

## References

- Agustina, T., & Irwansyah. (2025). PERAN AGENDA SETTING MEDIA MASSA DALAM KEBIJAKAN PENETAPAN HARGA ECERAN TERTINGGI (HET) BERAS OLEH PEMERINTAH. Unikom.ac.id. <https://ojs.unikom.ac.id/index.php/jipsi/article/view/549/392>
- Alexander, H. B. (2023, November 21). Angka Stunting di NTT Turun Signifikan dalam 5 Tahun Terakhir Halaman all - Kompas.com. KOMPAS.com; Kompas.com. <https://lestari.kompas.com/read/2023/11/21/090000386/angka-stunting-di-ntt-turun-signifikan-dalam-5-tahun-terakhir?page=all>
- Anderson, J. E. (2011). Public policymaking : an introduction. Cengage.
- Antara. (2025, February 20). MBG Dinilai Investasi Jangka Panjang untuk Indonesia Emas, Tak Cuma Janji Politik. Detiknews; detikcom. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7788294/mbg-dinilai-investasi-jangka-panjang-untuk-indonesia-emas-tak-cuma-janji-politik>
- Averus Kautsar. (2024, May 9). Angka Stunting RI Cuma Turun 0,1 Persen, Menkes Ungkap “Biang Keroknya.” DetikHealth; detikcom. <https://health.detik.com/berita-detikhealth/d-7332200/angka-stunting-ri-cuma-turun-0-1-persen-menkes-ungkap-biang-keroknya>
- Bauhr, M., & Grimes, M. (2013). Indignation or Resignation: The Implications of Transparency for Societal Accountability. *Governance*, 27(2), 291–320. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12033>
- Becktel, K. L., Stanton, C. M., Smith, J. E., Eames, C. D., & Sweetser, K. D. (2021). Policy aside: A framing study on policy change and its influence on the perception of an organization’s culture. *Public Relations Review*, 47(1), 101989. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2020.101989>
- Bovens, M., Goodin, R. E., Schillemans, T., & Norris, P. (2014). Watchdog Journalism. *The Oxford Handbook of Public Accountability*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199641253.013.0015>
- BOVENS, M., SCHILLEMANS, T., & HART, P. ’T. (2008). DOES PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY WORK? AN ASSESSMENT TOOL. *Public Administration*, 86(1), 225–242. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.2008.00716.x>
- Braveman, P., & Gruskin, S. (2003). Defining equity in health. *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health*, 57(4), 254–258. <https://doi.org/10.1136/jech.57.4.254>
- Brinkerhoff, D. W. (2004). Accountability and health systems: toward conceptual clarity and policy relevance. *Health Policy and Planning*, 19(6), 371–379. <https://doi.org/10.1093/heapol/czh052>
- Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). Framing Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 10(1), 103–126. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.072805.103054>
- Cobb, R. (1985). Agenda, Alternatives and Public Policies. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 10(2), 410–414. <https://doi.org/10.1215/03616878-10-2-410>
- Cohen, J. E. (1994). Agendas and Instability in American Politics. Frank R. Baumgartner, Bryan D. Jones. *The Journal of Politics*, 56(4), 1164–1166. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2132088>

- Cook, T. E. (2010). *Governing with the news : the news media as a political institution*. Univ. Of Chicago Press.
- Dahlberg, L. (2005). The Habermasian public sphere: Taking difference seriously? *Theory and Society*, 34(2), 111–136. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-005-0155-z>
- detik.com. (2025, February 7). *Telkom Bikin Aplikasi Monitoring Program Makan Gizi Gratis*. Detikinet; detikcom. <https://inet.detik.com/telecommunication/d-7768040/telkom-bikin-aplikasi-monitoring-program-makan-gizi-gratis>
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>
- Entman, R., & Rojecki, A. (1993). Freezing out the public: Elite and media framing of the U.S. anti-nuclear movement. *Political Communication*, 10(2), 155–173. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.1993.9962973>
- Gelli, A., Aurino, E., Folsom, G., Arhinful, D., Adamba, C., Osei-Akoto, I., Masset, E., Watkins, K., Fernandes, M., Drake, L., & Alderman, H. (2019). A School Meals Program Implemented at Scale in Ghana Increases Height-for-Age during Midchildhood in Girls and in Children from Poor Households: A Cluster Randomized Trial. *The Journal of Nutrition*, 149(8), 1434–1442. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jn/nxz079>
- Gilson, L., & Raphaely, N. (2008). The terrain of health policy analysis in low and middle income countries: a review of published literature 1994-2007. *Health Policy and Planning*, 23(5), 294–307. <https://doi.org/10.1093/heapol/czn019>
- Graham-McGregor, S., Cheung, Y. B., Cueto, S., Glewwe, P., Richter, L., & Strupp, B. (2007). Developmental potential in the first 5 years for children in developing countries. *The Lancet*, 369(9555), 60–70. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0140-6736\(07\)60032-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0140-6736(07)60032-4)
- Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and variability. *Field Methods*, 18(1), 59–82. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X05279903>
- Guspri Devi Artanti, None Fidesrinur, & Garzia, M. (2022). Stunting and Factors Affecting Toddlers in Indonesia. *Jurnal Pendidikan Usia Dini*, 16(1), 172–185. <https://doi.org/10.21009/jpud.161.12>
- Hoddinott, J., Alderman, H., Behrman, J. R., Haddad, L., & Horton, S. (2013). The economic rationale for investing in stunting reduction. *Maternal & Child Nutrition*, 9(S2), 69–82. <https://doi.org/10.1111/mcn.12080>
- Hornsey, M. J., & Fielding, K. S. (2019). Understanding (and Reducing) Inaction on Climate Change. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 14(1), 3–35. <https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12058>
- Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (1984). Choices, values, and frames. *American Psychologist*, 39(4), 341–350. <https://psycnet.apa.org/record/1985-05780-001>
- Matthes, J. (2008). Media Frames and Public Opinion. Exploring the Boundaries of Framing Effects in a Two-Wave Panel Study. *Studies in Communication Sciences*, 101–128. <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-14296>

Matthes, J., & Kohring, M. (2008). The content analysis of media frames: Toward improving reliability and validity. *Journal of Communication*, 58(2), 258–279. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00384.x>

McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176–187. <https://doi.org/10.1086/267990>

McCombs, M. E., Shaw, D. L., & Weaver, D. H. (2014). New Directions in Agenda-Setting Theory and Research. *Mass Communication and Society*, 17(6), 781–802.

McHugh, L. H., Lemos, M. C., & Morrison, T. H. (2021). Risk? Crisis? Emergency? Implications of the new climate emergency framing for governance and policy. *WIREs Climate Change*, 12(6). <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.736>

Moynihan, D. P., & Soss, J. (2014). Policy Feedback and the Politics of Administration. *Public Administration Review*, 74(3), 320–332. <https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.12200>

Neuendorf, K. A. (2017). *The Content Analysis Guidebook* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Newman, T. P., & Nisbet, M. C. (2015, January 3). Framing, the Media, and Environmental Communication. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315887586.ch28>

Niederdeppe, J., Roh, S., & Dreisbach, C. (2015). How Narrative Focus and a Statistical Map Shape Health Policy Support Among State Legislators. *Health Communication*, 31(2), 242–255. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2014.998913>

Paat, Y. P. (2025). Sosialisasi MBG di Papua Masih Kurang, Masalah Pendidikan juga Harus Diselesaikan. [Investor.id. https://investor.id/national/389820/sosialisasi-mbg-di-papua-masih-kurang-masalah-pendidikan-juga-harus-diselesaikan](https://investor.id/national/389820/sosialisasi-mbg-di-papua-masih-kurang-masalah-pendidikan-juga-harus-diselesaikan)

Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. (1993). Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political Communication*, 10(1), 55–75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.1993.9962963>

Press, T. A. (2025, January 6). Indonesia's new government unveils \$28 billion free meals program to fight malnutrition. *Firstpost*. <https://www.firstpost.com/world/indonesias-new-government-unveils-28-billion-free-meals-program-to-fight-malnutrition-13850278.html>

Rowbotham, S., McKinnon, M., Marks, L., & Hawe, P. (2019). Research on media framing of public policies to prevent chronic disease: A narrative synthesis. *Social Science & Medicine*, 237, 112428. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2019.112428>

Safitri, K., & Setuningsih, N. (2025). GSRI Sebut Program MBG Belum Matang, Soroti Alokasi Anggaran hingga Potensi Gagal. *Google.com*. <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&opi=89978449&url=https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2025/03/01/09534901/gsri-sebut-program-mbg-belum-matang-soroti-alokasi-anggaran-hingga-potensi%3Fpage%3Dall&ved=2ahUKEwjLkLeli5mMAxWk yzgGHUQbDfUQFnoECBYQAQ&usq=AOvVaw0QrB6V7sZHiMrhxviv90lp>

Saptati D.I., R. (2025). Pemerintah Salurkan Makan Bergizi Gratis (MBG), Ini Sasaran Utama Penerimaanya. *Media Keuangan*. <https://mediakeuangan.kemenkeu.go.id/article/show/pemerintah-salurkan-makan-bergizi-gratis-mbg-ini-sasaran-utama-penerimaanya>

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a Theory of Media Effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 103–122. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02784.x>

Shanto Iyengar. (1991). *Is anyone responsible? : How Television Frames Political Issues*. University Of Chicago Press.

Sofian, A., & Lestari, N. (2021). Analisis framing pemberitaan tentang kebijakan pemerintah dalam menangani kasus Covid-19. *COMMICAST*, 2(1), 58. <https://doi.org/10.12928/commicast.v2i1.3150>

Strömbäck, J. (2008). Four Phases of Mediatization: An Analysis of the Mediatization of Politics. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 13(3), 228–246. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161208319097>

Strömbäck, J., & Esser, F. (2017). Political Public Relations and Mediatization: The Strategies of News Management (pp. 63–83). [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-60249-3\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-60249-3_4)

Van Aelst, P. (2017). Political Communication In A High-choice Media Environment: A Challenge For Democracy? *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 41(1), 3–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2017.1288551>

W. Dearing, J., & M. Rogers, E. (1996). *Agenda-Setting*. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452243283>

World Bank . (2023). *Improving Nutrition Through Multisectoral Approaches*. <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/625661468329649726/pdf/75102-REVISED-PUBLIC-MultisectoralApproachestoNutrition.pdf>