale, factors like open borders, global communications, and financial systems have expanded opportunities for transnational crime, while illicit markets thrive due to high demand for prohibited goods.

In conclusion, by applying William and Godson's models of transnational organized crime, this study aims to offer a comprehensive framework for understanding the relationship between sea piracy and Indonesia's fisheries industry. These models not only provide insight into the underlying political, economic, and social conditions that foster criminal activities but also highlight the strategic and adaptive behaviors of criminal organizations. Through this lens, the study seeks to identify key factors influencing piracy and, ultimately contributing to more effective strategies for mitigating its detrimental effects on the livelihood of local fishermen and the broader economy.

Method

This study employs a qualitative approach, which, as noted by Bryman (2008), prioritizes the collection and analysis of data in the form of words or narratives rather than relying on numerical values or statistics. The primary aim of this approach is to achieve a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under investigation through descriptive and narrative data. Unlike quantitative research, which focuses on numerical measurement and statistical analysis, qualitative

research emphasizes the meaning and interpretation of data, making it especially suitable for exploring complex and nuanced questions. The decision to adopt this approach stems from the understanding that qualitative research often yields a more comprehensive and in-depth insight into a specific topic. In this study, the data gathered will encompass both primary and secondary sources. Primary data refers to information collected directly by the researcher, free from external interpretation, while secondary data involves information obtained through the synthesis of existing sources (Yin, 2015). For this research, the majority of data utilized will be secondary data, drawn from various references, documents, reports, articles, and prior research pertinent to the subject under investigation. Utilizing secondary data presents several advantages for the researcher, including access to verified information, time savings in data collection, and a wider perspective through the insights of multiple sources. Specifically, the data collected will be analyzed to address the primary research questions concerning the root causes and modus operandi of sea piracy targeting fishermen.

Result and Discussion

Model of Conditions

Based on the three models, the Political Model, particularly the Weak States Model, serves as a crucial indicator in analyzing how the conditions of a state can facilitate the rapid growth of Transnational Organized Crime (TOC). A state with weak governance, low legitimacy, and ineffective law enforcement creates opportunities for the expansion of organized crime. Criminal groups exploit this instability to expand their networks. The state's inability to control certain regions opens avenues for organized crime to operate freely, exacerbating insecurity and social injustice. In more specific cases, contemporary arguments suggest that maritime piracy is a consequence of 'failed states' (Gaynor, 2012). Countries in such conditions often experience weaknesses in controlling their maritime territories, allowing pirate groups to operate freely without fear of effective legal consequences. Previous research has also shown that political and economic factors influence how pirates organize and carry out their activities. In failed states, pirates can engage in prolonged kidnappings to demand ransom, as they face very weak law enforcement. On the other hand, weak states provide the necessary markets for large-scale operations, where ships and cargo are hijacked and resold for the perpetrators' profit (Hastings, 2009). The condition of a weak state creates a gap that pirates in Indonesia exploit to expand their operations, using their actions to profit from illegal activities. Specifically, in this case, they engage in hijacking fishing vessels filled with fish, thereby benefiting from the illicit activities they carry out.

The Weak States model is chosen over the Weak States Characterized by Ethnic Conflict or Terrorist Activity Model because, despite facing various internal conflicts such as separatist movements in Aceh and Papua, as well as religious and ethnic tensions in several regions, most of these conflicts do not threaten the

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national integrity or resources. The Indonesian government still maintains control over Aceh and Papua, and the majority of the country's territory remains secure, with the government continually projecting power and authority (Rotberg, 2003). Therefore, the Weak States model is considered more relevant for explaining the situation that enables the development of maritime piracy, as its primary focus is on the weaknesses of the state, particularly in terms of law enforcement.

A study by Daxecker & Prins (2021) indicates that Indonesia's governance capacity is at an intermediate level. With limited governance capacity, though not entirely weak, the state often struggles to control and manage its vast maritime territory. Indonesia, as an archipelagic nation with an extensive coastline and numerous remote waters, faces significant challenges in terms of surveillance and law enforcement at sea. Without effective control, maritime piracy becomes easier to develop, as perpetrators can exploit gaps in surveillance and law enforcement. The challenges posed by the vastness of Indonesia's territory serve as evidence of the barriers to effective law enforcement. This is evident in the Kepulauan Riau, where law enforcement efforts at sea must monitor approximately 2,408 islands, 700 of which are uninhabited (Frécon, 2016). This situation makes law enforcement tasks extremely difficult, given the vast area that must be monitored and the numerous remote islands that are hard to access, creating opportunities for illegal activities, such as piracy, to thrive undetected. The limitations in resources and infrastructure further exacerbate this challenge, as it is difficult to deploy sufficient personnel and equipment to oversee the entire maritime territory. Additionally, the inability to reach these remote islands creates gray zones where criminal activities can take place with minimal risk of apprehension.

Figure: Map of the Kepulauan Riau region

Source: Perumnas Kepri

Furthermore, corruption in Indonesia serves as a reflection of the poor governance of security and the consequences of systemic weaknesses within the defense and law enforcement institutions in the country (Supriyanto, 2016). Indonesia is also known as one of the most corrupt countries in the world, ranked

96th out of 106 nations in the 2003 Transparency International report. The judicial system is considered highly corrupt, often capable of safeguarding its own interests. Decentralization has granted power to local officials, and some view the newly acquired power and resources as opportunities for personal enrichment (Hofman, et al., 2004). This also explains the connection between maritime piracy and the involvement of corrupt officials, bureaucrats, and businessmen. However, one clear takeaway from this phenomenon is that it primarily occurs in weak or failed states (Teitler, 2002). Corruption and the absence of the rule of law present significant barriers to the state's efforts in enforcing laws against maritime piracy.

The political, economic, and financial crises in Indonesia have exacerbated the challenges related to maritime law enforcement and the maintenance of maritime order, particularly in preventing the fragmentation of Indonesia as a unitary and archipelagic state. As a result, there has been a significant loosening of law enforcement and security at sea, especially in Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). Although maritime law enforcement efforts have been coordinated by BAKORKAMLA (*Badan Koordinasi Keamanan Laut*), headed by the Commander of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), practical experience has shown that coordination among various law enforcement agencies remains a difficult task (Djalal, 2003). Indonesia established the BAKORKAMLA in 1972 to facilitate coordination among maritime law enforcement agencies. However, BAKORKAMLA has been criticized for its ineffectiveness, as its authority is limited to coordination rather than operational command on the ground (Afriansyah, et al., 2024). This limitation has driven the government to seek a more robust and integrated solution for managing national maritime security. Consequently, BAKAMLA (*Badan Keamanan Laut)* was established in 2014, with expanded functions, including the authority to intercept vessels, inspect and detain ships, and hand over violators to the relevant authorities for further legal proceedings (Aprilia, et al., 2023).

However, the establishment of BAKAMLA has not automatically provided hope for the achievement of effective maritime law enforcement in Indonesia. This is due to the presence of multiple agencies tasked with maritime law enforcement, each with its own authority and responsibilities, which leads to overlapping mandates and jurisdictional conflicts between institutions. As a result, Fenton and Chapsos (2019) contend that coordination among agencies is often hindered, and the effectiveness of maritime surveillance becomes limited. To illustrate the complexity and overlap in Indonesia's maritime law enforcement efforts, it is important to note that there are eight agencies involved in various aspects of maritime law enforcement, each with distinct mandates and authorities. In addition to the institutional complexity, the prosecution of maritime piracy in Indonesia is notably weak, as perpetrators are typically sentenced to only two to four years of imprisonment (Chang, 2010). The conditions outlined previously further exacerbate the ineffectiveness of efforts to combat sea piracy. Therefore, reform in the coordination structure of law enforcement agencies, coupled with stronger legal

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sanctions, is urgently needed to enhance the effectiveness of maritime law enforcement in the country.

However, this situation is further exacerbated by the reality that the penalties for maritime piracy are generally far from adequate. For instance, the relatively lenient punishments for perpetrators of piracy send a weak signal in addressing the serious threat to maritime security. This issue becomes even more complicated when discussing piracy targeting fishermen, as the existing laws are neither sufficiently specific nor stringent enough to offer adequate protection to victims. So far, there have been no policies or legal mechanisms that are truly effective in addressing the impact of piracy on the livelihoods of fishermen, leaving their access to justice and legal protection severely limited.

Model of Operations

In examining how a transnational organized crime (TOC) carries out its activities, the model of operations serves as a framework for identifying such actions. The Hybrid or Composite Model provides a fitting approach to analyze the operational dynamics of sea piracy targeting fishermen. This model integrates various factors, including economic, political, and strategic elements, to offer a more comprehensive analysis. Before delving deeper into this model, it is important to note that the Hybrid or Composite Model also offers a framework for understanding the emergence of an organized crime group, which is based on three key components: opportunities, motivation, and resources. Opportunities can be identified through long-term trends in both the global economic and political landscapes, which are further influenced by globalization that has blurred national borders and facilitated global communication. Motivation can be recognized in the demand for illegal activities, where the profit from such acts becomes undeniable. Lastly, resources can be identified through the capacity and capabilities of a TOC, which includes considering ethnic networks, the habitual use of violence, and experience in engaging in smuggling activities.

The opportunities in this case study are marked by the development of globalization in the modern era, which has directly contributed to the increasing prevalence of transnational organized crime. Following the Cold War, the concept of security became more complex, involving not only states but also non-state actors (Hidayat, 2017). Globalization has led to the dominance of non-state actors in areas that were once primarily controlled by state actors, particularly in the realm of security. Additionally, globalization has facilitated international trade via sea, bringing more high-value goods, and consequently, more potential targets for criminal activities. On the other hand, the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in the withdrawal of warships, especially in the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions. The diminished focus on maritime issues and reduced naval patrols have led to decreased security for legitimate trade and increased opportunities for illegal activities (Lehr, 2006). According to Campo (2008), sea piracy, as a form of transnational organized crime (TOC), offers an interesting perspective for understanding the dynamics of globalization because this

phenomenon occurs at the intersection of two distinct realms: land and sea, as well as the convergence of the global and the local. At sea, global trade, international shipping routes, and the movement of goods between countries heavily rely on the freedom of navigation. However, maritime piracy is often rooted in local conditions within specific coastal regions or waters, where economic disparities, weak state institutions, and local conflicts act as driving factors for this criminal activity. This crime must be addressed as a primary concern due to its transnational nature, making it multidimensional and organized. Furthermore, maritime piracy directly threatens national stability by attacking various sectors, including the economic, political, and social systems (Makarenko, 2015). In line with the previously discussed Model of Conditions, the weakness of the state in enforcing laws against this crime, coupled with the rapid development of globalization, has created opportunities that are exploited by perpetrators of maritime piracy to carry out their actions, particularly targeting fishing vessels.

Motivations can be identified from the primary reason these perpetrators target fishing vessels and seize their catches, which is economic motivation. As mentioned in the background, the fishing sector contributes a significant percentage, up to 7% of the country's total economy. However, this high percentage contrasts with data from the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 2018, which revealed that the income of traditional fishermen in Indonesia has declined by up to 30% over the past decade (Relung Indonesia, 2024). The impact of this decline in income has significant economic consequences for the families of fishermen, who often lack alternative sources of income. Furthermore, the crisis of fisherfolk regeneration in several regions of Indonesia is becoming increasingly concerning, particularly regarding the decreasing interest among younger generations to continue the profession of fishing. This is largely due to the reality that life as a fisherman is often vulnerable to poverty, social marginalization, and limited access to adequate education (Fatimah, et al., 2019). The future of fishermen in many coastal areas of Indonesia appears increasingly bleak, with mounting economic uncertainty pressing on their lives. Without intervention or supportive policies, achieving effective regeneration of the fishing community becomes more difficult. The younger generation, who should carry on this tradition, is opting for employment outside the fishing sector due to low earnings and the challenging living conditions. According to Anele (2020), driven by the need to survive, some individuals in Indonesia, particularly fishermen, have turned to piracy.

As a result, some fishermen have resorted to illegal activities such as sea piracy as a means of survival. Sea piracy has become more widespread, driven by the increasing desperation of fishermen facing dire economic conditions. In some cases, they have turned to criminal activities after losing their legitimate livelihoods, whether due to declining fish catches or limited access to markets. A study by Axbard (2016) also highlighted another concern that improvements in fishing conditions can actually lead to an increase in the number of fishermen setting out to sea, which could directly impact the incidence of pirate attacks. In summary, the improvement in fishing conditions, which leads to more fishing boats

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setting out to sea, increases the risk of piracy attacks. As the number of fishing vessels grows, the likelihood of them becoming targets for pirates also rises. Ultimately, this economic motivation drives individuals, who were once fishermen, to become perpetrators of crime, or in this context, pirates.

In this case study, resources refer to the assets and capabilities that the perpetrators possess, enabling them to carry out their actions effectively. The fishermen turned pirates are already highly familiar with the local waters. They hide in mangrove areas, waiting to target passing boats near the shore. Most of them are inexperienced criminals, often wearing masks and armed with machetes. Their operations are frequently carried out at night. These inexperienced pirates also rely on beliefs in "black magic," which they believe grants them extra strength and even the ability to make their boats invisible to their victims (Bishop, 2018). They exploit their surrounding environment to conceal their presence and optimize their attacks, employing simple yet effective methods. Although these fishermen are inexperienced in the criminal world, their operational approach, combined with their belief in mystical powers, gives them the courage to continue their actions. By utilizing the resources available to them, such as small boats and traditional tools, they are able to sustain and carry out these illegal activities relatively smoothly, despite not being part of a professional criminal network.

In the context of sea piracy or other forms of transnational crime, the Hybrid or Composite Model highlights the convergence of various factors that enable and sustain organized crime. Weak governance and economic hardship create opportunities to facilitate cross-border criminal activities. Global factors like open borders and financial systems further enable the operation of transnational criminal organizations, allowing them to profit from the high demand for illicit goods. By understanding how opportunities, motivations, and resources align to form transnational crime networks, this model offers valuable insights into the dynamic and evolving nature of organized crime. These factors are interconnected and explain how criminal organizations exploit both local vulnerabilities and global systems to thrive and expand.

Conclusion

This study delves into the underlying causes and operational strategies of pirates in Indonesia, particularly those targeting fishermen, through the analytical lenses of the Model of Condition and Model of Operation proposed by William and Godson. The Model of Condition highlights the role of weak law enforcement and the absence of specific, tailored regulations to address piracy against fishermen as critical factors exacerbating the problem. These conditions create a permissive environment where pirates can operate with minimal fear of legal repercussions, particularly in areas where the state's presence is either minimal or ineffective. The Model of Operation, encompassing opportunities, motivations, and resources, provides further insight into why individuals turn to piracy. Economic hardship plays a central role in motivating perpetrators, who view piracy as a survival strategy in the face of economic instability and diminishing resources in their

communities. Pirates often leverage their local knowledge of coastal areas and the sea, using simple tools like machetes to carry out their attacks. The model also uncovers an additional layer of complexity by exploring the psychological motivations of the pirates. Many perpetrators believe in mystical powers, such as black magic, which they perceive as enhancing their strength or providing them with protection during their illegal activities. This belief in the supernatural not only gives them the courage to engage in criminal acts but also reflects a unique blend of local culture and criminal behavior.

A key aspect of this phenomenon is that the pirates frequently originate from the same communities they target. This creates a paradox where the perpetrators and their victims are often one and the same, highlighting the social and economic challenges faced by these communities. The study demonstrates that these pirates are not isolated criminals but are often driven by a range of structural factors, such as economic desperation, the lack of viable employment alternatives, and the failure of the state to provide adequate protection or economic support. Ultimately, the study reveals that piracy against fishermen is not only a legal issue but a deeply rooted social and economic problem. It underscores the fact that the absence of an effective legal framework, combined with persistent socio-economic inequities, enables criminality to flourish. The opportunities for piracy, fueled by limited resources and the exploitation of local knowledge, serve as catalysts for these criminal actions. Therefore, addressing sea piracy in Indonesia requires a multifaceted approach that incorporates both legal reform and socio-economic development to mitigate the root causes and offer sustainable solutions to the affected communities.***

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