



RESEARCH ARTICLE



POWER IN THE DISCOURSE OF WEST SUMATERA PROVINCE REGIONAL REGULATION NUMBER 7 OF 2018 CONCERNING NAGARI

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a study of power in West Sumatra Provincial Regulation Number 7 of 2018 about Nagari which is analyzed by using van Dijk's critical discourse analysis (CDA), particularly the analysis of text structures. This critical discourse analysis study of the West Sumatra Provincial Regulation is descriptive qualitative by using observational method. The analysis of critical studies aims to see the hidden power behind the text of Regulation Number 7 of 2018 about Nagari which functions to assist and manage Nagari Government in West Sumatra. Critical discourse analysis of the regional regulation text is included in one of 9 (nine) interesting studies in the development of critical discourse analysis which is known as an institutional discourse because the regulation is a legal product issued by the West Sumatra Provincial Government as institution. Based on the results of the analysis, found power related to domination, ideology, and discrimination against Nagari society in West Sumatra. This research has an implication on the implementation of existing policies in Nagari society. The government as the ruling party fully regulates the Nagari community as an object without providing space to express thoughts and opinions. Likewise, the numbering order for defining Bundo Kanduang in article 1 of the general provisions in the Nagari Regional Regulation is located last and has indications of discrimination. The numbering has an impact on the role of Bundo Kanduang which is not a priority in West Sumatran society which adheres to the matrilineal system (maternal lineage).

Introduction

Regional regulations are a form of legitimization of local government power over society. They are made to regulate society to live in an orderly and regular manner in accordance with the ideals of the Indonesian nation mentioned in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Regional regulations also play a role in creating an ideal local government in accordance with the spirit of regional autonomy and the ideals of the Indonesian nation, as referred to by Bung Karno as building a sense of life consisting of "shadows" which ultimately give birth to action (Anderson, 1999). In other words, a nation is a political community that is visualized as limited and inherently sovereign (Anderson and Anderson 1999). Regional regulations as derivatives of higher laws aim to regulate the ideal life of society, nation, and state as visualized and expected by higher laws, such as the 1945 Constitution, Presidential Regulations, Government Regulations, Ministerial Regulations, and so on. Provincial Regulations according to Law No. 12/2011 are defined as laws and regulations formed by the Provincial House of Representatives with the joint approval of the Governor (<http://bphn.go.id>).

In the view of critical discourse analysis, regional regulations are seen as a form of institutionalized power with the aim of legitimizing the power of a group of people or a higher community. Power is a study that is the focus and center of attention of critical discourse analysis. Power is defined as a relationship between two parties, one of which controls the other (Arimi 2008). Power related to social class is defined by van Dijk (1996:84) in Arimi (2008:4) as "social power is defined in term of the control exercised by one group or

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organization or its members) over the actions and/or the minds of the (members of) another group, thus imitating the freedom of action of the others, or influencing their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies." Van Dijk defines power as ownership by a group (or its members) and that group controls other groups. Power is formed based on a person's or group's ownership of valuable resources, such as money, social status, and knowledge (Eriyanto 2011). Power is not always used in correct way. Critical discourse analysis sees that there are always inequalities in the practice of exercising power. Inequality defined as 'the discursive reproduction of power abuse and social inequality' (Dijk 2008). It is not an unproblematic idea in the text and a detailed theoretical analysis of the discursive reproduction of power is needed. West Sumatra Provincial Regulation No. 7/2018 on *Nagari* is one of the regulations that reflects the distinctiveness of West Sumatra Province with the Minangkabau tribe.

This regulation was made to regulate community life in West Sumatra at the Nagari Government level. This regulation is bound to the social context of the people of West Sumatra Province who use Minangkabau customs and is a discursive reproduction. This regulation is also a form of power practice that requires critical analysis. Power in critical discourse analysis can be seen in the mention of titles, topics, lexicon, metaphors, and numbering among other semiotic discourse properties. Discursive deals with something as abstract and general as power relations in society. That is, it is necessary to connect the typical micro-level properties of semiotic texts, conversations, interactions, and practices with typical macro-level aspects of society, such as groups or organizations and the relations of domination between them. Everything that is related with discursive can be dismantled with a critical discourse analysis approach. Critical discourse analysis is a development of classical or formal discourse analysis proposed by Brown and Yule (1983); Stubbs (1983); Guemperz (1982); Beaugrande and Dressler (1981); Coulthard (1977); J.R. Firth, (1956); Lubis (2011); Arimi (2008). Discourse analysis is a branch of discourse analysis known as critical linguistics which developed in East Anglia, England in the 1970s. Critical linguistics are originated from the thoughts of Roger Fowler, Gunther Kress, Robert Hodge, and Tony Trew that based their thoughts on Systemic Functional Linguistics pioneered by Halliday (Wiratno 2018).

In the view of critical linguistics, the analysis of language use focuses on the role played by language in voicing power for certain groups in society and there is an ideology inherent in the text. Wodak (1995:204) states the purpose of critical discourse analysis is "The purpose of CDA is to analyze opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Blommaert, 2000) . Critical discourse analysis views deviations from social practice as a problem that must be explained with a text and context approach. Critical discourse analysis reveals these deviations with a social theory approach. Critical discourse analysis is interested in how language and discourse are used to achieve social goals, including building social cohesion or social change. Discourse is a semiotic process that represents the social world. The object of critical discourse analysis is social deviance. Its data sources can be seen in documents, discussion papers, parliamentary debates, speeches, cartoons, movies, photos, newspapers, advertisements, or brochures including in the text of local regulation (Haryatmoko, 2017).

A fundamental aspect of critical discourse analysis is the claim that takes its starting point in social theory although critical discourse analysis also shows a clear interest in theories of power and ideology (Blommaert, 2000). Regional Regulation No. 7/2018 on *Nagari* is one form of text that represents the power of the West Sumatra Provincial Government towards the regulated parties, namely *Nagari* and the community. Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari* is a form of text that represents the power of the West Sumatra Provincial Government towards the regulated parties, namely *Nagari* and *Nagari* communities in West Sumatra. The part owned by the local government is the power of position, status, money, and knowledge in accordance with van Dijk's statement (Eriyanto, 2001). The ownership is an excuse to legitimize that they have higher and greater power over the other party, namely the community.

The normative notion of the legitimization of power is said by van Dijk to be very complex and its adequate analysis is relevant for the foundation of critical discourse studies. There are many racist, sexist, and class forms found in regulations to laws. Thus, laws and regulations cannot be guaranteed to be valid once norms and other criteria are applied because the formulation of international human rights is also constantly

changing (Dijk, 2008). Regional regulations are not something that cannot be challenged or questioned, but can still be questioned. A local regulation cannot be called complete even though it has been discussed in a meeting and stipulated as a legislative product in a joint meeting between regional leaders involving the governor as the government's representative, DPRD (Local People's Representative Council) as the people's representative, academics, customary leaders, and others. Every local regulation still has the possibility to be criticized regarding its content and implementation in the community.

Such criticism aims for change for the better. Therefore, there is such a thing as an amendment regional regulation that contains improvements to previous regional regulations. This is also the case with Local Regulation Number 7/2018 on *Nagari*. This regulation has the opportunity to be criticized through a critical discourse analysis approach as done in this paper. Critical discourse analysis of local regulations is related to the current trend of favored and popular critical discourse analysis studies, as explained by Bloomaert & Bulchaen (Blommaert 2000) that there are nine preferred topics to be analyzed through critical discourse analysis, namely 1) political discourse, 2) ideology and how ideology is reproduced, racism, especially racism in immigrant groups, as discussed by van Dijk, 3) economic discourse, 4) advertising and cultural promotion, 5) institutional discourse or language games in institutional management practices, 6) media language, 7) gender or discourse studies that see women represented by the media, 8) educational discourse or efforts to build critical awareness of the education system and world that reproduce social relations, 9) literacy (literacy). The study of critical discourse analysis of Regional Regulation No. 7 2018 on *Nagari* is included in topic number 5 (five) that is favored, namely the study of institutional discourse or the use of language in the management of institutions. The study of critical discourse analysis of Regional Regulation No. 7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari* is included in the preferred topic number 5 (five), namely the study of institutional discourse or the use of language in institutional management.

Previous studies relevant to this research include Nigatu and Admassu's (Ayalew Nigatu and Tadesse Admassu, 2023) research on language use in Abiy Ahmed's second inauguration speech. This study identifies elements of critical discourse analysis and specific social cognitive elements of Van Dijk's multidimensional CDA and social cognitive model. The research reveals that on micro structure analysis, lexical items, pronouns, figures of speech, and utterances are used to build the dominant unity-ideology. Macro-structure analysis showed that the topic of unity ideology. To create a discourse of unity, cognitive elements such as authority, evidence, polarization, and victimization are used by speakers. Speakers use history as a source of unifying rhetorical devices to persuade the audience and to achieve, exercise, and maintain their power. In addition, Abiy's inaugural speech took the form of praise for his inner circle and criticism for his outer circle.

Another study on power and domination was conducted by Bodenhamer (Bodenhamer, 2016) who explored the exploitative nature of coal mining in Central Appalachia that continues to dominate Virginia. The research describes a coal industry that is able to secure hegemony and relies on several salient mechanisms to establish a normative culture. Destructive practices prompted some residents to join environmental organizations at the grassroots level and become opponents of coal exploitation. Using newspaper, community-related documents, direct observation, and in-depth interviews, this research highlights the contradictions between pro-coal discourses and respondents life experience. The results show that culture, discourse, and material conditions underpin the strength of the coal industry in West Virginia.

Research done by Vel and Bedner's (Vel and Bedner, 2015) discusses Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann's work on decentralization and village governance in Indonesia and the key findings of their seminal work on 'Political and Legal Transformations of Indonesian Governance: *Nagari* from Colonization to Decentralization'. West Sumatra is said to present a unique case in that translated post-Suharto decentralization into a return to the traditional (*adat*) governance structure of the *Nagari*. It makes the changes that are unusual and do not occur in other parts of Indonesia. It is relevant to the enforcement of the 2014 Village Act which explicitly gives the option to return to the structures in the area while giving greater autonomy to the *Nagari*. This research questioned whether the same factor 'return to *Nagari*' would facilitate the same process in other parts of Indonesia. This research also questioned some things that can be done and learned by practitioners, policymakers, and researchers involved in the

transformation of rural governance in Indonesia and they can learn from the experience of West Sumatra. Vaara also explores power through the discursive foundations of the legitimacy crisis facing the Eurozone as a transnational institution (Vaara, 2014). The research adopts a critical discourse analysis perspective, an empirical analysis that focuses on media discussions in Finland. The analysis shows that the discourse of financial capitalism, humanism, and nationalism in Europe plays a central role in terms of legitimacy, de-legitimization, and degradation of power.

Liasidou investigated legislative shifts towards inclusive education policies in fragmented and contradictory Cyprus (Liasidou, 2008). The textual hybrid of seemingly more inclusive policy documents inhibited the realization of inclusive discourse. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used as an emancipate theory and has the potential to upset authoritarian discourse in education policy by facilitating linguistics as its implication. The recovery of conceptual inclusion as an idea that strongly supports the protection of the rights of children with special educational needs. This article concentrates on the CDA's theoretical perspective in the context of making inclusive education policies. The CDA is used to display the powers/knowledge and the attributes underlying it that are contained in two official legislative documents. Arimi adopted a critical discourse analysis approach with a sociolinguistics study model on the identity of power in the case of the Java nobility that reinforces Soemardjan's thesis (1981) (Arimi, 2008). He explained that there has been a shift in the power of the Java nobility from economic and political power to power focused on cultural territory. The Java nobles no longer have the power to govern society. The shift of power has had an impact on the destruction of customary order in Java society. The author submits a critical thesis that the structure of the Java society consisting of the Sultans, *priyayi* (local nobleman), and *kawula* (peoples) must be reconsidered, so that the modern structure of Java society consists only of the sultans and the people.

Collins & Jones used "Critical Linguistics" (CL) and "Critical Discourse Analysis" (CDA), to associate linguistic tools and discourse analysis with critical theory of power and ideology (Collins and Jones, 2006). They analyze the ideology critically in real-life situations through the use of language or discourse as an essential element in studying social change. They argue that the CL-CDA project is very problematic and less applicable. By briefly referring to the tradition of cultural-historical theory and activity, they outlined an alternative method for the analysis of critical discourse with case studies of opposition discourses. The above articles are relevant to this research, that is discuss power with a critical discourse analysis approach and the novelty of this research is in the object of study of regional regulations which are part of the discourse of laws and regulations as texts that are final and have a high level of truth to the contents. However, the discourse of local regulations also still has shortcomings and can be analyzed by looking at the inequality of power in a critical discourse analysis approach. Based on these reasons, this research problem is formulated in the form of a question, How does the power form in the Regional Regulation Province of West Sumatra No. 7 Year 2018 about *Nagari*?

Materials and Methods

Research Design

This research is a qualitative descriptive research. Bogdan and Taylor (1975:5) defined qualitative research as a research procedure that produces descriptive data of written or oral words of people and observed behavior (Moleong, 1989). Data is holistic and viewed as an entity whose identity is determined by the combination of the elements that make up the entity as well as any element that makes up the entity can be assumed as the object of research and its context (Mahsun, 2005). As a qualitative research design, power in the discourse of regional regulations is explained by looking at the text of the local regulation along with its context, power, and ideology contained in the text. The context includes social elements that produce power inequality, such as discrimination, social inequality, indications of injustice that exist in the discourse of local regulations. The power gap and inequality are explained with the critical discourse analysis model proposed by Teun A. van Dijk.

Technique of Data Collection

Source of the data in this research is West Sumatra Provincial Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari* and its context. The data taken from the official website of the Legal Documentation and Information Network (JDIH) of the West Sumatra Provincial Government. The types of data collection techniques used in this research are observation and also literature study. Observation of collecting the data is one of the oldest and this technique is used by both the scientists and social scientists and The observation method is “a method of data collection in which a person (usually trained) observes the subject of a phenomenon and records information about the characteristics of the phenomenon” (Sprull, 1988; Kumar, 2022). Observation is conducted on the text of the regional regulation discourse by observing and reading carefully all elements that contain power gaps in the regional regulation discourse. In addition, literature study is also used for data collection by reading literature related to the topic of power in the text with a critical discourse analysis approach. With this method of data collection, several inequalities, discrimination, and injustice were found in the regional regulation discourse that need to be criticized.

Technique of Data Analysis

The approach used for data analysis is critical discourse analysis from Teun A. van Dijk which focuses on unpacking hidden aspects of a visible reality (virtual reality) for criticism and changes to social structure (Badara, 2012). Data analysis is carried out by looking at power in Regional Regulation Number 7/2018 about *Nagari*. Data analysis is one of the works in uncovering the hidden aspects of a text. The uncovering is done by analyzing the macro structure, superstructure, and micro structure of the local regulation text. Van Dijk's discourse element analysis is used to explain how power is shaped and practiced. Power is seen through van Dijk's discourse building blocks as found in the following the table below.

Table 1. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model

Structure of Discourse	Things observed	Element
Macro structure (Global or general meaning of a text by observing the topics raised in a text)	<i>Thematic</i> (the topic that emphasized in a text)	Topic
Superstructure (The framework of a text that consists of an introduction, body, conclusion, and conclusion)	Schematic (how the opinions are organized in a text)	Scheme
Micro structure The meaning of something observed from the choice of words, sentences, and style used in a text.	Semantics (The meaning you want to emphasize in the text. For example, by presumption, nominal, and giving details on one side and reducing details on the other side)	Setting, details, intent, sentence form, coherence, and pronouns.
	Syntax (examining the form and sentence structure)	
	Rhetoric (How the emphasis is done)	Graphics, metaphors, expressions or expression)

Each element is grouped, then analyzed, and a conclusion is obtained in order to know which element is the most problematic and shows the existence of an element of power in the discourse of West Sumatra Provincial Regulation Number 7 of 2018.

Results and Discussion

Results

Van Dijk defines discourse as 'text and context as this term text will here be used to denote the abstract theoretical construct underlying what is usually called discourse or 'the unity of several sentences with one another that is tightly bound' (Dijk, 1980). Critical discourse analysis is a form of social practice that structures the social world and is structured by other social practice (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2007). Critical discourse analysis develops multimodal text theories and methods that use different semiotic systems, such as written language, visual imagery, and/or sound (Hodge and Kress, 1988, Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001; Jørgensen, 2010:116). The characteristics of critical discourse analysis can be seen through five forms mentioned by van Dijk, Fairclough, and Wodak (Eriyanto 2001), namely 1) Action, 2) Context, 3) Historical, 4) Power, and 5) Ideology. Critical discourse analysis has three characteristics, namely 1) critical discourse analysis is a more concrete text analysis because it is part of several forms of systematic trans disciplinary analysis that link between discourse and other elements of social processes, 2) Critical discourse analysis is not only a general commentary on discourse, but also a form of systematic analysis of the text, and 3) Critical discourse analysis is not only a descriptive, but also normative analysis of the text with discussion of social errors on discursive aspects and possible ways to correct or reduce them (Fairclough, 2013). Of the many existing discourse analysis models, van Dijk's model is most widely used for the reason that it is more systematic (Eriyanto 2001). For this reason, van Dijk's critical discourse analysis is used to look at power in Regional Regulation No. 7/2018 on *Nagari*. Van Dijk's discourse element analysis is used to explain how power is formed and practiced in Regional Regulation Number 7/2018 on *Nagari*. The power is systematically reviewed through superstructure, and micro structure analysis. All forms of power in the bylaws are in table 2.

Table 2. Power in West Sumatra Province Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari*

No	Discourse structure		Text of Regional Regulation	Power
1	Macro Structure Topic		Regulation Implementation of Nagari Government	Domination
2	Super structure Head/logo		Burung Garuda	Ideology
	Regional Regulation Name		REGULATIONS REGIONAL REGULATION OF WEST SUMATRA PROVINCE NUMBER 7 OF 2018 2018	Domination
	(Scheme)		Consideration Considering: A. that.... B. that C. that D. that Considering: 1. 2. 3. Etc.	Domination
	Content		DECIDED (MEMUTUSKAN) ESTABLISHED (MENETAPKAN)	Domination
	Closing		Established in Jakarta on the date, month and year by the Governor and time acknowledged by the Regional Secretary by the Regional Secretary	Domination of time
3	Micro structure		1. Semantics	
	Background		Regency/City and <i>Nagari</i> in West Sumatra with ethnicity Minangkabau	Domination

Details	Not available	-
Meaning	Information that is favorable to the communicator or local regulation maker, in this case the Governor and West Sumatra Legislative Council.	Domination
Presupposition	Statements that support and justify the creation of local regulations	Domination
Numbering	The last sequence explains the definition of <i>Bundo Kanduang</i> as a representation of Minangkabau woman.	Discrimination
2. Syntax		
A. Form of sentences	Explaining the definition with copula verbs <i>adalah</i>	Domination
B. Coherence	Explaining the coherence relationship with the preposition <i>bahwa</i>	Domination
C. Pronouns	Position (governor, regional secretary, West Sumatra DPRD)	Domination
3. Rhetoric		
A. Graphic	Capital letters, bold black letters, and brackets.	Domination
B. Metaphor	<i>Adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah, bajanjangnaik, batanggo turun, dan adat salingka Nagari</i> (Customs are guided by religion, religion is guided by the holy book of the Quran, decision-making procedures, and customs around Nagari/villages).	Ideology
C. Expression	None (lexicon flat/no emotion)	-

1. Macro Structure

The observed part of macro structural analysis is the theme or topic contained in the text. Thematic elements show a general description of the text referred to as the core idea, summary, or main one of a text. Theme or topic is what you want to express in a text and shows the dominant, central, and most important concepts of a text (Eriyanto, 2001). In Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari*, topics refer to definitions concerning *Nagari* and the administration of *Nagari* Government. The definitions are explained in each section, chapter, articles, and verses. The topic is explained in the form of definitions of concepts related to *Nagari* Government in West Sumatra. There are twenty definitions related to *Nagari* as the object regulated in 5 chapters, 27 articles, and 53 verses in the regulation. Chapter 1 General Provisions Article 1 contains 20 regulated objects. The objects are 1) definition of district/city regencies/municipalities , 2) definition of *Nagari*, 3) definition of *Nagari* Government, 4) *Nagari* Government, 5) Kapalo *Nagari*, 6) *Nagari* Customary Density (KAN), 7) *Jorong/Korong/Village*, 8) *Nagari* Customary Court, 9) Customary Law, 10) Customs, 11) *Adat Salingka Nagari*, 12) *Manti Nagari*, 13) *Bandaro Nagari*, 14) *Dubalang*, 15) *Tigo Sajarangan Furnace*, 16) *Niniak mamak*, 17) *Alim ulama*, 18) *Cadiak Pandai*, 19) *Parik Paga*, and 20) *Bundo Kanduang* (female representative). One of the themes contained in Article 1 Paragraph 2, namely the definition of *Nagari*.

Data 1

"*Nagari* is a Unity of Customary Law Peoples genealogically and historically has boundaries within a certain area, has its own property, has the authority to choose its

leaders by deliberation and regulates and takes care of the interests of local communities based on philosophical *adat basandi syarak, sandi basandi kitabullah* or based on origins and customs."

Not only *Nagari* is defined, but also the boundaries of *Nagari* territory. This limit is determined by the West Sumatra Provincial Government represented by the Governor of West Sumatra and the West Sumatra DPRD as parties who make, discuss, and determine each item of regulation in the regional regulations in the plenary meeting. *Nagari* is declared as a unity of indigenous peoples who genealogically and historically have certain territorial boundaries. Genealogy(s) refers to human lineage in incestuous family relationships. Genealogy in the *Nagari* customary law community is called territorial genealogy or ties of origin and customs that apply to the *Nagari* community in West Sumatra related to territorial boundaries (Hasan, 1988; Goddess, 2016). Genealogical and historical boundaries are limits of authority possessed by *Nagari* based on the power given by local legislators, namely from the Governor and DPRD of West Sumatra Province. In addition to the definition of *Nagari*, power can also be seen in the definition of the *Nagari* Government in Article 1 paragraph 3 in Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari*.

Data 2

"*Nagari* Government is the administration of government affairs and the interests of the *Nagari* people in the unitary state system of the Republic of Indonesia."

Article 1 Paragraph 3 explains that the duties of the *Nagari* Government are only limited to the implementation of government affairs and the interests of the *Nagari* people in the Unitary State system of the Republic of Indonesia. *Nagari* only has the authority and has the right to govern at the *Nagari* level and cannot be more than that. Other than within the established limits, *Nagari* has no right to regulate government at other levels, such as at the sub-district level or at the regency/city level, let alone organize government at the provincial level. The definition explains the fact that *Nagari* and the *Nagari* Government must be aware of the limits of their authority or authority. The authority is given, regulated, and supervised by higher powers, namely the Government and DPRD of West Sumatra Province. *Nagari* must not act outside the established boundaries. If the limit is overstepped, *Nagari* is considered to have violated article 1 paragraph 3 of the local regulation.

2. Superstructure

Superstructure is an analysis of the scheme or flow of text. Text or discourse has a scheme or flow from the introduction to the end (Eriyanto, 2001). Each text has a different scheme, such as the text of the conversation starting from the introductory greeting, the content of the conversation, and the closing/farewell greeting. The text of Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari* also has a scheme, as contained in the following table.

Table 3. Text Scheme of West Sumatra Provincial Regulation Number 7 Year 2018

No	Name of Regulations	Scheme
1	Head or logo	<i>Burung Garuda</i> and name of regional regulation
2	Consideration (opening)	This section consists of: Remembering, Considering, Deciding, and Establishing which outlines the reasons for making this regional regulation and previous regulations related to this regional regulation and its stipulation as a bylaw.
3	Content	Chapters, articles, and verses that explain the regulations related to the administration of the <i>nagari</i> government.
4	Closing	Statement of promulgation: Place, date of promulgation, and signature of the Governor.

In the superstructure, power is restored by *Burung Garuda* logo. This logo is located on the text page at the very top before the title or name. The *Burung Garuda* logo is the national symbol of Indonesia. In social semiotics, the logo represents the highest and philosophical power which is a guideline that unites the diversity of the Indonesian nation with the phrase *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* "It is different, (yet) it is one". The logo symbolizes the highest power of the Indonesian nation and power that reflects the ideology of the local law text as a product of written law that has the power to regulate diverse Indonesian society to live in harmony and peace. The *Burung Garuda* logo reflects ideology, philosophy, and has the force of law. The text of the bylaw also has a second scheme part, namely the consideration (opening) which consists of four parts, namely: Considering which contains points that explain the reasons for making Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari*, the section Remembering contains 14 previous regulations that are references to the making of Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2014 concerning *Nagari*, the section Deciding and Determining consisting of 5 Chapters, 4 sections, and 27 chapters and 53 verses explaining the duties of the *Nagari* Government. In the closing section, it is equipped with the signatures of the Governor and Regional Secretary of West Sumatra Province as the legitimacy of power and the validity of the legal text of the regional regulation.

3. Micro Structure

3.1 Semantic Structure

Semantic structure analysis deals with the meaning emphasized in the text. Semantic structure can be described by looking at background, detail, intent, presumption, nominal, and numbering. The background is a piece of news (text) that can affect the semantics (meaning) that you want to display. Details are elements of discourse that control the information displayed. Intent is how information that benefits the communicator is described explicitly and clearly and vice versa harmful information is described in a disguised, implicit, and hidden manner. Presuppositions are elements of discourse used to support the meaning of a text. If the background supports the opinion with the background, the presupposition supports the opinion by providing a premise that is believed to be true (Eriyanto, 2001). The background elements in Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2018 can be seen in the Weighing points a and b section which states that the background of the regional regulation is *Nagari* as a unity of customary law communities with a background in West Sumatra Province with the Minangkabau tribal community.

Data 3

"That *nagari* as a unit of customary law communities in West Sumatra are eligible to be designated as government administrators based on customary law as intended by Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages (*Nagari*).

Data 4

"That based on article 109 of Law Number 6 of 2014 concerning Villages (*Nagari*), the Provincial Government is authorized to establish regional regulations as guidelines for districts/cities in determining *Nagari* as the administrator of government based on customary law, especially related to the institutional structure, filling of positions, and tenure of *Kapalo Nagari*."

In addition, the background of the Minangkabau indigenous people contained in Article 1 paragraph 2 states that "*Nagari* is a unit of Customary Law Peoples genealogically and historically has boundaries within a certain area, has its own property, is authorized to choose leaders by deliberation and regulates and takes care of the interests of local communities based on the philosophy of *Adat Basandi Syara'*, *Syara' Basandi Kitabullah* and/or based on local origins and customs in the territory West Sumatra Province." That is, custom is guided by *syara'* (religion) and religion is guided by *kitabullah* or the book of the Qur'an or religious scriptures as a symbol of the identity and ideology of the Minangkabau people. The implementation of the *Nagari* Government as stipulated in the article must be guided by *adat* and *syara'* which represent the ideology of the Minangkabau people. The purpose of this bylaw is all to benefit the communicator namely

the maker of local regulations and there was not found any information that cornered or benefited the West Sumatra Provincial Government represented by the Governor and DPRD of West Sumatra as communicators. They completely control the *Nagari* people as their communicants. Presuppositions are rules contained in the Remembering section which consists of 14 verses. One of them is paragraph 3 contained in data below.

Data 5

West Sumatra Provincial Regulation Number 6 of 2014 concerning the Strengthening of customary Institutions and the Preservation of Minangkabau Cultural Values.

Based on data 5, the presumptions or premises that are compiled and made contain reasons that support and justify the action of drafting and stipulating West Sumatra Provincial Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning Nagari.

3.2 Syntax Structure

Power can also be explained by the form of sentences, pronouns, and coherence between sentences, such explanation is called analysis related to syntactic structure. Pronouns are discourse elements to manipulate language by creating an imaginative communication or a tool used by communicators to show where one stands in the discourse. To express their attitude, a person uses the pronouns we, us as a representation of a common attitude in a particular community (Eriyanto, 2001). The use of personal pronouns such as we, us, and our aims to show the other, alliance with self, solidarity, and public attention as well as reduce criticism and opposition. Coherence, then, is the intertwining of words or sentences in the text. Two sentences that describe different facts can be connected so that they appear coherent. The use of personal pronouns such as we and us to show the power of a group is not found in the Regional Regulation of West Sumatra Province Number 7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari*, but personal pronouns are replaced with the names of positions, such as the Governor of West Sumatra Province, Regional Secretary (*Sekda*), DPRD of West Sumatra Province *Kapalo Nagari*, *Tungku Tigo Sajarangan*, and *Bundo Kanduang*. The mention of the name of the position shows a higher power than just we and us because the pronouns show the systematic power of an institution with the others who refer to the social group of society it regulates, namely the people of West Sumatra.

Coherence can also be seen from the use of interconnected sentences. The relationship is realized in the form of parallelism or parallelism of verbs with me- used in the opening part. The me- affixed verbs, namely Remembering, Considering, Deciding, and Establishing accompanied by the use of the word "that" in paragraphs a, b, c, and d show an interrelated relationship in terms of conveying ideas about the power to make regional regulations. The use of the word "that" as inter sentence coherence shows a parallel relationship that emphasizes the power of the local regulation text maker. Power can be seen from the unity of ideas that are neatly and systematically arranged in the form of intertwining clauses in the Given section. The statements are also built on long clauses and not in the form of whole sentence constructions that have a subject (S) and predicate (P) pattern. This section contains a sequence of laws and regulations that guide the making of West Sumatra Provincial Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari*.

Data 6

Considering:

1. Article 18 paragraph (6) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia;
2. Law No. 61 of 1958 Concerning the Stipulation of Emergency Law No. 19 of 1957 Concerning the Establishment of Level I Swantantra Regions of West Sumatra, Jambi, Riau as an Act (State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia of 1958 Number 112. Supplement to the State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1646)

The excerpt above shows the Remembering section with a pattern of long phrases and not in the form of complete sentences. Whole sentences are only found in the chapters and articles after the "Deciding and Establishing" Section which explains the definition of *Nagari* and its officials, as in the following example: "*Nagari* is a genealogically and historically indigenous legal community unit that has boundaries in a certain area, has its own assets, is authorized to elect its leaders in deliberation and regulate and manage the interests of the local community based on the philosophy of *adat basandi syara'-syara' basandi kitabullah* and/or based on local origins and customs in the territory of West Sumatra Province."

"*Nagari* Government is the administration of government affairs and the interests of the *Nagari* community within the system of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia". The sentence used to explain the definitions has a copula verb as the predicate position. Two sentences describing different facts can be connected so that they appear coherent and even unrelated facts can be related if someone connects them (Eriyanto, 2001). Thus, the syntactic structure can be explained in the regional regulation discourse by looking at the relationship between sentences and conjunction that support each other to create a new meaning in the discourse.

3.3 Rhetorical Element Analysis

Rhetorical elements are ways of emphasizing certain words in the text or discourse. Rhetorical elements are seen through graphic elements, metaphors, and expressions used in the text (Eriyanto, 2001). Power in rhetorical elements is shown by graphic elements in the form of the use of capital letters in the name of the regulation and the placement of the *Burung Garuda* logo as the symbol of the Indonesian state at the top of the name of the regulation. In addition, power in the local regulation discourse is also found in the use of capital letters in the preamble for the words DECIDE AND DECREE and the word GUBERNUR OF WEST SUMATERA. The use of capital letters is a representation that emphasizes that these parts need to be remembered because they have a higher, stronger, and greater purpose or power than other parts in the text. The use of capital letters means that the part is more important than other parts in the discourse of regional regulation number 7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari*.

Next, the element of metaphor. Metaphor is part of stylistic analysis or stylistic analysis and lexicon is used in discourse. Lexicon is a language component that contains all information about the meaning and usage of words in language (Kridalaksana, 2008). Stylists treat the language of texts as "axiomatic" or reflecting the unified linguistic construct of texts to identify the bases of meaning. Stylistics can be used to explore issues of language, ideas, and representations through studying language patterns and discourse features within the framework of contextual linguistics and stylistics communicates "multiple meanings to readers or viewers" in a context because 'knowledge and experience of the world are words and meanings mediated by language'(Anasiudu 2020; Halliday and Hasan 1976; Mathe 2024). Stylistic elements in the Regional Regulation Number 7/2018 are found in the use of Minangkabau language words, including *parik paga*, *bundo kanduang*, *adat basandi syarak*, *syarak basandi kitabullah*, and *bajanjang naiak batanggo turun*. *Parik Paga* has the basic meaning of valley and guardrail but metaphorically the expression means as a young man who keeps the *nagari* safe. *Bundo Kanduang* has a basic meaning as a biological mother or mother who gave birth, but in the regional regulation discourse, the expression *bundo kanduang* is a metaphor that represents Minangkabau women who are tasked with maintaining customs to remain sustainable. Metaphorical elements highlight religion and the sequence of activities that signify politeness in Minangkabau culture as the background of the local regulation. *Adat basandi syarak*, *syarak basandi kitabullah* has the basic meaning of *adat* guided by religion, religion guided by *kitabullah* (Al Quran) is a metaphor that represents the life of Minangkabau people based on Islam. Then, *bajanjang naiak*, *batanggo turun* is a metaphor that represents that every action must be in accordance with applicable rules or procedures

Discussion

Power in Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari* is classified into discursive actions that reflect sociopolitical actions in relation to attitudes, actions, and ideologies. This action is often used as part of a psycho social strategy that represents oneself positively (in group) and denigrates outsiders or competitors or enemies (out group). Critical discourse analysis examines the ways of action and discourse

structures described in promulgation or socio-political maneuvering (Haryatmoko, 2017). In sociopolitical movements, power will be seen in the form of hegemony, domination, discrimination, ideology, sexist, racist, institutions, and others. Power in Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari* is seen through elements of van Dijk's discourse structure, such as through macro structure, superstructure, and micro structure analysis. In the macro structure, power lies in the use of themes or topics that contain definitions and limitations made by the Governor and DPRD of West Sumatra about *Nagari*, for example *Nagari* has certain territorial boundaries, certain wealth, certain authorities based on the custom of *basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah*. In the superstructure, the power lies in the use of the *Burung Garuda* logo at the head of the regional regulation which reflects the text of the regional regulation as an official state document that has power or legal force that unites the diversity that exists in society.

Power is also found in the content scheme, namely in the words DECIDE AND ASSIGN. There is a predominance of the higher powers contained in words that use these capital letters. Capital letters are a representation of emphasis or dominance. The dominance comes from the local government makers, namely the West Sumatra Provincial Government represented by the Governor and DPRD of West Sumatra Province. Domination is one of the methods used to show power, such as van Dijk's statement about domination. Domination cover equally the various kind of communicate power abuse that are special interest to critical discourse analysis such as manipulation, indoctrination, or disinformation, other non discursive, example of domination readily come to mind, and everyday experiences, stories, and new reports are full of them: sexual harassment of women by men, parental violence, political corruption, harassment and violence by the police, terrorism and counter terrorism, war and so on (Dijk, 2008).

Discourse analysis only able to study a small, (but important) part of all forms of domination and discrimination or inequality or inequality that exist (Dijk, 1980). To explain the power possessed by the dominant group, usually all are integrated in the form of laws, regulations, norms, customs, and also consensus called Gramsci with hegemony (Supriyadi. 2015). Another representation that can be inferred from the power in the local regulation is the existence of the others from the local government (Governor and DPRD of West Sumatra) as subjects to the *Nagari* community as objects regulated in Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2018 through the use of the pronouns governor, regional secretary, and Regional People's Representative Council represented by the pronoun "we" when referring to themselves and they are outside the regulated community.

The others appear against certain social groups, namely communities governed by the West Sumatra Provincial government with certain restrictions related to the definition of *Nagari*. Service is a social construct that is more associated with identity issues (Nilsen, Fylkensens & Mausethagen, 2017; 28). The mindset of putting "us" and "them" at different levels is done as an attempt to explain social hierarchy and the polarization of "us" and "them" on the one hand creates discrimination based on gender, race, religion, social class, age, and so on, and on the other hand creates social tension and violence (Udasmoro 2021). The others are syntactic elements of van Dijk's concept of critical discourse analysis.

Peliyanan is found in the pronoun position to represent the ruling party in the text of the local regulation, namely the Governor, Regional Secretary, and West Sumatra Provincial DPRD. Service is further emphasized by the definition sentences in articles and verses of local regulations that provide limits on duties and authorities for all parties regulated in local regulations. There are twenty regulated elements, namely districts/cities, *Nagari, Nagari Government, Nagari Government, Kapalo Nagari, Nagari Customary Density (KAN), Jorong/Korong/Kampuang, Nagari court, customary law, customs, adat salingka nagari, Manti Nagari, Bandaro Nagari, Dubalang Nagari, Tungku Tigo Sajarangan, Niniak Mamak, Alim Ulama, Cadiak Pandai, Parik Paga, and Bundo Kanduang*. The twenty elements above have duties and authorities that have been determined by a higher authority, namely the West Sumatra Provincial Government as a regional regulation-maker. Violation of that authority is a violation of a higher power and there are sanctions.

In addition to the statement above, the power in Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari* is also in the form of discrimination or sexist social inequality. Sexist discrimination is a form of discrimination due to gender or sex differences between men and women. This discrimination is found in the placement of the order or numbering of Bundo Kanduang as a representation of women or women in Minangkabau who are in the last order. In the General Section of Article 1 of Regional Regulation Number

7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari*, *Bundo Kanduang* is in last place after all other *nagari* elements, such as *kapalo nigari*, *niniak mamak*, *furnace tiga sajarangan*, *manti*, *malin*, *dubalang*, *parik paga* whose members are all men.

"Bundo kanduang is a female leader in Minangkabau who describes the figure of a wise woman who makes Minangkabau customs sustainable from time to time"

As one of the symbols of social semiotics in critical discourse analysis, numbering represents how important the existence of each numbered part is. Order number 20 in Chapter I of the General Provisions in Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2018 for *Bundo Kanduang* as a party representing Minangkabau women reflects a less important position. This numbering shows that there is an element of sexist discrimination or discrimination against *Bundo Kanduang* as the abundance of Rumah Nan Gadang, or the ruler of Rumah Gadang, as well as the heir of inheritance and customary land. Women also determine the results of meetings held by men in Minangkabau. In the concept of Minangkabau society that adheres to the matrilineal system or maternal lineage, *Bundo Kanduang* should be in a high and honorable position with a sequence number or numbering position that should be parallel to *Tigo Tungku Sajarangan* (*Niniak Mamak*, *Alim Ulama*, and *Cadiak Pandai*). Power is also contained in articles that regulate the duties and authorities of *Nagari* elements, such as the duties of the *Nagari* Customary Density (KAN) contained in article 7 paragraphs 1 and 2. KAN is said to have the authority to supervise the *Nagari* Government and draft *Nagari* Regulations together with *Kapalo Nagari*. KAN has the authority to choose and appoint *Kapalo Nagari* by consensus. That is, the West Sumatra Provincial Government as a party that has higher power, regulates, gives authority, and at the same time limits the authority of KAN

Conclusions

Power in Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning *Nagari* is a type of power that is created and institutionalized systematically. Based on the analysis of Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2019 concerning *Nagari*, three things that can be concluded. First, there is domination, ideology, and discrimination or social inequality, especially for woman representatives. Domination, ideology, and discrimination are found in the duties and authority of *Nagari* officials which is shown through the use of the word "that", the use of capital letters, and the use of the words Considering, Deciding, and Establishing. Second, power in the form of ideology is found in the use of the Burung Garuda Logo as a state symbol that contains the points of Pancasila as the highest and dominant ideological symbol in Indonesia. Ideology is also represented by the use of the metaphor of the philosophy of *Adat Basandi Syarak*, *Syarak Basandi Kitabullah* which represents Islam as a regulator of the mindset or worldview of the Minangkabau people in West Sumatra. Third, there is sexist discrimination or social inequality in the form of differences in human treatment based on gender or sex between men and women. This reality can be seen in the placement of *Bundo Kanduang* as a representation of Minangkabau women in the last number in Article 1 of the General Provisions of Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2018 about *Nagari*.

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