JOURNAL OF INTELLECTUAL POWER
E-ISSN : 3048-3646

NEGATIVE SOCIAL MEDIA CONTENT REPRESENTING PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FREE NUTRITIOUS MEALS PROGRAM AND ITS IMPACT ON PUBLIC POLICY GOVERNANCE

K.P. Suharyono S. Hadiningrat[1*]
Teguh Yuwono[2]
Febri Pramudya Wardhani[3]
Verry A.J.M. Silalahi[4]

1. Vice Chancellor, Institut Bisnis dan Multimedia Asmi, Jakarta
2. Dean, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Diponegoro University, Semarang
3. Alumnus, Institut Bisnis dan Multimedia Asmi, Jakarta
4. Alumnus, Institut Bisnis dan Multimedia Asmi, Jakarta

(*) Corresponding Author: harysmwt@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Public criticism of the implementation of Indonesia's Free Nutritious Meals program (Makan Bergizi Gratis, MBG), launched by President Prabowo Subianto on 6 January 2025, constitutes a form of social criticism in a democratic era. Social media content initially expressed positive attitudes and strong support for the program. As implementation progressed, however, a gap emerged between public expectations and conditions in the field. Repeated problems, including unexpected mass food-poisoning incidents, contributed to increasingly negative perceptions and created implications for public policy governance. This study used a descriptive qualitative design, a thematic narrative approach, and content analysis. Data were collected through observation and digital documentation of media that published negative or critical content about MBG during 2025. The study finds that negative online discussion was dominated by food safety and poisoning cases (55 percent) and criticism of budgeting and transparency (45 percent). The highest food-poisoning-related complaints were associated with West Java, the Special Capital Region of Jakarta, Central Java, and East Java, while budget constraints were most strongly discussed in frontier, outermost, and disadvantaged regions, particularly Papua, East Nusa Tenggara, and Maluku. The source document also cites an alleged corruption risk of IDR 49.5 billion reported by Indonesia Corruption Watch. The study recommends a National Nutrition Law, fundamental reform of the National Nutrition Agency, compliance with recommendations from other oversight institutions, constructive responses to public criticism, and regular internal and external monitoring and evaluation.

Keywords: negative content; Free Nutritious Meals (MBG); MBG governance; social media; public policy governance

A. INTRODUCTION

Public criticism of government policy is an important element in the development of a healthy, advanced, and responsible democracy. Freedom of expression and association for Indonesian citizens is guaranteed by Article 28E paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution, which states that every person has the right to freedom of association, assembly, and expression. In practical terms, citizens are entitled to organize, gather, and communicate their views as members of the state.

One policy that has attracted intense public scrutiny is President Prabowo Subianto's Free Nutritious Meals program, known in Indonesia as Makan Bergizi Gratis (MBG). Netizens responded quickly to weaknesses in its implementation, including mass food-poisoning incidents that were designated as extraordinary events in several regions only months after the program was launched on 6 January 2025.

Data cited in the source manuscript from the Center of Economic and Law Studies (CELIOS), compiled from mass-media reports, state that from the beginning of implementation through 15 November 2025, MBG was associated with 15,117 poisoning cases throughout Indonesia, with West Java recording the largest number.

These developments reversed the direction of public expectations and perceptions. Communities that had initially welcomed the program later became pessimistic, concerned, and increasingly critical. Some citizens called on President Prabowo Subianto to investigate and resolve the problems surrounding MBG, while others demanded that the program be suspended. Such changes in public sentiment are relevant not only to political communication but also to the credibility, accountability, and design of public policy governance.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Management of the Free Nutritious Meals Program

The governance of the Free Nutritious Meals program is essentially an application of management. It encompasses four primary functions—Planning, Organizing, Actuating, and Controlling (POAC)—which are intended to ensure that the program operates effectively and efficiently and achieves its objectives, as discussed by George R. Terry and cited in Hadiningrat et al. (2024).

a. Planning

Planning is the primary foundation for ensuring that MBG reaches the intended beneficiaries. The National Nutrition Agency prepares general guidelines covering beneficiary groups—children from early childhood education through senior secondary school, pregnant women, and breastfeeding mothers—and determines daily nutritional standards, including recommended dietary allowances.

1) **Menu and budget planning:** Menus are designed to meet nutritional requirements for carbohydrates, protein, vegetables, and fruit, while prioritizing local commodities and adjusting the allocation per serving.
2) **Operational planning:** Locations for Nutrition Service and Fulfillment Units (Satuan Pelayanan Pemenuhan Gizi, SPPG) or public kitchens are designated at the school or subdistrict level.
3) **Local adaptation:** Schools coordinate with SPPGs to schedule meal distribution so that it does not interfere with teaching and learning activities.

b. Organizing

Organizing requires a strong institutional structure and the empowerment of multiple actors to manage the supply chain and food distribution.

1) **Implementation structure:** SPPGs are established under the coordination of the National Nutrition Agency as the operational centers of the program.
2) **Empowerment of local enterprises:** Local cooperatives, village-owned enterprises, and food-related micro, small, and medium enterprises are involved in supplying raw materials, thereby supporting rural economic activity.
3) **School teams:** Schools establish dedicated meal-support teams responsible for receiving, inspecting, and distributing food to students.

c. Actuating

Actuating is the execution of the approved plan, in which nutritious meals are produced and distributed on every school day.

1) **Production and distribution:** SPPGs process locally sourced ingredients into healthy, nutritious meals and distribute them to the targeted schools.
2) **Nutrition literacy and education:** Students are guided to consume the meals provided and maintain hygiene, including orderly queuing and culturally appropriate practices before eating.

3) **Flexibility:** Operational arrangements are adapted to local circumstances, including adjustments to distribution times during Ramadan.

d. Controlling

Strict supervision is required to guarantee food safety, correct targeting, and financial accountability.

1) **Quality control and safety:** Food hygiene and nutritional quality are monitored, including oversight by the Indonesian Food and Drug Authority (BPOM), to prevent contamination and ensure sanitary standards.
2) **Technology-based supervision:** Digital tools, including applications such as "Jaga Dapur MBG," are intended to connect program managers with oversight bodies, monitor distribution flows, and reduce corruption risks.
3) **Periodic evaluation:** Daily and monthly monitoring covers food waste, nutritional effects, and beneficiary responses to support continuous program improvement.

Through integrated application of POAC, MBG is expected not only to improve student health, but also to promote fiscal efficiency and empower local economies in an accountable manner.

2. The Importance of HACCP Implementation

Applying a Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points (HACCP) system to MBG is a preventive measure intended to ensure that meals produced by SPPGs or public kitchens are not only nutrient-dense, but also free from biological, chemical, and physical hazards. The system is therefore central to preventing mass food-poisoning incidents. The seven HACCP principles can be incorporated into the MBG preparation and serving process as follows:

1) Conduct a Hazard Analysis

The HACCP team in an MBG kitchen identifies potential hazards from the arrival of raw materials until the food is consumed by students.

a) **Biological hazards:** Examples include Salmonella or E. coli in raw chicken and fresh vegetables.
b) **Chemical hazards:** Examples include pesticide residues on vegetables or contamination from kitchen-floor cleaning agents.
c) **Physical hazards:** Examples include small stones in rice, staples from packaging, or hair from food handlers.

2) Determine Critical Control Points (CCPs)

MBG kitchens identify specific stages at which food hazards must be eliminated or reduced to an acceptable level. The main CCPs include:

a) Receiving sensitive raw materials, such as fresh milk and raw chicken.
b) The cooking or thermal-processing stage.
c) The holding period, particularly hot storage before distribution.

3) Establish Critical Limits

Each CCP is assigned strict, measurable parameters based on food-safety standards.

a) **Cooking temperature:** Chicken should reach an internal temperature of at least 75°C for 15 seconds so that pathogenic bacteria are destroyed.
b) **Holding temperature:** Cooked food awaiting distribution should be maintained above 60°C to inhibit bacterial growth.

4) Establish Monitoring Procedures

Kitchen quality-control personnel should carry out disciplined, periodic checks.

a) A probe food thermometer should be used regularly to record the internal temperature of cooked dishes.

b) Cooking completion times should be recorded to ensure that food is not kept in the 5°C–60°C danger zone for more than four hours before consumption.

5) Establish Corrective Actions

When a critical limit is not achieved, corrective action should be taken immediately so that unsafe food is not distributed. For example, if the internal temperature of fried chicken is only 68°C, cooking should continue until the minimum target of 75°C is reached. Food that has remained at room temperature beyond the safe time limit must be rejected and must not be sent to schools.

6) Establish Verification Procedures

The HACCP system should be tested regularly to ensure that each control instrument operates effectively.

a) Kitchen thermometers should be calibrated monthly so that temperature readings remain accurate.

b) Random food samples should undergo microbiological laboratory testing to verify the absence of harmful bacterial contamination.

7) Documentation and Record Keeping

All monitoring activities should be recorded systematically in physical logbooks or digital applications.

a) Records should include the temperature of meat upon receipt, daily cooking-temperature charts, corrective-action documents, and kitchen-staff health histories.

b) Transparent documentation supports HACCP certification and facilitates audits by BPOM or other supervisory institutions.

By integrating HACCP into MBG kitchens, food-poisoning risks can be substantially reduced so that millions of schoolchildren receive meals that are both nutritious and safe to consume.

3. Policy, Communication, and Perception

a. Public Policy

According to Badjuri and Yuwono (2002), public policy is a strategic decision made by a government authority to solve a public problem or achieve a particular social objective. Thomas R. Dye (2017) defines public policy as whatever governments choose to do or not to do. The elite perspective further emphasizes that leadership decisions do not always directly reflect the demands or aspirations of the broader population, but may embody the values, interests, and preferences of governing elites. Public officials then implement decisions that have been directed from the top down.

Before establishing a public policy, leaders should understand several multidimensional considerations: (a) accurate agenda setting and identification of the real public problem; (b) fiscal feasibility and budget availability; (c) bureaucratic capacity and institutional readiness; (d) public acceptability and support; (e) legality and regulatory harmonization; and (f) the comparative consequences of acting or not acting. Accurate agenda setting requires leaders to rely on empirical evidence and credible academic studies rather than temporary political pressure or assumptions promoted by particular elite groups.

b. Communication Science

Communication science examines how messages are constructed, processed, and transmitted from communicators to recipients, as well as how meaning is influenced by social, cultural, and situational contexts. Communication is commonly understood as a process involving a source, message, medium or channel, recipient, and effects, including changes in knowledge, attitudes, or behavior.

Communication is not merely the transmission of information; it is also a process of creating meaning through social interaction. Consequently, the recipient's understanding may differ from the sender's intended meaning because interpretation is shaped by individual experience, background, and perspective.

Communication models include the following:

1) **Linear model:** The sender transmits a message to a recipient through a particular channel. This model explains direct message delivery.
2) **Interactional or transactional model:** Communication is reciprocal, and senders and recipients influence one another through the exchange of messages and meanings. The transactional model emphasizes that communication is simultaneous and dynamic.
3) **Systems and contextual perspective:** Communication is shaped by social systems and context. Its effects are connected to environmental conditions, social relationships, and applicable rules.

In general, the communication process includes the communicator or message source; the message and its intended meaning; the medium or channel; the recipient; feedback that affects the next stage of communication; and the broader social, cultural, and situational context.

c. Perception

Perception is the mental process through which individuals interpret information from their environment and convert it into meaning. It concerns not only what is seen or heard, but also how a person interprets a stimulus based on experience, knowledge, needs, and values. Perception therefore connects stimulus and response. Two people may receive the same stimulus but form different perceptions because their cognitive frameworks and experiences differ.

In social psychology and behavioral studies, perception is affected by internal factors—such as attitudes, motivation, prior experience, needs, cognitive ability, values, and beliefs—and external factors, including stimulus intensity, clarity of information, situational context, and the characteristics of the medium. In communication, the perceptual process comprises sensory reception of a stimulus, organization of information, interpretation based on knowledge and experience, and a response in the form of an attitude, evaluation, or action. This process is substantive because the interpretation of messages ultimately influences the recipient's attitudes and behavior.

C. METHOD

This study employed a descriptive qualitative design with a thematic narrative approach and content analysis. The analysis was organized around the research variable of negative public perceptions of MBG implementation on social media. Data were collected through observation and digital documentation of media outlets, platforms, channels, and accounts that published negative or critical content concerning MBG during 2025.

D. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on sentiment-analysis data and digital traces covering the period from the initial launch on 6 January 2025 through 31 December 2025, the total volume of negative or critical content concerning MBG on digital platforms reached tens of thousands of posts. One public sentiment analysis document cited in the source manuscript estimated that negative opinions or narratives accounted for approximately 60 percent of public conversation across platforms including YouTube, TikTok, and X. No single figure was available for the number of individual accounts or channels because distribution was extremely broad and included thousands of short user-generated videos. Nevertheless, the principal sources and channel clusters can be classified as follows.

1. Official News-Media Channels on YouTube and TikTok

These channels published investigative reports, live broadcasts, and interactive discussions highlighting controversies and implementation failures in the field.

Main channels: BBC News Indonesia, Metro TV, Official SINDOnews, and Serayu News.

Main critical themes: Mass student food-poisoning incidents in several regions, including Central Java; distribution delays; monotonous menus; and claims that the program's budget reduced resources available to the education sector.

2. Political Content Creators and Observer Channels on YouTube

Independent channels and podcasts approached MBG from a critical public-policy perspective.

Main channels: Political and documentary channels such as Tolak Lupa, PoV Times, and various political-discussion accounts.

Main critical themes: Findings attributed to Indonesia Corruption Watch and the Corruption Eradication Commission concerning eight corruption risks, the involvement of foundations allegedly connected to political networks, and the absence of mature implementing regulations, such as a presidential regulation.

3. Educational Creators, Public Figures, and Nutrition Experts on TikTok

Individual creators used personal and educational approaches to criticize program implementation.

Main channels: Public-figure accounts such as @gamal.albinsaid and public-discussion accounts such as @obrolanpodcast.

Main critical themes: Nutritionists' concerns that some menus merely created satiety without meeting macro- and micronutrient standards; uneven kitchen sanitation in remote areas; and alleged budget transfers from health-protection or national health-insurance programs.

4. General Public Social-Media Accounts and User-Generated Content

Thousands of personal accounts belonging to parents and teachers posted material on TikTok and YouTube Shorts.

Main critical themes: Short videos presenting direct complaints, such as food portions valued at IDR 10,000 being considered too small in some areas, inadequate food packaging, and a case of disinformation in Sukabumi alleging that a student had died because of MBG, which was subsequently investigated by the police.

Aggregated social-listening studies, media-monitoring reports, and data from independent institutions covering January through December 2025 indicate that negative sentiment was dominated by two issue clusters: technical and food-safety failures, particularly poisoning cases, and criticism of budget allocation at both macro and micro levels.

5. Share of Public Discussion

1) Food safety and poisoning cases—55 percent: Content included reports of mass poisoning among students, weak standardization of SPPG kitchen sanitation, and demands that kitchens obtain Hygiene and Sanitation Eligibility Certificates (Sertifikat Laik Higiene Sanitasi, SLHS).

2) Budget and transparency criticism—45 percent: Content raised concerns about the use of the constitutionally mandated education budget, deterioration in menu quality because of an IDR 10,000–15,000 per-serving ceiling, suspected markups in halal-certification costs, non-transparent partnership selection, and broader corruption risks involving individual officials.

6. Distribution of Published Issues

a. Food-Poisoning Issues: the Largest Share, Approximately 55 Percent

Food-poisoning cases generated the most emotional negative sentiment on visual platforms such as TikTok and YouTube Shorts because children were directly affected.

Primary trigger: The public questioned the speed of a top-down implementation process that appeared to proceed without adequate kitchen-feasibility testing.

Field-data focus: By the end of 2025, thousands of students were reported to have experienced symptoms after consuming MBG meals. Local and national media repeatedly reported that some

government-partner kitchens or SPPGs had not yet obtained official sanitation operating certificates.

b. Budget and Transparency Issues: Approximately 45 Percent

This issue cluster was more prominent on text- and policy-opinion-based platforms such as Threads, X, and long-form YouTube podcasts.

Macro level: Academics, economists, and policy observers criticized the realization of the 2025 state budget, which reached tens of trillions of rupiah. Negative discussion centered on the potential burden on fiscal space and the consequences of reducing support for other essential public services.

Micro level: Parents uploaded photographs and videos of meals and complained that local food-price fluctuations forced vendors to reduce nutritional portions to remain within the government's per-serving ceiling.

7. Regional Distribution of the Highest Negative Sentiment

Based on information attributed in the source manuscript to the Ministry of Health, BPOM, and periodic releases from civil-society organizations such as the Indonesian Education Monitoring Network (JPPI), regions generating the highest level of public complaints can be grouped into two clusters.

a. Regions with the Highest Food-Poisoning Complaints

The source manuscript reports hundreds of extraordinary food-poisoning events across at least 10 provinces. The locations associated with the greatest number of complaints and victims included:

1) **West Java Province:** West Java recorded the largest number of incidents nationally. The most extensive cases were reported in West Bandung Regency, particularly the Cipongkor and Cihampelas subdistricts, with more than 1,000 students affected across early childhood, primary, junior secondary, and senior secondary levels.
2) **Special Capital Region of Jakarta:** Social media attention intensified after a series of poisoning cases affected primary-school students in Pulogebang, East Jakarta. The cases generated widespread negative sentiment because national media coverage was extensive.
3) **Central Java and East Java Provinces:** These provinces were associated with repeated clusters of poisoning reports allegedly related to early bacterial contamination of ingredients distributed to schools at the regency level.

b. Regions with the Highest Complaints About Budget Constraints

Operational-cost constraints were most prominent outside Java and in remote areas. In frontier, outermost, and disadvantaged regions—particularly Papua, East Nusa Tenggara, and Maluku—negative sentiment focused on budget inequality. A raw-material allocation of IDR 8,000–10,000 per serving was considered unrealistic because local food commodities were expensive and distribution logistics were substantially costlier than in urban areas.

8. Potential Corruption

The source manuscript states that Indonesia Corruption Watch reported suspected corruption in the procurement of halal-certification services for MBG by the National Nutrition Agency to the Corruption Eradication Commission on 7 May 2026, with a potential state loss of IDR 49.5 billion. The cited draft report reportedly highlighted price markups, manipulation of tender packages, and the absence of a clear legal basis for the procurement. The manuscript also argues that budget inequality produces uneven nutritional provision, with frontier, outermost, and disadvantaged regions sometimes receiving lower calorie and nutrient portions than urban areas.

9. Impact on Public Policy Governance

The cases surrounding MBG implementation have affected the credibility of and public trust in the Prabowo Subianto administration. From a governance perspective, the program requires fundamental

improvements in regulation, governance systems, and the recruitment of professional human resources with high integrity. Proposed measures include the following:

a. **National Nutrition Law:** The Government and the House of Representatives should enact a National Nutrition Law to protect the continuity of MBG regardless of changes in presidential leadership.
b. **Reform of the National Nutrition Agency:** Institutional reform should include replacing officials who are corrupt, lack integrity, or do not possess relevant professional competence.
c. **Decentralized and collaborative budgeting:** Budget governance should involve local governments and penta-helix collaboration among government, academia, business, communities, and the media. This approach is intended to prevent monopolization of procurement quotas by politically connected parties or foundations and to align menus with actual market prices in each region.
d. **Kitchen standardization before budget disbursement:** Operational and sanitation standards should be verified before kitchens receive public funds, thereby reducing waste associated with medical compensation for mass-poisoning victims and ensuring strict sanitation quality.
e. **Stronger internal-government supervision:** The Government Internal Supervisory Apparatus (APIP) and the Financial and Development Supervisory Agency (BPKP) should conduct continuous audits to prevent large procurement packages from being divided into smaller packages to avoid open tender procedures.
f. **An open digital procurement system:** Transparent digital procurement should reduce opportunities for price inflation by brokers and intermediaries and allow the public to monitor accountability for program funds worth trillions of rupiah.

E. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

1. Conclusion

Negative social media content concerning MBG implementation represents public criticism in a democratic era and functions as social oversight of government policy. The material analyzed in the source manuscript indicates that food safety and poisoning cases accounted for 55 percent of negative discussion, while budget and transparency criticism accounted for 45 percent. The largest food-poisoning-related complaint clusters were associated with West Java, the Special Capital Region of Jakarta, Central Java, and East Java. Complaints concerning budget constraints were strongest in frontier, outermost, and disadvantaged areas, particularly Papua, East Nusa Tenggara, and Maluku. The manuscript also cites a potential corruption value of IDR 49.5 billion based on information attributed to Indonesia Corruption Watch.

2. Recommendations

The study proposes the following recommendations:

a. The Government and the House of Representatives should prepare and enact a National Nutrition Law to guarantee the continuity of MBG.
b. The Government should fundamentally reform the National Nutrition Agency.
c. The Government should follow recommendations issued by ministries and institutions outside the National Nutrition Agency, including the Corruption Eradication Commission.
d. Government institutions should respond constructively to critical public attitudes as part of national improvement and democratic accountability.
e. Internal and external auditors should conduct regular monitoring and evaluation of the National Nutrition Agency and MBG implementation.

REFERENCES

Asakura, K., & Sasaki, S. (2023). School lunches in Japan: Their contribution to healthier dietary intake among schoolchildren. Public Health Nutrition, 26(10), 2034–2044. https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC10261553/.

Badjuri, A., & Yuwono, T. (2002). Kebijakan Publik: Konsep dan Strategi. Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang.

Cohen, J. F., Hecht, A. A., McLoughlin, G. M., & Turner, L. (2021). Universal school meals during COVID-19 and beyond: A policy analysis. Nutrients, 13(11), 4112. doi.org.

Dye, T. R. (2017). Understanding Public Policy (15th ed.). Pearson.

European Commission, Joint Research Centre. (2014). School food policies in Europe: A review of recent initiatives and evidence. JRC Science and Policy Reports. Publications Office of the European Union.

Finnish National Agency for Education. (2019). School meals in Finland: An investment in learning and well-being. Finnish National Agency for Education.

Global Child Nutrition Foundation (GCNF). (2024). School meal programs around the world: Report based on the global survey of school meal programs. Global Child Nutrition Foundation.

Hadiningrat, K. P. S., & Yuwono, T. (2024). Free lunch for students in several countries and lessons learned for Indonesia in order to prepare for the Golden Generation 2045. JIPOWER: Journal of Intellectual Power, 1(3), 1–12. https://journal.yaimpi.org/index.php/jipower/article/view/22

Hadiningrat, K. P. S., Djonisajoko, T., & Yuwono, T. (2023). Manajemen SDM kontemporer: Transformasi ketenagakerjaan Indonesia menuju era revolusi industri 4.0: Perspektif ketahanan nasional.

Hadiningrat, K. P. S., Mardiana, Sahary, F. T., Soamole, A., & Sukardi. (2025). The urgency of making schools mini nutrition service and fulfillment units to accelerate the implementation of free nutritious meals in Indonesia. JIPOWER: Journal of Intellectual Power, 2(2), 62–80. https://journal.yaimpi.org/index.php/jipower/search/search?query=astacita%20free%20nutritious%20meals

Hadiningrat, K. P. S., Yuwono, T., & Anggraeni, N. D. (2024). Implementation of the Free Nutritious Meal (MBG) policy as an effort to prepare a superior generation welcoming Indonesia's Golden Era 2045. JIPOWER: Journal of Intellectual Power, 1(3), 1–7. doi.org.

Hadiningrat, K. P. S., Yuwono, T., & Anggraeni, N. D. (2026). Strengthening the governance of free nutritious meals based on schools in Indonesia. JIPOWER: Journal of Intellectual Power, 2(3), 15–28. https://journal.yaimpi.org/index.php/jipower/article/view/64

Hadiningrat, K. P. S., Yuwono, T., Djonisajoko, T., Sahary, T. F., Rowi, A. S., Anggraeni, N. D., & Satria, B. (2025). Makan Bergizi Gratis: Program Akselerasi Menuju Generasi Indonesia Emas 2045. E-book. CV Feniks Muda Sejahtera, Palu.

https://carapandang.com/news/read/kemen-pppa-70-persen-siswa-tidak-sarapan-karena-keterbatasan-finansial

https://tribratanews.polri.go.id/blog/nasional-3/kemenkes-65-persen-anak-usia-sekolah-tidak-sarapan-75242

Kuusipalo, H., & Manninen, M. (2023). School meals case study: Finland. School Meals Coalition.

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), & Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF). (2023). School meals case study: Japan. School Meals Coalition.

Oostindjer, M., Aschemann-Witzel, J., Wang, Q., & Schjøll, A. (2017). Are school meals a viable and sustainable tool to improve the healthiness and sustainability of children's diets? Food Quality and Preference, 56, 123–136. doi.org.

Ueta, T., & Shokuiku Promotion Office. (2020). Comparison of nutrition education policies and programs for children in Japan and the United States. Global Health & Medicine, 2(4), 211–218. doi.org.

United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), Food and Nutrition Service. (2022). The National School Lunch Program: Background and development. USDA.

World Food Programme (WFP). (2020). State of school feeding worldwide 2020. World Food Programme.

Zulkipli, M., & Rahman, F. (2025). Free school meals policy: How are they governed? Comparing global implementation models. Otoritas: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan, 15(1), 45–62. https://journal.unismuh.ac.id/index.php/Otoritas/article/view/16298