Covering Former ISIS Fighters: A Framing Analysis of the Repatriation of Ex-ISIS in the Online Coverage of *Kompas* and *Republika*

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Abstract: This paper discusses how *Kompas.com* and *Republika.co.id* framed the coverage of the repatriation of ex-ISIS members to Indonesia. This study was a qualitative study using the approach of Robert N. Entman framing analysis model. The findings revealed that *Kompas.com* and *Republika Online* framed the return of the former ex-ISIS fighters to Indonesia differently in terms of the selection of news sources, legal analysis, and approval. *Kompas.com* tended to choose state officials to be a source to conduct analysis based on state law and reject repatriation of ex-ISIS. Meanwhile, *Republika Online* tended to select religious leaders to analyse based on Islamic law and allowed them to repatriate to this country. In other words, *Kompas.com* focused on the principle of humanism, while *Republika Online* more emphasised on Islam values and nationalism in their news coverage.

Keywords: Framing analysis, ex-ISIS, online media, ideology

Abstrak: Tulisan ini membahas bagaimana *Kompas.com* dan *Republika Online* membingkai pemberitaan isu pemulangan WNI eks-ISIS ke Indonesia. Studi ini merupakan studi kualitatif dengan menggunakan pendekatan analisis *framing* model Robert N. Entman. Temuan penelitian menyatakan bahwa *framing* kepulangan WNI *eks-ISIS* yang dilakukan *Kompas.com* dan *Republika.co.id* berbeda dari segi pemilihan narasumber, analisa hukum dan persetujuannya. *Kompas.com* cenderung memilih pejabat dan mendasarkan pada perspektif hukum negara serta menolak pemulangan WNI *eks-ISIS*. Sedangkan *Republika Online* cenderung memilih tokoh agama, analisa berdasar hukum Islam, dan memperbolehkan pemulangan WNI *Eks-ISIS*. Dengan kata lain, *Kompas.com* lebih mengedepankan prinsip humanisme, sedangkan *Republika Online* lebih mengedepankan nilai islam dan nasionalisme pada pemberitaannya.

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Introduction

Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is one of the terrorist movements formed by Muslim extremists in the Middle East region. This movement was formed on April 9, 2013 under the leadership of Abu Bakar Al-Baghdadi (Rijal, 2017). The purpose of the formation of this movement is to establish an Islamic state with a caliphate government system like in the time of Prophet Muhammad. The emergence of this movement has a major influence on the stability of world security. This is because of the radical actions carried out such as bombing and taking hostages to murder.

The existence of ISIS confirmed by Chandler and Gunaratna's prediction that after the World Trade Center bombing on 9 September 2001, global terrorism would experience significant development (Chandler & Gunaratna, 2007). There are three significant developments that will affect the dynamics of global security overworld terrorism. *First*, Al-Qaeda will experience transformation. This shows that ISIS is transforming Al-Qaeda into a more radical movement. Al-Qaeda is a radical movement led by Osama bin Laden formed in Afghanistan (Ali, 2014). Initially, this movement was formed to prevent the government from controlling resources. As a result, Osama's movement fought to seize them. Osama's group assumed that Muslims are entitled to own the resources. These resources are used as capital to establish an Islamic state with a Khilafah system. *Second*, Iraq will be made as a country for jihad "Land of Jihad". This has been proven by the establishment of ISIS based in Iraq and Syria. Although based in both countries, ISIS followers come from almost all countries in the world. *Third*, Muslim societies in various countries will show their support for "hatred propaganda" towards the United States and Western countries will dominate Muslims (Chandler & Gunaratna, 2007). Muslim communities in the Middle East region have been largely propagandized successfully by hating the United States. This is proven by their frequent demonstrations with all policies of the United States. They considered that the United States is too interfered with other countries. Also, the United States is responsible for the instability in the Middle East region (Chandler & Gunaratna, 2007).

ISIS can survive because of the resources they have, both natural and human resources. This group obtained funds from several sources, for example taxes of around 260 million US dollars, bank takeovers of around 500 billion Iraqi dinars, ransom from kidnappings, cultural preservation, and oil smuggling (Pichon, 2015). The money earned is used to buy weapons and the welfare of followers. About 5% of their income is also used for other public purposes (Brisard & Martinex, 2014).

In the current era of globalisation, the media has an important role (Kai Hafez, 2007). The strategy undertaken by ISIS to realize its goal of becoming an Islamic State is to carry out a variety of propaganda. The most intensified way by this movement is propaganda through social media (Berger, 2014). ISIS has a media called Al-Hayat Media Center. This media is specifically for recruiting ISIS members who come from Western people. This media content uses various languages for the population of the entire world (Vitale & Keagle, 2015). The capital of information and communication technology through the effective internet making this movement able to get sympathy from Muslims in various countries. ISIS has controlled nearly 10 million people (Brisard & Martinez, 2014, hlm. 3). Propaganda for jihad which was spread and received a good reception made this movement a transnational movement. One of the countries which many of its people are exposed to propaganda is Indonesia.

Hundreds of Indonesian people were deceived by ISIS propaganda for jihad. They were tempted by the welfare offered, such as free medication and decent work. They must attend religious and military training first (Wahyono, 2020). Therefore, they sold the property as their capital money and leave for Syria to carry out Jihad to defend Islam and improve their life. Martyrdom became one of their goals.

One of the victims of ISIS propaganda is the family of Febri Ramdani. He and 14 members of his family left for Syria despite having to sell all of his property in Indonesia. They were trapped for 300 days in Syria and managed to return to Indonesia in 2017 (Wahyono, 2020). They witnessed that ISIS members were not saints who wanted to defend Islam. They were bad people who like violence

and warfare. Moreover, ISIS army killed the poeple blindly, regardless of who they were, both foreigners and local residents. The story that Febri experienced while in Syria, he wrote a book entitled "300 Days in The Land of Sham: A Journey of a Former Fellow of ISIS" (Wahyono, 2020). There were 689 former Indonesian ISIS members want to return to Indonesia, but the government said they would not repatriate them (Noor, 2020).

The Indonesian government has made various efforts to prevent the Indonesian people to join ISIS. For example, preventing Indonesian citizens to go to Syria or Iraq, Strengthening the management of Indonesian citizens in Syria, tightening terrorism management in correctional institutions (Tempo, 2014). Besides that, The Indonesian government also monitored areas that were considered vulnerable and strengthening law enforcement (Martel, 2014). President Joko Widodo also rejected the invitation of the international community to fight ISIS using weapons, but rather to use a religious and cultural approach (Asril, 2014).

Previous research on ISIS had been carried out. The research conducted by Astinana Yuliarti, M. Tahir Kasnawi and Hafied Cangara entitled ISIS and the Stigma of Islamophobia Framing about the Construction of ISIS Coverage in Online Media compared four media namely *Al-Jazeera.com, CNN.com, Kompas.com*, and *Republika.co.id*. The results of the study indicated that western media *Al-Jazeera* and *CNN.com* framed the news about ISIS in a different way compared with the Indonesian media *Kompas.com* and *Republika.co.id*. *Al-Jazeera* framed the news with a normative view, CNN.com compared Muslims more to non-Muslims. *Kompas.com* framed ISIS in a balanced way even though it still contained opinions, while *Republika.co.id* was more anti-American and portrayed as a western hermit who had hatred towards Muslims (Yuliarti, Kasnawi, & Vangara, 2017).

Other research owned by Zaidatul Khoroini, entitled "Analysis of ISIS (The Islamic State of Iraq and Syrian) Framing Coverage in *Republika Online* and *Merdeka.com* September 2014 Edition. The results of this study indicated *that Republika Online* tend to frame ISIS

as something that violates the law because it was considered to cause a lot of unrest and violate the law, while *Merdeka.com* was more about moral issues. This research was much different from the two previous studies. This research focused on the description of the issue of the return of Ex-ISIS which was in the spotlight recently. Moreover, the media highlighted were different, because researchers compared *Kompas.com* and *Republika On line* (Khoroini, 2016).

Indirectly, the mass media contributes to the development of related issues so that the formed public opinion is influenced by media coverage. One of the mass media that is widely accessed by the public is online media contained on the website (Mustika, 2017). The emergence of online media makes information from an event more quickly conveyed by media owners to the public (Syamsul, 2012). Printed media such as *Kompas* and *Republika* also have websites that can be accessed by the public, so they don't have to look for printed news to find out the issue updates every day.

Kompas.com is one of the media that was founded in 1995 (Siswanti, 2019). The first name used was Kompas Online, a site that accommodates *Kompas* reporting in the online version. The development of information and communication technology has made Kompas spread its wings to become PT. *Kompas Cyber Media* (KCM). This development makes Kompas.com has a new team. They produce news by adjusting the target audience's character. In 2008, KCM collaborated with other media groups at Kompas Gramedia. The collaboration made Kompas.com one of the news portals that reported on issues in various media formats such as text and video. Not only that, but they also spread their news content using digital platforms, namely desktop and mobile sites from various mobile operating systems (*Kompas*-group.com).

Furthermore, *Republika Online* was established on August 17, 1995, exactly two years since the *Republika daily* began to be published. *Republika Online* is one of the media that disseminates content with text, video, and audio created using hypertext and hypermedia technology. Advances in information and communication technology make this media portal participate in developing its potential. Now

Republika Online is coming up with various new features that are a mixture of digital media communication (Mustika, 2017).

Each media has different characteristics in making news content. This is because the media is not a free channe and it has different ideologies and interests. It means that the media constructs issues into news content according to the characteristics of the media. So that an issue can be reported differently by the media. Some events are reported, some are not reported, some aspects are highlighted, some are omitted (Mustika, 2017). What is done by the media leads to a concept called "framing".

Framing is a way on how events that occur are reported by the media by emphasizing certain aspects and sections, and giving effects such as enlarging certain ways of telling stories from events so that they are easily remembered by the public (Eriyanto, 2002). Kompas and Republika have different ideologies. Since its inception, Kompas has been a guard for the Republic of Indonesia, namely with its nationalist-humanist ideology. Whereas Republika is more directed towards the struggle of jihad-political, meaning that it is oriented to the level of struggle of Islamic ideology (Mustika, 2017).

According to Robert Entman, The way to analyse the power of communication text in framing, it is always related to definitions, recommendations, explanations and recommendations in the news to emphasize the framework of thinking about events. Entman divides framing into four elements (Entman, 2007). *First*, defining the problem (define problems). This element is the mainframe that determines the emphasis of the news because it comes from the perspective of journalists. *Second*, estimating the cause of the problem (diagnose cause). This element emphasizes what and who is considered an actor in the event. *Third*, make moral decisions (make moral judgments). This element is about moral values precisely justifies the assessment of events that occur. *Fourth*, emphasizing resolution (treatment recommendation). This element is an evaluation on how reporters solve problems that depend on the cause of the problem (Pratiwi, 2018).

Essentially, according to Entman *framing* includes the selection and highlighting. The intention is to make a selection of several aspects to show something prominent in the text (Entman, 1993). News that is published will always have elements highlighted. The aim is to promote the definition of a problem specifically. This is good for analyzing and recommending solutions or handling (Sobur, 2009).

The author uses Robert N. Entman's framing analysis model to analyse how the two online media frames news about the return of ex-ISIS to Indonesia. Knowing how Kompas.com and Republika Online frame the news about the issue of returning the ex-ISIS to Indonesia is the focus of the author in this study.

Methodology

This study uses a qualitative method with a critical approach that uses framing analysis. The purpose of this study is to describe the events regarding the back of ex-ISIS to Indonesia within the Kompas and Republika media frames. Data collection was taken through Republika and Kompas online media related to the reporting of the return of ex-ISIS to Indonesia. The author takes a purposive sampling technique, which is choosing a sample that matches the specified criteria. The criterion used is the news regarding the return of Ex-ISIS is news written on the *Kompas.com* and *Republika.com* websites between February and March that contains the concept of religious ideology. The data analysis technique is using Robert N. Entman's framing analysis method, namely the constructionist view. Entman's framing model explains the process of selecting events and highlighting the media. The researcher choosed Entman's framing analysis because it could help the researcher to find out the problem regarding the ex-ISIS reporting by the media and analyse the reasons for the problem.

Text Analysis

This research focused on news coverage from *Kompas.com* and *Republika Online* regarding the issue of returning Indonesian citizens to Indonesia. Following the theme, the chosen news is truly related to the return of ex-ISIS citizens to Indonesia. Researchers will present the results of an analysis of the framing of the two media in the table to make it easier to compare both of them.

Table 1 'Framing Analysis'

	The Orphans Ex-ISIS Indonesian Citizen Returned, Mahfud: The Policy Is Official (Kompas.com)	Komnas PA: Repartriation of Children of Ex-ISIS Indonesian Citizens Needs Assessment (Republika Online)
What problem happened	The government has made the plan to return orphans of ex-ISIS Indonesian citizens as an official policy	The Chairperson of the National Commission for Child Protection (Komnas PA), stated that the plan to return the children of ex-ISIS Indonesian citizens requires assement or in-depth study.
What caused it	Based on the initial principles of the government that orphans would be sent home. Previously the government also open the option to repatriate children from Indonesian citizens suspected of cross-border terrorism as well as ex-ISIS	Plans for returning the children of Ex-ISIS Indonesian citizens to Indonesia

	The Orphans Ex-ISIS Indonesian Citizen Returned, Mahfud: The Policy Is Official *(Kompas.com)*	Komnas PA: Repartriation of Children of Ex-ISIS Indonesian Citizens Needs Assessment *(Republika Online)*
Moral Concern	Breaking the chain of radicalism in children	Children are only victims, so knowing the extent to which they are exposed to radical understanding and handling is important
Suggestions / Solutions	Register the child's identity in detail and consider case by case by the government	Conduct in-depth assessment including a complete data collection in advance of the children of Ex-ISIS Indonesian citizens

Source: Researcher's Processed Data

Table 2 'Framing Analysis'

	Ex-ISIS Indonesian Citizens Return Plan, Ganjar Reject, Ridwan Kamil Received Conditional *(Kompas.com)*	Regarding Ex-ISIS Repatriation, Deputy Chairman of MUI : Don't Beat Evenly *(Republika Online)*
What problem happened	Ganjar Pranowo refused the repatriation of the Ex-ISIS and Ridwan Kamil allowed it	MUI Deputy Chairman Muhdiyiddin Junaidi said that all parties should not hit the average goal of Indonesian citizens joining ISIS. So, it needs a deeper study of their goals
What caused it	According to Ganjar, the state has spent too much on de-radicalization. However,	They join for different reasons because the book they read and received is

	Ex-ISIS Indonesian Citizens Return Plan, Ganjar Reject, Ridwan Kamil Received Conditional *(Kompas.com)*	Regarding Ex-ISIS Repatriation, Deputy Chairman of MUI : Don't Beat Evenly *(Republika Online)*
	according to Ridwan Kamil, every citizen gets the right to live a normal life as usual	wrong or they don't even know what's going on. Therefore, we must be fair, we should not hit evenly. Especially children who must not be prohibited from returning to Indonesia.
Moral Concern	All Indonesian people have the same right to life. However, it remains within a specified scope	Ex-ISIS Indonesians are victims. They did not know what was happening.
Suggestions / Solutions	Considering the good and bad the return of Ex-ISIS to Indonesia	Ex-ISIS citizens are allowed to go home, even though those who have burned passport. However, it must still impose sanctions on those concerned.

Source: Researcher's Processed Data

Table 3 'Framing Analysis'

	PBNU Affirms the Rejection of the Plan to Return the Transboundary Terrorist Citizens Suspected *(Kompas.com)*	PBNU Secretary-General: Rejection of the Return of Ex-ISIS According to Constitution *(Republika Online)*
What problem happened	The Chairman of PBNU said that he rejected the plan to repatriate Indonesian citizens	Rejection of the ex-ISIS repatriation under Constitution Law Number

	PBNU Affirms the Rejection of the Plan to Return the Transboundary Terrorist Citizens Suspected (*Kompas.com*)	PBNU Secretary-General: Rejection of the Return of Ex-ISIS According to Constitution (*Republika Online*)
	suspected of being cross-border terrorists	12 of 2006 concerning RI Citizenship, Article 23 paragraph D states that Indonesian citizens lose their citizenship to enter the foreign army service without prior permission from the President
What caused it	The repatriation of around 600 ex-ISIS citizens can disturb the peace of Indonesians as a whole	ISIS is considered a foreign movement that is contrary to the political ideology of the Indonesian people. Former members of ISIS are also considered to have ignored the country's constitution and voluntarily gave up their citizenship. By burning their passports, and carrying out actions beyond humanitarian limits such as murder and rape, it is enough to show that they are not only breaking the law but also religious rules
Moral Concern	Indonesian citizens have burned passports and become ISIS citizens, it means they are no longer Indonesian citizens	The return of Ex-ISIS members would disturb the peace and security of the Indonesian population.

	PBNU Affirms the Rejection of the Plan to Return the Transboundary Terrorist Citizens Suspected (*Kompas.com*)	PBNU Secretary-General: Rejection of the Return of Ex-ISIS According to Constitution (*Republika Online*)
Suggestions / Solutions	There are two options. *The first option*, the government repatriates Ex-ISIS because it is part of the Indonesian citizens. This was accompanied by the preparation of the de-radicalization process and its regulations. *The second option* is that Ex-ISIS citizens are not repatriated because they are considered to have violated the law.	Returning Ex-ISIS is not a solution. Ex-ISIS citizens should not be repatriated for the sake of mutual security.

Source: Researcher's Processed Data

Framing Analysis of *Kompas.com* Coverage of Ex-ISIS Repatriation

The first framing concept on Kompas.com was published on February 24, 2020, under the headline "The Orphans of Ex-ISIS Indonesian Citizens Returned, Mahfud: Policy Is Official" written by Achmad Nasrudin Yahya. This news discusses the government's plan to repatriate the children of Ex-ISIS Indonesian citizens to Indonesia. However, the plan has become the official policy of the government to repatriate children under the age of 10 years. This relates to the previous government's plan if the government opens the option to repatriate the children of Ex-ISIS citizens, especially those who do not interfere with acts of terrorism of their parents.

This news emphasizes that breaking the chain of radicalism can be done through children. Sometimes children who are left with radicalism in their minds will make them hate their own country. The treatment of the state by allowing and neglecting them is the reason.

Mahfud explained that the government would conduct a deeper study if the children of ex-ISIS Indonesian citizens who were sent home were exposed to radicalism. However, the government does not have detailed and clear data on the children to be sent home. Kompas.com illustrates that the return of children of Ex-ISIS Indonesian citizens to Indonesia has its consequences. Therefore, the solution is to find out the background, accurate data collection, and consideration by case by case by the government.

The second news framing entitled "Ex-ISIS Indonesian Citizens Return Plan, Ganjar Reject, Ridwan Kamil Received Conditional" written by Riska Farasonalia and published on February 8, 2020. This news discusses the opinion of state officials both the President and the Governor namely West Java and Central Java. The President personally refused to repatriate the Ex-ISIS citizens to Indonesia, but this matter was still being discussed with other concerned parties. Besides President Joko Widodo, the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo, said that the eEx-ISIS citizens did not need to be repatriated. This is because they are considered to have been exposed to radicalism and the government has spent a considerable amount of money on de-radicalization so far. Unlike the Governor of Central Java, The Governor of West Java, Ridwan Kamil, stated that ex-ISIS citizens should be repatriated, but with several conditions. Ex-ISIS citizens are residents themselves who should have the same rights and feel the same as other residents. However, to be discharged, they must have been repented and regarded by BNPT , not carrying out activities that deviate from ideology, illegal and so on.

This news emphasizes that all citizens have the same rights but within the right scope. Ex-ISIS Indonesian citizen also has the right to safe and right to live returning to their homeland. But with various considerations so that the Indonesian people also still feel safe. Citizens who have been ISIS fighters must be ensured that they are no longer exposed to radical understandings or are considered as repent. That is, those who continue to hold firm to the ideology of Pancasila. Kompas.com indirectly portrays the ex-ISIS citizen is not the wrong thing, if it is done with the condition that each party does not feel

disadvantaged. The solution is to consider the pros and cons if the eEx-ISIS citizen is repatriated.

The third framing entitled "PBNU Affirms the Rejection of the Plan to Return the Transboundary Terrorist Citizens Suspected" by Dian Erika Nugraheny, published on February 11, 2020. This news explains the opinion of the Chairman of PBNU on the issue of returning ex-ISIS Indonesian Citizens. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi visited the PBNU office to ask for consideration on Tuesday, February 10, 2020. On this occasion, the chairman of PBNU, Said Aqil Siradj stated that his party did not agree if the ex-ISIS citizen was repatriated. He reasoned that their repatriation would cause the Indonesian people become uneasy. Moreover, by coming to Syria, burning an Indonesian passport and claiming to have joined ISIS shows that they are no longer Indonesian citizens.

This news emphasizes that when someone has burned their passport, pledged himself to join another country, then they has pawned and lost his citizenship as an Indonesian citizen. Their ideology has changed and no longer Pancasila. Kompas.com has described that the repatriation of Ex-ISIS will have significant consequences. Not only at risk for the government, but also for the people of Indonesia. Many things must be prepared if the government will truly repatriate them, such as de-radicalization and ensuring that the people accept their return.

Analysing *Republika Online* News Coverage of Ex-ISIS Back to Indonesia

The first news framing of *Republika Online* was titled "National Commission for Child Protection (Komnas PA): Repatriation of Children of Ex-ISIS Indonesian Citizens Needs Assessment" written by Ujang Zaelani and published on February 17, 2020. This news explained the opinion of the chairman of the National Commission for Child Protection, Arist Merdeka Sirait who stated that children should get protection because children are victims of their parents. In addition, the Child Protection Act also explains that the state must protect children who conflict with the law, including those who are in

situations of involvement with terrorism. Therefore, before the repatriation of the children of Ex-ISIS Indonesian Citizens happened, an assessment or in-depth study was needed. The state must record and know how much the involvement of children. If indeed they are exposed to radicalism, the government must prepare an antidote. The available data must also be absolutely clear, it should not assume that all children have been exposed to radicalism, when in fact they are not.

This news emphasizes that children are victims of their parents. They did not know what was happening. Even about radicals, they don't know what that means. The offered solution is to conduct a complete data collection and deeper assessment. Complete data collection is to know how their history and condition and how much they are exposed to radical understanding. In-depth studies are intended to find out the situation, antidotes, and even handling when they are really exposed to radicalism.

The second news framing entitled "Regarding Ex-ISIS Repatriation, Deputy Chairman of MUI : Don't Beat Evenly" written by Umar Mukhtar published on February 11, 2020. The news explained the opinion of the Deputy Chairman of the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI), Muhdiyyin Junaidi, in the issue of returning Indonesian citizens Ex-ISIS to Indonesia may not consider all the same but must know their reasons or goals for joining ISIS. They joined because of the differences in the books they read and received, so in concluding something, they were also different. This means that the government should not be able to beat what is happening because it is not their fault. Especially for children who should still be discharged because they are victims.

This news emphasizes that citizens who flew to Syria were victims of the spread of radicalism. Even though they don't know what is happening, what they are facing, even what they are doing. The offered solution is to keep sending them home even though they have burned their Indonesian passport. They still must be repatriated, primarily children, but by imposing sanctions on those concerned people.

The third framing is the news entitled "PBNU Secretary-General: Rejection of the Return of Ex-ISIS According to Constitution" written

by Sigid Kurniawan and published on 11 February 2020. The news states that the Secretary-General of the Executive Board of Nahdlatul Ulama, Helmy Faishal Zaini, considers that the rejection of repatriation Indonesian Citizens of Ex-ISIS under Law Constitution Number 12 of 2006 concerning on Indonesian Citizenship. Article 23 paragraph D states that Indonesian citizens will lose their citizenship status if they are included in the foreign army service without obtaining prior permission from the President. PBNU believes that ISIS is a foreign movement that clearly contradicts the ideology of the Indonesian people. This means that ISIS members are those who have ignored the country's constitution and consciously and willingly gave up to their citizenship. That means, they are no longer Indonesian citizens. Added with those who burn passports, commit murder and even rape shows that they are not only breaking the law but also religious rules.

This news emphasizes that by repatriating of Indonesian citizens Ex-ISIS to Indonesia makes Indonesian people feel disturbed by their serenity and security. It is not impossible if many Indonesian people will panic with the return of Ex-ISIS Indonesian citizens. They will be afraid of bombings or other acts of terror. The solution is to not repatriate the ex-ISIS citizens back to Indonesia. Therefore, Indonesians will remain calm because none of the former people are exposed to radicalism.

The Differences between *Kompas.com* and *Republika Online* Ex-ISIS Framing

It is not a public secret if media ownership determines the direction of reporting an event. When the media owner has determined the direction of the policy, the media editor must comply with the policy. The correlation between the interests of media owners and editors must continue so that the neutrality and independence of the media remain in tune. This causes the news to be targeted for constructing reality in the interests of the corporation. The proof is the difference in media packaging in reporting an event. Likewise with the news presented by *Kompas.com* and *Republika Online*, which exactly did not

separate from construction. According to Beger and Luckman, the media carry out three processes to construct construction in the form of objectivation, internalization, and externalization. Journalists have a subjective view which makes the issue constructed in such a way. This view determines how facts are taken, the results of interviews conducted and how narratives are written and published in the form of news.

Based on the above data exposure, it appears that Kompas.com is displaying more relativity facts rather than Republika Online. Both of them did show partiality to certain parties. But Kompas.com seems to make the news more balanced, namely providing opportunities for various concerned parties to give statements. Especially officials, such as the Governor and the Minister. While Republika Online is inclined to prefer Islamic figures. Like the Secretary-General of PBNU, and the Chairman of MUI. In addition, Republika Online prioritizes legal facts, but it is still supplemented by statements made by observers.

Kompas.com and Republika Online have a different ideological background. Therefore their frame for the issue of returning to ex-ISIS citizens is also different. Kompas.com with the ideology of humanism that puts forward the principles of humanity. Meanwhile, Republika Online is more about media that focuses on Islam, and it puts forward the values of Islam and nationalism in its reporting. This is following what was explained by Biagi regarding the three concepts of mass media. *First*, the mass media is a business that focuses on profit. Knowing that the news is one of the media construction tools, shows that what is presented is following corporate media that aims to benefit. *Second*, the mass media can change both the way of sending and consumption of the mass media itself. The strategy used by the media to publish news changes on how human patterns depend on news needs. For example, people used to have to buy newspapers to find out news, but now the media are changing their marketing strategies, not only through printed media but also online media. Thus, wherever we access, the news will be easy as long as there are signals and quotas. *Third*, mass media shows and influences society, culture and even politics. The construction and strategy adopted by the media unconsciously have a cultural influence on society. For example

when at curfew for a break, but television shows interesting programs. This makes the community will be willing to postpone their sleep to see their favorite program.

Conclusion

The issue of the return of ex-ISIS citizens has become the hottest issue lately. This is because there was a controversy whether they must be repatriated or not after the collapse of ISIS. The media such as Kompas.com and Republika Online which actively reports on the issue have an important role in framing the issue. However, Kompas.com and Republika Online have differences type of framing the issue of ISIS . Kompas.com as a media with an ideology of humanism prefers to present the official figures perspectives, while Republika Online as a media with an ideology of Islam prefers religious figures opinion. Kompas.com is more likely to preach that leads to the disagreement of returning ex-ISIS citizens, while Republika Online is more directed to the approval of repatriation despite the conditions.

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