

THE COMMUNICATION OF RELIGIOUS SENSITIVITY: A COMPARATIVE FRAMING ANALYSIS OF REALITY CONSTRUCTION IN PUBLIC VS. COMMUNITY MEDIA

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Abstrak

Tulisan ini mengkaji bagaimana dua media, yaitu media umum seperti Tempo dan media komunitas seperti NU Online, menciptakan versi realitas yang berbeda ketika meliput topik sensitif: program tayangan “Xpose Uncensored” Trans7 tentang Pesantren Lirboyo. Bagaimana audiens yang berbeda membentuk pandangan publik tentang topik budaya dan agama yang sensitif. Metode penelitian ini adalah kualitatif-deskriptif dengan menggunakan analisis framing Robert Entman. Studi ini membandingkan bagaimana kedua media tersebut meliput berita dengan melihat empat bagian penceritaan: pendefinisian masalah, diagnosis sebab, evaluasi moral, dan rekomendasi solusi. Penelitian ini menunjukkan perbedaan besar dalam cara penyajian berita. Tempo menggunakan kerangka tanggung jawab jurnalistik dan kesalahan prosedural yang melihat masalah tersebut sebagai kesalahan teknis dalam memeriksa dan menyetujui konten dan menuntut manajemen internal produksi TV yang lebih baik. Sedangkan NU Online menggunakan kerangka membela kehormatan pesantren, menekankan sisi emosional (moralitas), menyerukan aksi kelompok dari komunitas, dan menuntut tanggung jawab etis yang lebih besar dari perusahaan penyiaran. Cara-cara yang berbeda dalam membongkar isu ini dengan jelas menunjukkan bahwa media berbasis komunitas berfokus pada kebersamaan dan melindungi identitas mereka, sementara media umum berfokus pada menjaga agar masyarakat tetap terkendali dan mengikuti aturan resmi.

Kata Kunci: *Analisis Framing Robert Entman, Siaran Trans7 Pesantren Lirboyo, Media Umum (Tempo), Media Komunitas (NU Online).*

Abstract

This study compares how the two media outlets cover the news by examining four parts of the narrative: defining the problem, diagnosing the causes, evaluating morality, and recommending solutions. The research reveals significant differences in how the news is presented. Tempo uses a journalistic responsibility and procedural error framework, viewing the issue as a technical error in vetting and approving content and demanding better internal management of TV production. NU Online, on the other hand, uses a framework of defending the honor of Islamic boarding schools, emphasizing the emotional side (morality), calling for collective action from the community, and demanding greater ethical responsibility from the broadcasting company. These different ways of framing the issue clearly demonstrate that community-based media focuses on togetherness and protecting their identity, while mainstream media focuses on keeping the community in check and following official rules.

Keywords: *Robert Entman's Framing Analysis, Trans7 Broadcast of Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School, Media Umum (Tempo), Media Komunitas (NU Online).*

Introduction

The mass media, as an institution with the transformative power to construct and distribute social reality, plays a vital role in shaping public perspectives on sensitive issues.¹ In Indonesia, a country that upholds cultural and religious pluralism, the presentation of issues involving religious institutions such as Islamic boarding schools is always under intense scrutiny. The controversy surrounding Trans7's Xpose Uncensored broadcast on October 13, 2025, about the Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School, which was widely considered to be disrespectful of traditions and religious leaders, is an ideal case study for examining the framing process in a crisis situation.²

This incident immediately triggered mixed responses in the public sphere and the media. The mainstream media (represented in this study by the reporting style of Tempo.co) philosophically performs a social control function and is required to act professionally,³ tends to focus on apology mechanisms, procedural improvements, and broadcasting regulatory sanctions. This approach is in line with the basic functions of television production as regulated by the code of ethics.⁴ On the other hand, community-based media such as NU Online, which is ideologically tied to the religious entities that have been harmed, naturally focuses its narrative on moral outrage and defending the institution's honor, as reflected in the alumni's demands for collective action.⁵

This difference in emphasis is significant, because the frame chosen by the media will directly determine how audiences interpret the issue: whether it is simply a forgivable technical error, or a serious attack on the values they hold dear.⁶ This study aims to systematically analyze and compare the dominant frames used by these two types of media. By comparing Entman's four framing elements, it is hoped that the motives, biases, and ideological orientations that influence the divergence in the presentation of this sensitive religious issue can be identified.⁷

Previous Research Studies

The theoretical basis of this study stems from the idea that news is not a mirror (reflecting) but rather a manufactured product (reproducing) of reality.⁸ In the context of crises, especially those involving institutions such as Islamic boarding schools, mainstream media often chooses a frame that downplays the conflict or directs the conflict to a technical/procedural dimension.⁹ Previous relevant comparative studies show similar patterns but with unique variations in the issue of Islamic boarding schools. For example, research by Chadida (2023) analyzed the framing of a case of sexual abuse of students at the Al-Minhaj Batang Islamic boarding school.¹⁰

Then, research by Pangestu & Shabana (2024) on Kompas.com's coverage of the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school found that media framing was heavily dominated by concerns about radicalism and religious controversy, which strongly

¹ Burhan Bungin, *Sosiologi Komunikasi* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2006), 45.

² Entman, Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm, 52.

³ M. Budyatna, *Jurnalistik: Teori & Praktik* (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2009), 30.

⁴ A. Fachruddin, *Dasar-dasar Produksi Televisi* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada, 2012), 150.

⁵ NU Online, *Tayangan Trans7 Soal Pesantren Lirboyo Tuai Kecaman, Ini Respons Alumni hingga KPI* (2025).

⁶ Alo Liliweri, *Komunikasi: Serba Ada Serba Makna* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2011), 114.

⁷ Robert M. Entman, Framing: Toward

Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm, *Journal of Communication*, 43(4) (1993): 52

⁸ Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (New York: Free Press, 1978), 182.

⁹ Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 7.

¹⁰ Chafiva Ainastasia Chadida, *Komparasi Analisis Framing Media Pemberitaan Republika.co.id dan Kompas.com tentang Pencabulan Santri di Pesantren Al-Minhaj Batang* (Skripsi UIN Salatiga, 2023), 15.

influenced the diagnosis of causes and moral evaluation.¹¹

A study by Kun Wazis (2015) in his book *Media Framing Pondok Pesantren* reinforces this finding by emphasizing that the mass media has a tendency to construct reality that often fails to understand the symbolic values of Islamic boarding schools, resulting in disproportionate or superficial reporting. Kun Wazis emphasizes that journalists are “actors/agents of construction” who define events, not merely reporters.¹² This study enriches these findings by comparing the dynamics of framing between mainstream media and community media on the issue of Islamic boarding school traditions.

Theoretical Framework

1. Framing in Cross-Cultural Communication and Identity Issues

The issue of framing becomes particularly sensitive when it intersects with cultural and religious values. Liliweri and Samovar et al. highlight that communication messages are always encoded and interpreted based on the culture, context, and symbolic values of the audience.¹³ The failure of mainstream media to understand the symbolic meaning of Islamic boarding school traditions (for example, ngesot as a form of respect)¹⁴ creating cultural shock at the level of mass communication.¹⁵ This phenomenon was responded to with a communal solidarity frame by the community concerned. As explained by Junaedi, media outlets close to certain groups

(such as NU Online for NU members/students) tend to use frames that emotionally reinforce identity and demand the defense of honor.¹⁶ Thus, NU Online's framing serves as a statement of identity and moral defense.

2. Robert Entman's Framing Theory (1993)

This study adopts Robert Entman's model because it provides a powerful lens for uncovering the hidden ideology in media discourse.¹⁷ Entman (1993) asserts that framing is highlighting certain aspects of reality in order to promote four key narrative elements:¹⁸

- Define Problems: What is perceived as the main problem.
- Diagnose Causes: Who or what is responsible for the problem.
- Make Moral Judgments: Ethical and moral assessment of the issue and actors involved.
- Suggest Remedies: What should be done to solve the problem.

Research Method

This study uses a qualitative-descriptive method with qualitative content analysis techniques, specifically Robert Entman's framing analysis. The research objects are two news texts that represent different frames: 1) News from the Mainstream Media (representing the *Progressive Daily/Tempo*, focusing on apologies and KPIs)¹⁹; 2) News from Community Media (NU Online, focusing on criticism from alumni and moral

¹¹ Oktami Pangestu & Amin Shabana, *Analisis Framing Robert N. Entman Pemberitaan Pondok Pesantren Al-Zaytun Di Media Online Kompas.com, Filosofi*, 1(3) (Agustus 2024): 78.

¹² Kun Wazis, *Media Framing Pondok Pesantren* (Jember: IAIN Jember Press, 2015), 115.

¹³ Liliweri, *Komunikasi: Serba Ada Serba Makna*, 120.

¹⁴ Andrik Purwasito, *Komunikasi Multikultural* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2015), 58.

¹⁵ Samovar, Porter, & McDaniel, *Komunikasi*

Lintas Budaya, 124.

¹⁶ F. Junaedi, *Merayakan Sepakbola: Fans, Identitas, dan Media* (Yogyakarta: Fandom, 2014), 180.

¹⁷ Robert M. Entman, *Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm*, *Journal of Communication*, 43(4) (1993): 52.

¹⁸ Entman, *Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm*, 52.

¹⁹ Harian Progresif (Merepresentasikan Media Umum/Tempo-style), *Trans7 Minta Maaf atas Tayangan yang Singgung Kiai dan Santri* (2025).

demands)²⁰. The units of analysis include all sentences and paragraphs containing one of Entman's four framing functions. The analysis procedure involves coding the data, classifying it based on Entman's categories, and interpreting it to identify the dominant frame. A comparative analysis was conducted to highlight the deep ideological contrasts between the two media outlets, linking the findings to previous patterns of pesantren crisis reporting and media perspectives on pesantren framing.

Results And Discussion

Differences in Problem Definition and Cause Diagnosis Framing



Figure 1

Tempo.co news display with NU Online

1. Problem Definition

The mainstream media (Tempo) defined the problem in terms of professionalism and journalistic malpractice. The focus was on reducing the sensitive issue of religion to technical and managerial dimensions,²¹ which aims to limit Trans7's responsibility at the operational level. This can be seen from the frame displaying a statement by Trans7 Production Director Andi Choiril.

"Andi mengaku lalai karena tidak melakukan sensor secara mendalam materi dari pihak luar.²² (Andi admitted that he was negligent because he did not thoroughly censor material from outside parties) This incident is categorized as a procedural violation that must be followed up by the television station's management.

Meanwhile, Community Media (NU Online) defined a different issue, namely the abuse of religious leaders and Islamic boarding schools. This was seen from the frame in which it presented the statement by M Imaduddin, an alumnus of Lirboyo.

".... mereka mengecam keras tayangan yang dinilai melecehkan kiai, institusi pesantren, dan santri."²³ (".... they strongly condemned the broadcast, which was considered to be abusive to religious leaders, Islamic boarding schools,

²⁰ NU Online, *Tayangan Trans7 Soal Pesantren Lirboyo Tuai Kecamatan, Ini Respons Alumni hingga KPI* (2025).

²¹ A. Fachruddin, *Dasar-dasar Produksi Televisi* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada, 2012), 150.

²² Harian Progresif (Merepresentasikan Media

Umum/Tempo-style), *Trans7 Minta Maaf atas Tayangan yang Singgung Kiai dan Santri* (2025).

²³ NU Online, *Tayangan Trans7 Soal Pesantren Lirboyo Tuai Kecamatan, Ini Respons Alumni hingga KPI* (2025).

and students.”)

2. Diagnosis of the Cause

The divergence in framing lies in the determination of the responsible actor. The mainstream media (Tempo) frames it more as technical negligence, namely censorship.

"Andi mengaku lalai karena tidak melakukan sensor secara mendalam materi dari pihak luar."²⁴ ("Andi admitted that he was negligent because he did not thoroughly censor material from outside parties.”)

However, community media (NU Online) sees it more as a failure to understand culture, namely a lack of deep understanding of Islamic boarding school customs.

"kekecewaannya terhadap narasi yang disajikan dalam tayangan tersebut, terutama terkait penggambaran kiainya yang dinilai tidak sesuai dengan kenyataan”²⁵ ("His disappointment with the narrative presented in the broadcast, especially regarding the portrayal of the cleric, which he considered to be inconsistent with reality.”)

Differences in Moral Evaluation Framing and Solution Recommendations

1. Moral Evaluation

The mainstream media (Harian Progresif/Tempo) used critical-regulatory language, focusing on

demands for professional accountability and compliance with KPI regulations.

²⁶The moral assessment here was legalistic, as demonstrated by the recommendation to report to the regulator. This can be seen from the frame of selection of comments from the Chair of AJI.

"Ketua Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (AJI), Nany Afrida mengatakan tidak bisa berkomentar mengenai tayangan dari Trans7. Dia hanya meminta pihak yang keberatan bisa melapor ke Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia (KPI). 'Masyarakat yang tidak puas pada tayangan TV, bisa mengadu ke KPI,' kata dia." ("The Chair of the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), Nany Afrida, said she could not comment on Trans7's broadcast. She only asked those who objected to report it to the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI). 'People who are dissatisfied with TV broadcasts can complain to the KPI,' she said.”)²⁷

In contrast, Community Media (NU Online) used a Moral-Normative Evaluation. The clerics and students were positioned as victims whose noble values had been violated. This can be seen from the framing of the comments made by the Chairman of the KPI.

"Ketua Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia (KPI) Ubaidillah menyayangkan tayangan tersebut karena dinilai mencederai nilai-nilai luhur

²⁴ Harian Progresif (Merepresentasikan Media Umum/Tempo-style), *Trans7 Minta Maaf atas Tayangan yang Singgung Kiai dan Santri* (2025).

²⁵ NU Online, *Tayangan Trans7 Soal Pesantren Lirboyo Tuai Kecaman, Ini Respons Alumni hingga KPI* (2025).

²⁶ Harian Progresif (Merepresentasikan Media Umum/Tempo-style), *Trans7 Minta Maaf atas Tayangan yang Singgung Kiai dan Santri* (2025).

²⁷ Harian Progresif (Merepresentasikan Media Umum/Tempo-style), *Trans7 Minta Maaf atas Tayangan yang Singgung Kiai dan Santri* (2025).

penyiaran dan mengganggu suasana kebatinan pesantren”²⁸. (“The Chairman of the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI), Ubaidillah, regretted the broadcast because it was deemed to have violated the noble values of broadcasting and disrupted the spiritual atmosphere of the pesantren.”)

2. Recommended Solutions

The mainstream media (Tempo) emphasized formal and internal (administrative) solutions: an official apology from Trans7 to Kiai Anwar Mansyur and a resolution from the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI).

"Kami telah menyampaikan secara langsung permintaan maaf kepada anak Kiai Anwar Mansyur, Adib Fuad. Untuk disampaikan langsung kepada Kiai Anwar Mansyur"²⁹ (“We have directly conveyed our apology to Kiai Anwar Mansyur's son, Adib Fuad. To be conveyed directly to Kiai Anwar Mansyur”)

“....Dia hanya meminta pihak yang keberatan bisa melapor ke Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia (KPI). "Masyarakat yang tidak puas pada tayangan TV, bisa mengadu ke KPI..."³⁰ (“...He only asked that those who object report it to the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI). ”People who are

dissatisfied with TV broadcasts can complain to the KPI...”)

However, Community Media (NU Online) demanded a more formal and external (educational) solution. The main demands include the removal of the video and the broadcast of a special educational program about Islamic boarding schools.

" mendesak agar video tersebut segera ditarik, dicabut, atau di-take down dari seluruh platform media yang terafiliasi dengan Trans7. Keempat, meminta agar Trans7 menayangkan program edukatif khusus tentang pesantren, guna mengedukasi publik mengenai sumbangsih dan tradisi pesantren yang sebenarnya, serta mencegah terulangnya kesalahpahaman di tengah masyarakat”³¹ (“Urging that the video be immediately withdrawn, revoked, or taken down from all media platforms affiliated with Trans7. Fourth, requesting that Trans7 broadcast a special educational program about Islamic boarding schools to educate the public about the actual contributions and traditions of Islamic boarding schools and prevent the recurrence of misunderstandings within society)

²⁸ NU Online, *Tayangan Trans7 Soal Pesantren Lirboyo Tuai Kecamatan, Ini Respons Alumni hingga KPI* (2025).

²⁹ Harian Progresif (Merepresentasikan Media Umum/Tempo-style), *Trans7 Minta Maaf atas Tayangan yang Singgung Kiai dan Santri* (2025).

³⁰ Harian Progresif (Merepresentasikan Media Umum/Tempo-style), *Trans7 Minta Maaf atas Tayangan yang Singgung Kiai dan Santri* (2025).

³¹ NU Online, *Tayangan Trans7 Soal Pesantren Lirboyo Tuai Kecamatan, Ini Respons Alumni hingga KPI* (2025).

Table 1
Differences Between Mainstream
Media and Community Media
Framing

Robert Entman's Framing Elements	General Media (Tempo: Journalism Accountability Framework)	Community Media (NU Online: Defending the Integrity of Islamic Boarding Schools)
1. <i>Define Problems</i>	Procedural Violations and Technical Negligence. The issue was defined as journalistic malpractice due to the failure to censor material from external parties. The issue was reduced to the technical/managerial operational dimension of the TV station.	Abuse of Kiai and Islamic Boarding School Institutions. The problem is defined as abuse of Kiai, Islamic Boarding School Institutions, and Santri. This problem attacks moral aspects.
2. <i>Diagnose Causes</i>	Negligence on the part of the censorship team and external vendors. The parties responsible are Trans7's internal	Failure to verify and understand the culture. The cause was the TV station's institutional

	management (which was negligent) and the vendors/external parties that provided the material. In essence, the errors were technical and operational in nature.	inability to understand the symbolic values of Islamic boarding schools. In essence, the mistake was ethical and ideological in nature.
3. <i>Make Moral Judgments</i>	Critical-Regulatory. Moral judgments are legalistic in nature, focusing on violations of the Journalistic Code of Ethics and KPI regulations. It is emphasized that these violations must be formally addressed.	Moral-Normative. Namely, Trans7's actions "violated the dignity of the Kiai" and "betrayed the noble values of broadcasting" as well as "disturbed the spiritual atmosphere." The Kiai/santri were positioned as victims whose honor must be defended.

4. <i>Suggest Remedies</i>	Formal internal administrative solution. Trans7 must submit a formal apology to the caretaker of the Lirboyo Islamic boarding school in Kediri. And submit it to the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI).	Formal-External Education. In addition to demanding an apology, they also demanded the complete withdrawal of the video and the broadcast of a specific educational program about Islamic boarding schools as “spiritual compensation” and public education.
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This table shows differences in how news is presented. Mainstream media focuses on systems (improving procedures) and regulations (KPIs). This framing aims to control corporate behavior. Meanwhile, community media is oriented towards identity (the spirit of Islamic boarding schools) and morality (noble values). This framing aims to demand deeper ethical accountability, in line with the function of community media as a defender of identity in the face of mainstream media framing that

often “fails to understand the context” of Islamic boarding schools (Kun Wazis, 2015).³²

Conclusion

Robert Entman's framing analysis of the Trans7 controversy proves that there's a fundamental difference in how sensitive religious issues are framed by mainstream media and community media. Mainstream media uses the Institutional Accountability Frame, seeing the controversy as a technical journalism issue that can be solved through KPI regulation and internal procedure improvements. This approach fits with mainstream media's role as a social control that keeps the system balanced. Meanwhile, community media (NU Online) adopts the Defense of Dignity and Morality Frame, which views the controversy as an attack on values that demands ethical accountability and collective action. This framing serves to strengthen identity solidarity, in line with Kun Wazis' finding that mainstream media often fails to understand the symbolic values of Islamic boarding schools. This difference in framing significantly affects audience understanding: readers of mainstream media tend to see this as a case of regulatory violation, while NU Online readers see it as a case of abuse and blasphemy. The implication is that, in issues that touch on religious sensitivities, media representing the aggrieved party will always demand moral solutions over procedural and legal ones.

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³² Kun Wazis, *Media Framing Pondok*

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