



## Response of the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School to the Framing of the Television Broadcast *of the Xpose Uncensored* Trans7 Program: A Case Study of the October 13, 2025 Broadcast

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### Abstract

**Background.** Television media has a strategic role in shaping social reality through the *framing process*, including in representing religious institutions such as Islamic boarding schools. The October 13, 2025 edition of *Xpose Uncensored* Trans7 showcases pesantren through narratives and visuals that cause controversy and influence public perception.

**Aims.** This study aims to analyze *the framing of pesantren in the Xpose Uncensored Trans7 show and examine the response of the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School to the framing*. This study uses a qualitative approach with a case study method. Data was obtained through in-depth interviews with caregivers, managers, and students of the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School, as well as through documentary documentation and supporting literature. Data analysis was carried out using *Robert N. Entman's* framing theory.

**Results.** The results of the study show that *the Xpose Uncensored* Trans7 show frames pesantren reductively and tends to ignore the context of pesantren values, traditions, and educational relationships. The response of the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School shows a critical and reflective attitude through the rejection of media stigma and efforts to maintain the cultural identity of the Islamic boarding school.

**Conclusion.** This study concludes that pesantren play an active role in responding to media construction, thus emphasizing the importance of journalistic practices that are contextual and sensitive to cultural values.

**Keywords:** Media, Television, *Analisis Framing*, Islamic Boarding School, Response



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## INTRODUCTION

Television media has the power to shape social reality through the process of selection and information prominence (McCombs & Shaw, 2017). *Xpose Uncensored Trans7* Program is understood as a media that presents the reality of pesantren in a neutral manner, but through *a certain* framing. *Media framing* is understood as a way for the media to package events, select viewpoints, and highlight certain aspects to form a specific meaning about pesantren in front of the public. (Entman, 1993)

The framing of the television show presents a representation of the pesantren that may differ from the pesantren's internal meaning. The Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School, as a religious education institution, has a system of values, norms, and santri symbols that are historically and culturally rooted. Therefore, when the media displays practices, traditions, or symbols of pesantren through *certain framing*, *pesantren are not in a passive position; they interpret the meaning of the show.*

Mass media, especially television, play a strategic role in shaping public perception through the framing process, which is how the media selects, highlights, and presents certain aspects of reality to form a particular meaning in the minds of the audience. In the context of the news of religious institutions, (Entman, 1993) *Media framing* can affect how the public understands pesantren as Islamic social and educational institutions. The October 13, 2025, edition of *Xpose Uncensored Trans7* is in the spotlight because it presents a representation of pesantren through narratives and visuals that are provocative and sensational, which could form a certain image in public space. However, previous studies have focused more on *media framing analysis or criticism of broadcasting ethics, while the response of pesantren as an active subject that interprets and responds to framing remains relatively underexplored.* (Nur Rovida Femila Sar et al., 2025 Titin Rosyidah et al., 2025) . Therefore, this study aims to examine the response of the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School to the framing of the *Xpose Uncensored Trans7* show, with the aim an understanding the dynamics of the relationship between the construction of the media and the meaning of the pesantren in its representation on television.

This interpretive process gave rise to the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School's response to *the framing* of the *Xpose Uncensored Trans7* show. This response is understood as a form of social attitude of the pesantren in responding to media representations that are considered appropriate or not in accordance with the values, manners, and identity of the pesantren. Thus, the response of the pesantren is the result of the interaction between the

media's framing and the pesantren's internal meaning system. This study positions Islamic boarding schools, especially Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School, as active subjects who respond to the *framing* of television shows of *the Xpose Uncensored Trans7* program. Thus, this study has a fundamental difference in its focus: analysis of the response of pesantren to framing, not solely on the construction of framing or the evaluation of broadcasting ethics.

The formal object in this study is the theory of media framing, which serves as a theoretical foundation for discussing how the reality of pesantren is constructed by television media. Framing theory *is particularly relevant in the study of communication science because it focuses on how the media selects, highlights, and presents certain aspects of reality to form a particular meaning in the minds of the audience.*

*Framing* is understood as the process of selecting and emphasizing information in media texts, which makes one aspect of reality stand out more than others. Explains that (Entman, 1993) *Framing involves defining problems, determining causes, making moral judgments, and recommending ways to address an issue.* Thus, (Eriyanto, 2011) *Framing is not neutral; it reflects the point of view and the importance of the media in representing social reality. Framing theory was used in this study to examine how the Xpose Uncensored Trans7 program frames pesantren through narrative, visuals, and news structures.* The selection of *framing theory* as a formal object of research is in line with the character of mass communication studies, which place the media as an active actor in the construction of social reality.

The material object in this study is the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School, especially the pesantren's response to *the framing* of *the Xpose Uncensored Trans7* show. Pesantren is understood as a religious educational institution with a distinctive system of values, norms, and symbols, rooted in Islamic traditions and local culture. The explanation of pesantren in this study is not intended as an in-depth pedagogical or sociological study, but as a context to understand how pesantren interprets media representations of itself. In other words, pesantren are positioned as subjects who interpret media messages based on their values and institutional identity. (Zaman, 2013)

The relationship between formal objects and material objects in this study lies in the relationship between media construction and pesantren responses. *Media framing theory* is used to analyze the way the media shapes the representation of the pesantren, while the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School is an empirical context to see how *the framing* is interpreted and responded. Thus, framing theory is not used to explain pesantren as an Islamic educational

institution, but to understand the process of media representation and its impact on pesantren responses. This connection confirms that the use of *framing theory* falls within the realm of communication science and does not overlap with other disciplines' approaches.

The main problem of this study is how the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School responds to the *framing of the television show Xpose Uncensored on Trans7*. In line with the main problem, the formulation of this research problem is 1) How is the framing of the television shows of the *Xpose Uncensored Trans7* program in the pesantren? 2) How is the response of the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School to the framing of the show? This study aims to discuss the response of the Kebon Jambu pesantren to the framing of the *Xpose Uncensored Trans7* television show.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of the relationship between mass media and religious institutions has grown rapidly as the media's role in shaping social reality has increased. In the study of communication, the media are not understood as a neutral channel but as an active actor that constructs reality through the selection, prominence, and interpretation of information. This concept is the basis for understanding how the media represents certain social groups, such as Islamic boarding schools, in public space. Such representation not only affects the perception of the wider public but also shapes how the group being represented interprets its identity and position in society. (Nišić & Plavšić, 2017)

Mass media play an important role in the social life of the Indonesian people. It is not only a channel of information but also a platform for social representation that shapes how people see reality. In modern society, mass media play a major role in shaping public views, setting social norms, and rebuilding society's collective identity. The mass media freely obtain information in the form of texts, images, photos, and videos that are believed to be true, even though they cannot be proven to be the absolute truth. In the context of broadcast programs such as (Maulida Salsabila Frisa et al., 2025) (Fatra et al., 2025) (Imawan, 2018) *Xpose Uncensored Trans7*, television shows serve as agents of social reality construction that can define what is considered a problem, diagnose its causes, and provide moral judgment.

Pesantren as an Islamic educational institution that is firmly rooted in the socio-cultural structure of Indonesian society, as well as having a distinctive education system supported by scientific traditions, authoritative kyai-santri relations, and the internalization of moral and religious values. . In line with education, it plays a very important role in the process of

improving the quality of human resources. It also emphasized that pesantren is not just an educational institution, but a space for the formation of academic traditions based on the mastery of classical books inherited through the sorogan, bandongan, and halaqah methods, with a dormitory system that builds the collective character of students. This structure shows that the pesantren functions as a complete social system, comprising actors, physical devices, and values that are integrated. From the perspective of modernization, Azra explained that pesantren is not a static institution but an adaptive entity that can transform in response to the dynamics of the times without relinquishing its epistemological and moral identity. The Kebon Jambu Al-Islamy Islamic Boarding School in Cirebon is one of the Islamic boarding schools that still maintains a traditional education system with a strong emphasis on manners and students' devotion to caregivers. (Rinaningtyas et al., 2021) Nurfalah et al. (2020), (Ahmad Shiddiq, 2015) (Heriyudanta, 2016)

One of the most dominant theoretical approaches used to read media constructions is *framing theory*. (Entman, 1993) Explains that *framing* works through 4 main functions, namely defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and recommending treatment. This framework is widely used in the study of mass communication to reveal how the media systematically shape the meaning of an event. In the context of news about religious institutions, media framing is often intertwined with moral values, cultural symbols, and heightened social sensitivity, potentially creating tension between the media's reality and the institution's cultural reality.

A number of previous studies have shown that pesantren are often framed in ways that highlight aspects of conflict, controversy, or deviation. The research conducted by the " (Titin Rosyidah, 2025) *Social Response of the Islamic Boarding School Community to the 'Xpose Uncensored' Trans7 Show: A Sociological Analysis of Islamic Education*" highlights how the October 13, 2025, edition of Trans7's *Xpose Uncensored* show triggered a strong reaction from the pesantren community. The results of the study show that the pesantren community views the show as a threat to traditional values, kiai authority, and pesantren identity. The social reaction that emerged is understood as a mechanism of cultural defense to maintain the symbolic meaning of historically institutionalized Islamic boarding schools. These findings confirm that media representations that are insensitive to the cultural context of the pesantren can trigger symbolic resistance from the pesantren community itself (Titin Rosyidah, 2025)

Another relevant study was conducted in" (Nur Rovida Femila Sar et al., 2025b) *Pesantren as a Subculture and Challenges in the Post-Truth Era: Framing Analysis of Trans7*

*Cases on Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School*". This study examines how *the Xpose Uncensored Trans7* show shapes public opinion in the *post-truth era*, when information tends to be received based on emotion rather than fact-verification. Using a qualitative approach to literature studies and Entman's framing analysis, this study shows that provocative narratives in television shows can build negative perceptions of pesantren and trigger massive public reactions, such as the emergence of #BoikotTrans7 movements on social media. The findings of this study confirm that *media framing* has great power in shaping social reality and public opinion, especially when public media literacy is still low (Nur Rovida Femila Sar et al., 2025b)

In addition to these two studies, a number of mass communication studies show that media framing in religious institutions often ignores the context of the institutions' internal values and traditions. The media has a social responsibility to present information in a balanced, contextual manner, especially when it concerns vulnerable groups or symbolic minorities. Affirming the importance of the principles of balance, accuracy, and respect for cultural and religious values. However, in practice, the logic of investigative journalism and the demands of ratings often encourage the media to highlight the sensational aspect rather than deep contextual understanding. (Rohanita et al., 2025) (Denis McQuail, 2011) (Nisrina Nabibah Sunarto & Laili Zulfa, 2025)

Based on previous research, it can be concluded that studies on Islamic boarding schools and television media tend to focus on two mainstream currents. First, research that emphasizes *media framing* analysis and its impact on public perception. Second, research that highlights the social response of the pesantren community from a sociological or cultural perspective. Meanwhile, studies that specifically place pesantren as active subjects that respond to media (Nur Rovida Femila Sar et al., 2025b) (Titin Rosyidah, 2025) *Framing within the framework of communication theory* is still relatively limited.

This gap is the basis of this research. This study not only analyzes how the media frames pesantren, but also examines how the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School, as a religious education institution, interprets and responds to the framing in light of its value system and institutional identity. Using Entman's framing theory as an analytical framework, this study seeks to connect the media's construction of reality with the process of meaning in Islamic boarding schools. This approach is expected to make a theoretical contribution to the study of communication, especially in understanding the dynamics between *media framing* and the institutional response of religious institutions in Indonesia.

## METHODS



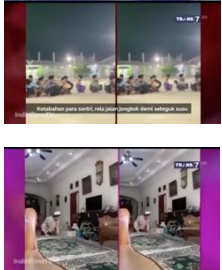


This study uses a qualitative case-study approach. The qualitative approach was chosen because the study aims to understand in depth the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School's response to the framing of the *Xpose Uncensored* Trans7 television show. The case study method was used to intensively examine one specific case, namely the pesantren response to the October 13, 2025 edition of *Xpose Uncensored*, in a specific social and cultural context. The research data consists of primary data and secondary data. Primary data was obtained from caregivers, administrators, and students of the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School. Secondary data includes recordings of (Creswell, 2024) *Xpose Uncensored* Trans7 impressions, as well as relevant scientific literature. Data collection was conducted through in-depth interviews, observations, and documentation. This technique is used to explore the meaning of pesantren in (Sugiono, 2023) *The framing* of the show and its social context. Data analysis is carried out qualitatively through the stages of data reduction, data presentation, and drawing a conclusion. The analysis aims to interpret the relationship between media (Sugiono, 2023) *framing* and the response of the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School. The research was carried out at the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School, Cirebon Regency, following the broadcast of the *Xpose Uncensored* program on Trans7 on October 13, 2025. Source triangulation is carried out by comparing the results of interviews with informants in different positions within Islamic boarding schools. Technical triangulation is carried out by combining interviews, observations, and documentation. Meanwhile, theoretical triangulation is used to test the consistency of findings with framing theory.

## DISCUSSION

### **Framing of Islamic Boarding Schools on Trans7's *Xpose Uncensored* Show**

The narrative structure of the show is linear, with a provocative opening, a strengthening of the conflict in the middle, and an affirmation of the conclusion. The narrative is built through *the reporter's voice-over, which* uses diction with an investigative and evaluative tone. The choice of words and storyline leads the audience to the meaning that pesantren is a problematic social space. The prominence of the issue is emphasized by making students' daily practices the main focus without adequate contextual explanation. The practice of student service, which, in the pesantren tradition, is part of character and manners education, is reduced to an issue of exploitation and unequal power relations.

**Table 1: Framing Analysis of *Trans7's Xpose Uncensored* Shows on October 13, 2025**

Framing Elements	Transcript Citation	Description	Image
Opening Narrative	"The world of Islamic boarding schools is increasingly in the spotlight. Because it is suspected that there are so many acts of exploitation... and feudalism there."	The opener directly defines pesantren as a problematic space through the diction of "exploitation" and "feudalism".	
Language & Narrative	"Maybe it's sports again... It's like a child who is being bullied by the PPP."	The use of irony and hyperbolic comparisons creates a negative impression and degrades students' practice.	
Visual & Editing	Scenes of students squatting to drink milk; Scenes of students working at Kiai's house.	The selection of certain scenes without an educational context reinforces the impression of exploitation and inequality.	
Resource Persons	There is no clarification quote from the caregiver or the manager of the Islamic boarding school.	The point of view is fully controlled by the reporter	There is no confirmation with the pesantren
Representation of Kiai & Material	"Kiai is rich but people who love envelopes... The cars are luxurious to the point of billions."	The prominence of material aspects builds a narrative of economic inequality and feudalism.	
Rhetorical Questions & Closing Questions	"Even though it should be... The people are given money, aren't they?"	The rhetorical structure directs the audience to a normative evaluation of the world of Islamic boarding schools.	

Source: (Researcher,2026)

Editing techniques that cut out conversation context and the repetition of certain scenes reinforce the dramatic effect. Symbols of santri students, such as student clothing and pesantren rooms, are displayed as visual markers without accompanying cultural explanations. The use of these visual elements contributes to the formation of symbolic meanings that simplify the complexity of pesantren life into a single problematic image.

The results of the study also show that the show does not present resource persons from the internal pesantren. The absence of direct confirmation to the caregiver or the pesantren manager results in one-sided information. The point of view is completely controlled by reporters and media narratives, so the principle of information balance is not optimally fulfilled.

The table of *framing elements* in this study identified patterns in the use of provocative narratives, evaluative language, dramatic visuals, and the absence of pesantren resource persons. The pattern aligns with the framing structure evident in the transcript of the October 13, 2025, edition of *Xpose Uncensored*. Based on Robert N. Entman's theoretical framework, each element in a table is directly correlated with all four *framing functions*.

1. In the function of *defining problems*, the definition of pesantren as a problematic space was clear from the opening of the show: *"The world of pesantren is increasingly in the spotlight. Because it is suspected that there are so many acts of exploitation of children, and there is also feudalism there."* This sentence is not just an introduction, but an initial construction that places pesantren as the locus of the problem. Framing elements, in the form of "Opening Narrative" and "Narrative Language," work here to lead the audience to the conclusion that the world of pesantren is synonymous with exploitation and feudalism.
2. In the *diagnose causes function*, the show directs the cause of the problem to the internal system of the pesantren and kiai figures. Phrases such as *"kiais who are rich but the people who give envelopes"* and the insinuation that *"this could be why some kiai are getting richer"* build implicit causal attribution. The *framing element* of "Resource Persons" that does not involve the pesantren strengthens the unilateral attribution. Without clarification from the pesantren, the internal system is directly positioned as the cause of inequality.
3. In the function of making moral judgments, satirical language and hyperbolic comparisons reinforce negative moral judgments. For example, the practice of students walking and squatting is juxtaposed with comments, *"maybe it's sports this time,"* and *"it's like children who are being bullied by Satpol PP"*. The use of irony is not descriptive, but evaluative.

The *framing elements* "Narrative Language" and "Symbol of Santurian" in the table serve

to construct a moral image of the practice as irrational and inhumane. Similarly, the mention of car prices in billions and sarong prices in millions of rupiah reinforces the moral impression of inequality and materialism.

4. In the treatment recommendations function, although there is no explicit statement of solutions, the narrative structure leads the audience to the implicit conclusion that pesantren practices need to be corrected or supervised. Rhetorical questions such as "*Even though it should be like Raya mah mah the people who are given money, right?*" serves as a moral invitation to the public to question the legitimacy of the practice. This is a latent recommendation born out of the previous construction of the problem and moral judgment.

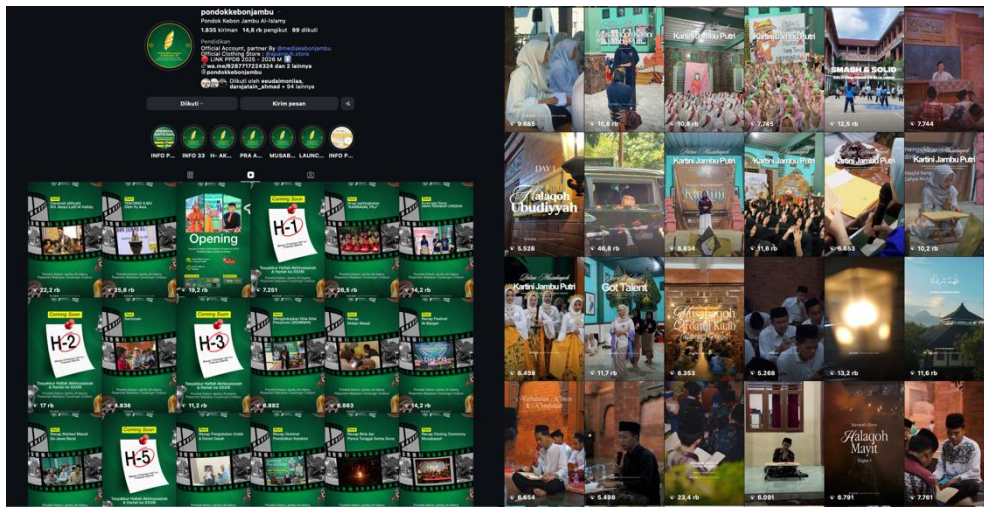
Thus, it is understood that the framing element table not only contains a technical description of the show but also serves as empirical evidence of how the language, visual, and narrative structure devices in the transcript work systematically within *Entman's four framing functions*. This synchronization shows that *the framing of the show is not neutral but is built through a rhetorical strategy that consistently defines pesantren as problematic, points to internal causes, makes negative moral judgments, and encourages public evaluation of the legitimacy of pesantren*.

The response of the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School is not expressed as an open rebuttal to the show's framing structure, but rather through strengthening the internal meaning of the practice in question. The practice of student service based on the show is represented as an exploitation relationship, then rearticulated by the pesantren as part of adab education and character building. This affirmation is not directed as a confrontational effort against the media, but as a process of reaffirming the values that have been lived in the tradition of Islamic boarding schools.

Through the production of alternative narratives in internal media and the authentic display of students' daily activities, pesantren shows consistency in its system of meaning. Thus, media framing is not responded to through public polemics, but through the strengthening of cultural identity and the reproduction of educational values considered authoritative within their own communities. This attitude suggests that the represented subjects do not always respond directly to the media construction but may employ symbolic strategies, such as strengthening internal legitimacy.

To show the concrete form of strengthening the internal meaning, pesantren actively produce and distribute content through its internal media. One of the forms can be seen in the

upload of the official Instagram account of the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School, which displays the activities of students in a constructive and educational atmosphere.



**Figure 1. The official Instagram upload of the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School, which displays the activities of students in the context of education and togetherness**

In the context of communication ethics, *unbalanced framing* has the potential to ignore the principle of social media responsibility as well as the principle of balance in the Broadcasting Code of Conduct and Broadcast Program Standards. Therefore, the findings of this study confirm the importance of cultural sensitivity and contextual understanding in journalistic practice, especially in news in Islamic educational institutions. (Denis McQuail, 2011) (KPI, 2023)

### **Response of Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School to *Xpose Uncensored***

Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School, in the *Xpose Uncensored* Trans7 show, responded to the framing of television media by strengthening the internal meaning of the practice in question. The pesantren caregiver views the show as not grounded in an adequate understanding of the basic values of the pesantren program, especially the concepts of *adab*, *khidmah* (devotion), and the educational relationship between students and caregivers. The caregiver's view: the media presents the reality of the pesantren from an outsider's point of view, which tends to simplify and even distort the meaning of pesantren practices. This was confirmed by informant 1, who stated that the show was *"very unbasic"* and was *"the public's perspective on the pesantren itself."*

One of the aspects that is most questioned by the pesantren is the *framing of student service practices*, which are constructed as a form of slavery. According to informant 1, the depiction is not only wrong, but also denies the core values of the Islamic boarding school. He emphasized that *"devotion that is categorized as slavery is the most unacceptable"* because, in the tradition of Islamic boarding schools, devotion is part of the education of manners and the formation of the character of students, not a relationship of exploitation. This view shows a clash of meanings between the media's logic and the cultural logic of the Islamic boarding school.

Furthermore, the pesantren caregiver assessed that *the media framing* failed to understand the concept of guardianship transfer in pesantren education. In the Islamic boarding school, the relationship between students and caregivers is not solely a teacher-student one; it is also a parent-child one. Informant 1 explained that *"the caregiver or kiai or nyai is no longer just a teacher but a parent"*, so the practice of giving assignments or reprimanding students cannot be equated with work or power relations. Media framing that ignores this context is considered likely to create a negative stigma against pesantren in the eyes of the public.

From the perspective of pesantren managers, *media framing is understood as a result of limited media coverage of the reality of pesantren as a whole*. Informant 2 assesses that the media works through pieces of reality that, from the beginning, have been directed to construct certain opinions. He stated that *"the person will never be able to see the whole thing"* if he only observes the pesantren from a distance through the media, so that the *framing* that emerges becomes *"definitely subjective"* and laden with the media's own perspective.

Informant 2 also emphasized that the practice in question in the show cannot be separated from the cultural context of the Islamic boarding school. Informant 2 emphasized that pesantren culture is a living value system and is believed by its community, so it cannot be judged right or wrong by outsiders who do not experience pesantren life directly. In his explanation, Informant 2 said that *"culture is al-'adatu muhakkamah,"* meaning a habit that has been believed and practiced for generations, so *the framing of the media that calls it a form of slavery is a cultural misunderstanding*.

Meanwhile, from the perspective of Informant 3, *the Xpose Uncensored show* elicited an emotional response and concerns about the image of the Islamic boarding school. Informant 3 expressed his disappointment with the show because it was not considered to have gone through the confirmation process, and he understood the context of the pesantren. Informant 3 stated, *"Very disappointed... without any prior confirmation to the pesantren without wanting*

*to understand the context in the pesantren first.*" This response shows that media framing not only has an impact on the institution, but also on the identity and collective feelings of students as part of the pesantren.

Santri also assessed that media framing tends to direct public opinion to consider pesantren as synonymous with feudalism. According to Informant 3, the relationship framed by the media as feudalistic is actually one of science and manners. He asserts that *"the relationship is with knowledge,"* not the relationship of power, as feudalism is in the political or social sense. This statement shows a fundamental difference between the logic of the media and that of pesantren education in their interpretation of social relations.

Media framing is also felt by students as a concern about the wider community's perception. Informant 3 stated emphatically that the show *"greatly influenced the public's stigma about Islamic boarding schools"*, especially in the era of digital media that allows information to spread quickly without verification. In fact, Informant 3 linked the media framing to the alleged decrease in the number of new students at several Islamic boarding schools, which was perceived as one of the impacts of the negative media narrative on Islamic boarding schools.

However, the response of the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School to the framing of the media was not manifested in an open confrontation. Both caregivers and pesantren managers choose a reflective and strategic attitude. Informant 2 emphasized that pesantren do not want to be provoked by media narratives, because it can actually increase conflicts. Informant 3 stated that the chosen strategy was to build an "alternative narrative" by presenting the life of the pesantren authentically through internal media, such as the activities of students who live with a sense of happiness and without coercion.

Based on the results and discussion of the research, *the framing of the media in the Xpose Uncensored Trans7 show represents pesantren through the logic of modern media, which tends to be reductive and ahistorical, thus ignoring the cultural context of pesantren as an educational system based on values, manners, and scientific relations. The framing not only forms a certain image of the pesantren in the public space, but also creates a tension between the media's perspective and the pesantren's internal perspective. The response of the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School shows that the pesantren does not position itself as a passive object of media construction, but as a social subject that negotiates meaning through reflective attitudes and production through strengthening the internal meaning of the practice in question. From the point of view of researchers, this phenomenon confirms that the relationship between*

the media and pesantren is not just a relationship of news, but also a relationship of discourse power, where pesantren seeks to maintain cultural identity and the legitimacy of their educational values amid the dominance of mainstream media.

### **Academic-Regulatory Perspective on *Impression Framing***

The results of interviews with informant 4, as Expert Judgment, show that, theoretically, all the reality presented by the media is no longer primary fact but "secondhand reality" or secondhand reality. The facts that have undergone reporter selection, editorial editing, and editorial design are no longer synonymous with objective reality; they have been constructed. Within the framework of mass communication theory, this condition opens space for the practices of agenda-setting and framing, in which the media inherently play a central role in the presentation of information. This view reinforces the research findings that *the Xpose Uncensored show* cannot be understood as a direct reflection of the reality of the pesantren, but rather as a reality that has undergone a process of construction and narrative design.

Informant 4 emphasized that every medium must use *framing* in presenting information, including the impressions that are the object of this research. *The framing* can be influenced by various backgrounds, such as business interests, ratings, operations, or the drive to go viral. Thus, the tendency toward meaning reduction and dramatization in the analyzed impressions can be understood as a logical consequence of modern media framing practices that are not completely free from institutional subjectivity. This statement is in line with the results of *the framing* analysis based on the Entman model, which show the presence of a problem definition, causal attribution, and moral judgment structured within the show.

In the context of broadcasting regulations, informant 4 emphasized that the principles of neutrality and objectivity are normative obligations for broadcasting institutions as stipulated in Law Number 32 of 2002 concerning Broadcasting and the Broadcasting Code of Conduct and Broadcast Program Standards (P3SPS). Neutrality entails the obligation to maintain justice, make confirmations, and provide space for the reporting party to clarify. From this perspective, the absence of sources or clarifications from the pesantren in the broadcast under study may be seen as a matter of broadcasting ethics. The absence of confirmation may reduce the level of neutrality and open up the possibility of violations of the principle of balance as stipulated in the regulations.

Informant 4 explained that issues related to religious institutions are included in the sensitive category because they involve SARA and social values in a pluralistic society.

Therefore, the media is not only required to obey formal regulations but also to consider social norms, local wisdom, and the potential social impact of its information presentation. The benefits and harms aspects are important considerations in the editorial process. The media still has the obligation to convey information as part of the public's right to obtain information, but its presentation must be done wisely, safely, and without causing stigma or social conflict.

This perspective expands the discussion of the research by showing that the *show's framing is not only a matter of constructing meaning within* communication theory but also has dimensions of ethics, regulation, and social responsibility. These findings also strengthen the analysis that when *framing* is not accompanied by adequate balance and confirmation, the impact is not only symbolic for the identity of the pesantren but also has the potential to carry normative implications within the framework of broadcasting supervision. Thus, the relationship among the media, Islamic boarding schools, and regulators shows that there is a discourse contest not only at the level of representation but also at the level of ethical and legal legitimacy in broadcasting.

## CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the October 13, 2025 edition of Xpose Uncensored Trans7 frames pesantren through narrative, language, and visual constructions that tend to be reductive and sensational, highlighting issues of exploitation and feudalism without presenting cultural context or clarification from within the pesantren. The *framing* defines pesantren as a problematic social space, directs causal attribution to internal systems and kiyai figures, and builds moral judgments that have the potential to form stigma in public spaces. Thus, the media's representation does not fully reflect the complexity of the values, manners, scientific relations, and educational traditions that live within the pesantren system.

In this framing, the Kebon Jambu Islamic Boarding School responds by strengthening the internal meaning of the practice in question reflexively, negotiating meaning, rejecting the categorization of devotional practices as a form of exploitation, and maintaining the identity of the pesantren through the production of more contextual alternative narratives. These findings confirm that pesantren are not in a passive position as an object of media construction, but as social subjects that are active in maintaining the legitimacy of pesantren values and traditions. The implications of this study underscore the importance of balanced, culturally sensitive journalistic practices in reporting on religious institutions. The limitations of the research lie in focusing on a single case study and analysis on one impression, so that further research is

suggested to expand the object of study and combine *the framing approach* with the analysis of audience acceptance in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of media relations and pesantren in the public space.

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