



## News Content Analysis: Government Policy Communication on Stunting Issues in Indonesia from 2004 to 2024

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### ABSTRACT

Stunting is a chronic nutritional problem that has long-term effects on the quality of human resources, including growth disorders, cognitive development, and productivity. In Indonesia, stunting remains a strategic national issue due to its high prevalence and the fact that its reduction has not yet reached its ideal target. This study aims to analyse how the national cyber media sets and frames the issue of stunting as the Indonesian government's public policy agenda during the period 2004–2024. The study uses a qualitative approach with content analysis techniques based on Agenda Setting theory. Data were collected through cyber news containing the keywords 'stunting' and 'government policy,' then analysed using NVivo 15 Plus software to identify the intensity of news coverage, dominant themes, and key actors. The results show that cyber media play an important role in shaping public perception of stunting by highlighting the government's agenda and the success of stunting reduction programmes. However, the pattern of policy communication is still top-down with a dominance of government narratives, while community participation and socio-cultural contexts receive less attention. The news tends to reinforce the legitimacy of policies rather than presenting criticism or alternative perspectives. These findings prove the relevance of Agenda Setting theory in explaining the relationship between the media and the formation of public policy agendas in Indonesia. This study recommends the need for a more balanced and contextual policy communication strategy, integrating Islamic communication ethics such as *tabligh* (conveying the truth) and *amanah* (honesty of information) so that public messages are more effective, humanistic, and oriented towards social welfare.

**Keywords:** Content Analysis, Cyber Media, Agenda Setting, Policy Communication, Stunting

## INTRODUCTION

Stunting remains a worrying problem in Indonesia, although its prevalence has been successfully reduced by 15.3% over the last 10 years, meaning that the stunting rate in 2023 will reach 21.5% (BRIN, 2023). However, stunting rates in Indonesia remain relatively high, ranking 5th among Asian countries and 27th out of 154 countries with stunting data (Alam, 2023). Based on national prevalence, Bali is the province with the lowest stunting prevalence (7.2%), followed by Jambi with a stunting prevalence of 13.5% and Riau with a stunting prevalence of 13.6% (Pristiandaru, 2024b), while the province with the highest stunting prevalence is Central Papua (39.2%) (Pristiandaru, 2024a).

Stunting is a symptom of chronic malnutrition that occurs during pregnancy and after birth (Nadirawati et al., 2023). Stunting in children is a long-term consequence of chronic consumption of low-quality food combined with morbidity, infectious diseases, and environmental problems (Kishino et al., 2024). Babies born weighing less than 2500 grams and measuring less than 48 cm in height are at high risk of stunting (BKKBN, 2021). Stunting can be detected when a child is over 2 years old (Kohlmann et al., 2021).

Stunting is influenced by nutritional factors, birth conditions, parental education, and unhealthy environments (Amalina et al., 2023). Stunting can affect a child's growth and development, making them susceptible to infection, increasing functional disability, and increasing the risk of death. In addition, the economic impact of stunting is also quite significant, as children who experience stunting tend to be less productive as adults due to chronic diseases (Montenegro et al., 2022).

Efforts to disseminate knowledge about stunting prevention need to be carried out among the younger generation (Mulidah et al., 2022). The provision of health access is focused on the younger generation, as they play the biggest role in preventing stunting (Siber Stunting, 2022). The role of the family is crucial in preventing and managing stunting from pregnancy to the next life cycle (Fajar et al., 2023).

Communication strategies for stunting prevention include behavioural change stages, stakeholder roles, and action plans at the national level (Kementerian Kesehatan, 2021). Stunting prevention involves all sectors, including the government, private sector, academia, media, and development partners (Sekretariat Wakil Presiden Republik Indonesia, 2020). Effective coordination between these actors requires strategic communication and public relations management to build trust and institutional credibility, as emphasised by the Theory of Excellence in public sector communication (Nurnisya et al., 2022). Nutrition improvement efforts have also been strengthened through the 1,000 Days of Life (HPK) and MDGs policies outlined in Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 42 of 2013, as a form of government accountability (Imani, 2021).

Since President Joko Widodo's administration began, Indonesia has paid serious attention to the issue of stunting, including the allocation of approximately Rp45 trillion until 2022 (Khomsa, 2024). Stunting is not only addressed through food assistance, but also through lifestyle and environmental improvements, especially since pregnancy (Checkley et al., 2024). This commitment is demonstrated through Presidential Regulation Number 72 of 2021 (PERPRES, 2021), on accelerating stunting prevention and the inauguration of the Head of the National Nutrition Agency on 20 August 2024 as a strategic step by the government (Medistiara, 2024).

The mass media plays an important role in shaping public perceptions of health issues such as stunting (Huo et al., 2022). Through the Agenda Setting theory, this study examines how the national cyber media directs public attention to stunting prevention policies through the intensity of reporting, the prominence of themes, and the dominance of actors in the news discourse. Furthermore, this study interprets this process within the framework of Islamic communication ethics, where the delivery of health policy messages is viewed as a social and moral responsibility of the public (Magrath & Nichter, 2023). From an Islamic communication perspective, the media's function of educating the public about stunting is in line with the principles of *tabligh* (conveying goodness) and *amanah* (honesty in information) (Dalimunthe et al., 2025). Thus, this study not only enriches Agenda Setting theory through the context of public policy, but also integrates it with Islamic values such as *hifz al-nafs* (protection of life) in *maqashid al-syariah*.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Stunting as a National Health Issue

Stunting is a growth disorder caused by chronic malnutrition, resulting in children's height being below minus two standard deviations from the WHO standard. This condition arises due to unmet nutritional needs during the first 1,000 days of life and has an impact on physical and cognitive development, as well as productivity in adulthood (Saavedra & Dattilo, 2022; Soliman et al., 2021).

The 2024 Indonesian Nutrition Status Survey (SSGI) recorded a stunting prevalence of 19.8 per cent, placing Indonesia fifth highest in Asia (The Joint Child Malnutrition Estimates (JME), 2023). Regional disparities remain significant, with Central Papua reaching 39.2 per cent and Bali only 7.2 per cent (Pristiandaru, 2024a), indicating that this issue is influenced by socio-economic factors, education, sanitation, and access to health services (Handoko & Rahayu, 2025).

The government began to strengthen its response in 2017 through the National Strategy for the Acceleration of Stunting Reduction and Presidential Regulation No. 72 of 2021, which marked a shift from a reactive approach to data-driven cross-sectoral convergence policies with a reduction target of 14% in line with the 2020–2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan (*RPJMN*) (Firdaus & Maulana, 2025).

Media attention to this issue has increased in line with policy strengthening, whereas previously stunting was only framed as part of the issue of nutrition and poverty, since 2017 it has developed into a strategic issue of national development. However, reporting still centres on statements by officials and administrative achievements, while the voices of affected communities are rarely heard (Pristiandaru, 2024b; Ratri, 2024). This pattern of representation reinforces the view that stunting is understood primarily as a technocratic issue for the state, rather than a social issue requiring public participation (Manuhara & Kristiyani, 2024).

### **The Transformation of Cyber Media and the Formation of The Indonesian Health Agenda**

Indonesian cyber media has grown rapidly since the mid-2000s with the emergence of Detik.com, Kompas.com, and Tempo.co, which have significantly changed the pattern of public communication (Rawat et al., 2025). Speed, timeliness, and real-time interaction between editors and readers are the main characteristics of digital media (Ries, 2024). Editorial systems now rely on algorithms and reader analytics, so health issues can rise to the public agenda if they have high news value or are linked to political figures (Peukert et al., 2024; Rojas-Padilla et al., 2022). The period 2004–2024 marked a shift from informative journalism to algorithm-based journalism, where editorial teams follow social media trends to determine the direction of coverage (Abadi et al., 2024; Biswal & Kulkarni, 2024).

This pattern has led to stunting coverage that more often highlights official statements and national targets rather than the social conditions on the ground. The difference in capacity between national and regional media also influences the formation of the public agenda; national media tend to frame the issue as a national success, while regional media emphasise the implementation of policies (Permana, 2023). Cyber media ultimately plays a dual role as an information channel and an arena for discourse, but the logic of speed-based production means that health narratives often lack depth of analysis. Media attention to the issue of stunting fluctuates, intensifying when there is national momentum and fading when other issues dominate the digital space.

### **Second-Level Agenda Setting**

McCombs and Shaw (1972) in (Chen et al., 2024) refer to this as issue salience, which is the ability to shape public perceptions of social issues and policies through the intensity and frequency of news coverage. At the first level, the media directs public attention to 'what to think about issues' that are considered important.

Its development gave rise to second-level agenda setting, which highlights how the media shapes public views on 'how to think about it'. The selection of certain attributes, actors, and frames becomes a means for the media to construct meaning and influence

public opinion (Durian et al., 2023). The focus of analysis shifts from the frequency of reporting to the interpretation and direction of meaning constructed by the media. This theory explains the pattern of media coverage of public policy, especially the issue of stunting in Indonesia. Cyber media often highlights the government's successes, national targets, and intervention programmes, while public criticism or structural problems at the community level rarely receive coverage. Such patterns demonstrate the role of the media as a shaper of policy discourse while reinforcing the tendency towards top-down and technocratic communication.

Second-Level Agenda Setting Theory is the main analytical framework of this study. This approach traces the issues that are prioritised, the attributes that are framed, and the actors that are most frequently featured in stunting coverage by the national cyber media from 2004 to 2024.

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative approach with content analysis techniques to explore how the issue of stunting is packaged as a media agenda in national cyber media coverage during the administrations of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono to Joko Widodo (2004–2024). The analysis was conducted based on agenda setting theory, which places the media as the main actor in determining the relevance of issues through the intensity of reporting, theme highlighting, and actor dominance.

News searches were conducted through Google News Search using the keywords 'Stunting', 'Child Nutrition', 'Stunting Policy', 'Stunting Implementation', "Kuntet", and 'Kerdil', with annual filters (2004–2024) and the News category to ensure the results were journalistic content. All links were checked manually, resulting in 498 news articles, which were then cleaned of duplication between platforms.

Exclusion criteria included opinion pieces, features, advertorials, commercial content, and news from media outlets not verified by the Press Council. Inclusion criteria included factual articles discussing stunting policies and published by media outlets verified by the Press Council, namely Antara, Kompas.com, Tempo.co, CNN Indonesia, Detik.com, Tribun Network, and local government portals (jatengprov.go.id, riau.go.id, sumbarprov.go.id). After selection, 90 articles were obtained for further analysis.

Data analysis was conducted using NVivo 15 Plus with a combination of deductive and inductive coding. Deductively, categories were developed from the agenda setting framework (intensity, theme, actor), while inductively, themes emerged from empirical data patterns. The coding process was validated through peer debriefing with the supervising lecturer to ensure consistency and validity of the findings.

The selection of the 2004–2024 period reflects the dynamics of national nutrition policy: during the SBY era (2004–2014), the focus was on strengthening regulations and cross-sectoral coordination, while during the Jokowi era (2014–2024), the issue of

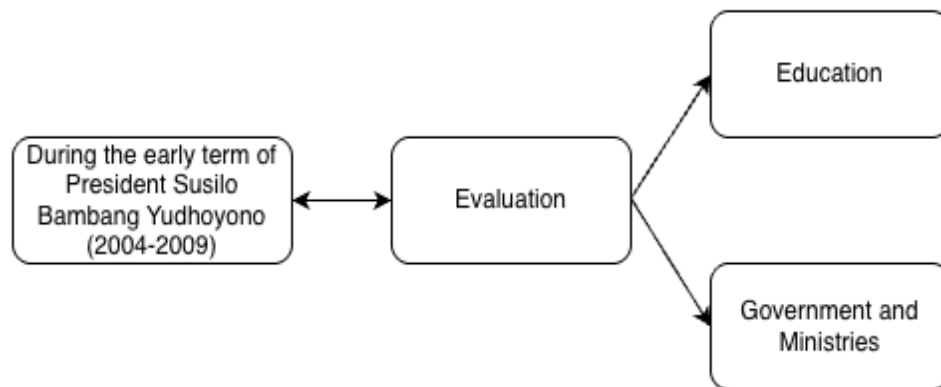
stunting has developed into a data-driven and collaborative national acceleration programme. Thus, this periodisation represents the evolution of stunting policy communication from a reactive to a preventive and systemic approach.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### The Evolution of Stunting Policy In Indonesia (2004-2024)

#### *Period 20 October 2004 -19 October 2009*

President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono took office amid alarming child nutrition conditions in Indonesia. The lack of nutrition education for parents and limited health facilities, especially in remote areas, were major challenges. The term stunting was not yet widely known; the public was more familiar with the terms *kuntet* or *kerdil*. The government's policy focus was still centred on malnutrition in general, while the issue of stunting was not yet treated as a national strategic agenda (Yusnita et al., 2024)



**Figure 1. Mapping of Stunting Policy Implementation (2004-2009)**

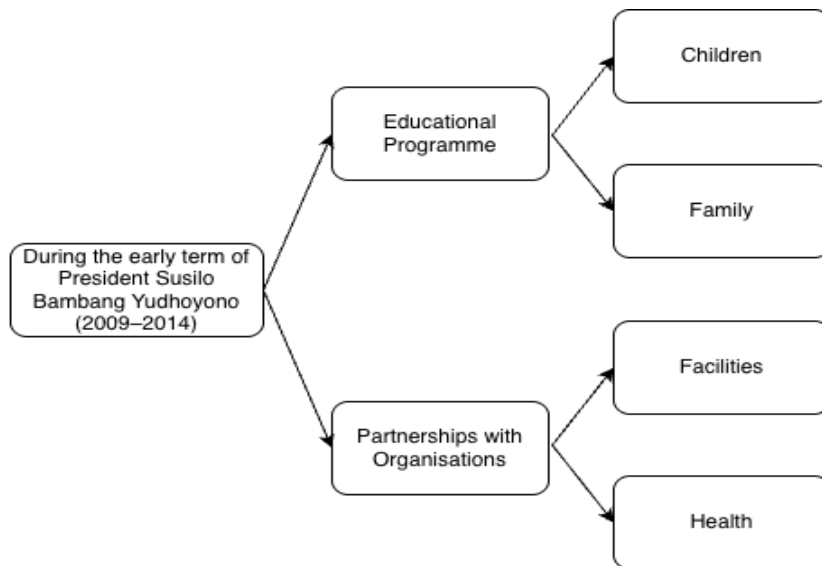
Source: Online News Portals

Riskesdas (2008) shows a stunting prevalence of 36.8% in 2007, indicating that chronic malnutrition remains high despite showing a downward trend towards 2010. Analysis of media coverage shows that the issue of stunting emerged in evaluations of government performance in the areas of health and child education. The media focused more on the weaknesses of the national health system than on promoting a structured prevention agenda.

Within the framework of Agenda Setting theory, this phase marks the initial stage of public awareness formation. The issue of stunting has not yet been constructed as a national agenda, but rather as part of criticism of the effectiveness of health policies. The government focused on two main aspects: education on the importance of child nutrition and the equitable distribution of medical personnel throughout the regions, accompanied by strengthening access to basic health services for the community.

### **Period 20 October 2009-19 October 2014**

President Yudhoyono's second term showed increased attention to public nutrition, although the term stunting was still not the main focus of the 2010-2014 National Medium-Term Development Plan policy. The policy direction began to shift towards combating malnutrition through early childhood education, increased nutrition research, and cross-organisational partnerships.



**Figure 2. Mapping of Stunting Policy Implementation (2009-2014)**

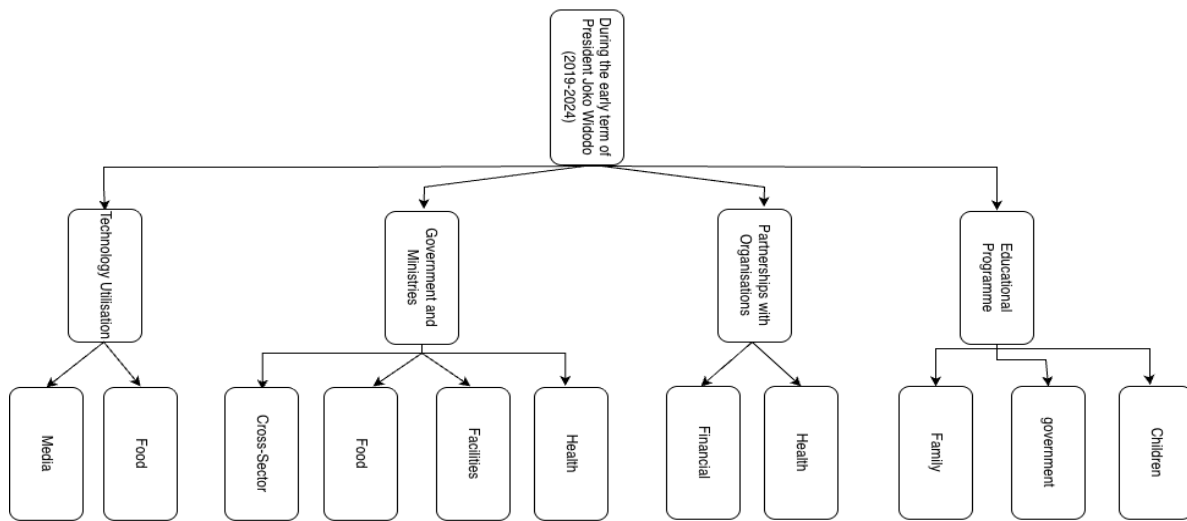
Source: Online News Portals

(Riskseddas, 2010) recorded a decline in the prevalence of stunting to 35.6% in 2010, but it increased again to 37.2% in 2013. This condition indicates that the programmes implemented have not been able to reduce stunting rates consistently. In terms of policy communication, media coverage began to feature education and partnerships as key strategies. Education was directed at families to strengthen nutritional awareness from an early age, while partnerships focused on developing facilities and nutritional interventions. During this period, the media began to increase the visibility of stunting as a public health issue, although it was still viewed within a sectoral framework. The government emerged as the dominant actor, with partner organisations playing a supporting role in programme implementation

### **Period 20 October 2014-19 October 2019**

Joko Widodo was inaugurated on 20 October 2014 amid a stunting prevalence rate of 37% (SehatNegriku, 2018). The government demonstrated its seriousness by including the issue of stunting in the 2015–2019 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN, 2015). as part of the national agenda to eradicate malnutrition. The cross-

sectoral approach was strengthened by involving ministries, research institutions, community organisations, and international partners such as UNICEF and BKKBN.



**Figure 3. Mapping of Stunting Policy Implementation (2014-2019)**

Source: Online News Portals

Based on the researcher's analysis of cyber news, the theme of education was the most prominent form of policy implementation. Of all the news articles reviewed, family education appeared most frequently, followed by child education and government education. This pattern shows that the media places families as the main actors in stunting prevention, while the government acts as a programme facilitator. The news often highlights counselling activities, integrated health service posts (posyandu), and nutrition campaigns that emphasise behavioural change in families.

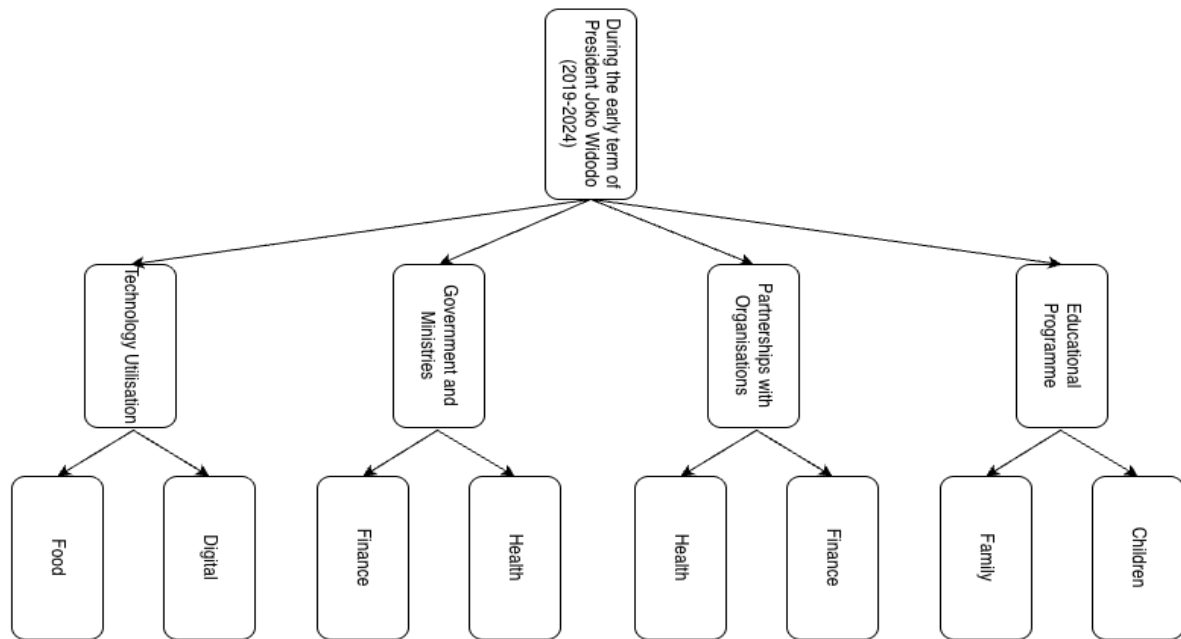
The theme of partnership also appeared quite frequently, describing collaboration between the government, NGOs, and health institutions. However, partner organisations were still mostly described as policy supporters rather than decision makers. The role of the government itself remained dominant, especially in providing health facilities, nutritional interventions, and strengthening inter-ministerial coordination. The use of digital technology began to be raised, both for data collection, socialisation, and public campaigns (R. Priadi & Thariq, 2023a).

From an agenda-setting perspective, this period showed an important change: the media began to frame stunting as a social and development issue that could be overcome through family education, cross-sector policy support, and inter-institutional collaboration.



### **Period 20 October 2019- 19 October 2024**

During President Joko Widodo's second term, the direction of stunting policy became more concrete. The government focused on the technical implementation of programmes and cross-institutional coordination. Data shows a decline in prevalence from 30.8% in 2018 to 24.4% in 2021 (Melisa et al., 2022), although regional disparities remain a major challenge.



**Figure 4. Mapping of Stunting Policy Implementation (2019–2024)**

Source: Online News Portal

The focus of policy communication has shifted from public campaigns to systemic policy-based interventions. Programmes such as Aksi Bergizi (Nutritious Action), Integrated Antenatal Care (ANC), and Early Breastfeeding Initiation (IMD) are in the spotlight (Jonathan et al., 2024). The mass media increasingly featured the roles of the Ministry of Health, the National Population and Family Planning Agency (BKKBN), the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture (Kemendesa PMK), and the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN) as the main policy controllers. The themes of partnership and education still appeared, but with decreasing intensity. Family education only appeared in four news items, indicating that individual behavioural change was beginning to be replaced by a structural approach.

The use of technology has become an important part of current policies, particularly through the NU-Pos application, which contains stunting prevention modules and nutritional guidelines for health workers. The government has also appointed anti-stunting ambassadors and optimised Village Funds to support community-based programmes. Within the Agenda Setting framework, the media during this period showed



addressed through technical interventions such as integrated health service posts, nutrition services, health education, and the provision of nutritious food. This narrative makes the issue of stunting perceived as an individual health problem, rather than a socio-structural issue related to poverty, inequality, economic vulnerability, or budgetary politics (Clendenning, 2023). Thus, the media not only chooses which issues are important, but also directs how the public should think about these issues, namely as nutrition and health problems, rather than multidimensional problems.

### ***Government Dominance in Framing Stunting***

The emergence of words such as 'government', 'ministry', 'district', 'central', "programmes" and 'interventions' reflects the strong dominance of the government in reporting on stunting issues. The media often highlights the activities of ministries, central government directives, policy implementation at the regional level, and the role of health workers or cadres in programme implementation. This type of representation positions the government as the main actor and the most authoritative source of information. As a result, the public is led to understand that stunting is a technical matter for the government and that the success of programmes is the main indicator of progress. The dominance of the government's narrative reveals an agenda-setting relationship in which the state's policy agenda greatly influences the media agenda, which in turn shapes the public agenda (Bisyri et al., 2025). As a result, alternative perspectives, especially structural issues such as inequality in access to food, household poverty, or socio-economic barriers, are less visible in the news.

### ***Limited Community Voice in News Coverage***

The analysis also shows that the community's voice is relatively limited in news coverage. Although the word 'community' appears, it is small in size and the context is more administrative than narrative. There are no words that highlight family experiences, parental perspectives, community aspirations, or community criticism of health services. The lack of community representation shows that residents are positioned more as objects of programme intervention than as subjects with experience and understanding of the issues they face (R. Priadi & Thariq, 2023b). This condition causes the news to lose the human and social dimensions of the stunting issue, so that the discourse that is formed tends to be top-down. From a second-level agenda-setting perspective, the media chooses issue attributes related to official institutions and technocratic interventions, rather than attributes that reflect the experiences, emotions, or social conditions of the directly affected communities (Curran et al., 2022). As a result, the issue of stunting has not developed into a richly participatory public discourse, but remains within an administrative framework.

### ***Technocratic Framing and Focus on Government Programmes***

The emergence of words such as programmes, interventions, services, provide, efforts, and centres shows the media's tendency to frame stunting as a problem that can be solved through technical government programmes. The news coverage highlights health services, nutrition programme support, or technocratic strategies without presenting a critical evaluation of the impact of these policies (Nuraini & Fi'aunillah, 2024). Thus, the media creates the impression that tackling stunting is an administrative process that depends primarily on the effectiveness of government programmes. This framing reduces the complexity of the issue by ignoring the social, economic, and cultural factors that actually play a significant role in influencing stunting rates. Reporting that focuses on government programmes causes public discourse to move within a technocratic framework oriented towards intervention, rather than the root of the problem (D. W. Priadi et al., 2025).

Overall, this pattern shows that national cyber media coverage of stunting in the period 2004–2024 formed a technocratic and government-centred agenda-setting pattern, in which this issue was consistently prioritised as a health and nutrition problem, so that it was understood by the public primarily as a biomedical problem that could be overcome through health services, nutrition programmes, and technical interventions. The dominance of the government narrative means that the public rarely appears as subjects with meaningful voices, experiences, or perspectives, so that the social, economic, and cultural dimensions that also influence stunting are less exposed. Packaging that focuses on administrative programmes without critical evaluation reduces the issue of stunting to a procedural problem that can be completely resolved through technical policies (Sari & dan Agussalim, 2025). Thus, the media plays a role in constructing a narrow, top-down discourse on stunting that fails to reflect the underlying structural complexities, thereby limiting the public's comprehensive understanding of the issue.

### **Opportunities and Challenges of the 2024–2029 Stunting Reduction Policy**

Efforts to reduce stunting in the 2024–2029 period face various complex challenges, but at the same time open up opportunities for strengthening policy communication based on Islamic values and ethics. The distribution of nutrition information in Indonesia is still uneven, especially in remote areas, while educational materials tend to be technical and do not pay enough attention to the socio-cultural context of local communities.

Low public participation in digital campaigns is also an obstacle, influenced by limited internet access in remote locations, a lack of empathy in message construction, and minimal interaction on official government channels such as @tp2stunting, @aksicegahstunting, and @stunting\_bkkbn (Salsabila et al., 2024). In addition, gender inequality, high rates of child marriage, and cultural beliefs that are not in line with

modern nutritional principles, such as prohibiting the consumption of eggs or giving coffee to babies, worsen the nutritional status of the community.

The dissemination of policy messages needs to be carried out through a more humanistic and ethical communication approach by internalising the principles of *tabligh* (conveying messages correctly and wisely) and *amanah* (responsibility and honesty in conveying information). An empathetic and supportive communication approach has been proven effective in building trust and strengthening public acceptance of messages. The findings of (Yahono & Benesti, 2023) show that supportive communication plays an important role in the psychosocial recovery of individuals, and this principle can be adapted in the realm of public policy to increase the effectiveness of delivering development messages based on Islamic humanistic values and ethics, so that public messages are not only informative but also have moral legitimacy in the eyes of the community.

Various strategic opportunities can be utilised to strengthen stunting reduction policies that are oriented towards *maslahah*, or broad social benefits for the welfare of the people. The government can expand partnerships with micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) in the nutritious food sector through healthy food certification programmes and community-based nutrition intervention training (Cuevas-Vargas et al., 2021).

Optimising digital technologies such as WhatsApp chatbots, artificial intelligence-based applications, and live broadcasts on social media also has the potential to reach the younger generation more effectively and interactively (Etrawati et al., 2023; Sutedja et al., 2024). In addition, the role of religious leaders, local leaders, and village cadres is key in communicating nutrition messages that are culturally and spiritually contextual, while also addressing myths that hinder behavioural change (Firdausi & Aries, 2024; Safitra et al., 2024). Collaboration between the government, academics, and civil society is also needed to strengthen the research base and develop participatory education models based on local needs (Alif et al., 2023; Riwu et al., 2024).

The integration of technical, digital, cultural, academic, and Islamic values such as *hifz al-nafs* (protection of life) as the foundation of public policy ethics is expected to produce inclusive, participatory, and welfare-oriented communication strategies (Saniah et al., 2025). Thus, stunting prevention is not only understood as a national health agenda, but also as a manifestation of moral, social, and spiritual responsibility in maintaining the sustainability of human life.

## CONCLUSION

This study concludes that government communication on stunting in Indonesia between 2004 and 2024 shows that national cyber media plays a significant role in shaping public perception. Through agenda setting, the media determines which issues are considered important by the public by highlighting certain aspects of government policy, particularly the success of programmes and the role of relevant ministries. Meanwhile, aspects of community participation, regional inequality, and socio-cultural contexts still receive little attention in the news.

The findings show that government policy communication on stunting is still dominated by a top-down approach, in which the media functions primarily as a channel for disseminating official information, rather than as a space for public dialogue. This pattern shows that the media more often reinforces the government's agenda rather than raising criticism or alternative views from the public. Thus, the Agenda Setting theory proves relevant in explaining how the media directs public attention to certain health issues and frames policy success as the main indicator of stunting management in Indonesia.

In terms of policy implications, the results of this study emphasise the importance of strengthening communication strategies that are more balanced between the government's agenda and the public agenda. The government needs to encourage more critical, adaptive, and data-driven media collaboration so that the issue of stunting does not merely become a temporary agenda, but remains relevant in public discourse. The integration of Islamic communication values such as *tabligh* (conveying the truth) and *amanah* (honesty in information) also needs to be strengthened so that policy communication is not only informative but also has a moral and social dimension that encourages collective awareness of the importance of stunting prevention.

Further research is recommended to qualitatively examine the dynamics of cultural taboos that influence public acceptance of health technology innovations, particularly in the practice of maternal and infant care. Such studies are important to reveal how traditional values and socio-cultural constructs shape public health perceptions and behaviours, including the tendency to maintain practices that are not in line with medical principles, such as feeding infants with foods that do not meet health standards. In addition, future research needs to examine effective communication strategies for health workers and policy makers in taking an adaptive approach to cultural sensitivities, while remaining oriented towards scientific rationality and public health safety.

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