

As The Tree, So The Fruit: Textual Relations on Democratic Discourses in West Sumatra

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ABSTRACT

This article is part of a series of researches on the critical discourse analysis (CDA) on democracy practices in West Sumatra. Then, the discussion in this study focussed on textual relations between discourses related to the enforcement of democracy in West Sumatra in the 2016 accounting year. To find this intertext, this study applied a critical discourse analysis approach within the theoretical framework of Sawirman's BREAK in investigating discourse originating from mass media texts. The results of the analysis showed that the two comparing discourses of democracy in West Sumatra have a comparatively close textual relationship. The two discourse texts imply that there are still many violations of citizens's rights in democracy, especially aspects of civil liberties. Although the two discourses appear in varying forms, however, based on the essence and spirit, they both carry messages and motives that are relatively identical.

Keywords: *textual relation, comparing discourse analysis, west sumatra, democracy, civil liberty*

1. INTRODUCTION

In the past 5 years, especially since 2013, the West Sumatra province has been familiar for media coverage as an intolerant and undemocratic province. This perception is mainly generated from the results of several surveys and studies which have been disseminated to the public. Some of them are a survey on the situation of Freedom Of Expression [1] in 2013 record by ELSAM (The Institute for Policy Research and Advocacy), the 2016 BPS Report on the Provincial Democracy Index [2], The Setara Institute 2018 report [3] on Tolerant City Index (IKT), and the latest one is the 2019 Religious Harmony index (KUB) released by Indonesian Ministry of Religion [4]. Substantially, all of these findings implicitly conclude that West Sumatra province is quite far from the practice of universal democratic values such as tolerance between religious communities, cooperation between groups to harmony in difference [5].

The verdicts of the above study are certainly quite perplexing considering that the province of West Sumatra is celebrated as the Minangkabau realm which is full of intellectual and wisdom traditions [6]. People of Minangkabau (or *urang Minang*) have long been notable for their tradition of debate and dialectics in order to reach an agreement. This matter recorded in one of the most famous *mamangan* (proverb) in Minangkabau tradition: *basilang kayu dalam tungku mako api ka iduik* [crossed the wood in the stove so as the fire can ignite] [7]. The quote above means that the difference and disagreement are inseparable parts of Minangkabau's daily life.

In addition, there are also numerous *mamangan* that demand the Minangkabau individuals to always practice a democratic life, to have consensus, to be tolerant and to

maintain solidarity between populaces. Take for example, if there is a dispute or conflict in the midst of the community, Minangkabau people will immediately assemble and discuss it to find a way out. It is uttered in the following *mamangan*:

Bulek aia dek pambuluah, bulek kato dek mupakaik;

Kok bulek alah buliah digolongkan, Kok picak alah buliah dilayangkan [7].

Water is rounded because of the vessels, words are approved because of consensus;

If it is round it can be rolled; if it is flat it can be flown.

With this principle, the Minangkabau people should be very careful and wise in making decisions. They always think carefully about what will be said and done. Wherefore, if they violate these guidelines, they will already know the bad consequences in the future as reflected in the proverb: *alun takilek alah takalam* "It hasn't happened yet but it has already known" [7].

More importantly, the Minangkabau people always place truth as the main value in their decisions. This point is also represented in the following famous *mamangan*:

Kemenakan baraja ke mamak, mamak baraja ka panghulu, panghulu baraja ka mupakaik, mupakaik baraja ka alua jo patuik, alua jo patuik baraja ka nan bana, nan bana tagak sorangnyo [7].

Nephew learns from the uncle, uncle hears from the chief, the chief obeys to a consensus, the consensus respect the rules and proper, rules and proper follow to the truth, the truth is standing alone [7].

Because of this background, the contradiction between the depth of Minangkabau traditional wisdoms and the shallowness of the democratic practices that have occurred in the province of West Sumatra recently is somewhat

important enough to be explored further. Not only to trace the origin of this enigma, but also to find solutions to these problems.

A few studies from various perspectives related to the implementation of democracy and tolerance in West Sumatra already undertook by several scholars and scholars. First is from Asrinaldi, Yoserizal and Tamrin [8] which explored how the role of the state and its instruments in hindering the running of local democracy in West Sumatra. They have found that the Regional Autonomy Law imposed by the central government still leaves many problems such as the incompatibility of the modern government system with local government (*nagari*), the imposition of conflicting democratic values and also the emergence of local elites who disrupt the local government process.

In another study, Hanani and Aziz [9] have found that local democracy in West Sumatra was much more developed after the fall of centralized New Order government especially from the point of view of religious practice. With the issuance of the Regional Autonomy Law in 2004, local governments have more authority in implementing their own democracy in accordance with their regional colors. In which, the province of West Sumatra is known as 'custom is based on religion, religion is based on the Koran' or *Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah* (ABS-SBK) philosophy which combines customs and religion as the main foundation in all aspects of community life.

Other study conducted by Zetra, Rosydi, Yanuar and Fajri [10], it was found that a significant democratic deficit was spotted in West Sumatra. This finding was measured by calculating the level of citizen participation in elections and citizen complaints towards the government. They even argue that the foundation of democracy in the West Sumatra province are very weak due to the lack of citizen participation in public and political affairs in recent years. This issue has had a negative impact on local governments because it will be increasingly difficult to create accountable governance and providing quality public services as well as producing effective public policies. The democratic deficit experienced by regional government after the enactment of the Regional Autonomy Law does not only occur in the West Sumatra province but almost in all regions around Indonesia. They also emphasized that the implementation of regional autonomy is plagued by many problems, especially the threat of local political dynasties [11] and the domination of local strongmen [12].

From several studies aforementioned, the majority are still discussing how the situation and implementation of local democracy (local government) after the Law on Regional Autonomy was passed. Hence, this research will be focused on studying the portrait of the practice of local democracy in West Sumatra through analysis of linguistic discourse in the mass media. Except to filling the gaps from previous research, this study was also conducted in an effort to see the portrait of democracy in West Sumatra more clearly by applying similar methodology with research conducted by BPS to assess the West Sumatra provincial Democracy Index in 2016. It is hoped that the

findings from this study can enrich and complement pieces of information that were not previously summarized comprehensively.

2. METHOD

The problem in this study was examined by using a critical paradigm. This view comprehends discourse as power [13]. Furthermore, discourse can act as a reflection of the power relations that occur in society [14]. For example, power relation between state-citizen, gender relations, class relations and others. Furthermore, the critical approach in this study also positions discourse as a form of social practice [15]. In social practice, discourse producers always have certain goals, including to gain and exercise power through dominating influence in society [16]. The struggle for influence and opinion in a discourse setting is quite frequently recorded in mass media coverage.

Furthermore, the data collection of this research was conducted by using library techniques, particularly by using written sources such as books, articles, newspapers, or government documents [17]. This method is performed by collecting democratic discourses in news texts in online mass media in Indonesia as a continuation of previous research (see [18]). Previous research only focused on data recorded in the local mass media published in 2016. In addition, data collection was also equipped with the observation method [19]. and is followed by note-taking techniques.

The collecting data process in this study was managed repeatedly and cyclically. In general, the stages of this research are; *First*, the researcher observes carefully the news texts summarized in the online mass media related to the discourse on democratic practices in West Sumatra; *Second*, inputting the text that meet the criteria into the data table. *Third*, classifying the data according to the predetermined democracy index measurement variables that is the variable freedom of association and association, the variable freedom of belief, the variable freedom from discrimination. These three variables were chosen because they are related to the same aspect, specifically Civil Liberties.

The data analysis process is implemented by comparing the configuration (*form, essence and spirit*) of the text from the discourses being paralleled. The first discourse (hereinafter the main discourse) is the discourse on democracy in West Sumatra which is sourced from the 2016 edition of the Singgalang newspaper. The comparing discourse is the discourse on democracy in West Sumatra originating from online mass media for the period 2005-2020. This comparative study and the relationship between discourses are carried out to find relations between discourses in a broader spectrum, namely the discourse of democracy across time in West Sumatra. Through this constant comparison, it is expected to be able to photograph a more comprehensive view and reasons regarding the social phenomenon that is being investigated [20].

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The textual relation within the theoretical framework of Sawirman’s *BREAK* (2014) aims to enrich (main) discourse analysis by offering a similar discourse but in a different context. This is because in interpreting a discourse as a social practice, context contributes a significant influence. Furthermore, the context referred to in this analysis is the scope of time. This is important to do considering whether the emergence of discourse on

democracy in West Sumatra is bound by time or incidental variables. By associating with similar discourses that appear at a different time span from the main discourse, this is expected to find a different essence or spirit as well. With this, the process of understanding the reasons behind the discourse can be achieved in a comprehensive manner. To recognize the relationship between the two discourses, a parallel comparison is prepared for the relationship between the two discourses. The findings obtained are as follows:

Table 1. Textual Relations of the Discourse on Freedom of Association and Assembly

Democracy Variable	Main Discourse	Secondary Discourse
Freedom of Association and Assembly	1a. <i>Tim gabungan amankan enam pemasangan ilegal</i> Joint team secures six illegal spouses	1b. <i>Pemko Padang Larang Pemutaran Film 'Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku'</i> Pemko Padang Bans Screening of the Film 'Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku'
	2a. <i>Mobil bergoyang, oknum pejabat digrebek mesum</i> Cars shaking, officials are raided in the action	2b. <i>Dicurigai 'Bau PKI', Ratusan Warga Bukittinggi Bubarkan Diskusi</i> Suspected of being "related to the PKI", Hundreds of Bukittinggi Residents Disband a discussion
	3a. <i>Massa Mengamuk, Kafe "CF" Dibakar</i> Raging mobs, "CF" café was on fire	3b. <i>Kisah Tom Iljas, Diusir dari Indonesia karena Ziarah ke Makam Orang Tua</i> The story of Tom Iljas, expelled from Indonesia for pilgrimage to the graves of his parents

3.1. Textual Relation in the Discourse of Freedom of Association and Assembly

3.1.1 Discussion of data 1

Referring to data 1a and 1b, the form of the two discourses above indicates similarities in several aspects. First, both discourses exercise a transitive-active sentence pattern where the Subject takes clear and direct action on the targeted Object. The position of the Subjects (actors) is equally clearly shown at the beginning of the structure; *tim gabungan* and *Pemko Padang*. The Object (receiver) affected by the action is also represented explicitly. The relationship between the two participants in this process is bridged by a predicate in the form of a transitive verb. Discourse structure with a common pattern like this is relatively understandable by ordinary readers.

Furthermore, the essence of the sentence structure pattern as described above contains a message that the Subjects (actor) are the party who have full control over their actions. In this case, the Subjects *tim gabungan* and *Pemko Padang* shows one form of structural violence. Where these two subjects are government apparatus that intersects with society. Both Subjects have violated the boundaries of Freedom of Association and Assembly that the Object has as citizens in a private (such as love-making) or public (such as watching a film).

Furthermore, these acts of violation of democracy reveal the spirit of showing power openly and the unequal portion of power between citizens and the government. Through this mechanism, it is hoped that it can produce knowledge

in the form of discipline to fear in the midst of society. Through this discourse the mass media also suggests that the subject-perpetrator who is the state apparatus is free and active in performing tasks on orders from their commander. Ultimately, the imposition of regulations on the recipient object is normalized as a consequence of the unlimited authority of government administrators.

3.1.2 Discussion of data 2

In data 2a and 2b, the structure that constitutes the form of discourse is in the form of complex-compound sentences. This means that the structure of the two discourses compared above consists of two clauses which have no equal position. Furthermore, the two clauses are identical. The first clause that functions as a subordinate clause placed in front of as seen in *mobil bergoyang* dan *dicurigai bau PKI*. The second clause serves as the main sentence which is the main clause of the discourse structure. Both of them show a causal relationship even though the structure does not present a subordinate conjunction but is only joined by a comma (,).

The structuring of discourse based on two phrases with a causal pattern gives meaning that the structural violence that occurs is a normal action-reaction (or normalization of violence). In this situation, the citizen’s right to Assemble is considered invalid because the Object has performed an illegal and problematic act in the first instance such as obscene acts (*mesum*) and related to the communism (*berbau PKI*).

The reason that motivates the presence of the two related discourses is the over-reactive attitude of citizen (actor).

This may be closely related to the two issues highlighted such as immoral behavior and communism. According to the people of West Sumatra, both problems are common enemies that must be eradicated from the roots. Thus, when the two issues surfaced, other matters such as human rights were no longer relevant. Through this mechanism, the government/citizens can obtain justification for openly violating the boundaries of democracy.

3.1.3 Discussion of data 3

Data 3a and 3b are both arranged in the form of a discourse with a passive-intransitive structure. In contrast to the active voice, the passive voice places the object being spoken of at the front of the structure. Apart from that, this structure also allows the Subject who performs the action (the actor) to be invisible /not-existent. Thus, the existing character is only represented by the element of the patient Object.

Both discourses with passive sentence patterns contain the idea that there is a disconnection between the Object and the Subject. In such case, the violence received by the Subjects (*Café CF* and *Tom Iljas*) automatically not directly related to the Object. Furthermore, this implies the neglect of the democratic rights of citizens in obtaining freedom, especially to assembly and to associate. It is as if this limitation is being exempted from being allowed to occur in the absence of the authorities to protect it.

The motive behind these two discourses is the monopoly of truth by the majority. As recorded in data 3a and 3b, acts of violence are completed by large groups such as the masses and government institutions dealing with small objects or individuals. This spirit of collectivity seems to justify the act of violence, so that the perpetrators of this violation of democracy do not feel that they are committing a mistake from their actions. In the end, the small number of victims inevitably lost their rights because they had to deal with collective groups with large dominance of power.

Table 2. Textual Relations of the Discourse on Freedom of Belief

Democracy Variable	Main Discourse	Secondary Discourse
Freedom of Belief	4a. <i>Terkait Razia Warung Makanan, Walikota Berang atas Larangan Mendagri</i> Regarding the Food Stalls, the Mayor (of Padang) was angry over Minister of Home Affairs’s sweeping ban	4b. <i>Pemerintah Ikut Melanggengkan Larangan Ibadah Natal di Sumbar</i> Government (of West Sumatra) participates in perpetuating the prohibition of Christmas worship in West Sumatra
	5a. <i>Kaum Hawa diwajibkan berjilbab</i> Female group is obliged to wear a veil	5b. <i>Penganut Islam Muslim Tauhid Ibrahim di Sumani, Disyahadatkan</i> The Islamic Muslim Tauhid Ibrahim followers of in Sumani, are converted (to Islam)
	6a. <i>Bupati ajak semua staf ikuti wirid</i> The regent asked all staff to follow the sermon	6b. <i>35 Pengendara Terjaring Razia di Padang Tak Ditilang, Hanya Diberikan Tausiyah</i> 35 riders caught in traffic raid in Padang was freed and only received a sermon

3.2. Textual Relation in the Discourse of Freedom of Belief

3.2.1 Discussion of data 4

Based on verb transitivity, the process that occurs in data 4a is a mental process. In data 4a, the Mayor (of Padang) who acted as the Subject (perpetrator) expressed his displeasure in *berang* (angry) to Object (indirect) in particular, the prohibition of the Minister of Home Affairs regarding swoops on food stalls. However, in data 4b, the process that occurs is a material process. However, in data

4b, the process that occurs is a material process. Government (of West Sumatra) functions as Subject (actor) considered to be actively involved in a process through the phrase *ikut melanggengkan* (come to perpetuate) with the aim of *larangan ibadah Natal* (prohibiting Christmas worship) with circumstances in West Sumatra. Both forms of discourse are relatively easier to interpret.

The meaning arising from the discourse with data 4a and 4b is the active involvement of the government in violations of freedom of belief. In data 4a, the Subject (Mayor of Padang) demonstrate his political direction openly and directly through the affective verb *berang*

(angry) addressed to the central government (Mendagri) regarding the sweeping on food stalls. In data 4b, the government (local) expresses its support for the process of *pelarangan ibadah Natal* (banning Christmas worship) even so it is shown implicitly as recorded in the verb *ikut melanggengkan* (participate to perpetuate).

The orientation of the two discourses in data 4a and 4b is the local government's antagonism towards the central government. As shown by data 4a, this contradiction clearly involved two participants, e.g. the mayor of Padang (local) and the minister of home affairs (central). In data 4b, discourse friction does not occur from two different directions, but only one way. This is recorded in the process of disobedience by local governments in maintaining tolerance by perpetuating the prohibition of Christmas worship in their regions. The two discourses also indirectly show the political nature of the regional government that does not get along with policies that have been regulated by the central government.

3.2.2 Discussion of data 5

Referring to data 5a and 5b, the structure that appears in the two discourses is a passive voice. A passive voice is a sentence that has undergone modification or is commonly called an inversion. From the two data above, the modification found is the omission of the Subject (actor) function. That way, the structure will focus more attention on the Object elements as the only participants present in the text. On this case, the text focuses on the Objects (patient) specifically *kaum hawa* (female) and *Penganut Islam Muslim Tauhid Ibrahim* (Tauhid Ibrahim Muslim followers).

The democracy discourse in data 5a and 5b can be interpreted as an element of coercion of belief. The element of coercion can be traced through the passivity of the Objects that are governed in this discourse. Both objects are passive participants who are only affected by the action by other participants who are not represented in this discourse structure. Also with this mechanism, the reader will perceive that the Object (patient) is the guilty party and must be returned to the way it should be.

The motives recorded from the two discourses above are discrimination and intimidation. The two objects above experience discrimination from their choices in practicing their beliefs. The two objects are also given no choice but to follow what is determined by the government.

Ultimately, they only become helpless objects and obey the will of the Subject who impose action on them, in this matter, the local government.

3.2.3 Discussion of data 6

Based on the number of clauses, data 6a is a simple sentence. In simple terms, this structure can be described as follows: Subject (actor) *Bupati* (Regent) takes action *mengajak* (to invite) the targeted object, *semua staff* (all staff). Then, data 6b is a complex-compound sentence consisting of 3 clauses of which 1 clause is independent and 2 clauses are dependent. The independent clause is *35 pengendara terjaring razia* (35 riders caught in the raid); dependent clause 1 is *(mereka) tidak ditilang* ((they are) not ticketed; bound clause 2 is *(mereka) hanya diberikan tausiyah* ((they) were only given sermons. Although both discourse are quite different, these are moderately comprehensible.

The idea contained in the two discourses above is commodification of religion. In this situation, the local government utilized religion as the answer to all problems. In data 6a, the subject 'Regent' suggests the Objects 'all staff' to participate in religious activities in order to be a better worker. In this case, there is coercion of belief in which Regional Government officials use their power to impose their beliefs on their employees. The similar procedure is also applied to Object (patient) in data 6b. In which case, they are forced to listen to *tausiyah* (sermon) as a punishment for traffic violations. The discrepancy between the problems and solutions offered by the Subject (*Pemda*) to the Object (*masyarakat*) shows the rampant practices of commodification of religion in the political community in regional democracy, especially in West Sumatra [21].

The motive recorded behind the above discourses is 'symbolic religionism'. This term means that religious teachings are functioned by the government carelessly and inappropriately in answering all problems that are happening such as increasing employee performance or traffic violations. The incorrectness of local governments in identifying solutions and problems in data 6a and 6b implies the malpractice of religious teachings in local governance. In the end, religious teachings were celebrated as mere symbols regardless of the solution to the happened problem.

Table 3. Textual Relations of the Discourse on Freedom from Discrimination

Democracy Variable	Main Discourse	Secondary Discourse
Freedom from Discrimination	7a. <i>Masyarakat diminta waspada, disinyalir ada asrama khusus LGBT di Kota Padang</i> The people (of Padang shall) wary on the rumour, there is LGBT dorm special for LGBT in padang	7b. <i>Gubernur Sumbar Surati Menkominfo, Minta Aplikasi Injil Bahasa Minang Dihapus</i> Governor of West Sumatra asked Menkominfo to remove Minang-language Bible application
	8a. <i>Satpol PP Jaring 52 Wanita</i> Satpol PP captured 52 women	8b. <i>Andre Rosiade Jebak dan Gerebek PSK di Hotel, MKD: Enggak Ada Masalah</i> Andre Rosiade Traps and Catch Sex Workers in Hotels, MKD: No Problem.
	9a. <i>Tujuh anak punk diamankan Satpol PP</i> Seven youth-punk were secured by Satpol PP	9b. <i>Pengikut 'Agama Muslim' di Sumbar Terancam Diproses Hukum</i> Followers of 'Muslim Religion' in West Sumatra are threatened with legal proceedings
	10a. <i>Empat Wanita Mabuk Diamankan</i> Four crocked women were secured	10b. <i>Netizens Minang Kecam Aksi Perempuan Asal Yogyakarta</i> Minangnese netizens condemn Yogyakarta-born women's action

the West Sumatra community without giving sufficient space to discuss them.

3.3. Textual Relation in the Discourse of Freedom from Discrimination

3.3.1 Discussion of data 7

In terms of form, data 7a and 7b both use a compound sentence pattern. Furthermore, this structure specifically also contains a cause-effect relationship. Data 7a and 7b have similarities in the composition process, especially placing the clause of cause on the back of the structure which follows the clause of effect which is in front. In this way, the clause of effect will get more attention than the clause of cause.

The message contained in the two forms of discourse above is the commodification of fear by the government. By putting the clause of effect at the forefront, the Subject (government) wants to convey the message that the two objects at issue are vital and critical issues. Whereas the two issues that cause fear for the community come from the constituents Object such as *LGBT group* and *Injil* (Bible). By placing these two Objects in a secondary clause, it is hoped that the reader no longer matters where the fear actually originates. Consequently, the community can accept the violent act of democracy as a preventive measure by the government in protecting its citizens.

The spirit that appears from the above form of discourses is the detaining of minority groups. This understanding comes from how the structure puts more emphasis on the clause of effect as a result of the presence of the two minority groups. Then, objects that are located at the final of the structure will automatically become the cause of the government's repressive actions. With this linguistic mechanism as well, the existence of these two objects will always be considered the root of the uproar that occurs in

3.3.2 Discussion of data 8

Data 8a and 8b both appear in the form of active-transitive sentences. This implies that the Subject does work which is accepted and has a direct impact on the object. The subjects of both data were filled in by the government representation, particularly *Satpol PP* (State Apparatus) and Andre Rosiade (Member of the DPR). Both subjects have the same female target object, such as *wanita* (a women) and *PSK* (sex workers). The relationship between the two is filled with predicates that have connotative meanings such as *jaring* (to net) and *jebak-grebek* (to traps).

The idea that appears in data 8a and 8b is the disregarded for human rights. This is reflected in how the connotative verbs are operated to describe the actions of the subject as an actor such as *jaring* (netted) dan *jebak-grebek* (trap-raid). The two lexemes contain connotative meanings that have the potential to undermine the dignity of the object being targeted. Even though the two objects are being accused of a criminal act, however, this does not mean that they can take away their human rights as human beings with self-respect.

Furthermore, data 8a and 8b contain a gender-based cynicism spirit. As recognized from the essence analysis, the actions of government officials and their apparatus have a strong tendency to corner a certain gender (which is hierarchically) very weak in society, in this respect, the female. Furthermore, the element of cynicism itself can be traced from the use of verbs with negative connotations such as *jaring* (to net) and *jebak-grebek* (to trap). These two verbs should not be applicable to human objects especially to women who in Minangkabau culture have a position that is highly-respected.

3.3.3 Discussion of data 9

The form of discourse recorded in data 9a and 9b is passive sentences. This structure puts the Object at the front in order to replace the Subject function. In this sense, the Object that acts as a patient is like a *anak punk* (punk youth) and *pengikut agama muslim* (muslim religion follower). In data 9a, subject *Satpol PP* (actor) is still exist in the structure, but on data 9b, The subject (actor) does not appear in the structure because it is omitted.

The essence contained in data 9a and 9b is victim-blaming. Through the mechanism of placing the Object (patient) at the beginning of the proposition, the logic of the discourse structure will indicate that the object is completely guilty. In another sense, the repressive actions imposed on these Objects are the result of their own actions. The presence or absence of the perpetrator subject is no longer relevant because the structure focuses on the punishment that will be received by the object (patient) i.e. *anak punk* (punk youth) and *pengikut agama muslim* (muslim follower).

Data 9a and 9b contain the spirit of an omnipresent government presence. In more detail, the subject (actor) acts as an extension of the government will always be present in every form of violation. The local government does not ignore any violations because it will have an impact on the level of discipline in the community. Even though the target of the action is part of the community itself. With such a rationale, the Objects such as punk youth and Muslim followers can be executed even if their faults are questionable.

3.3.4 Discussion of data 10

The form of discourse in data 10a and 10b contains a contrast between passive and active sentences. In this case, the passive voice in data 10a does not display the Subject (actor) in the structure. Meanwhile, the active sentence in data 10b shows a clear power relation between the subject and the object through the action verb *kecam* (condemn). The form of these discourses have strong implications for the readers' perceptions.

The message that can be captured from the two data above is the restriction of women's rights. In the passive sentence structure, the Object (patient) *perempuan* (woman) is highlighted because it is considered to have committed an inappropriate act, such as *mabuk* (drunk). Likewise, in the active sentence structure, a woman was highlighted again for *melakukan protes* (performing a protest). In fact, those two things are part of women's prerogative rights and do not violate the law. However, both actions received opposition and discrimination from the surrounding community to government officials. Therefore, from the two data, it is obtained the idea that the female object has experienced restriction both in private space to public space.

The spirit that is reflected in the two data above is gender-based cynicism. In this matter, women are perceived not-worthy and improper to be present in public space because this gender is supposed to belong to domestic matter or

stay at home. In addition, this discourse seems to place women as a serious threat which is seen from verb selection such as *diamankan* (secured) and *kecam* (condemn).

4. CONCLUSION

With the implementation of the Regional Autonomy Law by the Indonesian government, the enforcement of local democracy seems to get some fresh air. A number of provincial governments are more free to apply governance and policies in accordance with the local colors of their regions. However, after two decades of practice, the application of local democracy raises several problems, one of which is the interpretation of democratic values. One of the provinces that has difficulty implementing democracy is West Sumatra.

Based on the comparative analysis of the discourse on democracy practice in West Sumatra, there is such tendency that democracy applied in West Sumatra has conflicting features with democracy desired by the central government. Through the analysis of textual relations on the discourse of democracy in West Sumatra, especially the variable of freedom of Association and Sssembly, there are red thread between compared discursive texts especially in terms of their essence and spirit. In line with two other democratic variables i.e. Freedom of Belief and free from Discrimination, a number of texts with identical configurations was identified. In short, the majority of the discourse texts are compared reveals a tendency to conflictwith democracy recommended by the central government.

This is because the regional government of West Sumatra province implements their own democratic values, which are widely known as ABS-SBK philosophy which guides the Minangkabau community. In practice in society, these local democratic policies often cross the boundaries of universal democracy referred to by the central government. Thus, when an assessment and evaluation is performed by the authorized institution, the performance of democracy in the province of West Sumatra always displays unsatisfactory numbers.

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