

*INTRODUCTION TO  
CRITICAL DISCOURSE  
ANALYSIS*

**Fitri Budi Suryani  
Ahmad Hilal Madjdi**

**Muria Kudus University Press**

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Penulis

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Ahmad Hilal Madjdi

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*To our beloved students*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Praise be to Allah who has helped us to complete this textbook of *Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis*. This textbook aims at presenting material of critical discourse analysis in a simple and easy way for undergraduate students. Therefore, it functions only as an introduction to the broad discipline of critical discourse analysis.

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December 2015

Fitri Budi Suryani

Ahmad Hilal Madjdi

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# **CHAPTER I**

## **DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

# Learning Goal

After reading this chapter, the students are expected to have the following competences:

1. ability to explain the definitions of discourse analysis
2. ability to analyse the differences and similarities of some definitions of discourse analysis
3. ability to give examples of discourse analysis from different definitions

# Introduction

The word 'discourse' has been diversely used with different meaning and interpretation. None can be said to be the best as each has its own strength and weakness.

## Definitions of Discourse

The followings are some definitons of discourse.

*“A stretch of language consisting of several sentences which are perceived as being related in some way”*(Nunan, 1993).

*“A continuos stretct of (especially spoken) language larger than a sentence, often constituting a coherent unit, such as a sermon, argument, joke or narrative”* (Crystal, 1992).

*“Stretches of language perceived to be meaningful, unified, and purposive”* (Cook: 1989).

Some other scholars propose different description about “Discourse”.

According to Crystal (1992:25), discourse is a form of language product which is more than a sentence, reflecting a coherent and cohesion unit.

When one has a sermon, argument, joke, or narrative, he or she creates discourse. Practically, discourse is a realization of mind into

language considering the grammar, context and the behavioral patterns that structure the social functions of a language.

Wiśniewski (2006) simply mention “Discourse” as conversation or speech as its Latin original word, “discursus”, means human talk or human oral communication. Therefore, in Linguistics, the term discourse is formerly associated with conversation or spoken dialog. However, the development on Linguistics brings the discussion on discourse as a term for either spoken or written language (Fairclough, 1995).

The other scholar who agrees with the idea of using the term discourse to refer to both spoken and written language is Bathia (2004). His reason is simple as the term discourse in general term refers to language use in either specific or more general social contexts. Supporting Bathia, Fairclough (1995) says that “discourse” in social theory and analysis is understood as different ways using language, structuring areas of knowledge and social practice. Every time scholars discuss how to use language, to structure areas of knowledge and

social practice they may concerns with spoken or written form of language.

The more interesting and simple discussion on discourse is what stated as a text in actual use of language which is produced for a communicative purpose, which is proposed by Widdowson (2007). By this definition, he wants to say that the actual uses of language are texts which are produced to achieve some purpose or certain intention. The purpose or intention is then becoming keys to identify whether a stretch of language can be categorized as a text or not. It means that a text is produced to get a message across, to express ideas and beliefs, to explain something, to get other people to do certain things or to think in a certain way, and so on. In this sense, according to Widdowson (2007:6-7), the understanding of the readers or listeners of the text will generally match up with what the producer of the text meant by it. That is why the term discourse, related with the discussion on text, according to Widdowson (2007: 7) refers to the understanding of both the text producer and the text receivers. It can be explained that there will be a discourse when there is an understanding between the writer or the speaker and the readers or the hearer.

Rocci (2009) views discourse meaning from pragmatic and semantic stances. She defines discourse as a text or speech. From pragmatic point of view, discourse represents a complex action, whereas from semantic one, it represents state of affairs which could be true in some possible world.

To capture the essence of discourse, the two following sentences by Charles Fillmore are presented. The sentences were found as a sign in a swimming pool. One sign said, *Please use the toilets, not the pool*, meanwhile the other sign said, *Pool for members only*. The two signs are reasonable enough if they are read separately. However, if they are read as one single discourse, the new meaning will emerge and so can result in laughter. Schiffrin, Tanen, and Hamilton (2006) note that discourse brings with it a gift as well as a curse. As a gift, it can create new meanings through the relationship between sentences. On the other hand, it is a curse as it can create more than one meaning there is not exact way how to decide which meaning is intended.

Discourse analysis is, then, can be simply stated as the work of examining the use of language by its users. The major concern is, dealing with Widdowson;s idea, investigating written and spoken language functions along with its forms. The domain of discourse analysis is, according to Carter (1993), to identify linguistic qualities of various genres in order to recognize and interpret the text in relation with cultural and social aspects in which the text is produced. This means that different cultural and social aspects in which the text is produced may contribute different meaning and understanding on a similar text. The text “I love you” which is spoken by a mother to her children has different meaning from the same text which is spoken or written by couples of young man and woman who fall in love.

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# EXERCISES

Answer the following questions.

1. Explain some definitions of discourse and which one do you prefer to? State your reasons.
2. Give two examples of different definitions of discourse.
3. Why can the same sentence produce more than one interpretation in discourse analysis?

**CHAPTER II**  
**CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

# Learning Goal

After reading this chapter, the students are expected to have the following competences:

1. ability to explain the definitions of critical discourse analysis
2. ability to analyse why critical discourse analysis emerged
3. ability to analyse the goals of critical discourse analysis
4. ability to explain the stages of critical discourse analysis

# Introduction

Critical discourse analysis has its origin in literary criticism although in fact it is used to uncover ideological intent. Widdowson (in Sarangi and Coulthard, 2000) points out the similarity of both is that they explore the hidden meanings of texts.

## History of Critical Discourse Analysis

Firstly, it was introduced by Fairclough as critical language study (CLS). He used the term critical to perform hidden connections which people might not notice. Fairclough (1989) notes that

“CLS analyses social interactions in a way which focuses upon their linguistic elements, and which sets out to show up their generally hidden determinants in the system of social relationships, as well as hidden effects they may have upon the system”.

Therefore, CLS emerged as a result of major limitations found in some disciplines like linguistics, pragmatics, and discourse studies. Linguistics, according to Fairclough (1989), gives only little attention to actual speech or writing and so does not describe actual language practice.

The limitation that pragmatics holds is that it appears to describe discourse as it might be in a better world. Thus, discourse is not described as the discourse it is. This is quite similar as the limitation of

discourse, especially in conversation analysis which views talk as generally engaged in just for its own sake.

Critical language study then emerged as “an alternative orientation to language study which implies a different demarcation of language study” (Fairclough, 1989). Later on, Fairclough prefers to use the term critical discourse analysis.

## **Goal of Critical Discourse Analysis**

The goal of Critical Discourse Analysis is to investigate the ideological assumptions which are hidden within texts. In other words, Critical Discourse Analysis searches the relation between texts, discourses and social structures in order to explain the ideological dominance of some discourses in society.

According to Fairclough (1995: 28), Critical Discourse Analysis can be utilized to make clear social determinations and effects of discourse which are characteristically opaque to participants. He (2003) also identified the existence of three levels of dialectically intertwined social practice and language in social reality: social structures at the abstract level, followed by social practices and social events in the most

concrete levels. Those three levels are respectively associated with language, orders of discourse and texts. It means that social structures and languages are not changing everyday. On the contrary, social events and texts which are in the most concrete levels are changing.

The three levels are also influencing each other constantly, both from the abstract to the concrete level and vice versa. In other words, as Fairclough claimed, discourse is constitutive and constituted. It means that social events influence discourse and social structures, as well as social structures influence discourse and social events (Philips and Jogersen, 2002). The sentence “She went to school yesterday” is an accepted text because its structure describes the social events and a text which is also accepted in the social structure and language. While “She school to went” is not accepted as it is also not accepted in the level of language and social structure.

It is then very easy to understand that social structures/languages shape the structural possibilities to speak or act something, but those possibilities will be selected by social practices/ orders of discourse. In other words, Social practices control the selection of certain structural

possibilities and the exclusion of others and the retention of these selections over time, in particular areas of social life (Fairclough, 2003:23-24).

## **Stages in Critical Discourse Analysis**

Fairclough (1992: 25) states that there are always three dimensions of discourse: 1) the text (spoken or written), 2) the process of production and interpretation of the text, and 3) the social conditions of then process of production and interpretation of the text.

The difference between non-critical and critical discourse analysis, according to Fairclough (1995:12) lies on the fact that the second analysis is done with the purposes of not only describing discursive practices, but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants. Rogers (2008: 2) adds that there are three steps: interpretation, description,

and explanation which make Critical Discourse Analysis is different from Discourse Analysis.

To make it clear, Fairclough (1992: 26) proposes three stages/ procedures in critical discourse analysis: 1) description of the formal properties of the text, 2) interpretation of the processes of production and interpretation or interaction with the text by producers and interpreters, and 3) explanation of the interaction and the social context as well as their social effects.

The first procedure, Description is to analyze the dimensions of the text. In this stage, the formal discourse choices of the text are analyzed to reveal the lexical and structural trends in the text. This analysis concerns with three sections: 1) vocabulary, 2) grammar, and 3) textual structures (Fairclough, 1992: 110-111). Therefore, in the description stage, three questions concerning with vocabulary section can be developed to explore: 1) the experiential value, 2) the relational value, and 3) the expressive value of words in the text.

The second step, Interpretation is done to uncover the relation between text and its social context. The analysis should be done in the area of

social structure and context surrounding the production and interpretation of the text. This is done because of the fact that the relationship between text and its social context is mediated first of all by the discourse which the text is a part of. In other words, interpretation is interpretation of context and text. It means that at this procedure, situational context and intertextual context were analyzed (Fairclough, 1992: 144-145). Situational context refers to features of the physical situation and properties of participants. Intertextual context refers to a matter of deciding which series of a text belongs to, and therefore what can be taken as common ground for participants (Fairclough, 1992: 155).

The operational procedures for analyzing situational and intertextual context are to answer several questions proposed by Fairclough (1992: 146-152):

- 1) What's going on? (activity, topic, purpose)
- 2) Who's involved? (subjects position)
- 3) In what relations? (what relationship of power, social distance)
- 4) What's the role of language? (the genre and channels)

Explanation, the third stage of analysis, is to portray a discourse as part of social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, sustaining them or changing them (Fairclough, 1992: 163). Therefore it concerns with the social constitution and change of member's resources/ background knowledge, including their reproduction in discourse practice (Fairclough, 1992: 163). The purpose of this stage is to reveal how member's resources/ background knowledge is reproduced in the production of discourse and how they either sustain or change the existing power relations and ideologies in society. In other words, Critical Discourse Analysis can be understood as a critical theory of language which examines the use of language as a form of social practice. Practically, Critical Discourse Analysis studies how formal linguistic features of text are related to social power.

Since those three steps discussed above are not only to describe discursive practices, but also to show how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, one who works on Critical Discourse Analysis have to take into account eight fundamental principles of CDA

(Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). These are: 1) CDA addresses social problems, 2) Power relations are discursive, 3) CDA constitutes society and culture, 4) CDA does ideological works, 5) CDA is historical, 6) A Sociocognitive approach is needed to understand how relations between texts and society are mediated, 7) CDA is interpretive and explanatory and uses a systematic methodology, 8) CDA is socially committed scientific paradigm.

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# EXERCISES

1. Explain what you know about critical discourse analysis.
2. What is the purpose of critical discourse analysis?
3. What makes critical discourse analysis different from discourse analysis ?
4. Why does critical discourse analysis emerge?
5. Mention three stages of critical discourse analysis.

# **CHAPTER III**

## **DESCRIBING THE TEXT**

# Learning Goal

After reading this chapter, the students are expected to have the following competences:

1. ability to explain the definitions of description of text
2. ability to explain the stages of describing text
3. ability to analyse text based on the stages of describing

# Introduction

In analyzing the text (read discourse) critically, description is the first step which should be done. The purpose of this step is to analyze the dimensions of the text in order to reveal the lexical and structural trends in the text.

## Stages in Description

In this stage, the formal discourse choices of the text are analyzed: 1) vocabulary, 2) grammar, and 3) textual structures (Fairclough, 1992: 110-111). Therefore, in the description stage, three questions concerning with vocabulary section can be developed to explore: 1) the experiential value, 2) the relational value, and 3) the expressive value of words in the text.

**Experiential value**, according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 59) represents our experience of the world as language users. They further explain that a clause has meaning as a representation of some process in ongoing human experience. They further state that, searching from experiential value, the clause presents configuration of a process, participants involved in it and any attendant circumstances (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 169). For example: a clause of “He did all this because of his conviction”, consists of *Actor* (He), *Material Process*

(did), *Goal* (all this), and *Causal Circumstance* (because of his conviction).

A text may also have **Relational values**, which according to Eggins (2004: 239) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:211-213) are used to cover many different ways of expressing “being” in English clauses. For example: a clause of “Indonesia is strongly patriarchal society” consists of *Token* (Indonesia), *Relational Process* (is), *Circumstance of manner* (strongly), and *Value* (patriarchal society).

**Expressive value** can also be found in a text. This is also well known as mental process. Halliday says that expressive value can be categorized into three classes: 1) Cognition (verbs of thinking, knowing, understanding: think, know, imagine, choose, discover), 2) Affection (verbs of liking, fearing: like, hate, want, smell, please, enjoy, admire, frighten), and 3) Perception (verbs of seeing, hearing: see, hear). Examples: “Victims of natural disasters need more help”, consists of *Senser* (Victims of natural disasters), *Mental Process* (need), and *Phenomenon* (more help)

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# EXERCISES

Read the text carefully and answer the following questions to get the description of the text !

## Text 1

### **Golkar mulls long-term alliance with PDI-P**

Bagus BT Saragih and Margareth S. Aritonang

The Jakarta Post/ Jakarta (Tuesday February 4, 2014)

The prospect of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) winning the 2014 legislative election has prompted rival political parties to hatch plans to build a coalition with the party. The Golkar Party – which according to a number of public opinion polls, stands a good chance of coming in second place in the 2014 legislative election – has openly expressed its interest in joining forces with the opposition party. On Monday, respected Golkar politician Hajriyanto Thohari said that the party was considering building a long-term coalition with the PDI-P. Hajriyanto said that his party had given thought forming a “strong and permanent \” coalition with the PDI-P for “at least five (general) elections”. “I think 2014 is the perfect momentum to realize this

desire,” he told reporters. Hajriyanto said the country’s political landscape would be “stable but dynamic” under a Golkar-PDI-P alliance as the two parties would form a majority in the House of Representatives. He claimed that it would also be easy for the two parties to coalesce given their nationalist platforms. “We are two of the country’s oldest parties. We both have similar nationalistic platforms. So the next question is why not?” he said. Hajriyanto’s statement came only days after PDI-P secretary-general Tjahjo Kumlo acknowledge that the PDI-P chairperson, former president Megawati Soekarnowati, met with Golkar chairman and presidential candidate Aburizal Bakrie. No details were released about the meeting. Golkar members have expressed the hope that the party would build an alliance with the PDI-P, Hajriyanto said. “But we can’t make it happen right away because Golkar is currently in coalition pact with the ruling Democratic Party (PD),” he said. Golkar is currently the biggest ally of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono’s PD, but in the past few years Golkar has often engaged in political collaboration with PDI-P in the House to challenge Yudhoyono’s policies. Another member of the government coalition, the Prosperous Justice (PKS) has also made similar moves. However, unlike the PKS which lost one of its Cabinets posts due to its

“rebellious” acts, Golkar ministers have remained, thanks to intensive diplomacy by the party’s seasoned politicians. Tjahjo refused to comment on Golkar “invitation” to form a permanent coalition. “We haven’t thought about a coalition yet. We are still focusing on the legislative election,” he said. Separately, PDI-P lawmaker Arif Wibowo said the party did not want “to be dictated” to by others when it came to coalition “if we win the legislative election, we will have a free hand in forming a coalition for the presidential race,” he said. Arya Fernandes, a political analyst with Charta Politika, said that it would be difficult for two parties with a similar degree of electoral support to form a coalition. “A strong party usually accepts smaller parties in an alliance to maintain its control,” he said.

## **Questions**

1. What does it mean by experiential value of a text ?
2. Find 5 (five) experiential value in the text above.
3. Explain relational value and show the examples of it from the text.
4. Analyse expressive value from the text and infer what expressive value is.

**CHAPTER IV**  
**INTERPRETING THE TEXT**

# Learning Goal

After reading this chapter, the students are expected to have the following competences:

1. ability to explain the stage of interpreting
2. ability to analyse text in term of interpreting stage

# Introduction

The second step of analyzing the text (read discourse) critically is interpreting. The purpose of this step is to reveal the connection between text and its social context..

## Stages in Interpretation

It has been discussed that Interpretation is the stage or procedure to reveal the relation between text and its social context. Therefore, the analysis deals with the social structure and context where and when the text is produced and interpreted. This is so because the relationship between text and its social context is mediated first of all by the discourse which the text is a part of. Fairclough (1992: 140) states that the values of textual features only become real and socially operative if they are embedded in social interaction where text are produced. The interpretation, then should be done in line with the background knowledge (common sense assumptions) which give textual features of their values.

Simply speaking, what is meant by interpretation is the interpretation of context and text, where situational context and intertextual context were

analyzed (Fairclough, 1992: 144-145). Situational context can be investigated on the features of the physical situation and properties of participants. While Intertextual context is the context which is related with which series of a text belongs to (Fairclough, 1992: 155).

The operational procedures for analyzing situational and intertextual context are to answer several questions proposed by Fairclough (1992: 146-152):

- 1) What's going on? (activity, topic, purpose)
- 2) Who's involved? (subjects position)
- 3) In what relations? (what relationship of power, social distance)
- 4) What's the role of language? (the genre and channels)

Thus, the stages of interpretation correct the delusions of autonomy on the part of subjects in discourse, and therefore it makes explicit what for participants is generally implicit: the dependence of discourse practice on the unexplicated common sense assumptions of member's resources/ background knowledge and discourse type (Fairclough, 1992: 162).

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# EXERCISES

Read the text carefully and answer the following questions to get the interpretation of the text !

Let there be a Peaceful Campaign

(The Jakarta Post Monday, March 16, 2009)

As the 21-day of official campaign period for the April 9 legislative election kickoff today, the government is running autopilot. As most officials from the President to ministers are on the campaign trail around the country, only several ministers are left to run the country until the end of the campaign period of April 5.

Taking leave for campaigning is happening across the region. Ironically one cannot find significant political substance in this period. What is supposed to be a political event looks more like public relation campaigns. New projects are being opened. Political parties are organizing public events. It is a time to remember the grass roots before forgetting them as soon as the election is over. Badly needed political education is in short supply as it was in past campaigns.

What is significant is the trickling down the money to the poor, If each of the 11,000 old legislative candidates spent the average of Rp 500 million (about US\$ 50,000) usually spent on campaigning a massive of Rp 5 trillion would be amassed. As the impact of global economic crisis deepens this is a welcome respite. There is a reason to be optimistic that the election will be carried out smoothly.

As the massive amount of money is absorbed by the people through the printing of name cards to the making of street banners, from distribution of T-shirts to political bribes. People will have cash to spend.

Outdoor gatherings will always benefit small traders such as food vendors. Learning from the past campaigns, this is harvest time for the musicians and singers usually hired for the event.

Learning from the past mistakes, where perpetrators of election violations were treated leniently. Election stakeholders should ensure today that justice be upheld. Briberies and other-election related crimes should be eliminated. Otherwise, the view that it is normal to accept money during an election will become more entrenched.

Indonesia is strongly patriarchal society. The people will follow what the leader do.

It is attempting for incumbents to use government facilities for campaigning purposes.

People are asking whether or not the rampant tour of top officials across the region is really for campaigning or for work as the two are so often blurred-perhaps purposely so. Regular people who are tired of politics can be forgiven for being apathetic

as they do not makes important changes to their life. Official figures show

that 40,000 old people have lost their jobs in recent weeks. Victims of natural disasters need more help.

Some reminisce about the occasional violent has often taken place during campaigning, particularly during the New Order rule. Others expect disturbances to their daily routine. Motorists expect more disruptions to Jakarta's gridlock prone traffic.

Business activities will be affected even if this is the time to offset loses incurred by the impact of the global economic recession.

But most voters will likely encounter much confusion in the act of voting given the wide choice of political parties and candidates and the new system of ticking ballots

Campaigners would be well advised to remember the entire burden is borne by the people. Chaos and riots are the last thing people want to have.

Question.

1. What activities mention in the text ?
2. What are the purpose of those activities ?
3. Who are involved in those activities ?
4. What are the position of the people involve in those activities ?
5. Can you find the relationship between people who involve in those activities ? Do you find some social distance describe in the text ?

# **CHAPTER IV**

## **EXPLAINING THE TEXT**

# Learning Goal

After reading this chapter, the students are expected to have the following competences:

1. ability to explain the stages of explaining the text
2. ability to analyse text in term of explaining stage

# Introduction

The third step of analyzing the text critically is explaining. The following is the stages in conducting explaining of a text.

## Stages in Explanation

Explanation, the third stage of analysis is done to investigate the social constitution and background knowledge, including the reproduction in discourse practice (Fairclough, 1992: 163). The purpose of this stage is to portray a discourse as part of social process, as a social practice, and to show how it is determined by social structures (Fairclough, 1992: 163). It is very clear then, that explanation stage is used to reveal how background knowledge is reproduced in the production of discourse and how they either sustain or change the existing power relations and ideologies in society.

The operational procedure in the explanation stage was designed on the basis of investigating five ideological modes which are proposed by Thomson (1990: 60-67): legitimation, dissimulation, unification,

fragmentation, and reification. The five modes were briefly explained as the followings:

- Legitimation has something to do with representing something as legitimate to gain support for it. The strategies or symbolic constructions used in this mode are rationalization (chain of reasoning to defend or legitimate a set of social rules), universalization (institutional arrangements that serve individual interests but represented as serving interests of all), and narrativization (claims in stories that treat the present as part of tradition).
- Dissimulation has something to do with hiding, denying or obscuring relations of domination to sustain them. The strategies used in this mode are displacement (one symbol is displaced to a symbol which is similar to it), euphemism (positive re-evaluation to shift sense), and trope (the use of figurative language, e.g. metaphor).
- Unification has something to do with embracing all individuals into a collective despite their differences. The strategies are standardization (using symbolic form adapted to a standard framework), and symbolization of unity (performing a collective identity that overrides differences and divisions).

- Fragmentation has something to do with fragmenting individuals and groups that may challenge those in power. The strategies are differentiation (by emphasizing differences which make unity more difficult), and expurgation of the other (by showing the construction of the enemy that must collectively be expurgated).
- Reification has something to do with representing the socio-historical state of affairs as natural and permanent. The strategies used in this mode are naturalization (by presenting the historical state of affairs as natural phenomena), externalization (by presenting social historical state of affairs as permanent and unchanged phenomena), and nominalization (by presenting processes as things/ events, obscure actors or agency).

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# EXERCISES

Read the text carefully and answer the following questions to get the interpretation of the text !

Public Campaigns are no Party for Children

(Michael Setiawan. The Jakarta Post, Friday, April 3, 2009)

As we head for the general election next month these few weeks are the time for political parties to show us what they have got. It has been ten days since the first public campaign and everyday now we witness the many parties in this country take their turn.

The parties are trying their best to attract people to their campaign events. They do everything in their power to get a big crowd of people at their campaign. They say that the general election is the people's party and we can really see the public enjoying it. In spite of the many positives of public campaigning, there are still some problems that people often talk about but for which no real activities has been taken the main concern which many people brush aside is the involvement of children in public campaigning.

It is obvious that involving children in campaigning is a violation of law. However, neither the General Election Committee (KPU) nor Elections Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu) have done anything to make this clear. They might have given some warnings but the parties can not, or maybe do not want to really do anything about it.

There are actually some things we really have to consider involving children attending public campaigning. It should be our concern as what happens to them is bad for their development.

Many adults bring their children, even underage children, to participate in the campaign. There is no good reason why they should do this because the children will never understand what the campaign is about, what the promises given by the speakers mean, or what the effect will be afterwards.

The children in this case become victims of their parents and the political parties. They have to follow their parents to a campaign in the middle of unpredictable heat or rain which can be too extreme. It can make them sick. This is sometimes unpredicted by the parents.

Joining the campaign can also shorten their studying time at home. When they get home from school they probably go to sleep or study. However, now they directly join the campaigning with their parents.

After coming home from the campaign, they probably are too tired to study or do their homework.

There is one other thing which makes it even worse for the children to attend the campaigns. In most of them, the political parties provide some form of entertainments for the participants. This most commonly takes the form of a dangdut performance. This is usually the main attraction and the primary reason why so many people join the campaigns.

Political parties having dangdut performances at their rallies is actually not bad at all. However, the singers usually make the situation more attractive by moving erotically. Unfortunately, this is also usually seen directly by the children. This is ironic for this country and the parents. After we establish the pornography law, people have talked much about and banned the erotic movements of some of our famous dangdut singers such as Inul Daratista and Dewi Persik. But now it seems that everyone is closing their eyes from this problem just for his own advantage.

In order to attract people to their campaigns, many political parties and the members, who probably supported the passage of the

pornography law, are now allowing the dangdut performances and the erotic movements of their singers to potential voters.

However, this has a negative effect on the children who see it. Like their parents, they mostly enjoy the performance. But in this situation, it is almost like the parents are introducing their own children to the gate of pornography.

It's better not to bring children to any campaign and if no one can be found to supervise the children while the parents go then they should just stay at home. The number one concern of parents should be their children. To do their part, political parties and public figures should advise their participants not to bring children to campaign events. To make sure this happens,

the General Election Committee (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu) should also be strict and prohibit the involvement of children in campaign events. This is supposed to be the concern of all of us, including the monitoring bodies, the political parties, and the people who join the campaign. We have to realize that with the campaign's negative effects on children (both directly and indirectly) do them no good. The children cannot realize it because they do not know it but we adults have to put it all in order. We have to be active

to solve this problem. This should be done for the children's own good.

Fulfill the column of "phrase/ sentence" by referring to the modes and strategies of symbolic construction

MODES	STRATEGIES OF SYMBOLIC CONSTRUCTION	PHRASE/ SENTENCE
<b>LEGITIMATION</b> Representing something as legitimate to gain support for it	Rationalization  Universalization  Narativization	
<b>DISSIMULATION</b> Hiding, denying or obscuring relation of domination to sustain them	Displacement  Euphemism	
<b>UNIFICATION</b> Embracing individuals into a collective despite	Standardization	

differences	Symbolization of unity	
FRAGMENTATION Fragmenting individuals and groups that may challenge those in power	Differentiation  Expurgation of the other	
REIFICATION Representing the socio historical state of affairs as natural and permanent	Naturalization  Externalization  Nominalization	



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