

Framing Food Safety and Governance Risks in Indonesia's Free Nutritious Meals Programme: An Analysis of Detik.com Coverage

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ABSTRAKSI

Abstrak: Artikel bertujuan menganalisis bagaimana Detik.com membingkai ketegangan antara tujuan pemenuhan gizi dan masalah implementasi MBG melalui model framing Robert M. Entman. Data terdiri atas lima berita Detik.com yang terbit pada Januari, Februari, Maret, April, dan Juni 2026, dipilih secara purposif berdasarkan kata kunci “Keracunan MBG”, “Keracunan”, “Makan Bergizi Gratis”, dan “MBG”. Analisis dilakukan melalui empat perangkat framing, yaitu pendefinisian masalah, penetapan penyebab, penilaian moral, dan rekomendasi penyelesaian. Hasil menemukan tiga konfigurasi bingkai utama. Pertama, pemberitaan mengonstruksi eskalasi risiko keamanan pangan dari insiden lokal menjadi persoalan sistemik melalui penonjolan jumlah korban, temuan makanan tidak layak, serta pengulangan kasus lintas daerah. Kedua, atribusi tanggung jawab bergeser dari kesalahan teknis menuju kelemahan tata kelola kelembagaan, meliputi sanitasi, distribusi, kompetensi sumber daya manusia, fragmentasi kewenangan, dan konsentrasi pemasok. Ketiga, penindakan administratif berupa suspend, pencabutan sertifikat, penghentian dana, dan evaluasi diposisikan sebagai mekanisme pemulihan legitimasi program. Temuan ini menunjukkan bahwa kritik media terhadap implementasi MBG tidak serta-merta mendelegitimasi kebijakan, tetapi justru menegaskan kapasitas korektif negara.

Abstract: This article aims to analyze how Detik.com frames the tension between the goal of meeting nutritional needs and the challenges of implementing the MBG using Robert M. Entman's framing model. The data consists of five Detik.com news articles published in January, February, March, April, and June 2026, selected purposefully based on the keywords “MBG Poisoning,” “Poisoning,” “Free Nutritious Meals,” and “MBG.” The analysis was conducted using four framing devices: problem definition, cause attribution, moral judgment, and recommended solutions. The results identified three main framing configurations. First, the news coverage constructed an escalation of food safety risks from local incidents into a systemic issue by highlighting the number of victims, findings of unfit food, and recurring cases across regions. Second, the attribution of responsibility shifted from technical errors to weaknesses in institutional governance, including sanitation, distribution, human resource competence, fragmentation of authority, and supplier concentration. Third, administrative actions such as suspensions, certificate revocations, funding cuts, and evaluations are positioned as mechanisms for restoring the program's legitimacy. These findings indicate that media criticism of the MBG's implementation does not automatically delegitimize the policy but rather affirms the state's capacity for corrective action.

Keywords:

Nutritional Intake

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Framing Analysis

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I. Introduction

The Free Nutritious Meals Programme (MBG) marks a significant shift in the orientation of Indonesia's social policy by positioning the fulfilment of nutritional needs as a nationwide state intervention, rather than merely limited food aid. The programme, which commenced on 6 January 2025, is aimed at improving nutritional status, health, concentration in learning, and the quality of human resources through the provision of meals to school-age children and vulnerable groups. According to its official design, the MBG is targeted to reach 82.9 million beneficiaries spread across 38 provinces and 514 regencies/cities, comprising approximately 74.2 million schoolchildren and under-fives, 4.3 million students at Islamic boarding schools (*santri*), and 4.4 million pregnant and breastfeeding women. The programme's targets also include pupils at the early childhood education (PAUD)/nursery (TK), primary (SD), lower secondary (SMP), upper secondary (SMA/SMK), special needs schools, special education services, Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*), and religious schools. This scope demonstrates that the MBG programme not only fulfils the mission of meeting daily nutritional needs but is also positioned as an instrument for human development, the prevention of stunting, the strengthening of educational participation, and the equitable distribution of social services (BGN, 2025).

The scale of this policy is expanding rapidly. The government reports that, as of 20 May 2026, the MBG programme was benefiting around 62.4 million people daily, including 6.3 million under-fives, 2 million breastfeeding mothers and 868,000 pregnant women. In early June 2026, the National Nutrition Agency stated that actual coverage stood at around 63 million people, or approximately 76 per cent of the national target of 82.9 million beneficiaries (Setneg, 2025). This expansion is underpinned by a substantial fiscal commitment. In the 2026 State Budget, the MBG programme was allocated a budget ceiling of Rp335 trillion, comprising Rp268 trillion in the main budget and Rp67 trillion in reserve funds. As of 9 March 2026, budget disbursement had reached Rp44 trillion, or 13.1 per cent of the total ceiling, supported by 25,082 Nutrition Fulfilment Service Units. Given the large number of beneficiaries, the budget and the network of implementing agencies, the success of the MBG programme cannot be assessed solely on the speed of food distribution, but must also take into account the accuracy of beneficiary selection, food quality, spending efficiency, food safety and the government's ability to account for the use of public resources.

Behind the narrative of meeting nutritional needs and expanding the beneficiary base, the implementation of the MBG programme reveals complex governance issues. BGN data shows that, from the programme's inception until 29 May 2026, 8,182 SPPGs have been suspended, whilst 2,213 SPPGs remain suspended. These sanctions relate to a range of issues, ranging from digestive disorders, diarrhoea and vomiting following food consumption; menu discrepancies with the raw materials budget; suspected price inflation; non-compliance with technical guidelines; the absence of a Certificate of Hygiene and Sanitation Compliance and wastewater treatment facilities; to weak internal management. This situation has prompted the government to revalidate beneficiaries, impose a moratorium on the construction of new kitchens, refine its targeting, improve budget efficiency, standardize the SPPG, and strengthen data control and integration. Consequently, the MBG finds itself caught between two competing realities: as a manifestation of the state's presence in fulfilling the public's right to nutrition, and as a high-cost programme facing risks relating to accountability, food safety, equity, and the effectiveness of its implementation. It is this tension that makes Detik.com's reporting worth analysing, as through the selection of facts, sources, causes of problems, moral evaluations, and recommendations for resolution, the media can frame the MBG as a success story in welfare policy or, conversely, as a problem of public governance (Humas, 2025; Saptati, 2026).

The literature indicates that research on the framing of government programs in digital media has evolved from descriptive analyses of news trends to testing message effects, examining audience responses, and mapping issue diffusion within hybrid media ecosystems. In the early stages, Hanim et al. (2021) combined netnography, quantitative content analysis, and inductive thematic analysis of 62 online news articles regarding the tax policy on sugar-sweetened beverages in Malaysia; the variables mapped included the valence of the coverage, policy

arguments, and emphasis on health impacts, economic effects, government revenue, and industry regulation, with the finding that the media tended to build support for the government's health policies. Gesser-Edelsburg et al. (2022) their analysis through qualitative triangulation of television news coverage, government social media, and official vaccination campaigns by mapping positive framing, fear appeals, and attributions of responsibility; their study revealed alignment between government framing and media coverage, but also exposed the media's weak critical function in scrutinizing policy claims. In the Indonesian context, Yuniawan et al. (2023) classified 1,831 news headlines from *Republika.co.id* into the frames of public health, policy, economy, politics, and culture and religion; however, the study's design which relied solely on news headlines, a single media outlet, and a single time period made it more categorical and descriptive in nature rather than providing an in-depth explanation of the framing structure. Subsequent developments shifted toward audiences and communication effects: Kleinberga (2021) combined a strategic narrative framework, an internet aggressiveness index, and content analysis of user comments to measure public perceptions, emotions, and evaluations of government communicators. Meanwhile, Chang et al. (2023) used factorial experiments, SEM, and ANOVA on 1,157 respondents to test the effects of goal framing, the number and consistency of arguments, source credibility, and audience awareness on information value, persuasiveness, communication effectiveness, and the intention to share messages.

Meanwhile, Gruzdt et al. (2022) demonstrated through network analysis and content analysis of 7,737 Facebook posts that narrative framing not only shapes interpretations but also operates in tandem with coordinated link-sharing behavior to amplify misinformation and partisan narratives. Recent studies have begun to apply large-scale computational approaches to MBG programs. Irzavika et al. (2025) applied logistic regression, TF-IDF, and sentiment classification to news from more than 6,700 media sources and found a predominance of positive sentiment with an increase in negative sentiment when food safety incidents occurred; nevertheless, positive, neutral, and negative sentiment alone cannot explain how the media defines problems, identifies causes, makes moral judgments, and recommends solutions. Maulana et al. (2025) then integrated Structural Topic Modeling, social network analysis, QAP/MRQAP, thematic analysis, and critical discourse analysis to analyze 1,696 online news articles, 363 YouTube videos, more than 26 million comments, and 620 respondents; the results showed that the frequency of an issue determines its discursive centrality; mainstream media tends to legitimize MBG through a socioeconomic frame, while YouTube amplifies criticism, satire, and counter-narratives. Based on these findings, a research gap in this corpus lies in the absence of a qualitative analysis that is specifically, in-depth, and process-oriented in examining how a national online media outlet constructs both the legitimacy and the risks of the MBG policy through the selection of issues, news sources, dominant actors, attribution of responsibility, moral evaluation, and proposed solutions across various phases of implementation. Therefore, Robert M. Entman's framing analysis of *Detik.com*'s coverage is necessary to explain the tension between the construction of the MBG as the fulfillment of nutritional rights and its construction as an issue of food security, budget accountability, institutional coordination, and governance risks—dimensions that have not been adequately explained by sentiment analysis, theme classification, or macro-scale issue diffusion mapping.

This study aims to analyse how *Detik.com* constructs the Free Nutritious Meals Programme using Robert M. Entman's framing framework, specifically in defining the problem, identifying causes, establishing moral judgements, and offering recommendations for resolving the various issues that arise during the programme's implementation. The analysis seeks to identify the positions of actors, news sources, the selection of facts, and the narrative emphasis that shape the Free Nutritious Meals Programme (MBG), both as a policy for fulfilling nutritional rights and an investment in human development, and as a public programme facing risks relating to food security, budgetary accountability, institutional coordination, and implementation disparities. This study argues that media coverage of the MBG does not function as a neutral representation of government policy, but rather as an arena for negotiating legitimacy, where the media can simultaneously reinforce claims of the state's success, shift responsibility for implementation failures, and shape the boundaries of public criticism regarding the programme's governance. Our

study offers a theoretical contribution through the development of a policy framing analysis that brings together the dimensions of legitimacy, risk and accountability, whilst also making an empirical contribution by explaining how national online media shape public understanding of large-scale welfare programmes amidst the dynamics of their implementation.

II. Research Methods

A. Research Design and Approach

This study employs a qualitative research method with an interpretative approach and a media text analysis design. The research is situated within a constructivist paradigm which views news not as an objective and neutral reflection of an event, but rather as the result of the selection, emphasis, organisation and interpretation of reality by media institutions. From this perspective, the news coverage of the Free Nutritious Meals Programme (MBG) is understood as a practice of meaning-making that can direct public attention towards certain aspects of the policy, whilst reducing the visibility of others. A qualitative approach was chosen because the research was not aimed at counting the frequency of word occurrences or measuring the effects of news coverage on the audience, but rather at interpreting how Detik.com defines the issues surrounding the MBG, constructs causes, makes moral judgements, positions actors, and offers solutions to the problems of programme implementation. The analysis was conducted using Robert M. Entman's framing model, which encompasses four main functions: *defining problems*, *diagnosing causes*, *making moral judgements*, and *recommending treatments* (R. M. Entman, 2009, 2010). This model enables the study to trace how certain aspects of reality are selected and emphasised to construct problem definitions, causal interpretations, moral evaluations, and specific treatment recommendations.

This study employs a single-media case study design, with Detik.com as the case under analysis. The selection of a single media outlet is intended to allow the study to conduct an in-depth textual analysis of news structure, information sources, language choices, attribution of responsibility, and patterns of argumentation consistently constructed within a single media organisation. The analysis also employs a limited longitudinal dimension, as the news corpus covers the period from January to July 2026. This timeframe enables the study to identify both continuity and changes in Detik.com's framing, from reporting on food safety incidents to issues concerning the budget, the suspension of kitchen operations, oversight, and accountability in MBG governance. Consequently, the study is not intended to generalise about all Indonesian media coverage, but rather to provide a contextual and in-depth explanation of the framing of MBG policy within the Detik.com news ecosystem.

B. Data Sources

The primary data source for the study consists of news articles on the Free Nutritious Meals Programme published on the Detik.com media network between January and July 2026. The Detik.com network covered in this study includes, as well as national and regional channels operating within a single editorial ecosystem, such as detikNews, detikHealth, detikFinance, detikJateng, detikBali, detikSumut, and other regional channels. The inclusion of both national and regional channels was maintained because the implementation of the MBG programme took place nationwide, whilst issues of food safety and its governance were frequently reported from the programme's implementation sites at the regional level. Primary data encompasses not only the main body of the news article but also the headline, subheadings (where available), lead, body text, direct and indirect quotations, source identities, numerical data, choice of terminology, photographs, and image captions. Headlines and lead paragraphs are treated as the primary framing devices, whilst quotes from sources are analysed to identify the actors who hold authority in defining the issue. Numerical data is used to identify how the scale of the issue is constructed, whilst photographs and captions serve as visual context that either reinforces or mitigates the prominence of a particular frame.

News articles were selected using the technique of *purposive temporal sampling*, which involves the targeted selection of data whilst taking into account thematic relevance and temporal

representativeness. One news article was selected from each month, resulting in a research corpus comprising seven news articles. The selection of one article per month was not intended to represent the entire news coverage statistically, but rather to capture the temporal development of the MBG issue and to identify changes in news construction over the seven-month observation period. Based on the search process and the application of the selection criteria, the news articles comprising the research corpus are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Research News Corpus

No.	Month and date	News headline	Channel	URL Acces
1	13 January 2026	“Kondisi Terkini Ratusan Korban Keracunan MBG Grobogan”	detikJateng	https://www.detik.com/jateng/berita/d-8305293/kondisi-terkini-ratusan-korban-keracunan-mbg-grobogan . by Arina Zulfa UI Haq, author acces July 15, 2026
2	10 February 2026	“Kasus Keracunan MBG Masih Bermunculan, BPOM RI Angkat Bicara”	detikHealth	The persistence of cases, kitchen hygiene, processing procedures, distribution, and food safety oversight. by Nafila Sri Sagita K, author acces 15 July 2026
3	2 March 2026	“4 Kabupaten di NTB Terseret Kasus Keracunan MBG”	detikBali	https://www.detik.com/bali/nusra/d-8380101/4-kabupaten-di-ntb-terseret-kasus-keracunan-mbg , by Nathea Citra, author acces, 16 July 2026
4	26 April 2026	“51 Orang Mengalami Keracunan MBG; SPPG Jurit Baru di Lombok Timur Ditutup Sementara”	detikBali	An increase in the number of victims, the temporary closure of the SPPG, the suspension of funding, and the evaluation process. by Sanusi Ardi W, author acces 16 July 2026
5	15 June 2026	“18 SPPG Ditangguhkan Akibat Kasus Keracunan MBG – Monopoli Pemasok, Inilah Temuan BGN”	detikHealth	Breaches of standards, suspension of operations, alleged supplier monopoly, and institutional evaluation. by Arina Zulfa UI Haq, author acces July 15, 2026

^a. Source: Researchers’ Data Analysis, 2026



Fig. 1. Source: Screenshot of News Item 2

The corpus includes news articles about the Free Nutritious Meals Program (MBG) on the Detik.com portal published between January and July 2026. Based on search results using keywords relevant to the research focus namely “MBG Poisoning,” “Poisoning,” “Free Nutritious Meals,” and “MBG” several news articles were identified and subsequently selected based on criteria of substantive relevance to food safety issues and the governance of program implementation. From the overall search results, this study identified five news articles as the analytical corpus considered most representative in illustrating the dynamics of media framing regarding the MBG. These five articles highlight a range of emerging issues, ranging from cases of food poisoning among beneficiaries, sanitation and food safety concerns, weak oversight mechanisms, the temporary closure of SPPGs, to violations of operational standards and supply

chain issues. The variety of issues in this corpus allowed the study to identify two main framing trends: the construction of the MBG as an instrument for meeting nutritional needs and human development, and the construction of the MBG as a large-scale public program facing challenges related to governance, accountability, and implementation effectiveness.

C. Data Collection Methods

Data was collected using digital documentation techniques through the construction of a news corpus. A search was conducted on the Detik.com portal for news articles published from 1 January to 15 July 2026. 15 July 2026 was set as the cut-off date for data collection as the research was conducted before the end of July. Therefore, the July news represents the coverage available up to the date of data collection and is not intended to represent the entirety of news coverage during July 2026. The corpus was constructed using four main search queries: “MBG Poisoning”, “Poisoning”, “Free Nutritious Meals”, and “MBG”. The misspelling “Keraacunan MBG”, which may have appeared in the early stages of the search, was normalised to “Keracunan MBG” to ensure more consistent search results. The queries were entered separately into Detik.com’s search facility and filtered by month of publication. The resulting news articles were then screened based on their headlines, dates, content type, and substantive relevance to the MBG Programme.

The top news item in this study was defined as a text-based journalistic article appearing in the first position of the search results after the period filter and inclusion criteria had been applied. To ensure data traceability, the search result position, title, publication date, author, channel and article URL were recorded on the date of data collection. If the top result was a video, photo gallery, tag page, advertisement, aggregated news item without full text, or a news item that did not discuss the implementation of MBG in Indonesia, that item was excluded and replaced with the next text-based article that met the requirements. The corpus inclusion criteria are as follows: first, the news item must have been published on the Detik.com network between January and July 2026; second, the headline must contain at least one of the terms ‘MBG Poisoning’, ‘Poisoning’, ‘Free Nutritious Meals’, or ‘MBG’; third, the content of the news article discusses the MBG programme in Indonesia; fourth, the news article is available in full text form; fifth, the news article contains substantive information regarding the benefits, implementation, risks, funding, oversight, stakeholders, or resolution of issues relating to MBG; and sixth, the news article is not an identical duplicate of a previous article. Where there are several follow-up news items on the same event, the article containing the most comprehensive information and ranking highest in the search results is prioritised.

The data collection process was carried out through the following procedures. Firstly, the researcher ran a search query for each month of observation. Secondly, the search results were examined against the inclusion and exclusion criteria. Thirdly, the top news item meeting the criteria was designated as the monthly sample. Fourthly, all elements of the article were copied into the corpus sheet without altering the wording, structure, or context of the quotations. Fifth, metadata comprising the date, channel, author’s name, source, and article URL were recorded. Sixth, the news content was read repeatedly to highlight sections relating to the issue, causes, assessments, actors, and resolution. Seventh, the data were entered into a coding sheet based on Entman’s analytical framework. The unit of analysis for this research is a single news article in its entirety. The contextual unit encompasses the entire structure of the article, whilst the coding units consist of words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, source quotes, statistical data and visual captions that serve a framing function. This distinction is necessary because the news frame is not always explicitly stated in a single sentence but is often formed through the relationship between the headline, the lead, the repetition of information, the selection of sources, the attribution of causes, and the conclusion of the news item.

D. Data Analysis

The data were analysed using Robert M. Entman’s framing model. In this model, framing is understood as the process of selecting certain aspects of reality and making them more prominent within the text of a communication. This emphasis operates through four functions: defining the

problem, explaining causes, providing a moral evaluation, and recommending a course of action. These four functions do not necessarily appear in equal proportions in every news item (R. M. Entman, 1993; R. M. Entman et al., 2009; Scheufele, 2026)(Entman, 1993; Entman et al., 2009; Scheufele, 2026) (R. M. Entman, 2009, 2010; McQuail, 2002; Scheufele, 2026) The absence of any one function is also treated as a finding, as it may indicate an aspect that has been deliberately or institutionally downplayed by the media.

Table 2. Robert M. Entman's framing analysis framework

Framing elements	Focus of analysis	Textual and contextual indicators	Analytical questions
Defining problems	How Detik.com identifies and frames MBG as a specific issue.	Choice of headlines and news leads; dominant terminology; scale of victims; programme benefits; health, economic, social or political consequences; actors positioned as victims and affected parties.	What is the main issue highlighted? Is MBG positioned as a policy to meet nutritional s, a food security crisis, a budgetary issue, an administrative weakness, or programme misuse? Who is portrayed as the affected party?
Diagnosing causes	How the news explains the sources, root causes and actors responsible for the problem.	Attribution to sanitation, foodstuffs, processing, distribution, supervision, SPPG, suppliers, BGN, local government, regulations, the budget, or the behaviour of individuals; the use of cause-and-effect relationships; sources authorised to explain the causes.	What or who is positioned as the cause? Is the problem described as a technical failure, individual error, structural weakness, or a governance issue? Is responsibility directed at specific actors or made to appear diffuse?
Making moral judgements	Value standards used to assess policies, implementers, victims and the government's response.	Evaluative words or phrases; statements regarding fairness, negligence, urgency, success, deviations, responsibility, child protection, the right to nutrition, transparency and accountability; the legitimacy of the source.	What values are used to justify or criticise the MBG? Is the programme framed as a state obligation, a policy that must be upheld, a problematic programme, or an area prone to abuse? Which actors are positioned as right, wrong, competent, or incompetent?
Treatment recommendation or resolution recommendation	The way in which news reports present, support, or normalise certain actions as a resolution.	Closure or suspension of the SPPG; laboratory testing; hygiene certification; budget evaluation; change of supplier; imposition of sanctions; strengthening of oversight; involvement of local government; continuation, restriction, or termination of the programme.	Which solution is presented as the most rational and legitimate? Who is authorised to resolve the issue? Is the resolution directed towards technical corrections, individual sanctions, governance reforms, or strengthening the programme's legitimacy?

^b Source: Researcher's Data Analysis, 2026

In addition to these four main elements, the analysis considers framing devices, including the placement of information in headlines and the lead paragraph () of news stories, the repetition of terms, the use of figures, the selection of quotations, the order of sources, labels applied to actors, inter-sentence relationships, and the presence or absence of alternative perspectives. Sources were classified into the following groups: central government, local government, supervisory bodies, SPPG administrators, law enforcement officials, healthcare workers, experts, beneficiaries, parents and civil society. This classification was used to assess the distribution of definitional authority, that is, which parties were given the most space to determine what was the problem, its causes, its values and its resolution. The analysis process was carried out in several stages. The first stage involved familiarisation with the data through repeated reading of the seven articles. The second stage was the initial coding of terms, sentences, quotations, figures, actors and devices of emphasis. The third stage was the grouping of codes into Entman's four framing elements. The fourth stage was an intratextual analysis to identify the dominant frame in each news item. The fifth stage involved intertextual analysis by comparing news reports from one month to the next. The sixth stage involved compiling a frame configuration showing the position of each news report on a spectrum between nutritional adequacy and governance risks. The final stage involved

drawing interpretations regarding the patterns of legitimisation, attribution of responsibility, moral evaluation and policy solutions constructed by Detik.com. The coding results are organised into an analysis matrix as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Corpus coding matrix format

News code	Define problems	Diagnose causes	Make moral judgements	Treatment recommendation	Main framework
B1–B7	Definition of the issue identified in the news report	Causes and parties held responsible	Values or assessments established	Actions that are proposed or legitimised	Nutritional adequacy, food safety, budgeting, oversight, or governance risks

^c Source: Researchers' data analysis, 2026

The dominant frame in each article was determined based on the consistency of the relationship between Entman's four elements, rather than solely on word frequency. A news item was categorised under the nutritional fulfilment frame if the issue was primarily defined as the nutritional needs and protection of the target group, government actors were positioned as providers of solutions, the programme gained moral legitimacy, and recommendations pointed towards the continuation or expansion of the MBG. Conversely, a governance risk frame is identified when a news item highlights poisoning, breaches of standards, waste, monopolies, abuse of authority, weak oversight, or unclear accountability, and recommends evaluation, suspension, sanctions, transparency, and strengthened controls. The credibility of the analysis was maintained through the compilation of a codebook containing definitions and indicators for each category, the retention of an audit trail in the form of the corpus and coding matrix, a re-reading of the data following initial coding, and a check of the consistency between interpretations and textual evidence. To minimise researcher subjectivity, at least 30 per cent of the corpus was cross-checked by a second researcher or peer familiar with framing analysis. Differences in coding were discussed until an argumentative consensus was reached. Policy data and official institutional statements were used solely to understand the context of the news coverage and were not used to replace Detik.com texts as the primary source for determining the frame.

III. Result and Discussion

Analysis of five Detik.com news articles revealed that the coverage of the food poisoning case within the Free Nutritious Meals Programme did not form a single static frame. The news narrative evolved from reporting on the victims' health conditions and the uncertainty surrounding the cause, towards explanations of technical shortcomings and oversight, and subsequently shifted to issues of institutional governance, compliance with standards, and the supply chain. Based on the interrelationship between the definition of the problem, the attribution of causes, moral evaluation, and recommendations for resolution, three main framing configurations were identified, namely: (1) the escalation of food safety risks from a local incident to a systemic issue; (2) a shift in the attribution of responsibility from technical errors to institutional governance weaknesses; and (3) administrative action as a mechanism for restoring legitimacy and programme sustainability.

Table 4. Thematic Mapping of Five Detik.com News Articles

News	Main focus of the news coverage	Dominant actor	Position in sub-results
News item 1	Condition of 803 victims, laboratory tests, and suspected spoiled food	Grobogan District Health Office and the Central Java Provincial Government	Risk escalation and preliminary attribution of causes
News item 2	Sanitation, processing, distribution, recipient allergies, and science-based surveillance	Food and Drug Supervisory Agency	Systematisation of causes and prevention
News item 3	Cases in four regions: spoiled and maggot-infested food, weak controls and inadequate competence of the SPPG	The Ombudsman and the Mataram Health Department	The nature of the systemic crisis and calls for greater authority
News item 4	Closure of SPPGs, suspension of funding, investigations and rising number of	National Nutrition Agency and Community Health Centres	Administrative sanctions and accountability of

	victims		implementers
News 5	Suspension of 18 SPPGs, non-compliance with standards, supplier constraints and indications of a monopoly	National Nutrition Agency	Expanding risks in supply chain governance

^d Source: Researcher's Data Analysis, 2026

The findings reveal a shift in how Detik.com defines cases of MBG poisoning. In News Item 1, the issue was primarily framed as a large-scale health incident still under investigation. The headline “Latest Update on Hundreds of MBG Poisoning Victims in Grobogan” placed the victims’ condition at the centre of attention. The figures—803 people affected, 115 hospitalised, and 54 still receiving treatment—provide quantitative measures that underscore the seriousness of the incident. However, the use of the word ‘suspected’ and the emphasis on laboratory tests maintain uncertainty regarding the causal link between the MBG meal and the health issues experienced by the pupils. This framing evolved in News Item 2. The food poisoning cases were no longer presented as a local incident, but rather as a recurring problem that continues to arise despite the government having strengthened its oversight. The phrase “still emerging” and the information regarding more than a thousand pupils who suffered food poisoning during January 2026 framed the issue as a failure of prevention. Through a statement by the Head of the BPOM, the news report broadens the cause from merely spoiled food to a chain of risks across the entire food supply process, including kitchen hygiene, the thawing of frozen ingredients, cooking, temperature control, distribution, and the individual characteristics of the beneficiaries. Thus, food safety risks are framed as the result of the interconnection of various stages of production and distribution, rather than solely the consequence of a single spoiled food item.

The most significant shift appears in News Item 3. Detik.com utilised the Ombudsman’s assessment, which described the situation in West Nusa Tenggara as ‘alarming’ and an ‘emergency’. The spread of cases across four regencies/cities, along with the discovery of spoiled meals, rotten fruit and food infested with maggots, made the food poisoning incident evidence of a systemic problem. News Item 4 further reinforces this narrative through the rising number of victims in East Lombok, including a pregnant woman, as well as the decision to temporarily close the SPPG. The presence of the pregnant woman broadens the affected group from pupils to other vulnerable groups who are officially the target of the MBG programme.

Table 5. Framing the Escalation of Food Safety Risks

Entman's Elements	Framing findings
Define problems	The MBG is defined as a nutritional support programme that poses health risks when food is not produced and distributed in accordance with food safety standards. The problem has evolved from a local incident into a recurring, cross-regional occurrence.
Diagnose causes	The causes are attributed to spoiled food, the time lag between preparation and serving, kitchen hygiene, improper processing, poor temperature control, delayed distribution, allergies amongst beneficiaries, and weak internal controls within the SPPG.
Make a moral judgement	The cases of food poisoning cannot be treated as ordinary side effects, as the beneficiaries are schoolchildren, pregnant women and groups who should be entitled to state protection. A programme intended to improve nutrition cannot be justified if it actually presents preventable health risks.
Treatment recommendations	Laboratory examinations, aetiological testing, implementation of the Food Safety Management System (SLHS), improved sanitation, training for food handlers, control of distribution times and temperatures, involvement of teachers and parents, and the closure of kitchens found to be in breach of standards.

^e Source: Researchers' data analysis, 2026

The framing in this sub-result shifted from episodic framing to thematic framing. In the early stages, the news focused on the victims, symptoms, treatment and laboratory results. In subsequent developments, Detik.com linked the case to a broader pattern, namely weaknesses in the food safety system within the implementation of the MBG. This shift is significant because it alters public understanding: the poisoning is no longer positioned as a coincidental incident in a single kitchen, but as a risk that could recur if oversight design, the competence of those responsible, and distribution procedures are not strengthened. These findings indicate that the attribution of causes in Detik.com’s reporting evolved from technical issues towards institutional

ones. In News Item 1, the cause of the food poisoning was still stated tentatively. The local government suspected spoiled food, issues with ingredients, hygiene, or the length of time between cooking and serving. However, the authority to impose sanctions was vested in the BGN. The separation between the local government, which dealt with the victims, and the BGN, which controlled sanctions, revealed a fragmentation of responsibility within the governance of MBG.

News Item 2 grants strong definitional authority to the BPOM. Through a food safety-based explanation, the BPOM is positioned as the agency capable of identifying causes and formulating prevention mechanisms. Nevertheless, the news item also shows that the oversight of school meals involves numerous institutions and groups, ranging from the BGN, the BPOM, canteen managers, schools, teachers, to parents. The involvement of numerous actors broadens the framework of responsibility, but at the same time demonstrates that food safety depends on coordination that is not yet fully integrated. Structural attribution becomes more explicit in News Item 3. The Ombudsman identifies weak control mechanisms at the SPPG level and the inadequacy of human resource competencies as the root of the problem. The information that each SPPG has only three key officials, whilst operational tasks are primarily handled by two relatively young staff members, is used to highlight an imbalance between the scale of responsibility and the organisation's capacity. With this framing, food poisoning is understood not merely as negligence on the part of food handlers, but because of an institutional design that is not yet robust enough to guarantee food quality.

News Item 5 extends the governance risks from the food processing stage to the procurement structure. The finding that several SPPGs have only three to five suppliers far below the minimum requirement of 15 suppliers is framed as an indication of a monopoly that could affect the quality and sustainability of food ingredients. This framing demonstrates that MBG safety is determined not only by kitchen hygiene, but also by supplier competition, diversification of ingredient sources, infrastructure, management, and regulatory compliance.

Table 6. Framing of Institutional Responsibility Attribution

Entman's Elements	Framing Findings
Define problems	MBG issues are defined as weak institutional capacity to control the processes of procurement, production, distribution and supervision of food on a large scale.
Diagnose causes	The causes are attributed to the fragmentation of authority, weak internal oversight of the SPPG, inadequate staff competence, non-compliance with standards, limited infrastructure, and supplier concentration.
Make a moral judgement	Food management for vulnerable groups demands higher standards of accountability. Non-compliance is not treated as a mere administrative shortcoming, but as a failure that could endanger the health of beneficiaries and undermine trust in the programme.
Recommendations	Strengthening the authority of local governments, enhancing staff competence, auditing and evaluating the SPPG, diversifying suppliers, reporting to the central BGN, and coordination between the BGN, BPOM, local governments, health departments, the Ombudsman, schools and parents.

^f Source: Researcher's Data Analysis, 2026

These findings indicate that Detik.com is gradually shifting responsibility from the operational level to the institutional level. However, news coverage remains dominated by official sources, such as the Health Department, BPOM, BGN, the Ombudsman, and local governments. Pupils, parents, canteen managers, canteen staff, and suppliers are not given commensurate space to explain their experiences or positions. The dominance of official sources results in an institution-centred framing, whereby state institutions are not merely the objects of evaluation but also the primary actors defining the problem, explaining its causes, and determining solutions. Consequently, criticism of the MBG's governance remains confined to the boundaries of administrative discourse. Problems are framed as shortcomings that can be rectified through improved standards, evaluation, certification and coordination. This framework has not yet evolved into more fundamental questions regarding the adequacy of policy design, readiness for programme expansion, the distribution of authority, or disparities in capacity between regions.

The findings also show that Detik.com's reporting did not link the poisoning case to calls for the complete cessation of the MBG Programme. Instead, the problem is attributed to implementing units that have breached standards. By separating policy objectives from implementation failures, the closure of kitchens, the revocation of certificates, the suspension of funding, and the suspension of SPPGs are framed as corrective measures to maintain the programme's legitimacy. In News Item 3, the Ombudsman and the Mataram Health Department recommended the revocation of the SLHS and the closure of SPPGs that had breached procedures. The use of the term 'emergency' serves to provide moral justification for decisive action. News Item 4 illustrates the implementation of these recommendations when the BGN halted the operations of the Jurit Baru SPPG and recommended the temporary suspension of funding disbursements. Enforcement measures addressed not only service delivery but also funding flows, thereby portraying administrative and financial oversight as an integrated whole.

In News Item 5, the rationale for the enforcement measures is expanded to include a conditional evaluation mechanism. Eighteen SPPGs were suspended but were allowed to resume operations after improving their facilities, management, suppliers and menu quality. At the same time, beneficiaries were transferred to other kitchens to ensure that MBG services were not interrupted. This presentation of information conveys two messages simultaneously: the government is taking firm action against violations, whilst ensuring the continuity of nutritional services.

Table 7. Framing Enforcement and the Restoration of Legitimacy

Entman's Elements	Framing Findings
Define problems	Violations of standards at some SPPGs are positioned as a threat to quality, food safety and the credibility of the MBG programme's implementation, but not as evidence that the programme's overall objectives should be abandoned.
Diagnose causes	The focus is on SPPGs that fail to meet standards, breach procedures, have inadequate facilities and infrastructure, are involved in outbreaks, or rely on a limited number of suppliers.
Make moral judgements	SPPGs that fail to meet standards are deemed worthy of sanctions because they endanger beneficiaries. Conversely, swift action by the BGN and local government is framed as a form of responsibility, firmness, and public protection.
Treatment recommendation	Suspension of operations, revocation of SLHS licences, temporary suspension of funding, laboratory inspections, management reforms, improvements to facilities and infrastructure, diversification of suppliers, and the transfer of beneficiaries to other SPPGs.

^g Source: Researcher's data analysis, 2026

The framework for administrative action serves an important legitimising function. By isolating the issue to a specific kitchen or operator, the news text maintains a distinction between policies deemed valuable and implementation deemed deviant. The goal of meeting nutritional requirements is not directly called into question; what is criticised is the operator's non-compliance with standards. Suspensions, licence revocations and the withdrawal of funding then serve as evidence that the oversight system is functioning and that the government has the capacity to rectify violations. This pattern also results in the individualisation of institutional responsibility. Failures tend to be attributed to specific SPPGs, suppliers or managers, whilst questions regarding the pace of the programme's expansion, the workload of implementing units, the consistency of support, and the readiness of the national monitoring system do not receive the same prominence. Consequently, administrative action works in two directions: protecting beneficiaries whilst limiting the spread of criticism of the overall design of the MBG Programme. Viewed longitudinally, the five news reports form a framing narrative that progresses through three stages. The first stage is problem recognition, when food poisoning is constructed through the number of victims, health symptoms, and laboratory test results. The second stage is causal expansion, when the causes are broadened from spoiled food to sanitation, processing, distribution, staff competence, supervision, and supplier structures. The third stage is legitimacy repair, when the government is portrayed as implementing suspensions, funding cuts, licence revocations, evaluations, and the reallocation of beneficiaries.

Table 8. Configuration of Dominant Framing

Dimension	Nutritional fulfilment frame	Governance risk frame
Programme Position	Strategic policies whose delivery must be maintained	Large-scale programmes vulnerable to food security and oversight failures
Position of beneficiaries	Groups that must continue to receive services	Vulnerable groups bearing the direct consequences of implementation weaknesses
The government's position	Supervisors, evaluators, enforcers and guardians of programme continuity	Institutions facing fragmentation of authority and limitations on oversight
Role of the SPPG	Primary unit providing nutrition services	Primary location for the attribution of blame, non-compliance, and operational risks
Dominant solution	Service improvements and continuity	Suspension, certification, audits, supplier diversification, and strengthened oversight

^h. Source: Researcher's data analysis, 2026

Detik.com's framing positions MBG within the tension between the right to nutritional fulfilment and governance risks. The media does not frame food poisoning as a reason to reject the programme, but rather as a basis for strengthening controls, selecting implementers, and normalising administrative interventions. This position results in a framing that is critical of implementation yet relatively preserves the policy's normative legitimacy. The key contribution of these findings lies in the identification that risk reporting does not necessarily undermine government policy; rather, risk can be used to demonstrate the state's capacity for corrective action through evaluation, enforcement, and ensuring the sustainability of services.

The research findings indicate that Detik.com's framing of the Free Nutritious Meals Programme operates through a dual pattern: the media acknowledges the magnitude of implementation risks yet simultaneously maintains the programme's normative legitimacy. Food poisoning, spoiled food, poor sanitation, staff incompetence and supplier concentration are not used to question the relevance of the programme's objectives, but rather to highlight deviations at the implementation level. This pattern reveals a discursive separation between policy and implementation. The programme continues to be constructed as an instrument for fulfilling the right to nutrition, whilst failures are attributed to the SPPG, kitchen managers, suppliers, or specific oversight mechanisms. Crucially, this separation results in a form of conditional legitimacy: the MBG is still considered worth maintaining if the state can improve its implementation. Thus, media coverage of risks does not automatically undermine the policy; rather, it can reinforce the need for greater state intervention. In this context, the media functions not only as a problem-exposer but also as an arena that normalises the idea that programme failures can be resolved through administrative corrections without the need to fundamentally review the policy's design.

The second pattern indicates a shift from incidental framing towards structural framing, but this shift is limited in scope. In the initial reporting, the food poisoning was understood in terms of the number of victims, health symptoms, suspected spoiled food, and laboratory test results. Over time, the causes were expanded to include sanitation, distribution, human resource capacity, fragmentation of authority, infrastructure, and the supplier structure. This shift is significant as it indicates that the media began to view the food poisoning not as an isolated incident, but as a symptom of weaknesses in the governance of a national-scale programme. However, this structural criticism stopped at managerial and procedural aspects. Media coverage has not yet strongly questioned the pace of the programme's expansion, the adequacy of institutional preparedness, the alignment of workloads with the capacity of the SPPG, or the political consequences of centralised decision-making. The implication of this pattern is that media criticism remains confined within the bounds of a technocratic discourse: problems are defined as shortcomings in standards, coordination, certification and oversight that can be rectified through additional regulation. Consequently, the political dimensions of the policy—including budgetary priorities, pressure to meet targets, and power relations within the procurement chain—remain largely obscured.

The most striking and unexpected aspect is the dominance of official sources in news coverage that substantively addresses the government's failures. Health departments, the BPOM, the BGN,

the Ombudsman and local governments are not only the parties being evaluated but are also granted the primary authority to define the problem, explain the causes and determine the solutions. Conversely, pupils, parents, kitchen staff, SPPG managers and suppliers were given almost no comparable space. This anomaly resulted in a framing that appeared critical yet remained centred on state institutions. The state appeared in two roles simultaneously: as part of the structure that enabled the failure to occur and as the primary actor deemed most legitimate to rectify it. Suspensions, the revocation of certificates, the withdrawal of funding, and the reallocation of beneficiaries subsequently function as mechanisms for restoring legitimacy, rather than merely administrative measures. This configuration demonstrates that accountability in news coverage is represented more as the government's ability to punish implementing units than as a willingness to evaluate the programme's overall design. Consequently, Detik.com's framing produces controlled criticism: strong enough to highlight governance risks, but not to the extent of undermining the fundamental assumption that the MBG remains a legitimate, necessary, and essential policy that must be continued.

The findings of this study verify Robert M. Entman's framing model (Robert M Entman, 2010; R. M. Entman, 2003, 2007), which positions framing as a process of selecting and highlighting certain aspects of reality through four main functions: *defining problems*, *diagnosing causes*, *making moral judgements*, and *recommending treatments*. In Detik.com's reporting, these four functions consistently work to portray the MBG as a policy with important normative objectives, yet one facing serious risks at the implementation level. The media defined food poisoning as a food safety issue, attributed the causes to sanitation, the capacity of the SPPG, distribution, supervision and the supply chain, made moral judgements regarding the negligence of those responsible, and highlighted suspension, licence revocation, evaluation and strengthened supervision as solutions. However, this study expands on Entman's theory by demonstrating that recommendations for resolution serve not only as a response to the problem, but also as a mechanism for restoring the policy's legitimacy.

By emphasising the state's corrective actions, risk framing does not entirely undermine the MBG but rather constructs the government's 'as an actor that remains legitimate and capable of rectifying failures. These findings also challenge the assumption that critical framing always results in the delegitimisation of policy, as criticism in news reporting can in fact be contained at the technical and administrative levels without fundamentally challenging the programme's design. In practice, Entman's model is thus useful not only for identifying the structure of meaning within news texts, but also for explaining how the media regulates the boundaries of public criticism, distributes responsibility, and maintains the legitimacy of government programmes amidst implementation crises. The findings of this study are consistent with those of Hanim et al. (2021), who demonstrated that online media tend to frame government food and health policies by highlighting public benefits, policy arguments, and health and economic consequences; however, this study expands on those findings by showing that support for the normative objectives of policies can coexist with criticism of the risks associated with their implementation. Alignment between media framing and government communication was also found by Gesser-Edelsburg et al. (2022), particularly when official sources gained dominant authority to define the problem and propose solutions. In contrast to this research, Detik.com's reporting did not fully replicate the government's narrative, but rather constructed controlled criticism by highlighting food poisoning, poor sanitation, the limited capacity of the SPPG, and supplier concentration, without delegitimising the MBG as a policy for meeting nutritional needs.

These results also complement the findings of Yuniawan et al. (2023), who categorically mapped Indonesian media framing based on health, policy, economic, political, and cultural issues, as this study explains the process of meaning-making in greater depth through Entman's four functions of framing and demonstrates how the attribution of responsibility shifts from technical incidents towards weaknesses in institutional governance. Compared with Irzavika et al. (2025), who found a predominance of positive sentiment towards the MBG programme with an increase in negative sentiment following food safety incidents, this study confirms that sentiment polarity alone is insufficient to explain how the media maintains the programme's legitimacy

whilst criticising its implementation. These findings also intersect with those of Fajar Maulana et al. (2025), who identified a tendency for the mainstream media to legitimise the MBG programme through socio-economic frames, but expand upon this by demonstrating that such legitimacy is restored through narratives of evaluation, suspension, licence revocation and strengthened oversight. Within global trends in policy communication, this pattern suggests that the media functions not merely as an arena for support or opposition, but as a space for negotiating legitimacy where risk, accountability and the state's corrective capacity are produced simultaneously.

These findings have practical implications for the government, SPPG administrators, supervisory bodies, and the media. For policy implementers, the study's results confirm that the success of the MBG is not determined solely by the expansion of beneficiary coverage, but also by the consistency of food safety standards, the competence of human resources, supply chain transparency, clarity in the division of authority, and responsive oversight mechanisms. For the media, these findings highlight the importance of broadening news sources beyond official institutions by featuring the experiences of pupils, parents, kitchen staff, healthcare workers and civil society, so that policy accountability is not reduced solely to suspensions or licence revocations. Theoretically, this study enriches the framing literature by demonstrating that risk framing does not always result in the delegitimisation of policy; conversely, the highlighting of government corrective actions can serve as a mechanism for restoring legitimacy. Thus, this research adds a dimension of *'legitimacy repair'* to the application of Entman's model in policy communication studies. Nevertheless, this study is limited to five news items from a single media network and one selected article per month; consequently, it does not yet represent the full range of MBG news coverage or differences in orientation across platforms. Further research should utilise a larger corpus, employ a cross-media comparative design, conduct a longer longitudinal analysis, and integrate audience responses to test the relationship between media framing, public trust, and acceptance of MBG policies.

IV. Conclusion

This study stems from the tension between the normative objectives of the Free Nutritious Meals Programme as an instrument for fulfilling the right to nutrition and the emergence of governance risks reflected in cases of food poisoning, poor sanitation, the limited capacity of the SPPG, and supply chain issues. Based on Robert M. Entman's framing analysis of five news reports from Detik.com, the study found that news construction evolved through three main patterns. Firstly, the issue shifted from episodic reporting on victims towards a thematic framing that positioned food safety as a systemic problem. Secondly, the attribution of responsibility shifted from allegations of spoiled food and technical errors towards weaknesses in supervision, human resource competence, fragmentation of authority, non-compliance with standards, and supplier concentration. Thirdly, measures such as suspensions, the revocation of SLHS licences, the temporary withholding of funds, evaluations, and the reallocation of beneficiaries were framed as solutions that simultaneously restored the programme's legitimacy. These findings confirm that Detik.com adopted a critical stance towards implementation whilst maintaining the normative legitimacy of the MBG by separating policy objectives from the failures of implementing units. Theoretically, this study applies Entman's framing model to examine how media construct policy meanings through problem definition, causal attribution, moral evaluation, and proposed solutions. The findings support the analytical utility of Entman's framework by showing that treatment recommendations in policy-related news may operate beyond problem-solving functions, as they can also contribute to the restoration and negotiation of policy legitimacy. In this context, the study proposes legitimacy repair as an interpretive extension that helps explain how media narratives portray the state as a corrective actor when public programmes encounter implementation challenges. Practically, the findings highlight the importance of strengthening cross-institutional oversight, improving the capacity of programme managers, ensuring supplier transparency, enhancing participation from parents and schools, and diversifying media sources to promote more inclusive forms of accountability beyond the narratives produced by official

institutions. The study's limitations lie in the use of five news reports from a single media network and a relatively short time frame, meaning it has not yet captured the full range of media framing in Indonesia. Future research should expand the corpus, compare national and regional media, combine framing analysis with audience responses, and examine the relationship between risk framing, public trust, and the sustainability of the MBG policy. Furthermore, future research should examine differences in editorial orientation, the positions of sources, and changes in framing during the programme's expansion phase to determine whether media criticism evolves towards structural evaluation or remains limited to administrative corrections of implementing units on a sustainable national basis.

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