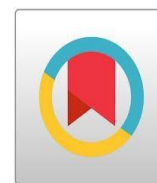


Regional Legislative Entrepreneurship in Indonesia: Actors, Strategies, and Institutional Constraints

Kewirausahaan Legislatif Daerah di Indonesia: Aktor, Strategi, dan Kendala Kelembagaan



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ARTICLE INFORMATION

Keywords <i>Political Entrepreneurship; Indonesia; Regional Regulation; Regional Legislative Council;</i>	ABSTRACT This study examines regional legislative entrepreneurship (LE) in Indonesia, focusing on the Regional Legislative Council (DPRD). It investigates the origin of a regional bill (<i>raperda</i>) on Cultural Advancement initiated by the DPRD of the Malang Municipality. This study adopts a political entrepreneurship analytical framework and explores four categories: who, how, where, and impact. Utilizing qualitative methods and interviews for data gathering, the findings indicate that legislators are instrumental in formulating regional regulations, while political parties influence the content of the draft. The approach to legislation is normative and adheres to the government directives. Legislators support the drafting of regional regulations based on logical reasoning, national law requirements and party directives. Thus, this study contributes theoretical insights affirming the crucial interplay between institutions and rational political behavior in fostering LE, as identified in previous studies. Nevertheless, this interplay is not concurrent; government bodies regulate the enactment of regional laws through oversight, thereby limiting LE practices at the regional tier. However, as this study is based on a single municipal case and focuses on one policy sector, future research should compare DPRD-initiated bills across regions and policy domains to test the broader applicability of regional legislative entrepreneurship in Indonesia.
Kata Kunci Kewirausahaan Politik; Indonesia; Peraturan Daerah; DPRD;	ABSTRAK Studi ini meneliti praktik kewirausahaan legislatif daerah (LE) di Indonesia dengan berfokus pada Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD). Studi ini menggali asal usul rancangan peraturan daerah tentang Kemajuan Kebudayaan yang diprakarsai oleh DPRD Kota Malang. Studi ini mengadopsi kerangka analitis kewirausahaan politik dan mengeksplorasi empat kategori: Siapa, bagaimana, di mana, dan dampak. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif dan wawancara untuk mengumpulkan data, temuan menunjukkan bahwa para legislator berperan penting dalam merumuskan peraturan daerah, sementara partai politik memengaruhi isi rancangan tersebut. Pendekatan terhadap legislasi bersifat normatif, dan mengikuti arahan pemerintah. Para legislator mendukung penyusunan peraturan daerah berdasarkan penalaran logis, persyaratan hukum nasional, dan arahan partai. Dengan demikian, studi ini memberikan wawasan teoritis yang menegaskan interaksi penting antara institusi dan perilaku politik rasional dalam mendorong LE, seperti yang diidentifikasi dalam studi sebelumnya. Namun demikian, interaksi ini tidak selalu bersamaan: Pemerintah mengatur pengesahan peraturan daerah melalui pengawasan, sehingga membatasi praktik LE di tingkat daerah, namun karena studi ini didasarkan pada satu kasus kota dan berfokus pada satu sektor kebijakan, penelitian selanjutnya harus membandingkan rancangan undang-undang yang diinisiasi DPRD di berbagai wilayah dan domain kebijakan untuk menguji penerapan kewirausahaan legislatif daerah yang lebih luas di

		Indonesia.
Article History Send 3 th March 2026 Review 13 th March 2026 Accepted 23 th June 2026		Copyright ©2027 Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora) This is an open access article under the CC-BY-NC-SA license. Akses artikel terbuka dengan model CC-BY-NC-SA sebagai lisensinya.



Introduction

This study departs from an academic problem based on the results of a literature mapping of legislative entrepreneurship (LE). In particular, no specific study has examined the LE in the Indonesian context. Moreover, this study considers the setting of regional politics and government in a country that runs decentralization to regulate the relationship between the government, province, and region (municipality and regency). Conceptually, LE is a part of political entrepreneurship (PE) that is run by legislators as political entrepreneurs. The main limitation of political entrepreneurship is that political entrepreneurs hold elected leadership positions in the government. Elected leaders control resource allocation (ownership), policymaking accountability (uncertainty), and government production (public services) (McCaffrey & Salerno, 2011).

In line with these two definitions, this study defines PE as any effort by elected political officials to create or increase public value, particularly through policymaking (Sobari, 2019). Thus, LE is the practice of political entrepreneurship conducted by legislators. Following the main tasks and functions of legislative institutions, the LE focuses on legislative or law-making functions. The legislative process originates from legislators' initiatives (bill drafting).

(G. Wawro, 2001), one of the few academics studying LE, defined LE as “*A set of activities that a legislator engages in involves working to form coalitions with other members to pass legislation by combining various legislative inputs and issues to affect legislative outcomes.*”

Furthermore (G. Wawro, 2001), the main common characteristic of LE is explained, namely, the importance of opportunity recognition. LE activities invest time and effort to capitalize on opportunities to enact legislation that others fail to notice and gather information on how to combine various legislative inputs to capitalize on policy space. Legislators use information to provide packages with the potential to attract coalitions. Legislators exercise entrepreneurship by advocating new ideas and making policy proposals. Furthermore, legislators define and frame problems, specify policy alternatives, mediate ideas among various policy actors, mobilize public opinion, and help frame the decision-making agenda (McCaffrey & Salerno, 2011). The activity of proposing regional bills (*raperda*) by regional legislative councils (DPRD) is a concrete example of LE's practice in Indonesia. Legislators seek to gather policy information, build coalitions, and encourage public discourse to support bills.

In contrast to studies on political entrepreneurship that have developed analytical frameworks (Petridou et al., 2016), there are few specific studies on legislative entrepreneurship. A literature search revealed a lack of academic research on LE practices. However, LE studies are limited to the US Congressional context (Finocchiaro & MacKenzie, 2018; Kalaf-Hughes et al., 2022; G. Wawro, 2001) and the EU parliament (Benedetto, 2005). In the Indonesian context, studies on LE have not yet been conducted and are in academic demand. In addition, studies conducted at the regional level in decentralized Indonesia are also academically requested.

Although studies explicitly addressing legislative entrepreneurship in Indonesia are still very limited, several studies on legislator behavior, local-level legislative formation, party control of legislators, and regional policymaking provide a relevant empirical background for this article. These studies do not always use the term legislative entrepreneurship but describe closely intersecting dynamics, such as legislative initiatives, party influence on legislators, the strategic use of regulations, and institutional constraints in subnational governance. In this sense, this research does not exist in a vacuum but rather lies at the intersection of legislation, political entrepreneurship, and local governance studies in Indonesia. Beyond the Indonesian context, the literature shows that legislative entrepreneurship is not limited to the United States Congress or the European Parliament. Comparable patterns can be found in contexts where legislators operate under strong party structures, must build cross-actor coalitions, and face institutional constraints in advancing policy initiatives. This comparative insight is important for the Indonesian case, particularly because regional legislatures operate within a decentralized, multilevel system of government while remaining under strong oversight from the higher levels of government. Therefore, this study extends the discussion on legislative entrepreneurship by examining how it works in the context of subnational democracies in the Global South, where institutional oversight from supralocal governments remains crucial.

Owing to the scarcity of LE studies in Indonesia, the analytical framework of this study refers to the PE analytical framework initiated by Petridou et al. (2016). The results of the mapping of PE literature by Petridou et al. (2016) indicate that PE studies seek to answer four questions: (1) Who are the actors? (2) What are the strategies for PE? (3) What are the independent variables of PE? (4) What are the impacts of PE?, Thus, this article contributes to the literature by showing that legislative entrepreneurship in Indonesia is shaped not only by legislators' initiatives and rational political calculations but also by party directives and institutional constraints in a tightly controlled decentralized system.

Method

This study aimed to explore the practice of LE in Indonesia, particularly at the regional level, using the four PE research questions developed by Petridou et al. (2016). The case (phenomenon) that has become the focus of this study is the legislative process of the regional bill (*raperda*) initiated by the Malang City DPRD concerning Cultural Advancement (*Pemajuan Kebudayaan*). To achieve this, this study employed a qualitative methodology operationalized using a case study research method. The choice of this method is in line with exploring a contemporary phenomenon (Yin, 2018), namely, LE. To conduct the case study, semi-structured interviews were conducted. The interviews were conducted to elicit information from those with firsthand knowledge and experience regarding why and how the DPRD initiated and drafted a regional bill. The informants were legislators who endorsed the legislation of the bill or members of special committees (*pansus*), executive officials who were partners in the legislation, academic consultancy partners, and party officials at the city level as legislators' patrons.

This study, then, used both primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained through semi-structured interviews with key actors directly involved in or with in-depth knowledge of the legislative process, including legislators, special committee members, executive officials, academic consultants, and party officials at the city level. This primary data was used to reconstruct the actors, strategies, motivations, and perceptions regarding the impact of the draft regional regulation on Cultural Advancement initiated by the DPRD.

To strengthen the information obtained from the interviews, this study conducted documentation to gather relevant information on legislative practices. These documents are news archives from online mass media. Subsequently, to process and analyze the information, this study applied inductive data analysis using the grounded theory method (Strauss and Corbin, 1998), which consists of three stages, namely open, axial, and selective coding. These secondary data were used to complement and verify the primary data. They are included legal and policy documents, DPRD institutional information, relevant regulations regarding the formation of regional regulations, and online media reports documenting the development of the draft regional regulations. These materials were used to provide context for the interview findings, trace the formal legislative process, and verify the consistency between informants' statements and documentary evidence.

To ensure data validity, this study employed several steps in the qualitative research tradition. First, source triangulation was conducted by comparing the information provided by informants from different institutional positions. Second, document triangulation was

conducted by cross-checking the interview data with legal documents, institutional archives, and media reports. Third, internal consistency was checked by assessing whether the narratives conveyed by the informants aligned with the formal stages of regional regulation formation. Finally, data analysis was conducted systematically through grounded theory procedures, namely open coding, axial coding, and selective coding, so that the resulting categories and interpretations were developed inductively and transparently and could be accounted for based on empirical data.

Under Law No. 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, the DPRD performs legislative functions. One implementation of this function is the proposal of regional bills. This is regulated by Article 150, paragraph 2 of the law. Thus, this study specifically examines the drafting of the Regional Bill on Cultural Advancement in 2023 within the framework of PE. The submission of this regional bill as a result of the 2019 General Election, with a working period of 2019-2024. The DPRD consists of 45 members from ten political parties. The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) has the highest number of legislators (12) in the House. Other members came from the National Awakening Party (PKB): seven legislators; the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS): six legislators; the Greater Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra): five legislators; the functional groups (Golkar): five legislators; the Democratic Party (Demokrat): three legislators; the National Mandate Party (PAN): three legislators; the National Democratic Party (Nasdem): two legislators; the Indonesian Unity Party (Perindo): one legislator; and the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI): one legislator.

The organizational structure of the Malang City DPRD follows the provisions of Article 163 of Law 23/2014, which regulates the organs of the Regency/City DPRD, as follows: The first is the DPRD leadership, which consists of a chair (PDIP) and three vice-chairs (PKB, PKS, and Gerindra). The second is the Deliberative Body, which sets the agenda for one trial period and the timeframe for finalizing the bills. The third is the commission, which includes legislation, budgeting and control. The DPRD has four commissions: Commission A (Government), Commission B (Economy and Finance), Commission C (Development), and Commission D (People's Welfare) (Source: <https://dprd.malangkota.go.id/>).

The second is the city's regional regulation body (Bapemperda). This body plays an important role in the formation of regional regulations initiated by the DPRD. The main tasks were to discuss and approve drafts of city regulations, propose drafts of city regulations, and formulate programs for the formation of city regulations with the mayor's

office. In the Malang City DPRD, this body is called the legislative body (<https://dprd.malangkota.go.id/>; accessed January 9, 2024).

The Budget Committee is tasked with discussing and stipulating a draft of the regional budget (APBD) with the Regional Government and supervising the implementation of the APBD. Finally, the Honorary Board is tasked with monitoring, researching, investigating, and reporting decisions regarding the discipline, code of ethics, and Rules of Procedure of the DPRD.

This case study examined the Malang City DPRD's formation of a Draft Regional Regulation on Cultural Advancement. Until December 2023, no regional bill had been enacted. The bill is still being evaluated by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, as explained by the Chair of the Regional Legislative Council's *pansus*. (Source: <https://sekarangaja.com/> accessed January 10, 2023). The chair stated that the Regional Bill of Cultural Advancement aimed to promote slang the culture. Moreover, the draft regulation seeks to provide a platform for cultural activists and space for economic development. (Source: <https://sekarangaja.com/>, accessed January 10, 2023.) In this way, the research applies qualitative scientific procedures systematically by linking data collection strategies, validity checks, and inductive analysis to explain regional legislative entrepreneurship practices.

Literature Review

This literature review is organized into five themes to clarify the research's conceptual foundation. First, this section discusses the meaning and scope of legislative entrepreneurship. Second, this section identifies the actors involved in legislative entrepreneurship. Third, this section examines the strategies and mechanisms used in legislative entrepreneurship. Fourth, this section discusses the motivations and institutional factors that shape legislative entrepreneurship. Fifth, this section examines the impact of legislative entrepreneurship and highlights the research gap in the subnational and Global South contexts, particularly Indonesia.

The first focus of the literature addresses the question of who practices LE. Most studies describe legislators as legislative entrepreneurs (Finocchiaro & MacKenzie, 2018; Kalaf-Hughes et al., 2022; Marsh & Lantis, 2018; Roberts, 2006; Schiller, 1995; Shockley et al., 2006; G. Wawro, 2001; G. J. Wawro, 1997). Benedetto (2005), case study contributes to the analysis of the role of rapporteurs. In the contemporary EU parliament, LE works because of the role of rapporteurs.

Another study expanded the notion of who legislative entrepreneurs are. Roberts (2006) discussed the role of policy intellectuals. The LE brings together policy intellectuals who supply new ideas and defend them against competition from policy alternatives. Elected officials and astute administrators supported the work of policy intellectuals. The second aspect focuses on LE. Primarily Wawro (2001), LE has four aspects. The main aspect of the LE is drafting bills (Finocchiaro & MacKenzie, 2018; Kalaf-Hughes et al., 2022; Marsh & Lantis, 2018; Roberts, 2006; Schiller, 1995; Shockley et al., 2006; G. Wawro, 2001; G. J. Wawro, 1997). Individual legislators or building coalitions with other legislators to sponsor the bills.

The second aspect is coalition building (G. Wawro, 2001). The legislator builds a coalition of members to vote for the legislation's sponsors. The connection between the first and second aspects lies in the number of titles in a particular bill. Numerous bills have addressed various issues. Filing bills that address a wide range of issues can attract more members to supporters' coalitions. However, many other factors drive coalitions beyond legislators' control, such as the role of political parties and the internal rules of the House.

Next is issue grouping. This aspect is important in LE to attract the majority of coalitions. Entrepreneurial legislators create opportunities to enact legislation by drafting bills on relevant issues (G. Wawro, 2001). The last aspect is policy knowledge. In legislative trials, legislators play the role of witnesses rather than members who ask witnesses' questions. This change in roles indicates legislators' knowledge of policies and their involvement in policy topics (G. Wawro, 2001). The third section explains the motivations for the LE. The reasons for performing LE activities fall into two categories. First, LE is a rational act. Interest in re-election forms the basis for LE actions (Schiller, 1995; Shockley et al., 2006). (Finocchiaro, 2008) We call this election, constituency, and partisan motivation. However, Wawro (2001) it has been argued that LE does not encourage re-elections or motivate legislators. LE activities have no direct effect on entrepreneurial legislators' voting for constituents. The motivation for LE is the committee position in the House and party leadership (Schiller, 1995; G. Wawro, 2001; G. J. Wawro, 1997). Furthermore, gender differences motivate LE. Congresswomen from minority parties are more entrepreneurial in the legislature than their male counterparts (Kalaf-Hughes et al., 2022).

The second factor is the institution itself. According to Schiller (1995), American senators' use of bill sponsorship is a function of both institutional and political factors: Finocchiaro & MacKenzie (2018) A study of the US Congress reveals the model of Australian ballot and nominating primary-shaped lawmaking activities. The fourth focus of

the LE literature explains the LE theory. Similar to the third focus, this theory combines the institutional and political elements that shape legislators' LE. Schiller (1995) and Finocchiaro (2008) theories emphasize that the interaction between electoral, constituency, and partisan motivations drives bill drafting by the Congress. G. Wawro (2001) developed an empirical LE theory. Legislators utilize the special functions of legislative institutions to exploit the relationship between the goals of enacting good public policy, re-election, and gaining influence (office) in parliament. The operation of the LE in the American Congress was not primarily due to legislators' desire for re-election or access to campaign finance. LE works because of two motivations that drive legislators: position (leadership) in congress and political parties.

Finally, there is the theory of gender differences theory. Kalaf-Hughes et al., (2022) discovered that congresswomen are more effective than congressmen in moving bills through the law-making process. Women parliamentarians are more effective than their male counterparts. In the Indonesian context, studies on LE have not yet been conducted and are in academic demand. In addition, this study was conducted at the regional level in decentralized Indonesia. Therefore, the scarcity of LE studies in Indonesia and in the Global South contexts drives the urgency of this study.

Result and Discussion

The following section presents the findings that answer each research question, after which they are analyzed. Finally, the researcher formulated a theory of regional legislative entrepreneurship in the Discussion section, which abstracts the results of the analysis of the answers to the four research questions.

Actors

The explanation of actors answers the question of 'who' is involved in encouraging LE in the initiative of making *raperda* by the Malang City DPRD. The interviews revealed that several actors were directly involved in creating these bills. Rudi (pseudonym), a legislator from the PDIP and Chairman of the *pansus* testified:

“The DPRD institutionally proposed a Cultural Advancement Bill. However, it is a proposal from my friends from the PDI-Perjuangan (PDIP) faction, because I am also from the PDIP faction. Qodarullah (decided by Allah) also coincided with a friend from PSI; Mr. Iwan (pseudonym) also proposed (the idea of the draft regulation) because Mr. Iwan is very close to cultural activists.” (Rudi, 2023)

A different claim was made by Aditya (pseudonym), a legislator from the Golkar Party and Secretary of the *Pansus*:

“At the time, the Golkar faction proposed the Raperda on Cultural Advancement (Raperda). Initially, it came from Golkar’s action. At that time, we had a meeting attended by Golkar, Nasdem, and PSI. The three parties proposed regional regulations for cultural advancement. Therefore, it was finally approved, submitted (to the DPRD), and discussed¹.” (Aditya, 2023)

Another explanation was provided by Juno (pseudonym), an academic from a State University in Malang City and a consultant to the Malang City DPRD in several legislative processes. He explained his knowledge of the subject.

“Raperda was an initial PDIP initiative in the region. When the initiation came up formally, it had to go through an official proposal from Bapemperda. Bapemperda then processes academic papers and drafts them with third parties, such as universities and several expert institutions. Discussions are held to provide input and enrich perspectives, sometimes with other stakeholders, such as the city arts council or institutions related to regional regulation. If completed, it will become an official initiative proposal (DPRD). When finalized, it is submitted to the plenary session and then responded to by the executive. If it agrees, it will be submitted to the legal department, which is no longer (the domain of) the DPRD.” (Juno, 2023)

Other actors directly involved in drafting were legislators outside the *pansus*. Rudi, the chairman of the *pansus*, explained the situation as follows:

“In this case, those who help intensively think about the advancement of culture are my Vice Chairman, Mr. Aditya, and Mrs. Bondan (pseudonym), the Chairperson of Commission D, because she has also been in Commission D for a long time and knows the ins and outs of the budget posture related to culture.” (Rudi, 2023)

He also added the following to Mr. Iwan's role:

“Mr. Iwan was not involved in the pansus but often discussed with me. Therefore, when we were working on the pansus, Mr. Iwan ordered this (idea). Please insert articles such as this one. There are often intense discussions; it is just that Mr. Iwan cannot be included in the Special Committee.” (Rudi, 2023)

Political parties, such as patron legislators, also play a role in drafting regulations. Aditya, the secretary of the *pansus*, added:

¹ The same claim was stated by Firman (pseudonym), a Golkar Party official who is also a legislator of the Malang City DPRD. (Firman, 2023)

“Special committee personnel are recommended to be special committees; they are also recommended by each faction. The faction proposed that its members form special committees to represent their views. Then, the views of the party because talking about factions must be about parties, as I mentioned at the beginning, we are representatives of the party.” (Aditya, 2023)

The party's involvement in encouraging the DPRD to propose a regional bill by asking legislators to propose regional regulations. At the time of the submission of the Regional Bill on Cultural Advancement, the Malang City DPRD simultaneously submitted the Regional Bill on *Pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School). Rojak (pseudonym), the chair of the PKB of Malang City, explained that he asked legislators from the PKB to draft a Regional Bill on *Pesantren*² (Rojak, 2023).

After the drafting process was completed in the DPRD, the draft regulation was submitted to the City Mayor (Executive). The mayor was assigned to the Law Division of the Regional Secretariat of the Malang Municipality Government for processing the complaint. If the evaluation results were favorable, the draft was submitted to the East Java Provincial Government for further evaluation. The results of the evaluation will provide considerations on the suitability of the contents of the draft, particularly with regard to laws and regulations at the national level, and recommendations for the next legislative process.

Strategies

The second explanation addresses the 'how' question, which concerns the strategies implemented by entrepreneurs. Previous studies have focused on the strategies of individual entrepreneurs and the interactions between entrepreneurs and other actors (Petridou et al., 2016). This study inductively explores the strategies used to endorse regional bills in Taiwan.

Rudi, the chair of the committee, openly explained:

“Strategy I had done at the time, listening to. So, I invited one by one, starting from the DKM (Malang Arts Council), K3M (Malang City Arts Committee), then arts institutions from Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, also at that time the campuses of UMM (Muhammadiyah University of Malang), Brawijaya University, UIN (Islamic State University) which had UKM (Student Activity Units) for arts and culture, we invited all of them. We listened to what they wanted and provided them with a draft of their criticism.”

“One of the reasons why it was running a little fast was because I accommodated them more, and so, I agreed. You can propose anything, and if you want to propose something that does not follow the laws, go ahead.” (Rudi, 2023)

² Rojak's explanation was also corroborated by Irfan, the chair of PKS of Malang Municipality. (Rojak, 2023)

Aditya, the secretary of the *pansus*, confirmed the strategy of accommodating the aspirations of all stakeholders. He added that every idea would be evaluated by the Provincial Government after the draft regional bill was completed. The evaluation indicators are simple, mainly regarding the compatibility between the draft content and regulations at the provincial and national levels. (Aditya, 2023)

Coalition strategies are important for supporting regional regulatory initiatives at the elite level. Rojak³ Rojak, (2023), the PKB chair, explicitly stated:

“In drafting regional regulations, rules must be adhered to by each member of the DPRD when proposing legislation, such as support from a certain number of people or factions. This means that, in proposing legislation, it is necessary to build a coalition by asking for support from individuals or other factions.” (Rojak, 2023)

Meanwhile, academics have consultative experience with their involvement in the formation of DPRD-initiated draft regulations. Juno, an academic and consultant to the DPRD on the legislative process, explained his experience as follows:

“Sometimes, the council must bring in experts to provide input. In addition, comparative studies with the same regional regulations in other regions should be conducted to compare the advantages and disadvantages of draft regulations that may be interesting to adopt in the future. For example, I conducted a comparative study of Badung and Bali on regional regulations regarding integrated administrative services.” (Juno, 2023)

Another academic, Jimi (pseudonym), an anthropologist from a state university in Malang City, said that he was involved in the public examination of the DPRD's draft regulation initiative. He testified about his experiences.

“They drafted the raperda through this mechanism until a public hearing was held. At the public hearing, I was invited to criticize the raperda. I said that this raperda is still too general because everything is taken (adapted) from the laws above.” (Juno, 2023)

The knowledge and experience of the two academics were reinforced by the statement of Fahmi (pseudonym), an academic from a private university in Malang City and a consultant to the Malang City DPRD. (Fahmi, 2023)

³ Rojak was a legislator of the East Java Provincial DPRD (2009-2019). He had sufficient knowledge and experience of the legislative process at the provincial level, which is similar to the municipal level. (Rojak, 2023)

In addition, Firda (a pseudonym), an official in the Law Division of the Regional Secretariat of the Malang Municipality Government, confirmed the practice of public consultancy by the DPRD in a discussion of the *Raperda* on Cultural Advancement: (Firda, 2023). Finally, Firman (pseudonym), a Golkar Party official who was also a legislator in the Malang City DPRD, explained the interaction between political parties and their members in the DPRD in proposing regional bills. Firman said:

“(The party) always synergizes with the members of the DPRD. Political parties capture issues in the field. Then (issues) are then communicated to colleagues in the faction (Golkar) before being delivered to the DPRD.” (Firman, 2023)

Based on informants' explanations, this study reveals legislators' strategies that focus on the interactions between entrepreneurial legislators and other parties in the legislature. This interaction strategy appears normative. No strategies other than the conventional ones were identified.

Where

Two foci of PE studies answer the 'where' question. First, PE is an independent and dependent variable, and the PE approach is applied (top-down and bottom-up). The second is the context or policy area, geography, and level of government (Petridou et al., 2016). This study sought to inductively explore the factors that drive LE and the approaches applied (top-down and bottom-up). Regarding the LE context, this study considered the level of government, specifically LE practices, at the municipal level. The question asked about the background of the legislators of the Malang City DPRD who proposed the Regional Bill on Cultural Advancement. Rudi, the chairman of the *pansus*, explained the reasons for submitting the bill:

“Every year, our cultural budget is small, and there is no Thematic Musrenbang (thematic regional development planning forum) related to culture. Even in Malang City, many cultural and artistic actors are not accommodated in the budget. We see a need for the government to provide a managed budget to develop culture and arts in Malang.

More broadly, it is also related to the creative economy because today, many senior cultural and artistic actors can make masks and create works but cannot market them. We want it to be marketed, and the Malang City Government can legally guarantee the intellectual property rights.” (Rudi, 2023)

Aditya, secretary of the special committee, added:

“We see that our cultural treasures, especially in Malang, are quite numerous. Therefore, protection is of utmost importance. Utilization, including the guidance and development of cultural treasures in Malang.” (Aditya, 2023)

However, academics and consultants have different opinions on the reasons for legislators. Juno, an academic and DPRD consultant, explained:

“Electoral incentives are automatically input (demand) from constituents. However, this electoral effect does not directly impact legislators’ elections because constituents still consider patronage and money politics.” (Juno, 2023)

Fahmi, an academic and consultant to the DPRD, confirmed the normative reasons for the DPRD's obligation to propose an initiative to draft regulations. However, he added another reason: legislators also try to get 'points' (recognition) from the community for the initiative. Moreover, legislators also receive 'coins' or honorariums during meetings to discuss draft regulations. (Fahmi, 2023).

Despite this normative answer, political party heads acknowledged that there are indirect reasons or incentives for legislators who have made an effort to push through the DPRD's bill initiative. A concrete incentive is to determine the order of the list of legislative candidates in elections⁴ (Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections, 2017). Irfan (pseudonym), the chair of the PKS in Malang Municipality, stated:

“There are special considerations in determining order numbers because they have contributed, and according to the community, they are important people. We usually prioritize them, including incumbents who we will prioritize (because of their achievements).” (Irfan, 2023)

Another party leader, Rojak (PKB), acknowledged that there were no written rules regarding incentives for legislators who successfully initiated the DPRD Initiative Bylaw. However, the PKB considers such initiatives when ranking legislative candidates during elections (Rojak, 2023). In addition to the reasons derived from legislators and public needs, the draft regulations of the DPRD initiative are also related to structural factors (outside the DPRD) that encourage them to take the initiative to propose draft regulations. A party that

⁴ Indonesia has applied an open-list proportional-representation system for legislative elections since 2004. This means that a voter can vote directly for a legislator candidate or party. Legislator candidates who occupy small-ordered numbers (1-3) in the list or ballot have a better chance of being elected than those who occupy large serial numbers.

oversees legislators also encourages the Malang City DPRD initiative. Rudi, a legislator from the PDIP and Chairman of the *pansus*, stated:

“Indeed, we are just open; from the DPP (Central Executive Board of the Party), we were instructed to propose several regional bills from the division of culture into the DPP. One of these is Cultural Advancement. For me, because I am from the PDIP faction, we have a National Cultural Agency (BKN) in the DPP that exists today. Therefore, legislators from the PDIP Faction must have regional regulations and accommodate cultural and artistic activists in these regions.” (Rudi, 2023)

Another structural factor that encouraged the DPRD to initiate the bill was the demand for a national-level law. Aditya, the secretary of the special committee, said:

“If we talk about demands, yes, it does not need to be demanded; yes, it must be implemented, because the law above it⁵ has been made, whether you want it or not, whether you like it or not, it must also be made because the law above it already exists. This regional regulation cannot be implemented if there are no higher regulations. This is the derivative of the following law⁶.” (Aditya, 2023; Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections, 2017)

The DPRD also took advantage of this situation because the Malang City Government had not submitted the same draft regulations. Aditya, the secretary of the special committee, added:

“The Raperda on Cultural Advancement does not yet exist, and we can see that there is no draft initiated by the executive does not exist. We took an initiative that differed from the executive initiatives. So, we made it, sir.” (Aditya, 2023)

Based on an explanation of the individual reasons and structural factors that drove the formation of the DPRD's initiative bill, this study implicitly elucidates LE's practice of combining bottom-up and top-down approaches in forming the Cultural Advancement Bill. Legislators' initiatives meet the demands of national laws and the orders of political party leaders (national and regional) to encourage the formation of DPRD initiative bills. In addition, legislators' rational behavior encourages LE practices.

Another explanation for the context that can direct the practice of legislative entrepreneurship is the role of the national government in the region. As a unitary state,

⁵ Law No. 5 of 2017 concerning Cultural Advancement.

⁶ Aditya's statement was also confirmed by Juno, an academic and consultant of the Malang City Council (Juno, 2023), and Fahmi, an academic and consultant of the Malang City Council (Fahmi, 2023)

Indonesia applies the principles of regional autonomy and decentralization. Based on Law No. 23/2014 on Regional Government, the national government divides authority into national, provincial, and regional (regency or municipality) governments. The government also stipulates concurrent authorities that are shared between levels of government and absolute authorities held only by the national government.

The success of regional regulations by the DPRD is also determined by the evaluation of regional bills by the national government, which is delegated to the provincial government. Law 23/2014 regulates the governor's role as a representative of the national government (Paragraph 7 of Article 91). To carry out guidance and supervision, the governor is tasked with evaluating draft regency/city regulations and has the authority to cancel them, as well as regents/mayors' decrees.

Operationally, Minister of Home Affairs Regulations No. 80 of 2015 and No. 120 of 2018 regulate the evaluation of regional bills submitted by regions, including bills initiated by the DPRD. The Provincial Government Legal Bureau conducts a legal review to determine the conditions of the laws and regulations governing the substances or materials to be regulated in bills. Through this review, the position of the bills can be determined, which illustrates the level of synchronization and harmonization of existing laws and regulations and the position of regional regulations to avoid overlapping arrangements.

Firda, an official at the Law Division of the Regional Secretariat of the Malang Municipality Government, explained the facilitation of the bill evaluation. She explained:

“In the process of Raperda's cultural advancement, we provide facilities for the harmonization of legal products at the Ministry of Law and Human Rights and the Provincial Legal Bureau.” (Firda, 2023)

Aditya, the secretary of the *pansus*, also conveyed the provincial government's strong role in overseeing the draft law. (Aditya, 2023)

Potential Impacts

Political entrepreneurship creates at least three categories of impact: formal political rules, policy outputs, and practices (Petridou et al., 2016). This study explores the potential impact of drafting the Regional Bill on Cultural Advancement by Malang City's DPRD. The potential impacts explored were those of the DPRD, community, party, and individual legislators' roles.

For the DPRD, the citizens of Malang City appreciated the successful drafting of the bill. Rudi, the chairman of the *pansus*, stated:

“The first positive aspect that had an impact after the existence of the initiative’s regional regulation was that we obtained appreciation from the community for the existence of this bill. In the history of Malang City, there has only been one initiative of regional regulation thus far, and the DPRD has never made three initiative regional regulations at the same time.” (Rudi, 2023)

This statement was reinforced by two academics and consultants. Juno said that the draft initiative had an impact on the DPRD, one of which was to become the basis for the legislative supervision of the executive regarding cultural advancement (Juno, 2023). Meanwhile, Fahmi added that the *raperda* would potentially guarantee a regional budget for cultural advancement programs (Fahmi, 2023).

The bill also has a potential impact on society, particularly for cultural activists. Rudi, the chairperson of the *pansus*, is optimistic that once enacted, the draft regulations will have a positive impact on many cultural communities and activists in Malang. He clearly stated:

“These (communities and cultural activists) will be accommodated to understand their impact on society. Many activists and actors are not active in organizations, villages, alleys, community units (RT), or neighborhood units (RW). To this day, they are happy because these cultural actors, when conducting hearings on activities with related agencies and the regional head, are always rejected because there is no budget or regional regulation to support them. We have not been able to do that (budgeting) always countered. Meanwhile, when there is regional regulation, there is a mandate for the Regional Head to allocate APBD. This is one of the things that is welcomed by cultural communities; therefore, whether large or small, there must be a budget allocation for culture.” (Rudi, 2023)

Aditya, the secretary of the *pansus*, corroborated the warm welcome for regional regulation from cultural activists, as it could drive cultural activities in Malang City (Aditya, 2023). Fahmi, an academic and consultant on the DPRD, agreed on the potential impact of regional regulations that could guarantee cultural advancement funding (Fahmi, 2023).

Rojak, the chairman of the PKB, agreed to the bill’s potential direct impact on the community. He argued that regional regulations aimed at directly addressing community problems would benefit them (Rojak, 2023). The bill does not directly impact the political parties with which the legislators are affiliated. The leaders of these three political parties have different opinions. Rojak, the PKB chair, stated that the impact was direct on the community, with no direct impact on the party or its members (Rojak, 2023). Firman, a Golkar Party official who was also a legislator in the Malang City DPRD, agreed that there was no impact on the party, although the party wanted it (reelection impact). The impact is not significant because when the draft regulation is passed, the party that dominantly pushes the initiative draft bill receives the impact (Firman, 2023).

In contrast to the two previous party officials, Irfan, chair of PKS Malang City, explained the experience of PKS Malang City in pushing for the DPRD Initiative Regional Bill on Islamic Boarding Schools, which was conducted simultaneously with the *Raperda* on Cultural Advancement. He conveyed his knowledge as follows:

“In Pesantren Raperda, the PKS is present to defend the interests of the people—in this case, the Pesantren institution and its students. Thus, the PKS is also present to prevent Pesantren from being framed as a radical educational institution, even though many national leaders have been educated through Pesantren. Additionally, we fight for Pesantren to obtain its rights as an official educational institution in Indonesia. However, for this benefit, we are present as a party that defends the interests of the community so that in the election, we are among the parties trusted by the community to be elected.” (Irfan, 2023)

Meanwhile, Rudi, the chairman of the Special Committee, briefly answered that appreciation from the community for preparing the regional bill had more implications for the party than for him (Rudi, 2023).

Finally, this study explores the potential impact on legislators, especially those directly involved in the process. Rudi, the chairman of the *pansus*, provided the following explicit answer:

“For example, when I was the Chair of the Pansus of the Regional Bill on Cultural Advancement, I gained value because I wrote it down (published it). However, there are incentives for re-election to the post. However, there are no direct implications of this finding. The impact on me is that I can maintain my constituents in the areas of culture and arts. This is thanks to the creation of the Raperda to care for this community through (the allocation of) the Malang City APBD.” (Rudi, 2023)

Firman, an official of the Golkar Party, reinforced this statement, believing that there was a potential indirect electoral impact on the legislators. The enactment of the *Raperda* can be a legal basis for accommodating the interests of the constituents of cultural communities (Firman, 2023). Similarly, Fahmi, an academic and consultant on the DPRD, agreed on the potential impact of legislators on budget proposals related to regional bills. With access to the budget, legislators can maintain their loyalty through the budget for cultural advancement (Fahmi, 2023).

Meanwhile, the response of Juno, an academic and DPRD consultant, explained the indirect link between legislators' contributions to the drafting of the DPRD initiative bills and reelections. However, electoral effects do not directly influence the legislative elections (Juno, 2023).

Rudi, the chairman of the *pansus*, explained that another appreciation from the party in determining the order number of the legislative candidate list could help him get reelected. He added:

“However, I feel that according to party regulations, I should be candidate number four because in my party, when there is a chairman, secretary, or treasurer at the municipal level, it must be number one. I compete in the same constituency as the secretary, so he is automatically numbered (first on the list). The secretary’s position was higher than that of the vice-chairperson. Position number 2 should be the party chairman at the subdistrict level, followed by the vice-chairman. However, because I received appreciation for this raperda and the last one, when my comments on Halal City went viral, I was given privilege number 2, sir.” (Rudi, 2023)

Rudi's answer is indirectly supported by Irfan's statement, the chair of PKS Malang City, that the candidates involved in drafting the DPRD initiative bills are incumbents. They were assigned the first number on the list of candidates in each constituency to maintain their and party votes. Meanwhile, outstanding cadres are placed second on the list of candidates (Irfan, 2023).

Two other academics have explained the potential impact of imaging on legislators: Jimi, an anthropologist involved in the public examination of the *raperda*, believes that the formation of regional regulations initiated by the DPRD is an arena for raising the image of legislators through political contestation (Jimi, 2023). Fahmi, an academic from a private university and a DPRD consultant, responded with the same substance, namely, as a selling point for the public (Fahmi, 2023).

However, the two informants provided different answers regarding their potential impact on legislators. Aditya, the *pansus*, responded differently.

“No, we have our criteria for Golkar. We prioritized PDLT when nominating the legislators⁷.” (Aditya, 2023)

Rojak, the chair of PKB Malang City, agreed that drafting initiative regulations would have a direct impact on the community. There is no direct impact on the parties or legislators. (Rojak, 2023)

Despite these differing opinions, legislators and political party officials consider potential indirect impacts.

⁷ PDLT stands for achievement, dedication, loyalty, and impeccability.

Theory of Regional Legislative Entrepreneurship

This section connects the explanation of LE practices to four questions (who, how, where, and impact). Furthermore, it integrates the analysis and identifies the central themes that explain the essence of LE in the DPRD's practice of drafting the *Raperda* at the regional level. First, it reveals the actors empirically involved in and contributing to the drafting of regional bills on DPRD initiatives. The legislators of the Special Committee were directly involved in directing the content of the regional bill. The chairman, secretary, and *pansus* members of the Malang City DPRD were involved in drafting the bill. In addition, the chairperson and secretary of the special committee conducted informal dialogues with legislators outside the committee to obtain ideas on the direction of the bill. This study found that the role of the chairperson of the party that oversees legislators in the DPRD indirectly directs the formation of *raperda*, especially in directing its content. Other parties with an indirect role are academics or DPRD consultants, who assist the DPRD in the legislative process. The input of academics and consultants is controlled by legislators. In practice, actors in groups create and direct the *Raperda* content. Additionally, a category of individual actors, namely, political party leaders at the city level, encourage legislators to become actively involved in drafting bills. Referring to the PE study, no new category of actors was involved in LE. Second, it explores the strategies legislators have applied to draft the bills. They use an interaction strategy between legislators within and across factions (coalitions). In addition, the government encouraged interactions between legislators and non-government actors, namely political parties, communities/cultural activists, academic consultants, and universities. The DPRD held a public consultation to accommodate stakeholders' aspirations regarding the cultural advancement of Malang. Both strategies follow Permendagri 80/2015 and 120/2018, which regulate the procedures for creating regional regulations.

The strong role of the government (institution) in directing regional regulations causes interactions between stakeholders to become more normative. Therefore, a study of the drafting of the Regional Regulation on Cultural Advancement on the initiative of the Malang City DPRD has not succeeded in revealing strategies other than these conventional ones. Third, the study revealed the reasons that prompted the drafting of the *raperda*. Legislators' initiatives, the demands of national laws, and orders from political party leaders (both national and regional). Legislators' initiatives are rational because of their ability to predict the impact of reelection.

The legislative approach combines both top-down and bottom-up approaches. Legislators consider the Law on Cultural Advancement when creating *raperda*. Simultaneously, legislators also tried to obtain feedback on *Raperda* from communities and cultural activists in Malang. Furthermore, drafting regional bills cannot be separated from the roles of national and provincial governments. The government supervises the drafting of district/city regulations, including draft regional regulations initiated by the DPRD, through evaluation and harmonization. Supervision refers to the laws and regulations at the national level.

Due to this supervisory practice, the government has become an institutional factor that tends to negate entrepreneurial initiatives in the LE sector. In other words, it is difficult for DPRD to create specific, unique regional regulations that respond to regional problems or opportunities because they can be annulled by the government and provinces if they do not comply with national laws. Fourth, this study revealed the potential impact of the *Raperda*. For the DPRD, drafting regional regulations can guarantee the legitimacy of monitoring and budgeting for cultural development. The enactment of regional regulations will become the legal basis for the DPRD to carry out its supervisory function and budget allocation for cultural advancement programs and activities in the regional budget.

For communities, especially community and cultural activists, the drafting of regional regulations has the potential to guarantee budget allocations for cultural advancement in the APBD. For parties, especially those that are dominant in endorsing draft regulations, the success of creating a *raperda* has the potential to receive public appreciation. Specifically, communities and cultural activists respond positively to the efforts of parties to support legislators and the DPRD in proposing bills. Legislators' work has the potential to open up re-election opportunities, although its impact is indirect. Legislators can individually build electoral bonds with the constituents (communities and cultural activists) of their constituencies. The bond is built by legislators with access to APBD allocations that follow the interests of their constituents.

Furthermore, legislators receive appreciation from the party when determining the positions of potential elected candidates on the ballot (Order 1 or 2). Although the potential for re-election is indirect, incentives for legislators are important for encouraging LE to draft bills. Fifth, the institutional framework equips the government with 'direct' legislative initiatives by the DPRD. The provincial government supervises each regional bill through its evaluation and harmonization. The government can cancel bills if they do not meet the established mechanisms and provisions of the law.

Using the PE analytical framework, this study constructs a theory to explain the practice of LE in drafting regional bills at the regional level. Regional LE works because of the contribution of champion legislators who build inter-factional coalitions within the DPRD to support regional bill initiatives. Regional LE is driven by the potential tangible impact of legislators' actions to build electoral bonds with constituents through access to regional budgeting combined with the opportunity to obtain prospective numbers on the ballot. However, the rules and practices of regional bill supervision by the national government decisively determine the output of regional LE.

To determine the academic implications, the results of this study were compared with those of previous LE studies. This study corroborates the findings of previous research on LE actors that legislators are the main actors, especially champion legislators, who are members of the DPRD *pansus*. Legislators also receive 'direction' from the party to which they are affiliated. They also followed the procedural guidelines set by the government in the process of preparing academic papers, public hearings, and drafting regulations. Government directions cause bill drafting to be conducted in groups rather than on behalf of individual bills. Previous studies on LE have explained its aspects. This study reinforces the core aspect of LE as a regional-bill-drafting activity. DPRD members consider bill-drafting initiatives to be a good practice rather than simply carrying out the functions of supervision, budgeting, and discussing bills submitted by the executive.

Based on the findings of this study, the other three aspects of LE—coalition building, issue grouping, and policy knowledge—were less prominent in drafting the *Raperda* on Cultural Advancement. The strong role of the government in directing the process of creating regional regulations causes them to run normally. This study did not find any breakthroughs in these aspects of LE. The study revealed the reasons for legislative drafting by the DPRD, namely the initiatives of legislators, demands of national laws, and orders from political party leaders (national and regional). These findings corroborate the two categories of independent variables from previous studies that drive LE practices: rational and institutional.

Legislators encourage to draft regional regulations because of their reelection behavior. The stipulation of regional regulations will provide opportunities for access to budgeting to promote the culture of constituents. Legislators also receive a 'gift' of prospective numbers in the ballot of legislative elections from political parties. These two benefits can improve the electability of the legislators. These findings corroborate G. Wawro (2001) the finding that LE activities indirectly affect reelection.

The findings of this study also support the contributions of institutions. However, in contrast to the positive contributions of institutions conveyed by Schiller (1995) and Finocchiaro & MacKenzie, (2018), the strong presence of the national government and its regulations tend to negate LE initiatives in these regions. The practice of supervising regional regulations through evaluation, harmonization, and cancellation undermines regional council initiatives.

This study generates theoretical ideas about the operation of LE at the regional level, driven by the role of champion legislators. They work with indirect incentives for reelection. LE can increase the chances of re-election because of the potential impact of opening access to budgeting, which can benefit constituents and the party's privilege of obtaining a prospective number on the list of candidates. However, the government controls the success of draft regulations by overseeing and vetoing proposed regulations.

The last proposition extends LE theory to the importance of considering the context of the level of government, which has consequences for the relationship between the government and regions. The centralization of regional regulatory supervision by the government can negate LE practices in these regions. In general, the theoretical propositions generated in this study support the vital combination of institutional power and legislators' rational political motives that drive LE, as explained by Schiller (1995), Finocchiaro (2008), G. Wawro (2001), and Finocchiaro & MacKenzie, (2018). However, in Indonesia, institutions can inhibit legislative entrepreneurship at the regional level. If this study summarizes a processual explanation of regional legislative entrepreneurship, as shown in Figure 1, the process begins with the recognition of a problem, namely, limited institutional and budgetary support for cultural actors in Malang City. Legislators then recognized a policy opportunity because a national legal framework for cultural advancement already existed, while the city's executive had not yet initiated similar regional regulations.

This opportunity was transformed into an initiative by the Regional Legislative Council (DPRD) through the roles of supporting legislators, factions, party officials, academic consultants, and cultural communities. The strategies employed were largely procedural and institutionalized, including inter-faction communication, coalition building, public consultation, expert involvement, and legal drafting.

Figure 1. The Process of Regional Legislative Entrepreneurship in Drafting the Cultural Advancement Regional Bill in Malang City



Source: Compiled from interview data, documentary data, and adapted from the political entrepreneurship framework of Petridou et al. (2016) and the legislative entrepreneurship concept of Wawro (2001).

However, the process did not end at the DPRD. The draft legislation must go through the executive process, legal harmonization, and provincial-level facilitation. This flowchart illustrates the main argument of this study. Regional legislative entrepreneurship is enabled by the political roles and incentives of legislators; however, its outcomes are limited by the hierarchical oversight of regional lawmaking.

Conclusion

This study shows the extent of the institutional challenges faced by regional LE in Indonesia. Legislative drafting by the DPRD is effective because of input from legislators

and political parties. Simultaneously, regional LE must address strong government control through regional legislative drafting and oversight. Previous studies have explained the importance of combining institutional power and legislators' rational behavior in driving the LE. Instead, it examines the relationship between institutions and regionally incompatible political motives. Institutions can hinder the output and potential impact of regional legislation initiated by the DPRD.

This study had several limitations. First, it focuses on a single case, the Draft Regional Regulation on Cultural Advancement initiated by the Malang City Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). Therefore, its findings are best read as analytical propositions, not generalizations for all DPRDs in Indonesia. Second, this study focuses on the drafting process and potential impact of the draft regulation; it does not assess its implementation after it is enacted. Third, this study only examines one policy sector, namely cultural advancement, and therefore fails to capture potential variations in legislative entrepreneurship practices in other sectors.

Future research should compare DPRD-initiated draft regulations in various cities, regencies, and provinces to examine the influence of party configuration, regional fiscal capacity, policy sectors, executive-legislative relations, and civil society participation. Longitudinal studies are also needed to assess whether DPRD-initiated draft regulations result in policy implementation, budget allocation, and measurable public benefits. Furthermore, comparisons with other decentralized unitary states could broaden the development of the regional legislative entrepreneurship theory.

Acknowledgments

The authors gratefully acknowledge the financial support provided by the Internal Research Grant Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Universitas Brawijaya 2023, under Research Contract No. 027/UN10.F11/B/PN /2023.

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