

**GENDER AND LANGUAGE: REPRESENTATION OF  
THERESA MAY'S LEADERSHIP ON TWITTER**

**THESIS**

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**GENDER AND LANGUAGE: REPRESENTATION OF  
THERESA MAY'S LEADERSHIP ON TWITTER**

**THESIS**

Presented to

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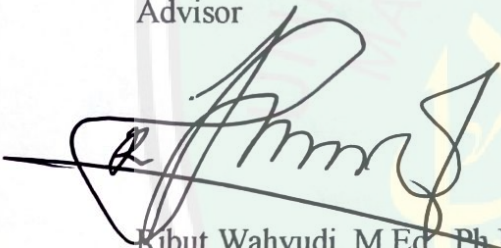
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## MOTTO

وَإِذْ تَأَذَّنَ رَبُّكُمْ لَئِنْ شَكَرْتُمْ لَأَزِيدَنَّكُمْ وَلَئِنْ كَفَرْتُمْ إِنَّ عَذَابِي لَشَدِيدٌ

*“And [remember] when your Lord proclaimed, ‘If you are grateful, I will surely increase you [in favour]; but if you deny, indeed, My punishment is severe.’ ”*

(Q.S Ibrahim: 7)

ذَلَّلْتَ طَالِبًا فَعَزَّزْتَ مَطْلُوبًا

*“You really have to struggle in searching for knowledge, but one day you will be noble and sought after because of gaining knowledge.”*

(Ibn Abbas)

## DEDICATION

This thesis is proudly dedicated to

My beloved parents,

*Bapak* Muhammad Nor and *Ibu* Erniwati

And my siblings,

Suci Nur Jannah, S.Si. and Nisa Ummul Jannah



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I realize that this undergraduate thesis is not perfect. However, it is expected to be useful for the readers and contribute new insight to the linguistics field in specific.

For this reason, constructive suggestion and critics are welcomed.

Malang, 27 October 2020



Umi Zakiyah



## ABSTRACT

Zakiyah, Umi. 2020. *Gender and Language: Representation of Theresa May's Leadership on Twitter*. Minor Thesis (*Skripsi*) Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Advisor : Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed., Ph.D.

Keywords : Conservative Party, Leadership, Representation, Twitter, Word choices

The relationship between women leaders' language, politics, and social media has been interesting to discuss. Several related studies have examined topics which focused on women leadership and language discourse (Graddol & Swann, 1989; Baker, 1991; Miller & Swift, 1991; Bradac, Mulac, & Thompson, 1995; Aldoory, 1998; Rolls, 1993; Cameron & Shaw, 2016; Holmes, 2005; Holmes, 2006; Baxter, 2010; Baxter, 2012; Baxter, 2017), women's representation and power in politics (Stockemer, 2007; Curtin, 2008; Paxton & Hedges, 2007), and the relationship between the use of Twitter and political purposes (Jackson & Lilleker, 2011; Vergeer, 2015; Spierings & Jacobs, 2014; Ceron et al., 2013; Graham et al., 2014). However, none of those existing previous studies investigated the women leaders' language on Twitter and how those word choices represent themselves as leaders on Twitter. Therefore, based on that rationale, this study is crucial to be conducted.

The data source of this study is Twitter. At the same time, the data are taken from the tweets posted by the Twitter account of Theresa May, a Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and a Conservative Party's leader. Tweets to be analyzed were the tweets over the last six months when she was a Prime Minister and a leader of the Conservative Party, which focused on her crucial tweets about politics and leadership. Further, the researcher employed Baxter (2010) and Gainous & Wagner's theory (2014) in analyzing the word choices used by Theresa May. The researcher also applied PDA proposed by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) and Chilton (2004) to have rich analysis regarding Theresa May's representation on Twitter.

The study revealed several the word choices used by Theresa May, which classified into four categories; (1) *announcement tweets*, (2) *attack/negative tweets*, (3) *personal characteristics*, and (4) *policy*. Each category consists of several word choices. Moreover, Theresa May utilized those word choices to represent herself as a political leader through Twitter within the UK's social and political contexts. For instance, she created a 'positive' representation of her leadership abilities, such as responsible leader, loyal, hard-working, powerful, principled, successful, charismatic women leader. Besides, she also used the word choices to attack her opponents, establish solidarity with other political actors within domestic and global politics, and ideological implications of the Conservative Party. The use of metaphors (*war metaphor* and *journey metaphor*) and pronouns also has a crucial part in creating woman leaders' representation. Furthermore, the study also shows that there are absences of some PDA elements by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), which indicates that the language on Theresa May's tweets is more concise and precise due to the limited number of characters on Twitter.

## ABSTRAK

Zakiyah, Umi. 2020. *Gender and Language: Representation of Theresa May's Leadership on Twitter*. Minor Thesis (*Skripsi*) English Literature Department, Humanities Faculty, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Advisor : Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed., Ph.D.

Keywords : Partai Konservatif, Kepemimpinan, Representasi, Twitter, Pilihan kata

Hubungan antara bahasa, politik, dan media sosial para pemimpin perempuan memang menarik untuk dibahas. Beberapa studi terkait telah membahas topik yang berfokus pada kepemimpinan perempuan dan wacana bahasa (Graddol & Swann, 1989; Baker, 1991; Miller & Swift, 1991; Bradac, Mulac, & Thompson, 1995; Aldoory, 1998; Rolls, 1993; Cameron & Shaw, 2016; Holmes, 2005; Holmes, 2006; Baxter, 2010; Baxter, 2012; Baxter, 2017), representasi perempuan dan kekuasaan dalam politik (Stockemer, 2007; Curtin, 2008; Paxton & Hedges, 2007), dan hubungannya antara penggunaan Twitter dan tujuan politik (Jackson & Lilleker, 2011; Vergeer, 2015; Spierings & Jacobs, 2014; Ceron et al., 2013; Graham et al., 2014). Namun, tidak satu pun dari studi sebelumnya yang menyelidiki pilihan kata bahasa kepemimpinan wanita di Twitter dan bagaimana pilihan kata tersebut digunakan untuk mewakili diri mereka sendiri sebagai pemimpin di Twitter. Oleh karena itu, berdasarkan alasan tersebut, penelitian ini menjadi penting untuk dilakukan.

Sumber data penelitian ini adalah Twitter, sedangkan data dari penelitian ini diambil dari tweet yang diposting oleh akun twitter Theresa May, Perdana Menteri Inggris Raya dan pimpinan Partai Konservatif. Tweet yang dianalisis adalah tweet selama enam bulan terakhir ketika dia menjabat sebagai Perdana Menteri dan pemimpin Partai Konservatif, yang berfokus pada tweet penting tentang politik dan kepemimpinan. Selanjutnya, peneliti menggunakan teori Baxter (2010) dan Gainous & Wagner (2014) dalam menganalisis pilihan kata yang digunakan oleh Theresa May. Selain itu, peneliti juga menerapkan PDA yang dikemukakan oleh Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) dan teori Chilton (2004) untuk mendapatkan analisis yang kaya tentang representasi Theresa May di Twitter.

Hasil penelitian mengungkap beberapa pilihan kata yang digunakan Theresa May yang diklasifikasikan ke dalam empat kategori; (1) tweet pengumuman, (2) tweet serangan / negatif, (3) karakteristik pribadi, dan (4) kebijakan. Setiap kategori terdiri dari beberapa pilihan kata. Selain itu, Theresa May memanfaatkan pilihan kata tersebut untuk merepresentasikan dirinya sebagai pemimpin politik melalui Twitter dalam konteks sosial dan politik Inggris. Contohnya, ia menciptakan representasi 'positif' dari kemampuan kepemimpinannya, seperti pemimpin yang bertanggung jawab, setia, pekerja keras, kuat, berprinsip, sukses, pemimpin perempuan yang karismatik, dll. Selain itu, ia juga menggunakan pilihan kata tersebut untuk menyerang lawan-lawannya, membangun solidaritas dengan aktor politik lain dalam politik domestik dan global, serta implikasi ideologis Partai Konservatif. Penggunaan metafora (metafora perang dan metafora perjalanan) dan kata ganti juga memiliki peran krusial dalam menciptakan representasi pemimpin perempuan. Selanjutnya, penelitian ini juga menunjukkan bahwa tidak adanya beberapa elemen PDA menurut Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), yang mengindikasikan bahwa bahasa di tweet Theresa May lebih ringkas dan tepat karena terbatasnya jumlah karakter di Twitter.

## مستخلص البحث

امي زكية. ٢٠٢٠. الجنس واللغة: تمثيل لقيادة تيريزا ماي على تويتر. البحث العلمي. قسم الأدب الإنجليزي. كلية العلوم الإنسانية. جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج.

مشرف : ريبوت وحيودي الماجستير.

الكلمات الأساسية: حزب المحافظين ، القيادة ، التمثيل ، تويتر ، خيارات الكلمات.

تصبح مسألة العلاقة بين لغة القيادات النسائية والسياسة ووسائل التواصل الاجتماعي مثيرة للمناقشة. تناولت العديد من الدراسات ذات الصلة الموضوعات التي تركز على خطاب القيادة النسائية والخطاب اللغوي (Graddol & Swann, 1989; Baker, 1991; Miller & Swift, 1991; Bradac, Mulac, & Thompson, 1995; Aldoori, 1998; Rolls, 1993; Cameron. & Shaw, 2016; Holmes, 2005; Baxter, 2006; Baxter, 2010; Baxter, 2012; (2017), تمثيل المرأة والقوة في السياسة (Stockemer, 2007; Curtin, 2008; Paxton & Huges, 2007) والعلاقات بين استخدام تويتر والأهداف السياسية (Jackson & Lilleker, 2011; Vergeer, 2015; Spierings & Jacobs, 2014; Ceron et al., 2013; Graham et al., 2014) ومع ذلك ، لم تبحث أي من الدراسات في لغة القيادات النسائية بناءً على اختيارهن للكلمات على تويتر وكيف تم استخدام اختيارات الكلمات لتمثيل أنفسهن كقائدات على تويتر. لذلك ، بناءً على هذه الأسباب ، من المهم القيام بهذا البحث.

مصدر البيانات في هذه الدراسة هو Twitter، في حين أن البيانات مأخوذة من التغريدات التي نشرها حساب Twitter الخاص بـ تيريزا ماي، رئيسة الوزراء البريطانية وزعيمة حزب المحافظين. التغريدات التي يتعين تحليلها هي تغريدات الأشهر الستة الماضية عندما كان رئيساً للوزراء وزعيماً لحزب المحافظين تركز على التغريدات المهمة حول سياسته وقيادته. علاوة على ذلك استخدم الباحثون نظرية (Baxter, 2010) و (Gainous & Wagner, 2014) في تحليل اختيار الكلمات التي استخدمتها تيريزا ماي. بالإضافة إلى ذلك ، طبق الباحثون أيضاً PDA الذي اقترحه (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012) ونظرية (Chilton's, 2004) للحصول على تحليل ثري لتمثيلات تيريزا ماي على Twitter.

كشفت نتائج الدراسة أن اختيارات كلمات تيريزا ماي صُنفت إلى أربع فئات ؛ (١) إعلان التغريدات ، (٢) تغريدات هجومية / سلبية ، (٣) خصائص شخصية ، (٤) سياسات. كل فئة تتكون من عدة اختيارات للكلمات. بالإضافة إلى



ذلك ، استغلت تيريزا ماي اختيار الكلمات لتمثيل نفسها كقائدة سياسية عبر تويتر في السياق الاجتماعي والسياسي البريطاني. على سبيل المثال ، تخلق تمثيلاً ” إيجابياً“ لقدراتها القيادية ، مثل القائد الذي يكون مسؤولاً ومخلصاً ومجتهداً وقوياً ومبدئياً وناجحاً وقائداً ذا شخصية كاريزمية ، إلخ. بصرف النظر عن ذلك ، فإنه يستخدم أيضاً اختيار الكلمات لمهاجمة خصومه ، وبناء التضامن مع الفاعلين السياسيين الآخرين في السياسة المحلية والعالمية ، والآثار الأيديولوجية لحزب المحافظين. إن استخدام الاستعارات (استعارات الحرب واستعارات السفر) والضمائر لها أيضاً دور حاسم في خلق تمثيلات للقيادات النسائية. علاوة على ذلك ، تُظهر هذه الدراسة أيضاً أنه لا توجد عناصر PDA وفقاً لـ Fairclough (2012) & ، مما يشير إلى أن اللغة في تغريدات تيريزا ماي أكثر إيجازاً ودقة نظراً للعدد المحدود من الأحرف على Twitter.

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## ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYM

Brexit	British Exit
EU	European Union
MP	Member of Parliament
MSP	Member of Scottish Parliament
NHS	National Health Service
PDA	Political Discourse Analysis
PM	Prime Minister
UK	United Kingdom



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Background of the Study

The discourse about gender inequality between women and men has been very massive and is often found everywhere, in which the position of women is always inferior to men. Ironically, the practice of gender inequality can be found in various aspects, such as in terms of work distribution, social, and culture, even in leadership. In work distribution, women are subordinated by factors that are socially constructed, which then manifest in the form of discrimination as in the workplace (Ridwan, 2006). Wardaugh & Fuller (2015) also said that in social position, women are usually inferior and subordinate to men. Meanwhile, women leaders are labelled as “the other” regarding the male norm, so that considered as less competent to be leaders (Baxter, 2017).

Because of that situation, this present study focuses on examining the representation of woman leader on written discourse, namely Twitter. It focuses on how a woman leader represents herself as a leader on Twitter. The representation includes how Twitter is used as a response to social construction and how Twitter is used to promote a campaign or work program. This study also aims to find out what are the word choices used by a woman leader on Twitter as a leadership language.

This study uses social media, Twitter, as the research object because of some importance and potential usefulness. Information communication systems, including social media, are fundamental in understanding political thought, as they draw up people's understanding and how they know it (Bennett, 2011). In the United States, social media changes the political calculus by replacing who dominates information, who consumes information, and how the information is shared (Gainous & Wagner, 2014). Through social media, citizens can self-select their content and allowing politicians, including parties, leaders, and candidates, to establish and determine their content to represent themselves.

Twitter users can write any opinion or any information they want to post and share in a tweet with maximumly 140 characters. So that their tweets need to be concise and clear, which is predicted will affect the language use of Twitter's users. Those tweets posted by users can be retweeted by any users, which means it is posted on their profiles, and their followers can see it. Twitter users can also add hashtags in their tweets, which can facilitate communication about, and efficient search for a specific topic.

The reason why politicians need social media is a prior interest in conducting this study. Politicians have become increasingly aware of the power of the internet in organizing political purposes (Trippi, 2005). It is in line with the significant changes in SNSs by making it easy to create information channels (Gainous & Wagner, 2011). Specifically, Twitter is rapidly becoming one of the most prominent tools for the distribution of political information. It is because the politicians not only can contribute to the flow of information but also can shape

and direct it to their followers (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

Moreover, compared to the old media such as newspapers, radio, or television, they are more expensive to own and limited in number, rather than SNSs, which is more efficient, inexpensive, and immediate. Furthermore, the Twitter structure also suits campaigning. Each tweet is limited to 140 characters, which are useful for campaigns because it is often intentionally short and details (Gainous & Wagner, 2014). Additionally, the entire campaign also could be channeled through any social media such as Facebook, YouTube, and the Web. Finally, there is a possibility that the use of Twitter might change the political power distribution, which means that smaller political parties would be able to achieve electoral gain, attracting more followers, receiving more votes or at the party level, obtaining more seats in parliament, or even win the elections (Vergeer, 2015). Therefore, the care and feeding of the media is a significant political skill (Bennet, 2011). For those rationales, conducting further research on social media that use gender and language theory is crucial.

There are previous studies on gender and language with different focuses. Previous studies using gender and language theory that focused on leadership discourse have already been conducted by scholars such as Rolls (1993), Cameron & Shaw (2016), Baxter (2010), and Baxter (2017). Meanwhile, scholars such as Stockemer (2007), Curtin (2008), and Paxton & Hedges (2007) have conducted studies focused on women's representation and power in politics. Some studies examine the relationship between the use of Twitter and political purposes such as Jackson & Lilleker (2011), Vergeer (2015), Spierings & Jacobs (2014), Ceron et

al. (2013), and Graham et al. (2014). Other scholars, such as Holmes (2005), Holmes (2006), and Baxter (2012), have conducted studies on women's leadership discourse. However, few studies have focused primarily on women's leadership language, such as the studies conducted by Graddol & Swann (1989); Baker (1991); Miller & Swift (1991); Bradac, Mulac, & Thompson (1995); and Aldoory (1998). Those previous studies are discussed further in the previous studies, page 6-13.

Among those researches, what is less discussed or explored from previous research is how language differences may also occur in social media, which potential leaders may promote their campaign or programs on Twitter. Therefore, it is fundamental to extend research on social media, Twitter, to see the language differences in female leadership language. Importantly as mentioned by Baxter (2010), that language affects the representation of women in leadership positions so that it is crucial to explore how the women leaders represent themselves as a leader on Twitter. Unlike other social media, Twitter has a limitation in writing the text that is only 140 characters per tweet, which will affect the word construction in posting the tweets. Secondly, it will increase the development of the research on gender and language, which uses Twitter, since the amount of research on social media is still less.

The novelty of this study is in the research subject and the focus of the research. The researcher presents a study using Twitter as the research object to explore word choices used by Theresa May as a woman leader on Twitter. Furthermore, this study also aims to find out how Theresa May used the word

choices to represent herself as a woman leader on Twitter. The representation includes how she used Twitter as a means to respond to society, promoting a campaign or program, and other leadership activities.

#### **B. Problems of the Study**

Based on the research background, the researcher formulates these following research questions:

1. What were the word choices that Theresa May used as effective words of leadership language on Twitter?
2. How did Theresa May use the word choices to represent herself as a woman leader within the UK's political and social context on Twitter?

#### **C. Objectives of the Study**

The objective of this study is to analyze the word choices that Theresa May used on Twitter as the leadership language. Furthermore, this study intends to figure out how Theresa May, as a woman leader, represents herself on Twitter using the word choices she used.

#### **D. Significances of the Study**

This study is beneficial for enhancing women's leadership skills, specifically to become linguistically expert within different leadership contexts. By empowering the linguistic expertise, the researcher hopes it can help women leaders not to be under-represented than men. Baxter (2010) says that one of the



powerful reasons why women are often under-represented at the leadership level and have a challenging way to the top is language. Besides, by knowing the word choices that Theresa May used, it contributes to the linguistics field. It is also useful for further research because other researchers might get some information from this study. Thus, the researcher expects that this research is beneficial for both theoretically and practically.

#### **E. Scopes and Limitations of the Study**

This study focuses on the representation of a woman leader, Theresa May, on Twitter in a way how the women leader represents herself on Twitter within social and political contexts in UK. The representation includes how Theresa May used Twitter as a response to social construction, how Twitter is used to promote a campaign or work program about her duties as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Leader of the Conservative Party, and other political and leadership activities. Analyzing word choices that Theresa May use as leadership language is also the focus of this study. Furthermore, Theresa May's Twitter account is chosen as the data source in analyzing the representation of woman leader on Twitter.

Moreover, since the researcher only focused on investigating the language use written on her tweets, not the other properties such as the videos and links, it becomes the limitation of this study. Therefore, the researcher does not research further about the possible representations made by Theresa May on the videos and links on her tweets.

## **F. Definition of Key Terms**

### **1. Gender**

Gender refers to the social behaviours, expectations, and attitudes associated with being male and female (Litosseliti, 2013).

### **2. Leadership**

Leadership is a process in which a person plans the purpose for one person or group of people and gets them to work together with the leader and with other colleagues in one direction with full commitment and competence (Jaques & Clement, 1994).

### **3. Twitter**

Twitter is one of the social media that the members can broadcast a short post called a tweet. Twitter members also can follow other users and use multiple platforms and devices (Rouse, 2014).

## **G. Previous Studies**

In conducting this study, the researcher uses several previous studies to help the researcher get the amount of additional information that can support the idea of gender, language, and politics. The researcher only chooses some previous studies which are relevant to this study.

Research on gender and language theory, which focused on leadership

discourse, had been pretty much conducted to find out the relationship between leadership and gender and language. Rolls (1993) researched the influence of language style and gender on perceptions of leadership potential through reviewing some relevant studies. Because gender affects perception, the researcher argued that perceptions of an individual based on his or her language style influence an individual's acceptability for attaining several goals. Another research was conducted by Cameron & Shaw (2016) that explored the influence of gender on women leader speech. They analyzed the performance of three female party leaders in debates during the 2015 UK General Election (GE) campaign. This research finds out the differences in language use between men and women, and how media coverage the women's voice that will shape society's perception toward female politicians.

Similarly, Baxter (2010) also conducted a research to find out the female leadership language. The subject of the research is women corporations and leaders on management. This study focused on the way women talk (and are talking about) and on how language affects the representation of women in leadership positions. One of the findings shows that women often tend to take an apologetic language pattern styles in executive committee meetings. In 2017, Baxter again conducted research on gender and language on resolving a gender and language problem on women's leadership. The research subject is a senior leader in an engineering company, namely Monika. The findings show that gendered and linguistic grounds resisted the Monika authority. The result of the study also suggests how to use discourse analysis for practitioners as their

guidance.

Scholars such as Stockemer (2007), Curtin (2008), and Paxton & Hudes (2007) have conducted studies that focus on the representation of women and power in the political field. Stockemer (2007) explores all European Union members, which consist of 27 countries. The finding shows that some factors can affect the political representation of women in national parliaments. Those factors are the electoral system, cultural factors, socio-economic factors, and the last is party ideology. For example, the higher the wealth of a country, the higher the representation of women in that country. The more proportional the electoral system, the higher women's representation in politics. A country with an egalitarian political culture has higher women's representation than a country with traditional political culture. Another study was conducted by Curtin (2008), which used the case of New Zealand to explore the representation of women in political leadership. In a result, the study shows the presence of The New Zealand Labour Women's Council (LWC) is crucial because it can actively promote the representation of women in politics, support them while they once get elected, provide them with an alternative reference group, and an environment where feminist positionings are validated. Lastly, Paxton & Hudes's study (2008) shows that culture and social structure can affect the representation of women in power and politics.

Scholars also conducted studies that examine the relationship between Twitter use and political goals. Jackson and Lilleker (2011) focus on how politicians use Twitter to create positive and professional images such as *self-*

*promotion, ingratiation, exemplification, supplication, and intimidation.* The study shows that *self-promotion*, especially in terms of qualifications and personal positions, is the most common. Meanwhile, Vergeer (2015) explains that several factors caused the limited power of using Twitter for political needs to get additional votes. The first is homophily, a phenomenon when people tend to make a group together. The second factor is that most people are quite loyal to their political parties.

Other studies regarding the relationship between the use of Twitter and political purposes are conducted by Spierings & Jacobs (2014), Ceron et al. (2013), and Graham et al. (2014). Spierings & Jacobs (2014) conducted a predictive analysis for Dutch politicians. They claimed that social media had little effect on preferential votes in private campaigns due to the number of followers in social media and the interaction effect. They concluded that the larger the candidate's follower group, the more preference votes they received. However, the candidates should maintain communication with their followers to convince people to vote for them (Crawford, 2009). Ceron et al. (2013) used citizen tweet sentiment analysis to predict election results. The study shows that most tweets are about campaigns and party matters. Meanwhile, Graham et al. (2014) distinguish various types of broadcasting tweets, such as campaigns, criticisms and debates, acknowledgements, and presentation of the candidate's own position. The results show that tweets on any topic only amounted to 20 per cent for Britain and 30.9 per cent for the Netherlands.



Other scholars, such as Holmes (2005), Holmes (2006), and Baxter (2012), have conducted studies on women's leadership discourse. Holmes (2005) focused on how women leaders powerfully build their professional identity using Kanter's theory. He argues that discursive roles such as 'mother', 'queen', and even 'battle-axe' (Iron Maiden's version) can offer various positions of professional authority for senior women. Those roles can provide 'a strong strategy for women to progress' (Holmes, 2005: 3). Meanwhile, Holmes's (2006) research shows that female leaders are subject to a 'double bind' where they are decided not to be too assertive or too tentative. Holmes (2006) also found that leadership practices were very much shaped by the local context or 'community of practice' (CofP) in which they work. Lastly, Baxter (2012) conducted research using seven leading private-sector U.K. companies, specifically in senior management meetings. This study aims to conceptualize Kanter's theory to offer a new sociolinguistic perspective on how individual speakers can turn gender stereotypes into linguistic resources to achieve leadership goals. In sum, the findings show that senior women would not need Kanter's theory in a more gender-balanced business world.

Kanter's role trap theory (1993 [1977]) was designed based on the characterization of the minority status of senior women as 'tokens' in male-dominated organizations. Kanter also stated that there were four 'role traps' for women leaders in male-dominated organizations: *Mothers*, *Pets*, *Seductresses*, and *Iron Maidens*. The first role trap is *Mother*. According to Kanter, the role of *Mother* is expected to provide comfort and sympathizer services to their

colleagues. The second role trap is '*Pet*' which 'was adopted by a group of men as a funny and amusing little thing and was symbolically brought to group events as a mascot' (Kanter, 1993 [1977]: 235). It may be a limiting discursive role because senior women are encouraged to be girls and are selfish, which there is a possibility to prevent it from displaying real strength or competence. The third role trap is '*Seductress*'. Seductress is seen as using her sexual attraction to succeed in an organization rather than her professional abilities. The fourth is the *Iron Maiden* who is seen as a person who speaks and behaves aggressively, and she is routinely represented by her colleagues as 'scary', 'tough', 'mean', 'difficult', 'intimidation' and maybe 'bitchy' (Baxter 2010). Using Kanter's theory can help researchers in exploring how senior women change the position of gender subjects to their advantage through their linguistic interactions with colleagues.

Few studies have focused primarily on women's leadership language. Instead, the studies only examine the general area of female language use. Researchers such as Graddol & Swann (1989); Baker (1991); Miller & Swift (1991); and Bradac, Mulac, & Thompson (1995) state that women tend to ask more questions, respond more often to other speakers, speak more politely, interrupt less, use tag and hedge questions and use more pronouns. However, there is a study conducted by Aldoory (1998) that focuses on the women leadership language for public relation leader. The findings show that the participants define leadership as vision and compassion. Compassion means that someone has to incorporate "heart" into direction world because "If you don't

have care and concern for the welfare of others, you can interfere with people trying to achieve your vision, or courage can make you hurt others because you are willing to take risks” (Aldoory, 1998). Meanwhile, in terms of language use, the participants used hedging, aggressive language, sensitivity in responses, and negative and positive meanings in their responses.

Scholars also conducted studies that examine the language of male and female politicians. Shaw (2002) investigates the linguistic practices of politicians in House of Commons speech events. The results show that men MPs make more interventions than women MPs in general. Additionally, women MPs appear reluctant to adopt the most adversarial forms of parliamentary discourse, which can disadvantage their political advancement. Finally, gender is a salient factor that affects the differences in the linguistic practices of men and women MPs. Moreover, Shaw (2002) also conducted a comparative analysis of the linguistic practices of men and women MSPs in the Scottish Parliament. The result shows that the Scottish Parliament CoP (Community of Practice) is less polarized along gender lines than the House of Commons. It is indicated by women MSPs (Member of the Scottish Parliament) who make illegal interventions by challenging the Presiding Officer and take part in a cross-party humorous exchange.

Furthermore, Yarchi & Samuel-Azran (2018) and Beltran et al. (2020) also conducted studies that explore the language of male and female politicians. Yarchi & Samuel-Azran's (2018) study shows that female politicians used their posts for attacking opponents 20.4% more than male politicians did (10.6%), which is in contrast to female stereotypes as soft and less confrontational than

men. Regarding the rhetoric used by male and female politicians, there are no gender differences in their usage of authoritative voice, facts, and emotions. However, the topics issue raised by male versus female politicians is different. Besides, Beltran et al. (2020) explore the differences in the language used by male and female politicians when communicating on Twitter. The findings revealed that words related to gender (such as *patriarchal*, *feminist*, *woman*, *mistreatment*, and so on) and social issues (such as *human rights*, *poverty*, *public health*, and so on) are highly associated with women MPs. Meanwhile, the words related to classic political and ideological issues (e.g. *extremist*, *liberal*, and *bipartisan*), sport (e.g. *basketball*, *athlete*), infrastructure (*water transfer*), and transportation (e.g. *vehicle*, *airport*) are male-linked words. In contrast, there are no gender-related words appear in the list of male-linked words.

By extent, the finding of this present study supports Shaw's (2002) comparative study that women MSPs did such interventions or attacking other politicians. However, it does not support the findings of Shaw's study (2002) that women MPs are reluctant to make conflict over the opponents, but men MPs make more intervention than women MPs overall. It is because Theresa May frequently did such an attacking act toward her opponents, which she mentioned the opponents 27 times in her tweets. These linguistics practice differences are highly caused by the CoP of politicians (Shaw, 2002). It is also in line with Holmes (2006), who argues that leadership practices were very much shaped by the local context or 'community of practice' (CoP) in which they work. Besides, this present study also explored the representation made by Theresa May through

her attack/negative tweets, which does not exist in Shaw's (2002) study.

This present study has similarities with all of those previous studies, that is, it presents a study that uses gender and language as the theory. The differences are in the research subject and focus of the research. The researcher presents a study using social media text that is Twitter as the research object, while the focus of the research is the word choices that Theresa May used on Twitter as the leadership language. Furthermore, this study focuses on how Theresa May, as a woman leader, represents herself on Twitter through the word choices. The representation includes how Twitter is used as a response to social construction, how Twitter is used to promote a campaign or work program about her duties as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and a Conservative leader, and other political and leadership activities.

## **H. Research Methods**

This chapter explains the procedures of how this research is conducted. The researcher divides this chapter into several parts. The first is research design, then data and data source, research instrument, techniques of data collection, and the last is techniques of data analysis.

### **1. Research Design**

This study uses a qualitative method as the research design. Several theories are also applied to analyze the data. The theories are; (1) Gainous & Wagner's theory (2014), (2) Baxter's theory (2010), (3) PDA by Fairclough &



Fairclough (2012), and (4) Chilton's theory (2004). The researcher uses the qualitative method as the research design because the researcher aims to present detailed and thick descriptions and analyses of the language differences used by woman leader and how woman leader represents herself on Twitter within the social and political contexts at that time. The detailed and thick description means taken together with the collected data and the researcher's thought and reflection of the research subject and the setting (Heigham & Croker, 2009). It is in line with Snape & Spencer's statement (2003: 3) that qualitative study aims to provide an in-depth and interprets understanding of the social world of the research participants by learning their experiences, perspective, and histories. Moreover, it is because qualitative research design is an appropriate one to describe any phenomenon in social settings that draws a real fact of human life.

This study adopts Gainous & Wagner's (2014) theory of the internet-style of politics. Gainous & Wagner (2014) identified candidates' word choices into four categories: (1) *campaign announcements*, (2) *attack/negative campaigning*, (3) *personal characteristics*, and (4) *policy*. Each of the categories comprised of several word choices. Several considerations are taken into account in adopting the theory. First, both this present study and Gainous & Wagner's study used the same social media, which is Twitter. Second, both studies have the same period of collecting the data, which is six months. Finally, it is adopted because it is beneficial for explaining the first research question of this present study.

The researcher also uses the Gender and Language theory proposed by Judith Baxter (2010). Judith Baxter, in her book *The Language of Female*

*Leadership*, focuses on the language of leadership in business with three different contexts. Those contexts are the male-dominated corporation, the gender divided corporation, and the gender-multiple corporation of women corporations and leaders on management in the United Kingdom.

Finally, there are some reasons why the researcher adopts Baxter's theory (2010). Since Theresa May is in a male-dominated workplace, this theory is suitable for this present study, as a fact that Baxter is given several contexts, including the male-dominated workplace. The same geographical context is also taken into consideration in adopting this theory since it is possible to influence the theorization (Manathunga, 2017). The last, the researcher adopts this theory because it is useful for this present study in analyzing the leadership language used by Theresa May.

Regarding political discourse, the researcher adopts the political discourse theory proposed by Chilton (2004). Chilton (2004), in his book *Analyzing Political Discourse*, offers an attractive insight into the relationship between language and politics from a cognitive and evolutionary perspective. The geographical context of the theory is in the UK. It focuses mostly on how political actors represent reality. Therefore, the main focus of the discussion is about the representation of identity, particularly from a cognitive linguistics perspective. Chilton (2004) then summarizes his view of political discourse in the form of twelve propositions, which is further explained in chapter 2. All of those propositions pursue the questions of representation, which is the central focus of political discourse proposed by Chilton (2004).

Therefore, the theory is adopted for some reasons. First, the central focus of this theory is the question of representation as well as this present study, which also focuses on the representation of a woman leader. Second, the theory discusses the relationship between language and politics. Similarly, this present study also examines the relationship between language use, especially in the word choices, and politics on how the woman leader represent herself within the social and political context. Lastly, the theory and the present study have a similar geographical context that is in the UK, in which there is a possibility it constructs or influence the theorization of the present study (Manathunga, 2017).

Moreover, the researcher also adopts PDA by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012). The approach used the political responses to the financial and economic crisis in the United Kingdom, which began in 2007 until 2011. It also gives primacy to the analysis of the question of decision, action, and responses, while the representation is a subordinate question about what to do or act. Then the discussion of representation is integrated within the action and decision as leading to action. In PDA proposed by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), they show how representations, which include metaphor and other forms of rhetorically motivated representation, provide premises in arguments for action, and how representation issues can be integrated within an account of action. The model of the PDA proposed by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) is explained in chapter 2.

In sum, the PDA by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) is adopted for some reasons. First, it is used in data analysis to analyze Theresa May's tweets to analyze the representation of Theresa May's leadership. Second, the theory and

the present study have a similar geographical context, which is the UK, which potentially influences the theorization (Manathunga, 2017). Third, the model offers a concise representation of the rich and voluminous political discourse (Wigham, 2016). As a result, it helps the researcher to present thick and in-depth discussions about the representation of Theresa May as a woman leader on Twitter.

## **2. Research Instrument**

The researcher herself is a research instrument of this study. Rowley (2012) says that a researcher is the main instrument of direct observation because all sense of researcher is essentially a tool of observation. The instrument is applied since the collection and identification of the data is managed by the researcher. Therefore, the researcher acted as the major instrument of the study.

## **3. Data and Data Source**

The data source is a source that enables a researcher to get some information or data for this study. The data source of this study is Twitter, while the data are taken from the tweets posted by the Twitter account of Theresa May, a Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and a leader of the Conservative Party. Tweets to be analyzed are the tweets over the last six months, from January until July 2019, when she was a Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and leader of the Conservative Party, which focused on her crucial tweets about politics and leadership activities.

#### 4. Technique of Data Collection

In data collection, there are some criteria in selecting Theresa May's tweets. First, the researcher only collected Theresa May's tweets over the last six months of her leadership reign, from January to July 2019, as Prime Minister and leader of the Conservative Party. Second, the researcher chose Theresa May's tweets that have more than 500 *likes* on Twitter. It is intended for the language on the tweets can be considered as an effective language within leadership discourse since the tweets got massive number of responses from her followers.

Furthermore, there are three steps in collecting the data. Firstly, the researcher chose Theresa May's Twitter account as the Twitter account of a woman leader. The researcher picked Theresa May because she is the second female Prime Minister of the UK and also a Conservative Party leader. Secondly, the researcher selected the tweets that meet the criteria mentioned previously. Thirdly, the researcher identified the word choices on the selected tweets that are frequently used by Theresa May, which contain political and leadership context.

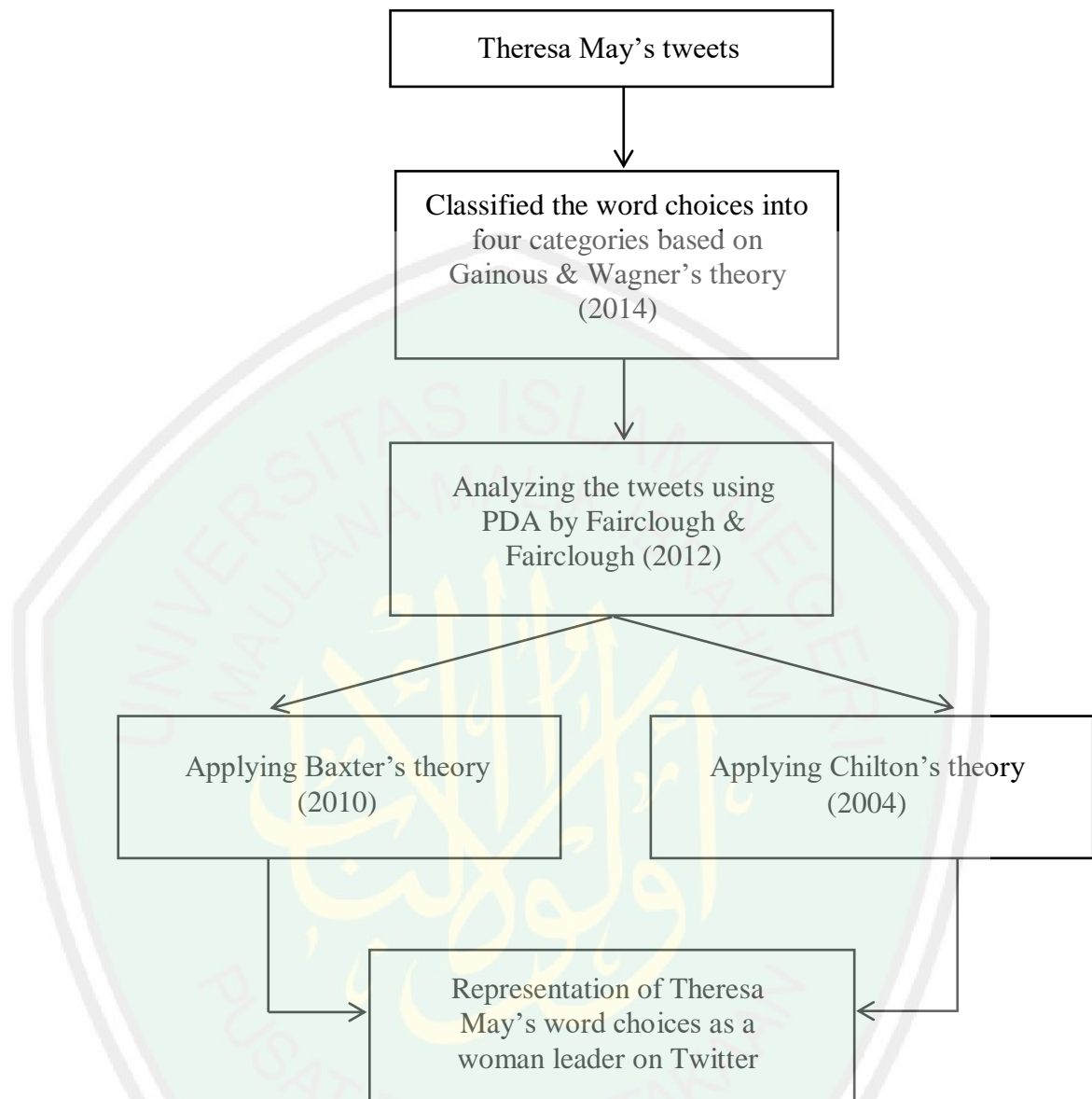
The Conservative Party is a governing party since 2010. The party was founded in 1834 and became one of the two dominant political parties in the 19th century. Now, The Conservative Party becomes the centre-right of the political party in the United Kingdom. The right-wing politics is the party who supports social or economic conservatism, tradition, and the perceived value to society. So the centre-right political party is the party that closer to the centre than other right-wing politics. It has an overall majority in the House of Commons with



365 Members of Parliament and other members in the Scottish Parliament, House of Lords, London Assembly, Welsh Assembly, and 7,440 local councillors.

## 5. Technique of Data Analysis

The researcher did several procedures in analyzing the data. Firstly, the researcher analyzed the word choices of Theresa May's tweets. After that, the researcher classified the word choices into four categories based on Gainous & Wagner's theory (2014). The four categories are; (1) *Announcement tweets*, (2) *Attack/negative tweets*, (3) *Personal Characteristics*, (4) *Policy*. Third, the researcher explored Theresa May's representation through the word choices she used on Twitter. The representation includes how she utilized Twitter for political purposes within political and leadership discourse. Finally, the last step is conclusion. A diagram is provided to see how all the theories work, as follow:



**Figure 1.** The diagram of how all interdisciplinary theories work.

## I. Overview of Thesis Chapters

The first chapter, which is the introduction, describes the background of the study, problems of the study, objectives, significances, the scope of limitation, definition of the key terms, previous studies, and research methods. In the research background, it explains the reasons why the way woman leader used language has become an appealing topic to study. Furthermore, it also explains

the focus of the study that referred to the research question. Finally, the researcher draws the novelty of the present study and briefly explains the present study. In the research question, the researcher proposed two questions. After that, the researcher describes the objectives and the significances of the research both theoretically and practically.

Furthermore, the scope and limitations of the study are also included in this chapter. It discusses the focus and limitations of the study. The definition of key terms is also presented to make the reader understand the keywords of the study. The researcher also clusters some previous studies that are related to the present study and finds the gap from those previous studies. In the research methods, it contains the explanation of research design, research instrument, data and data source, the technique of data collection, and the technique of data analysis.

The second chapter is the literature review. It discusses the theory related to the topic of the study. The theories are Chilton's Theory of Political Discourse (2004), Gainous & Wagner's theory (2014), Baxter's theory of gender and language (2010), and PDA's Fairclough & Fairclough (2012). Moreover, the researcher also explains about discourse and discourse analysis, the relation of language and politics, theories of leadership, and style of leadership.

In the third chapter, the researcher explains the findings of the study and the discussion. Regarding the research question, it reveals how Theresa May, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and a Conservative leader, represents herself on Twitter as a woman leader. The representations include how Twitter is

used as a response to social construction, and how Twitter is used to promote a campaign or work program, and other leadership and political activities. It discusses what word choices that women leaders used as effective leadership language.

The last chapter is the conclusions and suggestions. In this chapter, the researcher draws a conclusion based on the research question and research objectives. Besides, the researcher also concludes the findings and the contribution of them both theoretically and practically. The suggestion is also involved in this chapter. It explains what should be conducted for further research. Furthermore, a list of references and some attachments are also provided in this study. The attachments function as proof that the study is truly conducted.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### A. Discourse and Discourse Analysis

The definition of discourse is very complex so that scholars have defined their descriptions of the concept of discourse. Foucault (1972) describes discourse as a collection of systematically organized statements that give expression to the meaning and values of the institution. Moreover, Fairclough (1992) explains that discourse as language use is understood as social practice and is formed based on particular fields of experience and knowledge. Besides, van Dijk (1998) defines discourse as a communicative act in a specific context that takes place between the speaker and the listener. He further explains that the communicative act can be verbal or written. From those definitions, the conclusion is that discourse is a complex communicative phenomenon that includes a particular reading context and sociocultural context, which are fundamental to understanding the text.

Regarding discourse analysis, several scholars also have explained discourse analysis differently. Harris (1952) emphasizes two fundamental points in discourse analysis. The first point is to overcome the perspective that discourse analysis is limited to sentence study only. Meanwhile, the second point is about the relationship between cultural context and language/linguistic behavior. Basically, Harris argues that discourse analysis is not only a study limited to sentences but also the relationship between cultural context and linguistic behavior. Besides, van Dijk (1998) defines discourse analysis as a powerful yet



subtle instrument for highlighting the manifestations of everyday social problems in communication and interaction. In particular, he also explains the analysis of political discourse. It is a study of identifying representation, ideological construction and manifestations, abuse of power, the domination of power, the exercise of power, and manipulation of power (van Dijk, 1988c). Therefore, using political discourse analysis is very suitable for this present study.

## **B. Language and Politics**

In this sub-chapter, the researcher illustrates two main topics; they are the definitions of politics and political discourse and the relation of language and politics. It presents the understanding of politics and political discourse due to the vague concept that they have. Politics and political discourse vary depending on the situation and purposes. Therefore, it is essential to comprehend the definition of them to avoid any misunderstanding. Furthermore, it also discusses the relationship between language and politics. The discussions aim to show that language and politics are related to each other. For instance, it presents the language used in politics and political actors realize that the use of language in politics is necessary.

### **1. Defining Politics and Political Discourse**

Politics is a vague term that includes many concepts. Scholars have defined politics differently and in different traditions. From this perspective, the definition of politics will always be contestable. Heywood (2019) states that

politics is possibly considered as a 'contested' concept, related to terms that have several acceptable or legitimate meanings. In a broader sense, politics is an activity in which people create, change, and preserve the general rules they live by (Heywood, 2019). Therefore, politics is often associated with the phenomenon of conflict and cooperation.

Heywood (2019) further explained that politics has been seen as *the art of government*; as *the conduct and management of public affairs*; as *compromise and consensus*; and as *power*. Politics as an *art of government* means that politics is not a science but an art. It is a classical definition that developed from its original term in Ancient Greek, *polis*, which means 'city-state'. Thus, it is considered 'as the art of the government'. Second, politics as public affairs or public life means that politics has a crucial role in human activities because it involves the interaction between people who are free and equal (Arendt, 1958; Heywood, 2019). Politics prevents or regulates people to conduct their public life, such as business, sports, culture, etc. as they want. Third, politics is regarded as a tool for resolving conflict by conciliation, compromise, and negotiation, rather than using naked power and force. The last, *politics as power* means that politics has functioned as distribution, production, and use of resources in all social activities and all human existence.

Meanwhile, Wodak & de Cilia (2006) say that what is considered a politics and political act is a major problem in research on language and politics. Politics is understood as a provincial government and consists of the practices and actions of formal political institutions, political actors, and people who take part

in the political process. Besides, generally, political actions or practices are understood as a struggle for power and cooperative actions to advance the goals of society (van Dijk, 1997; Chilton, 2004; Chilton & Schaffner, 2002; Dunmire, 2012). The act of politics took place in the micro and macro community level. The micro politics occurs within social groups, individuals, and gender and is carried out along the practices of argumentation, threats, persuasion, and others. (Chilton, 2004: 3). Meanwhile, in macro politics, it includes the conflicts of political institutions and is represented in the practice of precedents, democratic constitutions, and legal codes (Chilton, 2004: 3).

In sum, it can be inferred from those definitions that politics is a contested concept due to the number of meanings the politics have. Politics is not only the political actions or practices of the politicians but also includes citizens' activities that create, change, and preserve the general rules where they live. Politics is also divided into micro and macro community level, where micro politics is political actions between individual-level and macro politics is political practices between political institutions. Therefore, the life of a human being cannot be separated from political actions or practices.

The political discourse has been defined differently as well as the definitions of politics. Van Dijk (1998c) states that political discourse is not only about the political actors who carry out particular political actions but also all stakeholders who carry out their role in discursive political events directly or indirectly. Furthermore, political discourse shows the political actions of voters, media, political workers, political parties, power groups, pressure groups, and

others. This discourse mainly can be found through spoken and written texts (Van Dijk, 1998c). Further, Van Dijk (1998c) also explains that analysis of political discourse is a study of identifying representation, ideological construction and manifestations, abuse of power, the domination of power, the exercise of power, and manipulation of power.

Scholars such as Van Dijk (1998c), Chilton (2004), and Wodak (2009) also argue that analysis of political discourse views how power is opposed based on resistance to power in the context of discursive discourse practice. Besides, Johnson & Johnson (2000) defines political discourse as the field of discourse analysis, which mainly emphasizes the discourse practice established in political forums or political fields such as hearings, legislative processes, political debate, and others. Finally, from those definitions, it can be inferred that political discourse is about political practice in particular political events, in which power can be resisted.

## **2. The Relation of Language and Politics**

In the political thought of western tradition, there is a perspective that language and politics are closely related at a primary level. Chilton (2004) begins his discussion about the relation between language and politics by presenting Aristotle's passage of the relationship between human's political nature and the power of speech, as follow:

*But obviously man is a political animal [politikon zoon], in a sense in which a bee is not, or any other gregarious animal. Nature, as we say, does nothing without some purpose; and she has endowed man alone among the animals with*

*the power of speech. Speech is something different from voice, which is possessed by other animals also and used by them to express pain or pleasure.... Speech, on the other hand, serves to indicate what is useful and what is harmful, and so also what is just and what is unjust. For the real difference between man and other animals is that humans alone have perception of good and evil, just and unjust, etc. It is the sharing of a common view in these matters that makes household and states.*

(Chilton: 2004, p. 5; Fairclough & Fairclough: 2012, p. 19)

The text shows that Aristotle defines humans as a political animal in politics, which means that ‘humans as creatures whose nature is to live in a *polis*’ (Chilton: 2004). The text implies that the purpose of human speech is related to human political nature. Aristotle in Chilton (2004, p. 5) and Fairclough & Fairclough (2012, p. 19) also says that human ‘speech’ is different and distinguishes ‘speech’ from ‘voice.’ He characterizes speech as ‘serving to indicate what is useful and what is harmful, and so also what is just and what is unjust.’ From the passage, Chilton (2004) then linked them as the key material of politics and language theory, which will perform as a framework for analyzing political discourse.

Although Aristotle did not explore in-depth the relationship between language and politics, the implications have fundamental importance. Political activities cannot occur without the existence of the use of language (Chilton, 2004). Politicians realize the importance of language since the use of language has an effect, and because politics is mostly the use of language, even if the converse is not true—not every use of language is political. Chilton (2004) also says that politicians are very aware of the significance of language use, even in the act of denying facts or criticism. Here is the example that is given by Chilton (2004):



*In 1999, the UK Labour government was introducing legislation to reform the House of Lords. Interviewed on BBC Radio 4's Today programme, a government spokesperson, when asked about the future composition of the second chamber, said that it would be 'properly representative'. The interviewer observed that she had not said 'properly democratic', to which the spokesperson replied dismissively: 'we're talking about semantics now'.*

From the example, it can be inferred that the politician used the word 'semantics' to avoid criticism and politically sensitive specification. Chilton (2004) says that British politicians usually use the word 'semantics' to steer clear of critics. It is worth knowing whether the phrase 'properly representative' indicated that the members of the second chamber would be selected by the government or whether the members would be elected democratically. Linguistically, the word 'semantics' is politically significant because the word 'representative' has two possible meanings. First, it is possible that 'representative' means a claim or believe to be a representative by the drafters of the new constitution, while the second is 'representative' possibly means in the sense of representative by popular election (Chilton, 2004). Lastly, the point here is that the interviewer's concerns to elucidate the meaning of 'properly representative' has sufficient political effect for the politicians and challenge them to avoid it implicitly.

### **C. Social Media and Politics**

Social media and politics have a relatively significant relationship, such as e-democracy and e-campaigning. The following is a more detailed explanation of e-democracy and e-campaigning.

## 1. E-democracy

E-democracy is also considered as a 'cyber democracy' or 'digital democracy.' E-democracy is the use of computer-based democracy to increase and deepen citizen participation in the democratic process. It covers various activities, including 'top-down' activities (originated by the government or other public bodies) and 'bottom-up' activities (originated by citizens and activists). Heywood (2019) argues that the use of Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, and other platforms provide broader and easier access to political information for people. Examples of e-democracy are as explained below.

### a. Online voting (e-voting) in elections or referendums.

For example, in the UK context, e-voting for Brexit referendum was conducted by several pollsters, such as YouGov and Opinium. One of the most accurate pollsters at 2015 general election in UK, Opinium, also conducted e-voting for Brexit referendum at June 20-22, 2016. The samples of the online voting are 3,011 people. In result, 44% chose to remain while 45% chose to leave the EU and 9% undecided to vote. YouGov also conducted an online voting or e-voting for Brexit referendum at June 23, 2016. The samples of the survey are 4,772 people. The result shows that 52% chose to remain and 48% chose to leave the EU. The detail information about the survey, such as gender, age, and education of the voters, are shown in the figure 2 below.

### YouGov Survey Results

Sample Size: 4772 UK Adults  
Fieldwork: 23rd June 2016

	EU ref vote			Vote in 2015				Gender		Age				Education				
	Total	Remain	Leave	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	UKIP	Male	Female	18-24	25-49	50-64	65+	GCSE	A level	Higher below degree	Degree	Other or DK
Weighted Sample	4772	2307	2162	1319	1084	277	461	2310	2462	554	2042	1174	1002	1375	1047	386	1216	747
Unweighted Sample	4772	2404	2184	1467	1221	339	516	2264	2508	360	1861	1291	1260	1301	921	383	1392	775
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

On the Day Vote

Remain	52	100	0	43	69	73	7	51	52	75	56	44	39	34	54	52	71	47
Leave	48	0	100	57	31	27	93	49	48	25	44	56	61	66	46	48	29	53

**Figure 2.** YouGov survey result for Brexit Referendum. Source: yougov.co.uk

There is a difference between the results of the two pollsters. The Opinion survey results show that the voters want to leave while the YouGov shows that they want to remain. However, the Brexit Referendum's actual results on June 23, 2016, with a sample of 33,577,342 people, shows that 48.1 % chose to remain while 51.9% chose to leave the EU. The turnout shows that 17,410,742 people chose to leave, and 16,141,241 chose to remain in the EU. Finally, e-voting is not a full exit poll, but to give some indications of the turnout voting.

- b. Online petitions (e-petitions) organized by governments or other bodies.

The UK also has e-petitions conducted by the UK Government and Parliament on their websites (<https://petition.parliament.uk/petitions>). There are 6.163 petitions in total until now. The petition to stop the Government suspending Parliament just weeks before the Brexit deadline on October 31, 2019, became the third most-signed petition on the Government's website (ITV Report, 2017). There were more than 100,000 signatures in a few hours and had more than 1.3 million in less than 24 hours after Prime Minister Boris Johnson confirmed he had asked the Queen to suspend Parliament.

(ITV Report, 2017). However, in the end, the Queen agreed to the Government's request to suspend Parliament.

- c. Accessing political information, news and comment via websites, blogs, Twitter and so on.

In this case, e-democracy can build a two-way democratic process, since the citizens actively participate in politics rather than as passive recipients (Heywood, 2015). Therefore, people could be more knowledgeable about politics since technology enlarges people's access to political information.

- d. The use of social networking sites or interactive television to allow citizens to engage in political argument and debate and, possibly, policy-making.

For instance, television usage had a tremendous impact on US President Barack Obama, who won a lot of hearts and minds through his appearances on *Jon Stewart's Daily Show* during the election (McNair, 2017). In Australia, there is *ABC's Q&A* program, which has run since 2008. It is a television panel discussion program involving politicians, academics, and celebrities to answer the questions proposed by the viewer and the studio audience (McNair, 2017). The viewers can ask questions through Twitter. Therefore, Twitter is a vital audience participation element of the show.

Meanwhile, in the UK, there is an interactive television program

called *Question Time*. The *Question Time* is a debate program that broadcast on Thursdays at 10:35 pm on BBC One. The program composed of guests from the worlds of politics, including the representative of the UK government and the opposition, and the media answer the public's questions. The audiences of this program have to come up with two questions. The viewers are also able to contribute to the debate via text, call, or tweet. The phone number already available on the Question's time websites; meanwhile the viewers can add a hashtag #bbcqt to contribute via Twitter to ask a question (Question Time, n.d). Later in the week, the *Question time* is also regularly repeated on BBC Parliament and BBC Two.

- e. The use of mobile and smartphones and social media to organize popular protests and demonstrations.

The emphasis on the use of text messaging and mobile technologies frequently plays a fundamental part (Gillan et al., 2008). For instance, mobile phones and SMS play a crucial part in protests toward Philippine President Joseph to step down from his position. Finally, the protest led to his resignation in 2001. It illustrates the substantial political communication changes and mobilization in the Global South (Cammaerts, 2015).

All of those e-democracy activities can create a network of exchanges that potentially involve an unlimited number of people. From this perspective, social media's main advantage is not just open up new opportunities for political



participation but also by its nature, decentralized, and non-hierarchical (Heywood, 2019). Online movement is also one example of e-democracy, which aims to give political voice to individuals who may not be heard. For example, Black Lives Matter (#BlackLivesMatter) campaigns against systemic racism and violence towards black people, and Me Too (#MeToo) campaigns against sexual harassment and attack (Heywood, 2019).

## **2. E-Campaigning**

Heywood (2019) defines e-campaigning as a computer-based campaign aiming to publicize, regulate, lobby, and raise funds for the election of candidates for political office. As a result, campaigning is one aspect of politics that most affected by social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, Websites, and others. It is because social media is a cheap and fast means to get potentially a broad audience and increase campaign funds. Notably, it has an advantage in reaching younger people or voters as they are the most difficult voters to engage through the conventional strategies' (Heywood, 2019), such as television advertising and poster campaigns. Moreover, social media can customize messages on selected demographics, such as region, age, educational achievement, etc. The last, social media can make the campaign to 'go viral.' For example, through the hashtag, re-tweet, and like on Twitter or share on Facebook.

In the case of Theresa May, e-campaigning can enable her to get potentially a larger audience to see the campaign. It is because when she once made a tweet about a particular campaign, party program, or any political

campaign, then her followers re-tweet or like the tweet, so the tweet can be seen by a broader audience. The more re-tweet or like she gets, the more audiences she will get.

#### **D. Internet-style Politics: Twitter Campaigning**

This study also adopts Gainous & Wagner (2014) theory of the internet-style of politics. Some considerations are taken into account why this theory is employed. First, the same social media that is used by both this present study and Gainous & Wagner's study is the same that is Twitter. Second, both studies have the same period of collecting the data, which is six months. Finally, it is adopted because it will be beneficial for explaining the first research question of this present study.

Gainous & Wagner (2014) conducted research on the ways members of the United States Congress (MCs) and challengers in the 2010 election of using Twitter for political purposes. From the 884 of total candidates, 483 had Twitter accounts (55%). The data consist of 64,557 tweets collected since the six months leading up to the election. Furthermore, Gainous & Wagner (2014) identified candidates' word choices into four categories: campaign announcements, attack/negative campaigning, personal characteristics, and policy. Each of the categories comprised of several word choices.

##### **1. Campaign Announcement**

Campaign announcement is one of the categories of word choices

identified by Gainous & Wagner (2014). This category consists of several words used by the candidates during campaigning in the election period. The words are 'meeting,' 'rally,' 'campaign,' 'volunteer,' 'help,' 'debate,' 'run,' 'event,' 'fundraising,' 'interview,' and 'contribution.'

#### a. Meeting

The word "meeting" is used as a keyword to identify tweets where candidates announce when they will meet with voters, supporters, or groups that will be important for the campaign. According to Gainous & Wagner's (2014) study of the ways candidates used Twitter for political interest, 60% of candidates who have a Twitter account used this keyword at least once. It is also said that the keyword is a reasonably common occurrence.

*Example: Tammy Baldwin, Democrat, House incumbent*

Tweet: Heading down to the UW lake shore dorms to meet new students! Come stop by my field office open house today from 4 to 6 at 435 state #p2 #fb

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 59)

It is an example of a tweet type representing a campaign announcement resulting from the word "meet" appearing in the tweet. The tweet was designed to advertise the candidate's Twitter followers that she would attend the campus. From the tweet, it can generate attendees and instill confidence in followers because she was making sure they knew she was out on the campaign trail. The hashtags #p2 and #fb that appear at the end of the tweet are examples of the

Twitter tool to gather more viewers. It is because these particular hashtags were able to link her followers to other tweets that used these hashtags. Simultaneously, the #fb hashtag will automatically add the tweet to Facebook, which allows the candidate to reach dual social media audiences simultaneously.

#### b. Rally

The word “Rally” was another word used to identify tweets that were making a campaign event announcement. Illiano Pantano, a Latino Republican and an unsuccessful challenger for a House seat in North Carolina, used the word “rally” 69 times to make some campaign announcement. As many as 46% of the candidates used the word “rally” in their tweets at least once (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: Lynn Jenkins, Republican, House incumbent*

Tweet: It should be a beautiful day to for the GOP Clean Sweep Bus Tour. Our first rally begins in a few minutes here in Topeka! <http://ht.ly/30Nel> (Page)

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 60)

This simple campaign announcement is another example of a tweet to attract people. The link inserted at the end of the tweet is the candidate's campaign homepage that provides more detailed information about the campaign. By inserting the link, it was intended to make the followers easier to look for the campaign's detailed information.

### c. Campaign

The word “campaign” was also used by candidates that were making a campaign announcement. The candidates also use the word to update the campaign, announce events, and potentially try to attract volunteers. The candidate with the most number of tweets containing this word was an unsuccessful Republican challenger, Joel Pollak, in Illinois. He used this word 212 times. 77% of the candidates used this word during the election (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: Patty Murray, Democrat, Senate incumbent*

Tweet: Michelle & Jill spoke about the power of the grassroots. Join our campaign today: <http://bit.ly/dAF6KA> #wasen

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 60)

This type of tweet was intended to draw positive attention from the followers toward the campaign. The link of the campaign web page was added to make the followers easier in gaining the information about the campaign in detail. Furthermore, the hashtag was used to link over other tweets about Washington Senate-related issues and gained more audiences.

### d. Volunteer

The word “volunteer” was used for seeking for volunteers, making direct communication to volunteers, or offering information about volunteers. Based on the data, over half of the candidates, that is, 51% of candidates used this word at



least once (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: Tom Coburn, Republican, Senate incumbent*

Tweet: Come to “Bartlesville Volunteer call night” Monday, October 25 from 4:00 pm to 8:30 pm. The Coburn for Senate Team ... <http://fb.me/LBbzUjFl>

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 61)

The tweet above is an example of a call for volunteers, which is a component that is essential to any successful campaign (Gainous & Wagner, 2014). The link at the end of the tweet was added to connect the candidate’s twitter followers with the Facebook event page. Therefore, the number of attendees could multiply quickly. It is another excellent example of how Twitter can be used to connect people to a larger SNS group by directing them to Facebook.

#### e. Help

The word or some derivative of the word “help” was included in Gainous & Wagner (2014) study to capture campaign announcements that were intended as calls for support. Sean Bielat, an unsuccessful Republican challenger for a Massachusetts seat in the House, used the word 135 times. Like the word “campaign,” 77% of candidates used the word at least once. It shows that the word “help” is frequently used within the candidates.

*Example: Steve Pougnet, Democrat, House challenger*

*Tweet* watch our new ad, and help us keep it on the air by contributing online at [www. electpougnnet.com/donate](http://www.electpougnnet.com/donate) <http://fb.me/LxTaLux>

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 61)

It is an example of the tweet that used the word “help” in a campaign announcement. Gainous & Wagner (2014) said that the high use of the word “help” represents the need for a campaign to get support financially and labor. However, this tweet’s link connects to the campaign web page to get more detailed information about the campaign. The link is also connected to the YouTube video of Pougnet’s campaign commercial.

#### f. Debate

The word “debate” was used to identify campaign announcements about upcoming debates, announcements about the willingness to debate, and announcements about the success of debates that had happened. Bill Flores, a winning Republican house challenger for Texas, used this word the most frequently at 97 times. This word came up relatively frequently, in which 53% of the candidates used this word at least once in their tweets (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: Rich Iott, Republican, House challenger*

*Tweet:* Getting ready for tomorrow’s debate sponsored by Fox Toledo and the Toledo Free Press.

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 62)

This tweet is a straightforward example of an announcement of an upcoming debate. Through the tweet, the candidate was able to advertise the debate to his/her twitter followers. The tweet could also be retweeted by the followers to reach more viewers or audiences of the tweet. Therefore, there will be a chance for more people to watch the debate.

g. Run

The word “run” was used in tweets intended to announce that a candidate was running or mentioning why a candidate was running. The word was not used frequently. There are 34% of the candidates who tweeted used this word at least once. The most frequent candidate who used this tweet is Sean Bielat for 135 times (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: Jack Conway, Democrat, Senate challenger*

*Tweet* I am running for the US Senate because of my daughter and her future. Help us win for all of our families! <http://ow.ly/31U5h> #KYDems

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 62)

This example is a brief candidacy announcement. It simultaneously lets people know the reason why he is running. The link directs followers to his web page, and the hashtag connects his tweet that includes discussions about Kentucky Democrats.

h. Event

The word “event” was used to make announcements about a campaign event or attract people’s attention to make the event successful. Around 60% of candidates used this word on their tweets at least once.

*Example: Joe DioGuardi, Republican, Senate challenger*

*Tweet* New Right Now! Events: Campaign HQ Grand Opening & Special Event w/ Dick Morris! - Staff #NYSen #tcot <http://bit.ly/bCfgyI>

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 62)

This tweet is an example that Twitter can be used to announce an event. The hashtag and the link at the end of the tweet help the user to reach wider audiences.

#### i. Fundraising

The candidates used the word “fundraising” in their tweets to announced fundraising events, called for contribution, and provided information about the current fundraising. Approximately 47% of the candidates who had Twitter accounts used the word at least once and Francis Becker, an unsuccessful Republican House challenger from New York, used the word most frequently at 26 times (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: Brad Zaun, Republican, House incumbent*

*Tweet:* Come to “House Party Fundraiser!” Wednesday, September 29 from 5:00 pm to 7:00 pm. Dr. Pat Bertroche hosting this . . . <http://fb.me/IMkaFlaH>

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 63)

The tweet above is an example of a campaign announcement about a fundraiser. The information about the event is provided, and there is also a link to a Facebook event page. It is concise and maximizes opportunity by connecting to the Facebook event page (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

#### j. Interview

The word “interview” is intended to advertise an upcoming interview, provide information about the content of an interview, or highlight the success of an interview. Around 47% of those candidates with Twitter accounts used this word or some derivative of the word at least once.

*Example: Patrick Leahy, Democrat, Senate incumbent*

*Tweet* Watch WPTZ tonight at 5:30pm for Senator Leahy’s interview about the campaign. The Vermont Public Television is . . . <http://fb.me/ztMJUN8I>

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 64)

This example contains all of the critical information for followers to know about the event and potentially retweet it so that the candidate can get more audiences. Additionally, the tweet is linked to a Facebook event page of the candidate for detailed information.

#### k. Contribution

This word was often used to seek financial contributions for the campaign. It was also used for discussing the status of contribution, and even thanking



supporters for their contribution. The maximum number of uses of the word was 38, and 26% of all candidates with a Twitter account used it at least once (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: Johnny Isakson, Republican, Senate incumbent*

*Tweet* 18 days until Election Day! Way #18 you can help us re-elect Johnny: Make a financial contribution at <http://bit.ly/cntRwG!>

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 64)

It is a clear campaign announcement seeking financial contributions and the link connected directly to his campaign web page, where contributions could be made.

To sum up, those words of campaign announcements have a relationship to this study's first research question. The first research question of this study questioning the word choices used by Theresa May so that those words are beneficial to explain the answer to the first question. It is such a guideline in seeking out the word choices used by Theresa May as a woman leader in her tweets. Of course, Theresa May also did campaigns during her leadership as Prime Minister and the Conservative Party leader. However, the researcher assumes that there is a possibility that Theresa May will not one hundred percent have the same word choices as Gainous & Wagner's findings. It is because of this present study's context, and Gainous & Wagner's study is different. Gainous & Wagner's study explores the ways members of the United States Congress (MCs)

and challengers in the 2010 election campaign on Twitter for political purposes. Meanwhile, the context of this study not only investigating campaigning activities but includes all leadership activities of Theresa May as Prime Minister and Conservative Party's leader.

## 2. Attack/Negative Campaigning

It is the second category of word choices used by candidates during the election. It consists of attack or negative campaigning about the candidates' rivals. Therefore, the tweets which were aimed to attack the rivals of the candidates. According to (Gainous & Wagner, 2014), some words are included in this category; they are the opponent's name and the word 'politicians.'

### a. Opponent's name

It is typical that when a candidate uses his or her opponent's name, it is not being used positively. Thus, this turns out to be a good indicator of attack/negative tweeting. Approximately 54% of candidates with Twitter accounts used their opponent's name. Sean Bielat was again the most frequent user in this category. He stated his opponent's name for 377 times (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: Mark Kirk, Republican, Senate challenger*

Tweet: RT @kevingoody: For real RT @Kirk4senate: RT @bradleydj: I'm a Democrat . . . but Mark Kirk would make a better Senator than Alexi Giannoulis

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 66)

The example here is quite impressive. Kirk managed to include a retweet from a voter of the opposite party who stated that he preferred him to the incumbent sharing his party identification. It provides a great example of how a tweet can move through various people and groups.

#### b. Politicians

The word "politician" is used by candidates trying to disconnect themselves from the negative connotations of politicians. It often requires a subtle interpretation. It did not occur very often, with only 15 candidates who used this word at least once. Two unsuccessful Republican challengers for seats in the House used this word five times. The first was again Sean Bielat, and the second was Donna Campbell from Texas (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: Luis Gutierrez, Democrat, House incumbent*

Tweet: "It seems inconsistent to me that politicians who are pro-life and pro-family are also pro-deportation for newborns" <http://bit.ly/ceh6ve>

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 67)

In conducting a campaign, political actors may attack their opponents as in the fact that they are in a 'competition.' As same as Theresa May, who also has Jeremy Corbyn from the Labour Party as the opposition of the Conservative Party and in Parliament (Asmardika, 2019). Therefore, Theresa May might also use those words in attacking her opposition during campaigning. Finally, this theory is useful to answer the first research study since it explores the word choices used by

Theresa May as a leadership language.

### 3. Personal Characteristics

Personal Characteristics is the third category of word choices in internet-style politics. This category represents words that indicate politician characteristics. According to Gainous & Wagner (2014), it includes the word ‘principle,’ ‘victory,’ ‘progressive/conservative,’ ‘leader,’ and ‘hard-working.’ Generally, those words were used by politicians intentionally to construct positive images, which is vital in shaping voters’ perception toward them (McNair, 2011). However, each person has a different interpretation of politicians’ political messages (McNair, 2011).

#### a. Principle

The word “principle” was only counted in Gainous & Wagner (2014) research when it represented in seeking to convey principles such as common sense, conservative/liberal, or if it was merely on its own (i.e., “I am principled” or “I have strong principles”). The candidates used the word to present the right image of the candidates that is favorable to voters. As many as 10% of the candidates with Twitter accounts used it at least once. This word was used as many as five times by three different candidates: (1) Jim DeMint, a successful Republican incumbent Senator from South Carolina, (2) Christine O’Donnell, and (3) Justin Amash, a successful Republican incumbent House member from South Carolina (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: Russell Feingold, Democrat, Senate incumbent*

Tweet: STAFF Manitowoc Herald Times Reporter: Arguably the most principled member of the Senate <http://bit.ly/bzCxBX>

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 68)

This tweet is an excellent example in portraying a candidate image as a principle because the candidate did not have to say it by himself but just quoted from a news story from a newspaper in his state. Furthermore, the candidate also added the link of the news story at the end of the tweet so that the followers could read it in more detail information.

b. Victory

The candidates used this word to offer a forecast of their election chances or referring to the advancement of goals, in which such communication would make the candidate confident. Approximately 40% of candidates with Twitter accounts used this word at least once. Richard Burr, a Republican Senate incumbent, reelected in North Carolina, used this word 42 times (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: Richard Burr, Republican, Senate incumbent*

Tweet: One week to Victory! Read our latest blog post on Road to Victory tour, early voting, GOTV now: <http://bit.ly/ciVVVc> #ncsen #ncgop

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 68)



The tweet is an example of using the word “victory” to present a confident image of the candidate. Additionally, the tweet attempted and encouraged people to get out and vote to be a part of the victory (Gainous & Wagner, 2014). Meanwhile, the link inserted in the tweet was to connect the followers to the blog referenced and the hashtags to connect them with the discussions on the North Carolina Senate and the North Carolina Republican Party (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

c. Progressive/conservative

These words were usually used by the candidates where they were referring to their political ideology. In Gainous & Wagner’s (2014) study, the word “conservative” was used by a Republican, and a Democrat used the word “progressive.” Approximately 29% of the candidates with Twitter accounts used this word at least once, and Sean Bielat was again the most frequent user at 31 times (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: David Gill, Democrat, House challenger*

Tweet: I was featured in a new Huffington Post article called “A Progressive Candidate Ignored by the Democratic Party” <http://tinyurl.com/285zts8>

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 68)

It is an example of how typically the candidate used the word “progressive” in a tweet. The link connects to the story referenced in the tweet, and both the title and the story present the idea of being progressive as a good

thing (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

d. Leader

The word “leader” was used to describe her or him as a leader or work with other leaders. Thus, this word contains two different meanings. When candidates called themselves as a leader or quote someone calling themselves as a leader, they were attempting to instill confidence among their followers about their abilities to lead. When they mentioned working with other leaders, it instills confidence by letting their followers know that other leaders supported them. So, it presents an image of someone who works with others, something which will be perceived positively if those they work with are also viewed positively. So they are likely to mention working with others who are popular among their base voters. About 46% of those candidates used this word at least once. Peter Roskam, a successful Republican House incumbent from Illinois, used this word the most frequently at 26 times (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: Sco & DesJarlais, Republican, House challenger*

*Tweet* #TN04 Tossup ranking is no surprise 2 us. #TN is conservative state that wants to be represented by strong conservative leaders. #GOP #TCOT

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 69)

This tweet attempted to make a positive image of the candidate by calling him a strong conservative leader. The hashtags seek to extend this tweet's reach by connecting it to tweeters who follow discussions about the Fourth

Congressional District of Tennessee, the state of Tennessee, the Republican Party, and top conservatives.

e. Hard-working

This word was used in the candidate's tweet to construct a positive image of the candidates, specifically as a hard-working person. Around 72% of candidates used this word at least once. Sheila Jackson Lee, a successful Democrat House incumbent from Texas, used this word the most frequently at 46 times.

*Example: Elaine Marshall, Democrat, Senate challenger*

Tweet: "I've worked hard as a public servant to cut down red tape."- Why we love @Elaine4NC #UNCyoungdems #ncsen

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 69)

This tweet simultaneously presents a hard worker's image and provides an appealing message, helping to cut back on bureaucratic red tape. Simultaneously, the hashtags are for North Carolina Democrats and the North Carolina Senate (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

The researcher adopts Gainous and Wagner's theory because it is useful to explain the first research question about what word choices were used by Theresa May as a form of leadership language. Furthermore, the word choices used on personal characteristics also influence how leaders represent themselves to the

public and shape their perception (McNair, 2011). It also relates to the second research question about how a female leader represents herself through the word choices she used on Twitter. Therefore, Gainous & Wagner's theory is constructive for explaining the first research question in this present study.

#### 4. Policy

It is the last category of word choices in internet-style politics, according to Gainous & Wagner (2014). As its name consists of words that talk about policy, such as the word 'deficit,' 'taxes,' 'healthcare,' and 'education.' Finally, it will be further explained in the paragraphs below.

##### a. Deficit

The word "deficit" was used by candidates to address popular policy issues. There is 28% of candidates with a Twitter account used this word at least once. John Faulk, an unsuccessful Republican House challenger from Texas, used this word most frequently at 16 times (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: Tarryl Clark, Democrat, House challenger*

Tweet: @tarrylclark Tele-Town hall describing ways we can cut the budget to reduce the deficit for #mn06 taxpayers. #mn2010 #stribpol

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 72)

The tweet above shows that a candidate can simply offer a policy-centered tweet with only 140 characters. Voters are typically not interested in too many

details because they want to feel confident that there is a plan (Gainous & Wagner, 2014). As the tweet delivers that there is a plan, and the voters can attend a Tele-Townhall meeting to find out more. Tele-Town Hall is where candidates usually conduct large-scale telephone conference calls with constituents at a low cost. The candidates also added some hashtags connected to the Sixth Congressional District in Minnesota in 2010 and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* politics.

b. Taxes

The word “taxes” was used where candidates attempted to highlight their position on tax policy. Around 73% of candidates who have Twitter account used this word or one of its derivatives at least once. John Boehner, the future Republican Speaker of the House from Ohio, frequently used this word at 78 times (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: Sharron Angle, Republican, Senate challenger*

Tweet: Natl Taxpayers Union endorsement: “Angle a true champion for taxpayers” <http://ow.ly/2Xklv> Thanks, @NTU! #nvsen #tcot #dumpreid

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 73)

The link connects to a press release that confirms the endorsement mentioned in the tweet. It explained why Angle’s tax policy would be better than the incumbent’s policy. Meanwhile, the hashtags go to the Nevada Senate, top conservatives, and a discussion feed supporting the incumbent’s replacement.



### c. Healthcare

The word “healthcare” was used by the candidates to show candidates’ positions on healthcare policy. Around 55% of those candidates used this word at least once. Michael Burgess, a successful Republican House incumbent from Texas, used this search term 43 times (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

*Example: John Larson, Democrat, House incumbent*

Tweet: Read @huffpost my blog post “10 Major New Health Reform Benefits Take Effect Today” <http://huff.to/cbWeLB>

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 73)

This tweet represents Larson’s support for the recent healthcare reform. Larson also added a link at the end of the tweet that connects to Larson’s blog at *The Huffington Post*. Additionally, the @Twitter name tag is for *The Huffington Post*.

### d. Education

The candidates used this word when discussing education policy, such as how it should be addressed. Gainous & Wagner (2014) stated that approximately 29% of those candidates with a Twitter account used it at least once. Ed Potosnak, an unsuccessful Democrat House challenger from New Jersey, used this word most frequently at 24 times.

*Example: Chuck Grassley, Republican, Senate incumbent*

Tweet: Answered q's about Facebook & Twitter & education on this weeks  
AskChuck webcast Thx 4 q's <http://tinyurl.com/2u38wwm>

(Gainous & Wagner, 2014: 75)

This tweet does not directly give a position on education policy, but it highlights that Grassley is attentive to the issue. Also, the link goes to a YouTube video where Grassley directly answers questions via a webcast about education policy. Interestingly, he also talks about Facebook and Twitter, confirming that he does all of his posts.

Regarding the first research question that seeks out the word choices used by Theresa May as a leadership language, Gainous & Wagner's (2014) findings will be beneficial to explain the first research question's findings. As a Prime Minister, Theresa May, of course, had made a policy during her leadership, such as green policy, economic policy, tax policy, etc. (Stewart & Walker, 2019; George & Mace, 2019). Therefore, through this present study, the researcher will look for the word choices of Theresa May, especially about policy making.

#### **E. Leader and Leadership**

Regarding the study's objectives, understanding the nature of leadership discourse is crucial in establishing the theorization of this study. Thus, the researcher presents the discussion of the theory and style of leadership proposed by Heywood (2019).

## 1. Theories of Leadership

The leadership theories are classified because of the number of different perspectives toward the origin of political leadership. Political leadership theories question various leadership phenomena and where that leadership comes from. Therefore, Heywood (2019) identified four leadership theories: a natural gift, a sociological phenomenon, an organizational necessity, and a political skill.

### a. A natural gift

It is a traditional leadership perspective that views leadership as a rare but natural gift. In this view, it defines leadership strictly as an individual quality and capability manifested in the personality of what was traditionally considered a 'man of destiny' (Heywood, 2019). This theory also views leadership based on the notion of a supreme or single leader who can lead the people. Simply, this leadership theory is manifested within the notion of charisma, which is interpreted as the power of personality in general. The examples of charismatic leaders are frequently viewed as a strong personality, such as Castro, Hitler, Gandhi, and Mandela (Heywood, 2019).

### b. A sociological phenomenon

This leadership view sees leadership as a sociological phenomenon rather than a psychological phenomenon, which considers that the leaders are 'produced' by specific socio-historical forces (Heywood, 2019). It is a point of view adopted by Marxists who argue that economic factors widely structure the historical

development, which is manifested in a struggle process. Thus, the leaders' personalities are not taken into account or less crucial rather than the broader interests they articulate.

c. An organizational necessity

Politics, as an organizational necessity, views leadership technically as a rational or bureaucratic. By this perspective, leadership is considered as an organizational need that occurs from the necessity of unity, direction, and coherence within any complex institution. As a result, leadership always goes hand in hand with bureaucracy. There is no doubt that the emergence of a constitutional government has invested political leadership with a robust bureaucratic character with power in the political office's hands, rather than in each office holder (Heywood, 2019).

d. A political skill

The last leadership theory portrays leadership much as an artifact that political skill can be learned and practiced. In this sense, political leadership is similar to the art of communication, a feature of democratic politics that cannot be separated from mass communication. It can be seen most in personality cults built to support the dictatorial leadership of political figures such as Mao Zedong, Colonel Gaddafi, and Saddam Hussein (Heywood, 2019).

## 2. Style of Leadership

Leadership style refers to strategy and behavior patterns where a leader tries to achieve his or her goals. Simply, not all leaders are all the same, because leadership can be exercised and practiced in various ways. Three distinctive styles of leadership have been identified (Burns, 1978); *laissez-faire* leadership, transactional leadership, transformational leadership.

The main characteristic of *laissez-faire* leadership is the reluctance of leaders to interfere in matters outside their responsibilities. Such leaders have a 'hands off' approach to the cabinet and department management. Examples of such leadership can be found at the Reagan White House (Heywood, 2019). Ronald Reagan is an American actor and politician who became the 40th President of the United States who served from 1981 to 1989 (The White House blog). This style of leadership has both strengths and weaknesses. The strength of this leadership approach is that because subordinates are given greater responsibility. It is possible to foster harmony and teamwork and enable leaders to concentrate on political and election issues by freeing them from their managerial burdens (Heywood, 2019). It can also cause weak government policy coordination, with ministers and officials given too much space to pursue their interests and initiatives (Heywood, 2019).

Another leadership style is transactional leadership. This leadership style is a more 'hands-on' style of leadership (Heywood, 2019). Transactional leaders have a positive role in policy making and government management through many considerations. Thus, it is possible to maintain government cohesion, party unity, and strengthen public support and electoral credibility (Heywood, 2019).



According to Bass (2016), transactional leaders are those who lead through social exchange. Transactional leaders focus more on the proper exchange of resources (Judge & Piccolo, 2004). In results, transactional leaders give their followers something they want to exchange for what the leaders want (Kuhnert & Lewis: 1987). John Mayor and Theresa May are examples of transactional leaders in the UK (Heywood, 2019).

The third style of leadership is transformational leadership. In Transformational leadership, leaders stimulate and inspire their followers to achieve excellent results and develop their leadership capacity in the middle of the process (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Therefore, leaders can help people or their followers be leaders and empower them to achieve their goals. According to Heywood (2019), he defines transformational leadership as the leaders who are not only as an inspirator or visionary, but they also have personal resolution and political purposes to be implemented. Transformational leaders also have strong ideological beliefs.

From the definitions of each category, it can be inferred that leadership styles have some characteristics and identities. In addition, the theory of leadership style proposed by Heywood (2019) helps answer the research questions of this study. As mentioned previously, Theresa May is an example of a transactional leader style in the UK (Heywood, 2019). Hence, this is useful to adopt this theory as the leadership discourse theory in examining whether or not the representation of Theresa May on Twitter similar to the characteristics of transactional leadership style by Heywood (2019).

## F. Gender and Language Theory

In this paper, the researcher uses the Gender and Language theory proposed by Judith Baxter (2010). In her book *The Language of Female Leadership*, Judith Baxter focuses on the language of leadership in business which three different contexts. Those contexts are the male-dominated corporation, the gender divided corporation, and the gender-multiple corporation of women corporations and management leaders in the UK. The theory has shown how the language is used in interactions with colleagues is vital to construct and enact leadership identities, practices, roles, and even corporate cultures.

The theory seeks to explore two main questions. First, it aims to determine whether the language of female leadership exists that exclusive to women with specific features and characteristics. The second is to investigate how women leaders can use language as effectively as possible to gain their goals, and in particular, to counter the negative evaluations about them due to the gender they have as women. This theory's study is primarily conducted from the view that leadership identities, how people' conducting' leadership, continuously interact with institutional discourses, including gender discourses. This interaction helps to define roles, attitudes, practices, relationships, norms, procedures, and values within the corporation (Bakhtin, 1929 & 1981).

According to Baxter (2010), there is a language of women leaders, but not merely that there is a specific women language compared to men. Scholars have found that both male and female leaders similarly do leadership (Baxter, 2010;

Marra, Schnurr & Holmes, 2006; Mullany, 2007). Both can utilize leadership interaction styles that are conventionally coded 'masculine' or 'feminine,' and use them wisely and skillfully. However, despite that finding, there is a language of women leadership that is distinctive, but possibly transitional and context-bound (Baxter, 2010). The research shows that female leaders use a style that is a more restricted and self-governed version of men because they need to use specific linguistic strategies to prevent negative evaluations in the business world that continues to be dominated by men (Baxter, 2010; EOC, 2007; EHRC, 2008).

Baxter (2010) states that the contexts and the surrounding communities in which they work shape women leaders' language. She also says that the definitions of women leaders' language are various according to the type of corporation or context. Therefore, Baxter (2010) classified the context into three different contexts: the male-dominated corporation, the gender-divided corporation, and the gender-multiple corporation. Due to this context differences, it is possible to be a valuable and distinctive asset for women leaders (Baxter, 2010).

### **1. The Male-Dominated corporation**

Senior women are required to arrange the language they use by developing 'preemptive strategies.' Preemptive strategies are a business strategy that can be defined as offering opportunities to gain an edge over competitors and sustainable advantages by significantly improving the solutions, systems, and structures (MacMillan, 1983). Thus, senior women do not look too assertive and masculine,

but at the same time, are not too tentative and conventional feminine. Simply put, they apply the female 'double-bind' (Lakoff, 1975). In short, the female leaders' language in Male-Dominated Corporation is a language that tends to be very self-controlled. It uses preemptive strategies to reject negative evaluations, requiring a lot of effort and energy to achieve them. It aims to be 'gender-neutral' that is not too masculine or too feminine in stereotyping (Baxter, 2010).

## **2. The Gender-Divided corporation**

In a gender-divided context, women's leadership language can be interpreted as a language characterized by stereotypical feminine attributes: facilitative, supportive, involved, and cooperative (Baxter, 2010). It is possible that women leaders in this type of corporation can exploit the 'relational' power they suspect and use it to support and inspire colleagues to develop significant changes in the organization, which will benefit both women and men (Rosener, 1990).

## **3. The Gender-Multiple corporation**

As Baxter (2010) says that the language of women's leadership in the Gender-Multiple Corporation can be summarized as the ability to:

- Assess how to skillfully utilize the repertoire of transactional and relational linguistic strategies to achieve various business objectives according to the context and community of practice.

- Help and support more female junior colleagues to be more advanced in the public sphere.
- Recognize, name, challenge, and reverse the 'negative' gender discourse in the company.
- Use 'double-voiced' discourse as part of a leader's linguistic expertise or skills, rather than being used as a strategy to prevent criticism.
- Use a linguistic strategy that uses a combination of authority, politeness, humor.

Lastly, since Theresa May is in a male-dominated workplace, this theory is suitable for this present study because Baxter gives several contexts that include the male-dominated workplace. The same geographical context is also considered in adopting this theory since it is possible to influence the theorization (Manathunga, 2017). The last, the researcher adopts this theory due to the similar workplace and geographical context.

#### **G. Chilton's Theory of Political Discourse (2004)**

In this book, Chilton (2004) produces cognitive theories of language and politics and relevant praxis examples. The purpose of this theory is to identify the profound relationship between politics and language. In making this connection, Chilton employed theoretical and technological binaries, domestic and international, and Bush and bin Laden. This theory also portrays political animals as intelligent animals and represents interaction and representation in the precise analysis. The forms of discourse analysis from UK domestic discourses are in



political interviews and parliamentary text and interviews.

According to Chilton (2004), political discourse uses language by humans, as a political animal, which tends towards politics. He further explains that the aspects of language such as structure and lexicon that are often found about certain types of political behavior may be separated. Finally, Chilton (2004) then summarizes his view of political discourse in the form of twelve propositions regarding political discourse. Furthermore, all of the propositions pursue the questions of representation in which the central focus of political discourse is proposed by Chilton (2004).

### **1. Political discourse operates indexically**

It means that language choice and its features are possible to mark political differences implicitly. For example, it is when someone chooses to speak using a particular language rather than another language. Another example is when someone chooses a particular accent to show social class or choose certain words that indicate a particular political ideology (Chilton, 2004). Thus, these boundaries may be expressed indexically.

### **2. Political discourse operates as interaction**

There are many other forms of interaction facilitated by human language structure, although indexicality is an interactive mode. Verbal interactions are often indexic. For example, interruptions and overlaps can involve conflict or cooperation, depending on the complex factors that often occur in ongoing

exchanges. Again, interactions often mark boundaries and bonds, and rank and role (Chilton, 2004).

### **3. Interaction functions to negotiate representations**

What is meant by representation is language oriented to the conceptualization of communication 'world'. The purpose of people communicating with others is partly to coordinate their world conceptions. In his analysis, Chilton (2004) has shown that world representation is the focus of promotion or challenge and that their clarity in the first place depends on prior representation. It may also have to be negotiated, promoted, or enforced in the past.

### **4. Recursive properties of language subserve political interaction**

Political actors need to guess what their opponents are doing. Without the ability of 'theory of mind' - which is an independent cognitive ability of language - this is not possible. Human individuals must separate the world representations they hold to be 'true' or 'real' from what they consider others to have. They can do meta-representation. Meta representation is significant for truly creative behavior (Chilton, 2004).

### **5. Modal properties of language subserve political interaction**

Some languages express grammatical capitalism inherent in concepts such as social obligation—compulsion, certainty—doubt, and evidence with a credible—

incredible source. For example, English has the concept of a grammar of social obligation, a degree of certainty, and direct ability ('he can swim'). English also has a way of separating propositions and placing them in 'unreal' or 'hypothetical' mental spaces, with various reasoning processes such as 'if,' 'except,' 'in that case,.' Besides, establishing 'credibility,' legitimating 'truth,' and 'truth claims' is a political strategy that recruits many available linguistic mechanisms (Chilton, 2004).

#### **6. Binary conceptualizations are frequent in political discourse**

The binary tendency in political discourse is much towards antonymous lexical choices and other lexical choices that must lead to hearers making mental models binary. Whereas the binary tendency in representations of party politics often occurs in political interaction, in the group identity formation, foreigners fear, and the representations of the global political universe (Chilton, 2004).

#### **7. Political representations are sets of role-players and their relations**

Political texts and political talks contain assumptions, negotiations, or coercion of discourse about the representation of people, objects, places, etc. and the relationship between them. Examples of such relationships are who does (may do, will do), what to whom, when, where, or what causes what. By language, humans can inherently communicate such representations through semantic roles to refer to expression. Whereas, the use of language coherently allows people to maintain continuity in which players 'exist' along with their roles, with linguistic

phenomena such as anaphora. All coherent discourse works in this way, but the attainment of coherence is very dependent on the cognitive framework, and political discourse depends on a particular type of presumptive frame (Chilton, 2004).

#### **8. Political discourse draws on spatial cognition**

Perception and conception of space are crucial. At the anthropological level, this claim involves a suggestion that territoriality is an intrinsic part of the socio-political instinct. Whereas at the psychological and neurological level, it shows the fact that humans have a complex sensory-motor and proprioceptive systems. A proprioceptive system is the ability to build and store topographic maps and other spatial capabilities. Finally, linguistics and cognitive science show that metaphorical transfers from spatial (and other) primary domains are essential in conceptualizing abstract domains (Chilton, 2004).

#### **9. Political discourse involves metaphorical reasoning**

Metaphorical mapping across domains makes it possible to draw conclusions that cannot be drawn based on direct evidence or based on direct experience. In political discourse, metaphors are not only used as embellishments of literary propositions but also modes of thinking about, for example, the future and policy (Chilton, 2004).

#### **10. Spatial metaphors make concepts of the group and identity available**

Specific domain sources of spatial cognition are found repeatedly in political discourse. In particular, the most prominent is the container image schema and the path schema. It also occurs among speakers when speaking on behalf of a particular race. While the path scheme appears in political discourse as a tool to represent policies, plans, national history, and big ideas such as 'progress' (Chilton, 2004).

#### **11. Political discourse has specific connections to the emotional centres of the brain**

Even though, whether there are indeed certain emotions that can be called 'political' remains debatable. However, some politically relevant feelings, such as territorial ownership and identity ('home'), family love, fear of intruders, and strangers have shown up in Chilton's analysis. Such emotions may have an innate basis and are automatically stimulated in the use of language politically (Chilton, 2004).

#### **12. Political discourse is anchored in multi-dimensional deixis**

It shows that political discourse rests on the intersection of several deictic dimensions, such as cognitive dimensions. It is detected, especially in political discourse oriented to the international arena. Chilton (2004) says this might be due to the broader arena, the greater the need to identify one's 'position.'

Chilton's theory of political discourse is adopted because of its focus on the representation in politics, which is also the focus of this present study to



discuss the representation of woman leader on Twitter. Second, the theory discusses the profound relationship between language and politics. Similarly, this present study also examines the relationship between language use, especially in the word choices and politics, on how the woman leader represents herself within a social and political context. Lastly, the theory and the present study have a similar geographical context in the UK, which is also considered. Because there is a possibility, it would construct or influence the theorization of the present study. Therefore, it is a very comprehensive theory to be adopted in this present study.

Regarding those reasons, this theory is only applied in analyzing the tweets of Theresa May to find out how she represents herself as a women leader on Twitter using the word choices she used within the social and political contexts. As following the purpose of this theory, that is, to identify the profound relationship between politics and language (Chilton, 2004).

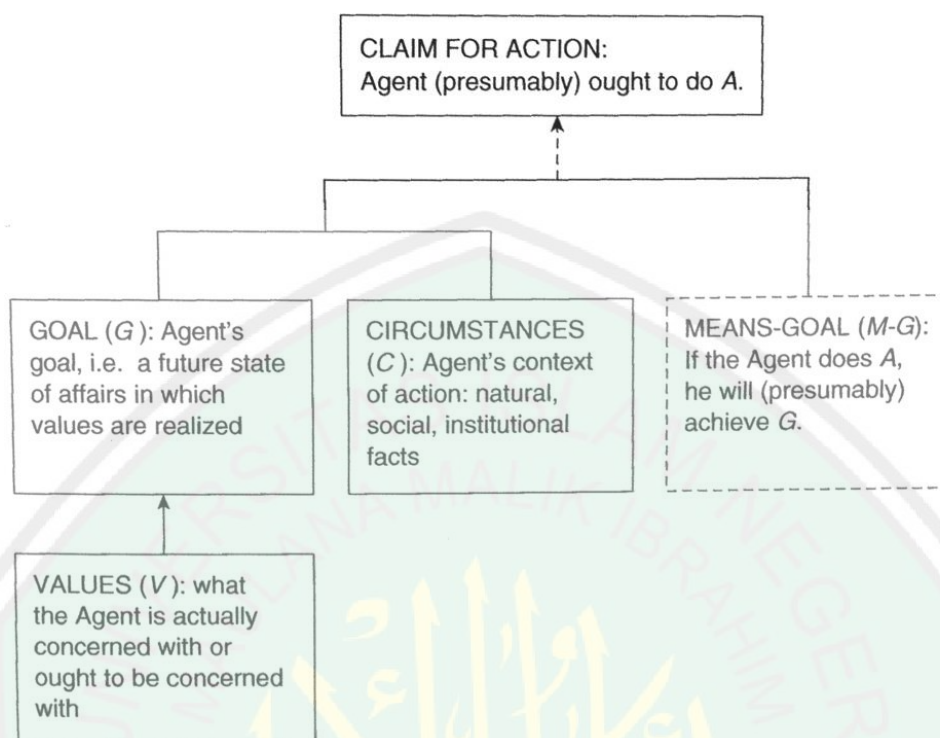
#### **H. PDA's Fairclough & Fairclough (2012)**

The researcher adopted PDA's Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) in analyzing the political discourse. The PDA's Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) used political responses to the UK's financial and economic crisis, which began in 2007 until 2011 as an example of political discourse. The theory is grounded in which deliberation, decision, and action are crucial in politics. The theory suggests that politics has to do primarily with decisions for action and decision about the outcome from deliberation. It views politics as reaching decisions about what must be done in the context of disagreement, conflicts of interests and

values, power inequality, uncertainty, and risk (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012).

Specifically, the theory also argues that political discourse is about argumentative discourse and involves practical argumentations against a certain way or action and deciding on a response to political problems. It suggests that politics is the most crucial about making choices about how to act in response to goals and circumstances, such as choosing policies. Besides, such actions and decisions are based on practical argumentations (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). However, it does not mean that politics only consists of argumentation. Others also have a significant presence in politics, such as narrative, description, and explanation. The primacy of argumentations is a matter of its relationship to these other pre-genres, which are typically embedded within it.

The theory also gives primacy to the analysis of decision, action, and responses, while representation is the subordinate question about what to do or act. Then the discussion of representation is integrated within the action and decision as leading to action. In PDA proposed by Fairclough & Fairclough, they show how representations, which include metaphor and other forms of rhetorically motivated representation, provide premises in arguments for action, and how representation issues can be integrated within an account of action. The model of the PDA proposed by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) is shown in figure 3 as follow:



**Figure 3.** The model of the political discourse analysis proposed by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012: 45).

In sum, the PDA proposed by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) is adopted for some reasons. First, it is used in data analysis to analyze Theresa May's tweets about how she responded to political problems and made decisions and actions within the social and political contexts at that time, which later potentially construct the representation of Theresa May. It is in line with the focus of this theory on how representation issues can be integrated within an account of action (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). Second, the theory and the present study have a similar geographical context that is in the UK, in which there is a possibility it would build or influence the theorization (Manathunga, 2017). Third, the model offers a concise representation of the rich and voluminous political discourse

(Wigham, 2016). Furthermore, it can identify and analyze the core aspects of political discourse and argumentation, such as values, goals, circumstances, and action. As a result, it helps the researcher to present thick and in-depth discussions about the representation of Theresa May as a women leader on Twitter.



### CHAPTER III

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

#### A. Findings

The findings of the study show that some word choices were frequently used by Theresa May on Twitter during the last six months period, from January up to July 2019, of her leadership. With the four categories proposed by Gainous & Wagner (2014), the researcher classifies the words choices of Theresa May as the followings:

No	Categories of Word Choices	Words
1.	Announcement tweets	Parliament Referendum Brexit Deal Deliver Help Meet Election Vote Congratulations Gratitude (Thank/Thanks/Thank you/Thanking)
2.	Attack/negative tweets	Opponent's name (Jeremy Corbyn and Labour Party)
3.	Personal Characteristics	Conservative Nationalism words (Country/Nation/National) Supportive Women/Female Leader Hard-working



4.	Policy	Tax Health Law Economy
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**Table 1.** Findings of word choices that were used by Theresa May as leadership language on Twitter.

No.	Types of word forms	Words
1.	Simple word	Parliament Referendum Deal Deliver Help Meet Vote Country Nation Women/female Tax Health Law Economy Thank
2.	Derivative word	Election Congratulation Conservative National Supportive Leader Thanks Thanking
3.	Compound word	Jeremy Corbyn Labour Party Hard-working Thank you
4.	Blend word	Brexit

**Table 2.** Findings of types of word form of the word choices that were used by Theresa May as leadership language on Twitter.

## 1. Internet-Style of Politics

The researcher presents explanations of the four categories; announcement tweets, attack/negative tweets, personal characteristics, and policy. Moreover, each word in a category will also be explained in detail. Finally, examples of tweets are also presented to complement the discussion.

### a. Announcement tweets

The first category of word choices in internet-style politics proposed by Gainous & Wagner (2014) is the announcement tweet. The announcement tweet consists of some announcements such as campaign announcements, election announcements, Brexit announcements, etc. The words related to the Brexit issue are the most frequent words that were used by Theresa May. As explained in the first chapter of this study, Brexit was a crucial issue in the UK during the Theresa May leadership. The word “Brexit” occurs 35 times, “Deal” 32 times, “Deliver” 21 times, “Parliament” 10 times, “Referendum” 8 times, “Help” 18 times, “Meet” 7 times, “Election” 12 times, “Vote” 13 times, “Congratulations” 13 times, “Gratitude” 13 times.

#### 1) Parliament

Generally, this word was used by Theresa May to refer to MPs who disagreed with Brexit. Thus, her tweets were one of the strategies to make the MPs vote leave to Brexit. Through tweets, she could gain more attention and support from British people who agree with Brexit and possibly press the MPs to

vote a leave option. Here are two examples of tweets that used the word “Parliament”.

Example 1:

I'm still working on ensuring that **Parliament** can agree a deal so that we can leave in an orderly way. (A video inserted: [https://twitter.com/theresa\\_may/status/1108742421276512256?s=20](https://twitter.com/theresa_may/status/1108742421276512256?s=20)) (March 21, 2019)

From the tweet, it can be inferred that Theresa May convinced the MPs to agree with the Brexit referendum to leave the EU. She provided the proof that she worked for it by adding a short video on her tweet. The video is about part of her speech which stated that it is her interest as a Prime Minister to deliver a deal for Brexit so that she convinced the MPs to agree and leave the EU by an orderly way, that is, by approving the withdrawal agreement and not by a No Deal. By adding a video, the explanation can be more detailed and also capture more audience's attention on Twitter (Alton, 2017; Gotter, 2019).

According to the PDA analysis by Fairclough & Fairclough, the tweet contains several formulations of the basic argument; they are *claim (for action)* and *goals*. The clause ‘I’m still working on ensuring that Parliament can agree a deal’ is classified as the *claim*. The claim is expressed as a practical judgment, which means that a particular action is right to achieve the goal (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). In this case, Theresa May’s action was convincing the MPs to agree with the Brexit deal. Therefore, the *goal* can be achieved, that is, “...we can leave in an orderly way.”. It is conducted to avoid a No Deal scenario. The *values* is not stated on the tweet but stated on the video

inserted on the tweet. She said that ‘what matters is that we deliver on the vote of the British people’. As explained previously, the video is inserted on the tweet due to the limited number of characters, so the video helps explain the tweet in more detail, depends on the duration of the video.

According to Chilton’s theory, the use of pronouns such as *we* on the tweet above is possible to perform a deictic function. The first person plural can be interpreted and conceptualized as group identity, coalitions, parties, etc. either as insiders or outsiders (Chilton, 2004). Therefore, the pronoun *we* on Theresa May’s tweet can be interpreted as a group identity of British people who vote to leave the EU. Furthermore, the personal pronoun *we* can be used to create an involvement with the audiences, give a sense of collectivity, and share responsibility when a decision is controversial (Karapetjana, 2011; Alavidze, 2017). A controversial decision means that there are pros and cons toward the decision in a group of society. In the UK, Brexit is an example of a controversial decision in which 51.9% of voters expressed their preference to leave the EU, while 48.1% prefer to remain the EU (BBC News, 2016). Therefore, the use of the pronoun *we* is beneficial for a politician to share responsibility so that he or she will not be blamed if the decision went wrong.

The tweet also contains a common pronoun shifting in political discourse, that is between *I* and *we*. It represents the change of Theresa May identities as an individual and her identity as a member of a group. When she used the pronoun *I*, she wanted to represent herself as a responsible leader who worked hard to deliver the Brexit referendum. Besides, when politicians used the pronoun *I*, it is

intended to describe themselves positively, such as being politicians with morals, power, and principles (Bramley, 2001). In this case, Theresa May used the pronoun *I* to indicate that she had the power to ensure the MPs for voting leave option as decisions are determined by power because it provides agents with reasons for action (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). Besides, the use of *I* on this tweet also represents Theresa May's personal effort in convincing the MPs again to vote 'leave' for Brexit, even though the Brexit's proposal had been rejected many times. Furthermore, the personal pronoun *we* can use to create an involvement with the audiences, give a sense of collectivity and share responsibility as explained previously in the previous paragraph (Karapetjana, 2011; Alavidze, 2017).

Example 2:

It's time for **Parliament** to determine that it will deliver on Brexit. The British people deserve better than **Parliament** has given them so far. (A video inserted:  
[https://twitter.com/theresa\\_may/status/1108386662046937088?s=20](https://twitter.com/theresa_may/status/1108386662046937088?s=20)) (March 20, 2019)

It is the second example of using the word "Parliament" in Theresa May's tweet. The political context is similar to the previous example about pursuing and ensuring the MPs agree with Brexit. By doing this, it would deliver the wish of the British people to leave the EU. A video was also inserted on her tweet, which can capture more audience's attention (Alton, 2017; Gotter, 2019).

According to PDA's by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), the tweet has a formulation of *the claim (for action), circumstances, and values*. First,



the *claim (for action)* is indicated by the sentence ‘it’s time for Parliament to determine’ which also explains *the circumstances* of the tweet since it implies a particular time of period. As explained before, it was the day when the UK asked the EU for more time before the UK officially exits its membership with the EU (Ellyatt, 2019). Theresa May had asked for a delay until June 30, 2019, to avoid a No Deal Scenario. Thus, the next sentence of the tweet, she insisted the MPs deliver the Brexit by creating a *claim* that ‘it will deliver on Brexit,’ which was referred to the Parliament. The use of deontic modal ‘will’ on that sentence creates a ‘truth claim,’ which is also helpful in political interaction (Chilton, 2004). Furthermore, the *value* is that ‘the British people deserve better than Parliament has given them so far.’ It implies Theresa May’s political ideology as one-nation conservatism, emphasizing greater positivity about public services and a new focus on social justice (Exley & Ball, 2011), including the Brexit.

Besides, ‘it’s time’ is synonymous with now, which is temporal deixis or time deixis. According to Chilton (2004), temporal deixis has a political significance because it requires one to assume a particular historical period. For example, time adverbials like nowadays, today, or soon, could be understood as ‘after the fall of the Berlin Wall,’ ‘after the election of New Labour’ or ‘after the revolution’ (Chilton, 2004). Regarding the tweet, Theresa May used *it’s time* which could indicate a certain historical periodization also. Based on the time when the tweet was posted, it was the day when the UK asked the EU for more time before it leaves the EU (Ellyatt, 2019). Technically, the UK was scheduled to leave the EU on March 29, 2019, even with a No Deal. Therefore, to avoid the No

Deal scenario, Theresa May had asked for a delay until June 30, 2019. Thus, it can be assumed that *it's time* has a historical periodization, which refers to the day when the UK asked the EU for a longer delay of Brexit.

Furthermore, the delay had been requested because the MPs again had rejected Theresa May's proposal for Brexit. The clause after 'it's time' that is 'for Parliament to determine that it will deliver on Brexit' was written to emphasize the MPs to vote leave option so that the UK could deliver on the Brexit referendum. In conclusion, this case is in line with Chilton's proposition regarding political discourse that political discourse is connected with multi-dimensional deixis, including temporal deixis.

## 2) Referendum

This word is also one of the words related to the Brexit issue. Commonly, this word was used to refer to the EU referendum in 2016. Two examples of the use of the word "Referendum" are provided here.

### Example 1:

By leaving the EU with a deal, we can move our country forward. And in doing so, we send a clear message: that this House is resolved to honour the result of the **referendum** and leave the European Union with a deal. (February 26, 2019)

The tweet is totally about the Brexit. Theresa May delivered the advantage of leaving the EU with a deal. As previously explained in chapter 2, Brexit has five agreements. First is the transition period; second is about there is no hard

border between Northern Ireland and EU members, at least in the short term; third is related to the financial markets; fourth, the agreement is about the Freedom of Action (Freedom of Movement); fifth, the agreement is about the cost of the Brexit to be paid by the UK in 2018/2019 for £ 10.8 billion. Moreover, she clearly stated that The House of Commons would deliver Britain to leave the EU, as the British people's willingness to leave the EU on EU referendum 2016. Within 51.9% of voters expressed their preference to leave the EU, and 48.1% preferred to remain in the EU (BBC News, 2016).

According to PDA by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), the tweet contains three formulations; *claim*, *goal*, and *means-goal*. Theresa May claimed that 'By leaving the EU with a deal, we can move our country forward.' She also added how to actualize that claim, which is 'this House is resolved to honour the result of the referendum.' In the sentence, the phrase 'this House' is referred to the House of Commons members, which implicitly means they were emphasized to vote 'leave' option. Thus, the UK could 'leave the European Union with a deal,' which was a big *goal* so far. The sentence 'leave the European Union with a deal' also represents additional pressure on the MPs for voting 'leave' option so that the UK can avoid the No Deal scenario.

Meanwhile, the circumstance and values of this tweet are not mentioned explicitly. It can be caused due to the limitation of the number of characters on Twitter, 140 characters. So, Theresa May only stated the crucial messages for the MPs to vote 'leave' option. Furthermore, the circumstance of the tweet is implicitly precise; that is, it talked about Brexit. Therefore, since it talked about

Brexit, the values were also implicitly delivered, which is about the UK's values when leaving the EU. This tweet is an example of how a woman leader used language strategically to adjust for their "marginalized" status (Baxter, 2010). It is also a particular form of awareness of political leaders toward social media's power in organizing political purposes (Trippi, 2005) because using social media strategically for political purposes is an incredibly crucial political skill (Bennet, 2011).

Chilton (2004) says that political discourse involves metaphorical reasoning. The tweet above also contains a movement or journey metaphor; that is, the expression 'move our country forward.' The metaphor means that the country has to be in progress or advance position. This metaphor usually conceptualized a political concept which involved leadership and political action (Chilton, 2004). In Theresa May's tweet, she used the metaphor to represent her leadership and political action in handling the UK's Brexit issue. So, the politically significant aspect of this metaphor of the country is that a leader wants to show that he/she takes action for a better future of the country. Furthermore, Chilton (2004: 203) also states that "metaphor is used not only as embellishments of literary propositions, but function as mode of thinking for the future or policy."

Additionally, the pronoun *we* is used on the tweet, which has a political effect and deictic function at the same time. According to Chilton (2004), in political discourse, the first person plural, such as *we* can be used to conceptualize group identity, parties, coalitions, etc. Meanwhile, Bramley (2001) says that the pronoun *we* represents politicians' willingness to share responsibility and create

an involvement with the readers or audiences. Thus, the use of *we* on Theresa May's tweet may have two political interests. First, she may aim to represent a sense of group identity of British people who support leaving the EU and create unity with the readers or audiences. Secondly, it possibly aims to spread or share the responsibility with those who also support the UK to leave the EU. It is because politicians may not be sure of what they decided will be seen positively (Alavidze, 2017). Similarly, the social and political context of the tweet, which is Brexit, is kind of controversial. As many as 51.9% of voters expressed their preference to leave the EU, while 48.1% prefer to remain the EU (BBC News, 2016). By this situation, the use of the pronoun *we* has a vital political effect.

Example 2:

Good to spend the day with @Conservatives and our excellent councilors – talking about local elections in May, the work we're doing to build a country that works for everyone, and how we're focused on delivering the result of the **referendum** and the best Brexit deal for the UK. (February 24, 2019)

Similarly, the second example is the use of the word "Referendum" for Brexit. In this tweet, Theresa May also mentioned the Conservative Party's official Twitter account, @Conservative, as she announced that a meeting had been conducted with councilors from the Conservative Party. She said that they discussed the upcoming local elections in May and talked about delivering the UK to Brexit deal.

The tweet possibly has two aims. First, it aims to announce that Theresa May and the Conservative Party members focused on discussing how to deliver



Brexit, as explained in the previous paragraph. Second, the tweet seems to imply a campaign strategy for local councilors candidates from the Conservative Party. As she wrote that they were “talking about local elections in May.” Finally, it is essential to concern with the meaning of political discourse since it has a good political effect for the politician (Chilton, 2004).

Based on Chilton’s theory, the tweet represents two propositions of political discourse. They are political discourse, which operates indexically, and political discourse is connected to multi-dimensional deixis, which is personal deixis. The tweet is classified as a political discourse that operates indexically because of the word choice that Theresa May used on the tweet. She used and tagged the Conservative Party’s official account, @Conservatives, which is possible to mark political differences implicitly. In this case, a choice to tag the official Twitter’s account of the Conservative Party possibly indicate a particular political ideology of the Conservative Party, that is Conservatism.

Moreover, the sentence ‘the work we’re doing to build a country that works for everyone’ shows a sense of identity of the Conservative Party who views society as a living entity, whose parts work together just like the brain, heart, lungs, and liver do within a human body (Heywood, 2017). The sentence implies that society must come first over any individual or party interests. Because if one of its parts is damaged, it can result in the organism’s death. Simply, it represents one of the characteristics of the Conservative Party.

As mentioned previously, the tweet contains personal deixis, which has a particular political effect. Theresa May used the pronoun first person plural *our*

and *we*, which perform a deictic function. The use of the pronoun *our* and *we* can conceptualize a group identity and parties either as insiders or outsiders (Chilton, 2004). Similarly, the use of *our* and *we* on Theresa May's tweet can be chosen for different political purposes. First, because the tweet's content is about her meeting with the Conservative Party, it can be interpreted that she chose the pronoun *our* and *we* to show her party identity since the pronouns refer to the party members. By showing her party identity, it means that she also represents her political ideology. Second, by the next sentence of the tweet, she used the pronoun to give a sense of collectivity and share responsibility with other members of the Conservative Party. It can be conceptualized that she implicitly said Brexit is not her responsibility but all Conservative Party's member and all people who 'Pro-Brexit', even though they are not Conservative Party's members.

The tweet also contains four elements of PDA proposed by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012). Those elements are *claim (for action)*, *goal*, *means-goal*, and *values*. The *claim* is indicated by the sentence 'how we're focused on delivering the referendum's result. By this *claim*, she attempted to represent that she had put a lot of focus and effort into delivering the Brexit deal so that she potentially could be viewed as a hard-working leader by her followers. Meanwhile, the *goal* is 'the best Brexit deal for the UK.' However, the *means-goal* on the tweet is implicit. She only mentioned 'the work' that she and her party's member worked for delivering Brexit. It is possibly caused by a limited number that Twitter has for posting a tweet, so the language has to be more concise. It is a typical case that political discourse often mentions the means-goal implicitly (Fairclough &

Fairclough, 2012). Lastly, the *value* of the action is ‘a country that works for everyone.’ This *value* is under the conservatives’ belief which consider society as an organism or living entity (Heywood, 2017). They believe that if one of the parts of that organism is damaged, it will cause that organism’s death, which means the country will not remain stable and damaged. Therefore, decisions and rules have to work for everyone in society to create a stable country.

### 3) Brexit

The word “Brexit” is the most frequent word used by Theresa May. Not surprisingly, Brexit was the most crucial issue within the UK’s political and social context at that time. Two examples of the use of the word “Brexit” are shown below.

#### Example 1:

Our new **Brexit** deal makes a ten-point offer to everyone in Parliament who wants to deliver the result of the referendum. #LetsGetThisDone <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-on-new-brexit-deal-21-may-2019> (May 22, 2019)

The tweet is about the new Brexit deal announcement. The new Brexit deal had been made to reflect MPs concern and to seek broad support in parliament so that the UK can leave the EU as soon as possible. It is because the decision is on the MPs, not by Commissioners or the EU Council (GOV.UK, 2019). A hashtag and a link were also added. The hashtag #LetsGetThisDone was used as an appeal and urgency to get the Brexit done immediately. While the link is about the text of the PM’s speech about the new Brexit deal. Therefore, by

clicking the link, people can read the full speech of Theresa May.

According to Chilton (2004), strategies used on Theresa May's tweet show political discourse that operates as interaction. The strategies are using the hashtag #LetsGetThisDone and the link added on the Tweet to interact more with the audiences. Moreover, by adding a link about her speech, Theresa May can add credibility toward what she stated on the tweet. Establishing credibility is one of the political strategies that need language properties and help political interaction (Chilton, 2004). Furthermore, the tweet also contains political negotiation between Theresa May, as Prime Minister, and the MPs. Theresa May negotiated the new Brexit deal with the MPs to deliver the result of the referendum. It is also one of the political strategies representing a set of role-players, the Prime Minister, and the MPs (Chilton, 2004).

Example 2:

Today I've been campaigning for next week's European election. Only @Conservatives can deliver **Brexit** and take the UK forward into a brighter future. No one else can get the job done. For a party that will work in the national interest to deliver **Brexit**, vote Conservative. (May 17, 2019)

This example is exciting. The word "Brexit" was not used to talk about the Brexit issue, but as campaign content. It is a campaign for the upcoming European election 2019. Theresa May said that only the Conservative Party could get the Brexit done and bring the UK to a better future. She also mentioned @Conservative, which potentially could gain more audiences of the tweet (Gainous & Wagner, 2014). Finally, she clearly stated to vote Conservative at the

end of her tweet.

Conservative Party ideologically is conservatism. Conservatives have four significant central beliefs; tradition, human imperfection, society, hierarchy and authority, and property (Heywood, 2017: 80). Apparently, Brexit is closely related to those beliefs, which is also implied in the tweet above. Here are the explanations of Brexit and its relationship with the central beliefs of the Conservative Party.

### **Tradition**

The first central belief of conservatives is *tradition*—the belief to preserve the traditional customs and practices in society. For example, in politics, conservatives believe that they have to focus and respect national loyalty then set aside political interests (Heywood, 2017). Regarding the Brexit, it is interesting that the Conservative Party keeps the belief to preserve the tradition to respect national interest instead of individual or party interests. Since the number of turnouts in the Brexit referendum 2016 that vote to leave the EU is more than the vote to remain, the Conservative Party under the reign of Theresa May worked for delivering the Brexit. On her tweet, the sentence ‘For a party that will work in the national interest to deliver Brexit’ represents this central belief.

### **Human imperfection**

Conservatives believe in *human imperfection*. They view human beings as creatures seeking security because they are dependent and limited (Heywood, 2017). Thus, human beings are thought to be morally imperfect. It is according to



one of the Brexit deal contents, which is Freedom of Action (Freedom of Movement). This agreement includes protection for EU citizens in the UK and British citizens in EU countries to work or study as they do now. By doing so, the British people still feel secure to live in EU countries. It includes the provision of no exit visas, entry visas or the like, to citizens of the EU and the UK when passing both parties' national borders.

### **Hierarchy & Authority**

*Hierarchy & Authority* is always rooted naturally in society and all social institutions, including the government. From the tweet, the sentence ‘Only @Conservatives can deliver Brexit’ and ‘No one else can get the job done’ implies the authority of Theresa May as a Prime Minister and her party, the Conservative Party, as a ‘leader’ party in government. It is because Conservatives believe that the government should exercise authority because no one knows what is right for society except the government (Heywood, 2017). Besides, the sentence might mean counter-strategy to the opposition party, Labour Party, to obey and respect the Brexit referendum’s result so that the Brexit can be done as soon as possible.

### **Property**

Another central belief of conservatives is *property*. They believe that human beings are security-seeking creatures. By having properties, conservatives believe it will provide them security and wealth (Heywood, 2017). So, the more

properties they have, the more confident and secure they are. Therefore, conservatives always think that they have to preserve and protect their properties, such as land, houses, and natural resources, to benefit future generations (Heywood, 2017).

Regarding the Brexit deal, this central belief is in line with one of the purposes of Brexit. For example, if Britain exits its membership with the EU, Britain will have full authority of Britain's territorial waters. In particular, Fishermen supported the Brexit since 60% of British territorial waters are in the hands of foreign parties (Fishing for Leave's websites). Therefore, they supported Britain in getting out of the EU and taking over territorial waters and controlling their own. It means that the UK will have more property of territorial waters by leaving the EU.

In terms of using the pronoun, Theresa May used the pronoun *I* on the tweet, which represents a deictic function in political discourse, as Chilton (2004) says that political discourse is anchored in multi-dimensional deixis. For example, the use of the pronoun *I* in political discourse contains several political effects. It can be used as a means to show her authority and personal responsibility (Karapetjana, 2011). In Theresa May's tweet, the sentence 'Today I've been campaigning for next week's European election' can be interpreted as a way to represent her responsibility and commitment at the same time on behalf of the Conservative Party. Lastly, it also shows her responsibility as a Prime Minister of the UK to participate in the success of the European Parliament Election 2019 before leaving the EU.

Furthermore, Theresa May's tweet also contains *movement* or *journey metaphor*, like in the previous example. The metaphor shows by the sentence '...take the UK forward into a brighter future'. Theresa May used it purposely to create a representation as a leader who cares about the UK's future. As Chilton (2004: 203) states, "metaphor is not only used as embellishments of literary propositions, but function as mode of thinking for the future or policy." Moreover, this metaphor usually conceptualized a political concept which involved leadership and political action (Chilton, 2004). In conclusion, the movement or journey metaphor on Theresa May's tweet implies her leadership and political action and creates the right image of her as a political leader.

#### 4) Deal

The word "Deal" is also closely related to the Brexit. Commonly, this word was used in discussing the Brexit issue. There are also tweets that used the word "Deal" to talk about other issues, such as NHS Long Term Plan, racism, and political cooperation. Here are the examples.

##### Example 1:

I was pleased to meet @JeremyCorbyn and discuss how we ensure Britain leaves the EU on 29 March. I stressed to him the importance of the UK being able to do our own trade deals, and emphasised that the only way to avoid No **Deal** is to vote for a **deal**. (January 31, 2019)

The tweet stated Theresa May's gratitude for her meeting with Jeremy Corbyn, the opposition, to discuss Brexit. Notably, the meeting was conducted to

make the opposition party vote for a deal. This time, she emphasized the advantages of leaving the EU so that Brexit can be done in a proper way.

She also mentioned Jeremy Corbyn's Twitter account on her tweet. The mention might have two purposes. First, Theresa May wants to deliver this message directly to Jeremy Corbyn because a mention can make a person see the tweet in his/her notifications tab (ElChristo, 2017; Twitter Help Center, 2020). By doing this, she utilized the tweet as a means of political interaction. It is in line with Chilton (2004) that political discourse can operate as a political interaction. Second, the use of mention can increase the number of audiences, so that potentially persuades more people to vote a deal for Brexit.

According to Chilton (2004), political discourse is connected with multi-dimensional deixes, such as social, spatial, and temporal deixis, which performs a deictic function. On the tweet, Theresa May used the first person singular *I* instead of the first-person plural *we*. The use of the first-person singular *I* certainly has a political effect within political discourse. Using the first-person singular, *I*, can be used to show authority, personal responsibility, and leadership ability as a leader (Karapetjana, 2011). Therefore, it can be conceptualized that Theresa May used *I* to construct a positive image by showing her authority, personal responsibility, and leadership ability as a Prime Minister.

Based on PDA's Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), the tweet has four basic political discourse elements. They are *a claim (for action)*, *goal*, *means-goal*, and *values*. The *claim* is indicated by the sentence 'I was pleased to meet @JeremyCorbyn and discuss how we ensure Britain leaves the EU on 29

March.’ From the sentence, Theresa May claimed that she was glad to meet Jeremy Corbyn, the opposition, and discussed on Brexit. It can be she was delighted to meet him, as before Theresa May has urged Jeremy Corbyn to discuss his Brexit plans with her, after he said he would not take part in talks until No Deal was ruled out (BBC News, 2019). Secondly, the *claim* is possibly used as a strategy to create a good representation of Theresa May because she has good opposition cooperation as a leader in solving the Brexit issue.

Furthermore, regarding the *goal*, the *goal* is to ‘...leaves the EU on 29 March.’ In accordance with the *goal*, Theresa May also stated the *means goal*: ‘the only way to avoid No Deal is to vote for a deal.’ By saying this, it can be a political strategy to stress out all MPs, and Jeremy Corbyn, in particular, who rejected her Brexit proposal to vote leave option. Finally, she mentioned the *values* of Brexit for the UK. It is showed by the sentence, ‘I stressed to him the importance of the UK being able to do our own trade deals.’ Remarkably, the *values* if the UK leaves the EU is indicated by the clause ‘the UK being able to do our own trade deals’ since the trade deals in the UK always ruled by the EU. Therefore, if the UK leaves the EU, the UK can do its deals to buy and sell goods and services with other countries (Edgington, 2020).

#### Example 2:

GPs are the cornerstone of the NHS. This new five-year **deal** means they can plan for the future with confidence to help deliver the benefits for patients set out in our #NHSLongTermPlan. (January 31, 2019)



It is another example of the use of the word “Deal” that talks about the long term plan of NHS (National Health Service), which is the new five-year plan. The new five-year deal aims to extend the GP services and as the first implementation of the NHS Long Term Plan (NHS England, 2019). NHS England will fund more than 20,000 army troops to help the GPs and work together as part of a local ‘primary care network.’ Furthermore, NHS England also recruits staff pharmacists, physics, paramedics, physician associates, and social prescribing link workers so that GP has more time with patients who need them and ensures patients have access to various services in their local practice (NHS England, 2019) as stated on the tweet that GPs are the fundamental part of NHS. Finally, at the end of the tweet, Theresa May used the hashtag #NHSLongTermPlan which can potentially enlarge the audiences, support, or even followers (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

Chilton’s (2004) theory of political discourse says that political discourse is anchored in multi-dimensional deixis, representing one’s ‘position.’ Furthermore, the use of pronouns is fundamental to identify the intention of politicians, since the choice of pronoun can construct politicians’ image. On the tweet, Theresa May did not use any first-person pronoun, but third person pronoun *they*. According to Bramley (2001), *they* is used in political discourse to make an image of ‘others’ and to divide people into groups. The context in which *they* occurs on the tweet is a neutral context. It is because Theresa May refers to others as a different group in the public sector (Bramley, 2001), that is, NHS, and did not refer to the opposition party.

The tweet above contains formulations of *claim*, *goal*, *means-goal*, *circumstances*, and *values* that are interconnected with each other. The *claim* is ‘GPs are the cornerstone of the NHS’ and that ‘they can plan for the future with confidence.’ Interestingly, the health policy becomes one of the political strategies to expand market forces and establish institutional configurations in health care (Döhler, 1991). Institutions have an impact on political life, as summarized by Johan Olson:

Institution regulate the use of authority and power and provide actors with resources, legitimacy, standards of the valuations, perceptions, identities, and a set of meaning. They provide a set of rules, procedures, and moral and ethical behavioral norms which buffer environmental influences, modify individual motives, regulate self-interested behavior and creates order and meaning.

(Olson, 1988: 13)

It is in accordance with the conservatives principle, as been explained previously, that the Conservative Party firmly preserves the belief of the *authority and hierarchy* (Heywood, 2017). As explained by Döhler (1991), that the NHS is an ordered and governed health care system where political responsibility and control are concentrated at the top. Thus, this new NHS long-term plan is one of the political strategies in health care policy, which also implies the Conservative Party’s characteristics.

The *goal* of the NHS long-term plan is ‘to help deliver the benefits for patients.’ Of course, a *means-goal* to achieve that goal is by the ‘new five-year deal.’ Meanwhile, the *circumstances* is indicated by sentence ‘set up in our NHS long term plan.’ Finally, the *value* is that NHS long-term plan provides ‘benefits for patients.’ The potential benefits are, for example, better access to mental

health and general practice services, preventing 150,000 heart attacks, strokes, and dementia cases (Charles, et al., 2019)

### 5) Deliver

This word was usually used in a tweet regarding the Brexit issues and other important issues. Here are the examples.

#### Example 1:

It's time for us to come together, put the national interest first - and **deliver** on the referendum. (A video inserted: [https://twitter.com/theresa\\_may/status/1085794096600547328?s=20](https://twitter.com/theresa_may/status/1085794096600547328?s=20)) (January 17, 2019)

The sentence of this tweet is simple and very straightforward. Theresa May referred to the MPs who rejected the deal that she made with the EU and asked them to put the national interest first rather than self-interest or party interest. By doing so, the parliament could deliver Brexit as soon as possible. Even though the tweet is concise, but the message that Theresa May wanted to say is clearly explained through the video she added. Furthermore, the video also can capture more audience's attention (Alton, 2017; Gotter, 2019).

The tweet contains three basic formulations of political discourse proposed by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012). The first is *a claim (for action)*. The second is *the goal*. The last is *means-goal*. Meanwhile, the *circumstances* and *values* are not stated on the tweet. It is possible because the *circumstances* is clear, which is

about the Brexit deal, indicated by the word “referendum.” Thus, the *values* are also clear; that is the advantage when the UK leaves the EU.

Firstly, the *claim (for action)* is indicated by the sentence ‘It’s time for us to come together.’ The expression *It’s time* is synonymous with the word *now*, which is temporal deixis, or time deixis. According to Chilton (2004), temporal deixis has a political significance because it requires one to assume a particular historical period. Similarly, the expression *It’s time* on Theresa May’s tweet has a historical period. In fact, the Brexit deal proposed by PM Theresa May had been rejected by 230 votes (Brexit Central, 2019). Meanwhile, Britain was still scheduled to leave on 29, 2019 (Brexit Central, 2019). Therefore, the *claim* ‘It’s time for us to come together’ was presumably made to press MPs to deliver the Brexit on March 29, 2019. Finally, through the sentence, she represented herself as a charismatic woman leader who has a strong personal influence over others (Baxter, 2010).

Moreover, the use of the pronoun *us* on the sentence ‘It’s time for us to come together’ also represents political interest. In political discourse, the use of *us* conceptualizes group identity, parties, coalitions, etc, either as insiders or outsiders (Chilton, 2004). On Theresa May’s tweet, the first person plural *us* represents a group identity responsible for delivering Brexit; they were the PM Theresa May, and all the MPs.

Besides, the *goal* is to ‘deliver on the referendum’ so that the UK would leave the EU according to the schedule. To achieve the goal, Theresa May said that the only *means-goal* is by ‘put the national interest first’ a side of party

interest or self-interest. Additionally, the sentence also implies one of the Conservative Party's characteristics: the belief to preserve the traditional customs and practices in society. In politics, particularly, conservatives claim that they have to focus and respect national loyalty and put aside political interests or self-interest (Heywood, 2017).

Example 2:

We've provided £420m to support the NHS through more hospital beds, social care packages and ambulances to ensure it is better equipped for the winter months. Through our #NHSLongTermPlan, we will **deliver** a health service that's fit for the future. (January 3, 2019)

In this case, the word "Deliver" was not used to talk about the Brexit issue, but the NHS Long Term Plan. According to the tweet, Theresa May announced that the government already supports the NHS by providing £420m to establish better services such as hospitals, beds, social care packages, and ambulances. A hashtag #NHSLongTermPlan was also added. By adding the hashtag, it is possible to enlarge the audiences, support, or even followers (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

Based on PDA's Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), the tweet has a formulation of the *claim (for action)*, *goal*, *means-goal*, and *values*. The *claim* is addressed by the sentence 'We've provided £420m to support the NHS'. In June 2018, the PM Theresa May announced a new five-year funding settlement for the NHS. The funding settlement has a 3.4 percent average real-terms annual increase in the NHS budget between 2019/20 and 2023/24. By this settlement, it represents



a substantial improvement in the funding growth the NHS has seen since 2009/10 (Charles, et al., 2019). Presumably, this strategy was used to create a history that The Conservative Party had made the most significant cash boost in NHS history, as Theresa May said on another tweet. As a result, the Conservative Party would have a good representation in health care history. Moreover, this strategy aligns with conservative parties' characteristics that prioritize property to create a sense of security (Heywood, 2017). Thus, besides making history in the NHS, this strategy also represents the values that are believed by the Conservatives.

Regarding the *goal* element of PDA by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), the *goal* of the funding is 'to ensure it is better equipped for the winter months.' Furthermore, the *means-goal* (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012) to achieve the goal is 'Through our #NHSLongTermPlan.' The pronoun *our* and *we* are also used, which has a particular political purpose. According to Chilton (2004), pronouns are one class of words that can perform deictic functions in political discourse. In this case, *we* and *our* both can be used to conceptualize group identity, parties, and coalitions. As on Theresa May's tweet, it represents a sense of party identity as a Conservative Party leader, since she talked on behalf of the party. Lastly, according to PDA by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), the tweet also contains the *values*. The *values* of the funding are to 'support the NHS through more hospital beds, social care packages and ambulances.' In conclusion, all these components are interrelated in making a good representation of the Conservative Party in the health sector, especially the NHS, with its funds.

## 6) Help

According to the data, this word was used for several purposes. First, it is used to announce what kind of help has been provided by the government and other parties, such as companies, organizations, or new technology, to the community. Secondly, this word is used to announce the government's gratitude because certain parties have given particular help or contribution to the country. The examples are shown below.

### Example 1:

.@englandcricket are a team that represents modern Britain – and that plays like no other side in the world. They have made history. They have **helped** the nation fall in love with cricket once again.  
(A video inserted:  
[https://twitter.com/theresa\\_may/status/1151106627258523651?s=20](https://twitter.com/theresa_may/status/1151106627258523651?s=20)  
0) (July 16, 2019)

The tweet is about the England Cricket Team, who won on the 2019 Cricket World Cup against New Zealand (Marks, 2019). Therefore, Theresa May, as the Prime minister, delivered her gratitude to the team and invited them to Downing Street on behalf of the country. She also added a short video on her tweet about welcoming the winning team to the Downing Street and mentioned the Twitter account of England Cricket Team @englandcricket. These actions both can increase the number of audiences of the tweet and people's attention (Alton, 2017; Gotter, 2019; Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

According to PDA's by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), the tweet has a formulation of *claim* and *values*. The *claim* is represented by the sentence'

.@englandcricket are a team that represents modern Britain – and that plays like no other side in the world'. This *claim* is politically significant to create a positive representation of the UK on the sport. Furthermore, it also implies a representation that under Theresa May leadership, the Cricket England team had achieved an achievement by winning the 2019 Cricket World Cup.

Then, after achieving the *goal* of winning the competition, the *values* are that 'they have made history.' They have helped the nation fall in love with cricket once again'. The use of *they* in the sentences has political significances within political discourse because it contains a deictic function (Chilton, 2004). The use of *they* in political discourse is to create an image of others and divide people into groups (Karapetjana, 2011; Bramley, 2001). Similarly, Theresa May used the pronoun *they* to construct an image of the Cricket England team as the other, a clear distinction between 'us' and 'them.' There are three different contexts in which *they* occurs in political discourse; oppositional, neutral, and affiliative contexts. In Theresa May's tweet, *they* occurs within a neutral context because the speaker refers to others as a different group of people towards the 'other,' where 'other' usually means different sectors of the public, particularly the sports sector (Bramley, 2001).

#### Example 2:

The UK's contribution to the @GlobalFund will **help** the fight against AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria and strengthen health systems in developing countries. (A video inserted: [https://twitter.com/theresa\\_may/status/1144881502704078849?s=20](https://twitter.com/theresa_may/status/1144881502704078849?s=20)) (June 29, 2019)

It is the example of a help announcement that has been given by the UK's government to the Global Fund. The help is for fighting against AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria. The Global Fund is an international financing and partnership organization that focuses on accelerating the end of AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria as epidemics (The Global Fund, 2019). Theresa May also mentioned @Global Fund, which potentially could gain more audiences of the tweet (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

The only element of PDA proposed by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) that exist on the tweet is *claim*. From the beginning until the end of the sentence, 'The UK's contribution to the @GlobalFund will help the fight against AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria and strengthen health systems in developing countries' is belonged to the *claim* category. Establishing 'credibility,' legitimating 'truth,' and 'truth claims' are political strategies that recruit many available linguistic mechanisms (Chilton, 2004). For example, the sentence of the tweet used modal properties of the auxiliary verb 'will' to create a 'truth claims'. Therefore, the tweet can be a political strategy to construct an image or representation of Theresa May as a leader who cares about health global issues and simultaneously gains confidence. Extensively, UK's contribution to the global fund can possibly make the UK viewed as a country that has a strong commitment to helping to solve global health issues around the world. As in June, Prime Minister Theresa May pledged GBP 1.4 billion for the Global Fund's Sixth Replenishment (covering 2020-2022), making the United Kingdom the second-largest donor in global health, after the United States (The Global Fund, 2019). By doing this, the UK

and Prime Minister Theresa May would be represented as a ‘hero’ because they have helped and saved millions of lives worldwide.

The tweet also contains a *war* metaphor in the phrase ‘the fight against AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria.’ In leadership discourse, *war* metaphor is used by leaders to represents their leadership abilities and characteristics as well. According to Baxter (2010), the *war* metaphor is often used to deliver a sense of strong competition. Moreover, Koller (2004: 5) argues that *war* metaphors within leadership language are used to seek trust with each other. Further, Koller (2004: 5) also stated that leadership language, which contains *war* and *sports* metaphors, helps to ‘masculinise’ the language discourse and strengthen the individual’s sense of maleness (Koller, 2004; Wilson, 1992). Lastly, it can be concluded that the *war* metaphor on the tweet is beneficial to represent Theresa May’s leadership abilities, such as competitive leader, gain trust with each other, and masculinized her language.

#### 7) Meet

This word choice was used to announce any meeting conducted by the Government. Here is an example.

#### Example 1:

It was humbling to **meet** veterans and hear their stories in Normandy today, after a very moving service at Bayeux Cemetery.  
(June 7, 2019)

It is one of the examples of the use of the word “Meet” on Theresa May’s



tweet. She announced that she had been conducted a meeting with veterans in D-Day commemorations to remember the most massive sea born invasion in history (Cannon, Luckhurst, & Freeman-Powell, 2019). These ceremonies are held every year across Normandy to pay tribute to the achievements and sacrifices of those who fought here in 1944. This event was also joined by France President Emmanuel Macron, US President Donald Trump, and Canadian PM Justin Trudeau (Cannon, Luckhurst, & Freeman-Powell, 2019). As stated on the tweet, the ceremony was held in the Bayeux war cemetery on June 6, 2019.

The tweet has only two elements in PDA by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012). The first is *the claim*, and the second is the *circumstances*. The *claim* is addressed by the sentence, 'It was humbling to meet veterans and hear their stories in Normandy today'. The sentence implicitly represents a Theresa May's sense of patriotism and nationalism. Again, it is a political implication of the Conservatives Party's political ideology, who believes in traditionalism. Theresa May especially defined herself ideologically as one-nation conservatism (Wadsworth et al., 2016). Conservative nationalism considers more with the notion of social cohesion and order in the sense of patriotism, rather than with the principle of universal self-determination (Heywood, 2019). From this view, patriotic loyalty and consciousness of nationality turn nationalism into a defense of values that have been supported by history. Thus, nationalism becomes a form of traditionalism. Lastly, the *circumstances* are delivered by the phrase 'after a very moving service at Bayeux Cemetery'. It is categorized as *circumstances* because it explains the place circumstance of the event, which is

at Bayeux Cemetery. Furthermore, it also describes the situation or condition of the event that it is ‘a very moving service’. Thus, the phrase is classified as *circumstances*.

#### 8) Election

Commonly, this word was used in an election campaign. However, it was also used in congratulating candidates for their victorious elections. Two examples are provided, as explained below.

##### Example 1:

Congratulations @CyrilRamaphosa on your **election** success. As I said in South Africa last year, by working together as friends and partners we will secure a more prosperous future for all our people. I look forward to continuing that work with you. (May 12, 2019)

It is an example of the use of the word “Election” to congratulate politicians for the successful election. In this case, she congratulated Cyril Ramaphosa, President of South Africa, for his success in the election. In addition, she also said that she wanted to continue to work together with him. Furthermore, she also mentioned the Twitter account of Cyril Ramaphosa, @CyrilRamaphosa, which could possibly enlarge the number of audiences of the tweet (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

Theresa May directly used the word ‘secure,’ represented the Conservative Party's beliefs on *human imperfection* and *property*. Both these beliefs emphasize seeking out security in life because they see humans as dependent and security-

seeking creatures. As Heywood (2017) states that conservatives believe that people desire security, so that conservatives concern about the importance of social order because it ensures human life in a stable and predictable condition and provides security at the same time. Furthermore, property ownership also gives a sense of protection and confidence. It is because people have ‘something to ‘fall back on’’ (Heywood, 2017: 115). In conclusion, the tweet implicitly represents the ideological implication of the Conservative Party.

According to Chilton (2004), political discourse possibly contains a deictic function, such as the choice of pronoun. Theresa May used various pronouns on the tweet. She used pronouns *I* and *we* and *you*, which have different deictic functions in political discourse.

Firstly, the use of the first-person singular *I* imply a personal level of the speaker. It is possible to show the speaker’s authority, personal responsibility, commitment, and involvement (Karapetjana, 2011). The use of *I* within the sentence ‘As I said in South Africa last year, by working together as friends and partners..’ shows Theresa May’s commitment and her responsibility towards another political leader. Furthermore, *I* is presumably used to present herself as individuals, not as a member of any social or political group, and deliver her own perspective (Bramley, 2001). In politics, the advantage of using *I* is that it shows personal involvement and is beneficial, particularly when positive news is delivered. Therefore, it is useful to construct individual representation positively and highlights personal qualities.

Secondly, Theresa May switched the choice of pronoun

from *I* into *we*, which also has a political interest. In the sentence ‘we will secure a more prosperous future for all our people,’ there is a pledge indicated with modal ‘will’ that implies strong commitment and promise of Theresa May. The pronoun *we* used in the sentence represents the overall government as a partnership with South Africa’s government. Moreover, the pronoun *we* is also represented as a pronoun of solidarity and sharing responsibility (Pennycook, 1993; Bramley, 2001). As in the sentence ‘we will secure a more prosperous future for all our people,’ the pronoun *we* is used to showing solidarity between Theresa May and Cyril Ramaphosa at the individual level. Meanwhile, at the international level, it represents the solidarity between the UK’s and South Africa’s governments in the political sector. Moreover, Kampf (2016) argues that international congratulations for winners in elections are intended to reaffirm relationships between states and leaders. This action is aimed to represents that the leaders of both states are in a good relationship. In conclusion, the pronoun *we* appears within issues that are still promised or pledged by the government (Bello, 2013) and to create a sense of collectivity and to share responsibility.

Lastly, Theresa May also used *you* on the tweet and also implied specific political interests. The pronoun *you* appears in the sentence ‘I look forward to continuing that work with you’ after the pronoun *we* that firstly used in the previous sentence. As Pennycook (1993) argues that every pronoun *we* appears, it shows the existence of *they* or *you*. *You* is a generic pronoun, which can refer to anyone (Bramley, 2001). On Theresa May’s tweet, *you* refers to Cyril Ramaphosa. Furthermore, the use of *you* emphasized the sense of solidarity

between Theresa May and Cyril Ramaphosa.

Example 2:

The #LocalElection2019 polls close in one hour. This **election** is about delivering good local services with lower council taxes. If that matters to you, then vote @Conservatives before 10 pm. (May 3, 2019)

In this example, the word “Election” was used in campaigning. Theresa May was campaigning the candidates from Conservative Party for the Local Elections 2019. She even used the hashtag #LocalElection2019 on her tweet and mentioned Conservative Twitter’s account, @Conservative. Adding hashtag and mention both can widen the number of audiences, attract more followers, receive more votes, or even win the elections (Gainous & Wagner, 2014; Spierings & Jacobs, 2014; Vergeer, 2015).

According to the PDA by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), this tweet contains four elements: a *claim* (for *action*), *goal*, *means-goal*, *circumstances*, and *values*. The *claim* is expressed by the sentence, ‘This election is about delivering good local services.’ In the sentence, there is a pledge indicated with the phrase ‘is about’ that implies the representation of strong commitment and promise of politicians (Bello, 2013). It is in accordance with the aim of an election campaign, which is to convince voters with the pledges or promises given.

Further, the *goal* of the election is ‘good local services with lower council taxes.’ A tax cut is one of characteristics of conservatism, especially on ‘The New



Right' idea. During the 1970s, The New Right ideas had their greatest initial impact in the USA and the UK (Heywood, 2017). New Right's idea has been used to describe ideas that demand tax cuts (Heywood, 2017). By cutting the taxes, people are expected to save more money and properties so that they presumably can fulfill the desire to seek a sense of security and confidence. By this point, the *goal* also performed the characteristics of the Conservative Party political ideology. Simultaneously, the phrase 'good local services with lower council taxes' also represented the *values* for the British people if they voted for Conservative Party's candidates and if the party won the election.

Moreover, the *circumstance* of the tweet is delivered by the sentence 'The #LocalElection2019 polls close in one hour'. It explains the time circumstances of the Local Elections 2019 poll that would be close soon. The last, the *means-goal* to achieve the goal, is that British people have to 'vote @Conservatives before 10 pm'. Moreover, the sentence presumably was intended to persuade people to vote Conservative Party in Local Elections 2019. Therefore, the tweet is classified as a means for campaigning using social media Twitter.

Furthermore, the use of *if* in the sentence 'If that matters to you' contains language properties, which is important in political strategy. Chilton (2004) argues that political strategy needs many linguistics mechanisms such as the use of *if*, *in that case*, *except*, and so on. In political discourse, the use of *if* on Theresa May's tweet is useful to establishing 'truth claim', by creating 'unreal' or 'hypothetical' mental spaces (Chilton, 2004). In sum, the linguistics mechanism is valuable to help *political interaction*.

### 9) Vote

According to the data, the use of this word was only used for campaign interest. An example is provided and explained below.

Example:

The choice is clear. For better local services and lower taxes, **vote** @Conservatives today. #LocalElections2019 (May 2, 2019)

It is a clear example of the use of the word “Vote” for campaigning. Theresa May firmly said that “the choice is clear” which is possibly interpreted that she wanted to say that there was no doubt for choosing the Conservative’s candidates in the Local Election 2019. Furthermore, she also added the benefits of voting them as local councils. Finally, she clearly said to vote for Conservative candidates. She also mentioned the Twitter account of Conservative, @Conservatives, and using the hashtag #LocalElection2019. As stated previously, inserting hashtag and mention both can potentially increasing the audiences, attracting more followers, receiving more votes, and even win the elections (Gainous & Wagner, 2014; Spierings & Jacobs, 2014; Vergeer, 2015). In conclusion, the tweet was intended for persuading British people to vote Conservative’s candidates in Local Elections 2019.

The tax cuts is one of the Conservative Party’s characteristics. The ideas of tax cuts begin with the emergence of ‘The New Right’ idea. ‘The New Right’ idea has been used to describe ideas which demand tax cuts (Heywood, 2017).

This idea had its most significant initial impact in the USA and the UK during the 1970s (Heywood, 2017). By cutting taxes, conservatives believe that people can save more money and properties. Therefore, they will have more security and confidence with their ownership, as conservatives believe that human beings are always dependent and security-seeking creatures (Heywood, 2017). In sum, the policy of tax cuts is utilized as an ideological implication by the Conservative Party.

According to the PDA theory of Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), the tweet contains the element of *claim (for action)*, *goal*, *means-goal*, and *circumstances*. The *claim* is indicated by the sentence ‘the choice is clear.’ It is possible that this claim was made by Theresa May to construct the credibility of the Conservative Party’s candidates and legitimate the truth that choosing the Conservative Party’s candidates was a clear choice. According to Chilton (2004), language plays a fundamental part in constructing credibility and legitimizing truth in political discourse. Furthermore, based on PDA’s Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), the *goal* is ‘better local services and lower taxes’ for British people. Meanwhile, the *means-goal* is that British people have to ‘vote @Conservatives today,’ May 2, 2019. The *circumstance* is delivered by the use of the hashtag ‘#LocalElections2019’. It describes the topic and the event of the tweet. Furthermore, the word ‘today’ also explains the *circumstances* of the tweet because it illustrates the time setting of the tweet.

#### 10) Congratulations

The word “Congratulations” was clearly used to congratulate other politicians and national victory. The examples of this word are provided below.

Example 1:

Here we have a team that will be spoken of in awe for generations to come. On behalf of the whole country, **congratulations** to England’s World Cup winners! (July 16, 2019)

It is an example of congratulating others on behalf of the nation. It is about the England Cricket Team, who won on the 2019 Cricket World Cup (Marks, 2019). Theresa may congratulate them for their winning and the history they made for the future generations. This tweet is very different from the other tweets because it does not contain any mention, hashtag, video, or images.

The tweet is about congratulating the impressive achievements of non-political actors. It indeed has a political goal when political actors congratulate a sports team who won a competition. At the personal level, it allows political leaders to create a link between the success of others in various fields of human activity (sports, science, education, and military) (Kampf, 2016). Furthermore, it is also beneficial for the leader to represent an image of a successful leader by implying that under his/her reign, the nation has achieved remarkable accomplishments (Kampf, 2016).

Meanwhile, at the national level, congratulating athletes who won a competition is beneficial for enhancing solidarity by allowing the public to celebrate the celebration of victory (Kampf, 2016). Similarly, Theresa May also conducted a celebration for the England cricket team by inviting them to 10

Downing Street on Monday, July 15, 2019, and hosted the reception by herself (India TV Sports Desk, 2019). Therefore, this celebratory moment represented a national accomplishment. Moreover, at the international level, this victory makes a country; in this case, the UK has prestige in other countries' eyes. In conclusion, it has many significant impacts for Theresa May as a political leader and the nation within different levels.

In terms of language use, using the pronoun first person plural, *we* on the tweet implies political interest. Bramley (2001) says that *we* is used by politicians to create an involvement with the readers or audiences. Additionally, Chilton (2004) argues that *we* contains deictic function in political discourse because it is possible to conceptualize group identity, parties, coalitions, and more. On this tweet, *we* was used as a strategy to create an involvement with the audiences and simultaneously aimed to represent a group identity of British people who support the England cricket team.

Example 2:

Many **congratulations** to our recently selected @Conservatives Parliamentary candidates: @matthewevansnpt in Newport West, @duncancbaker in North Norfolk, and @ElliotColburn for Carshalton and Wallington. All will make energetic MPs, working tirelessly for their residents. (February 7, 2019)

Theresa May skillfully used this tweet by mixing two political purposes. Explicitly, it is an example of congratulating other politicians for their political success. In this case, Theresa May congratulated three politicians from the Conservative Party as being selected as Parliamentary candidates. However, she



also praised the parliament candidates by saying that they are energetic parliamentary candidates and will work hard for their residents. Therefore, implicitly, this congratulation can also be interpreted that Theresa May was campaigning for these candidates. Partisanship can also affect a campaign because it is one factor in shaping a candidate's image and the political party (Powell & Cowart, 2017).

The act of congratulating newly elected colleagues is politically necessary for political discourse. As Theresa May did, she congratulated her colleagues (fellow Conservative party) who had just been chosen as parliamentary candidates, which this act performed some political aims. First, congratulating newly elected colleagues is vital as a means of commitment to solidarity in domestic politics (Kampf, 2016). Theresa May congratulated her colleagues to show her solidarity at the same party. Secondly, for the congratulated, receiving congratulations are useful for them to construct a representation of global solidarity and a sense of world community (Fenton-Smith, 2007), and that the congratulated is connected and endorsed by others. In this case, the candidates got support from Theresa May, which means Theresa May's supporters could also support these candidates in the upcoming election. Moreover, social media also plays a vital role in the congratulating act by politicians. The publicity was given by the media possibly constructs a good relationship between them (Kampf, 2016). Thus, Theresa May's tweet also beneficial to construct a representation of a good relationship between Theresa May and her colleagues from the same party. In conclusion, congratulating other political actors is fundamental in political

discourse.

### 11) Gratitude

The last word choice in the announcement category is “Gratitude.” As its name, it is used to show gratitude to others within social and political issues using words such as “Thanks” and “Thank you.” Here is an example.

Example 1:

#ArmedForcesDay is an opportunity to celebrate the contribution made by those who serve their country. I want to say thank you to them, and parents, friends and families who play their part in making our Armed Forces the best in the world and pride of our nation. (June 29, 2019)

It is an annual event celebrated in late June to commemorate men and women's service in the Armed Forces Day is also an opportunity to support men and women who form the armed forces community, from those currently on duty to service families, veterans, and cadets ([www.armedforcesday.org.uk](http://www.armedforcesday.org.uk)). Through this tweet, Theresa May showed her support to the British Armed Forces for serving the country.

According to PDA's Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), the tweet consists of *claim*, *goal*, and *means-goal*. The *claim* is indicated by the sentence ‘I want to say thank you to them, and parents, friends and families who play their part in making our Armed Forces the best in the world and pride of our nation.’ Theresa May claimed that the Armed Forces is the best army in the world. According to Chilton (2004), ‘truth claim’ is one of the political strategies that recruits language

properties. By creating that ‘truth claim,’ by stating that the Armed Forces is the best army globally, it possibly constructs a representation of being a responsible and respectful leader toward the Armed Forces, which had contributed to the UK.

Furthermore, the sentence also implies Theresa May’s patriotism and nationalism, which is a political implication of the Conservative Party. It is because patriotic loyalty and a consciousness of nationality turn nationalism into a defense of values that have been supported by history (Heywood, 2019). Thus, nationalism becomes a form of traditionalism, one of the beliefs of conservatism. With regard to the *goal* (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012), the *goal* is indicated by the expression ‘celebrate the contribution.’ It is the goal of celebrating the Armed Forces Day to honor all the sacrifices and contributions they had made for the nation. Of course, the *means-goal* is by conducting the ‘Armed Forces Day.

The use of *I* contains political purposes in political discourse. It is because the pronoun is one of the word classes that can perform a deictic function within political discourse (Chilton, 2004). With regard to the Theresa May’s tweet, the first-person singular pronoun *I* in the sentence ‘I want to say thank you to them, and parents, friends and families...’ was used to represent her responsibility and respect toward the Armed Forces’ contribution for the country. It is also in line with Karapetjana (2011), who says that *I* is possible for the speaker to show personal responsibility and commitment. In conclusion, the use of *I* in Theresa May’s tweet shows Theresa May’s personal responsibility, respect, commitment toward the Armed Forces.

To conclude from the explanation, there are similarities and differences in

terms of findings on word choices between Gainous and Wagner's study and this present study. In the announcement category, both words "Help" and "Meet" are found in both studies. However, the rest of the word choices are different. In this present study, the words "Brexit," "Deal," "Deliver," "Parliament," "Referendum," "Election," "Vote," "Congratulations" and "Gratitude" often occur on the tweets. Meanwhile, those words do not exist on the findings of Gainous and Wagner's study. It can be caused due to the contextual differences. As the language of women leaders is highly shaped by the contexts and the surrounding communities in which they work (Baxter, 2010).

#### **b. Attack/Negative tweets**

The second category is the attack/negative tweets. There is a difference between this present study and Gainous and Wagner's study, which is only the opponent's name (Jeremy Corbyn and Labour Party) that is frequently used by Theresa May. Based on the data, Theresa May stated her opponent's name 27 times. Specifically, the name 'Jeremy Corbyn' appears 15 times, and 'Labour (Party)' appears 12 times. However, the word "politicians" appears only once. Therefore it is not included as the word choices of Theresa May.

##### **1) Opponent's name**

Using the opponent's name is typically used by politicians, including a women leader, to attack the opponent (Gainous & Wagner, 2014). Theresa May is one of the women leaders who also used her opponent's name on her tweets to

attack and post negative things about her opponent: Jeremy Corbyn and Labour Party. The examples of tweets that mention the opponent's name are explained as the followings:

Example 1:

If **Jeremy Corbyn** wants to avoid No Deal he should back the Government's deal. Instead he's putting party politics over the national interest. (A video inserted:  
[https://twitter.com/theresa\\_may/status/1083047044875472901?s=20](https://twitter.com/theresa_may/status/1083047044875472901?s=20)) (January 10, 2019)

The first example shows that Theresa May insisted Jeremy Corbyn to accept the No Deal for Brexit; otherwise, she argued that he only put political interest over the national interest. Jeremy Corbyn and his party, Labour Party, against the Brexit and wanted to remain in the EU. Moreover, it is interesting that Theresa May inserted a video that explained her tweets in detail. Due to the characters' limitations, it is useful to deliver the message that she wanted to share in detail. Furthermore, it helps gather more attention of the followers to read and respond to her tweet because watching a video is more attractive rather than only reading a tweet (Alton, 2017; Gotter, 2019).

This tweet consists of three elements of PDA by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012); *claim*, *goal*, and *means-goal*. The *claim* is indicated by the sentence 'instead he's putting party politics over the national interest.' Since it is an attack/negative tweet, the *claim* that had been made by Theresa May also a negative claim of her opponents, Jeremy Corbyn. In this sentence, she used *if* as one of the language properties to create the 'truth claim.' The 'truth claim' is



significant in political discourse (Chilton, 2004) because it is possible to build a certain representation. Regarding Theresa May's claim toward Jeremy Corbyn, it emphasized her attack by creating a negative representation of Jeremy Corbyn as a politician who only put his party interest first rather than the national interest. On the contrary, for her supporters, Theresa May possibly received a positive representation as a leader who put forward national interests first, in delivering Brexit, rather than party interests. Meanwhile, for her political opponents and the anti-Brexit, the representation could be different. For example, Theresa May could be viewed as the one who put party interest over 'national interest' because they disagreed with Brexit. Furthermore, regarding the No-Deal scenario, she might be viewed as a leader who had a terrible deal for Brexit, which caused the MPs did not vote to choose the 'leave' option.

Furthermore, the *goal* is represented by the sentence, 'Jeremy Corbyn wants to avoid No Deal.' The worst scenario of Brexit was without a deal or commonly known as No Deal. It means that UK had to leave the EU on schedule, even if the MPs do not approve the Brexit deal. Therefore, Jeremy Corbyn wanted to avoid the No-Deal scenario because he and his party did not want the UK to leave the EU. Then, Theresa May gave Jeremy Corbyn an offer if he wanted to avoid No Deal, that is, 'he should back the Government's deal.' This is the *means-goal* of the tweet. In this sentence, Theresa May used a deontic command 'should' to deliver her command that Jeremy Corbyn had to respect the Brexit referendum's result to leave the EU. The use of deontic command 'should' represents one of Chilton's political discourse propositions that modal properties

of language, the deontic command, subserve *political interaction*.

Example 2:

**Jeremy Corbyn** still won't join me for talks on Brexit. Nor does he want to talk about record employment, wages growing and borrowing falling. He's putting party politics over the national interest and would put Brexit and our economy at risk. #PMQs (January 23, 2019)

The context of the second example is the same as the first example. That is, Theresa May again insisted on her opposition to getting Britain to exit the EU. On her tweet, she attacked Jeremy Corbyn by saying that he was the one who did not want to discuss with her about Brexit and other social and political issues. She said, “Jeremy Corbyn still won’t join me for talks on Brexit. Nor does he want to talk about record employment, wages growing and borrowing falling.” which is possible that the statement was intended to create ‘negative’ representation of Jeremy Corbyn as a politician who did not care about national interest. Then, she said that Jeremy Corbyn only put political interest first over the national interest, adding the sense of ‘negative’ representation of the previous sentence. Moreover, the statement also implies nationalism representation of Theresa May as a leader who deeply concerned with the national interest. Regarding party ideology, it is also one of the ideological implications of a belief on ‘tradition’ to respect the national interest first over self-interest or party interest (Heywood, 2017). As a result, social media and word choices play a crucial role on how political agenda is formed.

Finally, at the end of the tweet, Theresa May added a hashtag #PMQs,

which is the abbreviation for Prime Minister's Questions. It is held every week at noon on Wednesday at the House of Commons when Members of Parliament can ask oral questions to the Prime Minister for half an hour (Cambridge Dictionary). Adding a hashtag can potentially reach broader audiences and generating new followers as well (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

The followings are examples of tweets that contain the word "Labour (party)" as an attack/negative tweet.

Example 1:

I'm proud of the @Conservatives record in government. We will never let **Labour** destroy it. (A video inserted: [https://twitter.com/theresa\\_may/status/1138814005416464384?s=20](https://twitter.com/theresa_may/status/1138814005416464384?s=20)) (June 12, 2019)

In the first example, Theresa May firmly stated that the Conservative Party has a good government record, and she proud of it. She attacked the opposition party by saying that she would not allow the opposition party to destroy it. Here, the sentence "We will never let Labour destroy it." has two possible meanings. First, it can mean that Theresa May will protect that achievement so that the opposition party does not damage it. Secondly, it also possibly implies that the Labour Party is a 'destroyer' of the government and the Conservative Party. She tagged the official account of Conservative Twitter's account, which potentially can increase the number of audiences (Gainous & Wagner, 2014). Lastly, she also added a short video on her tweet to explain the message in more detail and capture

the audience's attention (Alton, 2017; Gotter, 2019). Videos on Twitter can also increase the average lift in intent by 34% (Nielsen Brand Effect, 2016). Therefore, it can potentially reach broader engagement and audiences on Twitter.

The tweet contains a *war* metaphor in the sentence 'we will never let Labour destroy it' indicated by the word 'destroy.' In leadership discourse, *war* metaphor is used by leaders to represent their leadership abilities and characteristics as well. According to Baxter (2010), *war* metaphor is often used to deliver a sense of strong competition and 'masculinise' the language discourse. It is because war can be considered as a 'masculine activity and an essential test of manhood' (Wilson, 1992: 892). Lastly, it can be concluded that a *war* metaphor on the tweet is beneficial to represent Theresa May's leadership abilities, such as a competitive leader, and masculinized her language to avoid gender bias. Therefore, the use of *war* metaphor is one of the significant ways in which gendered discourses are constructed through leadership and language (Baxter, 2010).

Besides, the three examples above also represented Jeremy Corbyn & Labour Party with an *anti-democracy* ideology. The *anti-democracy* includes attitudes towards equality, freedom, discrimination, racism, justice, and the class system (Linkevičiūtė, 2011). The characteristics of *anti-democracy* are indicated by the words 'destroy,' 'keep out,' 'putting party politics,' which all carry negative connotations as an *anti-democracy* ideology. In contrast, it means that Theresa May implicitly represented her party with *democratic* ideology. Furthermore, Theresa May also made a negative representation of the Labour

party in terms of racism by stated that ‘Labour is institutionally anti-Semitic’ in her tweet, as follow:

Luciana Berger says Labour is institutionally anti-Semitic. Labour MP Chris Williamson says apologising for anti-Jewish racism in Labour has gone too far. If Jeremy Corbyn wanted to take action against racism in his party he’d suspend Williamson immediately (27 February, 2019)

Representing the Labour Party as anti-Semitic also indicates the characteristics of *anti-democratic* ideology. Moreover, Theresa May used a different word to describe the same thing that happened toward both parties. She used the word ‘disappointing’ for the Conservative Party, and the word ‘suffered big losses’ for the Labour Party. She also added the adjective word ‘excellent’ for Conservative's MPs, but not for Labour’s MPs. The tweet is provided as follow:

A very disappointing night for @Conservatives. Some excellent MPs have lost their seats, some excellent candidates missed out. But Labour have also suffered big losses. It shows the importance of finding a Brexit deal, and I sincerely hope these results focus minds in Parliament (27 May, 2019)

The different treatment like this makes one party have a positive representation (The Conservative Party), while the other party has a negative representation (The Labour Party). Therefore, the use of word choice has a significant role for political leaders to attack their opponents.

#### Example 2:

Across the country, Conservative councils provide better services and charge lower council tax than **Labour** or Liberal Democrat councils. If that’s what you want in your local area, then you need to vote for it. Your choice is clear. Vote @Conservatives tomorrow. (May 1, 2019)



Similarly, the second example is an instance of attack/negative tweets that mention the opponent's name, Labour Party. In this campaign, Theresa May used a strategy by comparing both the Conservative Party and the Labour Party in service quality for the public to attack the opposition party. Moreover, she strongly persuades the audiences to vote for the Conservative Party. At last, she also tagged Twitter's account of the Conservative Party. It can potentially increase the number of audiences who see her tweets, attracting more followers, receiving more votes, or even win the elections (Gainous & Wagner, 2014; Spierings & Jacobs, 2014; Vergeer, 2015).

Based on PDA's by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), the tweet contains a *claim*, *circumstances*, and *values* formulation of political discourse. First, the *claim* that was made by Theresa May is performed by the sentence 'if that's what you want in your local area, then you need to vote for it.' Furthermore, the use of *if* creates a 'truth claim' which is important in political discourse (Chilton, 2004). It is because the 'truth claim' can be used as a political strategy. For example, in Theresa May's tweet, she used the 'truth claim' in campaigning for the 2019 Local Election by creating a sense of need towards Conservative councils in order to persuade people to vote for them.

Secondly, the *circumstances* is represented by the imperative sentence 'vote @Conservatives tomorrow' because it has temporal deixis 'tomorrow', which explains a certain time of period. Temporal deixis can have a political significance because it is possible to imply a particular historical periodization

(Chilton, 2004). In the sentence, the word ‘tomorrow’ indicated the present time of the 2019 Local Election that was held on Thursday, 2 May 2019.

Lastly, the *values* are indicated by the sentence ‘conservative councils provide better services and charge lower council tax than Labour or Liberal Democrat councils’. Theresa May used this range of *values*, such as the better services and the lower council tax, provided by the Conservative Party as a means of the campaign for the 2019 Local Election. As mentioned previously, these values were possible to construct a ‘positive’ representation of Conservative councils, which is beneficial to persuade people to vote for the Conservative councils. Regarding political strategy reflected through Theresa May’s language, the *values* here are essential to be mentioned because it was aimed for campaigning. Additionally, it is crucial to be mentioned because it emphasized “good” representation for the candidates and beneficial for persuading people to vote for them, as has been explained before.

In conclusion, there are similarities and differences between this present study and Gainous and Wagner’s theory. Both the present study and Gainous and Wagner’s study found the opponent’s name as an attack/negative tweet. However, this study did not find the word “Politician” as an attack/negative tweet. The context differences possibly cause these similarities and differences in word choices. As the language of women leaders is highly shaped by the contexts and the surrounding communities in which they work (Baxter, 2010).

### c. Personal characteristics

It is the third category of word choices in internet-style politics. This category represents words that indicate politician characteristics. The word choices in this category were used by political actors to build positive images or representations which is vital in shaping voters' perception toward them (McNair, 2011). According to the data, the word choices that were used by Theresa May are "Conservative," "Nationalism," "Supportive," "Women/Female," "Leader," and "Hard-working." The number of occurrences for "Conservative" is 26 times, "Nationalism" 51 times, "Supportive" 13 times, "Women/Female" 7 times, "Leader" 11 times, and "Hard-working" 24 times.

#### 1) Conservative

Leaders usually used this word when referring to their political ideology (Gainous & Wagner, 2014). In Theresa May's case, she used the word often to refer to her party, the Conservative Party. However, it also refers to her political ideology at the same time. It is because Theresa May ideologically identified herself as a one-nation conservative (Wadsworth et al., 2016), and the Conservative Party itself is ideologically conservatism (Bryson & Heppell, 2010). Here are the examples.

#### Example 1:

With our balanced approach to the economy the **Conservatives** have been able to announce the biggest cash boost in the history of the National Health Service. Our #NHSLongTermPlan is about ensuring the NHS is always there for you and your family.

<https://conservatives.com/nhsplan> (February 7, 2019)

It is the example of the use of the word “Conservative” in Theresa May’s tweet. She mentioned that the Conservative party had made a history of the most significant cash boost for the NHS. Theresa May used the hashtag #NHSLongTermPlan and added a link at the end of her tweet. The hashtag is one of the examples of Twitter tools to increase more viewers of the tweet. It is because the hashtag was able to link her followers to other tweets that used the hashtag (Gainous & Wagner, 2014). Meanwhile, the link at the end of the tweet is the Conservatives Party’s homepage about the NHS Long Term Plan, which provided more detailed information about it.

According to PDA’s Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), the tweet has all the elements of PDA’s Fairclough & Fairclough (2012); *claim*, *goal*, *means-goal*, *values*, and *circumstances*. Firstly, the *claim* is delivered by the sentence ‘our #NHSLongTermPlan is about ensuring the NHS is always there for you and your family.’ It is classified as a *claim* regarding the phrase ‘is about ensuring,’ which means that it is not a truth but a truth claim. According to Chilton (2004), establishing ‘truth claims’ is a political strategy that recruits many language mechanisms. In this case, the ‘truth claim’ on the tweet used the phrase ‘is about ensuring.’ Furthermore, according to PDA by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), this *claim* also implies the cash boost *values* for the NHS Long Term Plan, that NHS would provide better health care services for British people (‘...always there for you and your family’).

Furthermore, the *means-goal* is indicated by the hashtag ‘#NHSLongTermPlan,’ which means that NHS Long Term Plan is a way to achieve the aim. The last, the *circumstances* of this tweet, is represented by the clause ‘with our balanced approach to the economy.’ It explains the context of the discourse on the tweet.

Moreover, the *goal* is indicated by the sentence ‘the Conservatives have been able to announce the biggest cash boost in the history of the National Health Service.’ This *goal* brings political strategies to deliver the ideological implication of the Conservative Party. First, it is the implication of the belief of authority. As the structure of NHS is a very centralized and hierarchical organization (Döhler, 1991). By having this authority, the government can implement their political strategies to a certain extent. For example, it had enabled Conservatives to make policies, such as the NHS Long Term Plan, regardless of the veto of organized interests such as the BMA, which has lost the relationship with the Ministry of Health (Döhler, 1991). Therefore, the government plays a very dominant role in the NHS. Second, NHS is a creation to implement the Conservative Party's political ideology, which is ‘property.’ By having the property, the NHS as a health care property of the UK, conservatives believe it will provide them a sense of security (Heywood, 2017). The more properties they have, the more confident and secure they are. Thus, conservatives always preserve and protect their properties, both state properties, and individual properties, to benefit future generations (Heywood, 2017).

Lastly, besides the ideological implication, the *goal* is politically essential



to positively represent Theresa May and her party, the Conservative Party. Through the NHS Long Term Plan, it deliberately created a history that, during the reign of Theresa May, she was able to contribute in providing the biggest cash boost to the NHS, which was as much as £ 20.5 million. Moreover, the £ 20.5 million spendings are the most massive five-year increase since the mid-2000s (Milne, 2019). By this increase, it is possible to construct a good representation of the Conservative Party as well. So, the conservative party will be recorded as the government that places the largest record in the NHS's history since the mid-2000s.

Example 2:

We now have more people in work than ever before, the unemployment rate hasn't been lower since 1974 and wages are growing faster than inflation for the 15th month in a row. Only @Conservatives can be trusted on the economy. (June 11, 2019)

This tweet is another example of the use of the word “Conservative.” This tweet has the same intention as the previous example. It aims to announce that the Conservatives Party has been able to grow a better economy for the UK by mentioning the contributions or records of the Conservative Party toward the UK economy. Finally, she mentioned the Twitter account of the Conservatives Party, @Conservatives, which can increase the number of viewers of this tweet (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

According to Chilton’s theory of political discourse, the word choice of this tweet is classified as a political discourse that operates indexically (Chilton,

2004). It means that someone chose a particular choice of certain words to indicate a specific political ideology. In this case, the word ‘conservative’ indicates the political ideology of Theresa May. It is in line with Theresa May’s political ideology as a one-nation conservative and the Conservative Party’s ideology as conservatism (Bryson & Heppell, 2010; Wadsworth et al., 2016).

Furthermore, the use of *we* also has a deictic function, which is significant in political discourse (Chilton, 2004). In political discourse, the first-person plural pronoun such as *we* can possibly use to conceptualize group identity, parties, coalitions, and so on (Chilton, 2004). The pronoun *we* on Theresa May’s tweet represents the group identity of British people in general. Moreover, it is also used to create an involvement with the audiences and build a sense of shared interest as one nation in the economic sector, especially in the unemployment rate. Bramley (2001) argues that the use of *we* represents the willingness of politicians to share responsibility and create an involvement with the readers or audiences. However, *we* may also function as a political strategy of “involvement,” not wholeheartedly, but solely for formality to represent a “close” relationship with the audiences.

The sentence ‘only @Conservatives can be trusted on the economy.’ has a deontic modal ‘can’ which is able to create ‘truth claim.’ Truth claim is significant in political discourse because it is one of the political strategies that need modal properties of language, such as ‘can,’ and helps *political interaction* (Chilton, 2004). Through this ‘truth claim’, Theresa May and her party, the Conservative Party, can construct positive representation in the economic sector. Moreover, she also added the sentence ‘the unemployment rate hasn’t been lower since 1974 and

wages are growing faster than inflation for the 15th month in a row.’ which emphasized the positive representation of Theresa May and her party.

## 2) Nationalism (Country/Nation/National)

These are the most frequent words that came up on Theresa May’s tweets that are 51 times. It is in line with Theresa May’s statement that she ideologically identified herself as a one-nation conservative (Wadsworth et al., 2016). She vowed to become one-nation in her first speech as prime minister and outlined his focus on one-nation principles. Two examples of these words are provided as follows.

### Example 1:

I will continue to do all I can to serve the **national** interest, and play my part in making our United Kingdom a great country with a great future - a country that truly works for everyone. (A video inserted:  
[https://twitter.com/theresa\\_may/status/1154034955539795969?s=20](https://twitter.com/theresa_may/status/1154034955539795969?s=20) ) (July 24, 2019)

This is one of the examples of Theresa May’s tweet that used nationalism word. Particularly, the word “national” and “country” was used on the tweet. She said that she would continue to work for the UK to make it a country that works for everyone. A short video was also inserted on her tweet, which can explain in more detail and potentially capture more audience’s attention (Alton, 2017; Gotter, 2019).

The tweet only consists of two elements PDA’s framework by Fairclough

& Fairclough (2012), they are *claim* and *goal*. First, the *claim* is performed by the sentence 'I will continue to do all I can to serve the national interest, and play my part in making our United Kingdom a great country with a great future.' The use of deontic modal 'will' on that sentence creates a 'truth claim,' which is also helpful in political interaction (Chilton, 2004). Primarily, it is useful to construct a positive representation of the speaker. In this case, it creates a positive representation of Theresa May as a leader with a great sense of nationalism. Secondly, the *goal* is indicated by the sentence 'a country that truly works for everyone.' It shows Theresa May's political ideology, as one-nation conservatism, and simultaneously represents her nationalism.

Meanwhile, the *means-goal*, *circumstances*, and *values* are not mentioned in this tweet. It is because the context being discussed is Brexit, so it is clear what the *means-goal* is. The only *means-goal* is that the MPs had to agree with the Brexit deal and chose the 'leave' option. Moreover, the *circumstances* is also clear, that is Brexit. Lastly, since it discussed Brexit, so the *values* are all of the advantages of the Brexit deal for the UK.

Nationalism is also one of the characteristics of the Conservative Party. It is a political implication of the Conservative Party's political ideology, which beliefs in traditionalism. Conservative nationalism considers more with the notion of social cohesion and order contained in the sense of patriotism, as well as nationalism, rather than with the principle of universal self-determination (Heywood, 2019). From this view, patriotic loyalty and consciousness of nationality turn nationalism into a defense of values. Thus, nationalism becomes a

form of traditionalism, one of the central beliefs of the Conservative Party. In conclusion, Theresa May's tweet has two vital political interests: the Conservative Party's ideological implication and the 'truth claim,' which possibly constructed positive representations for Theresa May.

### 3) Supportive

Theresa May uses the word "Support" in her tweets, which shows that she supports various social and political issues. Here is an example.

#### Example 1:

Two years on from the devastating fire at Grenfell Tower, my thoughts remain with the bereaved, the survivors and the whole community. We will never forget those who lost their lives, and we will continue to help and **support** those affected by this tragedy. (June 14, 2019)

This is the example of the word "support" that indicate supportive characteristic as a leader. She said that the government would always support the fire tragedy victims at Grenfell Tower in North Kensington, West London. It is one of the UK's worst tragedies, which destroyed the Grenfell Tower and caused 72 deaths (BBC News, 2019).

According to PDA's by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), the tweet contains *claim* and *circumstances*. Firstly, the *circumstances* is represented by the sentence 'two years on from the devastating fire at Grenfell Tower.' The tragedy happened on 14 June 2017. It is one of the UK's worst tragedies, which destroyed



the Grenfell Tower and caused 72 deaths (BBC News, 2019). By delivering the *circumstances*, Theresa May then stated her wish and pray for all of the victims and people involved in that tragedy (my thoughts remain with the bereaved, the survivors, and the whole community). Lastly, the *claim* is indicated by the sentence, ‘we will never forget those who lost their lives, and we will continue to help and support those affected by this tragedy.’ The use of deontic modal ‘will’ on that sentence directly creates a ‘truth claim’ in political discourse (Chilton, 2004). Furthermore, this ‘truth claim’ is significant in political interaction (Chilton, 2004). Primarily, it is useful to construct a “positive” representation of the speaker. In this case, it possibly creates a “positive” representation of Theresa May as a supportive and caring leader.

The use of *we* in the sentence ‘we will never forget those who lost their lives, and we will continue to help and support those affected by this tragedy.’ also has political significances. First, the use of the pronoun *we* in political discourse performs as a strategic marker of solidarity (Wilson, 1990; De Fina, 1995), and as a pronoun of sharing responsibility (Pennycook, 1993; Bramley, 2001). Theresa May also did the same thing. She used the pronoun *we* to represent solidarity toward what happened in the fire tragedy at Grenfell Tower 2017. Theresa May’s solidarity means that she would create an involvement with the audiences and put her concern toward others’ wellbeing (Scollon et al., 2011). Besides, using *we* also implies that it is not only the responsibility of Theresa May, but also the government, and the British People.

#### 4) Women/Female

These words are also included in word choices that show personal characteristics even though this word is not present in research conducted by Gainous & Wagner (2014). The researcher wants to explore whether Theresa May used the word to represent her identity as a woman. According to the data, it turns out that these words were used in her tweets. The examples are explained as follows.

##### Example 1:

I joined the fantastic RBWM Girls' Policy Forum in my constituency this afternoon. We talked apprenticeships, getting more **women** into politics, seeing more female role models and overcoming stereotypes. Wishing them the very best of luck with their ambitions. (February 2, 2019)

This is an example of using the word “Women/Female” as indicating the leader's personal characteristics. The RBWM Girls’ Policy Forum focuses on the voices of young women and girls who play an active role in shaping life in the Royal Borough of Windsor and Maidenhead (The Royal Borough of Windsor and Maidenhead, 2019). Theresa joined the RBWM Girls' Policy Forum, which means it is a form of her support as a women leader since it is only allowed for women.

In the sentence ‘We talked apprenticeships, getting more women into politics, seeing more female role models and overcoming stereotypes.’, Theresa May changed the pronoun from the pronoun *I* into *we*, which has political significances. According to Chilton (2004), the pronoun *we* have a deictic function in political discourse, which is to conceptualize group identity, parties,

coalition and so on. Regarding Theresa May's tweet, she used the pronoun *we* to show a group identity as a part of the RBWM Girls' Policy Forum. Another benefit is that she can create a sense of involvement among other RBWM Girls' Policy Forum members. As Karapetjana (2011) says that the personal pronoun *we* can be used to create an involvement with and to give a sense of collectivity in political discourse.

Additionally, one form of Theresa May's support as a female leader is that she is concerned about 'getting more women into politics, seeing more female role models and overcoming stereotypes.' Baxter (2010) argues that the "negative" stereotype of women is that a female leader is considered a deviation, and women leaders are not fully valued compared to male leaders, either because they look too masculine or too feminine. Furthermore, they are considered more irrational, emotional, and subjective in decision making than men (Baxter, 2010). Therefore, Theresa May, as a woman leader, and the forum talked about overcoming these negative stereotypes. Language is one of the primary ways by which stereotypes are constructed, besides appearance and behavior (Baxter, 2010). Thus, to resist one of the typical stereotypes, women leaders are required to regulate their language by developing various 'preemptive strategies' (*warmth of manner, humour, politeness, and playing along with male colleagues*). So that they do not look too assertive and masculine, nor are they too tentative and feminine.

The sentence 'wishing them the very best of luck with their ambitions.' is originally to *bless* and *wish* all of the girls of RBWM Girls' Policy Forum. This

*blessing/wishing* sentence also represents the political purpose of the speaker. Theresa May, as the speaker, performed ‘solidarity’ through the *blessing/wishing* sentence. In political discourse, a solidarity act can be conducted when the speaker wishes someone “good” fortune and success in the future time (Wierzbicka, 1987). It helps establish and reaffirm relationships between Theresa May and the RBWM Girls' Policy Forum by performing solidarity. Therefore, this ultimately also affected Theresa May's representation as a female leader. She might be seen as a female leader who is very concerned about the RBWM Girls' Policy Forum's progress.

#### 5) Leader

The word or some derivatives of the word “Leader” were used to describe herself or himself as a leader or working with other leaders so that this word has two different meanings. When leaders called themselves as a leader, it means that they tried to show their leadership abilities to their followers (Gainous & Wagner, 2014). Meanwhile, when leaders mentioned working with other leaders, it means they want to present that they are supported by other leaders (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

#### Example 2:

I am determined that under my **leadership** the Conservative Party will always offer the descent, moderate and patriotic politics that the people of this country deserve. (February 20, 2019)

The tweet is an example of a derivative of the word “Leader” when leaders

attempted to show their leadership abilities to their followers. In this case, Theresa May attempted to present a positive image of her leadership. She said that her party would always provide a decent, moderate, and patriotic politics that work for everyone in the UK. Interestingly, the use of the word "country" reinforced his statement as a leader who is ideological as a one-nation conservative (Wadsworth et al., 2016).

The words 'descent, moderate, patriotic' imply the Conservative Party's first central belief that is *tradition*. It is the belief to preserve the traditional customs and practices in society. For example, in politics, conservatives believe that they have to focus and respect national loyalty then set aside political interests (Heywood, 2017). Furthermore, patriotism is also a form of traditionalism. It is because conservative nationalism considers more with the notion of social cohesion and order in the sense of patriotism, rather than with the principle of universal self-determination (Heywood, 2019). Thus, patriotic loyalty and nationality turn nationalism into a defense of values that have been supported by past history. As a result, nationalism becomes a form of traditionalism. Finally, this is the reason why those words imply the belief of the *tradition* of the Conservative Party.

The use of *I* on the tweet contains the political purposes of the speaker. It is because the pronoun is one of the word classes that can perform a deictic function within political discourse (Chilton, 2004). The first-person singular pronoun *I* in the tweet was used to represent her responsibility and commitment to serve the country with 'descent, moderate and patriotic politics' under her



leadership. As Karapetjana (2011) says, *I* is possible for the speaker to show personal responsibility, commitment, and also involvement. By establishing personal responsibility and dedication, she showed that “she is a leader” who can control the country. In conclusion, the use of *I* in this tweet was used strategically by Theresa May to represent her responsibility, commitment, and identities as a leader who had the power to control the country.

#### 6) Hard-working

This word was used to construct a positive image of a leader, specifically as a hard-working leader. The example of the use of this word is explained below.

##### Example 1:

Our mission is to build a Britain where the next generation can enjoy a better life than the one that went before. That’s why we’re **working hard** to #BeatAirPollution and proudly support #WorldEnvironmentDay. (June 5, 2019)

This example clearly shows the use of the word “Hard-working” on Theresa May’s tweet. Theresa May used the word to indicate that she was a hard-working leader for Britain. She said that she worked hard to defeat the air pollution and made Britain better for the future generation. Two hashtags were also added, #BeatAirPollution and #WorldEnvironmentDay. Both hashtags can potentially reach larger audiences and generate new followers (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

Analyzed using PDA’s Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), the tweet consists

of a *claim (for action)*, *goal*, *means-goal*, and *values*. The sentence ‘that’s why we’re working hard to #BeatAirPollution and proudly support #WorldEnvironmentDay’ indicates the *claim (for action)*. This *claim* is possible to construct Theresa May’s representation as a hard-working leader. The *goal* of this *claim* is to ‘build a Britain where the next generation can enjoy a better life than the one that went before.’ Besides, the *means-goal* is delivered by the hashtags #BeatAirPollution and #WorldEnvironmentDay. These hashtags are initially the projects to build Britain with better air pollution. Lastly, the sentence ‘the next generation can enjoy a better life than the one that went before’ implies the *values* of the *claim (for action)*.

In conclusion, some similar and different words are found in this present study, compared to Gainous & Wagner’s study. First, similar words are “Conservative,” “Leader,” and “Hard-working.” Meanwhile, the words “Nationalism,” “Supportive,” and “Women/Female” do not exist in Gainous & Wagner’s study. Those words are also considered in this study because those were often used by Theresa May to indicate her personal characteristics. Secondly, the words “Principle” and “Victory” found in Gainous & Wagner’s study are not found or classified as word choices in this study.

#### **d. Policy**

According to Gainous & Wagner’s theory, the *policy* is the last category of word choices (2014). In Theresa May’s tweets, there are words “Health,”

“Tax(es),” “Law,” and “Education” that frequently came up. The word “Health” 15 times, “Tax(es)” came up 9 times, “Law” 8 times, and “Education” 3 times. A detailed explanation of each word will be explained below.

#### 1) Tax

This is one of the word choices in the policy category that was frequently used by Theresa May, which comes up 9 times. The examples of the tweets are as the followings:

##### Example 1:

This April we're cutting **taxes** for 32 million people in the UK which allows families across the country to keep more of their own money. Our balanced approach to the economy means we can invest more in vital public services, while cutting taxes and tackling the cost of living. (April 5, 2019)

In that example, Theresa May stated a new policy about cutting off taxes by April for 32 million people in the UK. She also added the effect of cutting off the taxes, which can improve vital public services. Interestingly, she did not add any tags, hashtags, or video/image in her tweet, but only posting sentences. Hence, her language is very concise and precise due to the limited characters but greatly impacts the number of audiences.

The tax cut is in line with the characteristics of the Conservative Party ideology, especially ‘The New Right’ idea. During the 1970s, The New Right ideas had their most significant initial impact in the USA and the UK (Heywood, 2017). New Right's idea has been used to describe ideas that demand tax cuts

(Heywood, 2017). Thus, by cutting taxes, people are expected to save more money and properties.

*Property* is also one of the most significant central beliefs of conservatism. It is because conservatives believe that *property* has several psychological and social advantages (Heywood, 2017). For example, it provides a sense of confidence and a source of protection. Property ownership is not only the wealth of individuals but also the state. As stated in the next sentence of Theresa May's tweet, the balanced economy approach had a significant impact on investing more for public services, which are also classified as properties of the state. Therefore, the tweet really represents the characteristics of conservatism.

Example 2:

The #LocalElection2019 polls close in one hour. This election is about delivering good local services with lower council **taxes**. If that matters to you, then vote @Conservatives before 10pm. (May 3, 2019)

This is the second example of the use of the word "tax" in Theresa May's tweet. This tweet was campaigning about the candidates from the Conservative party for the Local Elections 2019. Theresa May also said the advantage if people vote for the candidates as the local council, that was, the taxes would be lower than before. The hashtag #LocalElection2019 is also added, which can increase the larger audiences, so it is possible to gain more votes (Gainous & Wagner, 2014; Spierings & Jacobs, 2014).

Similar to the first example, this tweet also strongly represented the

characteristics of the Conservative Party, tax cuts, and having more properties. As explained before, the tax cuts had been broadly demanded during the 1970s with the umbrella term called ‘The New Right’ (Heywood, 2017). It is the idea to cut more taxes so that people will have more properties and wealth, which is one of the central beliefs in conservatism (Heywood, 2017). In conclusion, besides the wellbeing of society, this policy also implemented the characteristics of the Conservative Party, especially ‘The New Right’ idea.

According to the PDA by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), this tweet contains four elements: *a claim (for action), goal, means-goal, circumstances, and values*. The *claim* is expressed by the sentence, ‘This election is about delivering good local services.’ In the sentence, there is a pledge indicated with the phrase ‘is about’ that implies the representation of strong commitment and promise of politicians (Bello, 2013). It is in accordance with the aim of an election campaign, which is to convince voters with the pledges or promises given.

Further, the *goal* of the election is ‘good local services with lower council taxes’. The tax cut is one of the characteristics of conservatism, especially on ‘The New Right’ idea. During the 1970s, The New Right ideas had their greatest impact in the USA and the UK (Heywood, 2017). The idea of New Right has been used to describe ideas which demand tax cuts (Heywood, 2017). It is because by cutting the taxes, people are expected to save more money and properties so that they presumably can fulfill the desire to seek a sense of security and confidence. By this point, the *goal* also performed the characteristics of the Conservative Party political ideology. Simultaneously, the phrase ‘good local services with lower



council taxes' also represented the *values* for the British people if they voted for Conservative Party's candidates and if the party won the election.

Moreover, the *circumstances* of the tweet is delivered by the sentence 'The #LocalElection2019 polls close in one hour'. It explains the time circumstances of the Local Elections 2019 poll that would be close soon. Moreover, the hashtag #LocalElection2019 also describes the *circumstances* of the tweet because it shows the political context of the tweet.

The last, the *means-goal* of this tweet, is indicated by the imperative sentence 'vote @Conservatives before 10 pm'. Particularly, the sentence might be intended as a persuasion notion to get people vote for Conservative Party in the Local Elections 2019. In conclusion, Theresa May used the *means-goal*, the imperative sentence in particular, to influence people and got their votes for Conservative Party's candidates in the Local Election 2019.

Furthermore, the use of *if* in the sentence 'If that matters to you' contains language properties, which is vital in political strategy. Chilton (2004) argues that political strategy needs many linguistics mechanism such as the use of *if*, *in that case*, *except*, and others. In political discourse, the use of *if* on Theresa May's tweet is useful to establishing 'truth claim' by creating 'unreal' or 'hypothetical' mental spaces (Chilton, 2004). In this case, the 'truth claim' was beneficial for building a 'sense of need' of the voters toward the Conservative Party to persuade people to vote for the candidates. In sum, the linguistics mechanism is valuable to help explain *political interaction*.

## 2) Health

The word “Health” is the second word choice in the policy category. Some tweets use this word in making policy announcements such as the following example:

### Example 1:

I’m pleased that we are banning all GPs’ charges for forms relating to mental **health** and debt. I’d like to thank @mmhpi for their #StopTheCharge campaign which has played a vital role in making this happen. (February 21, 2019)

It is one of the examples of tweets policy that used the word “Health.” Theresa May used the word “Health” to deliver a new health policy that all GPs’ charges for mental health and debt are already banned. In the medical profession, a GP (general practitioner) is a medical doctor who treats all types of illnesses and provides preventive care and health education to patients (Cambridge Dictionary; Collins English Dictionary). Thus, from April, GPs would not be able to charge for private services that patients should receive it for free (Chapbell, 2019).

Tag and hashtag were also added on the tweet. She tagged @mmhpi as gratitude to them who played a crucial part in the success of the banned charges. Moreover, she also used the hashtag ##StopTheCharge, which was used during the campaign. Adding hashtag and tag both can possibly enhance the wider audiences to make the tweet useful for campaigning in social media, especially on Twitter (Gainous & Wagner, 2014). Notably, it has an advantage in reaching younger people to join the campaign ‘as they are the most difficult voters to

engage through the use of conventional strategies such as television or advertisement' (Heywood, 2019).

The sentence 'I'd like to thank @mmhpi' is politically significant because it constructs a sense of solidarity between Theresa May and the MMPHI (Money and Mental Health Policy Institute), and simultaneously represents that they have a good relationship. Secondly, *thanking* the MMPHI implies that Theresa May supports the organization and people with mental health disorders as well.

Besides, this policy also supports the Conservative Party's economic sector goal, especially reducing the unemployment rate. People who have mental health disabilities require better and rehabilitation services, treatments, and support, like employment opportunities and housing (Goldman, 2006). Thus, if more people with mental health recovered, it is possible that the unemployment rate would decrease. It is in line with the Conservative Party's political goal to reduce the unemployment rate as Theresa May wrote in her previous tweet that the Conservative Party had reduced the unemployment rate.

"We now have more people in work than ever before, the unemployment rate hasn't been lower since 1974 and wages are growing faster than inflation for the 15th month in a row. Only @Conservatives can be trusted on the economy."

(Theresa May, June 11 2019 )

The aim is to create the history that under Theresa May's reign and the Conservative Party, they succeeded in reducing the unemployment rate, which has not decreased since 1974. Furthermore, the decreasing unemployment rate also related to the central belief of the Conservative Party that is 'property.' If more people have jobs, it means that they have more properties. Conservatives believe

that human beings are security-seeking creature, so that by having properties, they believe it will provide them security, confidence, and wealth/ownership (Heywood, 2017).

In addition, this policy also constructs an image that the Conservative Party now concerns more with health policy. Since the 1979 Conservative Manifesto, under the reign of Margaret Thatcher, the Conservative Party paid little attention to health policy (Hockley, 2012). Through this policy, it possibly helps to change the representation that the Conservative Party only paid little attention to health policy.

### 3) Law

“Law” is one of the word choices that were used by Theresa May in policy tweets. Here is two examples of the use of the word “Law” in Theresa May’s tweet.

#### Example 1:

I’m proud that today our commitment to reach #netzero emissions by 2050 has entered into **law**. At the #G20OsakaSummit I will be urging other leaders to do more. (June 27, 2019)

Net-zero is a target set by the Climate Change act 2008 to reduce 100% of UK greenhouse gas emissions by 2050 (Bolton & Priestley, 2019). If the UK could achieve the target, it would mean the UK would end its contribution to global emissions by 2050. Finally, On June 27, 2019, the UK became the first major economy in the world to pass laws to end its contribution to global

warming by 2050 (GOV.UK, 2019).

At the same time, on June 27, 2019, Theresa May posted the tweet to deliver that net-zero emissions by 2050 have become law. In addition, she further explained that she would force other leaders to do more with net-zero at G20 Osaka Summit. It is the annual Group of 20 summit meetings consists of 19 countries and the EU that together represent most of the world economy, which was held in Osaka, Japan (Crowley, 2019; JapanGov, 2019). The participants are the members of G20, including the UK, US, Indonesia, etc., and some invited guests from several countries (Kyodo, 2018). The hashtags #netzero and #G20OsakaSummit were also used on the tweet to increase wider audiences, and get more responses and increase the spread of information (Gainous & Wagner, 2014).

According to PDA's Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), this tweet consists of a *claim (for action)*, *goal*, and *means-goal*. The first sentence of the tweet represents the *goal* that is '#netzero emissions by 2050 has entered into law'. Net-zero is a target set by the Climate Change act 2008 to reduce 100% of UK greenhouse gas emissions by 2050 (Bolton & Priestley, 2019). Theresa May also said that she was proud that it has entered into law by saying an expression 'I'm proud...'. She was very proud because the UK became the first major economy in the world to pass laws to end its contribution to global warming by 2050 (GOV.UK, 2019). This achievement announcement also implies that under the reign of her leadership, she was able to deliver the UK became the first major economy in the world to pass laws to end its contribution to global warming by



2050. Thus, it creates a positive representation of Theresa May as Prime Minister.

Next, the sentence ‘I will be urging other leaders to do more’ is Theresa May’s *claim (for action)*. She used the deontic modal ‘will’ to create a ‘truth claim,’ which is important in political discourse (Chilton, 2004). The ‘truth claim’ is significant to establish a certain representation of the speaker. In this case, through the ‘truth claim,’ Theresa May was possibly represented as a leader who became a pioneer in promoting the Net Zero emissions. The last, the adverbial phrase ‘At the #G20OsakaSummit,’ appeared as the *circumstances*. G20 Osaka Summit is the annual Group of 20 summit meetings consisting of 19 countries and the EU that represent most of the world economy, which was held in Osaka, Japan (Crowley, 2019; JapanGov, 2019).

#### 4) Education

According to the data, the use of the word “Education” is not frequently used by Theresa May, which is only 3 times. Here is an example.

Example 1:

I believe that education is key to opening up opportunities for everyone. New Institutes of Technology will help end outdated perceptions that going to university is the only desirable route and build a system which harnesses the talents of our young people. (April 10, 2019)

The tweet is about twelve new Institutes of Technology (IoTs) launched by The UK government on 10 April 2019 (GOV.UK, 2019). It is established to bridge the technical skills gap between schools and universities within the focus

on STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) (The Engineer, 2019). According to the tweet, Theresa May considered that new Institutes of Technology would end the perceptions that there is another way to improve young people's talent and skills besides going to the university. Thus, it will open up new opportunities for young people in the UK to have a better education.

Regarding education policy, the Conservative Party has changed education policy's characteristics after the 1997 General Election. After the 1997 General Election, the Conservative Party recognized the importance of education policy (Exley & Ball, 2011). The Conservative Party realized that during the election, 'there is nothing more depressing than people who simply gave their profession, such as teacher and nurse, as their reason for not voting for the Conservatives' (Rafferty, 1998a). Moreover, education was the key to the victory of the Labour Party in 1997 (Exley & Ball, 2011). Having difficulty finding a foothold in a political center where the Labour appeared to have a monopoly, the Conservative Party had little choice but to follow the shift in the image of education policy (Exley & Ball, 2011).

William Hague, the leader of the Conservative Party in 1997-2001, is the first leader who helped to shift the party away from Thatcherism and support for private grammar schooling. Following the resignation of William Hague and the turnstiles of shadow education secretaries, Theresa May, Tim Yeo, Damian Green, Tim Collin, between 2001 and 2005, the Conservative Party changed slightly on education policy. Finally, there is a discussion about the need to return to one-nation conservatism and a more significant concern for public services and

a new focus on social justice (Exley & Ball, 2011). In particular, Theresa May also politically identified herself as one-nation conservatism, which means this new education policy in building the IoTs is the ideological implication and attempt to change the Conservative Party's image on education. Furthermore, the latest change in education policy is also possible to increase the general election number. As teachers used their profession for not voting for the Conservatives (Rafferty, 1998a) because of a lack of attention to education policy in the past.

In sum, the findings are not similar to Gainous & Wagner's theory. In Gainous & Wagner's study, the words of this category are "Deficit," "Tax(es)," "Healthcare," and "Education." However, in Theresa May's tweets, only the word "Health," "Tax(es)," "Law," and "Education" that frequently came up. The word "Law" does not exist in Gainous & Wagner's theory, but it is one of the word choices in this present study because Theresa May used it frequently in talking about policy. The social and political context possibly causes these similarities and differences. As Baxter (2010) says that women leaders' language is highly shaped by the contexts and the surrounding communities in which they work.

## **B. Discussions**

The study found that the word choices vary according to the political purposes of Theresa May as a leader. She used the word choices to represent herself in a certain way to attain her goals. For example, she used the word "Jeremy Corbyn" when she attacked or made a negative statement toward him. As

formerly argued by Rolls (1993), gender and language style has crucial implications for goal attainment in leadership discourse. Therefore, this finding supports the previous study conducted by Rolls (1993). However, the difference with this research is that it does not only show the use of language style in achieving the goals. This present study also found that the word choices were used to create a 'positive' representation, establish solidarity, and as an ideological implication. Several factors cause these differences. First, it is because of the socio-cultural and political contexts of both studies are different. Second, it is because of this present study applied a different analytical framework with the previous research. Lastly, the personal characteristics of this research subject and the previous research are also different.

In addition, this study found that Theresa May used various pronouns on her tweets such as *I, we, they, you, he, it, us, them, him my, and me* where *I* and *we* are the most frequently used by Theresa May. This finding supports the previous studies conducted by Graddol & Swann (1989), Baker (1991), Miller & Swift (1991), and Bradac, Mulac, & Thompson (1995). They discovered that women use more pronouns in their language use. The difference between those previous studies, and this present study is that those previous studies did not explore how the woman leader used the pronouns to represent themselves. Moreover, this current study does not find the use of hedging and assertive language on Theresa May's tweet, as discovered in a research conducted by Aldoory (1998), who argues that public relations leaders used hedging and assertive language. To conclude, this finding is in accordance

with the statement that the context and the surrounding community practice shaped the leadership practices and the language of women leaders (Holmes, 2006; Baxter, 2010).

Besides, this study also found that the word choices that appeared most frequently in Theresa May tweets were about Brexit issues (such as the words “Nationalism,” “Brexit,” “Deal,” “Deliver”). One of the results of this study is in line with Holmes (2006), who found that local context or 'community of practice' (CofP) in which they work very much shaped leadership practices. Further, it is also in line with Baxter (2010), who states that the contexts and the surrounding communities in which they work form women leaders' language. Interestingly, this present study also found other factors that can shape the leadership practices such as party ideology and cultural factors, but these factors are not found in Holmes's (2006) and Baxter's (2010) study. These differences are caused by the different socio-cultural and political contexts, different analytical frameworks, and different personal characteristics of this research subject and the previous research. In conclusion, the surrounding community practice, social and political contexts significantly shaped the leadership practices and women leaders' language.

Additionally, this study revealed that the word choices affect the representation of Theresa May as a political leader. Similarly, Baxter (2010) also found that language affects women's representation in leadership positions within the business corporation. However, regarding the use of metaphor, this present study puzzles out that Theresa May used two types of metaphors, *war* metaphor



and *journey* metaphor. Meanwhile, Baxter (2010) only found that women leaders used *war* metaphors. Moreover, Baxter (2010) does not explore how pronouns represent women leaders. In contrast, this present study found that pronouns are vital in creating specific representations of women leaders. These differences are caused by the different socio-cultural and political contexts, different analytical frameworks, and different personal characteristics of this research subject and the Fprevious research. In sum, woman leaders' representation is reflected through language use and influenced by different socio-cultural and political contexts.

Besides, the factors that influenced the representation of Theresa May share similarity with several existing studies like Stockemer (2007) and Paxton & Hudes' (2008) study. Similar factors are party ideology, cultural factors, and socio-economic factors. However, some aspects, such as the electoral system and social structure, are not found in this present study. Furthermore, this current study also discovered other factors that can influence women leaders' representation. Those factors are the use of word choices, pronouns, and metaphors, which do not exist in those previous studies. These differences occur because of the different analytical framework applied.

In some points, this study extends the findings of previous studies such as Jackson & Lilleker (2011), Vergeer (2015), Graham et al. (2014), and Ceron et al. (2013) in exploring the use of Twitter for political interest. Using the UK's MPs tweets, Jackson and Lilleker (2011) found that the UK's MPs used Twitter for *impression management* and *constituency service* to promote the MPs activities. Furthermore, Vergeer (2015) also used UK's politicians as the research

subject to find out the use of Twitter during political campaignings, such as *personalization and impression management*, *Twitter and election outcome*, and *content of the tweet*. By extent, Graham et al. (2014) investigated Twitter's use during general elections, which shows that political candidates used Twitter mostly for campaign activities (e.g., *campaign promotion* and *campaign trail*), party affairs, and *impression management*. Besides, Ceron et al. (2013) investigated the use of Twitter to forecast the electoral result. Meanwhile, in this present study, it shows how Theresa May used the word choices on her tweets to represent herself as a leader classified into the four categories; (1) *Announcement tweet*; (2) *Attack/Negative tweets*; (3) *Personal Characteristics*, and (4) *Policy* as proposed by Gainous & Wagner (2014). Besides, the study's findings also show that pronouns and metaphors are also crucial in political discourse. Therefore, this present study gives more insights toward the language use on social media Twitter for politicians within various political purposes.

The findings of this study also oppose the ideological representation of women's 'different voice' which viewing women as 'less combative and aggressive.' It means that women are considered to not have stereotypically male behaviors as shouting, interrupting, and talking over opponents (Cameron & Shaw, 2016). However, the researcher found that Theresa May did such stereotypically male behaviors as talking and attacking the opponents, the Labour Party, and Jeremy Corbyn, on her tweets. This finding is in accordance with Yarchi & Samuel-Azran's (2018) study which shows that female politicians used their posts for attacking opponents 20.4% more than male politicians did (10.6%),

which is in contrast to female stereotypes (as soft and less confrontational than men) and the ideological representation of women's 'different voice'. Meanwhile, the shouting and interrupting acts are not found in this study since the data are written text, not spoken text. Finally, the finding reinforces that attacking opponents is not only done by male politicians but also female politicians.

Moreover, this study also discovered that the use of *war* metaphor on Theresa May's tweet, which represented her competitive behavior as a leader, supports Cameron & Shaw's findings that women leaders do not fit the characteristic of women's 'different voice.' At this point, the results of this present study are in accordance with Cameron & Shaw (2016), who argue that women leaders speak linguistically beyond the male-female binary. Furthermore, both of these studies approved that women leaders are not appropriate for women's 'different voice,' whether in written text or spoken text. Furthermore, this present study also discovered that the use of pronouns also approved that women leaders do not appropriate with the women's 'different voice' stereotype, which is not found in Cameron and Shaw's study.

By extent, this study also found that Theresa May used *war* metaphor on her tweets that help to 'masculinize' the language discourse and strengthen the individual's sense of maleness (Koller, 2004; Wilson, 1992). This finding supports the previous studies such as Holmes (2006) and Baxter (2012), who argue that female leaders decided to be not too assertive (masculine) or too tentative (feminine), which aims to avoid gender bias. Besides, this study also contributes to enriching another function of the *war* metaphor that is as a means to

represent Theresa May leadership abilities, such as a competitive leader.

Furthermore, the findings of this study show that the language of Theresa May is not too feminine or too masculine. It is indicated by Theresa May's word choices that are related to gender (*woman/female*), and social issue (*education, health, economy*) as those words are associated with women politicians (Beltran et al., 2020). Meanwhile, Theresa May's also used the word choices linked to men politicians such as about politics (*vote, election, parliament, and so on*), ideological issue (*conservative*), and sport (by congratulating and supporting the athlete) (Beltran et al., 2020). At this point, this present study contrast with the study of Beltran et al. (2020). However, this present study supports the previous studies such as Holmes (2006) and Baxter (2012), who argue that female leaders decided to be not too assertive (masculine) or too tentative (feminine), which aims to avoid gender bias. Several factors may cause these differences, such as different socio-cultural contexts, political context, and personal characteristics of the research subject.

By extent, the finding of this study also supports Shaw's (2002) comparative study that women MSPs did such interventions or attacking other politicians. However, it does not support the findings of Shaw's study (2002) that women MPs are reluctant to make conflict over the opponents, but men MPs make more intervention than women MPs overall. It is because Theresa May frequently did such an attacking act toward her opponents, which she mentioned the opponents 27 times in her tweets. These linguistics practice differences are highly caused by the CoP of politicians (Shaw, 2002). It is also in line with



Holmes (2006), who argues that leadership practices were very much shaped by the local context or 'community of practice' (CoP) in which they work. Besides, this present study also explored the representation made by Theresa May through her attack/negative tweets, which is not exist on Shaw's (2002) study.

Above all, none of the existing studies investigated the use of Twitter to represent women leaders regarding the word choices. Moreover, none of them analyzed the tweets using PDA by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), Chilton (2004), Baxter (2010), and Gainous & Wagner (2014). Therefore, this interdisciplinary study is significant because it discusses the interrelationship between gender, language, media, and politics.

In general, this current study has some differences with the findings of those previous studies. This study revealed several word choices used by Theresa May, which classified into four categories; (1) *announcement tweets*, (2) *attack/negative tweets*, (3) *personal characteristics*, and (4) *policy*. Moreover, this study also digs up further how Theresa May utilized those word choices to represent herself as a woman leader onTwitter. Besides, this study also found other functions of word choices for political purposes, such as attacking the opponents, establishing solidarity with other politicians, and ideological implications of the party. Additionally, the researcher also found that metaphors are necessary to create positive representation within political discourse. Lastly, the study also shows that there are absences of some PDA elements by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), which indicates that the language on Theresa May's tweets is more concise and precise due to the limited number of characters on Twitter. In



sum, as explained previously, these differences are caused by the different socio-cultural and political contexts, different analytical frameworks, and different research subject's individual characteristics of this current research and the previous research.

To sum up, the researcher has already answered the overarching problems of the study regarding the word choices of Theresa May as a leadership language and how she used the word choices to represent herself within the social and political context in the UK. Ultimately, there are at least two novelties in this study. First, it provides more complex and rich analytical frameworks suggested by Gainous & Wagner (2014), PDA Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), Chilton (2004), and Baxter (2010). Second, it investigated how Theresa May used the word choices to represent herself on Twitter within the social and political context in the UK at that time. At the undergraduate level, this kind of interdisciplinary research gives complexities in capturing how the word choices of a woman leader contribute to represent herself as a leader through social media Twitter within the social and political context at that time.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

#### A. Conclusion

In summary, based on Gainous & Wagner's theory (2014), the word choices of leadership language used by Theresa May are classified into four categories; (1) *announcement tweets*, (2) *attack/negative tweets*, (3) *personal characteristics*, and (4) *policy*. Each category consists of several word choices. First, in the *announcement tweets* category, it consists of eleven-word choices, namely "parliament," "referendum," "Brexit," "deal," "deliver," "help," "meet," "election," "vote," "congratulations" and "gratitude (thanks/ thank you)." Second, the *attack/negative tweets* category consists of the opponent's name of Theresa May, which is "Jeremy Corbyn" and "Labour Party." Thirdly, in the *personal characteristics* category, words like "conservative," "nationalism (Country/Nation/National)," "supportive," "women/female," "leader," and "hard-working" are included. Lastly, the word choices "tax," "health," "law," and "economy" are included in the *policy* category.

Based on the findings, the researcher found similarities and differences regarding the word choices between Gainous & Wagner's (2014) theory and this present study. The similarities and differences are shaped by the different social and political contexts of both studies. It is in accordance with Baxter (2010), who states that women leaders' language is highly formed by the contexts and the surrounding communities in which they work. Therefore, the context and

environment become the crucial factors where the language is constructed.

Besides, Theresa May finally used those word choices to build and construct her representation as a political leader through Twitter within the social and political contexts in the UK at that time. Using PDA's Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), Chilton (2004), and Baxter (2010), the researcher found how Theresa May utilized those word choices to represent herself as a woman leader and what kind of representation and images that had been made by Theresa May.

First, Theresa May used the word choices in the *announcement tweet* category to build positive representations of her as a woman leader. She created 'positive' representation of her leadership abilities, such as responsible leader, loyal, hard-working, powerful, principled, committed, successful, and charismatic women leader by constructing credibility and 'truth claim' using modal properties of language such as *if*, *should*, *will*, and *can*. It is in line with Chilton (2004) that legitimizing 'truth claim' using the modal properties of language is one of the political strategies in political discourse. Additionally, Theresa May also used the *announcement tweet* to establish solidarity with other political actors within domestic and global politics to represent that both parties are in a good relationship. Moreover, she utilized the word choices as ideological implications of the Conservative Party, which is conservatism, and her ideological implications as one-nation conservatism. She also used a *journey* metaphor on her tweets as a means to negotiate with other political actors.

Second, in the *attack/negative tweet*, Theresa May creates a negative claim and representation toward her opponents, Jeremy Corbyn and Labour Party.

She also used the word choices to deliver her command by using the deontic command 'should' to the opponents indicated that she had the authority and power as a leader to order. The researcher also found that Theresa May used the *war* metaphors to represent her leadership abilities, such as a competitive leader, and masculinized her language as well. It is in accordance with Baxter (2010), who states that the *war* metaphor is significant in political discourse because it can make the language more 'masculine' to avoid gender bias.

Thirdly, in the *personal characteristics* category, Theresa May also used the word choices as a means of political strategies, such as creating a 'positive' representation, showing solidarity act, and ideological implications of her and her party. This category found that she constructed a 'positive' representation as a supportive, care, and hard-working woman leader. Moreover, she also used the word choices to perform 'solidarity' with politicians and non-political actors through the *blessing/wishing* sentence. Besides, the word choices are also used as the ideological implications of the Conservatives Party as conservatism, particularly the four central beliefs of conservatism; (1) *tradition*, (2) *human being imperfection*, (3) *property*, and (4) *authority* (Heywood, 2017). Lastly, the study results also show that the policy and decisions making under Theresa May reign were greatly influenced by the political ideology of the Conservative Party.

Fourth, Theresa May used the word choices in the *policy* category for several political purposes. Theresa May used the word choices to represent the ideological implications of the Conservative Party through *policy* tweets. Moreover, she also built a 'positive' representation of herself and her party

through language use and the policies. For example, she attempted to change the Conservative Party's image on education and health policy by giving more attention to those policies since it is vital to increase the number of turnout on the general election (Rafferty, 1998a). Besides, Theresa May also attempted to create a representation as a successful leader by announcing the Conservative Party's record under her leadership. The last, Theresa May used the word choices to perform 'solidarity' between her coalitions. By doing so, it represented that she and her coalitions were in a good relationship.

Furthermore, the researcher also puzzled out that there are absences of some elements of PDA by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) in Theresa May's tweets. It means that not all of her tweets have the five elements of PDA by Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), namely, (1) *claim*, (2) *goal*, (3) *means-goal*, (4) *circumstances*, and (5) *values*. It can be highly caused by the limited number that Twitter has for a single post of a tweet, which is only 140 characters (Gainous & Wagner, 2014). Therefore, the language has to be more concise and clear. As an alternative, Theresa May also added videos and links on some of her tweets to explain the information in more detail. Hence, this perhaps becomes the limitation of this study since the researcher only focused on investigating the language use written on her tweets, not the other properties such as the videos and links. Therefore, the researcher did not research further about the possible representations made by Theresa May on the videos and links in her tweet. Finally, the findings show that Twitter and the word choices played a crucial role in how a woman leader creates a representation of herself and how political



strategies and agenda are formed.

## **B. Suggestions**

Based on the result of the findings, the researcher offers several suggestions for future studies. First, future studies can conduct similar studies by using different political workplaces to find out the word choices and the representation of women leaders. For example, if there is a political workplace dominated by women (the gender-divided corporation), such as women's political parties' organizations. It might have different word choices because the context and the surrounding communities in which the leaders work are fundamental since it can shape the language of women leaders (Baxter, 2010). Moreover, the researcher also suggests future studies to choose political women leaders with different political ideologies, instead of conservatism, because it is crucial in constructing the women leaders' representation along with the political purposes of the party. Therefore, it is interesting to find out how other women leaders with different political ideologies and political aims represent themselves on social media using the word choices.

Future studies might also explore further the word choices and representation of women leaders on other social media, such as Facebook, Instagram, and others. It is because other social media have different features and limitations, for example, the limited number of characters which is possible to shape the language, as on Twitter. Thus, women leaders might have different representation construction by having various language use. Besides, the future

studies might also extend the findings of this study in the lens of PDA's Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) by examining the videos, images, and links inserted within the tweet. It aims to enrich the present inquiry about the word choices and representation of the woman leader.



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## CURRICULUM VITAE



**Umi Zakiyah** was born in Probolinggo on November 4, 1999. She graduated from MAN 2 Kota Probolinggo in 2016. During her senior high school study, she joined an Acceleration Class and finished her study in two years. She also actively participated in the English olympiad and got several achievements. She started her higher education in 2016 at the English Literature Department in UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang and finished in 2020. During her university study, she had actively joined several organizations, such as ELSA (English Letters Students Association) 2017-2019, AMIPRO (*Asosiasi Mahasiswa Islam Probolinggo*) 2017-2019, and *Cerita Ahad Pagi*, which has been useful in practicing her organizational skills. Besides, she also joined international conferences, namely, the 2nd Internasional Conference on Culture and Language in Southeast Asia (ICCLAS 2018) and the Annual International Conference on Language, Literature, and Media (AICoLLiM) 2019. Furthermore, she was also an English tutor in the *E-Buddy* program from 2017 until 2020, and volunteer in the *Omah Wacan* teaching community administered by Humanities Faculty. She also had been teaching in formal education institutions at MTsN 1 Kota Malang, MTs. NU Pakis, and Mts Mambaul Ulum (Pagelaran, Malang).

## APPENDIX

### APPENDIX 1: Social, Economic, and Political Context of UK

#### Appendix 1a: Biography of Theresa May

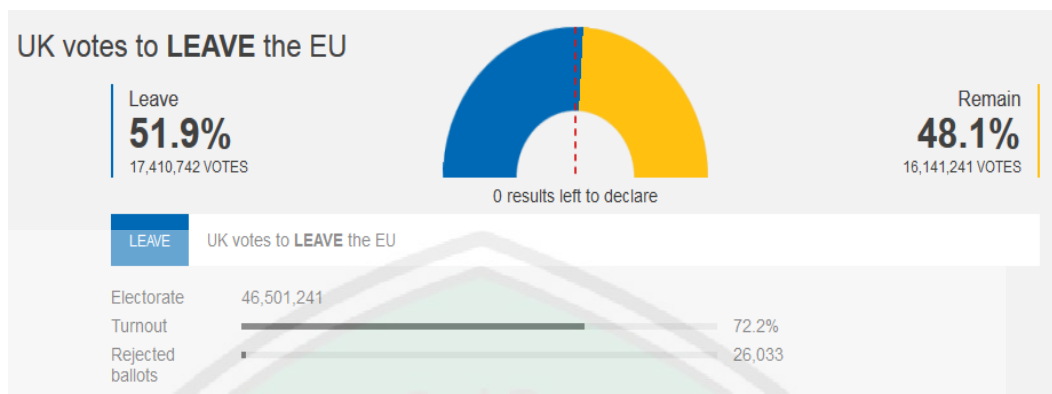
Theresa Mary May, a British politician, was born on October 1, 1956, in Eastbourne, Sussex. Theresa May is the only child of Zaidee Mary and Hubert Brasier. Her father was a minister of the Church of England who was a pastor at Eastbourne hospital. Theresa May grew up in Oxfordshire, and she attended St Hugh's College, Oxford. She graduated in 1997, and she worked at the Bank of England and the Association for Payment Clearing Services. Mary has been married to Philip May since September 6, 1980. He is an investor relations manager currently employed by international capital (Becket, 2017) since September 6, 1980 (Orr, 2009). Unfortunately, they have not been able to have children until now (Pearson, 2016).

Her first entry into politics, she served as a councilor for the Durnsford ward (Allen-Kinross, 2016) on the London Borough of Merton from 1986 to 1994. She was also a Chairman of Education (1988–1990) and Deputy Group Leader and Housing Spokesman from 1992 until 1994. In 1997, she became the MP (Member of Parliament) for Maidenhead. Theresa May held some important roles from 1999 to 2010 in the shadow cabinet. The shadow cabinet is the team of senior spokespeople chosen by the Leader of the Opposition to mirror the cabinet in government and lead on a specific policy area for their party (Glossary of Parliament UK). At the same time, she also served as a chairwoman of the Conservative Party from 2002 to 2003. From 2010 to 2016, she served as Home

Secretary and became the longest-serving time as Home Secretary in over 60 years.

On June 23, 2016, the British Government, which was led by David Cameron, held a referendum called Brexit Referendum on whether Britain should remain in the European Union or exit (British exit or Brexit). David Cameron hopes that the British people will decide to remain with the European Union because he thought that Britain could be stronger with the European Union. However, his goal is a political party rather than for the national interest (Parker, 2014). The controversial outcome was that 51.9% of voters expressed their preference to leave the EU, while 48.1% prefer to remain (outlined in figure 4). After that, David Cameron resigned, and then the Home Secretary, Theresa May, was elected as a prime minister (Yolles & Fatta, 2018). May was elected first as Leader of the Conservative Party on July 11, 2016. On July 13, 2016, as the last candidate standing, Theresa May was appointed as Prime Minister (Prosser, 2018). Queen Elizabeth II selected Theresa May. Thus, Theresa May became the second female British Prime Minister after Margaret Thatcher. She became Prime Minister of the UK and Leader of the Conservative Party at the same time from 2016 to 2019. Because of that, Theresa May became the first woman who has held two of the Great Offices of State in the UK.





**Figure 4.** The number of UK votes whether to leave or remain in the European Union on Brexit referendum. Source: [https://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu\\_referendum/results](https://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu_referendum/results)

Theresa May ideologically identified herself as a one-nation conservative, even though it was only related to her views on the nation (Wadsworth et al., 2016). She vowed to become one-nation in her first speech as prime minister and outlined his focus on the principles of one-nation. The current prime minister, who is Boris Johnson, has also made a similar statement (Parker, 2014). One-nation conservatism, which is also known as one nationalism or Tory Democracy, is paternalistic of British political conservatism. In a political democracy, conservatism offers the preservation of established institutions and traditional principles combined with social and economic programs designed to benefit ordinary people.

On May 24, 2019, Theresa May announced she would step down as Leader of the Conservative Party on June 7, 2019. Following this announcement, she continued as prime minister until she submitted her resignation to Queen Elizabeth II on July 24, 2019. She resigned after three attempts offering the Brexit proposal to the parliaments, but they rejected the Brexit proposal. Then she was replaced by Boris Johnson as prime minister and also the leader of the

Conservative Party, who was elected by the party's members.

### **Appendix 1b: Conservative Party**

The Conservative Party is a governing party since 2010. The party was founded in 1834 and became one of the two dominant political parties in the 19th century. In the modern era, the Conservative Party has become the most successful political party in Britain. During 1881-1990, the Conservative Party won 16 of the 28 general elections held, with various electoral systems, their share of the vote rarely fell below 40 percent (Green, 1995). The term "leader of the conservative party" was not officially used until October 1992. Whoever became or had been Prime Minister was recognized to be the actual leader of the party. Until formal rules were devised in 1995, the conservative leaders were selected according to the conventions which, although unwritten, were none less clearly understood (Ball, 2013).

Now, The Conservative Party becomes the center-right of the political party in the United Kingdom. The right-wing politics is the party who supports social or economic conservatism, tradition, and the perceived value to society. So the center-right political party is the party that closer to the center than other right-wing politics. It has an overall majority in the House of Commons with 365 MPs and other members in the Scottish Parliament, London Assembly, House of Lords, Welsh Assembly, and 7,437 local councillors (Open Council Data UK, 2020).

The Conservative Party is ideologically conservative and positioned in the

center-right of British politics. Although identifying conservative party ideology is notoriously problematic because of the claim that their party's conservatism is instinctive, not theoretical; disposition, not doctrine (Bryson & Heppell, 2010). Historically, the term conservatism was first used at the beginning of the 19th century to describe different political positions or ideologies.

As a political ideology, Heywood (2017) defines conservatism as a desire to preserve, which is reflected in rejection, or at least suspicion, of change. Conservatives seek to preserve various institutions such as parliamentary government, religion, and property rights, intending to emphasize sustainability and social stability (Heywood, 2012). In the United Kingdom, The Conservatives gradually replaced the Tory as the title of the main opposition party and became the party's official name in 1835 (Heywood, 2017). The four central beliefs of conservatism are *tradition, human imperfection, society, hierarchy and authority, and property* (Heywood, 2017).

#### **Appendix 1c: The Brexit process under the reign of Prime Minister Theresa May**

The results of the British Exit referendum in 2016 showed that the British people supported Britain to leave the EU, which 51.9% chose to leave the EU, while 48.1% chose to remain with the EU, which later led to David Cameron's resignation. David Cameron hopes that the British people will decide to remain in the European Union because he thought that Britain could be stronger with the European Union. Therefore, on June 24, 2016, David Cameron resigned as the

Prime Minister of the UK. The Brexit settlement was then continued by Prime Minister Theresa May. On November 14, 2018, Theresa May and 27 European Union member states agreed on the Brexit agreement in Brussels, a 585-page agreement signed in Brussels. They stated that the agreement was the best, and the European Union British Parliament would support the agreement (BBC News, 2018).

Then, Theresa May announced a vote would be held on December 11, 2019, to determine whether the Brexit agreement was rejected or accepted. Because parliament expressed their rejection of the agreement, she warned MPs that the rejection of the Brexit would bring Britain to the uncertainty and darkness of Brexit (VOA Eropa, 2018). Due to the rejection, Theresa May decided to postpone the vote for the Brexit agreement. Because if the vote is still held, it is feared will only lead to defeat. The Labour Party leader, Jeremy Corbyn, considered the government was losing control of Brexit because of that postponement (Sabbagh & Elgot, 2018).

On January 15, 2019, the vote showed that parliament refused to support the Brexit agreement that Theresa May had made with the European Union. Only 202 MPs supported the agreement, while 432 rejected it. Then, Jeremy Corbyn responded toward the agreement by filing a no-confidence motion toward Theresa May as soon as the results of the Brexit decision were announced (VOA Indonesia, 2019).

The vote was held again on March 12, 2019. The results of this vote brought Theresa May to a defeat with 242 members who supported and 391 others

refused. The schedule for Britain to leave the European Union was on March 29, 2019, which means that only 17 days remain. It is a form of parliament's refusal of PM Theresa May's request to finish the Brexit agreement. When compared with the results of the first vote, the members who supported this agreement increased slightly. It is because some parties are worried that Brexit will be delayed if this agreement is again rejected (Stewart, 2019).

In less than a month, the third vote for the Brexit agreement was held on 29 March 2019. The British Parliament again, for the third time, rejected the draft agreement proposed by Theresa May. This vote is PM Theresa May's last attempt to prevent the Brexit chaos from dragging on, before facing the UK exit schedule from the European Union. The draft only received 286 supports from MPs, while 344 members refused. Theresa May planned to launch if the draft Brexit agreement proposal is agreed by parliament in the third meaningful vote. However, the statement was not successful in getting the parliament to agree and approve the draft proposal of Brexit. May stated that parliament's rejection of the draft proposal is not a new thing, but his desire to protect the economy and the post-Brexit pound exchange rate is the reason for Theresa May to keep submitting the agreement. In hopes, the voting on critical days before Brexit can change the opinion of MPs who have been opposed to it (BBC News, 2019).

Britain's failure to obtain an agreement in the parliament of Brexit agreement led to a request for an extension of time, which was then approved by the leaders of the European Union countries to postpone it until May 22, 2019. In the lead-up to the extended time given by the European Union to Britain, Prime



Minister Theresa May, and Jeremy Corbyn from Labour Party as the opposition called a meeting to discuss the best solution and to end the Brexit impasse. But the meeting between Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn did not seem to produce results because Theresa May did not have an agreement or a definite change from the meeting of both parties, so the discussion was a deadlock (Asmardika, 2019).

Theresa May's failure in the third vote led to a request for an extension time to EU leaders on April 10, 2019. It was approved by the European Union as the last time extension for the UK, where the UK is given extended time until 31 October 2019 (BBC News, 2019). Britain will participate in the European Election in May or be allowed to leave the European Union with a No Deal on June 1, 2019. The European Union also stated that it hoped that there would be no renegotiation regarding the contents of the Brexit agreement.

After efforts by Prime Minister Theresa May to deliver the Brexit were rejected by parliament, on June 7, 2019, Theresa May officially resigned as Chair of the Conservative Party. Through her resignation speech, Theresa May expressed her regret for failing to bring Britain to Brexit and expressed her regret for the rejecting of the Brexit agreement three times so that it was time for Brexit to be held by the new Prime Minister (BBC News, 2019).

#### **Appendix 1d: The contents of Brexit agreement**

These are the five contents of the Brexit agreement between the UK and the European Union, first is the transition period. The United Kingdom will continue to get involved in the single market and continue to comply with EU law

until the end of December 2020. During the transition period, all EU regulations, budgets, control, justice, and law enforcement instruments will continue to apply in the UK, including decisions made at the European Union Courts. This point also includes that the negotiations between the two parties are given additional time to continue the negotiations. If the additional 21 months is not enough, the transition period can be extended, with an agreement before 2020, for an unspecified period (Farras, 2019).

Secondly, the Irish Border and Customs Union agree that there is no hard border between Northern Ireland and EU members at least in the short term. If the transition period is extended to 2020, both parties will complete a backstop that covers the Single Customs Territory relationship between the UK and the European Union. The agreement also prohibits the UK from weakening prices for EU competitors, which effectively eliminates the possibility of Britain turning into a low tax country like Singapore as desired by supporters of Brexit.

The third is related to the financial markets. The status of the UK as the world's financial center is threatened along with the Brexit. London financial institutions have prepared themselves for the possibility of no deal and assume that the Brexit deal is not profitable. In the 580-page agreement document, the discussion of the UK financial sector is no more than 300 words. The agreement states that entities established in the UK will be treated as entities outside the European Union. It means that the financial center of London is given a level of EU market access, such as access given by the European Union to the United States and Japan, which could harm London's attractiveness to international

financial companies.

Fourth, the agreement is about the Freedom of Action (Freedom of Movement) it also includes protection for EU citizens in the UK and British citizens in EU countries to work or study as they do now. The point covers the provision of no exit visas, entry visas, or similar formalities for holders of legal documents issued to citizens of the European Union and the United Kingdom when passing national borders of both parties.

Lastly, the agreement is about the cost of the Brexit; this provision asks Britain to honour all the existing joint commitments to EU programs in the transition period. The cost to be paid by the UK in 2018/2019 is £ 10.8 billion.

#### **Appendix 1e: The Brexit process under the reign of Prime Minister Boris Johnson**

After Theresa May failed to resolve the Brexit issue, this task was then continued by Boris Johnson. Boris Johnson was elected British Prime Minister after defeating Foreign Minister Jeremy Hunt in the vote of Conservative Party members with 92,153 votes, while Jeremy Hunt with 46,656 votes. Boris Johnson was officially appointed as Prime Minister of England on 24 July 2019 after Theresa May submitted his resignation as Prime Minister of the UK to Queen Elizabeth at Buckingham Palace. Boris Johnson said in a speech in July that Johnson would settle Brexit at the end of October and resolve the disputes related to the Brexit issue that is currently occurring among the British people.

As mentioned before that Boris Johnson will bring the UK out at the end

of October 2019, coming in any way, including without a No Deal (BBC Indonesia, 2019). In August, the opposition party, The Labour Party, stated that they would work together to hamper Boris Johnson's desire to leave the EU without agreement or No Deal. They even planned to make a new law or vote to bring down the government led by Boris Johnson. The leader of the Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn, has been planned with the Scottish National Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, the Green Party against the No deal decision by Boris Johnson.

The European Union stated that Britain would be responsible for the consequences of the No Deal scenario. This statement was delivered directly by the Chair of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker. Juncker stated that the European Union claimed to be fully prepared for the Brexit no-deal scenario, but the European Union would still make various efforts to avoid the situation. It means that the UK's decision to free itself from the European Union without agreement will be entirely the responsibility of the UK, and not the European Union (CNN Indonesia, 2019).

Boris Johnson's controversial decision resumed after Prime Minister Boris Johnson decided to extend the British parliament holiday period until two weeks before the Brexit decision deadline on October 14 (CNN Indonesia, 2019). Parliamentary holidays or recess periods are common in Britain, but the situation in the UK at the moment was different. This time, the recess coincides with the deadline for Brexit. This decision made the parliament had no chance to block PM Boris Johnson's move to bring Britain out of the European Union without agreement. PM Boris Johnson, will attend a meeting with the European Union on

October 17, 2019.

PM Boris Johnson did not give up after the British parliament rejected his proposal. Johnson said that the Brexit delay would not occur, and he would rather die in the gutter rather than take a decision to delay Brexit. Through a vote on September 3, 2019, parliament opposed Johnson's plan to carry out the country's resignation process from the European Union through the no-deal scenario. Boris Johnson's Brexit proposal was defeated by the opposition of 328 members of parliament, while 301 others agreed (CNN Indonesia, 2019).

After Johnson's proposal was rejected by parliament, Johnson stated that if parliament continued to try to oppose his Brexit proposal, Johnson would elect new parliamentarians, which also failed to get support in Parliament. The vote was again discussed in parliament on 9 September 2019, which ended with the same results. The Leader of the Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn, said that Corbyn would be ready to support the election on condition that Johnson promised not to drag Britain into Brexit without agreement (CNN Indonesia, 2019).

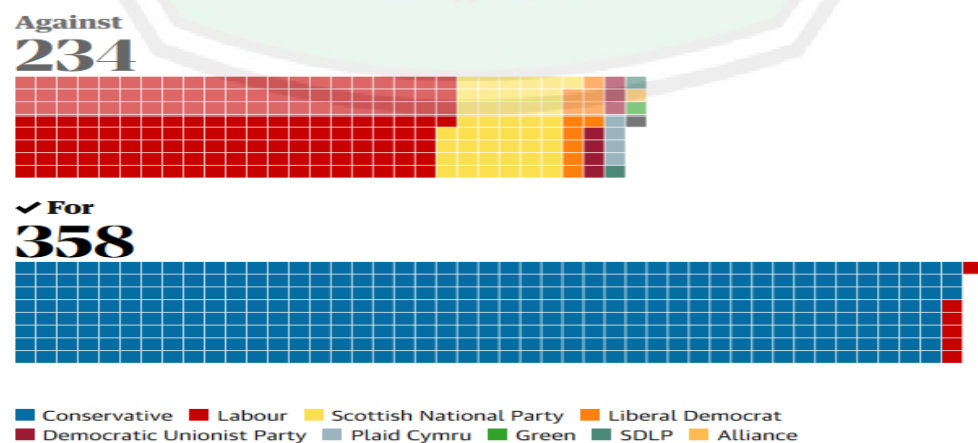
On December 12, 2019, the UK general election 2019 was conducted. The election results made the Conservative Party Leader Boris Johnson won a victory. The Conservative Party won 365 seats in parliaments (outlined in figure 5), which means the party controls the majority of the government—it must win at least 326 of the 650 parliamentary seats. The turnout was 67.3% of the 4,758, 254 people registered to vote. While other parties in the UK, such as Scottish Green Party, Brexit Party, UK Independence Party, Ulster Unionist Party, Green Party in Northern Ireland, People Before Profit and Traditional Unionist Party, did not get



any representation in the House of Commons. By this win, Boris Johnson had a clear mandate to “get Brexit done”. Boris Johnson has already submitted his first bill in front of the new parliament, and he has successfully asked them to support his EU withdrawal agreement. A second reading of the withdrawal agreement is made to agree on the Brexit deal. Finally, the MPs agreed to leave the EU with 358 agree and 234 against (Outlined in figure 6).

<b>Conservative</b>	Seats:	<b>365</b>
<b>Labour</b>	Seats:	<b>203</b>
<b>Scottish National Party</b>	Seats:	<b>48</b>
<b>Liberal Democrat</b>	Seats:	<b>11</b>
<b>Democratic Unionist Party</b>	Seats:	<b>8</b>
<b>Sinn Féin</b>	Seats:	<b>7</b>
<b>Plaid Cymru</b>	Seats:	<b>4</b>
<b>Social Democratic &amp; Labour Party</b>	Seats:	<b>2</b>
<b>Green</b>	Seats:	<b>1</b>
<b>Alliance Party</b>	Seats:	<b>1</b>

**Figure 5.** The number of seats for each party in the House of Commons after the UK general election in 2019. Source: <https://www.bbc.com/news/election/2019/results>



**Figure 6.** MPs vote on Brexit deal. Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/ng-interactive/2019/dec/20/how-did-your-mp-vote-on-the-brexit-deal>

On Friday, Boris Johnson would welcome “the dawn of a new era” when Britain got ready to leave the EU after 47 years. In a speech to be shown at 22:00 GMT - one hour before the official departure time - he would say Brexit was “not the end but the beginning”. Boris Johnson would explain separating relations with 27 EU countries as “a moment of real national renewal and change” (Brexit Central, 2020). Finally, at 11 pm on January 31, 2020, after three and a half years of political turmoil, Britain left the European Union (Stern, 2020) (Mueller, 2020). The government has announced that the countdown clock will be projected onto the Downing Street building to mark the exact time Britain leaves the European Union - 11 at night. In addition to the countdown clock, the union jack flag will be flown around Parliament Square (Stern, 2020).

#### **Appendix 1f: Pros and Cons of UK Society Againsts the Brexit Referendum**

There are the pros and cons of whether the UK should remain or leave the EU. The turnout voting shows that 51.9 % of people chose to remain, and 48.1% chose to leave the EU (BBC News, 2016). As the consequence, British people were separated into two parties, which are the Pro-Brexit and the Anti-Brexit. The Pro-Brexit focused on campaigning the advantages if UK leaves the EU while the Anti-Brexit focused on campaigning the advantages if UK keeps remaining in the EU (The Week Staff, 2020; Goodwin, Hix, & Pickup, 2020).

## **a. The Pro-Brexit**

### **1) Students for Brexit**

*Students for Brexit* is a student-based organization that aims to support Brexit and promote the positive impact of leaving the European Union. Their main goal is to disseminate information about the benefits that can be obtained by leaving the European Union to young British people, especially to students of all campuses across the United Kingdom. Students for Brexit convey their responses through campaigns that they do online through social media such as Twitter and websites (Student for Brexit, 2018). This organization, with nearly a million members, has demanded the MPs about the latest Brexit deal (Farand, 2018).

### **2) Veterans for Britain**

*Veterans for Britain* was formed in March 2016 to inform the interests of the Defense and Security sector for Britain and its decision to leave the European Union in the 2016 Referendum. The organization sought to support the Government to restore control over all aspects of defense (Veterans for Britain, 2018). More than 300 former service personnel have registered with Veterans for the UK, who believed that Britain was safer outside the EU (Daily Express, 2016). This organization stated that Britain's defense and security would be increasingly weak with the European Union, and therefore Brexit was likely the best decision for Britain, especially from the defense and security sector. Veterans for Britain had been actively campaigning for 2016 to bring the British people to decide leave option at the Brexit referendum in 2016. After that, their main goal

was to help Britain get out of the European Union and acquired the best agreement for Britain in the security sector and did not involve in the European Union Army.

### 3) Fishing for Leave

Fishing for Leave is an organization consisting of UK's fishermen, in which around 12,000 fishermen (GOV.UK, 2018) actively supported the UK to leave the EU. As many as 92% of the total UK's fishermen intended to vote to leave the EU (McAngus & Usherwood, 2016). The founder of this organization is Aaron Brown (Bosotti, 2018). On the main page of the official website of this organization states that 60% of British territorial waters are in the hands of foreign parties. Therefore, they supported Britain to get out of the European Union, then take over territorial waters and control their own.

The organization also supported Brexit even with No Deal using the slogan 'No Deal, No Problem'. They reject any EU interference in the UK agriculture sector after Brexit. Instead of campaigning through social media, this organization also actively demonstrated their opinions with other fishermen in the UK. On March 29, 2019, during the 'March to Leave' held in London, they voiced their rejection of the draft Brexit agreement, which they said was only a "trap" from the EU to control Britain for the next 2-4 years. They also stated their rejection of the Common Fisher Policy (CFP) listed in the Brexit draft agreement and wants Britain to leave the EU with No Deal (Fishing for Leave, 2019).

## **b. The Anti-Brexit**

### **1) Scientist for EU**

Scientist for EU is an organization that rejects Britain to leave the European Union. Scientist for EU has actively campaigned in social media, such as Twitter, Facebook, Google+, Website, and Youtube (Scientist for EU Web). Their supporters are the thousands of followers they have in social media mentioned earlier. Many of them are scientists themselves, but many others are just interested in what scientists have to say in the referendum debate. Other institutions (e.g. University College London), organizations (e.g. Scientists for Labour), and individuals (e.g. Daniel Zeichner, MP for Cambridge) have also declared their support. Their advisory board comprises some of the UK's leading national figures in research and innovation policy. They are Professor Martin McKee, Andrew Miller, Sir Paul Nurse, Dr. Julian Huppert, Lord Martin Rees, Sir Tom Blundell, Dame Anne Glover, and Professor James Wilsdon.

The mission they attempt to do is to provide accurate information and evidence to the British public regarding the bad consequences that the UK will receive if decides to leave the European Union. The organization expressed its firm attitude towards the Brexit no-deal scenario, which would technically make Britain categorized as a third world country and would make Britain lose the Horizon 2020 Program assistance that had been funding the UK research program. Supporting the No Deal means that the UK will lose € 577.35 million, equivalent to 45% of Horizon 2020 access (Wilks, 2018). Funds for this research program include the European Research Council (ERC) and Marie Skłodowska-Curie



actions (MSCA), which are the largest funding for these programs (Frenk, et. al., 2017).

## **2) Health worker**

The majority of doctors and nurses in the UK think that National Health Services (NHS) will only get worse after Brexit. Quoted from The Guardian, that YouGov survey involving 322 doctors and 707 nurses stated that 64% decided to support the UK to stay with the EU because Brexit would only harm the NHS. While 83% thought that Leave's argument about the £ 350 million funds would be used for the NHS after Brexit is only a possibility, and 64% are not sure that the British government will spend more on the NHS after Brexit (Courea, 2018). Brexit also has an impact on reducing the number of nurses coming from European Union countries. In 2017/2018, only 805 nurses were working in the UK compared to the previous year, which reached 6,382 nurses (Campbell, 2018) (The Health Foundation, 2018). It is because the uncertainty of Brexit threatens their residence permit as workers from EU countries.