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# Construction the image of pesantren in framing mass media news: A Robert Entman perspective

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## ABSTRACT

**Background:** Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*), as longstanding institutions of moral and spiritual education in Indonesia, have recently faced public scrutiny following the building collapse at Pondok Pesantren Al-Khoziny and the controversial portrayal of pesantren activities in the Xpose Uncensored aired on Trans7, prompting this study to analyze how the media construct the image of pesantren through Robert N. Entman's framing perspective. **Methods:** This study applies a qualitative descriptive design using Robert N. Entman's framing analysis model (define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgment, and treatment recommendation) to examine news texts from BBC News Indonesia, TVOne News, and the Xpose Uncensored program on Trans7, with data analyzed through Miles and Huberman's stages of data collection, reduction, display, and conclusion drawing, supported by relevant literature as secondary sources. **Findings:** The main findings of this study indicate that the three media outlets construct the image of pesantren through different frames in accordance with their respective editorial perspectives. BBC News Indonesia emphasizes the tension between the narrative of "destiny" and demands for accountability, leading to the perception that pesantren are prone to using religious statements to obscure potential negligence. TVOne News frames pesantren as institutions that are administratively and technically negligent in construction governance, thus portraying the building collapse as evidence of failed development management. Meanwhile, Trans7, through its Xpose Uncensored program, constructs an image of pesantren characterized by strong social hierarchies and unequal power relations between kiai and santri, highlighting visuals and narratives of so-called "new-style feudalism". **Conclusion:** The three mass media outlets construct the image of pesantren in different ways through the selection of focus, narratives, and moral evaluations, resulting in framing that significantly influences public perceptions of pesantren. **Novelty/Originality of this article:** The novelty of this study lies in the integration of two contemporary event contexts and a cross-media analysis that comprehensively maps how the image of pesantren is constructed through current news coverage an approach that has rarely been explored in previous studies.

**KEYWORDS:** Entman's framing model; Islamic boarding school image; media framing.

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## 1. Introduction

The image of Islamic boarding schools (*Pesantren*) in Indonesia has long been firmly established as that of a noble and respected Islamic educational institution across various segments of society. This is inseparable from the role of pesantren as the oldest Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia (Mansyuri et al., 2023). Conceptually, image can be understood as a social representation formed through processes of public perception and interpretation of the reality of a particular object or institution (Ubaedullah, 2018). In this

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context, the image of pesantren represents how the public perceives and evaluates pesantren as religious institutions that function not only as centers for the transmission of Islamic knowledge but also as institutions for character formation, moral development, and the cultivation of spiritual values (Natsir & Rohman, 2024). Thus, Islamic boarding schools have become symbols of the integration of knowledge and morality, as well as a synthesis between classical Islamic scholarly traditions (*turāth*) and modern intellectual developments. This is in line with Hikmah et al (2025) who state that pesantren, as educational institutions, remain relevant amid societal changes; consequently, many parents entrust their children's education to pesantren because they are considered capable of instilling spiritual discipline alongside strong moral character.

With such a strategic image, in the modern era Islamic boarding schools have increasingly become the focus of media coverage across various national platforms, including television, online news portals, and social media. The issues highlighted are not limited to educational and da'wah activities but also encompass social aspects of life within the pesantren environment itself (Nadzifah & Listyani, 2025). This phenomenon indicates that pesantren are no longer situated within a closed or secluded sphere; rather, they have become part of public discourse that is easily accessed and evaluated by a broad audience. However, behind this intense media attention, the ways in which the media construct realities about pesantren vary considerably, and the news production process often involves framing practices (Pangestu & Shabana, 2024).

In this context, the relationship between image and framing is closely interconnected. Image is the result of public perception of a social reality (Yaqin & Fahlifi, 2023), whereas framing refers to the media's process of constructing meaning in shaping that perception (Butsi, 2019). In other words, the way the media frame an event determines how the public perceives and evaluates pesantren. Media framing has a significant influence on the image of an issue being presented, including that of pesantren as an institution, and it holds strong potential to provoke public reactions that align with or oppose particular news narratives (Zawawi et al., 2024). Through this process, the issues highlighted by the media in reporting an event are inevitably shaped by specific perspectives and meanings articulated through diverse narratives. The framing adopted by mass media often depends on particular interests they hold (Leliana et al., 2021). Even when it does not amount to false news, media framing remains prone to generating imbalances in public opinion by steering audiences toward one-sided interpretations, which may ultimately give rise to social tension and conflict within society (Ninan et al., 2022).

Within broader communication theory, media representation is understood as a process through which social institutions are symbolically constructed in the public sphere. The media do not merely reflect reality; rather, they actively produce and reproduce meanings through discursive practices. In this sense, framing can be seen as a mechanism of discourse power, enabling media institutions to define problems, attribute responsibility, and legitimize particular interpretations of social reality. Therefore, analyzing framing practices also means examining how symbolic power operates in shaping institutional images.

Recently, issues surrounding Islamic boarding schools have resurfaced in media coverage following two major events that attracted widespread public attention. First was the collapse of a building at Al-Khozini Islamic boarding school, which resulted in fatalities, and second was the controversy surrounding footage depicting life inside a pesantren environment aired through the program *Xpose Uncensored* on Trans7, which sparked uproar on social media. The collapse of the Al-Khozini pesantren building received extensive coverage from various national media outlets, with initial reporting largely focusing on the disaster itself and expressions of condolence for the victims. However, as media coverage intensified, public scrutiny of pesantren began to expand. On various social media platforms, video clips emerged showing students (*santri*) involved in the construction process of pesantren buildings. One such clip was uploaded by the TikTok account @SoloposOfficial, which showed santri participating in the concrete casting of a four-story building. A similar video was also uploaded by the TikTok account

@CNNIndonesia, accompanied by clarification from the pesantren caretaker, who stated that “the construction work involved skilled professionals; the santri only assisted, essentially as helpers.” These video clips subsequently triggered diverse reactions from netizens. Through comment sections and user-generated content, many accounts argued that the involvement of santri in construction work indicated weak supervision and non-compliance with occupational safety principles. As a result of such media portrayals, assumptions emerged that this activity contributed to the collapse of the Al-Khozini pesantren building. Conversely, some circles within the pesantren community viewed the activity as an expression of mutual cooperation and shared responsibility that characterizes pesantren life.

Another similar case that also drew significant public attention appeared in an episode of the program *Xpose Uncensored* broadcast by Trans7. In this episode, a segment was shown depicting a *kyai* and *bu nyai* receiving envelopes from the *santri*, as well as scenes of santri walking in a crouched posture in front of the *kyai* and *bu nyai*. The footage was accompanied by narration from a female narrator, who stated that many netizens assumed the *kyai* had become increasingly wealthy, owning cars worth billions of rupiah and branded *sarong* priced at tens of millions of rupiah, which were allegedly derived from the envelopes given by the santri. The narration further touched upon the *kyai*'s family life, implying that they also “benefited from the wealth,” accompanied by a sarcastic remark suggesting that “if one is wealthy, the wealth should be shared with the community.” Moreover, the media segment highlighted the daily duties of santri assigned to chores at the *kyai*'s residence, including mopping floors, sweeping, washing clothes, cleaning kitchen utensils, wiping furniture, and even cleaning plant leaves. These activities were portrayed by the media narrator as a form of “new-style feudalism,” likened to practices during the colonial era. However, in contrast to this media portrayal, some santri viewed these activities not as exploitation, but rather as expressions of devotion, respect, and a distinctive privilege within the pesantren tradition.

The two events described above have placed the image of *pesantren* in a dilemmatic position in the eyes of the public. On the one hand, *pesantren*, as the oldest Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia, have long played a crucial role as centers for the development of Islamic knowledge and as spaces for shaping the moral and character formation of younger generations (Niswah et al., 2025). On the other hand, in recent times many media outlets have tended to highlight *pesantren* through sensational and problematic frames, such as portraying pesantren traditions as being less relevant from a humanitarian perspective or emphasizing alleged negligence in institutional management. Such media coverage not only influences how the public perceives *pesantren*, but also has the potential to construct negative perceptions regarding their existence and legitimacy as Islamic educational institutions. Based on this phenomenon, it becomes particularly important to examine how mass media frame the image of *pesantren* in reporting these two cases. To address this issue, the present study employs Robert Entman's framing theory. This theoretical framework is selected because, as explained by Eriyanto (2012) Entman's concept of framing provides a comprehensive analytical tool for understanding how events or social realities are constructed and presented by the media through specific emphases and narrative focuses in news coverage.

According to Entman (2007), framing refers to the selection and emphasis of certain aspects of news with the purpose of shaping how an issue is presented so that it can influence the public in line with the media's own interests. In this sense, the media do not merely convey information; they also have the power to select particular issues and highlight specific aspects of an event in order to construct the meanings they intend to promote (Sukri & Yesicha, 2017). Consequently, framing in news reporting can shape the way audiences understand an issue through choices of wording, narrative focus, and contextualization in constructing a social reality, which may differ from the objective reality in the field.

Robert Entman's framing analysis model consists of four key elements: (1) define problems, (2) diagnose causes, (3) make moral judgment, and (4) treatment

recommendation (Entman, 2010). First, define problems refers to the stage used to focus on how the media interpret or define an event (Entman et al., 2009). At this stage, attention is centered on how the event is narrated and explained by journalists. Second, diagnose causes concerns how an event is framed to identify the actors involved and to explain who is responsible for or contributes to the occurrence of the event (Entman, 1991). Third, make moral judgment relates to the process of providing moral evaluations or justifications for the discourse presented earlier (Entman, 2009). This stage is used by journalists to reinforce the initial narrative by adding evaluative arguments that legitimize a particular interpretation. Fourth, treatment recommendation is the stage at which journalists or media outlets propose solutions, responses, or courses of action regarding the reported event (Entman, 1993). Overall, all elements of Robert Entman's framing analysis depend heavily on the perspective from which an event is observed and interpreted (Putra & Nasionalita, 2018).

In conducting this study, the researcher reviewed a number of relevant previous studies, both in terms of the theoretical framework employed and the research objects examined. Several prior studies have applied similar theories, particularly framing analysis, such as those conducted by Hafidli et al. (2023), Indiarti et al. (2025), Leliana et al. (2021), Pangestu & Shabana (2024); Rahmah & Fauzi (2025); Sunaryanto et al. (2022); Tiara Syifa (2024); Wijoyo (2023), Zawawi et al. (2024). The findings of these studies indicate that framing plays a crucial role in shaping public perception through the selection and emphasis of certain aspects within news coverage. In addition, several studies have focused on Islamic boarding schools (*pondok pesantren*) as research objects, as seen in the works of Alfath (2020), Bahri & Mansari (2020), Majid & Nurwahidin (2025), Natsir & Rohman (2024), Pangestu & Shabana (2024), Ubaedullah (2018). However, these studies generally concentrate on aspects such as education, Islamic character formation, institutional management of pesantren, sexual violence, and hegemonic practices, rather than examining how the image of pesantren is constructed through mass media framing.

Based on the review of previous studies presented earlier, this research shares similarities with several prior studies in its use of Robert Entman's framing theory. However, the distinction lies in the focus of analysis and the research context examined. This study specifically investigates how the image of Islamic boarding schools (*pondok pesantren*) is constructed in mass media coverage, particularly in the context of two recent events that have attracted significant public attention: the collapse of a building at Al-Khoziny Islamic boarding school and media coverage of life within pesantren environments as broadcast in the "Xpose Uncensored" program on Trans7. To date, no study has been found that specifically examines how the media frame the image of pesantren in such contemporary and high-profile cases. Therefore, this research positions its novelty by offering an in-depth understanding of the construction of pesantren imagery in mass media discourse, especially in relation to sensational and controversial news coverage that has the potential to influence public perception. However, limited attention has been given to how religious educational institutions are discursively constructed through cross-platform media framing in contemporary controversial contexts. This indicates a theoretical gap at the intersection of media framing, institutional representation, and discourse power.

Building on the above discussion, this study aims to reveal how the mass media construct the image of Islamic boarding schools through their coverage of two recent cases, namely the collapse of a building at Al-Khozini Islamic Boarding School and the reporting on activities within pesantren environments aired in the *Xpose Uncensored* program on Trans7. Through this approach, the study is expected to provide valuable insights by comprehensively uncovering how the image of pesantren is constructed in mass media coverage, while also highlighting how framing practices reflecting the orientations and values upheld by the media play a role in shaping public perceptions of pesantren in Indonesia. In doing so, this study also contributes to broader discussions in communication theory regarding the role of media framing in constructing institutional identity and shaping public discourse.

## 2. Methods

This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach using Robert N. Entman's framing analysis method. This approach is chosen to understand the meanings, interpretations, and constructions of social reality formed by the media regarding the image of Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) in news coverage. Qualitative research emphasizes an in-depth understanding of social phenomena through textual and narrative analysis (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Framing analysis is applied to examine how mass media frame events through word choice, issue salience, and particular perspectives (Eriyanto, 2012).

The research data consist of primary sources in the form of online news reports from BBC News Indonesia and TVOne News, as well as the television program *Xpose* on Trans7, which highlight two recent cases: the collapse of a building at Al-Khoziny Islamic Boarding School and the controversial coverage of activities within *pesantren* environments. Secondary data are derived from journals, books, and scholarly literature relevant to studies on framing and the image of *pesantren*. The research procedures are conducted systematically, beginning with data collection, followed by analysis using Robert Entman's (2009) framing model with its four elements; (1) define problems, (2) diagnose causes, (3) make moral judgement, and (4) treatment recommendation. This is then followed by data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing in accordance with the Miles and Huberman analytical model (Miles et al., 2014).

During the data reduction stage, only segments that explicitly reflected framing devices related to the institutional image of *pesantren* were retained for in-depth analysis. The selected data were then presented narratively and comparatively to highlight similarities and differences in framing patterns across media platforms. In drawing conclusions, the researcher conducted cross-media comparisons to identify dominant frames and underlying discursive tendencies. Throughout the analytical process, interpretations were continuously re-examined to ensure consistency between the empirical data and the theoretical framework of framing analysis, thereby enhancing the transparency and credibility of the findings.

Data were collected through documentation techniques, namely by watching and taking notes on the content of the *Xpose* Trans7 program, reading and recording online news texts from BBC News Indonesia and TVOne News, and subsequently archiving the texts for analysis using Entman's framing categories. Data concerning the collapse of the Al-Khoziny Islamic boarding school building were obtained from documented online news reports by BBC News Indonesia and TVOne News, which directly covered the incident and included statements from the police, witnesses, and the *pesantren* caretaker. In addition, the researcher watched and documented the *Xpose* Trans7 broadcast, which presented visual coverage of daily activities within the *pesantren* environment.

All collected data were then archived and categorized according to the four framing elements proposed by Robert Entman. At the analysis stage, the researcher conducted data reduction by selecting news segments relevant to the framing of the *pesantren*'s image, presenting them narratively, and subsequently drawing conclusions to answer how mass media frame the image of *pesantren* in the two contemporary cases examined. Through these systematic steps, each stage of the data analysis process can be clearly traced and accounted for in accordance with the principles of qualitative research.

The coding process was conducted manually through repeated and careful reading of the collected texts and close observation of the broadcast segments. Each text and visual narrative was examined to identify statements, word choices, narrative emphases, and visual cues that correspond to Entman's four framing elements: problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. Relevant excerpts were then labeled and grouped according to these categories to form a structured analytical matrix. This coding procedure allowed the researcher to systematically trace how each media outlet constructed particular meanings and emphasized specific aspects of the events under study.

### 3. Results and Discussion

This study analyzes the construction of the image of Islamic boarding schools through media coverage that highlights two contemporary cases: the collapse of the Al-Khozini Islamic boarding school building and the controversial coverage of activities within the pesantren environment broadcast in the *Xpose Uncensored* program on Trans7. These media outlets intensively reported on both events and, in doing so, shaped particular narratives regarding the image of pesantren in the public sphere. Presented below are samples of the objects of analysis drawn from these media sources, as displayed in the table below.

Table 1. News samples highlighting two contemporary cases related to Islamic Boarding Schools

News	News Title	News Source/Media	URL
	Al-Khoziny Islamic Boarding School Calls the Mosque Collapse “God’s Decree,” Police Pledge Legal Action “One Cannot Take Shelter Behind the Pretext of Fate”	BBC News Indonesia	<a href="https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/article/cvgqy3vg148o">https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/article/cvgqy3vg148o</a>
	Al-Khoziny Islamic Boarding School Building Collapses, Hundreds of Santri Become Victims Who Is at Fault? These Parties Could Face Sanctions	TV One News	<a href="http://bit.ly/4qNP4X2">http://bit.ly/4qNP4X2</a>
	-	@Info Pagar Nusa	<a href="https://vt.tiktok.com/ZSye9eVBs/">https://vt.tiktok.com/ZSye9eVBs/</a>

The Table 1 presents a list of news articles that serve as the primary data sources for this study, including the news headlines, media outlets, and access links. The selection of these news items was based on their relevance to the issue of the public image of Islamic boarding schools, which has recently attracted significant media attention. All of the data were subsequently analyzed using Robert Entman’s framing analysis framework, which consists of four main components: Define Problems, Diagnose Causes, Make Moral Judgement, and Treatment Recommendation, as will be explained in the following section.

#### 3.1 Framing of news coverage on the collapse of the musalla building in BBC News Indonesia

In conducting a framing analysis of a news narrative, Robert Entman divides it into four main components: define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgement, and treatment recommendation. In this first sub-discussion, the framing analysis focuses on BBC News Indonesia’s report entitled “*Al Khoziny Islamic Boarding School Calls the Collapse of the Musalla a ‘Destiny from God,’ Police Promise Legal Action – ‘One Cannot Hide Behind the Excuse of Destiny.’*” Through this analysis, it becomes evident how the image of the Islamic boarding school is constructed by the media in its coverage, as will be elaborated in the following section.

##### 3.1.1 Define problem

Define Problems is a stage in Robert Entman’s framing analysis used to examine how the media defines an issue and constructs a narrative that explains the background of an event (Entman, 2018). In BBC News Indonesia’s coverage of the collapse of the musalla building at Al Khoziny Islamic boarding school, the media does not merely emphasize the

tragedy of the collapse itself. Instead, it highlights the use of the narrative of “*destiny*” (*takdir*) by the pesantren authorities and some parents of students as a way of explaining the incident. This is clearly reflected in the headline: “*Al Khoziny Islamic Boarding School Calls the Collapse of the Musalla a ‘Destiny from God,’ Police Promise Legal Action – ‘One Cannot Hide Behind the Excuse of Destiny.’*” The choice of diction indicates that from the outset, BBC frames the issue by presenting two opposing perspectives. On one side, there is a narrative of resignation from the pesantren and several parents, who view the incident as part of divine destiny and therefore believe it should not be pursued through legal channels. On the other side, BBC presents critical viewpoints from Islamic scholars, legal experts, and law enforcement authorities who point to indications of negligence in the construction process of the musalla. This is reflected in one quotation stating that there were “allegations of unplanned construction that did not comply with technical standards,” including issues related to building permits, construction planning, and other technical aspects. By emphasizing these issues, BBC constructs a narrative that directs readers to understand the incident not merely as a matter of destiny, but as one that is closely linked to potential failures in construction practices and the management of the pesantren.

Furthermore, in the process of defining the problem, BBC also provides significant space for voices that reject the use of the concept of destiny as a justification for avoiding responsibility. This is evident in a quotation from a religious scholar who asserts that,

*“In Islam, it cannot simply be like that; we exercise trust in God and make efforts, we accept destiny, but we must also take responsibility as subjects.”* (A religious scholar)

This statement reinforces the frame that the incident is not merely related to a misfortune attributed solely to destiny, but also involves issues of accountability and inadequate supervision. In addition, BBC highlights the imbalance of power relations between the pesantren authorities and the parents of the students, as reflected in a quoted statement noting that

*“many parents come from rural areas, with limited education and weak economic conditions, resulting in an unequal power relationship.”* (BBC informant)

Consequently, their position becomes more passive and they tend to accept explanations from the pesantren without critical questioning. Therefore, the Define Problem frame constructed by BBC centers on the conflict between the narrative of destiny and demands for accountability, positioning this tension as the core issue of the tragedy. In the context of the pesantren’s image, such framing creates the impression that pesantren are institutions with considerable authority but are vulnerable to employing religious narratives to suppress criticism, thereby obscuring the possibility of negligence in the management of educational facilities.

### 3.1.2 Diagnose causes

Diagnose Causes is a stage in Robert Entman’s framing analysis that highlights how the media identifies the causes of a problem, determines who is considered responsible, and explains the underlying reasons behind an event (Launa, 2020). In BBC News Indonesia’s coverage of the collapse of the mushalla at Al Khoziny Islamic boarding school, the media directs readers to understand that the primary cause of the tragedy is not merely destiny, but rather alleged negligence in the construction process. BBC reinforces this construction by presenting statements from experts and law enforcement officials, as reflected in the following quotation:

*“Several observers believe there were elements of negligence in the construction process: first, the building allegedly did not have a construction permit; second, the building’s foundation was suspected to be insufficient to support the load; third, there were*

*indications that the mushalla was built without proper planning and did not comply with technical standards; and fourth, there were suspicions of structural column failure as the cause of the collapse.” (BBC informant)*

The emphasis on these aspects indicates that BBC frames the tragedy as a consequence of a construction process that failed to meet safety standards, rather than as a mere accident or an act of destiny beyond human accountability.

Therefore, at the Diagnose Causes stage constructed by BBC, the framing focus is directed toward strengthening the argument that technical and structural negligence was the main cause of the tragedy. The narrative of destiny is thus positioned not as the primary explanation, but rather as an attempt to divert attention from human responsibility. In the context of the image of Islamic boarding schools, this framing positions the pesantren as an institution with significant authority that tends to employ religious narratives to mute criticism, thereby shifting attention away from the fact that the cause of the incident cannot be attributed solely to destiny, but may instead lie in negligence in the management and construction of educational facilities.

### 3.1.3 Make moral judgement

Make Moral Judgement is a component of Robert Entman’s framing analysis that explains how the media provides moral evaluations to justify or condemn an event, actor, or action (Siregar & Qurniawati, 2022). In BBC News Indonesia’s coverage of the collapse of the mushalla at Pondok Pesantren Al Khoziny, moral judgment is clearly visible through the emphasis on criticism of the pesantren’s use of the narrative of “destiny” as a justification to avoid responsibility. BBC highlights the perspective of researchers from the Center for Religious and Democratic Studies/*Pusat Studi Agama & Demokrasi* (PUSAD) Paramadina, who argue that using destiny as an excuse to evade accountability constitutes a deviation from religious principles. This moral evaluation is reinforced through quotes such as “cannot hide behind the excuse of destiny” and calls for the pesantren to “take responsibility for potential negligence.” Through this narrative, BBC guides readers to perceive that interpreting the event solely as destiny is morally weak, as it does not fully align with Islamic principles that emphasize both effort (*ikhtiar*) and accountability.

In addition, to reinforce its moral judgment, BBC also presents perspectives from legal experts who argue that negligence in construction leading to fatalities is not merely an administrative issue but constitutes an act with criminal consequences. This is clarified through a reference to Article 359 of the Indonesian Criminal Code/*Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana* (KUHP), which states: “Whoever, due to his fault (negligence), causes the death of another person, shall be threatened with imprisonment of up to 5 years or detention of up to 1 year.” By including this legal reference, BBC emphasizes that legal accountability is an integral part of public morality that must be upheld, including by religious-based educational institutions. Furthermore, BBC frames the passive attitude of some parents as a broader moral and social concern. This passivity is depicted not as piety but as a result of the power imbalance between pesantren authorities and parents, many of whom come from lower economic and educational backgrounds. This condition makes them more likely to accept the narrative of destiny without questioning potential structural or supervisory negligence. Therefore, in the Make Moral Judgement stage, BBC constructs the narrative that morally appropriate action involves exposing negligence, enforcing accountability, and not using destiny as a justification to avoid criticism, as doing so is ethically and religiously flawed. In terms of pesantren image, this framing portrays the institution as respected yet potentially using religious symbols to maintain authority and hinder evaluation, signaling the need for greater transparency and accountability in fulfilling its educational role.

### 3.1.4 Treatment recommendation

Treatment Recommendation is the next stage in Robert Entman's framing analysis, illustrating how the media offers solutions or steps to resolve the defined problem (Entman, 2010). In BBC News Indonesia's coverage of the collapse of the Al Khoziny pesantren musalla, the media highlights various recommended solutions primarily conveyed by legal experts, religious observers, and law enforcement authorities. BBC frames legal action as the primary solution to deliver justice for the victims while preventing similar incidents in pesantren environments in the future. This is evident in one of the cited statements: "Despite all of this, some observers argue that legal action must be taken by the police to prevent similar events from recurring in the future." By presenting such perspectives, BBC guides readers to understand that a thorough investigation and legal process constitute institutional responsibility. The coverage positions legal accountability as necessary rather than relying on the narrative of destiny or internal resolution within the pesantren. In the context of pesantren's image, this framing conveys that upholding transparency, enforcing rules, and ensuring public safety are essential, signaling that religious institutions must not evade accountability under the guise of religious fatalism or internal handling.

In addition to formal legal channels, BBC also presents an alternative solution through restorative justice, as suggested by a Professor of Law from the Universitas Indonesia. This approach is highlighted in a statement:

*"Restorative justice can be implemented by imposing administrative sanctions, such as temporarily closing the pesantren until it is confirmed that the building has proper permits and guaranteed safety." (A Professor of Law from the Universitas Indonesia)*

This approach is considered capable of reducing potential social friction, given the pesantren's strong moral authority and social position. Within this framing, BBC emphasizes that the respected status of pesantren as a religious institution should not obstruct objective evaluation and necessary improvements. On the contrary, pesantren are required to demonstrate commitment to safety, transparency, and proper construction management to maintain their public image. Furthermore, BBC highlights systemic recommendations for the governance of religious educational institutions, stressing the importance of government oversight over construction processes, compliance with building safety standards, and adherence to legal permits. Thus, the Treatment Recommendation stage framed by BBC focuses on resolving the issue through lawful mechanisms, ensuring institutional accountability and student safety. In terms of pesantren's public image, this framing conveys that despite their high moral and religious standing, pesantren must comply with safety regulations, legal obligations, and public supervision to avoid being perceived as neglectful of their responsibility for students' well-being.

Based on the four stages of framing, BBC News Indonesia constructs a narrative that positions the collapse of the Al Khoziny pesantren musalla not merely as an accident, but as an event laden with issues of negligence, accountability, and power relations within the pesantren environment. At the Define Problem stage, BBC frames the incident as a conflict between the narrative of divine destiny ("*takdir*") and the demand for responsibility, emphasizing from the outset that the tragedy cannot be explained solely as God's will. At the Diagnose Causes stage, BBC reinforces the view that technical negligence and weak oversight during the construction process were significant contributing factors. Through Make Moral Judgement, BBC presents moral critiques from religious scholars and legal experts, asserting that using the "*takdir*" narrative to conceal potential negligence constitutes a deviation from ethical values and contradicts the Islamic principle of human effort (*ikhtiar*). Finally, in the Treatment Recommendation stage, BBC offers solutions including the enforcement of legal accountability, restorative justice approaches, improvements in pesantren governance systems, and strengthened government oversight.

Overall, BBC News Indonesia's framing constructs the image of the pesantren as a religious institution with significant authority, yet one that is vulnerable to using religious

narratives to suppress criticism and avoid structural evaluation, particularly in incidents related to student safety. Through this framing, BBC emphasizes the importance of transparency and improvements in pesantren management, guiding the public to perceive the event as an opportunity for reflection on the governance of religious educational institutions.

### *3.2 Framing of news coverage on the collapse of the musalla building in TVONE News*

In analyzing a narrative through framing, Robert Entman categorizes it into four main components: define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgement, and treatment recommendation. In this second sub-section, the framing analysis of TVONE News' report titled "Al Khoziny Islamic Boarding School Building Collapses, Hundreds of Students Affected: Who Is at Fault? These People Could Face Sanctions". This analysis aims to show how the media constructs the image of the pesantren in its coverage, as elaborated in the following section.

#### *3.2.1 Define problem*

In this news report, TVONE News frames the collapse of the Al Khoziny Islamic Boarding School building in Sidoarjo as both a humanitarian tragedy with many victims and a serious issue in building management. The problem framing is evident in the headline: "Al Khoziny Islamic Boarding School Building Collapses, Hundreds of Students Affected: Who Is at Fault?". The interrogative form in the title serves not only to attract readers' attention but also to demand accountability. Thus, the incident is positioned not merely as a disaster or accident but as a systemic failure in planning and executing the construction.

The media further strengthens the problem framing by presenting concrete data: 167 people affected, 14 deaths, 103 survivors, and 49 still missing. This presentation conveys that the tragedy is large in scale and has wide-reaching impacts. Additionally, mentioning that the SAR team continued evacuation efforts until the fifth day highlights the ongoing nature of the issue and the need for serious handling. In other words, TVONE News emphasizes the urgency and critical nature of the incident. Readers are guided to understand that this tragedy should not be seen as fate, but rather as the result of human negligence and weak building regulations within the pesantren environment. In the context of the boarding school's image, this framing creates the impression that, although pesantren function as respected religious institutions, they often face serious internal management problems, including insufficient oversight of building safety.

#### *3.2.2 Diagnose causes*

The second element of Entman's framing theory is to identify the causes of the problem. In this news report, the media presents statements from Prof. Manlian R. A. Simanjuntak, a professor of construction management at the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing (PUPR). By including an authoritative source, the media seeks to build credibility and provide a technical and objective analytical framework. Prof. Manlian explains that the building failure can be attributed to two main factors: administrative and technical.

From an administrative perspective, the incident indicates a possible lack of complete permits and documents, such as the Building Approval Permit (PBG), which serves as the legal basis for assessing a building's feasibility. Incomplete permits mean the structural safety of the building cannot be guaranteed. From a technical standpoint, the failure could stem from various stages of the construction process, including architectural design, structural calculations, and on-site execution that do not meet safety standards. Through this expert citation, the media frames the cause of the tragedy not as a natural factor but as human error and negligence within the construction system.

Additionally, tvOne News highlights weaknesses in government oversight of construction projects carried out by religious-based educational institutions. In this context,

pesantren are not only religious institutions but also operators of public facilities that must comply with safety standards. By emphasizing this aspect, the media directs public perception toward understanding that the primary cause is not a natural disaster but failures in construction management and weak administrative responsibility by the parties involved. In terms of the pesantren's image, this framing positions them as institutions with strong religious authority and social roles, yet still vulnerable to neglecting building safety standards, thereby opening the possibility of mismanagement in maintaining educational facilities.

### 3.2.3 *Make moral judgement*

At the moral judgement stage, the news highlights perspectives that consider the incident not merely a technical issue, but also an ethical, social responsibility, and professional morality matter. Through Prof. Manlian's statement, the media emphasizes that every building in Indonesia must comply with legal provisions as stipulated in Law Number 28 of 2002 on Buildings and Law Number 2 of 2017 on Construction Services. By stressing these legal aspects, the media conveys a moral message that constructing buildings without proper permits and careful planning constitutes an irresponsible act, both legally and ethically.

The news also conveys that such a tragedy should not be seen merely as a "disaster." When human lives, particularly those of young santri, are at stake, a moral value is violated the right to safety and security. Through narrative choices and expert quotations, the media subtly communicates that the pesantren management, construction workers, and building designers hold a moral responsibility to ensure the safety of the residents. Thus, the moral framing in this report emphasizes that the tragedy is a consequence of neglecting humanitarian values and professional responsibility.

Moreover, the media seeks to prevent the misuse of public opinion by emphasizing that no party should be blamed speculatively without evidence. This perspective shows that tvOne News attempts to maintain an objective stance while still guiding readers to recognize that there are parties who should be held accountable. Morally, the report encourages readers to reflect on the importance of honesty, responsibility, and integrity in the construction process, especially concerning public facilities such as pesantren. In this context, the image of the pesantren is framed to convey that, despite its respected position, it can be perceived as negligent if it fails to uphold principles of caution, professionalism, and moral responsibility in managing its facilities.

### 3.2.4 *Treatment recommendation*

The final element of Entman's framing theory is offering solutions to the reported problem. In this news report, the proposed solution comes from expert opinion, emphasizing the need for an assessment of the building failure by a team of specialists appointed by the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing (PUPR). This assessment is conducted to accurately determine the technical and administrative causes, as well as to identify the parties responsible. The media explains that this investigative step aims to ensure the inquiry is conducted professionally and not based solely on public speculation.

In addition, the news also highlights the possibility of imposing legal sanctions on parties proven negligent, in accordance with Law No. 2 of 2017 on Construction Services. This indicates that the solutions offered focus not only on technical aspects but also on law enforcement and justice for the victims. Thus, tvOne News provides a rational and realistic resolution, emphasizing that the investigation should be conducted by authorized authorities and that its results must be used to improve the permitting system and prevent similar incidents in the future.

On the other hand, this solution framing also carries an implicit moral message. The media urges both the government and the public to pay closer attention to building safety standards in religious educational institutions. Frequently, pesantren are constructed

independently without adequate technical supervision. Through such reporting, tvOne News not only informs the public about the event but also conveys an advocacy message, emphasizing that all construction must adhere to legal, technical, and professional ethical standards. Through this framing, the media positions the image of pesantren as institutions that must comply with safety regulations, legal requirements, and public oversight to avoid being perceived as neglecting the safety of their students.

Based on the four elements of Robert Entman's framing theory, tvOne News' report on the collapse of the Al Khoziny pesantren building in Sidoarjo frames the event as a tragedy resulting from human negligence and weak building oversight. In defining the problem, the media presents the facts of the tragedy in a manner that is both emotional and rational; in diagnosing the causes, it emphasizes administrative and technical failures; in making a moral judgement, it guides readers to appreciate the importance of responsibility and professional ethics; and in offering treatment recommendations, it highlights the need for expert investigation and the enforcement of legal sanctions (Rambe et al., 2023; Ulandari et al., 2024).

With this news structure, tvOne News functions not only as an information provider but also as an agent shaping public opinion, demanding accountability and policy change. The framing emphasizes that public safety should not be compromised for construction efficiency. In terms of the pesantren's image, tvOne News constructs the perception that, despite being a religious institution with high social and religious authority, a pesantren can still be seen as negligent if its facility management fails to meet safety standards. Overall, this framing directs readers to understand that the collapse of the Al Khoziny pesantren building reflects weaknesses in construction management in Indonesia, highlighting the need for legal measures and comprehensive systemic reforms to prevent similar tragedies in the future.

### *3.3 Framing of reporting on pesantren activities in the Xpose uncensored program on Trans7*

In analyzing the framing of a narrative, Robert Entman divides it into four main components: define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgement, and treatment recommendation. In this third sub-section, the results of the framing analysis are presented regarding the controversial reporting on activities within pesantren environments featured in the Xpose Uncensored program on Trans7. This analysis reveals how the media constructs the image of pesantren in its reporting, as will be elaborated in the following discussion.

#### *3.3.1 Define problem*

Define Problem refers to how a news report explains the meaning of an event as interpreted by journalists (Hafidli et al., 2023). In one episode of the Xpose Uncensored program aired on Trans7, the media presented video clips depicting activities within the pesantren environment, focusing on the relationship between the kyai, bu nyai, and the students (santri). The broadcast included various visual snippets, such as scenes of the kyai receiving envelopes from santri, students walking on their knees in front of the kyai and bu nyai, and santri performing household chores at the kyai's residence. These video clips were narrated by a female voiceover, emphasizing that the kyai lived in luxury, owned cars worth billions of rupiah, and wore branded sarongs valued in the millions, which were linked to envelopes given by the santri. Furthermore, the narrator highlighted the kyai's family, suggesting they "benefited from the wealth," accompanied by a satirical remark that "if wealthy, it should be shared with the community."

Additionally, the Xpose Uncensored broadcast also showcased santri performing household duties at the kyai's residence, such as sweeping, mopping, washing clothes, cleaning kitchen utensils, and wiping plant leaves. The narrator described these activities as a form of "modern feudalism," drawing an association with colonial-era practices. On the

other hand, the narrator acknowledged that some santri considered these tasks as acts of devotion and a special form of honor.

Based on the narrative construction and video clips presented, *Xpose Uncensored* appears to define the problem as a power imbalance between the kyai and the santri within the pesantren environment. The emphasis on symbols of wealth, the santri's service activities, and the use of the term "modern feudalism" indicate the media's attempt to present a critical perspective on the pesantren's social system in the context of contemporary life. Thus, in the Define Problem stage, Trans7, through the *Xpose Uncensored* program, frames the issue around the representation of power relations and public perceptions of pesantren practices. This framing contributes to shaping the pesantren's image as an institution that is susceptible to misunderstanding both as a guardian of tradition and as an institution perceived to maintain a socially imbalanced hierarchy.

### 3.3.2 *Diagnoses causes*

Diagnose Causes, as a framing element, focuses on identifying who or what is considered responsible for an issue (Indiarti et al., 2025). In the *Xpose Uncensored* program aired by Trans7, the primary cause of the issue is framed as the social gap between the kyai and the santri within the pesantren. Through a series of video clips showing santri walking on their knees before the kyai and bu nyai, and performing domestic tasks such as cleaning the house, washing clothes, and wiping plants voluntarily without pay narrated by the host as resembling "modern feudalism" the media frames the relationship within the pesantren as unequal and potentially forming a hierarchical pattern.

The narrator's commentary further reinforces this construction by stating, "according to netizens, this is a form of modern feudalism reminiscent of the colonial era." By quoting public opinion, Trans7 directs viewers to understand that the source of the problem is not merely the symbolic actions of the santri, but the power structure that positions the kyai as superior and the santri as subordinate. This framing interprets the emergence of such practices as a result of a traditional culture of respect that has shifted into social dependence, where santri are not only learning religious knowledge but also attending to the personal needs of the kyai as part of daily routine. Thus, in the Diagnose Causes stage constructed through *Xpose Uncensored*, Trans7 frames the primary cause of the issue as the social imbalance within the pesantren, perceived as feudal, and highlights the tension between traditional values of respect and modern public expectations of equality. This framing simultaneously shapes the pesantren's image as an institution struggling to adapt its daily practices to more egalitarian social standards.

### 3.3.3 *Make moral judgement*

Make Moral Judgement is one of the framing strategies used to justify the argumentation in defining the issue (Pamungkas, 2023). In the program *Xpose Uncensored* aired by Trans7, the moral evaluation appears to be directed at critiquing the social relations within the pesantren, which are perceived to exhibit a gap between the kyai and the santri. Through narratives depicting the kyai as a wealthy figure with luxury cars and branded sarongs, the media seems to emphasize the disparity between the affluent lifestyle of the leaders and the simplicity of the santri, as reflected in the popular social media saying, "The congregation is told to live simply, while the kyai rides an Alphard." Thus, in the Make Moral Judgement stage, Trans7 through *Xpose Uncensored* assesses that the practices of santri service and the giving of material gifts to the kyai warrant moral criticism, as they have the potential to create social inequality. Furthermore, the narrator employs terms such as "new-style feudalism" to reinforce the moral framing, suggesting that the excessive respect practices in the pesantren are no longer merely religious traditions but have exceeded reasonable limits, resembling a social system in which santri occupy a subordinate position. In this way, Trans7 constructs a moral judgement that such practices are inconsistent with the values

of simplicity and sincerity, which should form the foundation of life in the pesantren. This moral evaluation is not only a critique of individuals but also of the social structure of the pesantren, thereby shaping the image of the institution as one that needs to reflect on its daily practices to better align with educational values and social justice.

### 3.3.4 Treatment recommendation

Treatment Recommendation emphasizes the resolution of a problem or the course of action that should be taken ( Hikmalia et al., 2022). In the *Xpose Uncensored* program aired on Trans7, the solution is implicitly offered in the form of social awareness and transparency within the pesantren. The program tends to guide viewers toward moral and social reflection. By presenting self-critical narratives and video clips that depict pesantren life in a contrasting manner, the media seems to encourage public discourse to reconsider the relational system between the kyai and the santri, aiming for greater equality and openness. The implicit message conveyed by the program is that pesantren, as a central pillar of religious education in Indonesia (Zibbat & Hariri, 2024) should reinforce the values of simplicity, ethical guidance, and respect that is not excessive. On the other hand, the public is also invited to view pesantren practices more critically not merely from the perspective of religiosity, but also in terms of social justice and humanity.

Thus, in the Treatment Recommendation stage, Trans7, through the *Xpose Uncensored* program, appears to emphasize the importance of reforming traditions and relational patterns within the pesantren. The media underscores that religious authority should be accompanied by moral responsibility to uphold equality, transparency, and to avoid practices that may create an impression of social exclusivity. In the context of the pesantren's image, this framing contributes to constructing a perception of a pesantren that needs to adapt to contemporary demands emphasizing openness, justice, and accountability, without abandoning the traditions of respect and service that define its character.

Based on the four elements of Robert Entman's framing, the *Xpose Uncensored* program on Trans7 constructs a news narrative that positions the main issue around the power imbalance between kyai and santri within the pesantren. At the Define Problem stage, the media frames pesantren activities as practices laden with hierarchical symbolism. In the Diagnose Causes stage, the problem is attributed to an excessive culture of respect that has been interpreted as evolving into a form of social dependence. At the Make Moral Judgement stage, the media evaluates that practices such as santri service, monetary offerings, and domestic assistance to the kyai are inconsistent with the values of simplicity and the educational ethos of the pesantren. Finally, in the Treatment Recommendation stage, Trans7 suggests the need for social reflection, transparency, and the reform of relational structures within the pesantren.

Overall, the framing constructed by Trans7 contributes to shaping the image of pesantren as institutions facing the challenge of balancing traditional respect with the demands of equality and accountability in the modern era. If not managed openly, this can result in hierarchical relational patterns. Through this framing, the media encourages the public to view pesantren as institutions that need to adapt to social justice values without losing their identity and traditions of service.

## 4. Conclusions

Based on Robert N. Entman's framing analysis of news coverage by BBC News Indonesia, TVOne News, and the *Xpose Uncensored* program on Trans7, this study demonstrates that the image of pesantren is constructed through differing narrative frameworks across media outlets. BBC News Indonesia positions pesantren as an institution with substantial authority that seeks to deflect criticism by invoking the notion of "destiny" (*takdir*), thereby appearing to resist evaluation of an event that was, in fact, a major disaster

resulting in significant loss of life. The framing highlights a disparity between the spiritual values upheld by the institution and the reality of negligence in institutional management. Meanwhile, TVOne News portrays pesantren as a negligent institution by emphasizing failures in construction management and weak administrative accountability among the responsible parties. The narrative depicts pesantren as an institution that has not yet fully adopted professional governance practices, leading the incident to be interpreted as the result of structural negligence rather than a mere misfortune. In contrast, the *Xpose Uncensored* program on Trans7 constructs the image of pesantren through its focus on traditions of respect that are perceived as excessive and akin to a form of “new-style feudalism.” Within this framing, pesantren are depicted as having social inequalities between caregivers and students, alongside the emergence of public perceptions that the wealth of *kyai* is derived from envelopes given by students rather than from transparent institutional financial practices.

Overall, the three media outlets do not merely report facts but also shape public perception through the selection of angles, narratives, and sources they employ. The presence of framing plays a crucial role in influencing public perceptions of pesantren. Media coverage does not simply convey events; it actively constructs social realities that affect the image of pesantren in the public eye. Differences in media framing demonstrate how pesantren can be interpreted in diverse ways, ranging from a religious institution perceived as resisting criticism, to an institution marked by administrative negligence, and even to a social symbol characterized by hierarchical power relations. These findings underline the importance of media literacy in enabling audiences to critically interpret news narratives and recognize framing devices embedded within media texts. An informed and critical public is better positioned to evaluate how institutional images are constructed and to distinguish between factual reporting and interpretative framing.

Beyond the empirical findings, this study carries broader implications for communication theory. The results demonstrate how framing operates not only as a journalistic technique but also as a mechanism of symbolic power that shapes institutional representation in the public sphere. By revealing how different media platforms construct divergent images of pesantren, this study reinforces the argument that media discourse plays a central role in negotiating institutional identity. Thus, framing analysis contributes to a deeper understanding of how meaning, authority, and legitimacy are discursively produced in contemporary media environments.

Furthermore, the researcher acknowledges that this study has several limitations. One of the main limitations is that the analysis focuses solely on news texts from three media outlets BBC News Indonesia, TVOne News, and Trans7 without incorporating direct perspectives from pesantren administrators, students, or journalists. As a result, the findings rely entirely on media-constructed narratives. Therefore, future research is recommended to employ data triangulation through interviews, field observations, or a broader range of media sources in order to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of internal pesantren relations and the construction of their public image in the media. As a closing note, the researcher emphasizes that This study is positioned as an academic effort to analyze media framing dynamics rather than to evaluate or delegitimize pesantren as institutions.

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### Author Contribution

The first author, R.M., as the corresponding author, was responsible for formulating the research concept and ideas, writing the background and abstract, and conducting data collection and analysis for the BBC News Indonesia coverage. The second author, N.A., contributed to the development of the research methodology, data collection, and analysis of news reports from TVOne News. The third author, S.J., was responsible for data collection and analysis of the Xpose Uncensored program on Trans7, as well as for drafting the conclusion section. The fourth author, M.Z., served as an academic supervisor and consultant, providing guidance, feedback, and supervision throughout the research and writing process. All authors contributed to manuscript preparation, journal template formatting, language editing, and manuscript verification and revision prior to publication.

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