

DISCOURSE ABOUT THE NEWS OF MAKAN BERGIZI GRATIS (MBG) PROGRAM ON TIKTOK

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Abstract

This study aims to examine how discourse about the Makan Bergizi Gratis (MBG) program is constructed and received by the public through the TikTok platform. MBG is an Indonesian government initiative to improve children's nutrition, widely disseminated by national media on social media. The research employs a qualitative approach using Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, which includes three dimensions are textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice. Data were collected through documentation of TikTok content from official media accounts and public comments related to the MBG issue. The findings indicate that national media narratives on TikTok tend to be optimistic and constructive in presenting the MBG program's success, while public comments reflect disappointment, inequality in distribution, and criticism of the program's implementation. This study concludes that TikTok is not merely an information platform but also a contested arena where governmental narratives are challenged by public voices, showing how social media plays a vital role in shaping public opinion and social legitimacy of public policies.

Keywords: *Makan Bergizi Gratis (MBG), critical discourse analysis, social media, TikTok*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji bagaimana wacana mengenai program Makan Bergizi Gratis (MBG) dikonstruksi dan diterima oleh masyarakat melalui platform TikTok. Program MBG merupakan inisiatif pemerintah Indonesia dalam upaya meningkatkan gizi anak-anak yang disebarluaskan oleh media nasional melalui media sosial. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode analisis wacana kritis Norman Fairclough, yang mencakup tiga tahapan yaitu analisis tekstual, praktik diskursif dan praktik sosial. Data diperoleh melalui dokumentasi konten TikTok dari akun media nasional dan komentar-komentar publik terkait isu MBG. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa narasi media nasional di TikTok cenderung bersifat optimis dan konstruktif dalam menampilkan keberhasilan program MBG namun komentar publik justru menunjukkan adanya kekecewaan, ketimpangan distribusi dan kritik terhadap pelaksanaan program. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa TikTok bukan hanya menjadi ruang informasi akan tetapi juga menjadi arena kontestasi makna antara narasi pemerintah dan suara masyarakat yang memperlihatkan bagaimana media sosial berperan dalam membentuk opini dan legitimasi sosial terhadap kebijakan publik.

Kata Kunci: *Makan Bergizi Gratis (MBG), analisis wacana kritis, media sosial, TikTok*

1. Introduction

The program of Makan Bergizi Gratis (MBG) in Indonesia is a government initiative aimed at improving the nutrition of children and vulnerable groups, particularly in schools and areas with high poverty rates. The MBG program was launched in response to high rates of stunting, malnutrition, and unequal access to healthy food in various regions of Indonesia. Various media outlets have widely covered the MBG program, both in terms of its expected benefits and the challenges of its implementation. Some support the

MBG program, believing it can improve children's health and concentration in learning and help alleviate the economic burden on low-income families. However, criticisms have arisen regarding the MBG program's effectiveness, ranging from funding issues, distribution transparency, to potential misuse of funds. Furthermore, several media reports have highlighted constraints in the food supply chain and infrastructure readiness in remote areas. These reports have sparked public debate about the MBG program's sustainability, which may be controversial in improving the quality of life for Indonesia's younger generation.

In today's digital era, coverage of government programs, particularly MBG news on social media, is increasingly widespread and influential in shaping public opinion. Social media has become a primary tool for the government to quickly and widely communicate its policies, programs, and achievements to the public. Various programs, from social assistance and infrastructure development to economic and health policies, are often the main topics of heated discussion on various social media platforms.

However, reporting on government programs on social media does not always proceed smoothly without public debate. While information shared on social media can increase transparency, public engagement, and trust in implemented policies, the widespread circulation of information can also open the door to the emergence of disinformation or hoaxes, as well as various forms of opinion that can influence public perception, both positively and negatively. Furthermore, government programs become the target of sharp criticism, public debate, and even widespread negative campaigns.

The phenomenon of news coverage on social media demonstrates that social media plays a dual role in disseminating information, serving as both an effective communication tool for the government and an open space for the public to respond. Therefore, it is crucial for the government to continuously improve its effective public communication strategy, countering hoaxes with rapid clarification, and fostering more transparent interactions so that news about its programs is better understood and well-received by the public.

TikTok has become one of the most popular social media platforms in Indonesia. This is reinforced by the steadily increasing number of TikTok users from various backgrounds. One of the main reasons TikTok has become the preferred choice for many people to get the latest news compared to other social media platforms is its short-video content format and sophisticated algorithm that adapts information to user interests. With the For You Page (FYP) mechanism, trending or viral news can quickly reach millions of TikTok users in a short time. This allows TikTok users to easily access the latest information without having to manually search.

Furthermore, TikTok offers a more interactive and digestible news experience compared to other platforms like Facebook or Twitter, which still rely on text or links to articles. Many journalists, official media outlets, and even independent individuals use TikTok to convey news in more engaging ways, such as through visual narratives, infographics, and live streaming. A survey of several national media outlets ranked detikcom first and Kompas second (Wahid, 2023). This revealed that users find it easy to read news, especially the younger generation, who tend to prefer short video-based content over lengthy text-based content.

Another advantage is TikTok's more democratic nature in disseminating information. Not only major media outlets can report news, but also ordinary users can offer their own perspectives and provide insights. The growing phenomenon of citizen journalism on TikTok allows for more diverse and rapid news dissemination. However, this phenomenon can pose challenges in news filtering due to the high potential for the spread of hoaxes and misinformation.

With the speed of information dissemination, interactive experiences, and ease of access, TikTok has now become one of the social media platforms people use to stay informed about the latest news. This demonstrates that information consumption patterns have changed, with short-form video-based social media increasingly dominating traditional news formats on other social media platforms. Therefore, both users and the government need to be more discerning in filtering news to maximize the benefits of quick access to news.

Given the aforementioned issues, a discourse analysis of news about the MBG program on TikTok is crucial to understanding how the program is received by the public. Furthermore, a discourse analysis on TikTok can also reveal the role of national media in constructing narratives about the MBG program. Through discourse analysis, we can examine how the word choice, delivery style, and perspective used in news related to the MBG program shape public perception. For example, news stories produced by official national media accounts tend to use optimistic language and emphasize the benefits of the program, while public criticism

may appear in the form of videos discussing challenges such as funding, food distribution, or potential misuse of funds.

TikTok also enables active user participation in shaping and disseminating discourse about the MBG program. Through TikTok's comment and collaboration features, users can share opinions, personal experiences, or even ask questions to national media outlets. This makes news on TikTok less one-way and fosters a more dynamic dialogue between various parties. However, it's important to be aware that not all circulating news is credible. The emergence of disinformation or hoaxes also poses a challenge in analyzing news discourse on TikTok, making it crucial to select credible sources of information. Therefore, discourse analysis of news about the MBG program on TikTok needs to be selective, selecting credible national media accounts to provide a broader picture of how the government program is understood and discussed by the public.

Various previous studies have discussed how discourse analysis is used to uncover the construction of information disseminated through TikTok. For example, research examining the impact of viral phrases on social interaction (Pasauran et al., 2025) has shown that this facilitates relaxed yet persuasive communication, embedding moral messages within viral trends. Meanwhile, TikTok's algorithm expands its reach and blurs the lines between entertainment and normative influence. Furthermore, findings suggest that TikTok can enhance the achievement of learning objectives by promoting the trend of technology use in language education (Lathifah et al., 2024). This study found that TikTok can be an effective tool for facilitating Arabic language learning through an in-depth analysis of the discourse structure of video content.

Another study has examined discourses that emphasize religious tolerance as an attitude of mutual respect and freedom of worship without interfering with others (Christanty & Sari, 2023). This discourse is grounded in Islamic ideology and utilizes TikTok as a means of dissemination, demonstrating the role of religious communities as good citizens in maintaining unity in Indonesia. The issue of covering the body with the hijab can also be discussed through content on TikTok. Similarly, discourses that attempt to legitimize the practice of wearing the hijab highlight the interaction between religious messages and audience interpretations on TikTok (Damayanti, 2025).

Other research has also contributed to understanding the discourses that shape the representation of marginalized groups on TikTok (Prabowo & Handoyono, 2023). This reveals the existence of symbolic violence and sexual objectification that goes unnoticed because it's disguised in the context of jokes that have the potential to perpetuate insults against marginalized groups like women. To this day, discussions about women continue to generate debate on TikTok. The emergence of TikTok has changed the dynamics of the debate by providing a space for various representations of female beauty (Wilmanda & Hariyanti, 2025). TikTok plays a role in promoting diversity but also raises challenges regarding perceptions of beauty and its impact on women's body image. Skincare products, which are closely related to women's lives, are still discussed on TikTok. TikTok plays a significant role in the transformation of power, where consumers now have greater control in shaping public opinion about a product (Fatimah, 2024). The shift in public opinion discourse from positive to negative after laboratory tests revealed undetectable ingredients in skincare products. This demonstrates how TikTok can be a powerful tool for building and destroying discourse about skincare products.

Furthermore, other research has analyzed ideological exchanges through individual or group content, revealing the differences in discourses emerging in each game-related content (Jendra, 2021). Distinct discourses emerge in each TikTok content, with each content's identity tailored to the creator's individual characteristics, ensuring the broader public understands the meaning of the discourse.

Although various studies have been conducted, gaps remain in the study of discourse construction, particularly those initiated by the Indonesian government. Therefore, this study aims to uncover discourses related to the sustainability of a government program, namely the Free Nutritious Meals (MBG) program, disseminated through TikTok. Thus, information conveyed on TikTok becomes a legacy of power and can be clearer, more accurate, and more effective in building public trust in the program. In this context, social media like TikTok serves not only as a communication channel but also as an arena for the production and reproduction of discourse. The government, through national media, utilizes TikTok as a medium to construct a positive image of the MBG program, leveraging the power of visuals and populist narratives to garner public sympathy. However, on the other hand, social media users participate in shaping the meaning of this policy by providing commentary, criticism, and even counter-narratives. This demonstrates that the digital

space is a region where contestation of meaning occurs between state discourse and public voices. Therefore, it is important to examine how discourse regarding the MBG program is shaped, maintained, or even challenged in digital communication practices. Through Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model, this study seeks to uncover how language, visuals, and social interactions on TikTok reflect relations of power, ideology, and broader socio-political dynamics. Discourse is not neutral; language is a form of social practice that both reflects and shapes relations of power and ideology in society.

In fact, many critical discourse analyses have been proposed by several experts. However, this study selects Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) developed by Norman Fairclough. Critical discourse analysis is an approach that focuses on how language in texts and discourse shapes and is influenced by social structures and power (Fairclough, 1995). Discourse not only functions as a means of communication but also plays a role in shaping ideology, domination, and social change. The discourse analysis model is divided into several dimensions, including analyzing linguistic structures such as vocabulary, grammar, and style within texts (micro), analyzing how texts are produced, distributed, and consumed within an institution or media (meso), and analyzing how discourse relates to broader social structures, ideology, and power (macro). In the context of TikTok, this model is useful for understanding how circulating content shapes public perceptions of an issue and how the discourse reflects specific social forces. For example, discourse about a government program disseminated on TikTok can be analyzed to see how language is used to maintain or challenge existing social norms.

Meanwhile, there are other approaches to critical discourse analysis. Discourse analysis focuses more on the relationship between language, social cognition, and power in texts (Van Dijk, 2008). This approach examines how discourse is shaped and understood by individuals and how texts can influence social and political structures. Discourse analysis must encompass several levels, such as analyzing how an issue is represented in the text, including word choice and narrative (text structure), examining how individual ideologies and understandings are influenced by circulating discourse (social cognition), and connecting discourse to broader social structures, including how dominant groups maintain power through language (social context). In the context of social media like TikTok, van Dijk's approach can be used to examine how certain discourses are produced by content creators and received by audiences. In other words, this analysis helps understand how TikTok's algorithm can amplify or distort certain discourses through content distribution patterns controlled by recommendation systems.

Social media has become a discursive space that enables the rapid and widespread production and dissemination of discourse (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Unlike traditional media, which have strict editorial controls, social media is more participatory, allowing anyone to contribute to shaping public narratives (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Several key characteristics of social media relevant to discourse analysis include the ability for users to directly engage in discussions through comments, likes, and shares. Content can spread widely in a short time, allowing certain discourses to quickly gain significant attention. Social media algorithms determine the content users see, thus shaping public perception through the repetition of specific information (Pariser, 2011). In the context of TikTok, features such as the For You Page (FYP) and the use of hashtags (#) allow certain discourses to gain wider exposure, thus influencing public opinion and even shaping social and political trends. Therefore, a critical discourse analysis on TikTok can help uncover how social media is used to construct narratives and influence public understanding of an issue.

TikTok is a short video-based platform that prioritizes visual and audio interaction in conveying messages. TikTok can also play a role in preserving local Indonesian traditions in the digital era and preserving cultural heritage (Husnil et al., 2025). As it develops, TikTok has become a powerful tool in shaping public opinion and disseminating discourse in various fields, from entertainment and politics to economics and social activism. In the economic sector, TikTok as a platform can encourage entrepreneurial discourse in Indonesia (Wulandari et al., 2025). TikTok also serves as an effective and cost-effective platform for entrepreneurs, offering dual functions as a medium for entertainment and shopping. Furthermore, advertising on TikTok significantly influences purchasing behavior, thereby strengthening the consumer's relationship with the product (Farahdiba, 2024). This highlights the importance of creating positive experiences for consumers on digital platforms. TikTok is an effective digital marketing strategy for selling skincare products because it can influence consumer awareness, interest, inquiries, actions, and advocacy (Gusty & Darniyus, 2025). Furthermore, the study found that factors such as engaging live broadcast design, real-time interaction, and relevant content play a significant role in driving consumer purchasing behavior.

In the political realm, content on TikTok can express public concerns about economic burdens and social injustice. TikTok content can represent political cynicism as a collective critique of elites and state institutions deemed unfaithful to the people (Nugroho, 2025). TikTok plays a significant role in amplifying message distribution and creating unconventional spaces for political participation, proving that digital popular culture can be an effective channel for political expression and a reflection of the dynamics of political communication in the digital age.

Several important aspects of TikTok in discourse analysis include its more concise content compared to other media, making word choice and visuals crucial in conveying meaning. TikTok presents content based on user interactions, potentially reinforcing certain biases within the evolving discourse. The use of hashtags, music trends, or challenges plays a role in accelerating the spread of discourse on TikTok. Using a critical discourse analysis approach, it is possible to understand how TikTok is not only a communication tool but also functions as a space for the production and reproduction of ideologies that influence public social consciousness. Discourse on TikTok can also help shape social identities and subject positions, contribute to the formation of interpersonal relationships, and play a role in the formation of knowledge and belief structures (Harahap et al., 2022). Furthermore, TikTok can present a variety of content to meet followers' various needs, such as information, entertainment, personal interaction, social integration, escape, and self-expression (Trijayanto & Muhammad, 2025). This, in turn, motivates TikTok users to continue following content from the accounts they follow. In studies of government policy, TikTok can be a medium for both pro-government and opposition discourse, where critical discourse analysis helps uncover how certain narratives are constructed and accepted by the public.

2. Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach to understand the meaning, representation, and social dynamics that emerge in digital discourse on TikTok. A qualitative approach was chosen because it can explore hidden meanings within texts, social contexts, and how discourse is constructed and maintained by certain actors. Qualitative methods allow researchers to interpret the relationship between language and power within a discourse. Thus, this research examines not only TikTok content as text but also how that text is produced, received, and impacts society more broadly.

The data collection method in this study utilized documentation techniques, namely collecting and analyzing TikTok video content relevant to the research topic. Several steps were taken in data collection, including collecting video content based on keywords related to the research topic, such as #MakanBergiziGratis and #MBG. Then, video content was selected based on certain criteria, such as videos with the most interactions (likes, shares, and comments) relevant to the issue, as well as the involvement of TikTok accounts. Furthermore, each selected video content was documented in the form of screenshots, text transcripts, and visual descriptions. Finally, this research data also includes textual commentary from TikTok accounts on each video, where the accounts commented on the Free Nutritional Meals (MBG) program. This analysis was conducted to examine how discourse was received and constructed by the TikTok accounts.

In this study, the data analysis method used was Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. The steps for conducting a critical discourse analysis involve several stages, including understanding textual descriptions, discursive practices, and social practices (Fairclough, 2010). The textual analysis stage focuses on the linguistic structure and characteristics of each TikTok video. This stage begins with analyzing the language used in the video, identifying whether there are specific terms, jargon, or words with specific ideological meanings. Next, the researcher observes how sentences are structured within the TikTok video narrative, identifying whether they tend to be persuasive, narrative, or informative. The researcher then identifies the use of metaphors, hyperbole, irony, or other rhetorical techniques that shape meaning. The analysis concludes with an analysis of non-verbal elements such as facial expressions, music, sound effects, and video editing that reinforce the meaning of the discourse.

The discursive practice analysis stage focuses on how discourse in TikTok videos is produced, distributed, and consumed by accounts. This stage examines how TikTok content creator accounts shape the narratives and messages in their videos, as well as the communication goals they seek to achieve. Next, references or connections to other discourses, such as broader political discourse, are identified. The analysis concludes by analyzing how other accounts interpret and respond to TikTok videos, for example through comments, likes, or reposts.

Finally, the social practice stage focuses on how discourse in TikTok videos relates to social, political, and cultural contexts. First, it examines how TikTok videos represent or challenge power structures, social norms, or dominant ideologies. Next, it assesses the influence of discourse in videos on society, such as the formation of public opinion. Finally, it connects discourse in TikTok videos to ongoing social and cultural developments.

3. Result and Discussion

Below are some explanations of the content results about the Free Nutritious Meals (MBG) program on TikTok as follows:



Figure 1. The post about MBG from @detik.com account

Textual Analysis

In the text description, image 1 conveys a positive message with a light yet meaningful narrative. The use of the word "Hore!" indicates a cheerful delivery style and builds public enthusiasm. The sentence in image 1 is structured informatively and conveys the facts of the program's implementation and the MBG program's coverage area, which is 26 provinces. The words "resmi dimulai" provide legitimacy to the government's actions. Furthermore, the visual in image 1 shows two girls wearing white hijabs eating from stainless steel trays. Their expressions represent two emotions: joy and calm. Furthermore, the post's bright yellow and light blue background colors reinforce the optimistic and clean narrative. The caption and text use lunch emojis, reinforcing the popular impression and making it easily accessible to TikTok users accustomed to visual expression. Therefore, textually, the narrative and visuals used in image 1 convey a strong government message yet packaged in a popular, light format that touches the public's emotions through children's faces and bright colors. Detik.com, as a capitalist national media company, uses the word "Hore!" The use of informal, cheerful language in his post can be interpreted as a form of synthetic personalization (Fairclough, 1995) a communication strategy aimed at building a false sense of closeness between institutions and the public. This style of language creates the illusion of participation and closeness, but actually disguises the unequal power relations between the state (the producer of discourse) and the public (the consumer of discourse). The visualization of children as representatives of program recipients also demonstrates the symbolic construction of the state as protector and nurturer. The depiction of children smiling while eating conveys the ideological message that the state is present and successfully carrying out its duties.



Figure 2. The comments about MBG from the post @detik.com account
Discursive Practice Analysis

The post in Figure 1 was produced by detikcom, a mainstream media outlet in Indonesia. The post was published on TikTok, a platform widely accessed by young users. This demonstrates a shift in the distribution of discourse from traditional media to social media. Detikcom, one of the media outlets, acts as a distribution agent for state discourse. The media outlet cites an official statement from the Head of Presidential Communications, Hasan Nasbi, as its primary source of information. This confirms that political authorities and the media are working together to disseminate a shared message that the state is active, concerned, and responsive to child nutrition issues. Furthermore, in terms of consumption, the content garnered a high number of likes (489,000 likes) and 70,000 comments. This indicates that the content was widely accepted and became a topic of discussion. This discourse was not only absorbed but also reproduced through comments, shares, and potential duplication or reposting of the content. Therefore, the discursive practices in Figure 1 demonstrate how public policy information is shaped not only as news but as a viral and inspirational narrative in the digital space. The distribution of content through TikTok demonstrates a transformation from traditional media to a more participatory digital space, but it still maintains structures of dominance. TikTok, in this case, is not neutral: its algorithm determines which content is displayed on the For You Page (FYP), thus acting as a digital gatekeeper. The algorithm tends to promote content that aligns with dominant or popular narratives, thus strengthening the broader and faster spread of state discourse.

The comments in Figure 2 demonstrate critical responses and public questions regarding the implementation of the MBG program. The public not only passively receives information but also interprets and questions the scope and fairness of its distribution. Public interpretations highlight the unclear distribution of MBG in certain regions, criticism of the all-Indonesia narrative, which they consider too broad and unrepresentative of reality, leading them to revise the narrative in the comments section. Ironic and sarcastic responses, such as the comment "horee, belum dapet" contain nuances of disappointment conveyed satirically. Therefore, the comments in Figure 2 represent a form of public discourse reproduction, demonstrating a shift in meaning from the government and media to the social media user's perspective. The emergence of critical comments in the comments section can be understood as a form of discursive resistance. Users not only passively receive content but also engage in the production of meaning through reinterpretation, criticism, and irony. This demonstrates that social media enables the public to act as a counter-public, a group that creates a counter-discourse to the dominant discourse.

Within Norman Fairclough's framework, textual analysis focuses on how word choice, sentence structure, punctuation, and other semiotic devices shape meaning within a text. The comments analyzed in Figure 2 demonstrate the use of emotionally charged language as well as social criticism. For example, the comment that mentions "300 trillion" accompanied by the closing "wkwk" does not simply present information, but utilizes hyperbole and laughter to construct a cynical attitude towards the management of the education budget. This aligns with Fairclough's (1995) view that texts convey more than just content but also contain attitudes, identities, and power relations. Other comments, such as the accusation that the

government deliberately "maintains the poor and stupid," demonstrate how harsh diction is used to represent the state as oppressive to society. In this context, the text functions as an ideological tool, framing state power in a negative light.

Furthermore, the use of irony and sarcasm is evident in comments such as “wow..wow.. fantastic 🙄” or “just wait, there will definitely be a corruption case next year 😊😊”. The repetition of words, emoticons, and punctuation serve to reinforce the author’s emotional position, which in Fairclough’s theory can be understood as a semiotic strategy for negotiating meaning in public discourse. Other comments, such as “Your smiles are so cheerful, ladies and gentlemen,” demonstrate a variation of position by shifting attention from the substance of the policy to the personal realm. Meanwhile, comments full of capital letters and exclamation points — “TERSERAAAHH... GUE TUNTUT PERTANGGUNGJAWABAN DI AKHIRAT!!!!” — emphasize emotional intensity while bringing moral and religious dimensions into the critique. Referring to Fairclough’s framework, this kind of text reflects how discourse works at the micro level (word and symbol choice) to channel social resistance. Thus, this textual analysis shows that social media comment columns are not only a collection of spontaneous utterances, but also an arena where language is used as a social practice to assert dissatisfaction, build opposition, and articulate public ideology.

Social Practice Analysis

Socially, the post in Figure 1 conveys the ideology of a welfare state, where the government appears as the protector and provider of children's basic needs, especially nutrition. This discourse creates an image of a nurturing state and a visible presence in community life. However, behind the positive narrative in Figure 1, there are also power relations. The state is positioned as the sole actor providing solutions, while the community becomes the recipient of assistance. The representation of children as symbols of the future is used to strengthen the moral legitimacy of the MBG program. It is possible that this discourse also functions as a political image-building tool, especially when linked to government agendas. The MBG program is populist and reaches the grassroots, making it emotionally effective promotional material. Therefore, the discourse in Figure 1 is not simply about free food but also about the construction of the state's image, power relations, and social legitimacy, constructed through visual narratives, language, and media channels.

The comments in Figure 2 show that users interpret the MBG program not only as state assistance but also as a symbol of the power relations between the central and regional governments. When users question the program's presence in their areas, they reflect unequal social experiences and uneven development. The "all of Indonesia" narrative was refuted by public discourse as factually unrepresentative. Users played an active role as subjects criticizing media representations, discourse actors creating counter-narratives, and digital discourse makers voicing aspirations based on local experiences. Therefore, this discourse demonstrates that social media provides a new space for the democratization of public policy communication, where local voices can emerge and challenge dominant narratives. Further posts about MBG from other media accounts are as follows:



Figure 3. The post about MBG from @kompas.com account

Textual Analysis

In textual analysis, the post in Figure 2 presents information directly through carefully crafted text and visuals. For example, the title or main text reads "Daftar Menu Makan Bergizi Gratis Tiap Daerah" The text emphasizes the program's diversity and affordability across various regions. The typography used tends to be bold and bright, conveying a sense of openness and optimism. The visuals displayed include illustrations or images of healthy food menus, such as measured portions, a variety of dishes, and the use of fresh colors. This reinforces the message that the MBG program is universal, educational, and appealing to a diverse audience. Furthermore, the language used is informative and neutral, without excessive emotional content. This reflects an effort to convey information objectively while also making it easier for a wide audience to understand. The use of specific terms such as "menu," "nutritious," and regional descriptions may indicate that the text is structured to legitimize the MBG program as a structured and measurable government initiative.



Figure 4. The comment about MBG from the post @kompas.com account

Discursive Practice Analysis

From a discursive practice perspective, the production and distribution of the post in Figure 4 exemplifies how traditional media institutions like Kompas have adapted to the modern digital ecosystem. The TikTok video presented is the result of a collaboration between official information sources and media presentation techniques that utilize visual style and concise, concise narratives. The post in Figure 2 is designed to attract the attention of the younger generation and active social media users, thereby maintaining the credibility and accuracy of the information. Furthermore, the discourse production process is evident in the arrangement of elements that support the validity of the message in the text, visuals, and audio narrative, disseminating information in a way that is easily understood and quickly absorbed by the audience. Distribution through TikTok allows the content in Figure 2 to reach a wider reach, with interactions such as likes, comments, and shares, which also contribute to the dynamics of discourse reproduction. Therefore, this practice illustrates how mainstream media adapts to changing information consumption patterns in the digital era while simultaneously shaping a collective narrative regarding public policy.

The comments in Figure 4 demonstrate that users interpret the MBG discourse in highly personal and local ways. TikTok users use the comments section to question MBG access and distribution, point out the program's absence in their regions, and negotiate its position within national policy. The discourse, initially national and top-down, is commented on in a participatory style, even with subtle insistence, as if users were addressing the government or program administrators directly. Therefore, the comments in Figure 4 highlight the potential for institutional discrimination, where private schools feel neglected by the state. This critique of state discourse tends not to explicitly define its scope.

Judging from the comments in Figure 4, netizens are actually expressing their concerns in a manner that is very typical of social media: spontaneous, quick, and full of emotion. Some immediately called it "*ladang korupsi*" or "*menyebalkan*" as a quick expression of disappointment, while others responded

jokingly, imagining the money being kept in their room. Others, however, took a more serious tone, for example, alluding to the fact that the funds should be diverted to infrastructure and education. This diversity of styles demonstrates that the practice of producing discourse in the comments section is not uniform; each person brings their own experiences, humor, and even anger to bear when responding to issues raised by the media.

In their distribution, these comments live in the highly fluid space of TikTok: they can be instantly viewed, responded to, or reacted to with emoticons. This interaction pattern often makes cynical or satirical comments stand out more, as they easily elicit laughter, agreement, or even renewed debate. Furthermore, how people consume comments varies—some read them as serious criticism of policies, while others simply consider them part of netizens' characteristic humor. Thus, the comment space here is not simply a place for opinions, but an arena where meaning is negotiated, where social criticism, jokes, and emotions blend into the collective voice of the digital public.

If we look at the comments in Figure 4, the public is actually expressing their views on the direction of state policy. Some hope that the large budget will be used for free education through university, as they believe it will bring more long-term change to the quality of Indonesian human resources. Others are worried, even cynical, about the possibility of funds being "leaked" before reaching students. Meanwhile, other comments express sadness and grief, because the program is seen as merely a matter of food, not more sustainable improvement. All of this shows that behind the brief comments on social media, there are deeper aspirations: the public wants policies that truly address basic needs while building for the future.

Social Practice Analysis

In terms of social practice, the post in Figure 2 not only conveys information but also constructs an institutional image with ideological and socio-political implications. Through the discourse of "Free Nutritious Meals," there is an emphasis on the state's role as a solution provider for public nutrition and health issues. The implicit message behind the menu list and regional information demonstrates an effort to reach all levels of society in an egalitarian manner while simultaneously constructing a narrative of social justice. Furthermore, on the ideological side, there is a discourse that serves to strengthen the legitimacy of government policies through positive and informative visual representations. By presenting the MBG program as an effort to improve the quality of life, especially for children and families, this message also emphasizes the state's role in realizing social welfare. This also indicates a political communication strategy that combines aspects of populism and public policy, where information is disseminated through digital media to build an image of a responsive and caring government. Public interactions on social media, such as supportive and critical comments, are clear evidence of the dynamic relationship between institutions and society in reproducing and reflecting espoused values. The MBG reflects the government's hegemonic project in building the image of the state as a provider of welfare. Narratives emphasizing success, equitable distribution, and nutritious meals are part of the legitimacy strategy of populist policies. However, user interactions in the comments section demonstrate a dislocation of meaning between state discourse and social reality. When users state, "di daerah saya belum dapat" they are not simply conveying facts but also expressing disappointment with a representation that doesn't align with concrete experiences. This is a form of disarticulation (Hall et al., 1980) between representation and reality.

The state discourse, which proclaims the MBG as an inclusive and national program, is read in contrast by the public. Comments reveal perceptions of inequality between regions and types of schools, disappointment over unmet expectations, and awareness of the marginalization of private versus public schools, or large cities versus regions. The public forms a counter-discourse that suggests the MBG program has not reached equitably. Information from the media or the state is considered commonplace, and hidden demands emerge through simple and emotive language. Therefore, the comments in Figure 4 are not merely questions but also acknowledgements of the state's absence in the region. This is a form of cultural expression by digital communities negotiating their identities and rights through the comment space. These comments demonstrate that the public is no longer a passive recipient of discourse, but an active actor negotiating meaning, rejecting official representations, and even creating alternative narratives.

On a social level, these comments also reveal the growing distance between the government and the people. Many are already skeptical, viewing policies with suspicion, even before the program is underway. However, on the other hand, there are also hopeful voices who see significant opportunities if funds are truly

used for strategic purposes. This is what makes social media comment spaces important: they are not just a place to vent emotions, but also a platform for people to negotiate, remind each other, and collectively formulate dreams about the direction of the nation. From this analysis, it can be concluded that netizens' comments about the free nutritious meal program are not just brief chatter, but rather a reflection of public concerns and hopes. Textually, we see a variety of emotions: cynicism, anger, sadness, but also full of suggestions. At the level of discursive practice, the spontaneous style of social media language makes criticism feel more intimate and candid. Meanwhile, at the level of social practice, these comments demonstrate the importance of trust, transparency, and a long-term orientation in every state policy.

Ultimately, this research demonstrates that the public's voice in the digital space cannot be underestimated. Behind a joke, an emoticon, or a short sentence, there's a serious message: the people want policies that are fair, transparent, and truly in their best interests. Social media, with all its buzz, has become a mirror that shows how the public views the government—and a space where their hopes and criticisms coexist.

4. Conclusion

This study concludes that several TikTok posts regarding the program of Makan Bergizi Gratis (MBG) program serve not only as a means of conveying information but also as a tool for shaping imagery and legitimizing public policy. By extending the analysis to Fairclough's three dimensions, this study demonstrates that MBG coverage on TikTok is a complex form of contestation of meaning. Textual analysis reveals how messages are constructed through informative words and visuals. Text is not just a collection of words, but a tool for shaping ideology. Meanwhile, discursive practices demonstrate how traditional media adapt to digital platforms to reach a wider audience. In this practice, it is not simply a process of disseminating information or messages but has become an arena for mediating power. At the level of social practice, discourse is found to reflect the ideology of the welfare state, which seeks to restructure power relations and strengthen narratives of social justice through accessible and engaging information. Furthermore, it can be seen that the TikTok posts are not simply information but also a tool for producing meaning and power. This represents a strategic discourse that brings together political interests, institutional image, and social values in an engaging and easily digestible format. However, it must be remembered that in this practice, it is not only the context that is examined but also a battleground for representation. By borrowing Fairclough's perspective, this research attempts not only to record how discourse works but also to open up the possibility of reading resistance and change in digital society where the production and reproduction of discourse often becomes a way for ideology to work subtly, shaping ways of thinking without being realized.

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