

EVALUATION OF THE FREE NUTRITIONAL MEAL PROGRAM (MBG) POLICY IN INDONESIA BASED ON WILLIAM N. DUNN'S PERSPECTIVE

Wilyus Martin Baran Cia^{1)*}, Muhammad Hamdani¹⁾, M Yunus Adi putra¹⁾

Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Email : wlymrtn@gmail.com¹ hamdanlumajang214@gmail.com

yunusadiputra02@gmail.com

Article History

Received: 6 April 2026

Accepted: 20 April 2026

Published: 4 May 2026

Abstract

The Free Nutritious Meal (MBG) program stands as a strategic policy breakthrough by the Indonesian Government, serving as a foundation for human resource development toward the Golden Indonesia 2045 vision. This study conducts a critical analysis of the MBG policy by adopting William N. Dunn's evaluation framework, which encompasses six fundamental dimensions: effectiveness, efficiency, adequacy, equity, responsiveness, and appropriateness. Through a literature review approach, the research identifies a contradictory policy performance. Regarding effectiveness, while the program has proven successful in stimulating student attendance and classroom concentration, these achievements are overshadowed by systemic failures in food safety, which triggered 211 mass poisoning incidents across various provinces. From an efficiency perspective, the MBG funding structure is considered problematic as it relies on significant budget reallocations from primary education and health sectors. Furthermore, in terms of adequacy and appropriateness, the program design is deemed to have not yet addressed the root causes of stunting because interventions are only conducted at school age, thereby missing the critical momentum of the first 1,000 Days of Life (HPK). Disparities in the equity criterion are also evident in the regressive distribution of benefits and the fact that 89% of operational kitchens lack hygiene and sanitation certification. Meanwhile, bureaucratic responsiveness is observed to be largely reactive, taking action only after public health crises emerge in the field. This study concludes that the MBG program is currently trapped in administrative and logistical achievements, necessitating an urgent and comprehensive policy evaluation.

Keywords: Policy Evaluation, Free Nutritious Meal, William N. Dunn, Food Safety.

A. INTRODUCTION

The Free Nutritious Meal Program (MBG), designed by President Prabowo Subianto, is one of his flagship programs. Known as the "free lunch program," it aims to uphold the quality of Human Resources (HR) and elevate human dignity as a key priority towards achieving Indonesia Emas 2045. The government has mandated the National Nutrition Agency (BGN) to implement the program, in accordance with Presidential Regulation Number 83 of 2024.

The program was initially budgeted at IDR 71 trillion, with a target of reaching 82.9 million beneficiaries by the end of 2025. However, the President requested an accelerated target date to September 2025, resulting in an additional IDR 100 trillion in the budget, bringing the total required budget to IDR 171 trillion. The MBG program was then operationally strengthened through Decree of the Deputy for National Fund Distribution Number 2 of 2024 concerning Technical Guidelines for the MBG Program, which has now begun operating in all provinces in Indonesia (Rahmad Nasir et al., 2026).

The MBG program officially began on January 6, 2025, initially targeting 26 provinces. The program targets 82.9 million recipients, served through approximately 32,000 Nutrition Fulfillment Service Units (SPPG). This program targets community groups considered vulnerable to nutritional issues, namely toddlers and students from kindergarten to high school, both in public and private schools (Septiana Louisa Silaban et al., 2026) (Idris et al., 2025).

In its implementation, the MBG policy and determination have encountered various serious challenges and problems. Data from the National Nutrition Agency (2025) recorded 211 food poisoning incidents originating from the MBG program, with a total of 13,371 beneficiaries affected and 636 of them requiring hospitalization. Laboratory findings detected contamination with *Escherichia coli*, *Salmonella*, and *Bacillus cereus* in food samples, indicating weak food safety and hygiene systems in the program's implementing units (Nutrition Fulfillment Service Units/SPPG). Furthermore, of the 14,778 SPPGs operating as of November 2025, only 1,619 units (around 11 percent) had a Hygiene and Sanitation Certificate (SLHS), indicating a significant gap between established standards and implementation in the field. Another issue, according to CELIOS, is that the overall budget for the MBG, reaching IDR 355 trillion, is not derived from new fiscal funds but rather from reallocations from other fundamental sectors such as education, health, MSME empowerment, and food security. This is reinforced by CIPS data, which suggests that without proper governance preparation, this budget transfer risks human resource development in other sectors.

The aforementioned issues demonstrate that the MBG Program requires a comprehensive and systematic evaluation. Policy evaluation is not sufficient to simply measure whether the program is running according to the monitoring plan; it must also assess whether the achieved results have value for the community, whether the program is efficient, equitable, and responsive to public needs. In this context, the policy evaluation framework developed by William N. Dunn (2018) offers an integrative approach. (Dunn, 2018) In his book *Public Policy Analysis: An Integrated Approach*, he put forward six criteria for policy evaluation: effectiveness, efficiency, adequacy, equity, responsiveness, and appropriateness. These six criteria have been widely used in various policy evaluation studies in Indonesia, including evaluations of village fund management and evaluations of tourism development policies. This approach not only measures the achievement of formal policy objectives but also explores the values underlying the policy and accommodates the perspectives of various stakeholders.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

Policy Evaluation

Policy evaluation is a systematic process for assessing the value, benefits, and performance of a policy after it has been formulated or implemented. From William N. Dunn's perspective, evaluation not only examines whether a program is running but also assesses the extent to which the policy is able to solve public problems. Policy evaluation is used to generate information regarding the successes, failures, obstacles, and consequences of a government program. In the Free Nutritional Meal Program, this theory is relevant because it can be used to assess whether the program is truly effective in improving nutritional fulfillment, reaching targets, and providing benefits to students. Dunn explains that policy evaluation can be analyzed through the criteria of effectiveness, efficiency, adequacy, equity, responsiveness, and accuracy (Dunn, 2018). Indicators:

- Program effectiveness
- Efficient use of resources
- Adequacy of program outcomes
- Equitable distribution of beneficiaries
- Responsiveness to community needs

- Accuracy of policy targeting

Policy Implementation

Policy implementation is a crucial stage that determines whether policy objectives can be translated into concrete actions on the ground. Van Meter and Van Horn view policy implementation as a process influenced by policy standards and objectives, resources, inter-organizational communication, implementer characteristics, socio-economic-political conditions, and the attitudes of implementers. This theory is relevant because the Free Nutritious Meal Program involves many actors, from the central government, local governments, schools, food providers, health workers, and the community. The program's success is determined not only by policy design but also by the readiness of implementers, clear coordination, and consistent distribution of nutritious food. With this theory, research can assess operational obstacles that arise in the implementation of the Free Nutritious Meal Program in Indonesia (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). Indicators:

- Clarity of program standards and objectives
- Availability of resources
- Communication and coordination between actors
- Characteristics of implementing agencies
- Social, economic, and political conditions
- Attitudes and commitment of implementers

Social Welfare

Social welfare is a condition where a society's basic needs are met so that individuals can live decently, healthily, and productively. Midgley explains that social welfare relates to a society's ability to meet social needs, manage social problems, and create better life opportunities. This theory is relevant to the Free Nutritional Meal Program because the program is not only related to providing food, but also relates to social protection, improving health, and reducing inequality in access to nutrition. In the context of education, fulfilling nutrition can support learning concentration, student attendance, and the quality of human resources. Therefore, MBG can be understood as a social policy aimed at strengthening the welfare of children and families through state-based nutrition interventions (Midgley, 1995). Indicators:

- Fulfillment of basic needs
- Protection of vulnerable groups
- Improvement of quality of life
- Equal access to social services
- Support for health and education
- Reduction of social inequality

C. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The method used in this research is a literature review. Literature study is a type of research that uses library books, research articles, and journals that are reports of previous research. Literature study contains an explanation of the process of selecting the literature taken, namely based on journal criteria that are able to answer questions related to the research objectives. The criteria for journals or articles are filtered based on the title of the literature, abstract, and keywords. Journals or articles are then filtered again by looking at the entire text. This section also explains the year used in filtering the reference list from journals or articles taken within the last 5 years (Humaryanto, 2020).

D. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Effectiveness

"Effectiveness: Has a valued outcome been achieved?" (Dunn, 2018) Effectiveness measures whether a policy or program has successfully achieved a valued outcome. Illustrative indicators include units of service (units of service).

Based on a survey conducted by the Center for Education Quality Assurance (BBPMP) of West Java Province, 2025, in November 2025, among 3,562 respondents, good results were found. 93% of students reported that MBG meals always arrived every school day. This means that in terms of distribution, this program successfully delivered meals to schools regularly and was also strengthened. According to Nasir et al., in their research, the acceptance of the MBG program was 88.86%, classified as good, while food distribution was 66.6%, classified as adequate (Nasir et al., 2026).

Teachers reported increased student attendance, indicating they felt fuller and more energetic during afternoon lessons (Eyes & Erwin Nadia, 2025). Data showed that 84% of students reported never experiencing health problems after consuming MBG meals, and children were more enthusiastic about attending school because of the guaranteed food (BBPMP West Java Province, 2025).

However, behind this good news lies a very worrying fact: 211 cases of poisoning were recorded as being caused by the MBG program. This figure is equivalent to 48% of the total national poisoning cases. This means that nearly half of the poisonings in Indonesia stem from the program, which is supposed to improve the health of Indonesian children. As a result of these poisonings, 13,371 beneficiaries were affected. Of these, 636 required inpatient hospitalization, while the rest received outpatient treatment (CNN Indonesia, 2025).

The cause of this poisoning was the laboratory detection of contamination with dangerous bacteria such as *E. coli*, *Salmonella*, and *Bacillus cereus* in food samples. These bacteria typically appear due to unhygienic food processing, improper storage, or a broken cold chain. A similar incident occurred in Nunukan, North Kalimantan, where 40 students were poisoned after consuming stale food distributed under the MBG program. A similar incident occurred in Nunukan, North Kalimantan, where several children were hospitalized after consuming stale food that did not meet nutritional standards. On May 5, 2025, President Prabowo Subianto stated in a cabinet meeting that approximately 200 of the more than 3 million recipients had experienced food poisoning. These cases indicate that the program failed to be well-planned (Ayuni, 2025), compounded by the discovery of more than 1,300 recorded cases of food poisoning in 10 provinces, indicating weak supervision of food safety standards and kitchen sanitation (Suprpto et al., 2025).

Beyond the poisoning issue, another interesting finding was that only 45% of students consistently finished their meals. This means that more than half of the students (55%). Some students were reluctant to finish their meals due to the unappealing taste or variety of the menu, resulting in some food being wasted. This highlights the need to develop more creative menus tailored to children's tastes so that the program is not only nutritionally effective but also well-received by students (Eyes & Erwin Nadia, 2025).

The MBG program has shown conflicting performance. On the one hand, the program is effective in terms of distribution and increased student attendance. Food reaches schools, children attend, and their concentration improves. However, on the other hand, the program is a complete failure in terms of food safety. A food program that causes thousands of children to become food-poisoned, with hundreds hospitalized, cannot be considered overall effective; it's like a car that can go fast but the brakes don't work quickly but is extremely dangerous. In other words, the current MBG program is like a drug that makes you sick. Its goals are noble, but its implementation has had serious negative impacts.

Efficiency

"Efficiency: How much effort was required to achieve a valued outcome?" (Dunn, 2018). Efficiency measures how much effort (costs, resources) is required to achieve a valued outcome. Illustrative indicators include unit cost (cost per unit), net benefits (net benefits), and cost-benefit ratio.

However, this program also experienced negative impacts during its implementation, as the large budget required for the MBG program led to budget efficiencies, particularly in several ministries/agencies. The targeted state budget savings reached IDR 306 trillion. Budget efficiencies were implemented across 16 expenditure items, such as the purchase of office stationery, official travel, vehicle rentals, and ceremonial activities. These efficiencies will undoubtedly impact work programs in these agencies due to limited funding (Ayuni, 2025).

CELIOS noted that the MBG budget is projected to reach IDR 355 trillion overall. This budget does not come from new fiscal space, but rather from a massive reallocation from fundamental sectors: IDR 223 trillion from education, IDR 24.7 trillion from health, and IDR 19.7 trillion from MSME empowerment and food security (CELIOS, 2026).

The efficiency criterion measures whether resources (especially the budget) are being used optimally. Based on CIPS analysis, the realization of the MBG budget as of early August 2025 was only around IDR 8 trillion, with an average absorption of around IDR 1.14 trillion per month since January 2025. This figure is very low compared to the allocated budget ceiling (CIPS, 2025).

Furthermore, CIPS criticized the planned diversion of IDR 757.8 trillion from the education sector to the MBG, which risks the consistency of human resource development policies in other sectors. Without adequate governance, the additional budget has the potential to significantly increase existing risks and cases (CIPS, 2025).

The MBG program has had a serious negative impact on state finances. To finance this program, the government was forced to save up to IDR 306 trillion in the state budget by cutting 16 spending items. As a result, work programs in these agencies were disrupted due to funding shortages. Even more worrying, the IDR 355 trillion budget for the MBG did not come from new funds, but was instead drawn from vital sectors: IDR 223 trillion from education, IDR 24.7 trillion from health, and IDR 19.7 trillion from MSMEs and food security. Without sound governance, forcing this program through will only increase the risk of failure and compromise other development programs.

Adequacy

"Adequacy: To what extent does the achievement of a valued outcome resolve the problem?" (Dunn, 2018). Adequacy measures the extent to which the achievement of a valued outcome is able to resolve the problem targeted by the policy.

Adequacy measures whether the results achieved by the program are sufficient to address the stated problem. The MBG program's target by the end of 2025 was to reach 82.9 million beneficiaries. However, as of November 2025, only 41.6 million beneficiaries had been reached, representing only about 50% of the target. Therefore, in terms of the number of beneficiaries, this program is only halfway through its completion. More importantly, this program is designed to address stunting. Stunting is a chronic malnutrition problem that occurs from conception to 2 years of age (a period known as the First 1,000 Days of Life or 1,000 HPK). (Public Info, 2025).

Stunting is caused by chronic factors such as poor sanitation, suboptimal exclusive breastfeeding, and multidimensional poverty. The MBG program, which only provides one meal at school, is insufficient to correct the nutritional deficit that has occurred since the first 1,000 days of life (Shofihawa, 2025).

In other words, the MBG intervention came too late. The golden period for preventing stunting is from conception to 2 years of age. However, the MBG program targets school-age children (usually over 6 years old).

Therefore, even if the program were perfectly implemented, it would not be able to completely address the stunting problem because the intervention came after the "critical period" had passed. The MBG program is the right solution for the wrong problem. It can address hunger in schools, but it is not designed to address the root causes of stunting.

Equity

"Equity: Are costs and benefits distributed equitably among different groups?" (Dunn, 2018). Equity measures whether the costs and benefits of a policy are distributed fairly among various groups in society. Dunn asserts that "Public programs should be equitable as well as efficient."

Equity in policy means that program benefits should be felt proportionally by those most in need. An equitable program is one that helps the poor more than the rich, and helps disadvantaged areas more than developed ones. According to data, 34.2% of MBG benefits are enjoyed by middle- and upper-income households, compared to poor and vulnerable groups that have not been prioritized (Shofihawa, 2025).

Of the 14,778 Nutrition Fulfillment Service Units (SPPG) or MBG kitchens, only 1,619 units (approximately 11%) have a Hygiene and Sanitation Certification (SLHS). This means that 89% of MBG kitchens operate without a certificate of eligibility. They are not tested for hygiene, proper food preparation, or safe storage of raw materials (CELIOS, 2026).

The universal MBG program, which provides access to all children, regardless of wealth or poverty, will actually benefit those in need. This is known as regressive, meaning that the benefits accrue primarily to the wealthy.

Responsiveness

"Responsiveness: Do policy outcomes satisfy the needs, preferences, or values of particular groups?" (Dunn, 2018). Responsiveness measures whether policy outcomes meet the needs, preferences, or values of specific groups in society.

Responsiveness is a measure of how quickly and responsively the government responds to public complaints, input, and needs. A responsive program is one that listens to its citizens. The National Nutrition Agency (BGN) acknowledged that 48% of national food poisoning cases stem from the MBG program. This is a good first step in acknowledging the problem. Second, BGN requires rapid testing and equipment sterilization at all SPPGs. These are technical measures to prevent recurrence of poisoning. Third, the government has begun promoting the digitization of the public complaints monitoring system. This means there will be a digital channel (app, website, or hotline) for the public to report complaints. Fourth, Deputy Minister Komdigi firmly stated: "If there are public complaints about poor food quality reaching children's schools, they will receive immediate attention." (antaranews.com, 2025).

In fact, all of these positive responses occurred after the crisis, not before. The new corrective policies were implemented eight months into the program. During those eight months, thousands of children had already become victims of food poisoning. Furthermore, although surveys showed that 45% of students did not finish their meals (a strong indication that the taste or portion sizes did not suit children's tastes), the response to issues of taste and menu variety remained limited (CNN Indonesia, 2025).

Although the government, through the National Nutrition Agency (BGN), demonstrated responsiveness by acknowledging the problem (48% of food poisoning cases were from the MBG program), taking technical measures such as rapid testing and equipment sterilization, encouraging the digitization of the complaints system, and receiving a firm statement from the Deputy Minister of Communication and Information Technology (Komdigi) to address public

complaints, all of these positive steps were only implemented eight months into the program after the crisis, when thousands of children had already become victims of food poisoning. Furthermore, the response to issues of taste and menu variety remained limited, even though surveys showed that 45% of students did not finish their meals, a strong indication that they did not suit children's tastes. Thus, the government's responsiveness in this case only became apparent after the widespread impact had occurred, not yet being anticipatory and comprehensive in addressing the root of the problem.

Appropriateness

"Appropriateness: Are desired outcomes (objectives) actually worthy or valuable?" (Dunn, 2018). Appropriateness is the most fundamental criterion in policy evaluation. It measures whether the desired outcomes (policy goals) are truly valuable or worthwhile.

CIPS emphasizes that the complexity of human resource issues cannot be addressed solely through the MBG program, and the government lacks a thorough plan for what it aims to achieve through the MBG program. While the MBG program is well-targeted for addressing hunger and acute malnutrition among schoolchildren, it is not appropriate as the primary program for addressing stunting. Stunting requires interventions that begin during pregnancy, not when children enter school age (CIPS, 2025).

The appropriateness criterion is the most fundamental criterion, measuring whether a program is the right solution to the problem it seeks to address. In this case, there is a fundamental gap between the MBG program design and the root causes of stunting. Ministry of Health data shows that the critical period for stunting prevention is the First 1,000 Days of Life, from pregnancy to age 2. Meanwhile, in its first year of implementation, the MBG program primarily targeted school-age children. The government only plans to expand its target group to pregnant women and toddlers in 2026 (Public Info, 2025).

The MBG program faces fundamental issues with its appropriateness criteria; it is inappropriate to use it as the primary program for stunting management. This is due to the fact that stunting requires intervention from the critical first 1,000 days of life, from pregnancy to two years of age. However, the first year of MBG implementation primarily targeted school-age children, with the planned expansion to pregnant women and toddlers only planned for 2026. In other words, there is a fundamental gap between the program design and the root causes of stunting, exacerbated by the government's immaturity in planning regarding the desired objectives. CIPS also emphasized that the complexity of human resource issues cannot be addressed solely through MBG, and therefore, this program is more appropriately positioned as a complement, rather than the primary solution, to efforts to reduce stunting rates.

E. CONCLUSION

An evaluation of the Free Nutritious Meals (MBG) policy has shown conflicting results. The consistent success of logistical distribution is inversely proportional to weak food safety standards and misalignment of policy objectives. Referring to William N. Dunn's six criteria, although the program demonstrates effectiveness and responsiveness through increased student attendance and rapid food distribution, it is not accompanied by a guarantee of safety, and fundamentally. The program also lacks accuracy and adequacy, as nutritional interventions at school age are considered too late in mitigating stunting, which should begin during pregnancy. This policy is also considered inefficient because it relies on significant budget cuts from the education and health sectors amidst still-minimal fund absorption, and does not reflect the principle of equity, given the regressive distribution of benefits and the lack of hygienic certification of 89% of kitchens. MBG remains trapped in mere administrative success, but systematically fails to address the true roots of nutrition and public health problems.

REFERENCE

- Antaraneews.com. (2025, November 15). *BGN: 48 persen dari total keracunan pangan disebabkan oleh MBG*. Antaraneews.Com. <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/5236989/bgn-48-persen-dari-total-keracunan-pangan-disebabkan-oleh-mbg>
- Ayuni, D. T. (2025). Dilema Pelaksanaan Program Makan Bergizi Gratis Pada Siswa. *Triwikrama: Jurnal Multidisiplin Ilmu Sosial*, 8, 2025.
- BBPMP Provinsi Jawa Barat. (2025, November 15). *Ringkasan Eksekutif: Evaluasi Dampak Program Makan Bergizi Gratis (MBG) di Provinsi Jawa Barat*. [Bbpmpp.Jabar@kemendikdasmen.Go.Id. https://www.bbpmppjabar.id/ringkasan-eksekutif-evaluasi-dampak-program-makan-bergizi-gratis-mbg-di-provinsi-jawa-barat/](https://www.bbpmppjabar.id/ringkasan-eksekutif-evaluasi-dampak-program-makan-bergizi-gratis-mbg-di-provinsi-jawa-barat/)
- CELIOS. (2026). Rapor Merah MBG: Boros, Enggak Bergizi, dan Centang Perenang Tata Kelola. *Magdalene*. <https://magdalene.co/story/laporan-celios-soal-mbg/>
- CIPS. (2025, October 31). *Program Makan Bergizi Gratis: Saatnya Evaluasi Menyeluruh Sebelum Melangkah Lebih Jauh*. Cips-Indonesia. <https://www.cips-indonesia.org/post/program-makan-bergizi-gratis-saatnya-evaluasi-menyeluruh-sebelum-melangkah-lebih-jauh?lang=id>
- CNN Indonesia. (2025, November 12). *Kepala BGN Ungkap Data Kasus Keracunan MBG dalam Rapat dengan DPR*. *Baca artikel CNN Indonesia "Kepala BGN Ungkap Data Kasus Keracunan MBG dalam Rapat dengan DPR"*. [Www.Cnnindonesia.Com. https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20251112120047-20-1294640/kepala-bgn-ungkap-data-kasus-keracunan-mbg-dalam-rapat-dengan-dpr](https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20251112120047-20-1294640/kepala-bgn-ungkap-data-kasus-keracunan-mbg-dalam-rapat-dengan-dpr)
- Dunn, W. (2018). *Sixth Edition Public Policy Analysis An Integrated Approach*.
- Dunn, W. N. (2018). *Public policy analysis: An integrated approach* (6th ed.). Routledge.
- Eyes, I. N., & Erwin Nadia, Z. (2025). *Evaluasi Program Makan Siang Gratis di Sekolah: Dampak terhadap Gizi, Kesehatan, dan Motivasi Belajar Siswa*. <https://ojs.pustakapublisher.com/index.php/jurnalilmupendidikan/index>
- Info Publik. (2025, November 11). *Stunting Menurun dan Underweight Jadi Tantangan, Kemenkes Siapkan Intervensi 2026*. [Infopublik.Id. https://infopublik.id/kategori/nasional-sosial-budaya/946460/stunting-menurun-dan-underweight-jadi-tantangan-kemenkes-siapkan-intervensi-2026](https://infopublik.id/kategori/nasional-sosial-budaya/946460/stunting-menurun-dan-underweight-jadi-tantangan-kemenkes-siapkan-intervensi-2026)
- Midgley, J. (1995). *Social development: The developmental perspective in social welfare*. Sage.
- Nasir, R. , Baso, T. , Abdullah, R. , Amrillah, R. , & Plaikari, P. (2026). *Implementasi Kebijakan Program Makan Bergizi Gratis (MBG) di Sekolah: Analisis Tata Kelola, Akuntabilitas, dan Koordinasi Aktor*. [https://www.tempo.co/politik/sederet-fakta-Rahmad Nasir, Boli Tonda Baso, Abdullah R.S, Rizki Amrillah, & Rizal Pasoma Plaikari. \(2026\). Implementasi Kebijakan Program Makan Bergizi Gratis \(MBG\) di Sekolah: Analisis Tata Kelola, Akuntabilitas, dan Koordinasi Aktor](https://www.tempo.co/politik/sederet-fakta-Rahmad%20Nasir,%20Boli%20Tonda%20Baso,%20Abdullah%20R.S,%20Rizki%20Amrillah,%20&%20Rizal%20Pasoma%20Plaikari.%20(2026).%20Implementasi%20Kebijakan%20Program%20Makan%20Bergizi%20Gratis%20(MBG)%20di%20Sekolah:%20Analisis%20Tata%20Kelola,%20Akuntabilitas,%20dan%20Koordinasi%20Aktor)
- Kata kunci. <https://www.tempo.co/politik/sederet-fakta->
- Silaban, L. S., Elsi.D.S., & Rizal,D. (2026). Analisis Implementasi Kebijakan Program Makan Bergizi Gratis di Kota Jambi Menurut Teori Implementasi Kebijakan Merilee S. Grindle. *Demokrasi: Jurnal Riset Ilmu Hukum, Sosial Dan Politik*, 3(1), 137–149. <https://doi.org/10.62383/demokrasi.v3i1.1547>
- Shofihawa. (2025, October 16). *Menghamburkan Ambisi, Mengabaikan Ketelitian: Memikirkan Kembali Program Makan Gratis di Indonesia*. FEB UGM. <https://feb.ugm.ac.id/en/faculty-insight/17244-feeding-ambition-missing-precision-rethinking-indonesias-free-meal-program>
- Suprpto, F. A., Praditya, E., Dewi, R. M., & Adiyoso, W. (2025). A Policy Implementation

Review of the Free Nutritious Meal (MBG) Program. *The Journal of Indonesia Sustainable Development Planning*, 6(2), 297–312.
<https://doi.org/10.46456/jisdep.v6i2.798>

Van Meter, D. S., & Van Horn, C. E. (1975). The policy implementation process: A conceptual framework. *Administration & Society*, 6(4), 445–488.