

MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF ERICK THOHIR IN DETERMINING THE COMMISSIONERS OF STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISES (BUMN)

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Abstract. This paper aims to analyze the media in the intrigue of political interests in determining the commissioners and leadership ranks of State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN) by the Minister of BUMN, Erick Tohir, was colored by the paradigm of State company management which was fundamentally overhauled but full of the stigma that favored the political elite in power. This was built by Tempo magazine in two editions, which both reported on the steps and actions of Erick Tohir in reshuffling the leadership ranks in BUMN. The theory of media reality construction is used in this study to dissect the construction of media coverage and the method used, namely framing analysis with Pan and Kosicki framing analysis models to analyze the structure of the text on Tempo magazine news in terms of media ideology and political economy interests. It was found that Tempo emphasized facts through news frames which always emphasized that the reshuffle of the leadership in BUMN had become a political matter. There was the involvement of parties close to Erick Tohir and entrusting personal or figures close to Jokowi to occupy the ranks of commissioners and directors in Indonesia. BUMN.

Keyword: Erick Tohir, News Framing, Political Imagery, SOE Officials Reshuffle

Abstrak. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis media dalam intrik kepentingan politik dalam penetapan komisaris dan jajaran pimpinan Badan Usaha Milik Negara (BUMN) oleh Menteri BUMN, Erick Tohir, diwarnai dengan paradigma pengelolaan perusahaan negara yang dirombak secara fundamental. namun penuh dengan stigma yang berpihak pada elit politik yang berkuasa. Hal itu dibangun majalah Tempo dalam dua edisi, yang sama-sama memberitakan langkah dan tindakan Erick Tohir dalam perombakan jajaran pimpinan di BUMN. Teori konstruksi realitas media digunakan dalam penelitian ini untuk membedah konstruksi pemberitaan media dan metode yang digunakan yaitu analisis framing dengan model analisis framing Pan dan Kosicki untuk menganalisis struktur teks berita majalah Tempo ditinjau dari ideologi media dan kepentingan ekonomi politik. Ditemukan Tempo menekankan fakta melalui bingkai berita yang selalu menekankan bahwa perombakan pimpinan di BUMN sudah menjadi urusan politik. Ada keterlibatan pihak dekat Erick Tohir dan menitipkan pribadi atau tokoh dekat Jokowi untuk menduduki jajaran komisaris dan direksi di Indonesia. BUMN.

Kata Kunci: Citra Politik, Erick Tohir, Framing Berita, Reshuffle Pejabat BUMN

INTRODUCTION

The appointment of ministerial figures in government ranks is the president's prerogative to choose members of his cabinet. President Joko Widodo showed that several young ministers were also successful entrepreneurs in this second working cabinet, such as Erick Tohir, Nadiem Makarin, and Wishnutama. They were expected to be able to provide innovations and changes from the Cabinet work program, which was better than the previous cabinet work program (Amindoni, 2019).

The election of Erick Tohir as Minister of State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN) suddenly made the mass media report his figure with various aspects of a news, including media

speculation that assessed Erick Thohir's close relationship with President Joko Widodo. In addition, the strength of Erick Thohir, who also holds the status as one of the conglomerates in Indonesia. Although this cannot be confirmed as a fact of the motive for the election of Erick Thohir as Minister, the mass media certainly seek to sell news about controversial matters.

Since being elected as Minister of SOEs, Erick Thohir has taken several breakthrough steps for change, such as his courage to fire the Director of PT. Garuda Indonesia (Putri, 2019), then the next controversial step that brought Erick to the attention of the public was to appoint Basuki Tjahja Purnama (BTP) or commonly known as Ahok, as Pertamina Commissioner (Rahma, 2019). Another quite phenomenal step taken by Erick was to completely overhaul the echelon I of his Ministry, which he deemed needed to be appreciated. The public hopes this breakthrough will continue to the board of directors and commissioners of all SOEs throughout Indonesia (Redaksi, 2020).

The media describe Erick's radical breakthrough within the state-owned agency he leads through news framing, which seems to show his freedom in reporting political figures who take advantage of his authority as SOE minister to bring his own "carriage" to occupy structural positions in SOEs, especially for commissioners and commissioners. Director. This can be seen in the news in Tempo weekly magazine, which reported that Erick Thohir.

The media sometimes acts as a double-edged sword; on the one hand, it seems to be siding with the people or citizens, but on the one hand, there are interests behind it, both in terms of economic interests and political interests (Merkelsen, 2011). The media often uses the authority of its power in the pillars of democracy to build its reporting perspective and seeks to build a subjective political attitude (Muqsith et al., 2021). Some people think that media managers or owners intervene in the political attitude of the media; some, especially journalists, find it difficult to find this form of intervention because the intervention occurs subtly. Page (1996) explains that editors consciously or unconsciously tend to recruit reporters who share the same political preferences or vision as them, or perhaps they are more likely to pick up, edit, and place news stories in such a way as to highlight policies that align with their interests (Simarmata, 2014).

Press freedom sometimes goes too far without looking at the absolute truth of government regulation or based on presumptions; the media tends to look for a different, controversial side in order to continue to apply a watchdog for the government and the selling value of bad news is good news as its main icon (Lichtenberg, n.d.). Indeed, it is not easy for the media to be able to place news that has a selling value. However, sometimes the news in the media tends to be harsh in placing figures of government officials who look arbitrary in changing the board of directors, as is the case with the news in the Tempo Weekly magazine, which in its two editions is always placing Erick Thohir as an authoritarian cabinet figure in replacing the board of directors in SOEs to business units including those that are not in line with the Ministry of SOEs. He is ready to be removed from his position.

Based on the previous explanation, here the researcher formulates the problem that the Tempo weekly magazine has a tendency to be unbalanced in reporting about the figure of Erick Thohir and his policies after becoming the Minister of SOEs. In addition, the news frame is an effort to encourage public opinion on the figure of Erick Thohir so that the information provided is not neutral. Of course, this information is always the result of the editorial crew's interpretation. Researchers are interested in analyzing how the news framing developed by Tempo Magazine in reporting the political image of Erick Thohir? How is the framing of the news made by Tempo Weekly Magazine related to Erick Thohir's political image? How did Tempo Magazine develop the ideology in reporting on Erick Thohir's performance?

According to Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, the theory of mass media construction is the rapid and broad circulation of information. Social construction takes place very quickly and evenly. The constructed reality also shapes mass opinion. In social construction, there is a dialectic between the individual and society. Society is a product of the individual, and conversely, the individual is also a product of society. This dialectical process goes through three processes, namely externalization, objectification, and internalization (Eriyanto, 2006).

Externalization is a process in which the media seems to pour out self-expression into the world. If the action is considered appropriate and solves the problem, then the action will be repeated. The second process is objectivation, which is a result achieved from human externalization both in mental and physical form. The result produces an objective reality that may face the producer himself as a fact that is outside and different from the human who produced it. The third process is internalization which is the re-absorption of the objective world into consciousness so that the individual subjective is influenced by the structure of the social world (Bungin, 2008).

According to Berger, social reality is not formed naturally, nor is it something that was sent down by God; on the contrary, social reality is shaped and constructed so that with this understanding social reality can be multiple/plural because everyone can have their construction. Respectively. Social reality is not a single reality that is static and final but dynamic and dialectical because each individual has a different background history and knowledge, so their interpretation will also be different in seeing an object (Muzykant, V. L.; Muqsith, M. A.; Burdovskaya, E. Y.; Palagina, I. V.; Barabash, V. V.; & Volkova, 2021).

News is produced from the dominant ideology in a certain area of competence. This socio-historical explanation helps to explain how the world is systematized and reported in certain facets of reality. Because the notion of events is mediated by categories, interpretations and evaluations of reality. Ideology here does not always have to be associated with big ideas. How we see events with certain glasses and views, in a broad sense is an ideology. Because in the process of seeing and marking these events we use certain viewing points. The viewing point or position describes how events are explained in a certain frame of mind (Eriyanto, 2006).

Media ideology directs the media with certain ideas and belief systems, in which ideology integrally determines all media activities including organization, management and media content. As stated by John Hartley who views this kind of news narrative, assuming that there are two sides that are presented by the media, namely the main figure and the figure who is contrary to the first figure, this is where the ideology is played by taking sides or attacking which party is of course based on an interest by the media. alone. The reality is that all media have an ideology and it is impossible to break away from attachment to the ideology that underlies the media. A Marxist adherent, Louis Althusser, who stated that ideology appears in the structure of society and arises in the real practice carried out by various institutions in society (Rusadi, 2015).

Capitalism is the ideological basis in managing the mass media industry and its implications (Gora, 2016):

- a. Media owners always try to enlarge their business networks, then accumulate profits and capital for their interests, which in the end often conflict with the demands and needs of the public;
- b. Media services, due to capitalism, have become concentrated only on the public with market potential, so that minority groups with weak market potential are increasingly marginalized and;
- c. The public is only seen as non-citizen consumers. Peter Golding and Graham Murdock argue that the mass media is a producer of culture, which acts more as a profit-seeking business engine. The ideology of capitalism has permeated media institutions, including the relationship between owners and workers. Media content is more directed to serve the interests or needs of people aka the market. Media companies as capitalist institutions, their businesses tend to be increasingly occult to reach everywhere, across national borders. However, ownership control is increasingly concentrated in just a few people.

Mass media and communication carry out "content manipulation and create certain forms of consciousness" (packaged consciousness). This pseudo-awareness forms the frame of mind of the audience and then influences the way of thinking, behaving and behaving. The communication system has the capacity to produce "ideology", which then becomes the basis of thought and movement and at the same time acts as an adhesive in the production system, namely the capitalist system (Stokes, 2003).

Media ideology also describes the contestation of power in the mass media, which can be seen from the perspective of how various interests, both inside and outside the media,

compete for influence in news coverage in the mass media. This happens because the mass media is seen as a force that can influence public acceptance. Curran (1982) sees the media specifically in the context of power struggles between social forces, where the media are seen as entities formed through these struggles (Tamburaka, 2013).

Ideology according to Cabanis, Destutt de Tracy as the initial initiator of ideology is a system of ideas and various representations that dominate the minds of humans or social groups. The ideological co-political struggles that Marx made as early as possible in his articles in the *Rheinsche Zeitung*, inevitably dragged him in the face of this reality, and forced him to use his earliest intuitions further (Thompson, 2014).

Taking Althusser's view of ideology understood as a pure illusion, a mere dream, as nothingness. All reality is external. Thus, ideology is regarded as an imaginary construction whose status is exactly like the status of dreams among writers before Freud. For Marx, ideology is an imaginary collection, completely dreamy, empty and futile, constructed from the 'daily residue' of the only positive and real reality, namely the concrete history of the concrete material individual, which materially produces his existence (Althusser, 2010).

Apart from ideology, the media cannot be separated from their economic or political interests. The study of the political economy of the media is based on the idea put forward by Golding and Murdock (1991) that the power of the media lies in the structure and process of the media economy in producing messages. This view reverses the focus carried out by structuralists who consider the power of the media to be an ideological force. The role of the media is to legitimize the class power of media owners and controllers. Therefore, studies in this aspect focus more on the practice of increasing monopolization in the cultural industry through concentration and diversification (Thompson, 2015).

The study of the media-political economy in this research focuses on critical political economy, which has three variants, namely instrumentalist, structuralist and constructivist (Golding & Murdock, 1991; Sudibyo, 2000, Hidayat, 2001). The focus is on the constructivist variant, which views media owners as in a structure that provides facilitation and boundaries. However, the structure is not a solid, rigid, and immutable building. The constructivist variant sees media as controlled not only by the strength of its structure but also controlled not only by the strength of its structure but also by the agents and social and cultural factors that exist in their environment (Rusadi, 2015).

Judging from the focus of the study from the three studies, according to Goulding and Murdock (1991), which includes production, text, and consumption, here the researcher focuses on the text. At the next level, it focuses on the problem of the interconnection of economic dynamics with the production of media content. Here, it explains media discourse in the form of media frames with economic or political issues in media institutions. The direction of this analysis leads to the study of aspects of the content of communication or media texts, which has several advantages. First, the study will provide the ability to track the relationship between media financing conditions and their interests (Rusadi, 2015).

The mass media certainly does not merely determine the point of view of the frame without any interest. The media dared to throw themselves into a heated political situation between siding with the government or with the citizens or society. It is not easy for the media to determine their point of view because idealism alone is not enough. However, the media also need their selling points for the media economy. In principle, the economic problem is meeting the needs and desires (consumption) of humans in their lives. The economy and media business is part of the overall economy, especially concerning meeting the needs of curiosity (curiosity), self-actualization needs, communication, and other non-physical needs of some (Noor, 2010).

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses qualitative research methods by focusing on the qualitative media text analysis approach, which seeks to analyze language in the media starting from the structure of language and media speech, then examines the type of language used by the print mass media, weekly magazines tempo and how the media shape reality and how media ideology is

built through the construct of political reporting (Muqstith et al., 2021). Research refers to the interpretive paradigm which is a goal of social research in developing an understanding of social life and discovering how people form meaning in scientific settings (Neuman, 2013).

The analysis used is media framing analysis in the Tempo weekly newspaper. This approach is in the form of an interpretive approach by analyzing the language structure and the frame for reporting in the weekly Tempo magazine.

Analysis of the data used in this study using the Framing analysis of Pan and Kosicki, which was analyzed based on four structural components of language, including words and sentences in the news about Erick Thohir's image in the Tempo weekly magazine media. The four structures of this analysis consist of Syntax, namely the way journalists organize facts; Scripts, the way journalists tell facts; Thematic, how to arrange facts; Rhetorical, a journalist's way of emphasizing facts. Zhongdang P & Gerald M. Kosicki's framing analysis model is a series that can show the framing of a medium. The tendency or inclination of journalists to understand an event can be observed from the four structures. In other words, it can be observed from how journalists organize events into a general form of the news; the way journalists narrate events, the sentences used, and the choice of words or idioms chosen (Eriyanto, 2006).

The data collection technique in this study converts documentation data such as the print media of Tempo Weekly magazine into primary data for observation and research. In this study, the researchers used two corpora of Tempo weekly magazine entitled "THOHIR STORY" in the December 2019 edition of 10 pages which included opinions and main reports, and the Tempo magazine edition 20-26 July 2020 entitled "BANCAKAN JATAH BUMN" with 12 pages from pages 26 - 39. which includes the main opinion and report.



Source: Tempo magazine
Picture.1. Thohir Story

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The move by the Minister of State-Owned Enterprises, Erick Thohir, to completely overhaul the echelon 1 ranks in his ministry, on the one hand, is appreciated. However, on the one hand, it also invites controversy or political opposition. This was depicted in the mass media when Erick Thohir reshuffled the board of directors of SOEs, including the board of commissioners. The media who support Erick Thohir's policy think that as long as SOEs have been positioned as cash cows for various political interests of the elite and not as a locomotive for economic growth, SOEs are often a burden because they foster corruption and an unhealthy

business climate. The change in echelon 1 can be momentum for you to start cleaning up the Ministry of SOEs.

BUMN, as seen in Tempo magazine, is still full of political interests. The tug of war for political interests in determining the commissioners of State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN), which is considered to be still in the struggle for the seats of BUMN officials under the pretext of reshuffling for repairs. Tempo sees the pattern of BUMN management as it still tends to benefit the political elite in power. This is also the pretext of securing national interests or carrying out development programs; state companies are often forced to ignore business calculations and make losses.

If viewed from the syntax, namely the news scheme, which includes the headline or title, lead, background information, source citation, statement, and closing here, Tempo weekly magazine's November 2019 and July 2020 editions emphasize news frames from two angles (perspectives) that are interconnected and have There is a common thread for the frame that was reported, especially regarding the forms of reshuffle in the leadership ranks at the top level of SOEs, especially at the first echelon level, the board of directors, and commissioners, then the personnel figures who will sit on the board of directors of various state-owned companies that none other than this personnel who are already very familiar in the eyes of the public such as Basuki Tjahja Purnama, Rudiantara, Chandra M. Hamzah, and Pahala Mansury.

If you look at the title on the cover of the November 2019 issue of Tempo magazine, "Thohir Story: Erick Thohir Reorganizes Echelon I Officials at the Ministry of SOEs and Key Officials of the Red Plate Company. There's a Palace Custody." Based on the cover title, Tempo emphasized that the reshuffle of SOE officials was allegedly in the interest of Erick Thohir; this can be seen from the title "Tipan Istana," which means entrusting personal interests as political interests.

Meanwhile, on the cover title of the July 2020 edition of Tempo magazine with the title "Bancakan Jatah BUMN," the word "Bancakan" here is defined as holding a joint event or, in general, KBBI terms such as salvation; feast; 2) dishes provided in salvation; 3) Congratulations for children in celebrating birthdays or commemorating birthdays accompanied by the distribution of food or tumpeng rice. In the cover image, an illustration of Erick thohir's face is seen eating yellow rice accompanied by hands symbolized by the people involved with him. In this case, it is clarified by the caption on the cover title, "Minister of State-Owned Enterprises, Erick Thohir, is acrobatic in dividing seats in the Red Plate Company. Parties, Volunteers, Until the Minister Leaves Names."

Tempo certainly puts Erick Thohir in a political position, and there are indications of political practice in his position in BUMN. Both editions of the magazine continue to try to position Erick Thohir as the position of the political elite who "plays chess" in the reshuffle of the board of directors in BUMN. This can be seen in the December July 2019 edition of Tempo Weekly Magazine in the main report.

"Erick Thohir wiped out echelon I officials of the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises. The organizational structure was trimmed in order to create a corporate sense of bureaucracy. However, another mission also triggered the reshuffle, which was briefly closed from the public: eradicating the practice of buying and selling positions in state-owned companies. A conjecture that the palace also heard."

The July 2020 edition also shows headlines with the same perspective as in the following text (Sulistiyowati, Retno; Anam, 2019).

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The July 2020 edition also shows headlines with the same perspective as in the following text.

In the rhetorical aspect, the most highlighted words are through the title. For example, in the cover title "Thohir Story" or Indonesian, it is "certain Thohir," which in this November 2019 edition indeed Tempo told the plans, policies, and steps of Erick Thohir in overhauling the ranks of the SOE leadership, then in the headline "Dual Mission of Medan Merdeka" which can be interpreted as the existence of the interests of more than one party. Such as the use of the word "double" more than one adjacent one so that interests are seen not only by Erick THohir but also based on the interests of President Joko Widodo.

This can be seen in the photo posted in the initial main report, which contains a photo of Erick Thohir discussing with Joko Widodo. Then the next photo is a photo of Erick Thohir holding hands with the selected new SOE directors or officials and standing opposite the rice cone as a sign of thanksgiving. This photo is also in line with the cover of Tempo's July 2020 edition, which illustrates Erick Thohir is eating rice cones with his hands. -hands around him that signify the hands of officials. And supported by a series of photos of the new directors who became officials of the new BUMN.

In addition, the graphic (still in the Rhetorical aspect) also shows infographics with two different perspectives. As in the November 2019 edition, using an infographic that explained some of the problems and poor performance of previous BUMNs and Erick Thohir was described by Tempo as having the responsibility to solve all forms of problems in BUMN.

Then the July 2020 edition also includes infographics from the perspective of all forms of advantages, privileges, and luxuries when people sit in BUMN chairs and what are the work of commissioners in BUMN. Here Tempo uses the emphasis of the word "Wet-Empuk," which in its wet connotation can be interpreted as full of money, as described in the infographic as the largest dividend payer with a nominal value of trillions of rupiah from several state-owned companies, then soft, meaning comfort with various facilities and placements. A comfortable position for people who occupy the position of commissioner of BUMN.

Several other words that become the main highlighting lexicon, such as Tempo always emphasize words from the November 2019 and July 2020 editions, are the word "Titipan," which means that the position of BUMN is already a setting or there are parties or people who are related to several officials or interests. Certain people are appointed as BUMN officials without any objective assessment. Tempo has always emphasized that BUMN positions cannot be separated from the success teams or political volunteers who supported Jokowi in the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections.

The frame built by Tempo magazine cannot be separated from the ideological and political content of the media in it. As is the case in the Marxist ideology, it can be seen that the source of power in the cabinet regarding the selection of the board of commissioners and directors of SOEs is a form of suppression of democracy in favor of the rulers. It is the supporters of the right who have the right to occupy positions in SOEs. Tempo sees it from a superstructure perspective, where news coverage is built based on bourgeois ideological and political interests. At the same time, Tempo positions itself as a Marxist ideology that places emancipation towards society through the news frame.

In bourgeois politics, through the policies and steps of Minister Thohir, in Tempo's perspective, the ideology of the state apparatus cannot be separated from the ideology of the state apparatus, in which all state apparatuses are ideologically charged, regardless of their form, contributing the same result: reproduction of production relations, namely relations of exploitation by capitalists (Althusser, 2010).

The Tempo builds its news coverage based on social responsibility principles. In this theory, the press has the main task of serving the political system by (1). provide information, discussion, and debate on issues facing the community; (2). Providing information to the community so that the community can regulate itself; (3). Be a custodian of individual rights by acting as a watchdog that oversees the government; (4) serving the economic system by bringing together buyers and sellers of goods or services through the medium of advertising; (5) providing entertainment; (6) manage their financial costs, in such a way that they are free from pressures from people who have certain interests (Siebert, Fred S.; Peterson, Theodore; Schramm, 1986).

To build this social responsibility, Tempo magazine positions itself (the role of the media) as a rival to the views of bourgeois and bourgeois ideologies, which are conveyed through the frame of news texts with rival ideologies, namely Marxists, which in the Marxist view in criticizing the state ideology that state claims embody the public interest even though it serves the interests of the ruling class (Suseno, 2016). So that Tempo, in his perspective regarding the reshuffle of the board of commissioners, is based on the strong interests of the ruling class, including the bourgeoisie, not based on the interests of the people. Thus, ignoring the selection of leadership ranks based on subjectivity, not competence or credibility, can be assessed

objectively. This motive is also no different from the principle of socialism, which expects that office positions are based on no class but appropriate competence.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results and discussion of this research, it can be concluded that Tempo Weekly Magazine in reporting and describing Erick Thohir's political image is not balanced. Tempo positions Erick Thohir in a political position. It is full of political interests, especially in issuing a policy to reshuffle the ranks of commissioners, leaders, or directors of SOEs based on political interests for parties who have been a successful team supporting Joko Widodo or volunteers in the 2019 presidential election. Jokowi, Tempo has viewed Erick Thohir that the selection of BUMN leadership ranks is not based on objective or competency selection.

Tempo uses figurative words or sentences that emphasize public opinion that the selection of BUMN officials is indeed fraught with the government's political interests. This can be seen in the provision of titles in the news headlines, then in the leads to the body of the news. The word that Tempo often uses in the November 2019 and July 2020 editions is the use of the word "deposit" as a reinforcement of the word, which refers more to the word "penitip" or the person who entrusts, namely entrusting people to serve as SOE officials which Tempo dismantles through frames. Reports include several people who are familiar and known as Joko Widodo and people or political figures in Erick Thohir's circle. So, Tempo highlighted that this reshuffle was a place to gather together between Erick Thohir's political team and his involvement in volunteering for the election of President Joko Widodo.

Tempo, through its reporting, builds a frame perspective related to Erick Thohir's policy reporting and steps in overhauling SOEs based on a bourgeois ideology where the position of SOEs refers to the interests of the ruling classes and ignores the value of justice or objectivity. So here, Tempo itself forms its ideology through reporting based on the Marxist ideology, which in this ideology contradicts the ruling class or the bourgeoisie by building a critique of policies that benefit the ruling class or the bourgeoisie, not based on social interests.

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