

News Framing of the Free Nutritious Meal Program in IDN Times and Kompas.id: A Robert Entman Analysis

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ABSTRACT

The Free Nutritious Meal Program (MBG) is one of the priority policies of Prabowo Subianto's administration, aimed at improving the nutritional quality of the population and reducing stunting rates in Indonesia. In its implementation, this program has generated various responses, ranging from appreciation for its socio-economic benefits to criticism regarding food poisoning cases, budget governance, and technical issues in its implementation. This study aims to analyze the construction of reality of the MBG Program in the online news coverage of IDN Times and Kompas.id and to compare the framing characteristics used by the two media outlets. This research employs a constructivist paradigm with a qualitative approach. The data were obtained through documentation of ten news articles selected purposively from January 2025 to January 2026 and were strengthened through interviews with the editorial teams of both media outlets as source triangulation. The data were analyzed using Robert N. Entman's framing model, which includes define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgment, and treatment recommendation, supported by the theory of social construction of reality, Hierarchy of Influences theory, mass communication theory, and new media theory. The findings show that IDN Times tends to frame the MBG program critically by highlighting issues of implementation, social impact, and government accountability, while Kompas.id places greater emphasis on balanced policy journalism through context, data, solutions, and program evaluation. These framing differences indicate that the media act as agents of reality construction in shaping public understanding of government policies

Keywords: *Framing, Robert Entman, Free Nutritious Meal Program, Online Media, Reality Construction*

Introduction

The Free Nutritious Meal Program (Makan Bergizi Gratis, MBG) has been positioned as one of the priority policies of the Prabowo Subianto administration. It is designed to expand access to nutritious food for schoolchildren and vulnerable groups, reduce stunting, strengthen school attendance and learning readiness, and stimulate food production and local economies. In policy terms, MBG is not

merely a nutritional intervention. It also carries fiscal, administrative, health, educational, employment, and political consequences because it involves substantial public expenditure, a network of meal-provision kitchens, local governments, schools, suppliers, and millions of beneficiaries.

The breadth of these objectives means that MBG's success cannot be assessed solely by the number of meals distributed. Food

safety, targeting accuracy, menu quality, procurement transparency, equitable service coverage, implementation capacity, and effects on local systems all determine the program's legitimacy. During its first year, MBG received praise for assisting children from low-income families and generating economic opportunities in local areas. At the same time, it faced food-poisoning incidents, alleged noncompliance with procurement procedures, gaps in service coverage, threats to established healthy school canteens, and controversy over plans to appoint program workers as Government Employees with Work Agreements (Pegawai Pemerintah dengan Perjanjian Kerja, PPPK). These conditions created a complex policy-communication environment: the program's objectives could be accepted while its implementation remained contested.

In such a context, the media do more than transmit facts from the field to the public. They select events, determine which actors receive visibility, connect causes to consequences, and provide moral standards for evaluating policy. Entman (1993) defines framing as selecting certain aspects of perceived reality and making them more salient so that a communication text promotes a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation.

Reports about children suffering food poisoning, for example, may frame the event as an isolated technical error, a weakness in supervision, or a failure of policy design. Each definition directs public attention toward different responsible actors and solutions.

Framing becomes especially important in online media. Rapid publication, continuous updates, social-media distribution, and audience segmentation allow policy issues to develop through sequences of mutually reinforcing reports. Online media, however, are not homogeneous. IDN Times develops content close to younger readers through communicative language, regional networks, list-based formats, storytelling, and concise explanations. Kompas.id carries the journalistic tradition of the daily newspaper Kompas, emphasizing depth, data, context, and a subscription model. These differences in routines and orientation may generate distinct constructions of MBG even when both outlets report similar events.

Previous studies have identified variations in the framing of free-meal programs. Triana and Amali (2024) found different emphases between Liputan6.com and Republika.co.id in reporting changes to the program's budget, particularly between the government's rationalization and concerns about food quality and fairness.

Situmorang (2024) showed that campaign-period coverage largely focused on funding sources and the potential burden on the public. Pranandana et al. (2025) compared Kompas.com and Kumparan.com and identified a contrast between a visionary-policy frame and criticism of regulation and implementation. Hatta et al. (2025) found that Detik.com tended to emphasize procedural and administrative aspects of MBG implementation in Makassar. In social media, Haryati and Harahap (2025) identified tension between skeptical framing by users on X and more positive experiences among beneficiaries. Syukri et al. (2025) demonstrated that official communication on Instagram constructed a humanistic image of the program through a combination of text, visuals, and state symbols.

Although these studies enrich understanding of MBG coverage, many focus on the campaign period, a short time frame, a single issue, or one platform. Research tracing changes in framing from the program's launch through its first year of implementation remains limited. Explanations of why media construct particular frames also frequently stop at textual analysis without connecting the news product to newsroom routines, audience segmentation, journalistic traditions, and external pressures. Yet a media outlet's identity does not

automatically produce an unchanging frame. Developments in the field may encourage an outlet to redefine the problem and reassess the policy.

This study addresses the gap through three forms of novelty. First, it conducts a temporal analysis across three policy moments: launch, implementation dynamics, and the first year of operation. Second, it compares two online media outlets with different editorial characteristics and audiences using the same Entman framework, allowing differences in framing to be traced systematically. Third, textual analysis is combined with newsroom interviews to explain the relationship between news products and their production processes. The study therefore asks not only what frames are constructed, but also how and why they emerge and change.

This article aims to analyze the construction of MBG in IDN Times and Kompas.id, compare the framing patterns of the two outlets, and explain editorial factors associated with those differences. Its central argument is that IDN Times tends to construct a bottom-up implementation-crisis and accountability frame, whereas Kompas.id tends to construct a policy-evaluation and distributive-justice frame. Both frames, however, are dynamic and produce conditional support: MBG is considered

worthy of continuation only when safety, fairness, transparency, and governance capacity are fulfilled.

Framing begins from the assumption that complex social reality cannot be represented in its entirety in news. Journalists and media organizations select, emphasize, connect, and omit. Gitlin (1980) views frames as cognitive and organizational patterns through which the media routinely organize reality. Entman (1993) formulates this process through two central concepts: selection and salience. Selected aspects become easier for audiences to notice, remember, and use in interpreting events, while other aspects may be marginalized.

Entman's model operationalizes framing through four functions. First, define problems identifies how the media establish a condition as a problem and the category through which it is understood. Second, diagnose causes identifies the actors, decisions, or structures positioned as causal. Third, make moral judgement supplies values that legitimize or delegitimize actions. Fourth, treatment recommendation indicates the solutions considered reasonable. These functions do not always appear explicitly or with equal weight, but their relationships form the logic of a news story. When a problem is defined as vendor negligence, the proposed solution tends to involve stricter

procedures. When it is defined as policy centralization, the solution shifts toward decentralization and systemic reform.

Framing is not synonymous with falsifying facts. Different frames may arise from legitimate choices of facts, sources, information order, headlines, metaphors, data, and levels of analysis. Framing analysis therefore does not merely classify a report's tone as positive or negative. It must identify the argumentative pattern connecting problems, causes, values, and solutions (Eriyanto, 2012). In this study, Entman's model is used to read each report and compare the consistency or transformation of patterns across the two outlets during the research period.

A constructivist perspective regards news as symbolic reality rather than a passive reflection of the external world. Berger and Luckmann (1967) explain that social reality is formed through externalization, objectivation, and internalization. In journalism, field experiences, official statements, data, and documents are processed into narratives that acquire an objective status when published. These narratives then become resources through which audiences internalize understandings of who has been harmed, who is responsible, and what actions are reasonable.

The social-construction framework helps explain the consequences of framing.

News centered on food-poisoning victims produces a symbolic reality of MBG as a safety risk. News connecting the program to family poverty produces a symbolic reality of MBG as an instrument of social protection. Both realities may be grounded in accurate facts, yet they activate different public orientations. The analytical question is therefore not limited to whether a report is true, but extends to which reality is made dominant and what interpretive consequences follow.

To explain the sources of framing differences, this study employs Shoemaker and Reese's (2001) hierarchy-of-influences approach to media content. Media content may be shaped at the individual, routine, organizational, external-environment, and ideological levels. In practice, these influences interact. Audience segmentation may shape writing style; correspondent networks affect access to local experiences; verification standards determine which sources are prioritized; organizational traditions provide criteria for acceptable criticism; and relationships with government and business interests may create external pressure.

Integrating Entman, the social construction of reality, and the hierarchy of influences provides two layers of explanation. Entman's model identifies the

form of the frame in the text. The social-construction perspective explains how frames guide public meaning-making. The hierarchy of influences helps explain the production conditions that enable particular frames to emerge. This integrated framework is relevant to comparing IDN Times and Kompas.id because both operate in the same online-media ecosystem but differ in reporting networks, editorial routines, presentation formats, and reader communities.

Research methods

This study adopts a constructivist paradigm and a comparative qualitative approach. Its object is the construction of the Free Nutritious Meal Program in the coverage of IDN Times and Kompas.id. The units of analysis are ten news articles published between January 6, 2025, and January 26, 2026, with five articles from each outlet. Articles were selected purposively to represent three moments: the program's launch, implementation dynamics, and its first year of operation. The corpus was also selected to cover varied issues, including benefits for low-income groups, food poisoning, procurement, distribution, local success, healthy-canteen initiatives, and employment justice.

Table 1. Research News IDN Times

Number	Date	Headlines
1.	January 17, 2025	Dozens of Elementary School Students Poisoned by MBG Meals; National Nutrition Agency Head: It Was Human Error
2.	April 30, 2025	Irregularities in National Nutrition Agency Procurement Violate the Rules!
3.	September 29, 2025	Tears Behind the MBG Poisoning Tragedy: The State's Unfulfilled Promise
4.	November 20, 2025	When MBG Became a Luxury Meal at a Remote School in Magetan
5.	January 23, 2026	Making MBG Workers PPPK Employees Is Unfair to Contract Teachers and Health Workers Honorer dan Nakes

Table 2. Research News Kompas.id

Number	Date	Headlines
1.	January 6, 2025	Free Nutritious Meal Participants in Medan: We Want It to Be Like This Every Day
2.	January 17, 2025	Food Poisoning in Sukoharjo: Government Promises to Tighten MBG Operating Standards
3.	June 14, 2025	Anticipating Critical Points in MBG Implementation
4.	September 26, 2025	The Irony of MBG: Closing a Healthy Kitchen While Serving 'Dangerous' Food
5.	January 26, 2026	The Circumstances of Part-Time PPPK Teachers versus MBG Employees

The primary data were collected through documentation of the news texts. Supporting data were obtained through semi-structured interviews with Umi Kalsum, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of IDN Times, on May 17, 2026, and Hernowo, Managing Editor of Kompas.id, on June 3, 2026. Conducted via Zoom, the interviews addressed editorial policy, source selection, verification, audience segmentation, newsroom decision-making, external pressures, and the evaluation of public responses. The interviews served as source triangulation rather than a substitute for textual analysis.

The analysis proceeded in four stages. First, each article was read

repeatedly to identify its headline, lead, actors, quotations, data, information sequence, and proposed solutions. Second, the findings were entered into a matrix based on Entman's four framing functions. Third, reports within each outlet were compared to identify dominant frames, counter-frames, and temporal change. Fourth, the results from both outlets were compared and interpreted through the social construction of reality and the hierarchy of influences. Interpretive credibility was strengthened by applying the same analytical categories to the entire corpus, searching for cases that did not conform to dominant patterns, and

triangulating the analysis with newsroom explanations.

The researcher has a professional affiliation with one of the media outlets analyzed. The risk of bias was managed by limiting Tears Behind the MBG Poisoning Tragedy: The State's Unfulfilled Promise conclusions to textual evidence, applying an identical Entman matrix to both outlets, retaining both positive and negative cases in the corpus, and interviewing representatives of both newsrooms. This positionality nevertheless remains a limitation considered when drawing conclusions.

Result and Discussion

The analysis shows that neither outlet rejects the normative objectives of MBG. The principal differences concern the entry point used to assess the program, the level of causality emphasized, the moral values activated, and the scale of proposed solutions. IDN Times more often begins with events experienced by citizens and then moves toward demands for accountability. Kompas.id more often situates events within policy design and moves toward an evaluation of distributive justice. These patterns are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Comparison of the Dominant Frames in IDN Times and Kompas.id

Entman element	IDN Times	Kompas.id
Problem definition	Implementation crisis, poisoning, procurement irregularities, weak supervision, and employment injustice, local success appears as a counter-frame	A gap between social objectives and implementation design, unequal access, centralization, threats to local initiatives, and inconsistent policy priorities
Causal diagnosis	Operational errors developing into governance weaknesses, noncompliance with standard operating procedures, conflicts of interest, immature regulation, and overly rapid expansion	Structural and institutional factors: SPPG distribution, local-government support, resource limitations, a uniform approach, and weak sensitivity to local contexts
Moral evaluation	Child safety, transparency, honesty, citizen protection, and government accountability	Distributive justice, commitment to vulnerable groups, respect for local practices, and state consistency in setting priorities
Treatment recommendation	Enforcement of standard operating procedures, certification, procurement transparency, evaluation or a limited moratorium, review of employment policy, and stronger local implementation	Needs-based targeting, equitable distribution and decentralization, integration of local practices, stronger local governments, budget control, and reform of teacher welfare

The table indicates that the framing differences are not merely differences in tone. The two outlets construct distinct moral grammars. IDN Times primarily asks whether citizens have been harmed and who should be held accountable. Kompas.id primarily asks whether policy design is fair, adaptive, and consistent. These differences determine the positioning of actors. In IDN Times, citizens and victims become the center of experience, while the government and implementers are tested for accountability. In Kompas.id, vulnerable groups, school communities, the central government, and local governments are positioned within a broader policy relationship.

At the problem-definition level, IDN Times uses incidents as its principal point of entry. The January 17, 2025 report defined the problem through the poisoning of 40 pupils after consuming MBG meals. Its headline combined the poisoning incident with the head of the National Nutrition Agency's explanation that human error was the cause. At this stage, the frame remained close to the official account: the incident was positioned as a technical error that had been addressed. Nevertheless, the use of the word "poisoning" and the number of victims kept child safety as the most salient aspect.

The pattern shifted decisively in the April 30, 2025 procurement report. MBG

was no longer understood only through food quality but through the integrity of budget management. The alleged direct appointment of high-value procurement packages was defined as an irregularity that potentially violated regulations. A headline using the phrase "violates the rules" narrowed the space for ambiguity and directed readers toward an evaluation of wrongdoing. Critical sources from monitoring organizations and procurement experts received prominent positions, while explanations from the implementing agency were placed within a relationship of evidentiary scrutiny. The symbolic reality of MBG thus developed from a technical problem into an institutional one. The strongest escalation appeared in the September 29, 2025 article. Victims' narratives, data on the number of poisoning cases, admissions of weak supervision, the use of nonfresh ingredients, and procedural noncompliance were assembled into a contradiction between "nutritious meals" and the dangers experienced by children. The article did not stop at one kitchen or vendor. Causality was layered: contamination, violations of standard operating procedures, weak internal oversight, excessively ambitious expansion targets, and an inadequate legal framework. Within Entman's framework, the shift from individual to structural causes broadened the scope of

responsibility. The problem could no longer be resolved merely by changing a menu or reprimanding an operator.

IDN Times' framing, however, was not entirely negative. Its November 20, 2025 article about a remote school in Magetan functioned as a deviant case relative to the dominant pattern. MBG was defined as an intervention that reduced nutritional inequality in a hard-to-reach area. Narratives about the journey of meal couriers, a complete menu regarded as luxurious, the use of produce from local farmers, and job creation formed a benefit frame. The causes of the underlying problem were not the government or implementers, but poverty, remoteness, and infrastructure. Moral approval was directed toward the dedication of delivery workers, community mutual assistance, and the program's capacity to provide meals that children had rarely enjoyed. This case is important because it shows that IDN Times' critical orientation does not amount to rejection of MBG; rather, it constitutes support conditional on implementation quality.

At the program's first-year milestone, attention shifted toward employment justice. The January 23, 2026 article framed plans to appoint MBG workers as PPPK employees as inequitable because long-serving contract teachers and health workers had not received equivalent

treatment. The contrast between lengthy selection processes for essential-service workers and the impression of automatic appointment for workers in a new program produced an easily understood problem definition. The causal diagnosis focused on government priorities favoring programs with rapid visible impact, the conflation of private-worker status with the civil service, and inconsistent governance. Moral evaluation then moved from procedural fairness to public trust and democratic legitimacy.

Overall, IDN Times' causal diagnosis operates at two levels. The first is operational, including vendor error, unfit ingredients, and noncompliance with standard operating procedures. The second is institutional, encompassing weak supervision, limited transparency, conflicts of interest, excessively rapid program expansion, and unequal policy priorities. This movement shows how incident reporting can become an entry point to systemic criticism. Salience is built through assertive headlines, victim numbers, emotional experiences, and contrasts between state promises and realities in the field.

IDN Times' moral evaluation centers on safety and accountability. Children are positioned as subjects who must be protected, not merely as beneficiary statistics. When poisoning

occurs, negligence is understood as a breach of the state's obligations. In procurement coverage, transparency and fair competition become standards of legitimacy. In the PPPK issue, equal treatment becomes the standard. In the positive article, the salient moral values are solidarity, mutual assistance, and commitment to remote communities. These variations produce a consistent moral structure: the program is judged positively when it reduces citizens' vulnerability and negatively when its management adds risk or injustice.

Treatment recommendations follow the definition of the problem. For poisoning cases, proposed solutions include withdrawing meals, conducting evaluations, certifying kitchens, tightening hygiene standards, and enforcing standard operating procedures. In procurement, recommendations concern regulatory compliance, open tenders, competition oversight, and transparency. When the problem is understood as systemic escalation, calls emerge for a comprehensive evaluation or the temporary suspension of problematic units. Regarding employment, the proposed solution is to separate MBG's continuity from the automatic appointment of its workers and to prioritize the welfare of teachers and health personnel. In the Magetan case, the recommendation instead involves

replicating good practice, using local suppliers, and expanding economic benefits.

Newsroom interviews help explain this pattern. IDN Times has no special guideline prescribing the tone of MBG coverage. The newsroom follows developments in the field and examines targeting accuracy, menu quality, and consistency between budget allocations and implementation. Its hyperlocal network across multiple regions provides access to incidents, beneficiaries, Nutrition Fulfillment Service Units (Satuan Pelayanan Pemenuhan Gizi, SPPGs), and local practices that are not always visible from the center. In poisoning cases, reporters are directed to visit the location and consult primary sources. These routines support framing based on citizens' experiences and rapid response.

The segmentation of younger readers also affects the form of salience. Story formats, explainers, subheadings, and concise presentation translate policy conflict into concrete experience. Rather than beginning with abstract regulation, articles often begin with children, teachers, meals, or victims. This does not mean structural analysis disappears; instead, structures are explained through tangible consequences. The newsroom also acknowledged external efforts to encourage favorable coverage of the

program's benefits through business relationships, but stated that editorial decisions remained separate from advertorial interests. Within the hierarchy of influences, reporting networks, verification routines, and audience orientation appear to shape the frame more clearly than formal ideological instruction.

The resulting construction of reality presents MBG as a high-risk program requiring continuous scrutiny. Citizens are not directed to reject the program's objectives but to question implementation capacity and demand accountability. Politically, this frame strengthens the watchdog function and may increase pressure for transparency. At the same time, repeated emphasis on crisis may intensify public skepticism if it is not accompanied by proportional context. The positive Magetan article helps restrain such simplification by demonstrating that local success is still recognized.

Kompas.id began the corpus with a social-benefit frame. Its January 6, 2025 article used the experiences of children from low-income families in Medan to define inequality in nutritional access. A complete meal was presented as something rarely available at home because of household economic constraints. Poverty and calorie-consumption data expanded the personal story into a policy problem. MBG was positioned as a solution, but the

recommendation did not endorse unconditional universalism. Kompas.id emphasized priority for children, pregnant women, breastfeeding mothers, and families with the greatest need.

In its January 17, 2025 poisoning report, Kompas.id did not immediately frame the program as a systemic failure. The cause remained under investigation, while the terms technical error and meal withdrawal received space. The article connected the incident to the government's promise to tighten operating standards, improve hygiene, and strengthen school reporting to kitchens. It also presented children's enthusiasm at other locations. In Entman's model, this strategy limits generalization: the poisoning was understood as a serious problem but not yet as representative of the entire program. Moral evaluation focused on the government's capacity to respond and learn.

The frame became more structural in the June 14, 2025 article, "Anticipating Critical Points in MBG Implementation." The problem was defined through the unequal distribution of SPPGs, sparsely populated areas that were unattractive to partners, potential competition for food supplies, limited local-government support, and concentrated management. The program was still considered beneficial for health, education, local consumption, and employment. These benefits, however, did

not satisfy the principle of justice if poor regions remained difficult to reach. Kompas.id shifted attention from the number of services delivered to the quality of the ecosystem.

The September 26, 2025 article about the threatened closure of a healthy school canteen strengthened criticism of centralization. A school that had developed a safe, transparent, and nationally recognized food system was required to adjust to a centralized vendor scheme. The problem was defined as an irony: a program intended to provide healthy food could displace a proven local practice while MBG kitchens elsewhere were facing safety problems. Causality was assigned not to individuals but to a uniform policy that left insufficient room for local diversity and parental participation. Moral evaluation was constructed through the contrast between care-oriented health education at school and the administrative and commercial logic of vendors.

In January 2026, Kompas.id connected MBG to education budgets and the circumstances of part-time PPPK teachers. The newly established program was portrayed as enjoying policy superiority because its workers received priority, while long-serving contract teachers earned very low wages. The problem was not merely the plan to appoint MBG workers, but the state's inconsistency

in its treatment of public-service personnel. The causal diagnosis focused on the government's inability to implement rules for contract teachers, differences in treatment across agencies, and budget priorities. Moral evaluation drew on teachers' lived experiences to show that an upgraded administrative status without decent pay does not satisfy human dignity.

Kompas.id's pattern demonstrates a gradual and system-oriented causal diagnosis. In the early phase, the outlet was cautious about assigning the cause of poisoning because the investigation was incomplete. As program data and experience accumulated, the diagnosis expanded to SPPG distribution, dependence on partners, local-government support, central-local mechanisms, potential food-price inflation, and policy homogenization. The reports did not merely identify an actor at fault; they explained the mechanisms through which inequality or recurrent risk could arise. This pattern is consistent with policy journalism that connects incidents to institutional design.

Kompas.id's moral evaluation rests on distributive justice and respect for local capacity. MBG's objectives are acknowledged as beneficial. Good intentions, however, are insufficient when the program fails to reach those most in need, displaces effective local practices, or

creates inconsistent employment priorities. Within this frame, the state is obliged not only to provide food but also to design fair distribution, sustain community participation, and ensure that new policies do not damage functioning social systems.

Kompas.id's recommendations tend to operate at the ecosystem level. In the initial phase, the program was urged to prioritize low-income groups and define quality according to nutritional needs rather than merely the cost per portion. During implementation, recommendations included more equitable SPPG distribution, anticipation of price volatility, partnerships with farmers and micro, small, and medium-sized enterprises (MSMEs), stronger local-government support, limits on management concentration, and financial control. In the healthy-canteen case, the proposed solution was flexibility and decentralization so that schools with proven systems could retain them. Regarding teachers, the recommendation concerned decent wage standards and consistency in the use of state funds.

The newsroom's explanation confirms this orientation. Kompas.id acknowledges MBG's positive objectives but regards coverage of both strengths and weaknesses as a contribution to program improvement. Its sourcing standard does not stop at presenting two sides; it seeks to include multiple stakeholders and

supporting data. Reporters are encouraged to obtain information from primary sources, while data journalism, investigative reporting, and research-unit studies provide context. Before full implementation, the newsroom had already prepared data analyses to estimate which groups were most in need. These routines support more structural problem definitions.

At the organizational level, decision-making was described as a process of discussion among reporters, editors, and senior editors. Kompas' institutional values position the media as serving the public interest while holding powerful groups to account. The newsroom also receives feedback through an ombudsman forum and a readers' forum. Public influence is not translated into direct determination of content but is treated as material for evaluation. Within Shoemaker and Reese's (2001) framework, organizational tradition, primary-source standards, and data-based routines are more salient than explicit external pressure.

The symbolic reality constructed by Kompas.id presents MBG as a valuable policy requiring design correction. The government is positioned not only as an actor to be blamed but as a system designer obliged to learn from data, local practices, and distributional consequences. This

frame preserves the legitimacy of the program's objectives while restricting the legitimacy of its implementation. Politically, the criticism is reformist: the program need not be terminated, but it must be changed to become fair and sustainable.

A major finding is that framing develops over time. At the launch stage, Kompas.id emphasized MBG's benefits for children living in poverty, whereas the first IDN Times article in the corpus began directly with a poisoning incident. The difference partly reflects the selected news moments, but it also reveals editorial tendencies. Kompas.id connected a personal story with poverty data to formulate policy targeting. IDN Times used an immediate event and official explanations to test implementation safety. In the middle phase, both outlets became more critical but operated at different analytical levels. IDN Times moved from technical error to alleged procurement violations and supervisory failure. Kompas.id moved from technical evaluation to critical points in the ecosystem and centralization. IDN Times tended to settle on a causal diagnosis more quickly when procedural indications and identifiable victims were present. Kompas.id tended to accumulate data before connecting incidents to policy structures. This distinction is not an

absolute opposition between fast and in-depth news; both outlets conducted verification. The difference lies in the unit of reality made salient: citizens' experiences and concrete violations in IDN Times, and institutional relationships and the distribution of benefits in Kompas.id.

At the first-year milestone, the coverage of both outlets converged on employment justice. IDN Times focused on unequal appointment mechanisms and the potential erosion of public trust. Kompas.id extended the issue to education budgets, wages for part-time PPPK teachers, and state inconsistency. This convergence demonstrates that MBG had moved beyond the nutritional domain. The program became a symbol of government priorities that could be compared with education and health policies. Media framing helped determine whether that comparison was read as procedural injustice or as a structural failure of priorities.

Kompas.id most clearly displays the evolution of a frame. At the program's outset, the legitimacy of its objectives and benefits received considerable space. As problems of safety, distribution, closure of local initiatives, and employment inequality emerged, the frame developed into structural criticism. This change demonstrates that editorial identity does not produce a fixed position. New facts

and accumulated policy consequences alter the definition of the problem. IDN Times showed greater consistency in its critical orientation, but the Magetan article demonstrates the presence of a positive counter-frame when the program met standards and reached vulnerable groups.

These findings extend MBG framing research, which has generally captured frames within short periods. Pranandana et al. (2025) identified a contrast between a visionary-policy narrative and criticism of implementation, while Triana and Amali (2024) identified tension between government rationalization and public concern. The present study shows that these differences can change within a single outlet as the program's context develops. Framing, in other words, is not merely an attribute of a media organization; it is the outcome of interaction between media identity and the empirical trajectory of a policy.

The ideological implications identified in this study are not understood as concealed partisan alignment. Ideology appears as a normative orientation that determines which problems deserve priority. IDN Times activates a bottom-up accountability orientation: the experiences of children, citizens, teachers, and health workers become measures of state performance. Kompas.id activates an institutional-reform orientation: policy is

assessed through data, distributive justice, consistency, and the capacity to accommodate local practices. Both are critical, but they speak different languages of criticism.

Socially, framing determines which groups gain visibility. IDN Times gives substantial weight to victims, families, local workers, and critical experts. Kompas.id broadens visibility to include low-income families, schools, healthy canteens, local governments, farmers, MSMEs, and contract teachers. When these groups appear as subjects with experiences and voices, MBG is no longer merely a distribution figure. The policy is understood through its effects on everyday life. This finding differs from a common tendency in food-poverty coverage, which often cites officials and aid organizations more extensively than individuals' experiences (Kerins et al., 2023).

Politically, both frames produce conditional legitimacy. IDN Times stresses that the program's scale and good intentions do not remove the obligation to account for victims and public expenditure. Kompas.id stresses that aggregate benefits are insufficient when distribution is unjust or safer local systems are displaced. Policy legitimacy is therefore determined by safety, procedure, fairness, and the government's capacity to learn. The media expand the arena of evaluation from

administrative indicators to public experience and systemic consequences.

Frame diversity can be a democratic asset because it offers the public more than one way to understand policy. Such diversity, however, requires media literacy. Readers need to distinguish facts, salience, levels of causality, and recommendations. An incident-based frame can reveal urgency but risks overgeneralization. A system-based frame can provide context but may reduce the intensity of victims' experiences. Ideal journalistic practice is not to choose one over the other, but to combine speed in revealing harm with depth in investigating structures.

Theoretically, this study demonstrates the value of reading framing as a temporal process. Entman's four functions not only differ across outlets but can also change within the same outlet as a policy enters a new phase. This finding supports Scheufele's (1999) view that media frames emerge through production processes and are related to context rather than solely to textual characteristics. Integration with the hierarchy of influences shows that frame evolution is connected to source routines, reporting networks, organizational traditions, audiences, and the accumulation of facts.

The study also proposes a typology of two policy frames. The implementation-

crisis and accountability frame moves from concrete experience toward institutional responsibility. The policy-evaluation and distributive-justice frame moves from social objectives toward scrutiny of design and distribution. This typology can be used to analyze other public policies that have popular goals but face implementation problems, including social assistance, health services, and education reform.

Practically, the media should combine the strengths of both approaches. Incident coverage should give space to victims, provide rapid verification, and demand accountability, while also explaining structural mechanisms so that blame does not stop at operational scapegoats. Conversely, data-based policy coverage should retain human experience so that analysis does not become overly abstract. Government agencies and program implementers should treat media criticism as information for improvement, provide verifiable data, respond transparently to incidents, and keep media business relationships separate from editorial demands.

Closing

IDN Times and Kompas.id construct the Free Nutritious Meal Program through different but not mutually exclusive frames. IDN Times develops an implementation-crisis and accountability

frame. Problems are defined through poisoning incidents, procurement irregularities, weak supervision, and employment injustice. Causality moves from operational errors toward governance. The dominant moral values are safety, transparency, citizen protection, and responsibility. Solutions center on stricter procedures, evaluation, transparency, and policy correction. The article about success in Magetan indicates that this criticism represents conditional support rather than rejection of MBG's objectives.

Kompas.id develops a policy-evaluation and distributive-justice frame. In the initial phase, the program is understood as a solution for low-income families, but it is subsequently tested through unequal distribution, centralization, threats to local initiatives, and unfair employment priorities. Causes are located in policy design and institutional mechanisms. The dominant moral values are justice, state consistency, commitment to vulnerable groups, and respect for local capacity. Solutions are directed toward needs-based targeting, decentralization, integration of effective practices, budget control, and policy reform.

These differences are associated with reporting networks, verification routines, presentation formats, audience segmentation, and organizational traditions. Framing, however, is not

mechanically determined by media identity. Program developments led Kompas.id to move from appreciation toward structural criticism, while IDN Times maintained a critical orientation but allowed space for local success. The study's principal contribution is to demonstrate that public-policy framing should be analyzed as a process that develops over time.

The study is limited to ten articles, two media outlets, and two newsroom informants and is therefore not intended to represent all MBG coverage. It also does not measure how readers receive each frame. Future studies could expand the corpus, combine computational analysis with qualitative interpretation, compare national and local media, and test framing effects on public support, trust, and policy evaluation.

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