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## 1 Touching Anger: Investigation on Speech Style Used by An Indonesian Female Politician

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### Abstract.

Study on speech style in political communications has been widely conducted. However, in the Indonesian context, there is a very little concern given to the speech style of women involved in politics. This study investigates the speech style used by a renowned Indonesian female politician, Tri Rismaharini o better known by the nickname Risma. She has a distinctive way of communicating to the public by showing many emotional speeches on various occasions. This research is a qualitative design by collecting utterances of Risma's emotional speeches and analysing them using Lakoff's women language features. The study argues that as an experienced bureaucrat who turned into a politician, Risma has a rich vocabulary speech style in her pocket, including soft and anger that she has deployed to win the heart of the public and her constituent. Moreover, the actual development programme she has delivered plays a significant role in the effectiveness and touch of her communication style.

**Keywords and phrases:** female politician, language style, women's language, Tri Rismaharini

### 18 INTRODUCTION

Language is the primary tool of communication to win the hearts of audiences, customers, and the constitution, especially in the realm of business, politics and bureaucracy (Tapsell 2018; Van Dijk 1993). The post-reformation era in Indonesia that brought about freedom of expression has shown more and more politicians and high levels of the executive to demonstrate their communication skills in responding to public criticism or drawing public sympathy. While in the past, only a single figure of the first Indonesian president Sukarno has been proud of his orator style. Currently, a more typical communication style appears from some politicians and bureaucrats, both male and female. In the Indonesian political context, many politicians try to construct a positive image through polite speech style and avoid coarse expressions such as the language of Jakarta's former governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, commonly known by Ahok, found guilty of blasphemy (Hatherell & Welsh, 2017, p. 2).

This study examines the speech style of the most famous female executive politician of Tri Rismaharini, better known by the nickname Risma. She was the Mayor of Surabaya for two terms and was appointed as Minister of Social by President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) to replace the previous minister who faced corruption charge of Covid-19 funding. Risma is a phenomenal female bureaucrat who followed the style of President Jokowi to do what it called *blusukan* (go out to the field) and became media darling and received broad media exposure (Tapsell, 2017). Her comprehensive media coverage increased Risma's popularity, and her speech style was identified (Dillane & Susanti, 2015; Handoyo, Sholikhah Akhiroh, Aرسال, & Ekaningsih, 2020). Subsequently, Risma is known for what she has done and communicating to various audiences, including governmental staff, citizens in general, and homeless children. While there have been some studies on the political aspect of Risma, this study investigates her language style that has been an essential part of her successful career as an executive cum politician. Although her speech was controversial or full of anger, mass

media often picked up her speech style and words and instantly became public discourse.

Discourse is a social form rather than individual activity, meaning it is related to social practice and social structure (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 63–64). Politics is all about power and dominance conducted by a small group called the power elites with special access to particular discourse (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 225). Politics also has its language code, like, for example, words such as *left* meaning social radicalist and *right* meaning national conservatism (Beard, 2000, p. 6). Consequently, investigation on the language of politics is observing a unique and complex language system belonging to politicians, the group of people close with power. The speech style between men and women is distinctive. Powerful speech style will make the speaker appear more credible, more attractive than the other, and influence the hearers' perception (Erickson, Lind, Johnson, & O'Barr, 1978, p. 276). Meaning a particular speech style will make the speaker appear to be more captivating. One must be mastering the art of language to climb higher status (Fragale, 2006, p. 243).

Risma emerges as one of Indonesia's most influential politicians in a relatively young democratic nation with a small number of female political figures. There have been many studies on various aspects of Risma's personal and formal life and achievement in the context of female leader (Diliani & Susanti, 2015), Risma's image in a political context (Sahab, 2017), the limit and the shape of Risma's political support (Fionna, 2017), gender and leadership, (Handoyo et al., 2020). However, none of these studies offers substantial attention to Risma's speech style, a point that this article would like to explore. This study investigates the content and context of Risma's emotional speech on various occasions during this period. Also, to identify the women's language features that make up her speech style. Lastly, to reveal the socio-cultural context of Risma's speech style. This study contributes to our understanding of the importance of public speaking style by Indonesian politicians and bureaucrats on image-making and how vibrant language style has developed in the political context of Indonesia post-reformation era.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Speech Style

Speech style is essential in people everyday life, but it is hardly aware. It tends to be taken for granted and considered as something natural and spontaneous. However, the speech style that materialises in communication acts involves many complex dimensions and strategies. In addition, speech style is often used to establish stereotypes of people's character, either by gender, race, culture, or nation background. While those are at a macro level, at a micro-level, speech style, including gestures and words selection, is determined by one's background, like occupation and profession. Adachi (2002, pp. 581–588) asserts that female speech style in Japan is stereotypically associated with sexes, which women positioned insubordinately, and men in the ordinate status, which influence their speech style. Working women use the most polite form of speech and cultured rhetoric to be accepted by the workplace while showing their power. The opposite occurs to female university students because they use modified male language to break away from male domination. However, female university students slowly abandoned this speech style when they entered a new social status.

Amplifiers are a group of adverbs that modify the sentence to give stronger emphasis and intensity. Yaguchi, Iyeiri, & Baba (2010, pp. 590–591) examined female and male speech styles through amplifier expressions *very* and *really/really*. In the study, it showed some interesting findings on women speech style. In an informational talk, women are more formal but more interactive than men. Women favoured *really/really* in small talk than men. Both gender equally shows frequent use of amplifiers *vary* in descriptive and explanatory talk. Subsequently, *very* is named to be a non-gender related amplifier in American public speech. Besides being preferred by both gender, amplifier (Lakoff, 1973) *very* is also consistently appeared and thus became legitimated during speaking in a more formal situation.

Stamou, Maronite, & Dinas (2012, pp. 43–47) analysed the shifting of traditional housewife women and modern working women's speech style portrayed in Greek television. Initially, a traditional woman's speech style is portrayed as indirect, repetition, question pauses due to

hesitation, incomplete sentence, diminutive expressions, hesitation in using vulgar expressions. The shifting from traditional to modern women also changes the woman's speech style into confrontational expressions, swear words, and face-threatening acts. Meanwhile, the formerly modern woman's speech style features are masculine, such as assertive expression, commission expression, stressed talk, pause for emphasis, sharp expression of disagreement, but still indirectly using repetition and question, and overtone. When the women shift her into a traditional homemaker, she shows hesitation, soften face-threatening act using question, elongation voice, diminutive expressions, and swear words alternatives.

### Women Language Features

Gender differences contribute to the characteristic of language. The contribution has long been aware by linguists and social scientists. For example, Lakoff (1973) identified some features of women language. Researchers widely use Lakoff's features. These features consist of hedges (e.g. perhaps, maybe, sort of), rising intonations on declarative, tag questions (e.g. ..., *do you?*, ..., *won't it?*, ..., *could I?*), empty adjectives (e.g. *adorable*, *sweet*, *gorgeous*), precise naming of colours (e.g. *beige*, *turquoise*, *mauve*), intensifiers (e.g. *strongly*, *extremely*, *fairly*), hypercorrect grammar (e.g. *clearly pronounce going instead of goin'*), super polite forms (e.g. *would you mind...?*, *is it okay if...?*), avoidance of strong swear words, and emphatic stress. Similar to Lakoff's finding, Labov (1990, pp. 205–206) asserts that, unlike their male counterpart who speak more freely and can use many non-standard language expressions, women tend to use language more conventional and moderately.

Moreover, Tannen (1991, p. 36) explained rapport and report talk between women and men. In this theory, women are more comfortable conducting speech in a more private setting using rapport-talk to establish connections and negotiating relationships. At the same time, men are more comfortable doing public speaking to dominate and negotiate and maintain their higher social status. Another statement comes from Spender (1998, p. 10),

who declares that women's language lacks authoritativeness, effectiveness, and persuasiveness in a hierarchal society. Finally, Trudgill (2000, pp. 79–80) argues that language always indicates the social phenomena, meaning that women and men are seen differently in the social hierarchy system; the language also reflects the situation.

### Women, Language and Politics

Scholarly interest in the study of the speech style of women politicians emerges occasionally. It is understandable because there have been a small number of legendary female leaders emerged. Subsequently, the object of the study has been a handful. Ponton (2010 pp. 214–215) investigated the speech style of Margaret Thatcher, the former prime minister of the United Kingdom. The study revealed that Thatcher played two positions related to gender; she maintained her images as virtue and traditional household woman, although she also has other external images such as iron lady. Lenard, 2016, pp. 183–184) conducted a corpus study on female politicians in the US congress. The research described that both males and females use personal pronouns moderately. However, the female attempted to eliminate references related to family and friends to appear more formal and professional in their political duty. Moreover, women tended to represent the people they were affiliated with, while men were more concerned about their political programs. Women have also used a critical approach compared to men, who used more personal experience to build intimacy with their audiences.

Senses, Arena, & Giuliano (2017, pp. 60–62) revealed that Italian female and male politicians' speech usually displayed traditional and asymmetrical gender stereotypes. However, this stereotype decreased because of female emancipation. Therefore, the linguistics features produced by these female politicians are marking and unmarking gender stereotypes. Ponomarenko, Vasilkova, Volskaya, Kasperova, & Nikolaeva (2018, pp. 634–635) found that American and English female politicians use feminine language features, verbal aggression, self-representation, metaphors, and tendency concerned on the topics on family and children to create a positive

image. These female politicians also rarely employed promises and opposing their rivals. Chen, Yan, & Hu (2019, p. 20) conducted a corpus study on Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's speech during the American presidential elections. The research showed that Hillary used rational argument, positive language styles, and a commonality approach to her speech; meanwhile, Trump employed emotional arguments, negative language styles and weighted his speech on the difference between himself and his political rival.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study applied a qualitative approach. Data of Risma's speech were collected from social media, especially Youtube from 2014-2020, until the end period of Risma being the Mayor of Surabaya, following her appointment by President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) as the Minister of Social Affairs. The total data set was 30 videos, with different duration times, ranging from 0.59 seconds to 10 minutes. The total length of data was 1 hour, 22 minutes, 1 second. The videos on Risma on Youtube produced by main Indonesian television networks including Kompas TV, Berita Satu, Official Net News, Media Indonesia, CNN Indonesia, Lensa Indonesia RTV, Redaksi D-One News, TV One News, Net TV Biro Jatim, Redaksi Trans 7 Official, Indosiar, Surya TV, RCTI Youtube accounts.

Kompas TV is the most TV network that covers Risma's news. As a sister company of the most well known *Kompas* daily newspaper, Kompas TV put objectivity as a vital principle of their coverage. Kompas TV also made the special appearance of her hand out operation to the department of population and civil registration of Surabaya in 2016 when she showed explosive and emotional anger to the staff, followed by a talk show after the Surabaya bombings in 2018 when she cried during the interview talking about Surabaya's children who were affected by the bombs.

All video data were listened to and transcribed to get the content and style of Risma's utterance. The transcription and translation process followed by categorising Risma's emotional utterances based on her mostly found emotions, such as when communicating with her

interlocutors. In this study, Risma's interlocutors were mainly Surabaya's citizens in general, governmental staff, demonstrators, healthcare providers, and children. Each sentence was analysed using Lakoff theory on women's language features. It also attempted to analyse Risma's utterances by explicitly looking at her word choices, tone, and the social and cultural context of her utterances.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Indonesian post-reformation era has shown a growing number of women involved in political practices. It can be seen from the number of women elected in people represented in all levels from the district, province, and national. In addition, Indonesia adopted article 65 paragraph (1) of Law Number 12 of 2003 on Election of DPR, DPD, dan DPRD (people representatives on all levels) that requires each political party to promote at least 30% female candidates (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak Republik Indonesia, 2021). Although the minimum target of 30% was hardly fulfilled, the regulative move does help to increase the number of women emerge as people representatives at district, provincial, and national levels. In addition, there is also a growing trend in regions to have women leaders like governors, district heads or mayors.

In Surabaya, Tri Rismaharini, better known by the nickname Risma, against the status quo and became twice elected mayor for Surabaya, East Java's capital city, in 2010-2015 and 2015-2020. As the first female leader in Surabaya, Risma often appeared in public as an outstanding leader for her work in urban planning, *handout operation*, and controversial policy such as shutting down *Dolly*, the largest prostitution area in Southeast Asia. Risma has a solid physical outlook, always wear trouser, simple jilbab, and walking up straight like a powerful man. She looks very energetic every time she appears in public. Risma usually used sneakers or boots to support her fast walking.

With these qualities, Risma has masculine charm being a bureaucrat. Risma also has many achievements, such as receiving many international awards for her leadership and urban planning. She is also considered the mother figure for the people of Surabaya



(Diliani & Susanti, 2015, p. 295). Regardless of her remarkable achievements and masculine appearance, Risma frequently appears in public with various emotional speeches. This study discovered four of Risma's emotional speech categories, including outburst anger, giving advice/warning, crying, and expressing gratitude.

### Risma's Outburst Anger Speeches

Risma showed outbursts of anger during her speeches several times. Eleven videos showed Risma getting angry and used coarse language and expression to her interlocutors, including organisers, government officials and civil servants, journalists, drugs seller prisoners. However, the data showed that Risma's outburst of anger speech mainly was delivered to governmental officials.

Risma's outburst speech got national attention after many national television networks broadcast her anger over a free ice cream event that severely damaged plants at Taman Bungkul. It turned out that the Surabaya City government did not authorise the event. The event coincided with the car-free day which caused many residents to get free ice cream and stepped on plants. Risma previously worked as Head of the Surabaya City Sanitation and Parks Service (DKP) and Head of the Surabaya City Planning Agency (Bappeko) was known for her concern for green open space. Under her supervisor, Taman Bungkul was announced as The 2013 Asian Townscape Award (ATA) for the Best Park category in Asia from the United Nations (UN). Subsequently, Risma's repetitively said, '*Lihat it Rusak semua! Lihat! Lihat itu rusak semua! Lihat itu rusak semua!*' (Look, it is all destroyed! Look! Look, it is all destroyed! Look, it is all destroyed!) to express her anger and disappointment to the event organiser. Risma then threatened her interlocutor by saying, '*Kita tutup semua, ga ada yang seperti ini!*' (We are closing this, there is nothing like this anymore!). Risma also employed repetitive rhetoric question, '*Ngerti ndak?*' (Do you understand?). Risma also employed high intonation during her speech.

Risma's similar pattern of repetitiveness and rhetoric occurred in her speech in front of the village and sub-district heads throughout Surabaya when she talked about the illegal

levies case. In addition, another female language feature also appeared when Risma tried to use herself as the role model of honest governmental staff by saying, '*Tidak pernah selintapun saya tergoda.*' (Never once I was tempted). In this sentence, Risma employed hypercorrect grammar as she spoke using a very formal Indonesian language. Risma, then continued her speech with rhetorics such as, '*Jadi kalau ada pengusaha, ngapain ketemu saya?*' (So, if there are any businessmen, why (do they have to) meet me?), '*Ngapain harus ketemu saya?*' (Why do they have to meet me?). Risma repetitively '*Ngapain ketemu saya?*' to emphasise that none, especially businessmen, have to meet her or any governmental staff since licence letters for business can be done online these days. Risma explained that this online method could simplify the work and prevent illegal levies in her further speech.

Risma, fond of fast and simple work using available technology, also threw anger speech when she conducted a surprise inspection to the Department of Population and Civil Registration of Surabaya. In this speech, Risma even used curse words in the Javanese language and raising her intonation, '*Ini \*\*\* nyambut gawe ini*' (This \*\*\* work). Unlike her hypercorrect grammar spoken in the formal Indonesian language, when Risma threw curse words, she preferred to say them in Javanese. Lakoff theory mentioned that women tend to avoid strong curse words. However, in this study, Risma, a female politician, used strong curse words when she complained about unprofessional staff handling electronic identity cards for Surabaya citizens. Besides curse words, Risma still employed repetitiveness and rhetoric in her speech, '*ngerti ndak?*' (Do you understand) repetitively. She also employed question tags in her speech, such as '*ngerti ndak Kamu, kan?*' to her interlocutors. In addition to that, similarly to her speech at Taman Bungkul, Risma also employed threatening speech by saying, '*Mana programmermu, mana? Di mana posisi? Kalau ndak aku yang naik.*' (Where, where is your programmer? Where is he? If you do not (tell me) I will go upstairs.) The sentence implied that she was serious about fixing the problem that she wanted to meet the electronic ID Card programmer by herself. She also employed self-pitying by saying, '*Malu Aku jadinya.*' (Shame on me.) when she found out about this electronic ID Card problem.

When Risma gave a speech about government staff discipline and how to respond quickly, she abruptly got angry when a female civil servant made fun of something during the ceremony. She raised her intonation and said, '*Jangan ketawa!*' (Do not laugh!) to warn her. Then, Risma ran from her podium to the line of ceremony participants and brought the woman to the front of the ceremony field. Despite her anger, Risma managed to use politeness features such as '*please*' when she spoke to the woman, such as, '*Tolong berdiri di samping saya.*' (Please, stand beside me) and then continue her speech by saying, '*Tolong, saya saking ingin nangis rasanya saya.*' (Please, I want to cry so much.) Consequently, in this speech, Risma also repetitively employed the politeness feature. In this speech, there were no repetitiveness and rhetoric that Risma usually employed. Instead, she raised her intonation a few times, especially when she said '*Jangan ketawa!*'. However, despite her anger, Risma still employed the word '*tolong*' when she talked to the woman showing her polite language.

Risma strong tendency to use repetitive words also appeared when she visited a sub-district office with the Corruption Eradication Commission officers. Risma was angry when she saw the office was dirty. She said, '*Coba lihat! Lihat! Lihat! Lihat itu kantormu sudah tak bersihkan. Coba lihat!*' (Come, look! Look! Look at that! Look, I have cleaned your office. Come, look!) In this speech, Risma raised her intonation and used repetitive words '*Lihat*' to the interlocutor that was the head of the sub-district himself. Risma intervened to do clean up while expressing her disappointment. In this speech, Risma did not employ rhetoric.

As the Mayor of Surabaya, Risma is also active against drugs. Two videos showed Risma outburst of anger at the drug sellers. Risma was angry but the drugs in front of all-male prisoners and asked them to consume them. Risma talked angrily to a housewife who became a drug seller. To these criminals, Risma employed raise intonation, repetitive words and rhetoric. From the videos, it was discovered that Risma had a strong tendency to use family-related rhetorical questions. To all men prisoners she said '*Kalau kena adikmu bagaimana? Kena anakmu?*' (How if your sister use (drugs)? (How if your child (use drugs)?). A similar pattern was employed to the housewife drug seller by saying, '*Kamu Bisa*

*bayangin Kalau itu Kena ibumu? Bisa bayangin kalau itu kena adikmu? Atau kakakmu? Atau Kena ayahmu?*' (Can you imagine if your mother used (drugs)? Can you imagine if your sister used (drugs)? Or your brother (use drugs)? Or your father (use drugs)?). However, although Risma employed a nearly similar speech style to the drugs sellers, the difference can be seen that when she talked to the housewife, she used more hypercorrect grammar than when she talked to the male prisoners.

One of Risma's most controversial policies was closing the largest prostitution area, *Dolly*. When the closing was successful, *Dolly*'s ex-workers attempted to sue her for about 270 billion Rupiah. When Risma was asked about this issue, she spoke angrily in front of the journalists that interviewed her. In her speech about this issue, Risma used raising intonation, repetitiveness, rhetorical questions, and threatening *Dolly*'s ex-workers. She repetitively said rhetoric such as '*Gimana? Gimana ya?*' (Well? Well?) and repetitive threatening sentences, '*Wes sudah ndak opo-opo, sudah kalau memang mau itu bunuh saya! Bunuh says, ya. Biar selesai, ndak apa-apa!*' (All right, it is okay if that is what they want, then just kill me! Just kill me, okay! Let us finish this, (I am fine)!) During her threatening sentences, Risma also employed the Javanese language. She switched to hypercorrect grammar when she talked about the consequences of *Dolly* existence by saying, '*Tapi saya tidak ikhlas Kalau Anak-anak Surabaya hancur.*' (But I will never let it destroys the future of the children in Surabaya.)

Risma was known as a motherly figure to Surabaya children. She usually cried and used soft-spoken language to them. However, it did not stop Risma from throwing anger at the children involved in juvenile delinquency. Her angry speech was again made of raising intonation, repetitiveness, and rhetoric. Risma raised the intonation by saying, '*Jangan ketawa!*' (Do not laugh) when the children seemed not to take her words seriously. She also said some repetitive rhetoric questions such as, '*Kalian Siapa?*' (Who (do you think) you are?) and '*Paham ndak? Paham ndak?*' (Do you understand? Do you understand?). However, after she threw anger, Risma referred to them as her children by saying, '*Begitu Loh anakku, tadi yang ibu maksud seperti itu.*' (That was what I

meant, my children). It showed that Risma used motherly expression.

During the pandemic of Covid-19, Surabaya was declared as one of the black zones in Indonesia. In this situation, Risma was trying to gain help for the Covid-19 patients. While waiting for the PCR Lab Car from the Indonesian Board for Disaster Management (BNPB), she went furious, knowing that the car was relocated to another place. Risma threw her anger through a phone call communicated with a staff of BNPB asking about the whereabouts of the car. Risma used a new language that was accusing when she accused BNPB to boycott the PCR Lab Car by saying, '*Kalau mau boikot ndak kayak gitu juga Pak caranya!*' (If you want to boycott, that is not the way to do it, Sir!). She also employed repetitive rhetoric such as, '*Siapa yang ndak bisa Kerja sekarang? Kalau ngawur gitu siapa yang tidak bisa kerja?*' (Now, who is the unprofessional? If so, who is unprofessional?) implying that she would not take the blame for BNPB for this case.

Almost at the end of her reign as Mayor of Surabaya in 2020, Risma faced a group of vandals demonstrators who protested about Omnibus law. The demonstrators destroyed the public facility of Surabaya. Wearing a helmet, at night, she walked amidst the severely damaged building full of broken glasses and debris of the destroyed buildings on the road. Risma talked to the demonstrators that had been arrested. What upset her the most was that the demonstrator was not from Surabaya. Here, Risma also raised intonation, repetitiveness, and excessive rhetoric questions such as, '*Kamu Dari mana? Kamu siapa? Kenapa kamu ngerusak kotaku? Kenapa kamu ndak ngerusak kotamu sendiri? Kenapa kamu hancurin?*' (Where do you come from? Who are you? Why do you destroy my city? Why do you not destroy yours? Why do you destroy it?) Risma was sobbed while repeating her rhetoric questions. It showed Risma furiousness and disappointment toward the people who came from Surabaya but destroyed it.

### **Risma's Giving Advice and Warning Speeches**

Risma also frequently gave advice and warning speeches to her interlocutors. Ten videos showed Risma gave advice and warning to her

interlocutors. The interlocutors included students who skipped schools and had delinquent behaviour such as brawling and joining riots, underage buskers, governmental staff, and Surabaya citizens who did not wear masks during the pandemic of Covid-19.

Risma advised a dozen of students that were getting caught smoking at a cafe. These students were caught during the raid conducted by the Civil Service Police Unit of Surabaya. However, she remained to employ rhetorical questions, such as '*Ga kasihan bapaknya?*' (You don't feel sorry for your father?) She continued to her main advice using hypercorrect grammar, '*Cium kakinya bapakmu Kalau kami Minta Maaf.*' (Kiss your father's feet if you are sorry). This hypercorrect grammar was expected to be understood clearly by the students. Risma also attempted to use her motherly language by calling the students as her children, '*Cobalah, Anak-anakku, Coba.*' (Come on, my children. Come on.)

When Risma found out there were dozen underage buskers caught by the Civil Service Police Unit of Surabaya. When the buskers were gathered, Risma gave some advice to them. She still used rhetoric question, '*Kalian bisa jadi pengusaha sukses. Boleh siapa yang ngelarang?*' (You can be a successful entrepreneur. Can anyone forbid?). Interestingly, although Risma did not call the buskers her 'children in the video, Risma maintained to position herself as a mother and use motherly language feature by calling herself '*Ibu*' (mother), '*Itulah kenapa Ibu berjuang kalian tidak bayar sekolah.*' (That is why I strived so that you do not have to pay for school.)

Risma was found to warn three students who skipped school and consumed alcohol during school hours by the Civil Service Police Unit of Surabaya. While sitting in a wheelchair, Risma gave a warning to the three children. Risma raised her intonation and pause when she warned children, which caused her sentence to become indirect. Risma switched her language to the Javanese language after pausing. Risma said, '*Setelah ini kamu... wes aku ndak anu, tak kasikan polisi kamu! Bukan di Satpol PP Loh!*' (After this, you (paused), all right, I do not care, I will send you to the police. It will not be the Civil Service Police Unit anymore.)



Risma also gave an advice speech to twenty school dropouts who chose online games over the school. First, Risma told the students who dropped out to apologise to his mother and kiss his mother's feet. Then, seeing one of the children's reluctant behaviour, Risma took the child to another room and talked with him privately. Here Risma employed repetitiveness and hypercorrect grammar. Similarly to the previous speech, Risma used hypercorrect grammar to deliver her advice to make the child understand her message fully. Thus, she said, '*Kamu kalo mau berubah, kamu mau lebih baik, itu ya harus mau berubah.*' (If you want to change, you want to be better, you have to change.)

Risma delivered a warning speech to thirty-eight students raided by the Civil Service Police Unit of Surabaya because of alcohol, brawls, and drugs. Here, Risma employed rhetorical questions such as, '*Tawuran ya toh, sekarang urusan polisi kan? Kalau kemarin tidak ketangkap sama Polres Tanjung Perak sama Satpol PP sama Linmas, terus kalian sampai ditahan bagaimana?*' (It is a brawl, after all, now it is a matter for the police, right? So if yesterday you were not caught by the Tanjung Perak Police, Civil Service Police Unit and the Civil Defense, then you get arrested?)

Similarly, Risma also excessively employed rhetoric when she warned two gangsters.

Risma attempted to make the students who joined the gangsters think and realise that the brawling brought more harm than good in her rhetoric questions. These were what Risma said to the gangsters to warn them, '*Kalian dipenjara seneng?*' (Do you want to be prisoned?) meaning Risma wanted them to think about the consequence of brawling. Further, she also said, '*Kalian bawa senjata, kalian mikir ndak? Kalian mikir ndak kalau ada satu terluka di antara kalian?*' (You carried a weapon; what's on your mind? What would you do if one of you was injured?). Risma then threaten the gangsters by saying, '*Kalau aku ngomong sekarang, 'udah Pak Kapolres aku ga mau terima kalian, kalian di penjara, tahu ndak?*' (If I say, 'All right, Sir Chief of Police, I don't want to accept them, you're end up in prison, you know that?) that implied she had the power to send them to jail. Risma also wanted the gangsters to think about their parents' feelings by delivering rhetoric such as, '*Memangnya Kalau kalian jagoan*

*bunuh teman kalian, orang tua kalian bangga?*'  
If you are good at killing your friends, will your parents be proud?

Risma used some speech style strategies when she talked with fifty-eight students who were previously arrested by the police for being involved in a riot at a demonstration against the job creation law (Omnibuslaw) at nearly the end of her terms. Two videos in this study showed Risma gave advice and gave warning in from of the interlocutors. When giving advice, Risma used repetitiveness and imperative to tell the students to apologise to their respective parents by saying, '*Minta Maaf kalian pada orang tua kalian! Ayo, minta maaf! Ayo, minta maaf!*' (Apologise to your parents! Come on, apologies! Come on, apologies!) In another video, Risma warned the party that involved the students in the Omnibuslaw riot. In this speech, Risma employed raising intonation and repetitiveness and positioned herself as a mother who referred to herself as '*Ibu*' (mother). Risma said, '*Siapapun yang akan mengganggu anak-anaknya Ibu akan hadapan dengan Ibu!*' Akan Ibu hadapi! Ibu ndak takut!' (I will confront anyone who disturbs my children! I will confront them! I am not afraid (of them)!)

Besides children, a video showed Risma also employed advice ahead of the village, although it was a relatively minor example. There was a fire that occurred in densely populated areas. However, fire trucks had difficulty reaching the fire site due to a road portal blocking the height of the car, the road being used as a car park by residents and the number of messy cables. Risma immediately ordered the head of the village to dismantle the portal and arrange the parking lot. Here, Risma gave instruction and advice using an imperative and super polite form. Her imperativeness was shown when she said, '*Yang di atas ini dibongkar!*' (Dissembled this one above) and '*Pak Lurah, selesaikan!*' (Sir, finish it!). Risma delivered her imperative sentence without raising her intonation, unlike her outburst speeches. Despite being imperative, Risma maintained to speak politely by saying, '*Tolong itu tata parkirnya, Pak.*' (Please, take care of the parking arrangement, Sir.) The politeness was indicated by saying '*tolong*' (please) and '*Pak*' (Sir).

Risma also gave advice and warning to Surabaya citizens to wear masks during the pandemic of Covid-19. Here Risma employed

different speech strategies when talking to an older woman without a mask and a group of young men who gathered without the mask. When Risma met an old lady without a mask, Risma employed super polite form and rhetoric. Risma said, *'Tolong dipakai Bu, maskernya, Bu. Maskernya mana?'* Please wear your mask, Ma'am. Where is your mask?). Risma called her by *'Bu'* (Ma'am) that showed respectfulness, and she only gave her verbal advice. However, when Risma saw a group of men gathered in the small coffee shop without the mask, she warned them to wear masks and told them to push up as punishment. Here she employed super polite form, imperative, and rhetoric to show her power by saying, *'Tolong pakai masker! Mana maskermu? Ayo kamu sini push-up!'* (Please wear your mask. Where is your mask? Come here, do push up!).

### Risma's Emotional and Crying Speeches

Outburst anger and giving motherly advice and stern warning were part of Risma speech style strategies. However, Risma also frequently showed her emotional side that was crying in public. Her speech in this situation was not as much as her previous speech. However, she maintained to use similar language features as her angry speech and advice and warning speeches. Risma's interlocutor in this speech style was primarily done in front of the journalists who interviewed her. The bombshell was Risma Crying and keeling in front of doctors during a discussion regarding Covid-19, which became a bombshell. She also expressed her condolence in public by crying.

Risma was crying when she was interviewed by the journalists about the current situation in Surabaya after the bombings. A series of bombings occurred in Surabaya, which targeted three churches and the Surabaya Police Station two days in a row. Here, Risma employed hypercorrect grammar, *'Betapa menyedihkan itu, saat kemudian ada orang yang membunuh hanya karena merasa dirinya paling benar.'* (How sad it is when people kill just because they feel they are the most righteous.). However, after her hypercorrect grammar, Risma began to use hedges as it was found in her speech, *'Shock juga, gitu. Apalagi dilakukan oleh satu keluarga, gitu.'* (I was shocked, too. Moreover, if it's done by one family, like that.'

Hedges can be interpreted as Risma's disbelief of what was happening at that time.

Later during an interview, Risma cried when she talked about the children who were victims of the bombing in Surabaya. Risma was known to be very fond of children. So that at the time of the interview on television, Risma cried, and she paused her speech repeatedly because she barely could talk. Her paused occurred in the middle of her speech. Besides, Risma also employed repetitiveness and rhetoric, questioning why the tragedy could happen. Risma said, *'Trauma ini... trauma ini bukan anak-anaknya teroris saja. Anak-anak yang lain juga ikut trauma. Tapi kenapa ini terjadi? Kenapa ... tega melukai mereka?'* (This trauma... this trauma did not happened only to the terrorists children. Other children also traumatised. Why this is happening? Why... (they) would hurt them?)

Risma also cried during an interview when she talked about children with special needs. In her speech describing about children, she mostly employed hypercorrect grammar, *'Mereka anak-anak berkebutuhan khusus yang saya temukan ada di jalan, ada ditemukan Satpol PP, ada yang saya minta ke orang tuanya.'* (They are children with special needs that I found on the street, Civil Service Police Unit of Surabaya found them, some I asked their parents for.) By using hypercorrect grammar, Risma respectfully described how she treated these children. However, when Risma talked about their future, Risma started to cry here she employed hedges, *'Jadi, APA namanya, yang saya sedih, saya ndak tahu Mereka besok bagaimana, gitu Loh.'* (So, what should I call it, what sadden me is, I do not know what they will be tomorrow.) These hedges appeared because she may be worried that nobody else could take care of these children, considering she was interviewed at nearly the end of her terms as the Mayor of Surabaya.

Risma was also crying during an interview when she withdrew the report to the alleged insulter. By the insulter, Risma was called as *'Kodok'* (Frog). Here Risma employed rhetoric question against the humiliation that she said she and everyone did not deserve it by saying, *'Salah APA saya? Kok saya harus disebut kodok, gitu? Kalau seandainya anak kita atau cucu kita disebut kodok itu kira-kira gimana?'* (What did I do wrong? Why do I have to be called a frog, right? What if our children or grandchildren

were called frogs?) Besides rhetoric, she also employed question tag, 'gitu?' (right?) to seek support from her audience that this should not have happened to anyone.

Risma became a bombshell for her cried while kneeling when she talked to doctors during Covid-19. When she explained the situation, Risma employed raising intonation, repetitiveness, and super polite form in referring to her interlocutor, 'Kami, Pak, tidak bisa komunikasi Dengan di sana. Saya kemarin di minta, demi Allah. Demi Allah, saya siap disumpah dengan apapun. *Tolonglah kami jangan disalahkan terus!*' (We, Sir, cannot communicate with this other party! For Allah's sake, I am ready to be sworn with anything! Please, do not keep blaming us!) Interestingly, Risma speech showed solidarity with her team by employing 'kami' (us) instead of 'saya' (I) that she usually did. It showed that Risma's speech style also involved solidarity aspect.

Risma was expressing her condolences for the death of one of her close colleagues by crying. She also had fainted while mourning. In her mourning speech, she repeatedly thanking the service and performance of the Head of the Office of Population Control, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (DP5A), Chandra Oratmangun, who passed away. In this data, Risma excessively used thanking expressions and super polite form for her late colleague, 'Terima Kasih, Bu Chandra. Bu Chandra, terima kasih. Terima Kasih. Terima Kasih. Terima kasih Bu Chandra.' (Thank you, Mrs Chandra. Mrs Chandra, thank you. Thank you, Mrs Chandra. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you, Mrs Chandra.). Risma also expressed her apology by saying, 'Maafkan saya, Bu Chandra. Maafkan Saya.' (Forgive me, Mrs Chandra. Forgive me.) It was assumed that Risma apologised because Oratmangun had tested positive for Covid-19, although before she passed away, Oratmangun was declared negative for Covid-19 based on the results of two further swab tests.

### Risma's Expression of Gratitude

Risma had a rich speech style strategy when she talked to various interlocutors from outburst anger speech, giving advice and warning, delivering emotional crying and the last speech style strategy in this study was called the

expression of gratitude. While the other of Risma's speech style strategy was delivered in long sentences, this expression mainly consisted of Risma delivering her 'thank you' to the interlocutors. The interlocutors were the Astra Group Surabaya, Indonesian State Intelligent Agency, and Surabaya governmental staff. Three respective videos showed Risma expression of gratitude speeches.

Risma's expressions were delivered during her speech in front of the Astra Group Surabaya that helped the Surabaya City government by giving training for school dropouts in Surabaya. In her speech here she employed hypercorrect grammar and super polite form, 'Karena itu saya terima kasih sekali yang sebesar-besarnya. Terima kasih sekali, Bapak. Terima Kasih sekali. Terima kasih sekali.' (Thus, I would like to say that you very much. Thank you very much, Sir. Thank you very much. Thank you very much.) This hypercorrect grammar showed that Risma expressed her gratitude and her most profound respect for her interlocutor. She also switched her thank you to the Javanese language, 'Saya matur nuwun sekali karena Bapak Ibu telah memberikan kesempatan pada anak-anak saya.' (I thank you very much because you have allowed my children.) She switched from 'Terima Kasih' to 'Matur nuwun', which means thank you because it helped Surabaya children. Thus, Risma, as the Mayor of the city, decided to employ the local language to express her gratitude.

Risma also employed super polite form when receiving medical equipment, personal protective equipment, and a mobile PCR Lab Car from the Indonesian State Intelligence Agency (BIN). The data showed that Risma only spoke one sentence and the rest of the video showed that she cried. Although only one sentence appeared in the video, 'Terima Kasih, Pak.' (Thank you, Sir), this was the follow up of her outburst anger video when she got angry when BNPB cancelled their mobile PCR Lab Car. It turned out BIN sending medical equipment assistance that Risma had been hoping for. Thus, the expression of gratitude here was the expression for Risma that being touched and rejoiced simultaneously.

Governmental staff usually received Risma's outburst of anger. However, Risma delivered her gratitude expression when she received the handover of assets belonging to the Surabaya



City Government by the East Java High Court. The assets were previously held by third parties or the private sector since 1974 and returned to the Surabaya City government. Risma employed repetitiveness, super polite form, and she chose the Javanese language to express the gratitude, '*Matur nuwun, Pak. Matur nuwun.*' (Thank you, Sir. Thank you.) It was assumed that Risma employed this speech strategy using the Javanese language because the topic was related to the Surabaya City government's asset long fought.

### **Giving meaning to Risma's Speech Style**

In Risma outburst of anger and giving advice and warning speeches, the topics were mainly about the city, governmental staff work ethic, criminality and issues related to the pandemic of Covid-19 and juvenile delinquency. Risma's language features were dominated by the repetitiveness of the same sentences, abrupt pauses in the middle of the speech, leading to finish and undirected sentences and frequent use of rhetorical questions. Furthermore, Risma's language features based on Lakoff theory were hedges, rising intonations on declarative, tag questions. However, Risma employed strong swear words, although it was not very often, which is opposite to Lakoff's statement that women tend to avoid strong swear words. Risma's gestures when speaking with interlocutors were also varied. These gestures support her speech. In these speeches, Risma mostly raised her voice, talked face-to-face, and pointed fingers at her interlocutors.

Risma also performs emotional crying and express gratitude very often. These speeches were made of some similar patterns as her outburst of anger and advice and warning speech. However, Risma's speech topics when she cried and thanking people were mainly dominated by children wellbeing and education, and the pandemic also dominated. Risma's interlocutors were Risma still employed repetitiveness, pauses in the middle of the speech and unfinished sentences, and also she used many rhetorical questions. In addition, Risma's language features here were the frequent use of gratitude expressions in Indonesian and Javanese languages. Risma's emotional crying and expression of gratitude speeches, according to Lakoff theory, were

hedges, hypercorrect grammar, and super polite forms. Risma was mostly crying, kneeling, bowing her body and head to her interlocutors. Subsequently, Risma's speech styles have similarities and differences in the structure and style of language. However, the diction and gestures were different depending on the situation and her interlocutors.

This research found that there were only five features from Lakoff that matched with Risma's language features. However, the author found out there were more features to Risma's rich speech style strategy. There were fifteen features categorised into two groups. The first was 'technical', meaning the way Risma delivered her speech consisted of repetitiveness, rhetoric, the use of local language (coarse and refined sub-subsystem), strong swear word, pause, indirect and incomplete sentence after a pause, imperative'. The second was 'functional' meaning it how Risma aimed her speech to affect her interlocutor such as to threaten, to give the sense of closeness, nearness, and family-oriented (including family-related topics and motherly expressions), to express self-pity, to accuse, to apologise, to show solidarity, to thank, and to show gratitude.

### **Risma's Speech Style in Indonesian Politics and Cultural Context**

There is a deeply rooted belief that women are incapable of being a leader, and thus, they are not likely to enter politics. Traditional prejudices such as women are more emotional than men and subsequently insufficient to be a decision-maker remain attached in most places. In ultra-conservative countries such as the Middle East, women lack participation in politics, and even if they do, it is not without consequences (Joseph, 2001, pp. 38–40). The countries in Asia still firmly attach to patriarchy, there is also strong social norms that women belong to the domestic sphere and have to live their primary role the caretaker of the family (Bjarnegård & Melander, 2013, p. 563). Even in modern democratic countries such as the United States, there is a tendency to prefer males as leaders because they believe men can lead better (Eagly, 2003, p. 151). Consequently, politics are still men dominated world.

Indonesia is the world's third-largest democratic country that still idealises male leadership.



Although the country ever had the first female president, Megawati Sukarnoputri, she faced patriarchal solid and religious views against women to be a leader and had to 'wait' for her turn to be a president (Oey-Gardiner, 2002, p. 100). Besides, the proportion of women in Indonesian local government is low also because of the strong stem of patriarchal views on women, the resurgence of *shari'ah* law in some regions creating more barriers to women's chance to politics (Bessell, 2010, pp. 224–225). At the national level, in 2019, women made up less than 30 per cent of the available quota for women in the parliament, with national politics are made up by men with 79.13 per cent, while women only managed to reach 20.87 per cent (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak Republik Indonesia, 2021, p. 103). It shows that an Indonesian political realm is a man dominated world.

## CONCLUSION

These study findings showed that Risma's language features following Lakoff's theory about women's language features. The novelty of this study was Risma's speech in the Indonesian political context that revealed new insights on rich female politician language features. However, regardless of the results, this study also has limitations. First, this study heavily focused on the Indonesian female politician context making the results cannot be generalised. Consequently, there is an opportunity for further researchers to compare a study with female politicians from other countries.

Second, this study analysed Risma's speech in a public context. Hence, further research could examine Risma or other female politicians' speeches with political superiors such as the governor, president, the political counsels of the party where she belongs, such as her communication style with senior female politicians, Megawati are not observed yet. Thus, some of Lakoff's language features such as did not appear here.

Third, Risma is a native speaker of Javanese and Indonesian languages. However, this study did not emphasise Risma's code-switching. Further researches can investigate code-switching and women's language features.

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