

Policy Agenda and Legislative Process in Legislative Institutions: A Systematic Review of the Literature and its Implications for the Indonesian House of Representatives

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ABSTRACT

Research on policy agendas and legislative processes plays a strategic role in understanding the dynamics of political representation within democratic systems. The development of literature in this field still shows limitations in thematic, institutional, and geographical scope. This research aims to systematically map the development of studies on policy agendas and legislative processes, with a particular focus on the institutional dynamics of legislative bodies within the context of representative democracy. The method used is a Systematic Literature Review combined with bibliometric analysis using the R-based Biblioshiny tool, with data sourced from the Scopus database for the period 2014–2025. The findings indicate that the study of policy agendas and legislative processes has experienced relatively stagnant growth, with dominant themes including agenda setting, legislative politics, and policy processes. The intellectual structure of the literature identifies political parties as central actors in the formation of policy agendas within legislative institutions. In terms of geographical distribution, research remains concentrated in liberal democracies in Western regions, while studies in developing country contexts such as Indonesia are still very limited. The lack of studies emphasizing the institutional role of the Legislative Body of the House of Representatives reveals a significant research gap. The results of this study are expected to enrich the literature on policy agendas by incorporating an institutional perspective from the context of developing democracies and reaffirming the importance of legislative bodies in realizing democratic political representation.

Keywords: Policy Agenda; Legislative Process; Political Representation

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INTRODUCTION

Several studies have examined the dynamics of policy agendas and legislative processes in various representative institutions, such as Borghetto's (2020) study on agenda setting in the European Parliament, which found the influence of political coalition dynamics and public pressure; Bevan and Jennings' (2018) research on parliamentary responses to crises in the United Kingdom; and Kreppel and Webb's (2019) study on the role of legislative committees in the United States. In the Indonesian context, Asrinaldi (2025) examined government dominance in the legislative process of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (DPR RI) during the Jokowi era; Feulner (2024) described the phenomenon of democratic decline within the DPR; Tambunan (2023) analyzed oligarchic intervention in the legislative process; Mahendra et al. (2022) explored challenges to the institutional capacity of the Badan Legislasi DPR RI (Legislative Body); Safik (2021) identified weaknesses in the planning of the Program Legislasi Nasional (Prolegnas); and Fitryantica and Hermawan (2022) along with Susilowati (2024) examined the phenomenon of fast-track legislation. However, based on a

literature search in the Scopus database, research on policy agendas and legislative processes in Indonesia remains very limited, averaging only two to three publications per year. Most studies still focus on the context of Western liberal democracies, and none have comprehensively mapped the development of these studies using a systematic and bibliometric approach. This research, therefore, seeks to fill that gap.

In the dynamics of modern constitutional governance, the legislature plays a vital role as the embodiment of the principle of popular sovereignty. Parliament's existence is not merely a formal instrument of democracy but also a symbol of public participation in shaping state policies. The long history of parliamentary institutions—from the Magna Carta of 1215 in England to the development of constitutional systems across nations—illustrates a shift of power from monarchic authority to people's representation articulated through representative institutions. This model subsequently became a reference for many democratic countries, including Indonesia, in formulating legal systems that positioned the legislature as the center of legitimate lawmaking.

The Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (DPR RI), or the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, is a legislative body mandated by the Constitution to channel the people's sovereignty into policy formulation. According to Article 20, paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the DPR holds legislative authority, making it responsible for the formulation of national laws. As stated in the Law, the legislative function of the DPR cannot be understood solely as a technical process of drafting bills, but must be viewed as a constitutional mechanism connecting public interests with the orientation of state policies. However, in practice, the implementation of this function does not always adhere to constitutional principles. The legislative process, which should align with the needs and aspirations of the people, often degenerates into a transactional political arena dominated by elite interests rather than the broader public good.

Referring to Thomas Birkland's (2019) *An Introduction to the Policy Process*, the legislature is conceptualized as a policy gatekeeper—an institutional actor with the authority to screen, select, and determine which public issues deserve inclusion in the policy agenda. This role aligns with the principle of separation of powers (*trias politica*) introduced by Montesquieu, wherein the legislative branch performs functions of representation and oversight through its lawmaking powers. The shift of legislative function from a forum of public representation to an arena of elite domination reveals an increasingly evident democratic regression. In a presidential system such as Indonesia's, the relationship between the DPR and the executive should be one of checks and balances, in which the DPR maintains autonomy to supervise and counterbalance executive authority. However, in practice, there remains a significant gap between normative principles and political reality in Indonesia's legislative process.

This gap raises fundamental questions regarding the quality of representative democracy in Indonesia. When the legislative function loses its substantive orientation, a crisis of representation becomes inevitable. Feulner (2024), in his article "The Indonesian House of Representatives and Its Role During Democratic Regression," identifies this phenomenon as a form of democratic regression, wherein the DPR no longer serves a deliberative function to oversee executive power but rather acts as a legitimizing agent for pre-determined government policies. This shift in legislative function aligns with the findings of Asrinaldi (2025) in

“Government Domination in Policy Making in the House of Representatives During the President Jokowi Era,” which demonstrate a strong dominance of the government in legislative processes during President Jokowi’s administration—where parliament served more as a coalition partner than a balancing force. This phenomenon is further exacerbated by oligarchic intervention penetrating the legislative process and influencing the substance of public policy, as described by Tambunan (2023), who found that Indonesia’s lawmaking processes often serve as tools for reproducing economic-political elite interests rather than reflecting the aspirations of the people.

These findings raise critical questions about the extent to which the legislature continues to fulfill its substantive role as the people’s representative. This question becomes even more pressing when reviewing the legislative performance of the DPR RI over the past three years, based on Prolegnas data available on the official dpr.go.id website. According to the Prolegnas priority report, in 2023 there were 48 draft bills submitted, but only eight were successfully enacted. In 2024, the number of proposed bills increased to 99, but only 17 were completed. Meanwhile, in 2025, out of 85 proposed bills, only 10 reached the final stage and were passed. Accumulated across the medium-term Prolegnas, of the 704 bills planned, only 43 were actually deliberated and enacted into law.

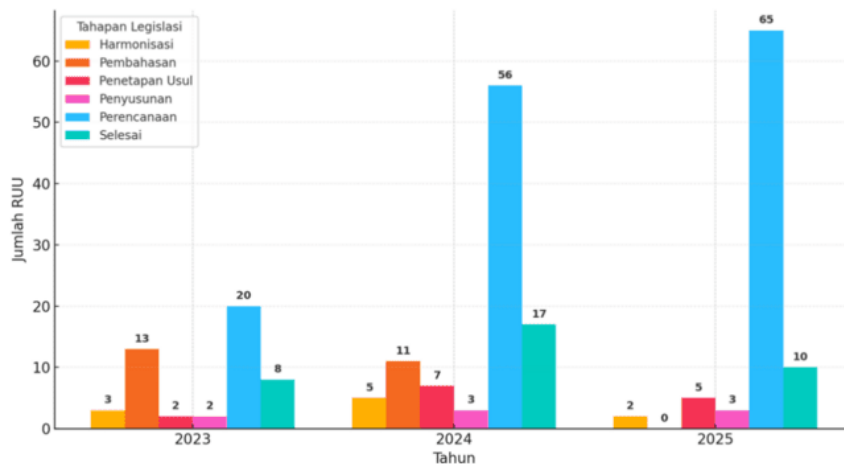


Figure 1. Comparative Data of Prolegnas 2023-2025

Source: dpr.go.id (2026)

Referring to the data above, it shows serious structural symptoms in the performance of national legislation, where the low rate of bill completion indicates an imbalance between the functions of planning, discussion, and finalization of laws in the House of Representatives. The disparity between the number of bills included in the Program Legislasi Nasional (Prolegnas) and those successfully passed reflects weak institutional effectiveness in managing legislative priorities and reveals inefficiencies in the national legal planning system. The dominance of the numbers at the planning stage—which reached 65 bills by 2025, far exceeding the number completed—indicates that the legislative process in Indonesia remains trapped at the administrative level without being able to transform into tangible substantive outcomes. This recurring pattern of stagnation from year to year also demonstrates that the legislative institution lacks an adequate control mechanism in implementing legislative

agendas, particularly in terms of coordination between the Badan Legislasi (Baleg), commissions, and the government (Ikhanudin, 2024).

Low productivity also illustrates a selective political tendency in determining discussion priorities, where bills that are strategic and beneficial to the public are often delayed, while politically nuanced bills serving elite interests are completed more quickly (Hutchings, 2021; Lorenz, 2020; Rubin, 2019). Laws enacted outside the National Legislative Procedure have often sparked public criticism. Historical records note intense public disapproval following the enactment of the Undang-Undang Tentara Nasional Indonesia (UU TNI), which was deemed contrary to the spirit of the 1998 Reform, and the Undang-Undang Aparatur Sipil Negara (UU ASN), which became controversial because it was discussed without inclusion in the Prolegnas. In contrast, several bills that received strong civil society support required prolonged deliberation and repeatedly entered and exited the National Legislative Procedure without clear explanation. A clear example is the Undang-Undang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual (UU TPKS), which was included in the Prolegnas in 2017–2019, removed in 2020 without explanation, and only enacted in 2022 after a 10-year process (Setyawan, 2022). A similar fate befell the Rancangan Undang-Undang Perlindungan Pekerja Rumah Tangga (RUU PPRT), which has remained pending since 2011.

These delays and inefficiencies are not solely caused by the high legislative workload but are symptomatic of deeper structural problems. From a process analysis perspective, Safik (2021), in his article “Law-Making Process in Indonesia: An Analysis on the National Legislation Program (Prolegnas),” emphasized that the majority of stalled bills are not the result of ideological differences among factions but stem from weak planning and harmonization mechanisms between agencies. The law-making process in Indonesia continues to be characterized by overlapping authority, poor coordination between the House of Representatives, ministries, and related institutions, as well as the absence of an evaluation system oriented toward legal quality. This demonstrates that the legislative problem is not merely quantitative (i.e., the number of unfinished bills) but also qualitative, as the process often fails to produce outcomes aligned with the principles of good governance and the rule of law (Botero et al., 2016; Dunlop et al., 2024; Hasan et al., 2024; Kerwin & Furlong, 2025).

The stagnation is also rooted in the institutional weaknesses of the House of Representatives itself, particularly regarding the performance of the Badan Legislasi (Baleg). As the main organ responsible for drafting legislation, the Baleg should serve as the core of the national legislative process. However, during the 2020–2024 Prolegnas evaluation plenary session in late 2024, the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (DPR RI) acknowledged its own poor performance and the excessive number of bills discussed under accelerated procedures. This self-criticism was also echoed by DPR RI members, yet no specific regulation has been established to ensure that the legislative mechanism prioritizes bills within the Prolegnas rather than those added through the open cumulative list. This aligns with the findings of Mahendra et al. (2023), who showed that the Baleg continues to face serious institutional capacity challenges—such as weak inter-commission coordination, limited human resources, and poor integration between legislative planning and discussions at the commission level. As a result, many bills remain stalled at the “planning” or “initial discussion” stage without meaningful progress.

This structural weakness has also led to the emergence of a phenomenon known as fast-track legislation, a mechanism designed to accelerate law-making to meet specific political objectives. Fitriyantica and Hermawan (2022) revealed that this approach is often used by the government to rapidly pass strategic bills, but it often sacrifices the deliberative process and limits public participation. Susilowati's (2024) findings further confirm that accelerating legislation without room for public dialogue can undermine the legitimacy of legal products and damage the legislature's image as a representative institution.

The research gap in policy agenda studies becomes even more apparent when focusing on the legislative process within Indonesia's executive and legislative institutions. To date, the number of studies specifically addressing Indonesia's legislative process remains limited, averaging only two to three publications per year in internationally indexed journals such as Scopus. This indicates that academic research on Indonesia's legislative process has not developed significantly within global scholarship. The gap is also visible in the research cluster on policy agenda studies focusing on legislation. Based on the author's literature search in the Scopus database, a substantial gap persists, particularly regarding the lack of Asian or developing country contexts in the existing research map. Most nodes and connections within the research network remain concentrated on Western contexts. This suggests that agenda-setting research in developing countries, including Indonesia, still makes a very limited contribution to international academic discourse.

Based on the research background and the identified gaps, this study aims to systematically map the development of policy agenda and legislative process studies in the academic literature. Through this mapping, the research seeks to identify patterns of study development, key themes, and intellectual structures dominating the discourse. It specifically aims to analyze the evolution of research on policy agendas and legislative processes in legislative institutions by examining publication trends, thematic focus, intellectual structures, academic influence, dominant theoretical approaches, and geographic research distribution. It also identifies gaps within the existing literature, particularly regarding the institutional roles of legislative bodies in shaping policy agendas in representative democratic systems. This study is expected to contribute theoretically to the fields of political science and public policy by deepening understanding of the dynamics of policy agendas and legislative processes through bibliometric approaches and systematic literature insights. Practically, it serves as a roadmap for scholars and researchers to identify well-studied topics and existing gaps that remain open for exploration. For practitioners and policymakers in legislative institutions, the results of this research can serve as a source for reflection and evaluation regarding the extent to which academic studies have addressed the legislative role in the policy process and how Indonesia's practice compares with other countries. For the government and stakeholders in Indonesia, this research provides an overview of the academic attention given to the policy agenda and legislative processes, thereby offering a foundation to encourage further research and strengthen legislative capacity in the future.

This research also carries theoretical implications for advancing political science and public policy studies by reinforcing the understanding that policy agenda and legislative process studies form a complex intellectual structure with diverse theoretical approaches, influential academic actors, and dynamic evolving themes. These findings highlight the

importance of bibliometric methods in mapping knowledge landscapes and identifying paradigm shifts in legislative studies. Practically, this research underscores the need to strengthen studies on legislative institutions in developing regions—particularly Indonesia—considering the uneven global distribution of research and the limited attention to developing country contexts. For Indonesia's legislative institutions, the findings emphasize the importance of documenting and publishing institutional practices and ongoing policy processes so they may serve as scholarly materials and learning models for other countries. For Indonesian academics and researchers, this study opens opportunities to contribute more actively to global discourse through contextual research that enriches understanding of policy agenda dynamics and legislative processes in developing countries. Finally, this research calls for enhanced cross-national and cross-institutional collaborations to strengthen knowledge networks and foster the development of new theories that better reflect the contexts of legislative institutions within diverse political systems.

METHOD

This research method uses the Systematic Literature Review method with a bibliometric approach through the Biblioshiny device at RStudio. This approach was chosen because it is able to present a systematic and objective literature review to identify research trends, conceptual patterns, and scientific gaps in the study of legislation in Indonesia. This approach was chosen because it allows the search and synthesis of literature to be carried out in a systematic, transparent, and evidence-based manner, while helping to identify thematic tendencies, study focuses, and conceptual gaps in the scientific literature (Donthu et al., 2021). The SLR method allows the process of searching, selection, and analysis of literature to be carried out in a structured manner to minimize bias and increase the validity of research results (Almasri et al., 2021). Bibliometric analysis was conducted with Biblioshiny to map citation mapping, keyword relationships (co-word analysis), and the conceptual structure of relevant literature (Ferreira et al., 2025). Through the combination of these two approaches, this study seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of the development and direction of research related to legislation in Indonesia.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The data collection process in this study was carried out through the Scopus database using a search strategy that was systematically designed to capture literature relevant to the study of policy agendas and the legislative process. The search was conducted in the *TITLE-ABS-KEY* column by combining the keywords "agenda setting" and "agenda setting public policy" with terms that represent the context of legislation, namely "legislative", "legislative process" and "house of representatives". This strategy is used to ensure that the documents that are contained substantively discuss the policy agenda in the context of the legislative institution.

To maintain the relevance and quality of the data, the search is limited to publications published in the range of 2015-2025, journal articles (*articles*), in English, and in the final publication stage. In addition, the search is focused on the field of Social Sciences and the source of documents in the form of scientific journals, to ensure the suitability of the scientific context with the focus of research.

Table 1. Literature Selection Process

Stages	Criteria	Number of documents
Early identification	Keywords in Scopus	410
Technical screening	Year, language and document type	177
Relevance screening	Focus agenda and legislation	156
Final Dataset	Worth Analyzing	138

Source: Results of literature search and selection from the Scopus database (2025).

Based on the selection stages applied, the initial search yielded 410 documents through keyword searches on Scopus. After technical screening based on the year of publication, language, and document type, the number of documents shrunk to 177 documents. The next stage was in the form of assessing the relevance to the focus of the policy agenda and the legislative process, resulting in 156 documents that were assessed in accordance with the scope of the research. Of these, a final feasibility selection was carried out so that 138 documents were obtained which were used as the *final dataset*.

In addition to providing an overview of the stages of the literature selection process, the researcher will also display the main information used to provide an overview of the characteristics of the literature analyzed. Based on figure (1), it will be seen how the main information that presents a summary of the results of bibliometric analysis on research on policy agendas and legislation processes in legislative institutions.



Figure 2. Main Information

Source: Results of bibliometric analysis using Biblioshiny software based on data from the Scopus database (2025).

Efforts to understand the development of the study of policy agendas and the legislative process need to begin by looking at an overview of the literature that forms this field of research. Figure 1 presents a summary of the main bibliometric indicators used to describe the basic characteristics of the corpus of literature analyzed, covering the publication period, research growth intensity, and distribution of academic contributions. This information provides an initial context regarding the position and dynamics of the field of study before the discussion is directed to more specific thematic and conceptual analysis (Aria and Cuccurullo, 2017; Donthu et al., 2021).

The publication time span covered in this analysis shows that the study of policy agendas and legislation processes that developed in the period 2014 to 2025 increased by 7.8%. This growth pattern indicates that academic attention to this topic is gradually increasing, but it has not shown a significant acceleration. This condition reflects that the policy agenda in the context of legislation is still not the main focus in the large flow of public policy research, possibly due to the relatively closed nature of the legislative process and dominated by certain institutional actors.

When paying attention to the distribution of publications and scientific sources involved, it can be seen that the study of policy agendas and legislation processes is spread across 92 journals with a total of 150 documents analyzed. This distribution pattern shows that research in this field is not concentrated in one particular discipline or academic outlet, but spreads across scientific fields. This confirms the interdisciplinary nature of policy agenda studies, which bridges the perspectives of public policy, political science, law, and institutional studies. The diversity of approaches in the literature is also reflected in the number of 548 keywords used in the published analysis. The large number of keywords shows the breadth of the spectrum of issues discussed, ranging from the governance of the legislative process, the dynamics of power in determining policy agendas, to the issue of transparency and public participation.

The diversity of sources and research themes that have been described previously can then be further examined by looking at the level of publication concentration in certain journals. To this end, the following figure presents the distribution of *core sources* based on *the Bradford's Law* approach used to identify the main journals that contribute most to the study of policy agendas and the legislative process. This analysis helps to clarify how the literature spread across these fields continues to form the dominant publication centers in this field of study.

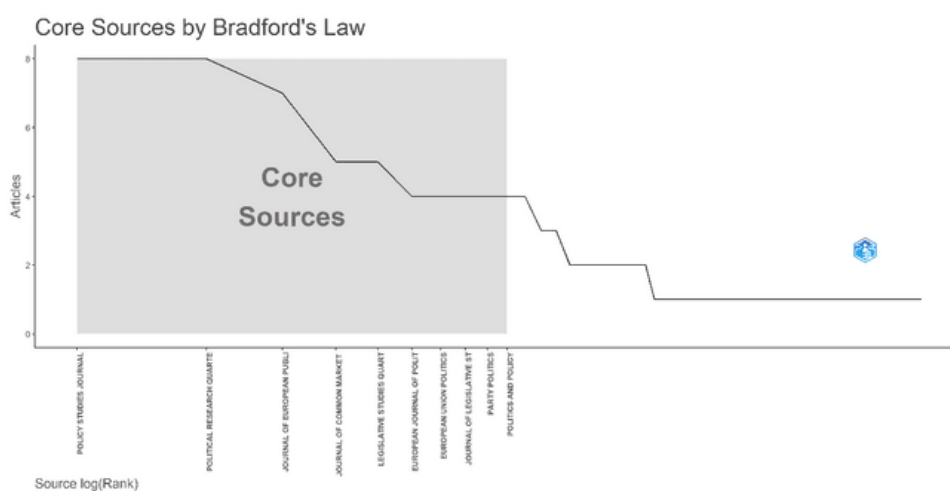


Figure 3. Bradford's Law

Source: Results of analysis of the distribution of publication sources using the Bradford's Law method based on data from the Scopus database (2025).

To better understand how the literature on policy agendas and the legislative process is distributed among various scientific journals, an approach is needed that is able to identify the

level of concentration of publications in specific sources. Figure 3 shows a visualization of the distribution of publication sources using the Bradford's Law approach used to identify core journals in the study of policy agendas and legislative processes. Bradford's Law Principles explain that when journals are sorted by the number of relevant articles published, a small group of core journals will be formed that produce the largest proportion of total publications, followed by a large number of other journals with more limited contributions (Desai et al., 2018).

The visualization in Figure 3 above shows a curve descending from left to right, with the vertical axis representing the number of articles and the horizontal axis representing the ranking of the source on a logarithmic scale. The areas shaded and marked as *core sources* describe the group of journals that have the most significant publication contribution to the study of policy agendas and the legislative process. The existence of this core area shows that although the literature is scattered in many journals, most articles remain concentrated in a small number of specific academic outlets.

The gradual decreasing curve pattern on the left indicates that the journals in the core group have relatively high and stable productivity levels. Meanwhile, the elongated curved section on the right side reflects the existence of a large number of journals with lower productivity, each of which contributes only a small number of articles. This pattern is a distinctive characteristic of the Bradford distribution and indicates that the field of policy agenda studies and the legislative process has clear centres of publication, although overall it is interdisciplinary and dispersed.

To see the dynamics of the development of policy agenda studies and the legislation process over time, the next analysis is directed to the pattern of scientific production and the level of impact of publications. This approach is used to understand how the intensity of research and academic attention to this topic changes throughout the observation period, both in terms of the number of publications and in terms of scientific resonance reflected through the practice of citation as shown in Figure 4 below which will present an initial basic overview before more detailed discussion.

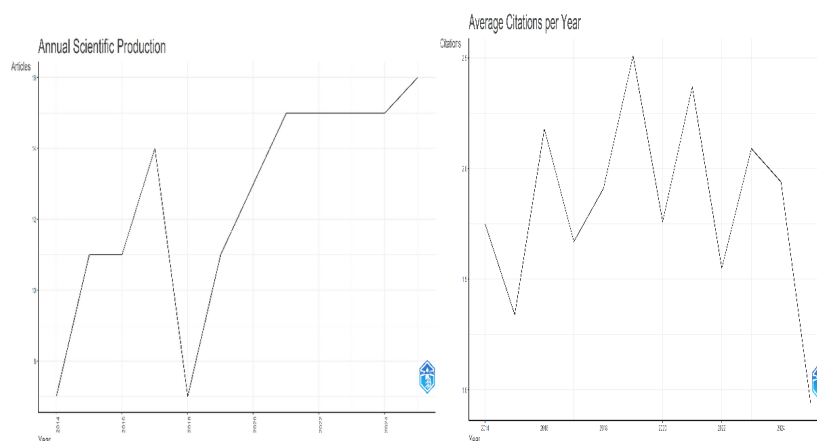


Figure 4. Annual Scientific Production & Average Citations per Year

Source: Results of bibliometric analysis using Biblioshiny software based on data from the Scopus database (2025).

In reading the dynamics of the development of a field of study, the increase in the number of publications needs to be analyzed simultaneously with external contexts that affect the production and reception of scientific knowledge (Donthu et al., 2021). Based on Figure 3 above, the development of the publication shows quite clear fluctuations, with a sharp decline in 2018 before then experiencing a significant increase in 2020. This increase coincides with the COVID-19 pandemic which has prompted increased academic attention to policy agendas and legislative processes, especially in the context of public policy formulation in crisis situations. The most notable spike occurred in the 2018-2020 period, when the number of publications increased from about seven articles per year to more than fifteen articles per year.

This pattern indicates that the study of the policy agenda has entered a more expansive growth phase. This development is likely influenced by increasing public attention to the agenda-setting process and legislation mechanisms at the elite level, as well as its implications for public policy outcomes. In addition, the process of modernization and information disclosure has also encouraged the increasing demand for public participation in the legislative process, which in turn has broadened research interest in this field.

After 2020, although the number of publications continued to show an increase, the average citations per article showed a fluctuating pattern. This pattern can be understood as a prevalent phenomenon in bibliometric analysis, given that newer publications take time to be accessed, discussed, and cited by other researchers (Donthu et al., 2021). In addition, the declining intensity of the global crisis also has the potential to shift the focus of research to other policy issues, so that the attention of citations is no longer strongly concentrated on certain topics as in the early phases of the pandemic. In addition to these temporal and contextual factors, the level of scientific impact is also influenced by the characteristics of knowledge production, especially the pattern of academic collaboration. Other research has also shown that publications that involve international collaborations tend to get higher citations because they reach a wider academic audience and integrate diverse scientific perspectives (Gazni et al., 2012).

The discussion of citation fluctuations and the influence of academic collaboration shows that the impact of a field of study is not only determined by the context of time, but also by the scientific actors involved in it. In this context, attention is then directed to any researchers who consistently contribute to the study of policy agendas and the legislative process. Therefore, the next section will discuss the most productive authors to see how the contributions of individual researchers shape the development of literature in this field as shown in the table of figure 5 below.

Author	Articles	Articles Fractionalized
BORGHETTO E	4	1.67
BEVAN S	3	1.00
KREPPELA	3	1.50
SEEBERG HB	3	2.00
ASH IK	2	0.53
BARK T	2	2.00
CAVARIA	2	0.67
HUGHES T	2	1.50
JENNINGS W	2	0.83
LEWALLEN J	2	2.00

Figure 5. Most Relevant Author's

Source: Results of the author's productivity analysis using Biblioshiny software based on data from the Scopus database (2025).

Figure 5 above presents a list of the most relevant authors in the study of policy agendas and legislation processes based on the number of articles published as well as the fractional contributions of each author. The information from *the most relevant authors* provides an overview of the intellectual leadership structure in the field of study. Of the top ten authors, one author, namely Borghetto E occupies the most dominant position with four articles, while the other three authors publish three articles and the remaining six authors publish two articles each. This pattern suggests that there is one author who is relatively more prolific, although overall research contributions are still scattered among a number of researchers.

The distribution of contributions can be seen in the authors with two and three articles, such as Bevan S, Kreppel A, Seeberg HB, Ash IK, Bark T, Cavari A, Hughes T, Jennings W, and Lewallen J. The presence of these names shows that research on policy agendas and legislation processes is developed by a number of researchers with relatively balanced levels of productivity. However, in terms of geographical background, the top ten authors are still dominated by researchers based in the European Union and the United States, while researchers from the Asian region have not yet appeared in the group of the most prolific authors.

The difference between the number of articles and the fractionalization value provides an idea of the pattern of author collaboration. Some authors with relatively high article counts, such as Borghetto E, Kreppel A, and Bevan S, had lower fractionalization values and indicated involvement in collaborative research and a more equal division of authorship roles. In contrast, authors such as Lewallen J and Bark T show fractionalization value that is proportional to the number of their articles, reflecting a lower level of collaboration and a more dominant role as lead authors.

The results of this pattern distribution reflect the diversity of research practices in the study of policy agendas and the legislative process. Some researchers produce work through broader collaboration, while others contribute through research with strong individual leadership. Both approaches play a role in the development of the literature, where independent research can provide a more in-depth analytical focus, while collaboration allows for the integration of more diverse perspectives and expertise (Linnenluecke et al., 2020). This condition also shows that this field of study is still relatively open for new researchers to build significant contributions.

Then to see how the diversity of research practices develops temporally, the next analysis is directed to the pattern of the author's productivity over time. This discussion is important to see the consistency of the authors' contributions, the period of their emergence in the literature, as well as the dynamics of individual roles and collaborations in shaping the development of policy agenda studies and legislation processes. The following image presents an overview of *the author's Production Overtime* based on the author's production throughout the observation period as shown below.

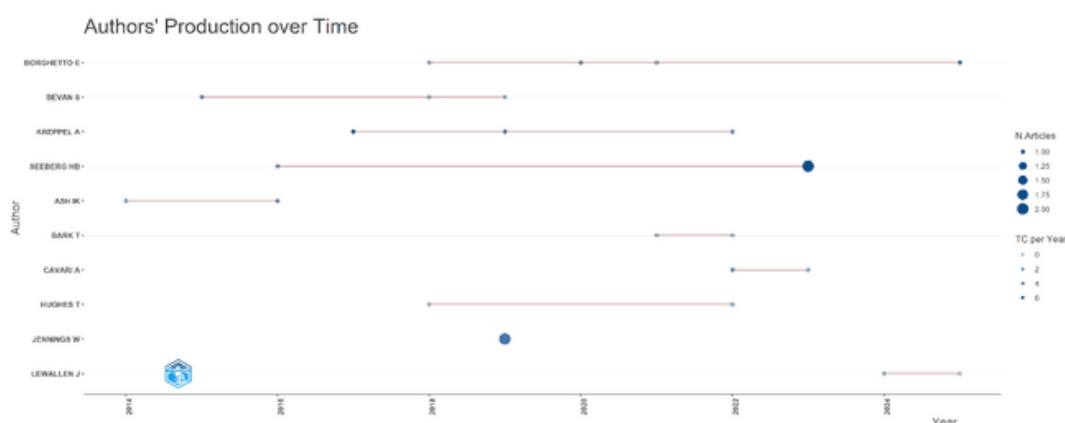


Figure 6. Author's Production over Time

Source: Results of bibliometric analysis using Biblioshiny software based on data from the Scopus database (2025).

The author's production over time visualization above has presented information that shows the number of authors' publications by year, where the circle size represents the intensity of productivity in a given period. The pattern shows that most of the most prolific authors begin to show more intense publication activity after 2023, which signals increased academic attention to the study of policy agendas and the legislative process in the final phase of the analysis period.

In addition to illustrating the intensity of productivity, this visualization also shows that the large number of publications is not always directly proportional to the level of scientific impact. Some authors, such as Seeberg HB and Jennings W show a relatively limited number of publications, but have a high citation rate. Where according to the capacity of writing scientific and academic articles, this shows that their conceptual role in shaping the discourse of studying policy agendas and legislation processes. This pattern is in line with the h-index concept introduced by Hirsch (2005), where scientific impact is determined by a combination of productivity and citation influence. Meanwhile, other authors who are active in the 2020-2025 period generally show a moderate accumulation of citations, which can be understood as a characteristic of relatively new and developing publications, as well as reflecting the widespread collaboration across researchers and across disciplines in this field of study.

Then, to identify the conceptual structure and patterns of interconnectedness between themes in the study of the policy agenda and the legislative process, the next analysis will focus on mapping the *co-occurrence network*. This approach is used to look at how frequently recurring keywords form conceptual relationships, group them into thematic clusters, and reflect the focus and orientation of research in the literature. The visualization of *the co-*

occurrence network presented in Figure 7 below will provide an overview of the dominant themes and the interconnectedness between issues that build academic discourse on policy agendas in the context of legislation.

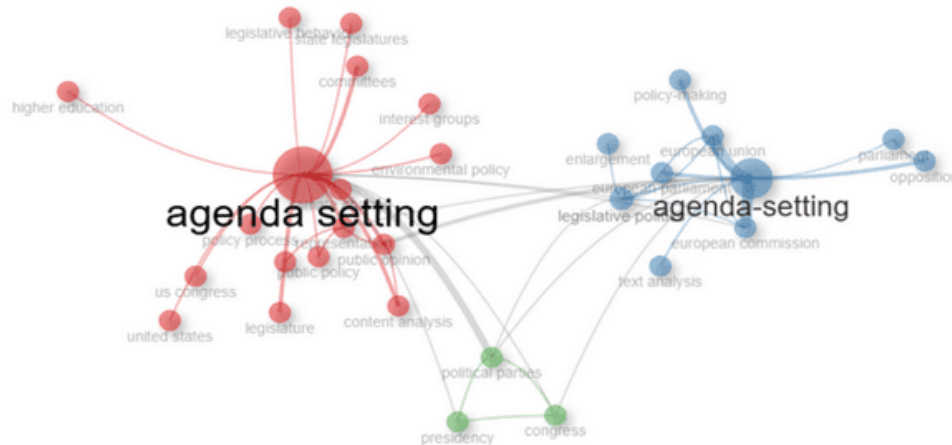


Figure 7. *Co-occurrence Network*

Source: Results of keyword co-occurrence network analysis using Biblioshiny software based on data from the Scopus database (2025).

The analysis of *the co-occurrence network* in figure 7 above provides an overview of the conceptual structure of the study of policy agendas and the legislative process by tracing the relationship of keywords that often appear simultaneously in the literature. This approach, as described in the *co-word analysis* method, is used to identify the main themes and inter-thematic relationships that shape academic discourse in a field of study (Callon et al., 1991). Through this visualization, it can be seen how the research focus develops and is organized in several interconnected thematic clusters.

The red cluster shows the dominance of the agenda setting theme as the main conceptual node connected to keywords such as *legislature*, *interest groups*, *representation*, *policy process*, and *public opinion*. This cluster reflects the literature's attention to the dynamics of policy agenda determination involving interactions between legislative institutions, interest groups, and public opinion. The central position of the red cluster emphasizes that the policy agenda is understood as a political process fraught with competition of actors and representation mechanisms.

The blue cluster is also centered on the theme of agenda setting, but with a stronger emphasis on institutional and procedural aspects. This cluster includes terms such as *legislative politics*, *parliament*, *policy making*, and *the European Commission*, which indicate the focus of the study on formal legislative processes and institutional contexts, particularly in parliamentary and supranational systems. The presence of two clusters with the same core term indicates a differentiation of approaches in the policy agenda literature, both from a broader political perspective and from an institutional perspective.

Meanwhile, the green cluster shows the linkage of the policy agenda with the main policy-making entities, namely *political parties*, *congress*, and *presidency*. This cluster emphasizes the role of institutional actors as the main driver in the process of determining policy agendas.

The connection between the green cluster and the red and blue clusters shows that the discussion of policy agendas in the literature always intersects with the role of political parties and the relationship between the executive and legislative institutions. The intercluster relationships indicated by the gray line represent connecting themes that integrate the various study focuses. Terms such as *policy process* and *legislative politics* function as a conceptual bridge with the strongest connection leading to *political parties*.

Based on the results of the scientific search on *co-occurrence networks* above, it has been shown that the study of policy agendas and legislation processes has an integrated and layered conceptual structure. The policy agenda is understood not only as a substantive issue, but also as a process that involves political actors, institutional mechanisms, and institutional contexts that interact with each other in shaping public policy.

An understanding of the integrated conceptual structure then needs to be complemented by a search of the context of knowledge production geographically. In addition to looking at the interconnectedness of themes and actors in the literature, it is also important to understand how the study of policy agendas and the legislative process develops through a pattern of cross-border collaboration. Therefore, the next analysis is directed at mapping international collaboration between researchers, which provides an overview of the geographical distribution of scientific contributions and the level of interconnection between countries in the development of this study.

Country Collaboration Map

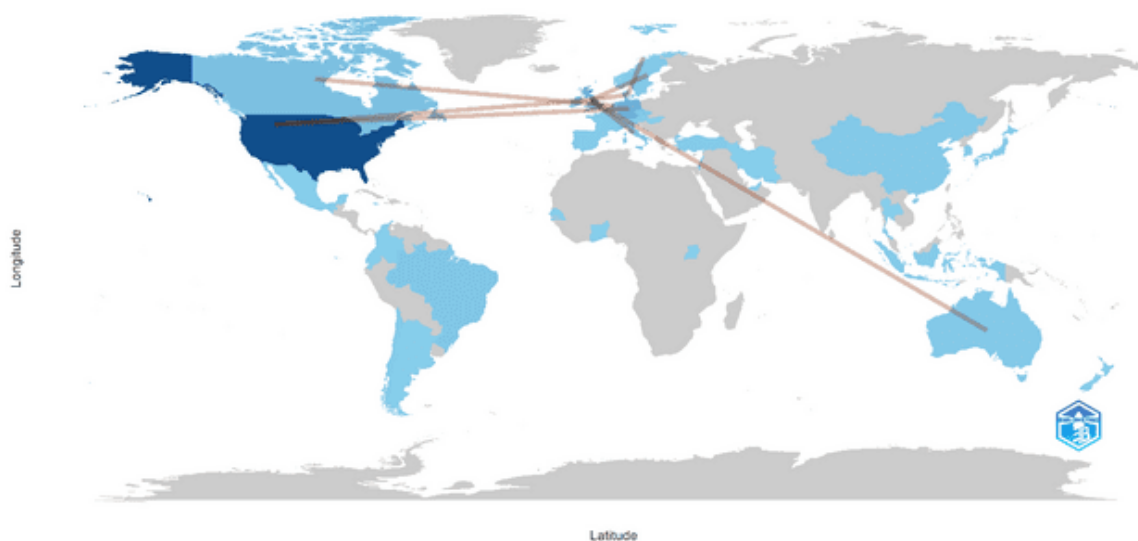


Figure 8. *Country Collaboration Map*

Source: Results of international collaboration analysis using Biblioshiny software based on data from the Scopus database (2025).

The mapping of international collaboration shown in Figure 8 above provides an overview of the geographical distribution and intensity of research cooperation in the study of policy agendas and legislative processes. The visualization of this country collaboration map shows that knowledge production in this field is not evenly distributed but is concentrated in certain countries that have both a high level of publication and a wide network of international

collaborations. The intensity of the dark blue color marks countries that act as centers for the production and dissemination of knowledge, as well as the main nodes in the global collaboration network.

Countries belonging to Western alliances with liberal democratic systems appear to occupy a central position on the collaborative map. The United States, Canada, the Netherlands, and Australia emerge as major actors with relatively high publication volumes and strong cross-country connectivity. The dominance of these countries indicates that the study of policy agendas and legislative processes is strongly influenced by the institutional context and academic traditions that develop within established democratic systems, where access to data, academic freedom, and research policy support are relatively more open. In addition, several Latin American countries, such as Brazil and Chile, are also beginning to show involvement in collaborative networks, although their intensity remains below that of the Western core countries.

The pattern of collaboration portrayed in this map is consistent with the findings of Wagner (2008), who emphasized that the level of international collaboration is strongly influenced by structural factors such as the availability of research funding, national science policies, institutional capacity, and geographical as well as historical proximity. The numerous lines of communication connecting European countries, the United States, and Australia indicate the presence of an integrated research ecosystem in which cross-border collaboration has become a prevalent and institutionalized practice. This network reinforces these countries' positions as the primary drivers of global discourse on policy agendas and legislative processes. In contrast, countries in Asian and African regions exhibit relatively low levels of international publication and collaboration within this field. These limitations reveal a lack of contribution from developing and non-Western countries to the global literature on policy agendas—a condition linked to differences in political systems, research capacity, and limited access to international academic networks. In many cases, countries in these regions also remain under more closed or authoritarian political systems, which may restrict academic freedom and opportunities for cross-border collaboration, particularly in sensitive areas such as policy agenda and legislative process studies.

The transcontinental collaboration represented in this map has significant implications for the advancement of this field of study. Previous research has shown that international cooperation not only enriches analytical perspectives through the exchange of policy contexts and experiences but also enhances the quality and citation impact of scholarly works (Gazni et al., 2012). Based on these findings, the low participation of Asian and African countries in global collaboration networks can be understood as a structural gap that simultaneously presents opportunities for future research development. Strengthening cross-border collaboration—especially by incorporating developing country contexts—is a strategic step toward expanding geographical coverage, enriching theoretical perspectives, and balancing global discourse on policy agendas and legislative processes.

In this context, Indonesia's absence as a key node on the map of international collaboration indicates that the dynamics of policy agendas and legislative processes in the country have not been optimally articulated in global academic discourse. This condition does not imply a lack of policy agenda activity in Indonesia but rather reflects the limited integration

of national research into dominant international research networks. This inequality also highlights a substantial research gap, as developing democracies like Indonesia possess institutional and political characteristics that differ markedly from those of Western liberal democracies. Therefore, strengthening studies on policy agendas and legislative processes based on the Indonesian context—accompanied by more robust cross-border collaboration—constitutes a strategic research agenda for the future, aiming to enhance geographical representation, enrich theoretical perspectives, and balance the global discourse in this field.

In addition to examining the geographical distribution and patterns of research collaboration, understanding the development of policy agenda and legislative process studies also requires identifying the most influential works in the literature. Analyzing the most frequently cited documents globally is important because it reveals the most referenced conceptual and empirical contributions that shape the direction of academic discourse in this field. In the following section, the analysis will focus on publications with the highest citation rates to identify the key works that play a central role in the development of policy agenda and legislative process studies, as illustrated in Figure 9 below.

Paper	DOI	Total Citations	TC per Year	Normalized TC
BOCQUILLON P, 2014, J EUR PUBLIC POLICY	10.1080/13501763.2013.834548	87	6.69	4.14
NUGENT N, 2016, J COMMON MARK STUD	10.1111/jcms.12358	78	7.09	3.58
KREPPPEL A, 2017, COMP POLIT STUD	10.1177/0010414016666839	66	6.60	4.38
GOYAL N, 2021, REGUL GOVERNANCE	10.1111/rego.12387	59	9.83	4.97
FLAVIN P, 2017, POLICY STUD J	10.1111/psj.12184	38	3.80	2.52
TRABER D, 2022, EUR J POLIT RES	10.1111/1475-6765.12456	34	6.80	5.48
LOVETT J, 2015, POLICY STUD J	10.1111/psj.12087	32	2.67	2.17
HARRIS P, 2018, HEALTH PROMOT INT	10.1093/heapro/dax055	31	3.44	2.03
BROMLEY-TRUJILLO R, 2019, STATE POLIT POLICY Q	10.1177/1532440019842175	31	3.88	1.77
REH C, 2020, J EUR PUBLIC POLICY	10.1080/13501763.2020.1712453	31	4.43	2.94

Figure 9. *Most Global Cited Document*

Source: Analysis of documents with the highest citations using Biblioshiny software based on data from the Scopus database (2025).

The understanding of the development of the study of policy agendas and the legislative process is determined not only by the distribution of themes and collaborations, but also by the most influential scientific works in shaping the direction of academic discourse. The global citation rate is often used as an indicator to identify the most referenced conceptual and empirical contributions and has broad influence in the scientific community as shown in figure 8 above. In this context, the analysis of the most cited documents provides an overview of the themes, periods, and publication outlets that are the main references in research on policy agendas and legislative processes.

The list of documents with the highest citations shows that most of the most influential works were published in the 2016-2022 period with only two publications dating from 2014 and 2015 still remaining in the top ten. This pattern indicates that the core literature in this field is relatively new and reflects the dynamic and evolving character of studies. Interestingly, Bocquillon's (2014) work retains the top spot in total citations, which shows long-term conceptual strength, although its annual citation rate is lower than some of the more recent

works. In contrast, publications such as Goyal (2021) show a higher rate of citations per year, signaling strong momentum and relevance to current research directions.

The citation pattern also shows the concentration of certain publication outlets as the main reference in the literature, policy agenda, and legislative process. The journal *Political Representation* and *Regulation & Governance* appears repeatedly in the list of the most cited documents, demonstrating its role as a major channel for influential research. The dominance of these two journals confirms that the issue of political representation and regulatory governance is the central theme that is most resonant in the core literature of this field. Overall, these findings show that the scientific influence in the study of policy agendas is supported by a combination of conceptual strength, thematic relevance, and the selection of high-visibility publication outlets.

In addition to identifying key works that shape the direction of academic discourse, a more complete understanding of the development of policy agenda studies and the legislative process also requires tracing the changing focus of themes over time. Thematic evolutionary analysis is important to see how research attention shifts, continues, or undergoes transformation as the political and institutional context changes. In this section, the discussion is directed to mapping the *thematic evolution* of research over several time periods to describe the dynamics and continuity of the study of policy agendas and the legislative process as shown in Figure 10 below.

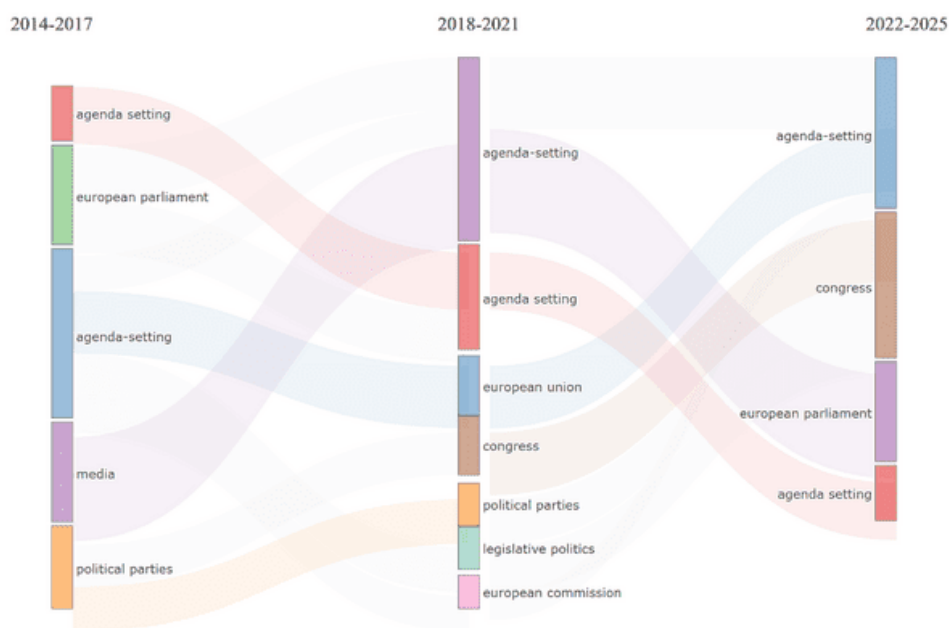


Figure 10. *Thematic Evolution*

Source: Results of thematic evolution analysis using Biblioshiny software based on data from the Scopus database (2025).

The visualization of *thematic evolution* in the Figure shows the development of the research theme of the policy agenda and the legislation process in three time periods, namely 2014-2017, 2018-202, and 2022-2025. This *thematic evolution* analysis will allow tracing of

sustainability and changes in research focus over time (Garfield, 1994). The pattern that appears to show that agenda *setting* remains the core theme and serves as the main axis of the study throughout the period. Other themes related to the legislative process, such as *the European Parliament, the European Union, Congress, political parties, and the media*, emerged consistently without showing significant thematic shifts. This indicates that the study of policy agendas and legislative processes is developing steadily and tends to maintain the same conceptual framework for more than a decade.

While it shows the continuity of the theme, this visualization also reveals important limitations in the scope of the empirical context of the research. In all three time periods, the legislative themes that emerged still focused on Western legislative institutions, particularly those represented through the terms *European Parliament* and *the European Union*. There is no appearance of a theme that represents parliaments or legislative institutions in the Asian region. This absence shows that the evolution of the theme in the study of the policy agenda has not been followed by the expansion of the geographical context to Asian countries. This condition indicates a continuous research gap and at the same time emphasizes the relevance of this research as an effort to enrich the literature on policy agendas with an empirical perspective from parliaments in the Asian region, especially Indonesia.

To deepen the understanding of the position and maturity level of the main themes in the study of policy agendas and the legislative process, the analysis is further directed to thematic mapping. This approach is used to assess how a theme develops and contributes to the structure of science, taking into account the level of relevance (centrality) and level of development (density) of each theme. Through this mapping, it can be identified themes that are core, rapidly developing, special, or that are still in the early stages or have experienced a decline in attention in the literature as shown in Figure 11 below.

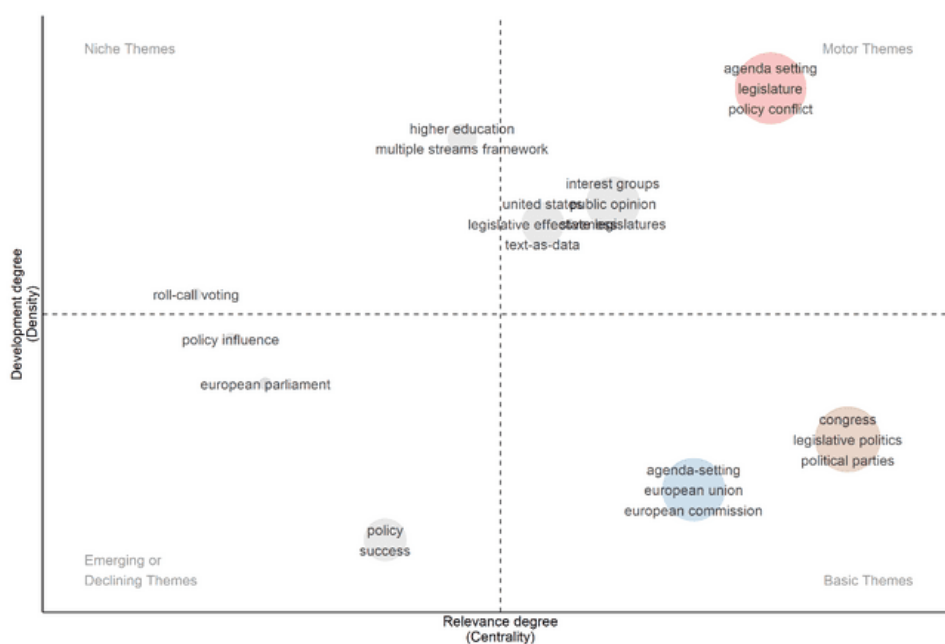


Figure 11. Thematic Mapping

Source: Results of thematic mapping analysis using Biblioshiny software based on data from the Scopus database (2025).

Figure 11 shows a thematic map that maps keywords based on centrality (relevance) and density (development rate), as developed by Cobo et al. (2011). This strategic diagram divides the thematic structure of the study of the policy agenda and the legislative process into four quadrants, each reflecting the position and role of the theme in the development of the research field.

1. The upper right quadrant (*Motor Themes*) is filled with themes such as *agenda setting*, *legislature*, *legislative effect*, *public opinion*, and *policy conflict*. These themes have a high level of centrality and density, showing that these issues are the main focus that has developed well and plays an important role in shaping the scientific structure of the study of policy agendas and the legislative process. The dominance of these themes confirms that the core literature is still centered on the dynamics of agenda-setting in the legislative arena and the conflicts and public opinion that accompany it.
2. The top left quadrant (*Niche Themes*) is represented by themes such as *higher education* and *multiple streams framework*. These themes have a high level of development, but their relevance to other themes is relatively limited. This suggests that these topics are developing deeply within specific academic communities, but have not been widely integrated into the mainstream discourse of policy agendas and legislative processes.
3. The lower right quadrant (*Basic Themes*) includes themes such as *congress*, *legislative politics*, *political parties*, *agenda-setting*, *the European Union*, and *the European Commission*. These themes have high centrality but relatively low density, which signifies their role as an important conceptual foundation for the study of policy agendas, although their development is still open to further deepening. The existence of *political parties* in this quadrant indicates the strategic role of political party actors as a link between the policy agenda process and the dynamics of legislation.
4. The lower left quadrant (*Emerging or Declining Themes*) is occupied by themes such as *policy influence*, *European Parliament*, and *policy success*. The position of these themes indicates a low level of centrality and density, which can be interpreted as a topic that is still in its early stages of development or is beginning to suffer a decline in attention in the literature.

In an effort to understand the actual conditions of the study of policy agendas and the legislative process in the scientific literature, it is important to look at the results of the analysis in an integrated manner, both in terms of the quantitative development of research, the conceptual structure formed, and the geographical context of knowledge production. These three dimensions provide a comprehensive overview of the extent to which policy agenda topics receive attention in public policy studies and how the relationship between actors and institutional contexts is understood in the literature. Based on the results of bibliometric analysis, research on policy agendas and legislative processes shows a tendency to stagnate since 2014, with a publication growth rate that is only in the range of 7 percent. This pattern indicates that the study of policy agendas is still relatively rare and has not developed significantly as a mainstream in public policy studies.

The findings were strengthened by the results of the analysis of the keyword co-occurrence network which showed a close relationship between thematic clusters. This

interconnectedness reflects that policy agenda research is built on strong relationships between policy-making entities, where connecting themes such as *policy process* and *legislative politics* act as a conceptual bridge between clusters. Among these various connecting themes, *political parties* occupy the most central position, which shows that political parties are key actors in connecting the dynamics of policy agendas with the legislative process.

Analysis of the research collaboration map shows that the production and network of knowledge in the study of policy agendas and the legislative process is still highly centralized in countries adhering to liberal democracies, especially in the European region, the United States, and Australia. In contrast, contributions from the Asian and African regions are still very minimal, which shows a geographical imbalance in the global scientific literature. This limitation has an impact on the under-representation of the dynamics of the policy agenda in developing democracies, including Indonesia. This condition confirms the existence of a significant research gap and at the same time strengthens the urgency of studies that specifically examine the institutional dynamics of the Legislative Body of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia in the process of determining policy agendas, as part of efforts to enrich a global perspective on policy agendas and political representation in a representative democratic system.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis of the Systematic Literature Review combined with a bibliometric approach, this study finds that research on policy agendas and legislative processes has developed only to a limited extent and has tended to remain stagnant since 2014. This stagnation is reflected in the low growth rate of publications, even though the topic holds a strategic position within representative democratic systems. The intellectual structure of the literature is dominated by the themes of agenda setting, legislative politics, and policy processes, with political parties serving as central actors that bridge the relationship between policy agendas and legislative processes.

In terms of academic contributors and publication outlets, intellectual leadership remains concentrated among researchers and journals based in Europe and the United States, reinforced by international collaboration networks centered in liberal democracies. Conversely, contributions from the Asian region—including Indonesia—remain very limited, resulting in the Indonesian context being underrepresented in dominant themes, thematic evolution, and global collaboration patterns. This situation highlights the existence of geographical and institutional gaps in the policy agenda literature and indicates that the institutional role of the Badan Legislasi Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (Baleg DPR RI) in determining policy agendas has not yet been studied in depth.

Based on these findings, it is recommended that Indonesian researchers and legislative institutions strengthen collaboration with international academic networks to enhance the visibility and contribution of Indonesian policy agenda studies within global scholarship. The House of Representatives, particularly the Badan Legislasi (Baleg), should document and publish its institutional practices and policy processes to provide empirical material for academic research. Future studies are also encouraged to conduct in-depth case analyses of the institutional dynamics of the Baleg in determining policy agendas, using comparative approaches with other developing democracies to enrich theoretical perspectives.

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