

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 BACKGROUND

Globalization, according to Thomas Friedman in his book *The World Is Flat*, is called a borderless world<sup>1</sup>, proven by Friedman in his findings of a company residing in the United States, but done by its Indian employees. Besides in the field of work globalization also has an impact on telecommunications, which leads to easy interaction between humans through the development of technology without being blocked by space and time.

As a result of globalization, Arjun Appadurai divided into 5 aspects, including<sup>2</sup>:

1. Ethnoscapes: the movement of people including tourists, immigrants, refugees and businessmen across national borders.
2. Financescapes: the flow of money across the bulkheads of the country, caused by the exchange of stocks and bonds that occur between countries every day.
3. Ideoscapes: the spread of ideas and political ideology worldwide.
4. Mediascapes: the dissemination of information containing images and news via the internet, newspapers, television, and radio.
5. Technoscapes: the spread of technology to all corners of the world.

Among the impacts are mediascapes or media globalization, which is the spread of media refers to the distribution of electronic capabilities to create and disseminate information through newspapers, magazines, stations, and film production.

Information dissemination between countries becomes easy due

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Friedman, *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century* (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> Arjun Appadurai, *Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy.* *Media and Cultural Studies* (Blackwell Publishing, 2006).

to globalization utilized by the media Tempo in cooperation with an international consortium of journalists (ICIJ) which consists of hundreds of journalists from various countries from various media to investigate a secret document called Panama Papers.

According to Tempo Magazine, April 25-May 1, 2017 edition states that Panama Papers is a collection of documents on the data of offshore companies located in tax-free areas in Panama, which began in 1977 until 2015<sup>3</sup>. It is also explained that the companies incorporated in the Panama region are under the auspices of a consulting firm tax company Mossack Fonseca<sup>4</sup>.

Data on Panama Papers was first discovered by a German daily newspaper *Suddeutsche Zeitung*. The *Suddeutsche Zeitung*<sup>5</sup> newspaper managed to uncover the data after thoroughly investigating an ex-employee at a tax consultancy firm Mossack Fonseca whose name was disguised as John Doe<sup>6</sup>. The investigation found a number of documents that reach 11.5 million records of offshore companies that store their wealth in a number of tax-free areas under the auspices of Mossack Fonseca.

According to Bambang Brodjonegoro<sup>7</sup> in an interview with a Tempo magazine reporter, the company's actions to store its property abroad or in a tax-exempt area are legally valid, if the owner of the company reports the Annual Tax Return (SPT) containing the counting or payment report tax, tax object or non taxable object or property and liability, according to the provisions of the taxation legislation.

*“All we can do is to check whether companies owned by*

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<sup>3</sup> Philipus Parera and Wahyu Dyatmika, “Ada Luhut di Panama Papers,” April 25, 2016.

<sup>4</sup> Mossack Fonseca: law firm and asset management services company located in Panama. This law firm is responsible for overseeing and managing the services of trust and trust of a company.

<sup>5</sup> Philipus Parera and Wahyu Dyatmika, “Ada Luhut di Panama Papers.”

<sup>6</sup> John Doe: Initial given by the German newspaper *Suddeutsche Zeitung* to his source for the security of the resource person.

<sup>7</sup> Philipus Parera and Wahyu Dyatmika, “Ada Luhut di Panama Papers.”

*Indonesians who have names in Panama Papers are already recorded in their SPT. So we can crosscheck with their SPT with the one in Panama Papers. If so, then that means it's been reported.*<sup>8</sup>

Although the practice of storing property in tax-free areas such as the British Virgin Islands, Panama, and some other tax-free areas is legitimate, there is an indication of the illicit money stored in practice. ICIJ finds the names of influential people in criminal acts of humanity whose names are written in Panama Papers documents, such as Bashar Al Assad Syrian President who recorded his wealth used for the purchase of weapons and ammunition to carry out attacks on civilians in Syria. In addition, there is also Mariam Safdar who was exposed to the case of Calibri scandal, which is a case of forgery of documents to avoid tax claims in his country Pakistan<sup>9</sup>.

In addition, ICIJ also released thousands of names of documents involved Panama Papers. Among the names are some international companies banned in the United States due to the linkage with drug cartels mafia in Mexico, the Hezbollah organization and affiliated with North Korea or Iran.

The names of international politicians are also listed in the Panama Papers document, such as Russian President, Vladimir Putin, Chinese President, Xi Jin Ping, Saudi Arabian King, Salman Bin Abdul Aziz and other names up to 123 people<sup>10</sup> from around the world. There is also the name of a football player, Lionel Messi listed in the Panama Papers document.

The Panama Papers document also indicates a violation of the law due to the absence of financial transparency such as that of Icelandic Prime Minister Sigmundur David Gunnlaugsson and his wife Anna Sigurlaug

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<sup>8</sup> Estu Suryowati, "Menkeu: Bocoran 'Panama Papers' Jadi Sumber Data Tambahan Ditjen Pajak - Kompas.com," Kompas.com, April 5, 2016, <https://ekonomi.kompas.com/read/2016/04/05/183651526/Menkeu.Bocoran.Panama.Papers.Jadi.Sumber.Data.Tambahan.Ditjen.Pajak>.

<sup>9</sup> Philipus Parera and Wahyu Dyatmika, "Ada Luhut di Panama Papers."

<sup>10</sup> ICIJ, "The Power Players: Politicians in the Panama Papers - ICIJ," [icij.org](https://www.icij.org/investigations/panama-papers/the-power-players/), 2016, <https://www.icij.org/investigations/panama-papers/the-power-players/>.

Pálsdóttir who keeps his property assets in offshore company while his country is in a financial crisis in 2013- 2014<sup>11</sup>.

A large number of Fonseca Mossack consulting service users in carrying out companies in tax-free areas totalling more than 200,000 companies. Among the names of the company owners listed in the Panama Papers data were 889 individuals and companies from Indonesia<sup>12</sup>. The profile of each individual comes from various backgrounds such as Ministers, state officials to entrepreneurs. The names include Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan<sup>13</sup>, Harry Azhar Aziz<sup>14</sup>, and Sandiaga Uno<sup>15</sup>.

Although legally owned companies in the Tax Havens are reasonable and permissible, *Undang-Undang tanggal 19 Mei 1999* on the Implementation of a Clean and Free State of Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism states that every state official should report his fortune during his tenure.

*“Undang-undang ini mengatur pula kewajiban para Penyelenggara Negara, antara lain mengumumkan dan melaporkan harta kekayaannya sebelum dan setelah menjabat. Ketentuan tentang sanksi dalam undang-undang ini berlaku bagi Penyelenggara Negara, masyarakat, dan Komisi Pemeriksa sebagai upaya preventif dan represif serta berfungsi sebagai jaminan atas ditaatinya ketentuan tentang asas-asas umum penyelenggaraan negara, hak, dan kewajiban Penyelenggara Negara, dan ketentuan lainnya sehingga dapat diharapkan memperkuat norma kelembagaan, moralitas individu dan sosial<sup>16</sup>.”*

Services offered by offshore companies are mostly unlawful when used by law-abiding citizens, but Panama Papers documents indicate activities that are inconsistent with legal procedures by banks, law firms and

<sup>11</sup> Philipus Parera and Wahyu Dyatmika, “Ada Luhut di Panama Papers.”

<sup>12</sup> Philipus Parera and Wahyu Dyatmika.

<sup>13</sup> Former Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Human Rights, currently serving as Coordinating Minister of maritime.

<sup>14</sup> Former Chairman of the State Audit Board (BPK)

<sup>15</sup> Employers and owners of PT. Saratoga, currently serves as Vice Governor of DKI Jakarta

<sup>16</sup> KPK, “UNDANG-UNDANG REPUBLIK INDONESIA NOMOR 28 TAHUN 1999” (kpk.go.id, November 20, 2017), [https://kpk.go.id/gratifikasi/BP/uu\\_28\\_1999.pdf](https://kpk.go.id/gratifikasi/BP/uu_28_1999.pdf).

business actors to ensure their clients are not involved in cases corruption, tax breaks, and other criminal activities<sup>17</sup>.

Events about the leaking of Panama Papers documents, can not be separated from the media's continuous role encouraged by making news about Panama Papers so that it becomes an international public issue. In Indonesia, Tempo magazine became the only media that played a direct role in the implementation of Panama Papers investigation<sup>18</sup>. Media Tempo consisting of magazine, newspaper, and online media, Tempo.co focuses on the involvement of citizens in Indonesia in the Panama Papers scandal.

In conducting the investigation, Tempo did not do it alone but collaborated with ICIJ and more than 200 journalists from 70 countries who also participated in an in-depth investigation of Panama Papers. Starting from German *Suddeutsche Zeitung* Newspaper report to ICIJ to conduct the joint investigation.

Among the public officials listed in the Panama Papers document in Indonesia, there has been no moral responsibility that has been significantly and influential in the political constellation in Indonesia. This is not comparable to that happening in Iceland. In the case of Panama Papers, Iceland's Prime Minister, Sigmundur Iglusson, resigned after news of the Panama Papers around the world media.

This case is important because there are funds as much as Rp.2.300 trillion<sup>19</sup> scattered in a number of jurisdictions in the world owned by Indonesian citizens listed in the documents Panama Papers. In addition, many officials involved also need to be an evaluation of government performance.

However, the role of Tempo as a non-state actor still does not have a significant influence, although as a mass media, Tempo has a strategic role to convey information to the public. However, there are conclusions that Tempo's media investigation has succeeded in two targets: to build an

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<sup>17</sup> Philipus Parera and Wahyu Dyatmika, "Ada Luhut di Panama Papers."

<sup>18</sup> Philipus Parera and Wahyu Dyatmika.

<sup>19</sup> Philipus Parera and Wahyu Dyatmika.

opinion of the Indonesian people in gathering support for monitoring the financial system in Indonesia. According to Tempo Leader Editor Tempo, Philipus Parera, Tempo's investigation with ICIJ succeeded in making awareness of wealth reporting and tax payments are increasing in the midst of high infrastructure development<sup>20</sup>.

In addition to successfully building domestic opinion Tempo and ICIJ managed to make the issue of leaking Panama Papers documents into a global issue, it is supported by Gabriel Zucman<sup>21</sup> who asserted that every state government in the world must establish strict sanctions to combat cases of money storage stored in Panama Papers documents.

*“These findings show how deeply ingrained harmful practices and criminality are in the offshore world,”<sup>22</sup>*

Based on this background, this research analyzed the impact of Tempo Magazine investigation process in Panama Papers case in cooperation with foreign media which is under the auspices of ICIJ international investigative journalist consortium and its impact on Indonesian Government Domestic Policy, behind the researchers make the following problem formulation.

## 1.2 QUESTION RESEARCH

Based on these background. These study will analyzed the effectiveness of Tempo Magazine investigation in the case of Panama Papers in cooperation with foreign media under the auspices of the ICIJ international investigative journalist consortium on the Indonesian Government's Internal policy. It formulated the following issues: How is the effectiveness of Tempo Media Investigation in the case of the Panama Papers Scandal on the Indonesian Government's Domestic Policy?

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<sup>20</sup> Tempo Video (Chandradiningrum), *Bagaimana Tempo Terlibat Dalam Investigasi Panama Papers*, n.d., <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zZWxgrTEyYE&t=23s>.

<sup>21</sup> Economist from the University of California and author of *The Hidden Wealth of Nations, The Scourge of Tax Havens*

<sup>22</sup> ICIJ, “Giant Leak of Offshore Financial Records Exposes Global Array of Crime and Corruption,” *ICIJ* (blog), accessed April 25, 2018, <https://www.icij.org/investigations/panama-papers/20160403-panama-papers-global-overview/>.

### 1.3 OBJECTIVES AND BENEFITS

This study was written to find out more about of the effectiveness of Tempo media investigation on Panama Papers scandal against indonesia's domestic policy.” This research discussed about interaction between media in analyzing and investigating Panama Papers case involving Tempo,. It also analyzed the effectiveness of its impact on the Indonesian government's internal policy.

Besides, the studies conducted by the authors do not come without the benefits to be achieved from the findings of these studies. The results of this study are expected to contribute to the academic researchers especially in the field of international relations and media study associated with the relations with Transnational Advocacy Network. In addition to the theoretical benefits mentioned above, the findings of this thesis are also explain about process of cooperation of Tempo Media in investigation of Panama Papers case with foreign media.

### 1.4 FRAMEWORK

#### 1.4.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

There are several studies that have raised the same theme of the Panama Papers Case, but among these studies, each raised a different point of view. among others.

First, Anis Amalia's thesis entitled “*Skandal Panama Papers dalam Bingkai Media (Analisa Framing model Pan Kosicki Pemberitaan Keterlibatan Pejabat Negara dalam Skandal Panama Papers pada Majalah Tempo Nomor 4509 Edisi 25 April -1 Mei 2016)*”<sup>23</sup>. In her writing, Anis Amalia has a goal to know the framing of Tempo Magazine news on the involvement of state officials in the Panama Papers scandal, and to have a common object of research with the current writer Tempo Magazine with its case Panama Papers.

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<sup>23</sup> Anis Amalia, “Skandal Panama Papers Dalam Bingkai Media” (UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2017), [http://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/25104/1/12730020\\_BAB-I\\_IV-atau-V\\_DAFTAR-PUSTAKA.pdf](http://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/25104/1/12730020_BAB-I_IV-atau-V_DAFTAR-PUSTAKA.pdf).

This study begins with a discussion of the importance of taxpayer implementation, after the discovery of Panama Papers documents that reveal 128 world politicians. The case of the scandal certainly attracted the attention of a number of media. Thesis of Anis Amalia made Tempo as a sample of research because the media have direct access to ICIJ and 100 press organizations from around the world who discussed similar cases.

The theoretical basis used is the theory of social construction in the study of modern scientific scholarship to be the basic foundation. Using the theories of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman in his book "The Social Construction of Reality, a Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge". Berger and Luckman explain that community institutions are created or changed through the act of human interaction. New objectivity can occur through the repeated affirmations given by others having the same subjective definition. As a result of these conditions it emerges hegemony of individual awareness on every citizen. Thus discourse raised can be accepted by all circles.

The second theory is framing analysis using the theory proposed by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki who see framing as a public discourse about an issue or policy that is constructed or negotiated so as to make information more prominent and put more information than others to get attention a larger audience.

In this paper, it can be concluded that Tempo constructs the reality that Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan is a state official who is guilty of having his name listed in Panama Papers. Tempo constructed that the public officials involved in the Panama Papers scandal denied the allegations. The construction built by Tempo in the Panama Papers scandal involving state officials is more provocative.



Second, is Jefferson Kameo's journal entitled: "*Panama Papers dan Diskursus Tentang Perlindungan Data di Indonesia, Suatu Perspektif Teori Keadilan Bermartabat*"<sup>24</sup>. In his discussion, Jefferson raised the idea of Prof. Dr. Ida Bagus Rahmadi Supancana who put forward a legal idea about the protection of data and personal data.

With regard to the protection of personal data, it is related to the case of Panama Papers in which there are thousands of personal data that has been leaked in the form of electrical data. This became excited because the names in it have an indication of storing his property abroad as an attempt to avoid taxes in Indonesia.

From the case, it was found that there was a vulnerability to misuse of data when personal data was allowed to spread as the case. According to Jefferson, quoted from the opinion of Professor Supancana that Indonesian law has regulated data protection but still not become one and separated in various sources, including: *Undang-Undang No. 23 Tahun 2006 tentang Administrasi Kependudukan; Undang-Undang No. 29 Tahun 2004 tentang Praktik Kedokteran; Undang-Undang No. 7 Tahun 2002 tentang Perubahan atas Undang-Undang No. 10 Tahun 1999 tentang Perbankan; Undang-Undang No. 15 Tahun 2002 yang telah diubah dengan Undang-Undang No. 25 Tahun 2003 tentang Pencucian Uang; Undang-Undang No.36 Tahun 1999 tentang Telekomunikasi; Undang-Undang No. 26 Tahun 2007 tentang Ketentuan-Ketentuan Umum dan Prosedur Perpajakan; Undang-Undang No. 9 Tahun 1992 tentang Imigrasi; Undang-Undang No. 11 Tahun 2008 tentang Informasi dan Transaksi Elektronik; Undang-Undang No. 14 Tahun 2008 tentang Kemerdekaan Informasi..*

Actually, *Undang-Undang Dasar 1945* has protected the personal data of every Indonesian citizen embodied in many articles with the accompanying principles and rules of data protection law. So

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<sup>24</sup> Jefferson Kameo, "Panama Papers dan Diskursus Tentang Perlindungan Data di Indonesia: Suatu Perspektif Teori Keadilan Bermartabat" 10 (2016): 86–98.

for people whose names are polluted by the publication of the Panama Papers scandal case can recover their good name through the courts and use the applicable law.

The third is the journal Hilary Yerbury and Ahmed Shahid entitled “*Social Media Activism in Maldives Information Practices and Civil Society*”<sup>25</sup>, this journal raises the issue of a group that explores the practice of information by using social media to disseminate information about the loss of journalists in the Maldives nature of the action and pressure the government to immediately complete the journalist’s inquiry

Journalists in the Maldives are raising sympathy for the international community through social media. As they perceive the informatif, they share and respon to in an intelligent manner. It is inspired by the Arab Spring Event which begins with a twitter but can spread rapidly and massively collect mass.

This study uses the concept of Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN), to examine the process of investigation and dissemination of news reaching the whole world with different tribes and cultures but still in the same principle, in addition to the concept of TAN, also explained that information is a human right that must be obtained by all human circles.

In addition to involving civilians in social media, Maldivian journalists are also partnering with international media such as the Southeast Asia Press Alliance, Al Jazeera, the Federation of International Journalists, and the Canadian, British and Australian parliaments who have put pressure on the Maldivian government

The study does not only centers on the social media usage activity and its impact but also generates three conceptual approaches, among

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<sup>25</sup> Hilary Yerbury and Ahmed Shahid, “Social Media Activism in Maldives; Information Practices and Civil Society” 22 no. 1, (March 2017), <http://www.informationr.net/ir/22-1/colis/colis1614.html>.

others, the notion of information practice, tactics for human rights-based information change and the importance of emotions in developing movements for social action.

Fourth is the writing of Sean Aday and Steven Livingston entitled “*Taking the State Out of State-Media Relations Theory: How Transnational Advocacy Networks Are Changing the Press-State Dynamic*<sup>26</sup>”, discusses media and state relations explaining the correlation between media and post-war countries world. There is a standard general conclusion on the state media relation on transnational advocacy. This journal uses TAN theory because it involves Non-Organizational Organization organization.

In the fourth article, there are similarities with the current research, on the object of research is the use of TAN concepts used in media investigations. The difference lies in different research methods and case analysis. In this study, the authors raised Tempo media interaction with foreign media in Panama case investigation of its role as a non-state actor in the formation of domestic policy in Indonesia after leaking Panama Papers documents.

#### **1.4.2 CONCEPTS**

As a reference in composing the logical framework of thinking, the researchers arranged the theory as a foundation for solving the problem. According to Mohtar Masoed in his book “*Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi*”, the theory is a form of a statement that answers questions from a study, or an attempt to give meaning to the phenomena that have occurred<sup>27</sup>.

Based on that understanding theory has several functions among

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<sup>26</sup> Steven Livingston and Sean Aday, “Taking the State Out of State--Media Relations Theory: How Transnational Advocacy Networks Are Changing the Press--State Dynamic,” *Media, War & Conflict* 1, no. 1 (2008): 99–107.

<sup>27</sup> Mohtar Mas’oed, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi*, 1st ed. (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996).

others

1. To demonstrate its relevance to science
2. To help the possibility of finding research answers or help develop hypotheses.
3. Demonstrate the underlying assumptions behind the questions raised in the study.
4. Describe the assumptions of the paradigms used and the assumptions of the values cultivated in the study.
5. Demonstrate the researcher enough to know about the research done and support the study that has been done.
6. Demonstrate the researcher has identified the problem that happened before and the study will fill what is needed.
7. Help to redefine the more basic questions of empirical traditions.

#### **1.4.2.1 TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY NETWORK**

The framework used by the author in the study using the concept of Transnational Advocacy Network. Transnational Advocacy Network or TAN is a network that shares values and information with an organization's actors with other actors<sup>28</sup>. This network consists of several elements including, National and international non-governmental research and advocacy organizations, local social movements, foundations, media, churches, international governmental organizations, governmental sections within a country.

According to Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, the 7 elements are claimed to have the same vision and mission in carrying out advocacy programs of a transnational problem. Therefore, the researcher raised this theory as the foundation for the research of Tempo and more than 100 foreign media from various countries in

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<sup>28</sup> Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Cornell University Press, 2014).

investigation of Panama Papers case, due to equal value<sup>29</sup>.

TAN has characteristics such as the delivery of messages done in a persuasive, or done with soft diplomacy method. With the power of delivering it with TAN can be conveyed to many actors, and convey the message of value well to the intended message. In addition, TAN has the advantage of delivering messages in a language that can be easily accepted by various circles of society.

Characteristics of TAN are divided into several typologies<sup>30</sup>, including, *Information Politics*, *Symbolic Politics*, *Leverage Politics*, *Accountability Politics*.

1. **Information Politics**, the ability to produce information quickly and credibly that is politically useful and has a big impact. Much of the information that exchanges are done through telephone, email, and fax or mainstream media circulation such as magazines and newspapers. Information flowing in the advocacy process does not only rely on facts in research and coverage but also relies on direct testimony to citizens affected by a problem.

In information politics, the media is an important partner in information network politics. The reputation of credibility with the press and packing their information in a timely and dramatic way to attract the attention of the press.

2. **Symbolic Politics**, the ability to call for symbols of actions that provide an understanding of a particular situation for the respondent remotely. Activists frame the issue by identifying and providing convincing explanations. The process of strong symbolization is an effort to increase citizens' awareness. Margaret E. Keck and Karen Sikkink provide an example of a Nobel Peace Prize for Mayor Maya

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<sup>29</sup> Keck and Sikkink.

<sup>30</sup> Keck and Sikkink.

Rigoberta of the United Nations as a sign of endorsement of Native American identity that previously was not yet realized by the public.

3. **Leverage Politics**, the ability to call upon powerful actors to influence a particular situation when one member of the network appears to have no opportunity to influence. Activists in carrying out their actions approach several actors who have the authority to form policy or influence policy-making. Such as international financial networks or transnational corporations.

In the process of democracy, there is the potential to influence policy through lobbying or pressure from influential international actors. This emphasis can be placed on various fields and issues, such as environment, human rights, and military.

4. **Accountability Politics**, to attempts to retain powerful actors to keep the established policy or principle. In this case, activists, adjusting positions to secure their positions in carrying out positions as watchdogs. So the government keeps doing public policy in accordance with the principle without breaking the rules. The typology works well because it emphasizes the fluid and open relationship between actors working within the area of particular issues. In a particular campaign, the tactics used can contain just one typology or some typologies that can be used simultaneously.

#### **1.4.2.2 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 it is included as the lie news.

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 أَمْرِ 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>31</sup>, explained 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.

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”.*

<sup>31</sup> Sayid Qutb, *Beberapa Studi Tentang Islam (Dirasah Islamiyah)*, (Jakarta: Media Dakwah, n.d.).

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 a 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.

### **1.4.3 OPERATIONALIZATION OF CONCEPTS**

The TAN concept has the distinctive feature of blurring the boundaries between international and domestic areas so that any issues can be solved together with the international community without direct government involvement in a country. As a non-state actor, Tempo with ICIJ undertakes an investigative activity based on shared values and concepts. This is an implementation of the TAN concept that works without having ‘power’, so they should use their information capabilities, ideas, and strategies to investigate the case of Panama Papers documents<sup>32</sup>.

In carrying out its action, non-state actors are able to run one or more typologies, and Tempo as a medium in Indonesia is able to run the first, second and third typology of political information, symbolic politics and leverage politics this is because Tempo has produced political information lie news about Panama Papers that have been published through magazines, newspapers and online media, so that the entire community in Indonesia, especially the Tempo media readers can find detailed information on Panama Papers. As a media, Tempo is also able to make a public opinion based on findings and facts that

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<sup>32</sup> Keck and Sikkink.



can be one of the most important drivers of policy and input for the government.

Tempo as the media does not use the fourth typology, political accountability because Tempo does not help the actors who have power especially the government in following up the Panama Papers investigation. However, Tempo is limited to doing media studies and educating the public through its media. This relates to a code of ethics agreed between Tempo and ICIJ that all data on Panama Papers should not be given to the government. If the government wants the data to be carried out for follow-up examination, it should only use the published data<sup>33</sup>.

## 1.5 HYPOTHESIS

From background discussions and conceptual bases, it is clear that Tempo's investigation into the Panama Papers case involving ICIJ and foreign media resulted in the disclosure of various data and identities of treasure hoarders in the Panama region from various walks of life such as businessmen, officials, and artists.

This analysis uses TAN concept with three characteristic typologies, such as information politics, symbolic politics, and political leverage. Then it can be concluded a hypothesis that:

1. Tempo failed to influence the process of forming the domestic policy of the Government of Indonesia regarding Panama Papers.
2. Tempo managed to produce political information that has a credible quality ethically journalism.
3. Tempo succeeded in disseminating news and definitions on the problems of Panama Papers.
4. Tempo managed to build public opinion in the discussion of the Panama Papers case so that it becomes an issue and a national focus.

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<sup>33</sup> Tempo Video (Chandradiningrum), *Bagaimana Tempo Terlibat Dalam Investigasi Panama Papers*.

## 1.6 SCOPE OF RESEARCH

The Scope of research or can also be called the boundary of research is a method for a study which can produce a consistency of research from the existing problems in the study and not out of the core discussion of the study.

This study focuses only on analyzing the impact of the Panama Papers case investigation process by Tempo and foreign media from various countries on Indonesian government domestic policy in 2016, using the Transnational Advocacy Network concept analysis. Thus study focuses only on the analysis of the impact of the Panama Papers investigation.

## 1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research method is a systematic and necessary way to perform data collection during the analysis of a phenomenon related to the research being analyzed by this thesis.

### 1.7.1 RESEARCH METHOD

Analysis using qualitative methods generally refers to data collection and strategy or data analysis techniques that depend on nonnumerical data. This research explained how to understand the world around us and is required to focus on the meaning and process of international relations<sup>34</sup>. Qualitative method aims to raise various phenomena and social Reality, shape the development of a conceptual framework and reinforced by a reality of existing phenomena.

### 1.7.2 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

Therefore, this research used the base of qualitative data collection which has been used by International Relations scholars such as interviews, internet-based research, document or archive-based research and focus group discussion<sup>35</sup>. Data collection techniques were

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<sup>34</sup> Umar Suryadi Bakrie, *Metode Penelitian Hubungan Inernasional* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2016).

<sup>35</sup> Umar Suryadi Bakrie.

using primary data and secondary data collection. The primary data through sources from *Undang-Undang Dasar Republik Indonesia* and interview, the secondary data through sources either in the form of journals, books, press release, media release, and documents related to the object under study, especially concerning about Panama Papers analysis and TAN concept related with media studies.

### **1.7.3 DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES**

The qualitative methods is used to understand a social problem descriptively. In identifying a social phenomena, the researcher collected the data derived from literature, informants, and reports to find a generalization which will bring the concept and theories explaining social phenomena case. The research noticed an impact resulting from causal relationship phenomena that occur through the scientific analysis.

## **1.8 SYSTEMATICS OF WRITING**

To facilitate discussion of the problem in writing a thesis then has compiled systematics writing has been compiled as follows:

Chapter I, introduction consisting of reasons of title selection, research objectives, background issues, subject matter, basic framework, hypotheses, research methods, research outreach, objectives and benefits of writing, literature review and systematics writing.

Chapter II, discusses the understanding and history of Panama Papers.

Chapter III, understanding the profile of Tempo, ICIJ and foreign media involved in the Panama Papers investigation process.

Chapter IV, conclusion and suggestion.