

ATTITUDINAL STANCE TOWARDS THE FREE NUTRITIOUS MEALS PROGRAM'S IMPLEMENTATION: AN APPRAISAL STUDY OF TEMPO.CO'S NEWS REPORT

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
Received: 12-08-2025 Revised: 20-10-2025 Accepted: 01-12-2025 Published: 05-12-2025 Volume: 9 Issue: 3 DOI: https://doi.org/10.33019/lire.v9i3.516	Drawing on the appraisal theory framework developed by Martin and White (2005), this study examines Tempo's attitudinal stance.co toward the Free Nutritious Meals Program (<i>Program Makan Bergizi Gratis</i>) implemented by the Indonesian government in 2025. The results show that a total of 63 attitudinal resources were identified, with appreciation being the most frequent (43%), followed by judgement (40%) and affect (17%). Negative attitudes account for 74% of the data, indicating a predominantly negative stance. These criticisms are explicitly conveyed and focus on operational issues such as food quality, safety concerns, limited menu variation, unequal distribution, and perceived weaknesses in government management. Positive attitudes (26%) are less frequent and focus mainly on the program's intended goals, such as improving children's nutrition and supporting local food industries, rather than its actual implementation. These findings indicate that Tempo.co tends to adopt a negative stance toward the program's implementation, primarily expressed through explicit evaluations of its shortcomings, while offering limited recognition to its broader policy objectives.
KEYWORDS <i>Appraisal Theory, Attitudinal Stance, Media Evaluation, Free Nutritious Meals</i>	

1. INTRODUCTION

The mass media play a crucial role in modern democratic societies, serving not only as a source of information but also as a platform for public deliberation and political accountability. The most essential function of democracy that can be expected from the media is to monitor socio-political developments, identify the most relevant issues, provide a platform for discussing various views, demand accountability from officials for how they wield power, encourage citizens to learn, vote, and engage in the political process, and counter attempts by forces outside the media to undermine media independence (Gurevitch & Blumler in Fog, 2013). However, media independence is often influenced by ownership structures, which significantly affect pluralism, transparency, and freedom of expression (Firman & Rahmawati, 2023). When the media is controlled by certain groups, the media's perspectives can be restricted, potentially leading to the manipulation of public opinion (Neff & Benson, in Firman & Rahmawati, 2023). Institutional interests and ownership affiliations frequently shape editorial policies and journalistic practices. Bell (in Bednarek, 2010) emphasizes that news is not solely a product of



individual journalists but is shaped by the broader institutional frameworks in which they operate. Thus, media owners and advertisers possess considerable power to influence news content, political positioning, and editorial direction by strategically appointing key editorial personnel (McNair in Bednarek, 2006).

News is a complex set of marking conventions in which the map of social reality is written according to the interests of stakeholders (Feng, 2017). According to Dennis and Merrill (in White, 2022), every news report is inevitably judgmental, value-laden, incomplete, and does not accurately reflect reality. This reflects the media's position, which also highlights collusion within a media outlet whose legitimacy remains contested. One way in which media institutions express their positioning is through stance-taking. According to Du Bois (2007), stance-taking refers to how individuals position themselves in relation to a proposition, a subject, and an audience. Biber and Finegan (in Bednarek, 2006) also define stance as the expression of attitude, feeling, judgement, and commitment that writers have toward the messages they want to convey, including their truthfulness in doing so. Therefore, examining stance could reveal how people evaluate things as well as their social positioning and alignment with particular values

Stance can be viewed from several linguistic perspectives, including corpus-based study, systemic-functional linguistics, discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics, sociolinguistics, and interactional linguistics (Suganda et al., 2025). In news discourse, stance is communicated through evaluative language, which can be further analyzed using Systemic Functional Linguistics. Evaluative language could reveal the journalist's or institution's evaluation of entities, actions, or events (White in Feng, 2017). This evaluation process focuses on how meaning is constructed in media texts. Evaluation, as defined by Bednarek (2016), encompasses linguistic expressions of stance taken toward propositions or participants within the discourses. Martin and White (2005) proposed the Appraisal framework to analyze such evaluative language systematically. This framework consists of three main subsystems: attitude, engagement, and graduation. Among these, the attitude subsystem is particularly crucial for capturing the media's stance on a given issue. Bednarek and Taboada (2025) also stated that the linguistic expression of evaluation, attitude, and stance has the same concepts with a focus on positive or negative evaluation, particularly in news discourse. Attitudinal resources can reveal the stance of the writer or speaker through affect, judgement, and appreciation, which can be referred to as attitudinal stance (Cao et al., 2022; Hunston & Thompson, 2003; Martin & White, 2005).

In the newspapers, the strategic use of attitudinal language reflects the journalist's or media institution's underlying stance, potentially influencing public perception of the program's implementation, political actors, and policies. White (2022) explains that each column in the newspaper has distinct characteristics, which are represented by two journalistic principles: subjective journalism and objective journalism. In this framework, editorials and commentaries are considered explicitly subjective, whereas news reports are generally expected to adhere to the principle of objectivity (Bednarek & Taboada, 2025). However, White (2022) argues that the

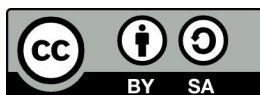


concept of objectivity in journalism is, in fact, the most dangerous form of bias. This is because true objectivity is challenging to achieve, as no journalist or researcher can entirely detach themselves from their own perspectives, emotions, or personal biases (Thomson et al., 2008). Given these challenges, even news reports published by media that claim to be neutral and factual often convey implicit evaluations and positions through subtle language choices (White, 2022).

Research on media's attitudinal stance has primarily focused on editorial and commentary columns, where evaluations and opinions are explicitly expressed (see Katajamäki & Koskela, 2018; Suraiya et al., 2023; Tavassoli et al., 2019; Wijayanto, 2016; Zaidi & White, 2021). However, there is still limited research on how attitudinal stance is subtly embedded in news reports, which are conventionally expected to remain objective and factual (see Asad et al., 2021; Indriyani & Widyastuti, 2023; Pounds, 2010). Despite their seemingly neutral tone, news reports often contain implicit evaluations that may shape readers' perceptions of political actors, policies, and events. In the Indonesian context, particularly in the realm of political news, such research remains limited (see Indriyani & Widyastuti, 2023). Thus, this study focuses on how the media express their stance on the government's program by examining the attitudinal resources that appear in news reports.

Although objectivity is often regarded as an ideal in news reporting (Bednarek & Taboada, 2025), this does not mean that all media are expected to adhere to it in practice strictly. In fact, many media institutions develop distinct editorial voices shaped by their institutional histories and sociopolitical roles (Firman & Rahmawati, 2023; Romano & Seinor, 2005). For instance, Tempo.co has distinguished itself by covering current issues in politics, economics, social affairs, and culture from angles often different from those presented in other media (Firman & Rahmawati, 2023). It is widely recognized as an icon of investigative journalism in Indonesia for consistently publishing reports based on independent journalistic investigations (Susanto, 2021). These investigations are not limited to the designated "investigation" section but are often embedded across various news categories (Firman & Rahmawati, 2023). This bold editorial approach has led to significant consequences. During the New Order era, Koran Tempo's publishing license was revoked twice by the government, in 1983 and 1994 (Susanto, 2021). Its consistent effort to present factual reporting has sometimes led to resistance from parties featured in its coverage. Such responses can be seen as a consequence of Tempo.co's independent stance, which avoids external intervention (Susanto, 2021). Given this background, Tempo.co serves as an important case for examining how attitudinal stance may appear in political news reports that are expected to maintain objectivity but may still convey subtle evaluations.

A prominent example of a program that has attracted considerable media attention in Indonesia is the Free Nutritious Meals Program, proposed by Prabowo Subianto and Gibran



Rakabuming Raka, the elected President and Vice President of Indonesia. This program was initially introduced as their main program during the 2024 presidential election. The free nutritious meals program aims to combat stunting, improve child nutrition, enhance student performance, and alleviate extreme poverty (Tempo.co, 2025). Following their election victory, Prabowo and Gibran committed to implementing the program nationwide, rebranding it in May 2024 from "free lunch" to "free nutritious meals" to emphasize its health-focused objectives (Sanjaya, 2025). Despite its well-intentioned goals, the program has encountered intense public and political scrutiny, primarily due to its enormous projected budget of IDR 460 trillion.

During the campaign, Prabowo promised that the program would be financed through social assistance funds without compromising other development areas. However, in practice, the budget was sourced from the national budget (APBN), initially allocated at IDR 71 trillion and later increased to IDR 390 trillion through efficiency measures in state spending (Arief, 2025; Puspapertiwi & Dzulfaroh, 2025). In addition to concerns about its financial feasibility, criticisms have emerged regarding unequal meal distribution and substandard meal quality, further intensifying debates on the program's effectiveness and transparency. In addition to the budgeting problem, this program also faces significant issues, including food poisoning, food waste, and challenges with meal distribution.

In light of these issues, the current study examines how Tempo.co evaluates and constructs its stance on the Free Nutritious Meals Program by looking at the attitudinal resources found in the news reports. Furthermore, examining a news outlet like Tempo.co, which is frequently regarded as an example of investigative journalism in Indonesia, provides valuable insight into how attitude resources are strategically used in reporting politically sensitive issues, particularly in news reports expected to maintain journalistic objectivity.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This study aims to reveal Tempo.co's stance on the Free Nutritious Meals Program by analyzing attitude resources in news reports about its implementation. Attitude is one of the subsystems in the appraisal system. In Systemic Functional Linguistics, the appraisal system is a framework for analyzing evaluation, attitude, and stance in discourse (Martin & White, 2005). The appraisal system developed by Martin and White (2005) provides a comprehensive framework for analyzing evaluative language in texts, particularly in identifying how writers or speakers express their stance toward events, actors, or issues. This system enables researchers to uncover both explicit and implicit evaluations. Attitude allows the identification of evaluative stances through affect, judgement, and appreciation, providing insight into how the media position themselves on political issues. Engagement and graduation further enrich the analysis by revealing the sources of evaluation and the modulation of intensity, respectively. However, considering the focus of this study on media stance in political news reporting, only the attitude system is applied.

News reports convey attitudes that serve as ideological elements, subtly influencing readers and making it difficult for them to remain neutral or unaffected (Zhang in Asad et al.,



2021). Martin and White (2005) define attitude as "maps of feelings" that involve three semantic regions: emotion, ethics, and aesthetics, which are also distinguished in terms of polarity (positive vs. negative). Attitude consists of affect (emotional reactions), judgement (evaluation of human behavior and character based on normative principles), and appreciation (evaluation of objects, artefacts, texts, conditions, and processes based on aesthetic principles and social value systems) (Martin & White, 2005).

Affect refers to emotional responses, which are culturally shaped and can be either positive or negative, expressed with varying degrees of intensity (Sujatna et al., 2024). Emotions can be described as reactions to external triggers (e.g., "The boy **liked** the teacher") or as general moods (e.g., "The boy was **happy**") (Martin & White, 2005). Affect is divided into three categories: un/happiness, in/security, and dis/satisfaction. Un/happiness involves emotional expressions related to personal feelings, such as joy or sadness (e.g., the captain felt **happy/sad**). In/security deals with emotional reactions to social environments, including feelings of trust or anxiety (e.g., the captain felt **confident/anxious**). Dis/satisfaction relates to emotional responses to achievements or failures (e.g., the captain felt **fed up/absorbed**).

Judgement, unlike affect, involves evaluative meanings that assess human behavior in terms of social norms and morality. This category reflects the speaker's or writer's opinions about people's behavior or character and is further divided into two domains: social esteem and social sanction. Social esteem encompasses assessments of normality (usuality), capacity (ability), and tenacity (reliability), typically operating in informal discourse such as casual conversations. In contrast, social sanction relates to more formal and institutionalized evaluations, including veracity (honesty and truthfulness) and propriety (ethical or moral conduct), often governed by social rules, laws, or religious expectations.

The last category, appreciation, involves evaluating things, phenomena, or processes in terms of their value or worth. This category interprets feelings as propositions about the value or meaning of something. Appreciation is used to assess objects, performances, or ideas—whether they are aesthetically pleasing, structurally coherent, or cognitively significant (Martin & White, 2005). Appreciation is categorized into three types: reaction, composition, and valuation. Reaction focuses on a person's emotional response to an entity (e.g., a **weepy** rendition of the song). Composition refers to how well-structured or coherent an object or text is (e.g., the performance is **harmonious**). Valuation involves more abstract evaluations based on social or intellectual criteria (e.g., a **penetrating** analysis).

These evaluative expressions play a significant role in shaping stance and persuading readers, especially in media discourse, where attitudes embedded in language subtly influence public opinion. Thus, affect, judgement, and appreciation function as crucial tools for understanding how speakers and writers position themselves in relation to people, events, and issues. This framework provides a comprehensive lens for analyzing evaluative language in news reporting, particularly in the context of a political issue such as the Free Nutritious Meals Program in Indonesia, enabling a nuanced understanding of how the media constructs its stance within ostensibly objective reporting.



3. METHODOLOGY

This research draws on news reports covering issues related to the implementation of the Free Nutritious Meals Program, published in the English-language version of Tempo.co (<https://en.tempo.co/>). Tempo.co is a privately owned media outlet recognized for its independent editorial stance and investigative journalism, which often takes a critical approach to government initiatives (Susanto, 2021). The use of English-language news reports aims to demonstrate how Tempo.co conveys its stance to both domestic and international audiences, which may influence broader public perception and diplomatic narratives. Tempo journalists consistently prioritize accuracy, verified truth, clarity, and objectivity in presenting news. Additionally, Tempo implements self-regulation to maintain the objectivity of its content (Firman & Rahmawati, 2023). Thus, Tempo.co is considered an independent media outlet, free from the influence of media owners and not entirely subject to economic or political interests.

This study employs a qualitative research method to examine Tempo.co's attitudinal stance in reporting the Free Nutritious Meals program. Qualitative research is concerned with understanding the underlying structures, patterns, and meanings of a phenomenon. It emphasizes textual data, involves unique analytical procedures, and draws from a range of research traditions (Creswell, 2014). In this context, the researcher aims to identify attitudinal resources embedded in Tempo.co's English news reports and to describe how the newspaper constructs its stance toward the Free Nutritious Meals program. The news reports were retrieved using Google News with the keyword "free nutritious meals" to filter relevant articles by date and publication source. The data consists of 15 English-language news reports published on the official Tempo.co website (<https://en.tempo.co/>) from January 6 to June 6, 2025, during the implementation phase of the Free Nutritious Meals program. This program began on the first day of school, January 6 (Aranditio, 2025), and is still running, even during the term break in June (BBC News, 2025).

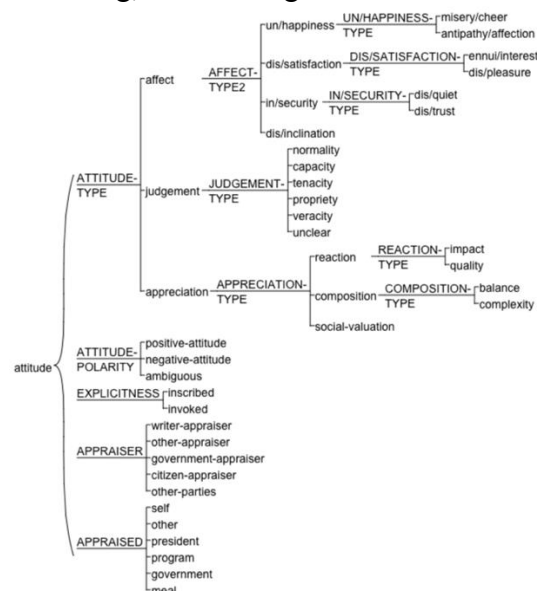


Figure 1. Annotation Scheme: Attitude Subsystem (Martin & White, 2005).



The analysis was conducted using the UAM Corpus Tool, which supports semi-automatic annotation. Each news report was annotated using the attitude subsystem of Martin and White's (2005) appraisal framework to identify attitudinal resources. The annotation scheme includes affect, judgement, and appreciation along with the attitudinal resources' polarity (see Figure 1). Two steps were followed: first, the news reports were manually annotated to ensure contextual accuracy, particularly for implicit evaluative language; second, the frequency distributions of each attitude type and polarity were generated using the UAM Corpus Tool's statistical functions.

Following the analysis of attitude resources, qualitative interpretation was conducted, and tables were prepared to display frequencies and percentages. This was followed by a narrative analysis that included selected extracts. Each attitude type—affect, judgement, and appreciation—is discussed in separate subsections, together with examples and explanations that reveal how these attitudinal resources shape Tempo.co's stance toward the Free Nutritious Meals Program. To minimize potential researcher bias, the analysis relied on Martin and White's theoretical definitions of the appraisal system. Each potential attitudinal item was checked within its sentence and paragraph context to avoid overinterpreting neutral statements as evaluative. Ambiguous cases were reviewed multiple times, and coding decisions were documented systematically to allow tracing and reassessment if necessary.

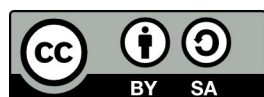
4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The following section presents the results of the attitudinal analysis conducted for Tempo.co's coverage of the Free Nutritious Meals program. Drawing on appraisal theory, which focuses solely on the attitude subsystem, this discussion examines how evaluative language is used to construct Tempo.co's attitudinal stance towards the program. Attitude involves three semantic regions—emotional, ethics, and aesthetics—that reflect on its types, which are affect, judgement, and appreciation.

Table 1. Attitudinal Resources in Tempo.co's Free Nutritious Meals Program News Report

	Frequency	Percentage
Affect	11	17%
Judgement	25	40%
Appreciation	27	43%
Total	63	100%

Table 1 illustrates the distribution of attitudinal resources in Tempo.co's news reports on the implementation of the Free Nutritious Meals Program. The results show that there are 63 appraising items in the news reports, with appreciation (43%) being the most frequently used type of attitudinal resource, followed by judgement (40%) and affect (17%) (see Table 1). This pattern indicates that Tempo.co's coverage tends to focus on evaluating the program's implementation issues and the actions of the individuals executing the program, rather than the emotional states of the actors involved in the Program.



The high percentage of appreciation indicates that the Free Nutritious Meals Program is perceived as a public issue primarily assessed in terms of its quality, composition, and social value. In this case, appreciation often appears in the context of criticizing operational problems, including food quality and menu variety, which are the core of this program. While appreciation dominates slightly, judgement resources are also prominent. It reflects evaluative stances toward government officials, institutions, and external parties involved in food distribution. However, most of the judgement resources highlighted the government's actions when managing the program.

Furthermore, the government's response to the program implementation issues, such as food distribution and food poisoning, has been vague and ineffective. Lastly, affect appears less frequently, far behind appreciation and judgement. This result suggests that emotional responses are not the main focus of Tempo.co's coverage, likely because the news reports are highlighting the issues in terms of performance and accountability rather than personal feelings. By doing so, the coverage mainly evaluates the Free Nutritious Meals program as a matter of policy and governance, focusing on its implementation and outcomes rather than the emotional states of the actors involved.

Table 2. Attitude Polarity

	Sub-total (%)	
	Positive	Negative
Affect	0	11 (17%)
Judgement	8 (13%)	17 (27%)
Appreciation	8 (13%)	19 (30%)
Total (%)	16 (26%)	47 (74%)

When analyzing attitude, it is essential to consider the polarity of the appraising item. Polarity classification is merely one of the numerous tasks within the scope of sentiment analysis in computational linguistics (Hart in Kurniawan & Aprilia, 2019). Sentiment analysis is the process of identifying and categorizing the sentiment conveyed by an opinion participant (Gonzalez-Rodriguez et al. in Kurniawan & Aprilia, 2019). Based on the attitude polarity in Table 2, negative attitudes (74%) outweigh positive attitudes (26%). From the 63 attitudinal resources that appear in the news reports, 47 instances are negative, whereas the positive resources comprise only 16 instances. The significant gap between negative and positive attitudes highlights Tempo.co's dominant focus on highlighting the program's shortcomings, risks, and problematic implementation, rather than its potential benefits or good intentions. Table 2 depicts that negative appreciation is the most prevalent resource in Tempo.co's news reports of the Free Nutritious Meals Program, with 19 instances (30%). Negative judgement follows closely with 17 instances (27%), and negative affect appears 11 times (17%). On the positive side, appreciation and judgement are each found in only 8 instances (13%), while affect has no positive resources identified in the news reports.



Appreciation in Tempo.co's Free Nutritious Meals Program's Implementation News Report

As previously stated, appreciation emerges as the most dominant attitude type in Tempo.co's news report about the Free Nutritious Meals Program, with 19 negative and eight positive. This significant difference indicates that Tempo.co tends to evaluate the program in a negative stance, emphasizing problems over accomplishments. Appreciation encompasses the writer's evaluation of entities, processes, and phenomena, focusing on how things are valued in terms of quality, impact, composition, and social value (Martin & White, 2005). The dominance of appreciation indicates that the news reports are primarily concerned with the program and its products, as exemplified in the examples below.

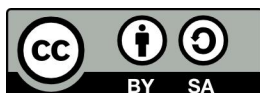
- [1] *Dozens of students vomited after smelling a fishy aroma from the MBG package containing rice, chicken karaage, fried tofu, and vegetable soup.*
- [2] *The monotonous variety of food menus is one of the factors that causes students at school to be reluctant to eat the food.*
- [3] *KPAI Deputy Chairman Jasra Putra acknowledged the program's positive intent, especially amid the widespread availability of children's snacks that lack proper nutritional value.*

The data in [1] present a negative assessment of food quality. Numerous students vomited because of the foul smell of the food. The phrase *fishy aroma* functions as a negatively loaded appreciation in terms of reaction-quality, which describes the unpleasant smell of the food. Its placement alongside the verb '*vomited*' strengthens the negative evaluation and implies not only an unpleasant odor but also poor handling or a lack of freshness, undermining the program's credibility and safety. It implies not only a foul smell but also poor handling or poor freshness, undermining the program's credibility and safety. This issue could lead to a serious problem, such as food poisoning. In addition to concerns over food quality, Data [2] highlights another issue related to menu composition. The phrase *monotonous variety of food menus* is another negative appreciation, classified under composition-balance. The lack of variation in the food menus could be one of the factors that leads to students' disinterest and avoidance.

Despite the predominance of negative appreciation, some expressions show positive evaluation, particularly when the reports refer to the program's purpose rather than its execution. Data [3] uses the phrase '*positive intent*,' which refers to an explicitly positive appreciation under valuation. This expression positively evaluates the program's objective of providing healthier alternatives to widely available unhealthy snacks. Thus, the aspects of implementation evaluated through appreciation include food quality, safety, menu composition, and the program's intended social value, as explicitly expressed by the attitudinal resources in the texts.

Judgement in Tempo.co's Free Nutritious Meals Program's Implementation News Report

The percentage of judgement is 40%, making it the second most dominant attitude type in Tempo.co's news report about the Free Nutritious Meals Program. Judgement in the appraisal framework refers to the evaluation of human behavior in relation to social norms, which can be either positive or negative (Martin & White, 2005). In Tempo.co's coverage of the Free



Nutritious Meals Program, judgement appears in the form of both criticism and endorsement, particularly directed at the government, as illustrated in the following example.

- [4] *The Center of Economic and Law Studies (Celios) assessed that the distribution of the Free Nutritious Meal Program (MBG) from President Prabowo Subianto's administration has not been right on target.*
- [5] *The government is still forcing the MBG program to be implemented nationally.*
- [6] *If this program is managed well, the effects can be very broad, not only improving children's nutrition but also encouraging the local food industry and MSMEs to move up a class.*

From 25 instances of judgement, eight are positive and 17 are negative. This imbalance reflects a more negative stance by Tempo.co, suggesting that the government has not managed the Free Nutritious Meals Program effectively. Data [4] questions the government's ability to properly implement the program. The sentence also implies that the government was unable to achieve the intended impact or reach the correct beneficiaries.

Moreover, Data [5] also pointed out that the government has persisted in implementing this program despite the problems and lack of preparation. The verb '*forcing*' implies enforcement or coercion, making it seem as if the government is being unfair or careless by pushing a national policy that may not be feasible. The government's moral behavior is criticized, suggesting a lack of consideration for regional readiness or appropriate procedures. These negative judgments position the government as incompetent in managing the Free Nutritious Meals Program, particularly in its distribution.

On the other hand, there are also instances of positive judgement that acknowledge efforts or intentions if the government is capable of managing the program responsibly. Data [6] presents a conditional judgement that suggests the program has considerable potential if appropriately utilized. It indicates that with the right direction, the government is capable of delivering not only improved nutrition but also supported economic growth through the local food industry and MSMEs (Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises). This data reflects optimism and confidence in the government's potential competence, while also acknowledging its current shortcomings.

Affect in Tempo.co's Free Nutritious Meals Program's Implementation News Report

Affect refers to the emotional responses, feelings, and reactions expressed by participants in the text (Martin & White, 2005). Affect appears only 11 times (17%), and all of the instances are negative. Even though affect appears less frequently compared to appreciation and judgement in Tempo.co's coverage, its presence plays a crucial role in analyzing the media's attitudinal stance by revealing how participants emotionally respond to the Free Nutritious Meals Program. These emotional cues primarily come from those who are directly affected by the program's implementation, as illustrated in the example below.



- [7] *The students at State Madrasah Aliyah (MAN) 1 Cianjur who suffered from food poisoning have expressed trauma and refused to consume foods from the free nutritious meal program.*
- [8] *"Whenever the President visits the regions, he feels upset because there are more areas that have not received the program than those that have. That's why we need acceleration," said Dadan during an interview at the office of the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment in Jakarta on Friday, May 9, 2025.*

In Data [7], affect is conveyed through the emotional reaction of the students who suffered from food poisoning. The report states that they expressed trauma and refused to consume any more food from the program. The words *trauma* and *refused* show deep emotional and psychological distress among students. Their trauma signals emotional insecurity and distrust in the program's safety. The affect here is strongly reactive, arising from a direct negative physical experience (food poisoning), and indicates a breakdown of confidence in institutional provision.

On the other hand, affect is also evident on the government's side, as seen in Data [8]. The term *"upset"* in Data [8] is attributed to President Prabowo Subianto, who initiated the program during his presidential election campaign. The President expresses frustration and dissatisfaction. This reflects affect through displeasure, not because of failure of implementation, but because of incomplete outreach. These emotions come from different sides of the implementation chain: one from the affected public, the other from the policymakers. Tempo.co's inclusion of both affectual responses allows the audience to see the broader emotional landscape, but still leans towards highlighting the negative impacts more strongly. While the President's concern may be acknowledged, the greater emotional weight appears to lie with the public's disappointment, fear, and dissatisfaction.

Attitudinal Stance of Tempo towards the Free Nutritious Meals Program's Implementation

Based on the analysis, Tempo.co's attitudinal stance toward the Free Nutritious Meals program is predominantly negative, with a strong focus on its practical shortcomings. The criticisms mainly address food quality and safety, the unequal distribution of resources, and government management. Moreover, the attitude resources in the news reports are explicitly conveyed, revealing Tempo.co's attitudinal stance and signaling dissatisfaction with the program's execution.

Emotional expressions attributed to affected participants, such as students' *trauma* and their refusal to consume the meals, further reinforce this negative stance by emphasizing the consequences of implementation problems. Positive attitudes are present, but limited, and they primarily address the program's intended goals rather than its actual outcomes. These explicit evaluations, both negative and positive, indicate that Tempo.co's stance is focused on scrutinizing practical failures while briefly acknowledging the policy's underlying purpose. Thus, the attitudinal stance is constructed through frequent negative appreciation and judgement, which dominates the coverage, while affect primarily appears when describing public reactions to



program failures. The results suggest that Tempo.co views the program as problematic in execution, despite recognizing its positive policy objectives.

5. CONCLUSION

This study aimed to examine Tempo.co's attitudinal stance towards the implementation of the Free Nutritious Meals Program by analyzing evaluative language using the Appraisal framework's attitude system. The analysis identified 63 instances of attitudinal resources. Among these, appreciation emerged as the most frequently used type (43%), followed closely by judgement (40%), and affect appeared the least (17%). This distribution illustrates that Tempo.co's reporting leans strongly toward highlighting the program's flaws, primarily through evaluative language focused on value and behavior rather than emotion. In terms of polarity, the findings reveal a significant dominance of negative attitudes, comprising 74% of the total resources, compared to only 26% of positive attitudes. Negative appreciation was the most frequent, indicating the meal's evaluation. The appraisers describe the meals as unsafe and poorly prepared, which increases the risk of food poisoning. The negative judgement that closely followed reflects Tempo.co's critical perspective on the government's competence and ethical responsibility in managing the program. However, although affect was far less prominent, it serves to humanize the criticism and highlight the emotional stakes of the program's shortcomings, not only for the targeted participants but also for policymakers. In contrast, positive attitudes tend to highlight the program's intentions and potential long-term benefits rather than its current implementation. These instances often appear in quoted statements from authoritative figures or institutional sources, reflecting a cautious optimism about what the program could achieve if properly managed.

These patterns suggest that Tempo.co generally adopts a negative stance toward the implementation of the Free Nutritious Meals Program. While the media occasionally acknowledges the program's positive goals, the focus remains on its shortcomings, which range from food quality and safety concerns to limited menu variety and unequal distribution, to the government's incompetence in managing the program. The news texts explicitly express dissatisfaction with these issues, presenting them as areas that require immediate attention. This attitudinal stance aligns with Tempo.co's established identity as an independent and investigative media that is committed to scrutinizing government policies and amplifying public concerns.

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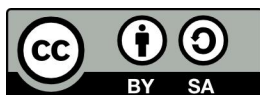


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