

# ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN TRANSNATIONAL MOVEMENT, TEMPO INVESTIGATION AGAINST PANAMA PAPERS POLICY IN INDONESIA

Muhammad Irfan Al Amin

Fadhlan Nur Hakiem

Program Studi Hubungan Internasional

Universitas Darussalam Gontor

[irfan.amin@unida.gontor.ac.id](mailto:irfan.amin@unida.gontor.ac.id)

[fadhlan.nurhakiem@gmail.com](mailto:fadhlan.nurhakiem@gmail.com)

## Abstract

*This paper seeks to analyze the role of Tempo as a media and transnational movement actor in investigating the Panama Papers case, which involves high-ranking state officials in Indonesia. In this discussion will use media framing analysis, divided into two major dimensions of problem selection and emphasis on certain aspects of reality. Because Tempo is a transnational movement actor having an influence on domestic policy in Indonesia, there needs to be a study that uses the Boomerang Pattern method so that it can show the influence of its investigative efforts in finding news not only done alone, but also get help from other international media that has an important role such as in obtaining data access, information dissemination and media publications. Investigation of this news also shows that the media can have a real effect on government policy in a country.*

*Keywords: Tempo, Media, Panama Papers, Transnational Movement.*

## Abstrak

Tulisan ini berusaha menganalisa peran Tempo sebagai media dan juga aktor gerakan transnasional dalam menginvestigasi kasus Panama Papers, yang melibatkan pejabat tinggi negara di Indonesia. Dalam pembahasan ini akan menggunakan analisa media framing, dibagi dalam dua dimensi besar yaitu seleksi isu dan penekanan aspek-aspek tertentu dari realitas. Dikarenakan Tempo merupakan aktor gerakan transnasional yang memiliki pengaruh terhadap kebijakan dalam negeri di Indonesia, perlu adanya kajian yang menggunakan metode Boomerang Pattern sehingga dapat menunjukkan upaya pengaruh investigasinya dalam

mencari berita tidak hanya dilakukan sendiri, namun juga mendapat bantuan dari media internasional lainnya yang memiliki peran penting seperti dalam mendapatkan akses data, penyebaran informasi dan publikasi media. Investigasi berita ini juga menunjukkan bahwa media dapat memberikan pengaruh nyata terhadap kebijakan pemerintah di sebuah negara.

**Kata Kunci: Media, Tempo, Panama Papers, Gerakan Transnasional.**

## **1. Introduction**

A joint investigation by the international consortium of international journalists (ICIJ) was followed by more than 370 journalists, 100 media outlets from 76 countries (Mustafa Silalahi, 2016). One of the media in Indonesia who participated was Tempo. The search along with it took almost a year to produce a result of opening the case of Panama Papers scandal. This event is very shocking to the world because it involves important people with company ownership, very great power.

The case was dismantled in April of 2016, the search for complicated data and attempts to finalize all the evidence for publication became one of the reasons why the publication of this classified document was so long. The total number of records reached 11.5 million documents. The existence of all these data is an indication of how law firms work with banks to promote financial secrecy.

The list of documents with such teraby capacity also reveals a dark company controlled by at least 33 people and blacklisted companies of the United States government because of their relationship with some Mexican drug cartels, terrorist organizations like Hezbollah or having affiliation with a country that has received international sanctions such as North Korea and Iran. This analysis increases the suspicion of journalists about this shell company.

But the power of this media also gives a significant influence in the world political upheaval, one of which is the Icelandic prime minister, Sigmundur Gunnlaugsson. His involvement in the embezzlement case revealed the Panama Papers investigation data. Finally he resigned due to international and domestic pressure. The influence of the media in the disclosure of this case proved significant in the disclosure of a news.

The above case is also very possible in Indonesia. A number of names with Indonesian citizenship identity are written quite a lot. An indication of a violation of the financial system, in the data released by Tempo, there are many names written among them Jakarta vice-governor candidate Sandiaga Uno and one of Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan's cabinet ministers.

In this section will be reviewed one of Tempo's efforts as a media investigation on the issue of Panama Papers in Indonesia. In his coverage not only show the figure of Sandiaga and Luhut, but also other big people who are quite influential in Indonesia. It also has a major impact on Indonesia's domestic policy-making process (Mustafa Silalahi, 2016). The work in the process of disclosure of facts is certainly not done alone but involves cross-media newspapers, and will be reviewed in more detail in this chapter.

## **2. Tempo as Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) Actor**

The dynamics of international relations that are now beginning to develop and bring up the theme in the role of new actors other than the state. An important role is also felt in the activities of non-governmental organizations, one of which is the media. Margaret and Kathryn (1998) stated that international non-governmental actors belonging to the Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) consist of national and international NGOs working in advocacy and research, local activists, media, religious leaders, intellectuals, international NGO branches, officials government. Tempo who is also a transnational actor in this case can be interpreted as an individual or group across the country that influence government policy in a particular field. Transnational actors play a role in international relations when the relationship between state or state to state diplomacy is inhibited and can not solve the problem.

Tempo who is also an NGO actor has also been developing since decades with its establishment in 1971 initiated by Gunawan Muhammad. The definition of the NGO attached to Tempo (Group, 2016), has been suitably described by Spar and La Mure in his writing that the understanding of NGOs is a non-profit organization engaged in mobilization, and in attempting to change something (Andrianti, 2015 ). The involvement of the media in influencing state policy and international issues is presented through its political news, and can have a profound effect on citizens in various fields. This dynamic generates the mass media through the content of the news it raises, has several elements to note, including elements of *ketegangan*, conflict of interests, dramatic aspects in each event involving various policies and issues raised. Such aspects, it is enough *alasan* for the mass media to make *sebagai* a journalistic report. Political

figures involved in it are those who are categorized as important officials or people who play an important role in a country until it becomes worthy to be news.

### 3. ISLAMIC WORLDVIEW ON MEDIA

The process of media investigation carried out by Tempo and a number of foreign media who are members of ICIJ use the power of words to publish and broadcast to the public. The power of words is what makes the news about Panama Papers into international opinion.

Today what the media portrays is not a true picture, but it is a representation of what the journalist has seen and observed. If the news is not in accordance with the facts, then the news is included in the news lie.

In the Qur'an Allah says An-Nur verse 11:

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ جَاءُوا بِالْإِفْكِ عُصْبَةٌ مِّنْكُمْ لَا تَحْسَبُوهُ شَرًّا لَّكُم بَلْ هُوَ خَيْرٌ  
لَّكُمْ لِكُلِّ أَمْرٍ مِّنْهُمْ مَا أَكْتَسَبَ مِنَ الْإِثْمِ وَالَّذِي تَوَلَّى كِبْرَهُ مِنْهُمْ  
لَهُ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ ﴿١١﴾

*“Those who brought forward the lie are a body among yourselves: think it not to be an evil to you; On the contrary it is good for you: to every man among them (will come the punishment) of the sin that he earned, and to him who took on himself the lead among them, will be a penalty grievous”.*

Sayid Qutub through his book "Dirasah Islamiyah"<sup>1</sup>, explains that the power of words lies in a strong determination to turn the written word into a living movement. In fact, he gave the parable that words are the movement of the heart that spurs the movement of blood from head to toe.

---

<sup>1</sup> Sayid Qutb, *Beberapa Studi Tentang Islam (Dirasah Islamiyah)*, (Jakarta: Media Dakwah, n.d.).

السيف اصدق انباء من الكتب  
في حده الحد بين الجد واللعب

*"The message of the sword is more true than the news of the book, in its sharpness which gives the boundary between right and playfulness".*

But Sayid Qutub also reminded that the words themselves can not do anything, before it can be a symbol of the human self. Because man can be the executor of words in the most correct form.

From the paragraph, the researcher argue that the news disclosed a person or media is not necessarily true and need to get the verification of the truth. So those inter-state media interactions conducted by Tempo with ICIJ and other countries credible media is a preventive effort from the spread of false news that can cause sin for those who do.

#### **4. Investigating Tempo In The Cases of Panama Papers.**

The disclosure of extraordinary financial documents reveals how 12 heads of state (former and former) have companies in undisclosed offshore jurisdictions. The documents include names of people close to Russian President Vladimir Putin arranging a transfer of funds of US \$ 2 billion through various banks and shadow companies (Mustafa Silalahi, 2016).

The findings were the result of an investigation by a global journalist organization, ICIJ, a newspaper from Germany's Süddeutsche Zeitung and more than 100 press organizations from around the world. The only media in Indonesia involved in this investigative project is Tempo.

The total number of records uncovered reached 11.5 million documents. The existence of all these data provides clues to how law firms work with banks to offer financial secrecy to politicians, swindlers, drug mafias, to billionaires, world-class artists and players. This certainly does not happen in a short span of time, but is covered very neatly by the company Monster Fonseca shells.

The data revealed contained information from 1977 to early 2015 (Mustafa Silalahi, 2016). The existence of this document allows the public to take a peek at how the offshore world works, how dark finance flows in the global financial world in secret, encouraging the birth of many modes of criminality and robbing the coffers of the state from unpaid taxes.

The document also contains information about a money launderer who claimed to contribute US \$ 50 thousand used to pay robbers in the Watergate scandal. There is also the name of 29 billionaires who include the list of 500 richest people of the world by Forbes magazine. Not to mention there is also the name of Jackie Chan, a famous Chinese movie star, who has at least six companies under the management of Mossack Fonseca.

The information revealed from this document leak extends dramatically to all ICIJ's investigative projects on offshore companies over the last four years. In one of the largest global journalism collaborations ever, journalists working in 25 different languages dig up all Mossack data and trace the secret deals of this firm with its clients around the world. Journalists share information and pursue the instructions provided by this leaked document using corporate databases, property records, financial reports, court case files and interviews with law enforcement.

ICIJ's own analysis of the leaked Mossack Fonseca document found there were at least 58 family members and close men of prime ministers, presidents and kings who became clients of this firm. The records show, for example, that the family of the President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev used foundations and companies in Panama to control secret shares in a gold mine and a real estate in London. Do not deny that this case is very shocking world.

## **5. Participation of Tempo and Its Influence on Indonesian Domestic Policy**

Participation of Tempo in this investigation started from the membership of two Indonesian journalists, Andreas Harsono (Monitor Magazine) and Gunawan Muhammad (Tempo). This work is not done by the direct method but is delivered online using encrypted emails, to ensure the threat of data hackers before publication.

In Indonesia Tempo has prepared journalists specifically to reveal the case. Previous data has been processed editorial internationally under the leadership of Gerard Ryle. By using framing analysis. (Sobur, 2001) in (Rachmat Kriyantono, 2014)

"Framing analysis is used to find out how perspective or perspective or perspective or perspective that journalists use when selecting issues and writing news."

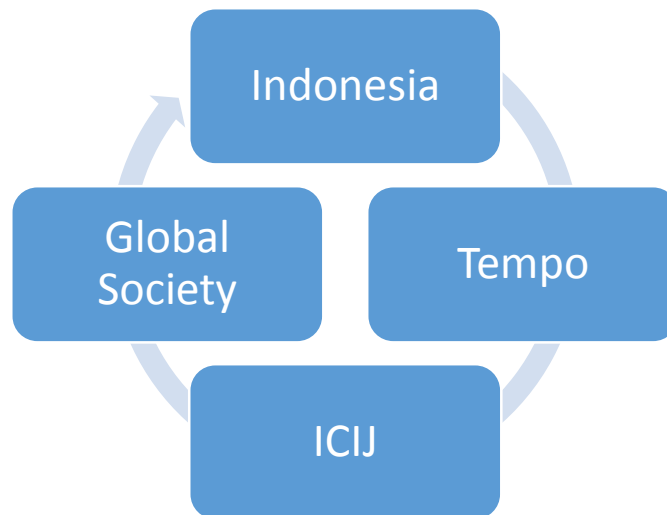
Framing analysis is a form of assessment in the framing of reality (events, individuals, groups, etc.). Framing is used to highlight the media and give certain aspects of emphasis. Although this analysis has a result, namely the emphasis on certain aspects and finally only hit on certain parts only.

<b>Model</b>	Analysis
Definition	Money Embezzlement Scandal Case
Diagnose Issues	Fraud attempts to avoid taxes
Moral Decision	Although many of the proven names do not, the case indicates that the Indonesian government has many weaknesses in the management of financial security in Indonesia
Settlement Process	In this case Tempo gave an opinion that the government should give new regulation in solving the case of Panama Papers scandal

*\* Model framing a media*

In practice Tempo uses this analysis, this is understandable because not all media dare to make the case of Panama Paper as one of the themes in the news. Due to the many names listed there are indications of entrepreneurs and capital owners of a media. Among the media in Indonesia only Tempo dares to be the case of Panama Paper being the main case in a news headline.

From the series of activities conducted by Tempo with ICIJ form a pattern known as the boomerang pattern (Parameswari, 2016)



Responding to the government through the instructions of President Joko Widodo the finance ministry conducted a special investigation responding to the article. One of the products formed is the Tax Amnesty Act. Since the post of minister is held by Bambang Brodjonegoro and is currently replaced by Sri Mulyani has made efficiency efforts through the policy of tax forgiveness.

When the government realized that the potential tax of Indonesia is very large, but few are optimized. Many changes were made to improve the quality and income of the state in taxes, one of which is the enactment of the Tax Amnesty law and the change of ministerial position with the replacement of Bambang by Sri Mulyani.

## **5. Conclusions**

This research makes an argument that the successful investigation of the Panama Papers case in Indonesia by Tempo thanks to the support and cooperation with the consortium of international journalists ICIJ. These factors include the credibility of Tempo as an independent media and are not bound or affiliated with any class. The ability and activeness in conducting investigative reporting became the main attraction of ICIJ in cooperating.

The Second Factor is a joint network between independent media in all parts of the world. The good name of ICIJ with all its achievements and credibility becomes a means of cooperation in solving the case of Panama Papers. Tempo as a media in Indonesia is also able to show its



image to be eligible to engage directly, so access to obtain information that is encrypted in secret can be obtained easily.

This study led to the conclusion that a media strategy in solving cases can be done, without having to be bound by the boundaries of space and time. This is the hallmark of TAN activity itself that relies on shared values in ready-made cooperation. Technological advances are also a significant aid tool when viewing all access in data transmission using encrypted electronic mail. The output of media advocacy is highly visible although there are still many shortcomings in some sectors, the government's awareness of the potential for misused taxes is also one of the targets achieved in this investigation.

## Reference

- Andrianti, N. (2015, Juni 1). *PERAN MEDIA MASSA NASIONAL DALAM POLITIK INTERNASIONAL*. Retrieved from Fakultas Komunikasi dan Multimedia: [journal.uny.ac.id/index.php/informasi/article/view/7769](http://journal.uny.ac.id/index.php/informasi/article/view/7769)
- Cahya,S, I. (2012). *Menulis Berita di Media Massa*. Yogyakarta: PT. Citra Aji Parama.
- Group, T. M. (2016, 8 9). *Korporat Tempo*. Retrieved from Sejarah Tempo: <https://korporat.tempo.co/tentang/sejarah>
- Mustafa Silalahi, I. K. (2016, April 2). *Tempo.co*. Retrieved from Jejak Korupsi Global Panama Papers: <https://investigasi.tempo.co/panama/>
- Parameswari, P. (2016). Gerakan Transnasional dan Kebijakan: Strategi Advokasi Greenpeace Detox Campaign on Fashion di Tiongkok. *Dauliyah*, 259-282.
- Rachmat Kriyantono, P. (2014). *Teknik Praktis Riset Komunikasi*. Jakarta: Kencana Prenadamedia Group.
- Sikkink, M. &. (1998). *Activist Beyond Border*. London: Cornell University of Press.
- Sobur, A. (2001). *Analisa Teks Media* . Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Walton, H. D. (2010). *Bahasa, Citra, Media*. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.