

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Alamsyah, A. (2022). Collaborative Practice during Forest Fires Disaster: A Narrative Policy Framework. *Journal of Disaster and Emergency Research*, 5(1), 3-16.
- Andriyani, V. E., & Irawan, T. (2018). Identification of Premature Deindustrialization and Its Acceleration in Indonesia (Period 1986-2015). *Jurnal Ekonomi dan Kebijakan Pembangunan*, 7(1), 78-101[16].
- Adely, F. I. J., Mitra, A., Mohamed, M., & Shaham, A. (2021). Poor education, unemployment and the promise of skills: The hegemony of the “skills mismatch” discourse. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 82, 102381.
- Ahmad, F., & Ali, A. (2011). Need for a new public governance system: issues and challenges. *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 57(4), 874-882.
- Apriliyanti, I. D., Utomo, W. P., & Purwanto, E. A. (2021). Examining the policy narratives and the role of the media in policy responses to the COVID-19 crisis in Indonesia. *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, 1-17.
- Azca, M. N., Subando A.M., & Lalu Wildan (Eds). (2011). *Pemuda Pasca Orba: Potret Kontemporer Pemuda Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: YouSure Fisipol UGM. Bauman,
- Azca, M. N., & Rahardianto, O. (2012). Mengapa Menerbitkan Jurnal Studi Pemuda?. *Jurnal StudiPemuda*, 1(1), 46-49.
- Bahtiar, A., & Munandar, A. I. (2020). Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) Analysis Terhadap Pelibatan Intelijen Negara dalam Penanganan Covid-19 di Indonesia. *Jurnal Keamanan Nasional*, 6(2), 184-201.
- Barbehön, M., Münch, S., & Lamping, W. (2015). Problem Definition and Agenda-Setting In Critical Perspective. In *Handbook of critical policy studies*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Beck, U. (2002). *Individualization: Institutionalized individualism and its social and political consequences* (Vol. 13). Sage.
- Beck, Ulrich. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage Publication Ltd.
- Beck, U., Bonss, W., & Lau, C. (2003). The theory of reflexive modernization: Problematic, hypotheses and research programme. *Theory, culture & society*, 20(2), 1-33.
- British Council. (2022). *Next Generation Indonesia*. British Council Research. Diakses dari: <https://www.britishcouncil.org/research-policy-insight/research-reports/next-generation->

- Ciptadi, S. G., & Armando, A. (2018). Upaya Agensi Melawan Logika Jangka Pendek Jurnalisme Daring: Studi Kasus Tirto. id. *Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia*, 62-72.
- Cooper, A., Swartz, S., & Mahali, A. (2019). Disentangled, Decentred and Democratised: Youth Studies for The Global South. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 22(1), 29-45.
- Danaher, J. (2022). Techno-optimism: an analysis, an evaluation and a modest defence. *Philosophy & Technology*, 35(2), 54.
- Dhanani, S., Islam, I., & Chowdhury, A. (2009). *The Indonesian Labour Market: Changes and Challenges* (Vol. 79). Routledge.
- Farrugia, D. (2021). Youth, Work and Global Capitalism: New Directions. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 24(3), 372-387.
- Fatem, S. M., Awang, S. A., Pudyatmoko, S., Sahide, M. A., Pratama, A. A., & Maryudi, A. (2018). Camouflaging Economic Development Agendas with Forest Conservation Narratives: A Strategy of Lower Governments for Gaining Authority in The Re-Centralising Indonesia. *Land use policy*, 78, 699-710.
- Garnaut, R. (2015). Indonesia's resources boom in international perspective: policy dilemmas and options for continued strong growth. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 51(2), 189-212.
- Green, M. C., and Brock. T. C. 2005. Persuasiveness of Narratives, In Timothy C. Brock and Melanie C. Green (eds.), *Persuasion: Psychological Insights and Perspectives, Second Edition*. London, Sage Publications, 117–142.
- Habibie, D. K., Kamil, M., Kurniawan, D., & Kulsum, U. (2021). Narrative Policy Framework: The Role of Media Narratives on Alcohol Investment Policy in Indonesia. *Jurnal Moral Kemasyarakatan*, 6(2), 64-76.
- Indikator. (2022). *Arah Baru Pendidikan Indonesia: Sikap Publik Terhadap Kebijakan Kemendikbudristek*. Lembaga Survei Politik Indikator. Diakses dari: <https://indikator.co.id/rilis-survei-19-juni-2022/>
- Irwan, A. (2006). Dalil Kelembagaan dalam Pengelolaan Sumber Daya. in *Ilmu Sosial dan Kekuasaan di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Equinox
- Jenkins-Smith, H. C., & Sabatier, P. A. (1994). Evaluating the advocacy coalition framework. *Journal of public policy*, 14(2), 175-203.



Johansson, T. (2017). Youth Studies in Transition: Theoretical Explorations. *International Review of Sociology*, 27(3), 510-524.

Jones, G. (2009). *Youth* (Vol. 17). Polity.

Jones, M. D. (2014). Cultural Characters and Climate Change: How Heroes Shape Our Perception of Climate Science. *Social Science Quarterly*, 95(1), 1-39.

Jones, M. D., & Song, G. (2014). Making Sense of Climate Change: How Story Frames Shape Cognition. *Political Psychology*, 35(4), 447-476.

Jones, M. D., & McBeth, M. K. (2010). A Narrative Policy Framework: Clear Enough to BeWrong?. *Policy Studies Journal*, 38(2), 329-353.

Jones, M. D., & Radaelli, C. M. (2015). The Narrative Policy Framework: Child or Monster?. *Critical Policy Studies*, 9(3), 339-355.

Jones, M. D., McBeth, M. K., & Shanahan, E. A. (2014). *Introducing The Narrative Policy Framework. In The Science of Stories* (pp. 1-25). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Lele, G. (2021). *Critical Engagement: Pluralisme Ontologis, Variasi Epistemologis Serta Terobosoan Metodologis dan Aksiologis dalam Studi Manajemen dan Kebijakan Publik in Tinjauan Studi Manajemen dan Kebijakan Publik di Indonesia: Menegaskan Identitas dan Meneguhkan Relevansi*. Yogyakarta. Gadjah Mada University Press

Lukacs, G. (2015). Labor Games: Youth, Work, and Politics in East Asia. *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, 23(3), 381-409.

Lybecker, D. L., McBeth, M. K., & Kusko, E. (2013). Trash or treasure: recycling narratives and reducing political polarisation. *Environmental Politics*, 22(2), 312-332.

Lybecker, D. L., McBeth, M. K., & Sargent, J. M. (2022). Agreement and Trust: In Narratives or Narrators?. In *M. D. Jones, M. K. McBeth, & E. A. Shanahan (Eds.), Narratives and the Policy Process: Applications of the Narrative Policy Framework* (pp. 91-115). Montana State University Library. <https://doi.org/10.15788/npf4>

Martinez, M. (2019). an Examination of Higher Education Policy Problems Using Narrative Policy Analysis. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 63(3), 369-386.

McBeth, M. K., Shanahan, E. A., & Jones, M. D. (2005). The science of storytelling: Measuring policy beliefs in Greater Yellowstone. *Society and Natural Resources*, 18(5), 413-429.

McBeth, M. K., Shanahan, E. A., Arnell, R. J., & Hathaway, P. L. (2007). The Intersection ofNarrative Policy Analysis and Policy Change Theory. *Policy Studies Journal*, 35(1), 87-

- Mintrom, M., & O'Connor, R. (2020). The importance of policy narrative: Effective government responses to Covid-19. *Policy Design and Practice*, 3(3), 205-227.
- Morgan, S. E., Movius, L., & Cody, M. J. (2009). The Power of Narratives: The Effect of Entertainment Television Organ Donation Storylines on The Attitudes, Knowledge, and Behaviors of Donors and Nondonors. *Journal of Communication*, 59(1), 135-151.
- Naafs, S. (2018). Youth Aspirations and Employment in Provincial Indonesia: A View From The Lower Middle Classes. *Children's Geographies*, 16(1), 53-65
- Naafs, S., & Skelton, T. (2018). Youthful futures? Aspirations, Education and Employment In Asia. *Children's Geographies*, 16(1), 1-14.
- Naafs, S., & White, B. (2012). Intermediate Generations: Reflections on Indonesian Youth Studies. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 13(1), 3-20.
- Ney, S. (2014). The Governance Of Social Innovation: Connecting Meso and Macro Levels of Analysis. In *The Science of Stories* (pp. 207-234). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Nilan, P. (2008). Youth Transitions to Urban, Middle Class Marriage in Indonesia: Faith, Family and Finances. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 11(1), 65-82.
- Nilan, P., Parker, L., Robinson, K., & Bennett, L. (2016). Contemporary Indonesian Youth Transitions: Trends and Inequalities. *Youth Identities and Social Transformations in Modern Indonesia*, 23-46.
- Nowlin, M. C. (2011). Theories of the policy process: State of the research and emerging trends. *Policy studies journal*, 39, 41-60.
- Nugroho, A. A., & Azmi, I. F. (2021). Alleviating Society's Economic Crisis: Narrative Policy on Social Safety Nets Policy Process During Covid-19 Pandemic. *Policy & Governance Review*, 5(2), 113-127.
- Pierce, J. J., Smith-Walter, A., & Peterson, H. L. (2014). Research Design and The Narrative Policy Framework. In *The Science of Stories* (pp. 27-44). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Pitoyo, A. J. (2007). Dinamika Sektor Informal di Indonesia Prospek, Perkembangan, dan Kedudukannya dalam Sistem Ekonomi Makro. *Populasi*, 18(2007).
- Ripberger, J. T., Song, G., Nowlin, M. C., Jones, M. D., & Jenkins-Smith, H. C. (2012). Reconsidering The Relationship Between Cultural Theory, Political Ideology, and Political Knowledge. *Social Science Quarterly*, 93(3), 713-731.



Rochefort, D. A., & Donnelly, K. P. (2012). Agenda-Setting and Political Discourse: Major Analytical Frameworks and Their Application. In *Routledge Handbook of Public Policy* (pp. 207-221). Routledge.

Sabatier, P. A. & Jenkins-Smith, H.C. (eds). 1993. *Policy Change and Learning: An Advocacy Coalition Approach*. Boulder. Colorado: Westview Press.

Shanahan, E. A., Jones, M. D., & McBeth, M. K. (2011). Policy Narratives and Policy Processes. *Policy Studies Journal*, 39(3), 535-561.

Shanahan, E. A., Jones, M. D., McBeth, M. K., & Lane, R. R. (2013). An Angel on The Wind: How Heroic Policy Narratives Shape Policy Realities. *Policy Studies Journal*, 41(3), 453-483.

Shanahan, E. A., McBeth, M. K., & Jones, M. D. (2014). Denouement?. In *The Science of Stories* (pp. 247-260). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Shanahan, E. A., Jones, M. D., & McBeth, M. K. (2018). How to Conduct A Narrative Policy Framework Study. *The Social Science Journal*, 55(3), 332-345.

Sukarieh, M., & Tannock, S. (2008). In The Best Interests of Youth Or Neoliberalism? The World Bank and The New Global Youth Empowerment Project. *Journal of youth studies*, 11(3), 301-312.

Sukarieh, M., & Tannock, S. (2011). The Positivity Imperative: A Critical Look at The ‘New’youth Development Movement. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 14(6), 675-691.

Sutopo, O. R. (2013). Hidup Adalah Perjuangan: Strategi Pemuda Yogyakarta Dalam Transisi DariDunia Pendidikan ke Dunia Kerja. *Jurnal Sosiologi Masyarakat*, 166.

Sutopo, O. R. (2014). Social Generation, Class and Experiences of Youth Transition In Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 3(3), 126-134.

Sutopo, O. R. (2014). Transisi Pemuda Dalam Masyarakat Risiko: Antara Aspirasi, Hambatan danKetidakpastian. *Jurnal Universitas Paramadina*, 11(3), 1164-1186.

Sutopo, O. R. (2016). Agenda Pengembangan Kajian Kepemudaan di Indonesia. *Jurnal SosiologiPendidikan Humanis*, 1(2), 161-172.

Sutopo, O.R. & Azca, M.N. (2013). Transisi Pemuda Yogyakarta Menuju Dunia Kerja: Narasi danPerspektif dari Selatan. *Jurnal Universitas Paramadina*, 10(2), 698-719.

Sutopo, O.R., & Meiji, N. H. P. (2017). Kapasitas Refleksif Pemuda dalam Transisi Menuju Dunia Kerja. *Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo*, 1(1), 1-16.



Steele, J. E. (2005). *Wars within: The story of Tempo, an independent magazine in Soeharto's Indonesia*. Equinox Publishing.

Stone, D. A. (2002). *Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making*, Revised Edition.

(3rded) New York: ww Norton.

Threadgold, S., & Nilan, P. (2015). Applying Theoretical Paradigms to Indonesian Youth In Reflexive Modernity. In *Youth Cultures, Transitions, and Generations* (pp. 157-170). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Weible, C. M., Sabatier, P. A., Jenkins-Smith, H. C., Nohrstedt, D., Henry, A. D., & DeLeon, P. (2011). A quarter century of the advocacy coalition framework: An introduction to the special issue. *Policy Studies Journal*, 39(3), 349-360.

White, B. (2016). Generation and Social Change: Indonesian Youth In Comparative Perspective. In *Youth Identities and Social Transformations in Modern Indonesia* (pp. 1-22). Brill.

White, B., & Margiyatin, C. U. (2016). Teenage Experiences of School, Work, and Life In A Javanese Village. *Youth identities and social transformations in modern Indonesia*, 50-68.

Wyn, J., & White, R. (1998). Young People, Social Problems and Australian Youth Studies. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 1(1), 23-38.

Woodman, D., & Bennett, A. (2015). Cultures, Transitions, And Generations: The Case for A New Youth Studies. In *Youth Cultures, Transitions, and Generations* (pp. 1-15). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Woodman, D., & Wyn, J. (2015). Class, Gender and Generation Matter: Using The Concept Of Social Generation To Study Inequality and Social Change. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 18(10), 1402-1410.

World Bank. (2011). *Indonesian Economic Quarterly: Turbulent Times. Perkembangan Triwulan Perekonomian*. Working paper 6. Jakarta: World Bank.

World Bank. (2019). *Labor Force Participation Rate, Male (% of Male Population Ages 15+)* (National Estimate). Diakses dari <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.CACT.MA.NE.ZS> pada 8 Desember 2022

Zulva, N. N. (2018). *Jurnalisme Presisi pada Media Online (Studi Kasus Manajemen Redaksional Tirto. id ditinjau dari Jurnalisme Presisi)* (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Gadjah Mada). Badan Pusat Statistik. (2021). *Tingkat Pengangguran Terbuka Berdasarkan Tingkat Pendidikan*. Laman resmi BPS. Diakses dari



Badan Pusat Statistik. (2020). *Jumlah Penduduk Hasil Proyeksi Menurut Provinsi dan Jenis Kelamin (Ribu Jiwa), 2018-2020*. Badan Pusat Statistik Indonesia. Diakses dari: <https://www.bps.go.id/indicator/12/1886/1/jumlah-penduduk-hasil-proyeksi-menurut-provinsi-dan-jenis-kelamin.html>

Kring, S. A., & Breglia, M. G. (2015) *Jobs and skills for youth: Review of policies for youth employment of Indonesia*. ILO. Diakses dari: http://ap youthnet.ilo.org/resources/jobs-and-skills-for-youth-review-of-policies-for-youth-employment-of-indonesia/at_download/file1

Kemendikbudristek. (2020). *Buku Panduan Merdeka Belajar-Kampus Merdeka*. Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi Kemendikbudristek RI. diakses dari: <http://dikti.kemendikbudristek.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Buku-Panduan-Merdeka-Belajar-Kampus-Merdeka-2020>

Kemendikbudristek. (2022). *Magang dan Studi Independen Bersertifikat (MSIB) Angkatan 3 Resmi Dibuka*. Diakses dari: <https://www.kemendikbudristek.go.id/main/blog/2022/06/magang-dan-studi-independen-bersertifikat-msib-angkatan-3-resmi-dibuka> pada 23 November 2022

Kemendikbudristek. (2022). *Terus Meningkat, MSIB Angkatan 3 Tahun 2022 Diikuti Sebanyak 27.952 Mahasiswa*. Diakses dari: <https://www.kemendikbudristek.go.id/main/blog/2022/08/terus-meningkat-msib-angkatan-3-tahun-2022-diikuti-sebanyak-27952-mahasiswa> pada 23 November 2022

Kemenag. (2022). *11.073 Mahasiswa Daftar Program Magang Bersertifikat Kampus Merdeka di BPJPH*. Diakses dari: <https://www.kemenag.go.id/read/11-073-mahasiswa-daftar-program-magang-bersertifikat-kampus-merdeka-di-bpjph-8njgo> pada 23 November 2022

UU Nomor 40 Tahun 2009 Tentang Kepemudaan. Diakses dari: https://www.dpr.go.id/dokjdh/document/uu/UU_2009_40.pdf

Wihardja, M. M., & Cunningham, W. (2021). *Pathways to Middle-Class Jobs in Indonesia. Australian Government and World Bank Technical Report*.

<https://www.worldbank.org/in/country/indonesia/publication/pathways-to-middle-class-jobs-in-indonesia>