



A QUALITATIVE STUDY ON THE INFLUENCE OF
MAHATHIR'S RHETORICAL COMMUNICATION IN
MALAYSIA'S GE 14 POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

No	Name	Student ID
1	Janice De Cruz	16AAB06621
2	Lee Ei Kei	12AAB04586
3	Loh Kah Heng	16AAB07601
4	Wilbur Kenneth Kwok Zoen Ting	15AAB05642
5	Wong Kah Wai	16AAB06946

Under the Supervision of Mr. S. Maartandan a/l Suppiah

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A research project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

BACHELOR OF COMMUNICATION (HONS) PUBLIC RELATIONS

BY

JANICE DE CRUZ

LEE EI KEI

LOH KAH HENG

WILBUR KENNETH KWOK ZOEN TING

WONG KAH WAI

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JANICE DE CRUZ

LEE EI KEI

LOH KAH HENG

WILBUR KENNETH KWOK ZOEN TING

WONG KAH WAI

DECLARATION

We hereby declare that:

- 1) This undergraduate research project is the end result of our work and that due acknowledgement has been given in the references to ALL sources of information be they printed, electronic, or personal.
- 2) No portion of this research project has been submitted in support of any application for any other degree or qualification of this or any other university, or other institutes of learning.
- 3) Equal contribution has been made by each group member in completing the research project.
- 4) The word count of this research report is 22495 words.

No	Name	Student ID	Signature
1	Janice De Cruz	16AAB06621	
2	Lee Ei Kei	12AAB04586	
3	Loh Kah Heng	16AAB07601	
4	Wilbur Kenneth Kwok Zoen Ting	15AAB05642	
5	Wong Kah Wai	16AAB06946	

Date: 9 August 2019

APPROVAL FORM

This research paper attached hereto, entitled The Influence of Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication in Malaysia's GE 14 Political Campaign prepared and submitted by Janice De Cruz, Lee Ei Kei, Loh Kah Heng, Wilbur Kenneth Kwok Zoen Ting and Wong Kah Wai in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Communication (Hons) Public Relations is hereby accepted.

Supervisor

Supervisor's name

Mr. S. Maartandan a/l Suppiah

Date: _____

DEDICATION

Dedicated to:

Mr. S. Maartandan a/l Suppiah

Our supervisor, who is supportive, always there to guide and lead us in the process of this research project.

Tertiary educational institution

Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman (UTAR)

For giving us the opportunity to conduct this research project.

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To all informants who are willing to spend their precious time in attending to our interviews.

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For providing support, help, encouragement, and motivation throughout the completion of this research project.

The Influence of Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication in Malaysia's GE 14 Political
Campaign: A Qualitative Study

Abstract

A transformational leader that have a strong rhetorical communication is able to influence the public for attitude and behavioural change. The purpose of this study is to explore how Tun Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad's rhetorical communication influence the voter's decision making in Malaysia GE14 political campaign. Eight informants from different nature in experience of diverse cultures were selected to be our samples in conducting our research. This research will be able to contribute to the model of rhetorical communication for future leaders. Based on our data analysis and findings, two research objectives has been investigated: The characteristic of Mahathir's rhetorical communication that influence voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign and Mahathir's rhetorical communication influence on voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign. All results have been divided into four main themes which will be linked to the influence of Mahathir's rhetorical communication in GE14. All data collected has stated to contribute to the body of knowledge for future use.

Keywords: Transformational leader, Mahathir's rhetorical communication, voter's decision making, Malaysia's GE14 political campaign

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background Summary

Transformational leadership communication will guide a leader in developing an **effective communication** and create a new strategy or guideline to be a transformational leader (Barrett, 2014). A leader must communicate as performance of his or her followers rely heavily on the leader's decision in determining if something is important but the implementation is a different story. Transformational leaders must enhance their communication skills to a certain extent. This indicates that transformational leadership communication concerns in **building relationship**, therefore it is clearly stated that transformational leadership communication can **influence follower's social change**. According to Ayub, Manaf and Hamzah (2014), the six prioritized characteristics that a transformational leader should have are namely **honesty, forward looking, inspiring, competent, fair minded, and supportive**. These are crucial in the superior-subordinate relationship as such attributes allow people to close ranks regardless the status quo. Mayfield and Mayfield (2017) argued that transformational leadership communication was perceived as the expression of such talk or actions that includes various channels, ranging from listening to social media. This notion indicated that transformational leadership can deliver their information using social media as a tool to influence followers to make a social change (Steve, 2018).

The discussion resulted in the debate of individual in a transformational leadership must also structures the interaction, which raised the question of what is transformational leadership. From the perspective of **rhetorical communication**, discussion was carried out to determine how language creates transformational leadership which made it very

interesting (Eske-Ballard, 2013). This can be classified that transformational leadership communication have a strong rhetorical communication. Researchers found that the definition of rhetorical communication symbolizes the basis of the word. Researchers defined rhetorical communication as the creation and study of meaningful symbols that symbolically constitute reality. The words used by people who agree shall represent and communicate certain experiences by symbols (Opt & Gring, 2009). Eske-Ballard (2013) argued that rhetorical communication presume that a transformational leader symbolized by using creatures, predominantly through language, and it allows people to define and make sense of their reality while providing the platform to construct connections with the followers. **Ethos, Pathos and Logos** are the three types of rhetorical communication appeals that sway public opinion (Barrett, 2014).

Barrett (2014) mentioned that Ethos is the most ethical way for a transformational leader to influence followers to make a social change. To support this notion, Steve (2018) explained that Ethos is an ethical appeal that focuses on the competence of the speaker or how is the speaker seen in public. A trustworthy speaker is assumed to be able to convince the public by using his charm. Pathos on the other hand appeals to the target audience with emotions. The emotions of the audiences are invoked into supporting the transformational leader through key messages that are symbolic to all (Steve, 2018). Lastly, according to Barrett (2014), Logos is a logical appeal that influence the followers to believe the messages transmitted from the leader. This can be supported by Steve (2018) who mentioned that Logos focus on the logics of an action. It is a logical appeal that aims to sway public opinion based on the general norm of situation and effective interpretation. Despite having differences in the way they appeal to their target audience, these rhetorical communication appeals are normally and constantly used together to synchronize messages better and generate a better message for the target audience for greater lengths (Kroes, 2012).

Sillince (2002) argued that rhetorical communication is a study that uses of written, spoken and visual language. It investigates how transformational leadership communication are used to arrange and retain social groups, construct meanings and identities, coordinate behaviour, mediate power, produce changes, and create knowledge (Sillince, 2002). Hatzisavvidou (2016) also indicated that rhetorical communication in movements that pursue the intention to bring about or withstand adjustment which associates with environmental, social and political problems. Ballard (2016) mentioned that rhetorical communication as the title of the power which control and influence the behaviour of the commoners. Restating certain phrases are able to generate the concepts that occur in speeches to sound typical for the audience. This repetition and emphasis are able to charm the public to absorb the ideas and concepts that a transformational leader uses.

An ideology was created by manipulating the mind through rhetorical communication in order to sway public opinion into what a transformational leader wants it to be and the repetition of the messages could increase its effect (David, 2017). Transformational leaders use rhetorical communication to protect their country and deliver knowledge to their followers, making a social change in the country. For example, politicians use rhetorical communication to sway followers' votes and changes their mind to support them (Ballard, 2016). Researchers found that rhetorical communication is important for a transformational leader to form a connection in transformational leadership communication because it is considered useful to **change people's minds, action, motivated and inspire the followers** (Powell, 2015).

1.2 Problem Statement

In Malaysia, Mahathir's 22 years in leadership led him to develop Malaysia in becoming one of the wealthiest nations in Asia (Azimah, 2013). According to Azimah (2013), Mahathir is labelled as a "Third World Spokesman" to the public at large. Mahathir,

where many have called him as the factor of winning the “shock victory” whereby there were early signs of voter concerns that Pakatan Harapan paid close attention to and worked hard at addressing to gain electoral advantage (Khor, 2018). According to Khor (2018), Mahathir is one of the factors in unlocking Malay’s votes that has made up of 70 per cent of the population was key to winning the election, Mahathir had brought Pakatan Harapan in gaining access to FELDA and rural seats, even to some extent Sarawak and Sabah.

According to Azimah (2013), further adding to his public persona was his rhetoric power which was regarded as frank, abrasive, open, courageous and even controversial regardless of the audience. To Mahathir, such a degree of sufferings that endured by them and their countrymen were against human rights and morality as it can be seen through his choice of words such as “freedom”, and “rights”. Mahathir constructs a positive self-presentation of himself, he often used the pronoun “we” when he was giving a speech during Malaysia’s general election campaign 14, whereby it is shared common knowledge that “all Malaysians” were involved and had worked as a team (Azimah, 2013). According to Aziz (2018), Mahathir’s opening sentence for “Pakatan Harapan’s ceramah” was held right across the main street of Putrajaya’s government offices on 3 of May 2018. Mahathir’s cheeky question was directed at the main target audience of the night, he had raised cheers from thousands of supporters who attended the event. He reinforces the impression that the audience who are listening to his arguments able to share his view during his speeches which showcased an exemplary transformational leadership communication. Throughout the night, there were shouts of “Hidup Tun (Long live Tun)”, “Reformasi (Reformation)” and “Takbir (God is the greatest)”, reflects on the diverse crowd (Aziz, 2018). According to The Coverage (2018), a Pakatan Harapan ceramah in Mahathir’s home state in Kedah had attracted thousands of people. Pakatan Harapan has boasted of a turnout of up to 4,000 people for a rally it held in Malaysia’s smallest state, Perlis.

According to Sundaily (2018), during Malaysia's GE13, the opposition campaigned aggressively and went all out. They were campaigning to win the election, and the people at that time were very eager to vote including Malaysians who returned from abroad (Tan, 2018). During early voting on 5 May, Saturday, 83% of the 278,590 early voters have fulfilled their voting responsibilities for Malaysia's GE14 (Ram, 2018). The Election Commission has announced that the final voter turnout was 82.32 %. The number of people who voted in Malaysia's GE14 was 82.32 % which is 12,299,514 persons out of the total number of registered voters of 14,940,624 (The Straits Times, 2018).

Researchers also found that, "It was a total Malay earthquake that has changed the political landscape of the country," said Merdeka Centre CEO Ibrahim Suffian (Tan, 2018). Pakatan Harapan has gained an increase in Malay support in Peninsular Malaysia since Nomination Day. On May 9, the Malays decided to go for a change and their combined force had brought down the ruling coalition led by Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak (Tan, 2018). The survey company said that the Malay voter's support level for the opposition coalition increased from 20% to 27.8% since nominations were filed on April 28 (Rashvinjeet, 2018). Most of the supports came at the expense of Islamist party PAS, which its support decreased from 27% to 20.9%. Barisan Nasional also seen a decrement of 1.8% in Malay's support. The Merdeka Centre first conducted a survey from April 9 to 16, taking in 1,200 participants from all over Peninsular Malaysia while the second survey was conducted among 850 people in 70 marginal seats (Rashvinjeet, 2018).

According to Ahmad (2018), among the 222 parliament seats, Barisan Nasional failed to obtain the majority of seats for the first time in Malaysia's political history whereby only 79 seats won compared to Pakatan Harapan's 122 seats that led by Tun Dr. Mahathir. 21 seats were then won by PAS and other parties. As compared with Malaysia's GE13, it was a total of 222 seats in Parliament were contested, the incumbent ruling coalition Barisan

Nasional resumed its control of the Federal government when they won 133 seats while the opposition coalition, Pakatan Rakyat took 89 seats (Khoo, 2013).

With the comparison of both general elections that have significant changes in the votes for both leading coalition of Pakatan Harapan which had drastic increment of votes and Barisan Nasional that had their voters to switch due to emergence of Pakatan Harapan' leader, Tun Dr Mahathir. Our research study regards on Mahathir's leadership communication which can be explained through transformational leadership theory. According to Barrett (2008), a transformational leader has a clear and motivating vision, able to inspire people, able to gain their trust, able to connect with individuals and groups, able to guide and motivate others to act accordingly and lastly, a transformational leader possessed positive ethos. According to Spreitzer, Perttula and Xin (2005), transformational leadership theory explains the necessity of change, developing the vision for future and expecting followers to gained notable results than what they could do normally by mobilizing them. Mahathir's transformational leadership communication, campaigning and rhetoric speeches convinced his followers to make a change in the ruling government for a better future. On the other hand, transformational leadership is often researched about achieving higher level in individuals' performance but not in team performance (Dionne, Yammarino, Atwater, & Spangler, 2004). It was suspected that Mahathir's rhetorical communication contributed to the winning of Pakatan Harapan in Malaysia's GE 14. Furthermore, Mahathir's transformational leadership able to influence the voters' decision making.

Transformational leadership communication which influences the voters' decision making can relate with Servaes (2008) study about social change. Servaes (2008) stated that social change in society was affected by the development of communication that aimed to gain greater control over people's environment which able to bring in social and material

advancement. Servaes (2008) also discussed that there are no maintainable and effective social development which affects people with leadership, thus qualitative research is conducted to explore the relevance of leadership and social change, which also relates to the decision making in voting of the voters. Transformational leaders evaluate the potential of all followers in terms of their ability to fulfil current commitments, at the same time, envisioning expansion of their future responsibilities. In contrast, transactional leaders expect their followers to achieve agreed-upon objectives but do not encourage them to assume greater responsibility for developing and leading themselves and others (Dvir, Eden, Avolio & Shamir, 2002).

Even the western and eastern leaders had different viewpoint in leading their nation due to their cultures (Spreitzer, Perttula, & Xin, 2005). It is not a surprise that Malaysia, a country with diverse cultures had in their mind to determine what and who is the leader to be followed specifically for the past two Malaysia's GE13 and 14. However, researchers do not create an in-depth study about transformational leadership in countries with diverse cultures like Malaysia but studies are more applicable to western countries as it view society as homogenous based on GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness Research Program) study (Suppiah, Ahmad & Nirubagunasekaran, 2018). However, it was also argued by Suppiah, Ahmad and Nirubagunasekaran (2018) **that leadership is not applicable only to homogeneous societies also to heterogeneous society or across cultures**. According to Suppiah, Ahmad & Nirubagunasekaran (2018), GLOBE study had failed to notice the leadership communication in multicultural and diverse societies. Therefore, **this research is to explore the influences of Mahathir's rhetorical communication towards the voters making decision in General Election 14.**

1.3 Research Question

The proposed study seeks to answer the following questions:

RQ1. What are the characteristics of Mahathir's rhetorical communication that influence voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign?

RQ2. How Mahathir's rhetorical communication influence on voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign?

1.4 Research Objective

The study aims to:

RO1. To identify the characteristic of Mahathir's rhetorical communication that influence voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign.

RO2. To explain Mahathir's rhetorical communication influence voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign.

1.5 Implications of the Study

Through research regarding leadership qualities and techniques have been done in relating to businesses and politics. However, Straka, Bal, Corrigan, Di Fonzo, and Butt (2018) argued that environmental or conservation issues are usually 'wicked issues' due to its time consuming and complex situation between people with the ongoing issues. An effective leadership communication can influence and persuade people's perspective or gain the support from followers. On the contrary, a leader with weaker communication skills will have a hard time influencing people to join forces in the same ideology and have a higher chance of creating misunderstanding resulting in the low satisfactory from the supporters or groups. According to Straka, Bal, Corrigan, Di Fonzo, and Butt (2018), an effective leadership communication is how the leader choose the words and understand their listener to influence and leads towards a shared goal.

The aim of this research is targeted on how Mahathir's rhetorical communication influence the voter's mindset and decision during Malaysia's GE14 political campaign. Based on study made by Mircica (2014), many scholars from different eras such as Aristotle perceived that rhetoric is expression of discipline towards the usage of persuasion, demonstration and argumentation when convincing the mass in communication.

1.5.1 Practical Significance

Mayfield and Mayfield (2017) found out that rhetorical communication is crucial for the development and persuasion of follower's mindset required in different situations or issues. An effective rhetorical communication is one of the determining factors towards a leader's power to persuade and affect the decision of their followers. In-line with the idea, this study perceived that Mahathir possesses a strong rhetorical communication skill that assisted him in communicating and persuading the mindset of his followers or voters during the political campaign of Malaysia's GE14. By analysing Mahathir's rhetorical communication in Malaysia's GE 14, findings of the study will be able to perceive the characteristics of Mahathir's successful rhetorical communication.

This research aims to propose a **new model of Mahathir's rhetorical communication** that indulge the characteristic of Mahathir's rhetorical communication and how rhetorical communication influence the voter's decision making in Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign. Future researchers are able to refer to this new model of Mahathir's rhetorical communication as their references. This research findings are lacking of Mahathir's rhetorical communication that influence the voter's decision making in Malaysia's GE 14 in terms of literature review. Therefore, this research aims to focus on the characteristic of Mahathir's rhetorical communication influence voter's decision making in Malaysia's GE 14 for future research references. By referring to Mahathir's rhetorical

communication model, future leaders will be able to communicate more effectively towards listener and persuade people towards a social change.

1.5.2 Theoretical Significance

According to studies done by Mayfield and Mayfield (2016), rhetorical communication is crucial in influencing the decisions made by voters. This research is fully explored through the means of transformational leadership theory. According to Dvir, Avolio and Shamir (2014), there are very minimal amount of proof that stated transformational leadership affects people or any form of organization. According to Suppiah, Ahmad and Nirubagunasekaran (2018), it is argued that the limitation of transformational leadership theory is multicultural perspective was overlooked in the global scale as most of the researchers are focused on homogenous society specifically toward the rhetorical communication process between leader and follower from a minority perspective. However, the perspective from a multicultural society regarding transformational leadership theory need to be emphasised. Therefore, this study focuses on exploring the effect of Mahathir's transformational leadership in Malaysia during Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign.

Mahathir is assumed as a transformation leader who successfully influenced a multicultural society in voter's decision making and led to social change in Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign. Therefore, it is important to investigate the characteristics of Mahathir's rhetorical communication and how Mahathir's rhetorical communication attributed in influencing voter's decision making in a multicultural society. By analysing voter's opinion and thoughts regarding Mahathir's transformational leadership communication, the perspective of Mahathir's transformational leadership communication by different cultures can be contributed to the body of knowledge for the theory. This contributes to a new dimension towards transformational leadership theory from the multicultural perspective by studying the influence of Mahathir's rhetorical communication

on voter's decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign. At the same time, researchers will also be able to explore the characteristic of Mahathir's rhetorical communication that influence voter's decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign. Therefore, it is a new knowledge that enhances people's understanding of the theory.

1.6 Conceptual Definition

1.6.1 Leadership Communication

According to Barrett (2014), leadership communication will guide a leader in developing an effective communication that to be a **transformational leader** and create a new strategy for a corporate leader. Leadership communication is defined as a process of influence the **followers to change their attitude or mind** (Ayub, Manaf & Hamzah, 2014). There are also scholars that suggest leadership communication is perceived as the expression of such talk or action which includes various channels, ranging from listening to social media and other electronic formats (Mayfield & Mayfield, 2017). Therefore, leadership communication consists of two main elements which is the content of the message and the delivering style from the leader (Luthra & Dahiya, 2015). Mayfield and Mayfield (2017), mentioned that a leader must communicate as performance of his or her followers heavily on the leader's decision but whether to determine on something that is important, the implementation is a different story. Researchers found that there are six characteristics for a successful leader that will influence **followers to change their mind or thinking, such as honesty, forward looking, inspiring, fair minded, competent and supportive** (Ayub, Manaf & Hamzah, 2014). Callum (2013) proved that with these six characteristics, a leader will earn follower's trust and support. Furthermore, a study conducted by De Vries, Bakker-Pieper and Oostenvel (2010) argued that an effective leadership communication should influence follower's perception such as social change. In short, leadership communication

plays an important role in influence follower's social change such as attitude and thinking (Forsyth, 2015).

1.6.2 Transformational Leadership Communication

Transformational leadership communication is a process on transforming an individual (Northouse, 2001; Miftari, 2018). Transformational leadership communication is an important way to communicate symmetrically in the society (Men, 2014). Miftari (2018) argues that transformational leadership communication is a process where a **transformational leader gives their followers an inspiring mission, vision and identity**. Transformational leadership communication is a platform for the followers to express their opinion and leaders to listen to the followers' opinion (Men, 2014). Besides, transformational leadership communication can also be defined as a process where the leaders are able to raise the level of motivation of their followers (Northouse, 2010; Van Wart, 2013). Transformational leadership communication can motivate an individual to exchange ideas and generate a mission (Chan & Mak, 2014). Transformational leadership communication allows an individual to voice out their opinions and encourage their followers to involve in the **decision-making process** (Hackman & Johnson, 2004). Krishnan (2012) proved that the performance and attitudes of the followers can be affected by a transformational leader through communicating their vision.

1.6.3 Rhetorical Communication

To persuade or to move a public skilfully, that would be rhetoric power in action especially during the renaissance era in England. It is a much-valued skill designed to make a speech more memorable or persuasive (Ballard, 2016). Throughout the history, we can see all kinds of civilization rise and fall, leaders pushing the public for a greater cause and through that we can see that rhetoric power plays a role in the **rise of power for leaders** since classical age of Pericles (Crick, 2018). In our modern world, speeches are everywhere

but speeches with the rhetoric element in it will give it vitality and impact, soothing for the ears of the mass (Dlugan, 2008). Dlugan (2008) also mentioned that a strong personification towards a subject is a form of strong rhetoric skills and one is able to picture a still object into something more vibrant. A research done by David (2014) shows that political leaders tend to use linguistic manipulation such as rhetoric skills to change the view on certain matters. To sway the public opinion, many elements of rhetoric devices such as lexical, semantic and pragmatic efforts were poured in for the course of the political movement. Atkinson (2005) on the other hand suggest that political speeches rely more in-depth techniques such as allusion or asking questions and sometimes resort in stronger rhetoric techniques such as metaphor, parallelism and repetition.

1.6.4 Social Change

In behavioural science, change is indeed a central of social and political psychology that some said that change is the fundamental concern of social psychology (Reicher & Haslam, 2013). It is the capability to explain both stability and change in social phenomena where it is the yardstick that judged by the acceptability of social psychological theories (Reicher & Haslam, 2013). The term “Social Change” can be defined as the **processes of changes** that happened in human relations within and between societies that focuses on the vibrant and growing literature that happens in various fields such as social and political psychology, as well as in sociology, politics, anthropology, history, and other behavioural sciences (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009). Social change also can be defined and associated with the development of problems in developing countries in the means of social and communication sciences but in general, social change are defined as the change of **structure social action or culture** which could possibly happen in a given society, community or context (Servaes, 2011). According to Servaes (2011), social change can be further explained in a few different dimensions which are space, time, speed, direction, content and

impact. Various literature was reviewed regarding social change and will be further discussed on this literature review. As transformational leadership had given attention for the past 20 years or more as the new paradigm, it highly affects the social change in the society that lead by a transformational leader. According to (Das, 2012), social changes were caused by the leadership that aligned with collective purpose whereby leader and followers are bond together in the process of leadership that interplay the conflict and powers. However, social change is only available when a strong force simulates changes among the society. As a change is needed in Malaysia, Mahathir's leadership and speeches focus on rhetorical communication aimed to generate social changes among the voters and followers. A strong persuasive power leads to a sway in social change towards the **voting decision** in Malaysia's GE14.

In a nutshell, this research aims to explore how Mahathir's rhetorical communication influence voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign and Mahathir's characteristic of rhetorical communication that influence voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication Attributes for Social Change

Mahathir's **transformational leadership communication** enables him to transform and motivate his followers to social change, moving forward towards a brighter future in terms of political views. Mahathir possessed significant transformational leadership communication that enable him to obtain supports varies from different ethnicity by implementing his ideology in the minds of his supporters and people, hence leading to significant social change in the Malaysian society (Suppiah, Ahmad & Nirubagunasekaran, 2018). During Malaysia's GE14 political campaign, Mahathir attend a lot of campaigns to promote his parties and the vision of Pakatan Harapan. Researchers found that there are six characteristics for a transformational leadership communication that will influence followers to change their mind or thinking, such as honesty, forward looking, inspiring, fair minded, competent and supportive (Ayub, Manaf & Hamzah, 2014).

Rhetorical communication is categorized under transformational leadership communication. Rhetorical power, is the Aristotelian approach of **Ethos, Pathos and Logos** to effectively sway or inspire the targeted audience (Barrett, 2014). This statement is supported by Docimo and Littlehale, (2016) whereby they mention that Ethos, Pathos and Logos are a form of rhetorical triangle that provides the ability to intercept and persuade the minds of others in an argument. For decades humans and their change to society are motivated through the power of persuasion by their leaders (Emerson, 1962; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959; Turner, 2005). However, in the newer research by Brinol, Petty, Durso & Rucker (2017), they found out that this power of persuasion is far more complicated than what was researched in the earlier papers. By breaking it down, they learned that social

change is created through different aspects of persuasion from a transformational leader. It is formed using a constant persuasive cue, lead the direction of thoughts and control the volume of information processing among the target audience (Brinol, Petty, Durso & Rucker, 2017). Moving on, rhetorical communication requires the application of the rhetorical triangle as a whole to obtain its maximum potential (Weaver, 2013). Su-Hie (2018) on the other hand researched that instead of using 3 uniformly, different culture is susceptible to different rhetorical communication method. For example, Japanese are keener on the affective appeal of Pathos compared to Westerners who prefer rational appeal of logos. She also mentioned that Pathos are more likely to predominate most situations (Su-Hie, 2018). Therefore, it was perceived that an influential leader if provide an insight unique to oneself is able to overcome the barrier of people and create a social change (Dutt and Grade, 2014). Another research regarding rhetorical communication explains that different types of rhetoric communications result in different opinions from target audiences (Royer, 2017). Based on research done by Paramasivam (2014), rhetorical communication contributes to the reason Mahathir's leadership blossom for many years. During his time as the fourth prime minister of Malaysia, his speeches often contains the rhetorical speeches of the rhetorical triangle when communicating with the audience. By exploring the facts and emotional appeal in his speeches, people are willing to listen and support his decision as the leader of a country (Paramasivam, 2014).

As a leader, he is constantly displaying a strong emotional appeal to persuade and motivate changes while constantly share the knowledge comprehended by him to the listeners and thus dominated and brought Malaysia towards a better growth (Paramasivam, 2014). Base on the thesis studied, most research are conducted in a homogeneous society with only a minimum done in a multicultural society. According to Adam (2018), Mahathir's opening sentence for Pakatan Harapan's speech was held right across the main street of

Putrajaya's government offices on 3 of May 2018. One of the reasons that attracted thousands of people to attend the "ceramah (talk)" is because he reinforces the impression that the audience listening to his arguments share his view in his speeches. Throughout the night, there were shouts of "Hidup Tun (Long Live Tun)", "Reformasi (Reformation)" and "Takbir (God is the greatest)", reflective of the diverse crowd (Adam, 2018). This proved that Mahathir speeches bring the effect of social change. According to The Coverage (2018), a Pakatan Harapan ceramah in Mahathir's home state of Kedah had attracted thousands of people. Tsunami alert for Pakatan Harapan, as thousands attend Mahathir's ceramah. Moniruzzaman and Farzana, (2018), believed that **Mahathir rhetorical communication is one of the reasons to bring Malaysia social change especially the huge changes in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign**. Mobiruzzaman and Farzana (2018) mentioned that Mahathir is a man that is widely credited for his rhetorical communication in transforming Malaysia into a modern economy. Mahathir emerged as the symbol of opposition unity and an icon of power during Malaysia's GE14 in Malaysia. According to Ram (2018), during early voting on 5 May 2018, Saturday, 83% of the 278,590 early voters have fulfilled their voting responsibilities for Malaysia's GE14 political campaign. Compare with Malaysia's GE13 political campaign, the people at that time were very eager to vote (Tan, 2018). This can be classified that Mahathir's as a transformational leader with rhetorical communication influence voter's decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign.

2.2 Analysing Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication

Mahathir is a leader where he can catch your attention when he delivers his speech. His excellent rhetorical communication in delivering speeches has put him in the frontline of persuasive leader in the eyes of his audience. Mahathir's strong rhetorical communication and the ability of **influencing the followers** has led him to success in his political life (Imani,

2015). According to Alkhirbash (2010), Mahathir always combined **logical, emotional and ethical proofs** when delivering his speech or to address his audience.

The logical, emotional and ethical proofs can be found in the final speech before the Malaysia's 14th General Election. According to Lutzke and Henggeler (2009), **Logos** appeals to reason and it uses facts or arguments to support his point. This is then supported by Mshvenieradze (2013) who mentioned that logos means persuade their followers by the use of reasoning. In Mahathir's final speech before Malaysia's GE14 political campaign, Mahathir provide facts mentioning that Malaysia independently restore peace and enforced laws after the racial riot breakout. He also mentioned that Malaysia can be very successful with a good leader (Free Malaysia Today, 2018).

Pathos refers to the tone of speech or communication with the appeal of emotion (Demirdogen, 2010). Meanwhile, Dlugan (2013) supported the statement by explaining that pathos creates an emotional connection with the audience. Mahathir uses his strong rhetorical communication in his final speech by attaching the sympathy appeal to the audience. Mahathir stresses that he has not much time left and he wished that he could contribute whatever he can whenever he is able to (Free Malaysia Today, 2018).

Higging and Walker (2012) mentioned that **Ethos** is the character of a leader who has the characteristics of credibility and trustworthiness. On the other hand, Charland, Huang, Li and Li (2017) proved that ethos is a type of rhetorical communication that develop credibility and trustworthiness through their expertise. In the final speech before Malaysia's GE14 political campaign, Mahathir uses his rhetorical power (credibility) to inform Malaysian the unethical act which is done by the former Prime Minister Najib Razak (Free Malaysia Today, 2018).

In short Mahathir uses his strong rhetorical communication when addressing the audience during his final speech before the Malaysia's 14th General Election. Through his

speech, he successfully unites people from a multicultural country with the existence of his rhetorical communication.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

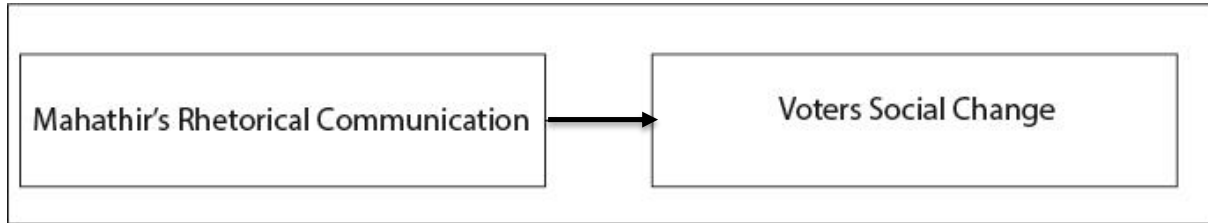


Figure 1. 1 Rhetorical Communication for Social Change Based on Multicultural Society

2.3.1 Transformational Leadership Theory

The first scholar that discovered the specification of distinction of Transformational Leadership Theory was Burns (1978) explaining that a transformational leader is an individual who attempts to change the focus of their followers that able to make a **significant change that satisfy their follower's need** (Yammarino, Spangler & Bass, 1993). A principal aspect of transformational leadership is its emphasis on follower's social change. Servaes (2008) stated that social change in society are affected by the development of communication that aimed to gain greater control over people's environment which able to bring in social and material advancement. Servaes (2008) also discussed that there are no maintainable and effective social development that affects people with leadership, thus qualitative research is conducted to explore the relevance of leadership and social change. Transformational leaders evaluate the potential of all followers in terms of their ability to fulfil current commitments, while also envisioning expansion of their future responsibilities. In contrast, transactional leaders expect followers to achieve agreed-upon objectives but do not encourage them to assume greater responsibility for developing and leading themselves and others (Dvir, Eden, Avolio & Shamir, 2002). To add on, according to Avolio and Yammarino (2013), there are missing aspects that should be in the coverage of Transformational Leadership Theory which are the missing of data, level of analysis,

culture, fundamental underlying processes, field of leadership would be if the leaders were to neglect their followers.

The theoretical framework explains how rhetorical communication influences the voter's decision making during the general election. The terms of "I will join you", "we", and "Malaysia" that indicates as citizens of Malaysia are often used in the speeches of Mahathir (News Straits Time, 2018). These terms established the rhetorical communication between Mahathir and the citizens of Malaysia which influenced the voter's decisions during Malaysia's General Election 14 made Mahathir the Prime Minister of Malaysia. According to Bardhan (2018), rhetorical communication theories can affirm the non-western culture of reasoning and advocacy to approach intercultural context and situations for intercultural rhetoric. The interpretation of rhetorical communication is beneficial by the comparative approach which provides the speculations with due respect in other cultures (Bardhan, 2018). As Mahathir's rhetorical communication involves different culture as his followers are diverse in culture, his rhetorical practices emerge the belief and values of the different cultural communities (Bardhan, 2018). The way used to conduct rhetorical communication that can be identified of the various possibilities such as rhetorical action are more likely to be apparent in media if it crosses two or more cultures, a rhetoric considered as a culture whereas the primary audience are considered as another, and lastly the rhetorical action that caused by distinct tradition that come across the same issues or topic (González & Cheng, 2003). Therefore, this study aims to investigate Mahathir's rhetorical communication on voter's decision making from multicultural perspective.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Qualitative Method

Qualitative research aims to obtain a deeper **understanding towards the reasoning, factors and behaviour of various human actions on a certain subject** (Rosenthal, 2016). With these functions in mind, qualitative research is often used when conducting interviews and case studies that involves critical thinking and answering. The primary source of information is collected through semi-structured interviews which will be kept and used during the process of data analysis (Hoeber & Shaw, 2016). Furthermore, qualitative research aims to retrieve raw data from interviewees regarding previous situations that occur or situations that provided impact towards their behaviour. That will subsequently allow researchers to generate possible hypothesis or understandings based on the information gained (Jamali, 2018).

The study was aimed to investigate the characteristics of Mahathir's rhetorical communication and how Mahathir's rhetorical communication able to change Malaysian voter attitudes and behaviours and influence their decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign.

According to Buetow (2018), qualitative research is the means of understanding the behaviour of the sample towards a certain issue or occurrence. Although the data are obtained only from a small number of samples, researchers can gain a wider variety of perspectives and those generating better conclusions. By using qualitative research method, the opinion and response about the rhetoric communication of Mahathir by Malaysian voter can be collected. By interviewing the Malaysian voter, qualitative methods can help to know more in depth about the study and the study is also able to allow them to voice out their

opinion about Mahathir and also allow them to voice out their opinion toward the political in Malaysia.

Therefore, qualitative research method is useful for this study. By using qualitative research, the important data can be collected effectively and clearly through in-depth interviews and analysis the voter opinions toward Mahathir's rhetorical communication in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign.

3.1.1 Qualitative Research Design

Phenomenology is about phenomena which focus on an individual's experience. It also explained about an individual perspective and experience on an event through their narration. Phenomenology is often defined as a term that study about people experience. Phenomenology can be defined as a way to achieve true meaning by penetrating deeper and deeper into reality. Moreover, phenomenological method interprets the informants experience by listening to their experience (Bound, 2011). In qualitative methodology, phenomenology is categorized into two categories, includes descriptive phenomenology and interpretive (Sloan & Bowe, 2014). Hence, in this study, informants will be interviewed based on their own experience and perception towards the rhetorical communication of Mahathir which lead to social change.

According to Mayan (2016), sample size of phenomenology consists of eight informants. The sample size of conducting Phenomenology is inevitably small which consists of only six to ten participants. Therefore, eight different nature of experienced informants will be interviewed in this research.

Moreover, semi-structured interview was conducted in Phenomenology studies where the interviewer is flexible in asking questions based on the participant's responses (Englander, 2012). The analysis can be conducted through the connecting themes which can be found from the interview transcripts (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

3.2 Data Collection Method

In-depth interview was used in this research. In-depth interview is known as a qualitative research technique in conducting an intensive individual interview in order to explore their perspectives, reactions and feeling on the related idea, program or situation (Boyce & Neale, 2006).

In-depth interview is an ideal method in this study as it can help the researcher to obtain an individual's thought and behaviour towards the study (Klenke, 2016). The purpose of this research is to obtain the perception of the voters on the influence and characteristics of Mahathir's rhetorical communication in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign.

In-depth interview was used in order to collect valid data from informants. The data collection period begins from the mid of May to end of June 2019. Researcher must inform the informants about the study and assure them the ethical principles before the commencement of the interview (Gill, Stewart, Treasure & Chadwick, 2008). Researcher can build a good relationship with the informants by contacting them before conducting the interview session.

Then, the researcher has to provide the interview details such as introduction of interviewer, the duration of the interview, how the data will be used and where the results will be disseminated. All these interview protocols and the transparency of the results must be informed in order to gain the trust from the informants (Harvey, 2011). Lastly, the responses that is recorded in the interview session was used in the data analysis.

3.3 Sampling Design

Sampling design can be defined as the selection of the core unit for data collection and analysis which will then be used to **explain specific questions** (Handwerker 2005). Social scientists use sampling design to determine the reliability and validity to evaluate the

quality of a social science research, it requires consistent research instruments that were able to produce the same score if it is used in a repeated manner (Lameck, 2013).

Target population is the total group of individuals that might be selected to be samples (Zikmund et al, 2010). We will be approaching officers from **Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO), politicians, academicians, media practitioners, and commoners** from **diverse ethnic groups** that have voting rights in General Election 14 to be our informants. The selected samples represent the population to aid this research that able to provide sources to us. All together, we will be acquiring 8 informants, 3 different cultured informants to be the sampling elements which will then be categorized based on their group. Different group, ethnicity and different nature of experience would have different mindset, hence it would have a significant difference in the impact of rhetorical communication that would be implemented to them that influences their votes during Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign. Besides that, the difference of group, ethnicity and different nature of experience informants are well suited our study as we are able to obtain ample information from them regarding whether Mahathir rhetorical communication able to influence their voting decisions.

3.3.1 Sampling Techniques

Purposive sampling also can be defined as the sampling technique which used by researchers to judge and decide the selection of members to be sample in the study (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2012). Besides that, it is believed that researchers were able to obtain a representative sample that save cost and time by going through judgement which determine the selection of element for the selected representatives (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2012). Therefore, purposive sampling suits our research as it enables us to constitute the samples from a certain unit that emerge from small population that we chose, representing the major population. Besides that, it would be essential to conduct purposive

sampling when it comes to the limitation of number in population that are used to be the primary data source (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2012). To support this notation, informants were selected to be the sample based on their nature of experience as well as their cultures to represent the entire group to determine whether Mahathir's rhetorical communication influences the voters, who was born in different ethnic in Malaysia.

3.3.2 Sampling Size

According to Guetterman (2015), sampling size is required to be calculated by researchers before they begin their studies. The samples are focused on the richness in information rather than generalizing the popularized sample. Researchers' intent has to be focused on explaining, describing and interpreting the phenomenon to study its responses of empirical findings and theoretical development of the study rather than generalizing the representatives' opinions.

Therefore, we have interviewed **8 informants** from **different nature of experience** in **diverse culture** to be our samples when we are conducting our research as this number is optimum to allow us prepare structured and planned interview sessions for them. Furthermore, it allows us to have sufficient time to directly and partially transcribe and record the key information.

3.3.3 Sampling Criteria

This study focused on the Malaysia citizens that came from different background, mainly nature of experience and culture to in-depth understand the perspective of the voters toward the influence and characteristics of Mahathir's rhetorical communication. Our informants are bound to the following criteria in order to qualify to our interview session:

- **Informants have to be eligible to vote during Malaysia's General Election 14**

- **Informants who had experienced Mahathir's rhetorical communication**

These criteria were implemented due to the relation of our research objectives, which was to explain how Mahathir's rhetorical communication influence voter's decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign and to examine the characteristics of Mahathir's rhetorical communication that influence voter's decision making in Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign.

3.4 Interview Protocol

The Influence of Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication in Malaysia GE 14

Political Campaign: A Qualitative Study

Time of interview:

Date:

Venue:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Question:

Section A: Transformational Leadership Communication & Rhetorical

Communication

1. Based on your knowledge, what is rhetorical communication?
2. What are the characteristics of a good rhetorical communication? What are the characteristics of Mahathir's rhetorical communication?
3. In your opinion, do you think that Mahathir is a transformational leader? Why?
4. Do you think Mahathir possess a strong rhetorical communication?

Section B: Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication

1. Can you provide a few examples of Mahathir's rhetorical communication?
2. In your opinion, what do you think about the role of Mahathir's rhetorical communication in GE 14?
3. What is the most prefer rhetorical communication of Mahathir?

Section C: Social Change

1. In your opinion, how does Mahathir's rhetorical communication influence the voters' decisions in Malaysia's General Election 14? What is the most unique characteristic of Mahathir's rhetorical communication that influence you?
2. Did Mahathir's rhetorical communication manage to influence your decision towards Malaysia's General Election 14? Why?
3. How do you view Mahathir? Is he a leader for everyone who is able to transform Malaysia? Yes? In what ways?
4. In your opinion, can we use Mahathir's rhetorical communication as a model for future leaders? Why?

(Thank you for participating in this interview session. All information retrieved and private and confidential, to be used only for research purposes.)

3.4.1 Interview Protocol Refinement (IPR) Framework

Interview protocol was developed according to interview protocol refinement framework and research gap. According to Rubin & Rubin (2012), interviews able to provide ample and detailed qualitative data that used to further understand informants' experiences, the way they described their experiences and the value which gives meaning to the experiences. Therefore, it is suitable to use IPR framework for this research as it could appropriately refine the structured or semi-structured interviews (Castillo-Montoya, 2016).

Castillo-Montoya (2016) developed a frame for IPR Framework that enable us to use as reference as it is more likely to get an elicit rich, meaningful, focused data which captures the extended experiences of informants. The frame is comprised into four phases, which are ensuring interview questions align with research questions, constructing an inquiry-based conversation, receiving feedback on interview protocols and piloting the interview protocol (Castillo-Montoya, 2016). The first phase **concentrates on the alignment that increases the utility of interview questions that confirms the purpose of the study**, while only taking the key points of the study (Castillo-Montoya, 2016). The second phase is the **protocol development that rise a conversation and composing interview questions that are different from how researchers would compose their research questions** (Castillo-Montoya, 2016). Moving on, the third phase is **the development of interview protocol** that relates to the study's research questions based on phase 1 and phase 2, then work on the feedback on the developed interview protocol (Castillo-Montoya, 2016). Lastly phase 4 is the when **the developed an interview protocol that are aligned with the study purpose** (Castillo-Montoya, 2016).

To support this notation, our interview questions were based on our study's research questions which are what is the influence of Mahathir's rhetorical communication on voters decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign and what is the characteristic of

Mahathir's rhetorical communication that influence voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign with the reference of IPR framework. We categorized three main research questions regarding our study into three sections, which are Section A, Section B and Section C that were focused on transformational leadership & rhetorical communication, Mahathir's rhetorical communication and voters' decision making in our interview respectively.

3.4.2 Types of Interview Question

The type of questions used in our study consisted only **semi-structured questions**. According to Laumann (2018), a semi-structured interview guide can be developed which consists of prepared questions, which are so open that interviewees can express and elaborate on their answers and where also follow up questions are allowed. These set of open-ended questions used for the interview can provide us better insight and opinions of the interviewee's answers. Spinelli, Dinnella, Masi, Zobolis, Prescott & Monteleone (2017) suggested that use of **semi-structured questions** is generally favoured because they leave the informants freedom to express themselves and can be collected easily and open-ended questions is allowed to avoid focussing on the attention of the informants on specific aspects predetermined by the researcher. To ensure a coherent way in investigating details and a wider coverage of opinions for the interview, all of the interview questions were standardized and thoroughly researched. As for the usage of semi-structured questions, it assisted the interview by retrieving detailed information regarding the questions in a more conversational method instead of formalities although the interview itself is considered formal. It also allowed a smoother transition between questions asked and the interviewer was able to obtain a more detailed understanding of the interviewee's responses. This indirectly allowed the interviewer to learn the significance of study in the informant's perspective.

Another reason of using semi-structured question in this study is due to the fact that this type of questions are the most effective when there is only one chance in conducting an interview with an individual. On the other hand, the interviewer is able to obtain reliable information and opinions throughout the whole interview from the interviewee and thus gaining a more reliable qualitative data.

3.4.3 Semi-Structure

In this study, the method of **interview** was used. The type of questions were created in the form of semi structured questions and each interview session conducted that lasted for almost an hour. For safety measures, all the conducted interviews were audio recorded. This is an important step of precaution as recording the interview from beginning until the end, all information from the informants will be kept safe for further usage during the data analysis period. Without recordings, there might be a few key information that would be left out and thus affecting the whole analysis process and study. The more complete form of observational data are audio recordings as it can be captured and kept for processing for future reference in regards to any information obtained (Tsai, Kohrt, Matthews, Betancourt, Lee, Papachristos & Dworkin, 2016).

These interviews were conducted fully as a whole regarding how Mahathir's rhetorical communication influence voter's decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign and their understanding towards rhetorical communication. Only one set of interview questions was prepared as all interviewees will be asked the same questions in order to gain their perspective on the study. We have encouraged the interviewees to share their perspectives and thoughts on the questions and provide necessary information regarding our studies.

3.5.1 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis to analyse research data. Thematic analysis can be defined as a method for identifying, analysing and create theme within data (Glaser and Strauss, 2002). Thematic analysis is a basic way of analysis which needed to be explained to solidify it result in qualitative research (Susan, 2005). Thematic analysis has five stages which are becoming familiar with the data, generate initial code, search for themes, review themes and define themes (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

Become familiar with the data is reading and re-reading the transcript. Researchers should be familiar with the research data or the interview transcript data before moving to the next step. At this stage, become familiar with the data is most useful for researchers to highlight the early impressions of the interviewer perception or experience towards the issue. This stage will ensure researchers that there is no misinterpreted and free bias from research answers (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

Next stage of thematic analysis is **generating initial code**. Researchers start to generate the data in a meaningful way. Coding process will reduce a lot of small chunks meaning. Researchers will code each important moment and captured it in interesting ways in the research data. Researchers will use open coding which did not have pre-set codes but codes it through the coding process. Researchers will discuss and develop some ideas about the codes. Researchers will work through each transcript coding for every relevant text to specifically address the research data. Researchers will compare the codes and discussed before moving to the next transcript (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

Search for themes will be the third stage for thematic analysis. A theme is a pattern to capture the important moments about the research data. Researchers will examine the codes and fitted it together under a theme. For example, researchers collect several codes

that related with the characteristics of Mahathir's rhetorical communication that influence voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign, researchers will fit it into a theme to explain the codes. At the end of this process, researchers able to organise a several themes that related to the research question (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

Moving on, **review the themes** will be the next stage of thematic analysis. Researchers will read the data that associated with each theme to review it again. Researchers will consider whether the theme is related to context and consider how the themes work across all the interview (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

Last stage of thematic analysis is **defined as the theme**. This is the final stage of thematic analysis. Researchers need to consider that the theme is it related with the main theme and how the themes related to each other. Researchers will illustrate the final relationship between each data. Researcher needs to identify theme and sub-themes of the research answer from the codebook and finalize it. Connections between categories and themes will be used to further understanding the research study and to shape the data for portrayal in researcher final document (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

In conclusion, this study will be conducted by the means of qualitative research with open-ended questions for a more in-depth and more effective perspective from the voters. 8 informants will be chosen from different social groups to further understand the opinions of each class in society regarding our studies. Lastly, the data will be analysed thoroughly for the important information to generate for the studies.

Chapter 4

Data Analysis and Finding

4.1 Introduction

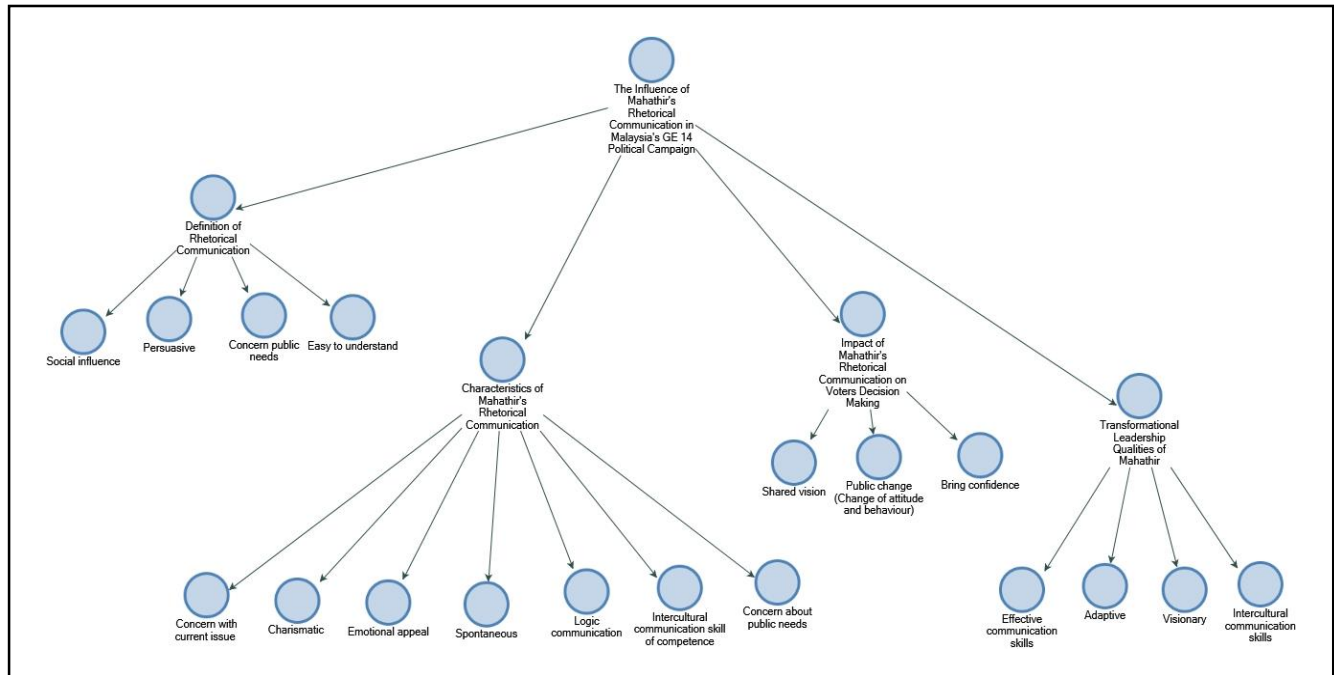


Figure 4.1.1 The Influence of Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication in Malaysia's GE 14 Political Campaign

In this study, two research questions have been investigated. First of all, **the characteristic of Mahathir's rhetorical communication that influence voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign had been explored.** Secondly, **the influence of Mahathir's rhetorical communication on voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign have been examined.** The results of the findings obtained by interviewing 8 informants varies from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO), politicians, academicians, media practitioners, and commoners in different ethnic groups that have voting rights in General Election 14. The validation of the results rely on a set of interview questions, specifically designed for the informants. All the questions have

been divided into three main themes which linked to the influence of Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication in Malaysia's GE 14.

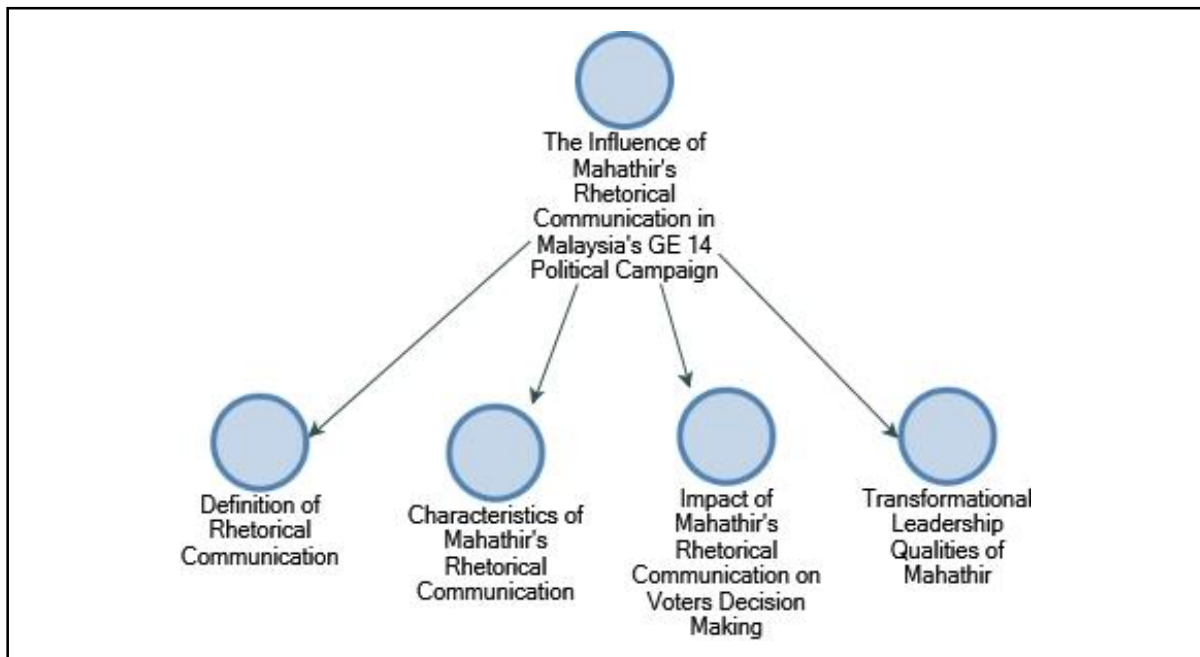


Figure 4.1.2 The Influence of Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication in Malaysia's GE 14 Political Campaign

Based on the data analysis, there are four main themes which explained the influence of Mahathir's rhetorical communication in Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign: **Definition of rhetorical communication, characteristics of Mahathir's rhetorical communication, impact of Mahathir's rhetorical communication on voter's decision making, and transformational leadership qualities of Mahathir.** These four main themes has provided an in-depth understanding on the definition of rhetorical communication, characteristic of Mahathir's rhetorical communication. It also provides researchers ample information regarding the impact of Mahathir's rhetorical communication on voter's decision making and transformational leadership qualities of Mahathir that informants had experienced on Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign.

4.2 Definition of Rhetorical Communication

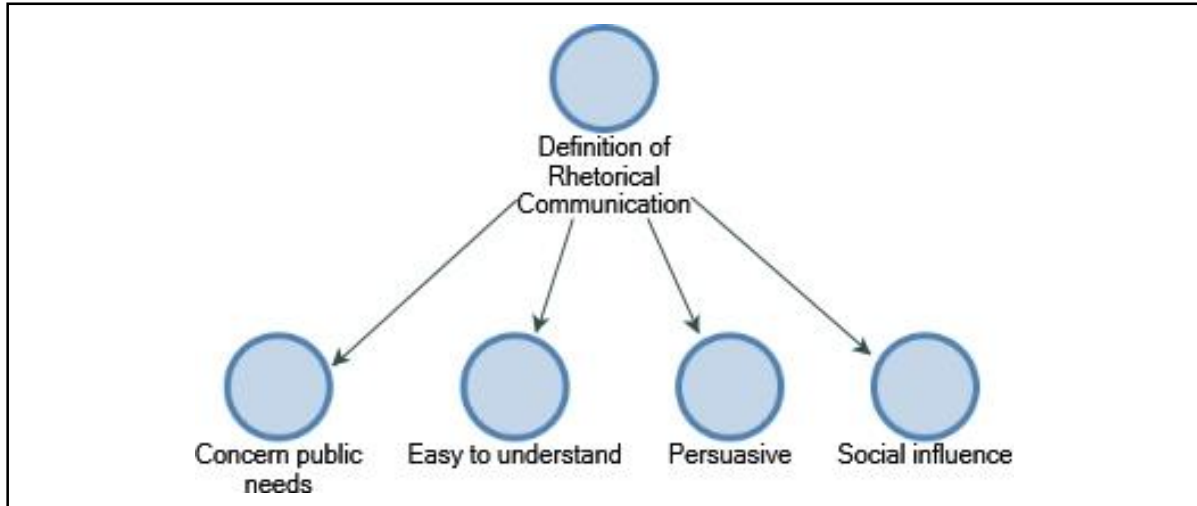


Figure 4.2.1 Definition of Rhetorical Communication

Definition of rhetorical communication can be explained through four nodes that has been identified in the figure above which are **concern public needs**, **easy to understand**, **persuasive** and **social influence**.

4.2.1 Concern Public Needs

Informant 4 perceive that rhetorical communication is a type of communication which **concerns about audience needs** whereby the speaker is able to understand the needs of the audience and hence, conveying the intended message to the audience. This is evident in the following transcript:

Informant 4

“Rhetorical communication is the way how we send out our message to the audience. For me, the way of how the speaker deliver message to the audience and the words that the speaker using.”

“a good rhetorical communication should include how the speaker understand their audience. When the speaker knows what is exactly their audience needs, they will send out a good rhetorical communication so that the audience can receive it and understand it easily what the message about.”

4.2.2 Easy to Understand

Based on informant 8, rhetorical communication is the transmission of message that could be easily interpreted by a large party. Informant 8 emphasized on the communication which is **obvious and people are able to effortlessly understand and trust** the conveyed messages.

4.2.3 Persuasive

A transformational leader should be able to **influence and alter people's mindset**. Rhetorical communication is able to persuade people, influence them and change their mind. Informant 7 mentioned that rhetorical communication is the ability to persuade the audience into gaining their favourable response. This statement is supported by informant 6 whereby he mentioned that rhetorical communication can change people's minds and persuade people. It is the power of persuasion when they are able to successfully change someone's mindset

Based on the interview sessions, the majority of the informants believed that rhetorical communication is a technique honed to connect with the audience emotionally. Rhetorical communication allowed Mahathir to change people's minds and persuade his audience. This is clearly stated in the following transcript:

Informant 1

“Rhetorical communication is the pattern of speaking. The words that are chosen to use when the speaker delivered the content.”

Informant 5

“Rhetorical communication is more on emotional communication. So, is like how the people is going to brainwash someone emotionally, or blackmailing someone emotionally.”

So it depends on the situation, either I am going to blackmail you emotionally or I am trying to convince you emotionally. So it depends on the speaker.”

“good rhetorical communication as I said they are good at convincing people and they know how to target the audience.”

Informant 6

“Rhetorical communication can change people’s minds and persuade people. Is the power of persuasion.”

Informant 7

“rhetorical communication ideally you want to elicit favourable response from your audience. Let’s say I try to sell you a notebook, that is also an example of rhetorical communication. Ideally, I want you to buy the notebook but if you say no and walk away that’s fine it’s a response, if you say you will think about it, it’s fine because it is a response. If you ignore me, that is not good. It must at the very least elicit a response.”

4.2.4 Social Influence

Based on the interviews, informants believed that the definition of rhetorical communication is a **way to influence the voters to make decisions** by using his choice of words to persuade the voters and lead to social change.

Informants 2 perceived that rhetorical communication as a technique to influence people into making decisions. Informant 3 added that it is not only to influence people into making decisions, but also to make decisions that are favourable to the speaker. This is portrayed in the following transcript:

Informant 2

“Rhetorical communication is a way to influence people to make decisions.”

“The characteristics of a good rhetorical communication which include the personality of the speaker, leadership skills, know how to influence people.”

Informant 3

“rhetorical communication is achieving specific results using your words in order to persuade your public or someone.”

4.3 Characteristics of Mahathir’s Rhetorical Communication

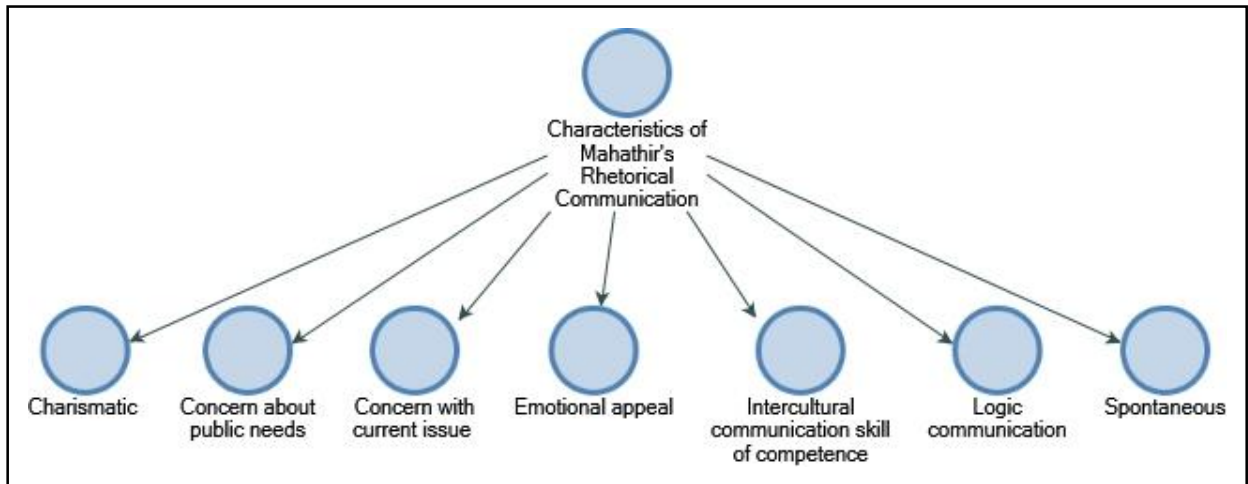


Figure 4.3.1 Characteristics of Mahathir’s Rhetorical Communication

Based on this study, it was found that characteristics of Mahathir’s rhetorical communication is divided into seven nodes, which are **charismatic, concern about public needs, concern with current issue, emotional appeal, intercultural communication skills of competence, logic communication and spontaneous.**

4.3.1 Charismatic

Current findings showed that **charisma** is the most preferable characteristic of Mahathir’s rhetorical communication. Based on the responses from 8 informants, Mahathir’s **charisma** could be defined as his own personality that are able to influence the voters based on his rhetorical communication and the voters would listen to him and have trust in him.

Majority of the informants perceived Mahathir’s charisma is the key towards his success to influence and persuade people. Informant 1 stated that his confidence during speeches generate trust in the public. This statement is supported by informant 7 who perceived Mahathir as a rock star, an individual who is capable of obtaining the support of

incalculable people through his charisma. Informant 4 also mentioned that the way he delivers his speech is attractive and able to garner the attention of many audiences. The transcripts are attached below:

Informant 1

“Mahathir rhetorical communication consists of the pattern of the way he delivers the content, the logic of the content and the tone of the voice when he delivers it.”

“The way he speaks is very confident, this led the voters to trust him even though he is 93 years old.”

Informant 2

“He also serious and have his own principle, so people respect him and listen to him.”

“When he giving speech, he didn’t just read from the text, he speaks with creative and every word is in his mind.”

Informant 4

“His speeches are very attractive. He always makes fun when he delivers his speech, it is able to catch the attention of the audience. I attended to Mahathir talk before, so I noticed that there is a lot of people attend his talk, no matter what age or what ethnic group.”

Informant 5

“he has the kind of aura, wherever he goes, people will trust him, people will follow whatever that he sees and he is a strong person.”

“he has his own charisma. And he knows how to influence”

“he has his one word, charismatic, with that charismatic and leadership, it is the most important thing that he has in his character.”

Informant 7

“Rhetoric communication was his most potent tool whereby wherever he goes he is like a rock star. He doesn’t need to speak a lot but people will automatically support him.”

4.3.2 Concern about Public Needs

Listening and **understanding the public's wants and needs** is the significance value of a transformational leader. According to the response from the informant, Mahathir is a leader who practices two-way communication to the people around him and the public. The public support him as a leader because they know that Mahathir is a person who understands what the current society needs.

Majority of the informants noticed that Mahathir is a leader who listens to the public and subordinates. Informant 1 mentioned that he embraces input and seek insights during meetings. He also favours in communicating with the public through press releases. This statement is supported by many other informants who also feel that Mahathir listens and understands what does public actually desires. This is clearly stated in the following transcript:

Informant 1

“He always listens to the people's needs. He will listen carefully to the needs of the people and he is also a good listener too. He has shown an aptitude for embracing input, especially from youthful voices in his own coalition like Syed Saddiq who spoke up about how Mahathir would often ask for insights during meetings.”

“even after he was sworn into the Prime Minister office, Mahathir continued communicating with the public through press conferences and statements on the initiatives by the new government, from investigating corruption to overhauling the nation's financial health spending.”

“We are not seeking revenge,” Mahathir said. “What we want to do is restore the rule of law.” This show he will bring Malaysia up again, this make the voters to trust him and support him again, that's why he knows what the voters want,”

Informant 3

“Most of the rhetorical communication was targeted on Malay community and the older generation because the young voters already said that they want a new government.”

Informant 4

“he always understands how to deliver the message to the audience so that can catch their attention.”

Informant 5

“he knows who is his target audience, he knows how to influence people and convince.”

“He knows who his target audiences are, he knows how to convince that person.”

Informant 7

“He says what the public wants to hear. He is that type of politician and that is how he won the general election.”

“His early speeches during the 80s and 90s were okay but overtime he improved a lot. He will speak the words you want to hear.”

Informant 8

“We as a party leader, we acknowledged him as our representative even though he used to be our "enemy”.”

4.3.3 Concern with Current Issue

As a developing Asian country, Malaysian citizens are bound to face many issues that has yet to be solved by the previous government. They are looking forward for the new government to implement new strategies to overcome those issues. Mahathir's rhetorical communication transmitted a solid message to the people of Malaysia in solving these matters upon Pakatan Harapan becoming the new government. Mahathir's rhetorical

communication **tackles the current issues** that are believed has gained the trust of his people.

Based on the interview sessions, informants 1, informant 3 mentioned that one of the preferable of Mahathir's characteristic of rhetorical communication is his concern towards current issues. The most pressing matter during general election 14 was the corruption of the country and he understands that it is an issue that needed immediate attention. This is evident in the following transcript:

Informant 1

“initiatives by the new government, from investigating corruption to overhauling the nation's financial health spending”

Informant 3

“That was one time when he called Najib a thief and all that. I think that really appeal the Malay community, because Mahathir is a part of the government which is Barisan Nasional last time, jumping ship over to Pakatan Harapan is a really impactful move in a way that he changes the Malay community views.”

“Mahathir rhetorical communication strengthens the belief of the voters to vote Pakatan Harapan. He also touches on the issue of the cost of living, the tolls and all that.”

4.3.4 Emotional Appeal

Emotional appeal is one of the important characteristics which lies under Mahathir's rhetorical communication. Based on the responses from 8 respondents, Mahathir is a leader who often uses his emotions to influence the voters. Mahathir possess strong emotional appeal whenever he delivers his speech or when he uploads news feeds on social media. He will place himself into the voter's perspective when it comes to talking to the people. Hence,

the voters are able feel that everyone is standing together as one through Mahathir's emotional appeal.

Based on the interview sessions, informant 3 and informant 4 mentioned that one of the preferable of Mahathir's characteristics of rhetorical communication is emotional appeal as he knows how to trigger the emotions of his audience and also to influence the people moving towards social change. Below are the following supported transcript:

Informant 3

“Pathos, he is able to persuade those voters because 90 plus years old, he still fighting for the country, so he appeals to the emotions to those voters.”

“We can see that one of the most like tweets in 2018 was Mahathir tweeted that he is back in office again. This gives impact for the voters to respect him working at this old age.”

Informant 4

“he always talks about 1MDB case because this is what brings up the anger from the audience to the previous government.”

“the way he speaks, very emotional because that might be his final speech before or after GE14, so the words he uses such we stand as one, we need to fight together, these words make the voters feel emotional because it feels like we stand as one to fight for the war.”

4.3.5 Intercultural Communication Skill of Competence

It is rather difficult for a leader to gain trust and support from diverse ethnic groups in the country. Therefore, it is utmost important for a leader to have **strong communication skills to be able to influence people's minds from different ethnic groups.**

Based on the interview sessions, informants mentioned that Mahathir is a leader who is able to influence different ethnic groups to trust and support him. He is able to influence

people's minds and brings unity among different ethnic's group in Malaysia. Majority of the informants stated that his way of communicating is never biased towards any race but instead, he stays focused on the welfare of the country. Informant 2 specifically mentioned that his authority and background are able to sway the people voting decision towards Pakatan Harapan. Informant 8 added that Mahathir is the magnet that unites everyone toward the same goal. This is evident in the following transcript:

Informant 1

“He leads the voters to the right way. During his speech, he is able to lead the voters and straighten their mind. People start to support him when he stands up for Malaysia again.

So I think the role would lead the way for the voters.”

“he is able to change people's perception and influence their attitude towards GE 14. He has a good attitude or behaviour that able to lead the people to trust him.”

“When he delivers the speech, we know that he is not a leader that only concern for majority ethnic, this will lead other ethnic to support him again. The words that he uses is always for every ethnic group.”

Informant 2

“Mahathir is a leader which knows how to influence people, the way he speaks can easily influence people”

“Mahathir has his own authority, and background which able to influence people.”

“Everyone was afraid to change in the past especially Malay ethnic group, but Mahathir stand for Pakatan Harapan, this able to change their mind to vote for Pakatan Harapan.

The way he speaks able to influence voters to trust him.”

“Influencing the voters in GE14. The words he uses is straight to the point, he knows what his audience needs during GE 14. His role giving a huge impact on GE 14, when he used

rheterical communication, he able to bring everyone stand as one and trust from the voters to believe in him.”

“The most unique characteristic is the way he speaks, people know that he has a strong leadership to lead Malaysia. Is not only he knows how to speak well, but he has leadership skills and easy to influence people.”

Informant 3

“Before Mahathir came over to Pakatan Harapan, the Malay community do not fully believe the claims on DAP regarding all this Najib being a thief under the IMDB. When Mahathir saying this, is really bring up a strong message to the Malay community.”

“Mahathir play an important role but it wasn’t playing a main cause in GE 14. It was a significant impact in Malay community but also due to social media to getting more aware of getting all the news on the previous government.”

Informant 6

“He is a father figure. He groups everybody together. He has an ability to get everyone together and he is the one who brings the unity. Even others politics from other parties also look he is like a father figure and the new generation are love it.”

Informant 8

“It is a collective party’s decision that we needed him to win the election. We saw that he has the “magnet” to pull us together.”

4.3.6 Logic Communication

Logic communication is one of the characteristics of Mahathir’s rhetorical communication based on the interview data. Mahathir always would argue when he is delivering his speech by providing strong evidence. This type of communication is one of the characteristics that interviewees like about him.

Throughout these findings, informants 1, 3 and 4 agreed that one of the characteristics of Mahathir's rhetorical communication is logic communication. Informant 4 understands that Mahathir talks with proof and action. This is supported by informant 1 as informant 1 view Mahathir as a well informed and even-handed leader when he is delivering content or messages. This is clearly stated in the following transcript:

Informant 1

“Mahathir rhetorical communication consists of the pattern of he delivers the content”
“His argument and messages projected him as competent, sincere, well informed, even-handed, and the concern of others welfare. Assertive and directives were also used by Mahathir as persuasive devices.”

Informant 3

“Logos being logical, he knows what is happening and going on Malaysia economics on the recent GE 14, basically he knows how to convince the voters voting for BN is not a good choice because of the scandals.”
“He has proven himself being a strong communicator. Using his word, logic to convince the voters.”

Informant 4

“For me Mahathir speech is logic, he talked with evidence, but not just talk by himself such as Najib case”

4.3.7 Spontaneous

One of the most important aspects of Mahathir's rhetorical communication is the way he reacts towards his audience's questions. He is **able to stay calm when it comes to answering the questions both directly and indirectly**. He is able to turn the question into his talking point effortlessly.

Based on the interview sessions, all informants noticed his ability to stay calm in analysing and answering questions. He is also able to include jokes in his speeches to generate a greater picture for the audience. Informant 2 understands that Mahathir is witty and sometimes sarcastic as he will crack little jokes with the audience but not when under pressure from media or questions. Informant 7 supported this statement by providing an example of Mahathir's communication method. Informant 7 mentioned that when he asked Mahathir a tough question, he is able to stay calm and turn the answer into his favour. This is portrayed in the following transcript:

Informant 1

“At every public appearance he makes, he answered questions about the state of the nation’s economy and politics with calmness and confidence.”

Informant 2

“he knows how to entertain the audience, he knows how to make joke during media conference, he also very good in answering media questions, he always straight to the point when answering media questions.”

“Calm, he always speaks with calm. He won’t get angry when the media ask him any sensitive question. He always thinks before speaking and speak calmly.”

Informant 4

“He knows the audience like about joke, he talks about sensitive issue even other not dare to do it.”

Informant 5

“When he voices out anything, he doesn't care if you like or you don't like, it's nothing to do with,”

Informant 6

“He is able to persuade people by his sarcasm and straight to the point,”

Informant 7

“I once managed to ask him a very controversial question, but he managed to dodge the question and turn it around to another one of his talking points and that takes skill.”

“his opinion is very direct. He is not afraid to speak his mind. I perceive him as a dictator, very direct. Looking from his academic background, Mahathir is a doctor. He is trained to give diagnosis therefore he is very direct and never sugar coat his words. He brings this kind of style into politics where his ideas are always one sided or the other, no middle ground.”

Informant 8

“good communicator. He knows what he is saying. He knows how to put words together. He is good at handling awkward questions and controlling the situation.”

4.4 Impact of Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication on Voters Decision Making

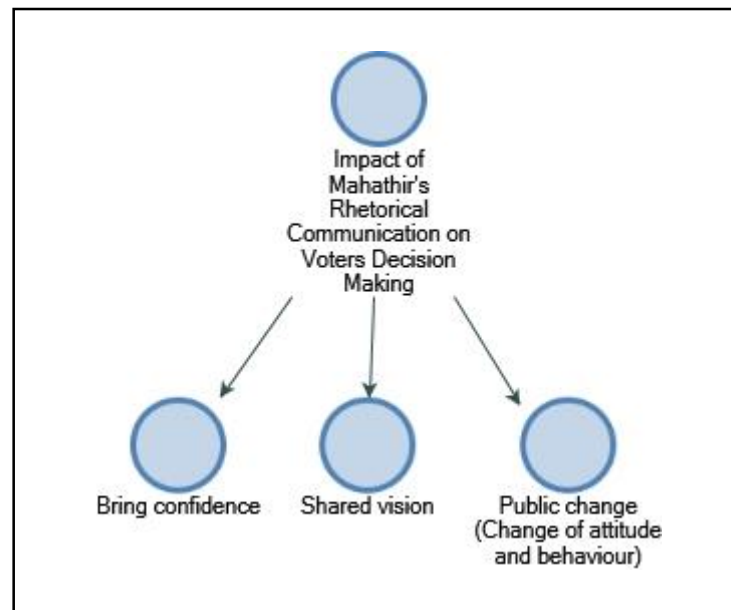


Figure 4.4.1 Impact of Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication on Voters Decision Making

In this study, the impact of Mahathir's rhetorical communication on voter's decision making has also been investigated. The impact is divided into three main impacts which are **bring confidence, shared vision and public change (change of attitude and behaviour)**.

4.4.1 Bring Confidence

Mahathir's rhetorical communication is able to **bring confidence in the public** towards a new change in society. The way he conducts himself and his spirit towards the nation are able to unite the citizens toward a common mind-set which is to have faith and trust in him to lead the country. His past experience as the fourth prime minister gave confidence to the public that he is still one of the best candidates to bring in social change towards the society.

This statement can be seen from the interview conducted with the informants, whereby they felt his enthusiasm and confidence, believing that Mahathir can bring out the best to continue leading Malaysia. Informant 3 specifically mentioned that as Mahathir was

previously the fourth prime minister of the country, and the fact that he stood up once again to lead the country has managed to earn great respect and confidence from the public. Informant 4 agreed and stated that due to his past achievements, he is able to garner the attention of others and support him. This is portrayed in the following transcript:

Informant 1

“Voters also feel emotions when looking at him work for Malaysia. Ya, this led them to support him”

Informant 2

“he is a leader that knows how to influence people. His background, good personality such as he is a lecturer, leadership skills, the way he speaks, the word he uses able to influence voters in GE 14.”

Informant 3

“He didn’t change my decision but strengthen my opinion and point of view towards the GE 14. News on social media spreads very fast, so we are able to know all the news from the previous government,”

“Mahathir as a leader because he has been one of the transformational leaders for Malaysia and he changed a lot of things in Malaysia bring Malaysia to a new era. His rhetorical communication is very impactful, the way he uses his word, the way he talks is able to change the thought of the voters.”

Informant 4

“I admire him since I know about the previous thing that he has done for Malaysia, so before he stands out for GE 14, I know that I will support him. The trustworthiness from me to him able to influence me to make the decision during GE 14.”

Informant 5

“Is that what Najib did, he did something wrong and everything and IMDB issue, so this particular IMDB issue actually is not that he started, someone has already started, so when he tries to explain to people, people will be interested when they are interested, they believe he will do something, so they will become changes when he vote for him, means he is going to solve the problem and the other thing is country debt, people believe that country debt that there is possibility that to solve the country's debt when he is in the position.”

Informant 7

“During the time of ceramah you will be bursting with passion. Even though you no longer remember the content when you get home, you will have the impression that he was very good.”

4.4.2 Shared Vision

Mahathir’s rhetorical communication is able to lead the voters in having a **shared vision**. He is a transformational leader with ambitious vision to lead Malaysia towards a brighter future. The clear shared vision between Mahathir and the voters are the key factors in contributing to the change of the new government.

Informant 2 and Informant 8 claimed that Mahathir’s rhetorical communication has brought them in having a shared vision. They noticed that Mahathir’s future plan on Malaysia is directly proportional to what people seek to have in the near future. By having the same vision, people can unite as one and support him. The transcripts are attached below:

Informant 2

“Mahathir is like a brand, people know about him so when he wants to deliver any speech, people will feel interested to listen to him, people want to know what his plan on Malaysia, this attracts a lot of people to listen to him and bring the impact on voters decision making.”

Informant 8

“He has a very clear vision. The focus is always on him from the public.”

“We are serious in correcting what is wrong: corruption and proposing legal 18-year-old employees”

4.4.3 Public Change (change of attitude and behaviour)

Mahathir's rhetorical communication has the force to alter the social structure of Malaysia citizens and pushes people to **make a change in the community for a better country**. Mahathir has the "aura" that made people believed in him and strived forward together to change the current society.

Based on the 4 informants that came from different backgrounds, Mahathir rhetorical communication greatly impacts citizens' mind and thus leading them to take action into making changes in the society. This is portrayed in the following transcript:

Informant 1

“Assertive were used to emphasize and confirm facts or to assert beliefs whereas directives were used to suggest, recommend or command to encourage his listeners to perform actions and influence their attitudes.”

Informant 3

“He achieves the purpose of his intended message which is to change the government and the way he conveys all those speeches and messages in all his campaign can be used as an example as we can appeal to the mass public.”

Informant 4

“He able to change the mind or decision of the voters using the words or statements that he gave during the speech.”

Informant 5

“No need for me to answer, based on the GE, people know that he is a leader for everyone, if he is not there, for sure there is no changes. Because of him, people vote for him, so what you say just now, yes, he usually will say we, so yes, as a leader, they have to include themselves in the society rather than “I”, I was isolating myself.”

4.5 Transformational Leadership Qualities of Mahathir

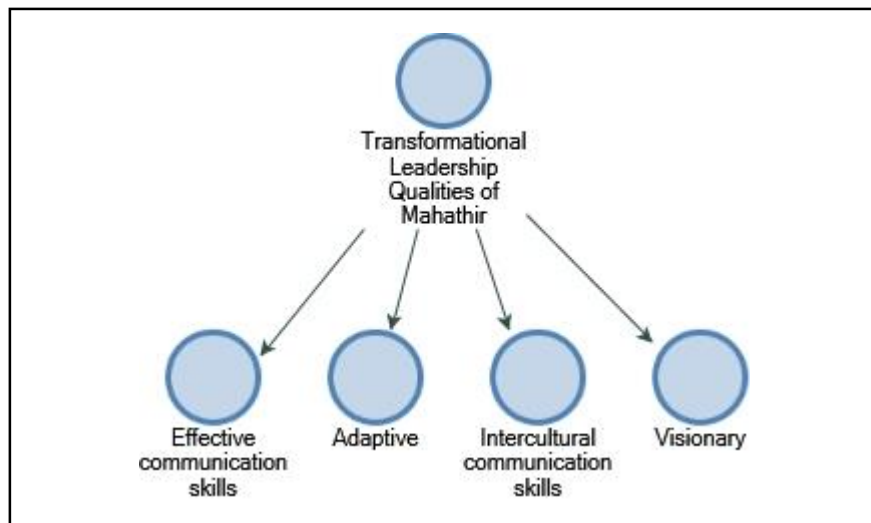


Figure 4.5.1 Transformational Leadership Qualities of Mahathir

Based on this study, transformational leadership qualities of Mahathir can be explained through four nodes that had been identified in the figure above, which are **effective communication skills, adaptive, intercultural communication skills and visionary**.

4.5.1 Effective Communication Skills

Based on the interview, the informants stated that a quality of transformational leader must have an **effective communication skill** to be able to influence the public. He always thinks rationally before he communicates. He able to lead other leaders with his communication skills, acting as a role model for them.

Informant 2 perceived that Mahathir is a role model who nurtures future leaders, especially the younger generations in terms of communicating effectively. Informant 6 added that with the change in society, he approached different aspects and angles. Hence

providing a guide for the younger generation and future leaders. This is evident in the following transcript:

Informant 2

“Mahathir is a leader view as a model for other leadership to follow him. “He builds a bridge for other leader to cross over”.”

Informant 5

“So when Mahathir is in the position, he already say that I cannot abolish the toll, it will affect the country income, because we have to think rationally,”

Informant 6

“He has done so many things which he has never done before, leading young people and he is a collective man.”

“He is trying his best. There are a lot of obstacles and he can’t always peace everybody at one time.”

4.5.2 Adaptive

GE14 is the first political change that occur in Malaysia. Previously, Mahathir stand on the opposite side but during GE-14, he had adapted to the current changes of society and understand his standings in the society. Even though he is growing old, his still has an **open mind to accept the changes and able to adapt into a new environment** which could influence both older and future generations.

Based on the interview sessions, the majority of informants mentioned that Mahathir is a person who is flexible towards the changes of the current world. Informant 3 stated that people from the older generation are less likely to accept changes but not Mahathir as he is prone to changes and able to assimilate it with grace. This is portrayed in the following transcript:

Informant 2

“Mahathir is stand on other parties’ side last time, now he stands on other parties again, the way he thinks must be different from the past.”

Informant 3

“We have this mind-set that older people don’t want to change but Mahathir has proven that even though he is 93 years old he still accepts the change.”

Informant 5

“With the job opportunity, economic development, with the social ecology development, some more with the nation development. He had put Malaysia in a certain rank. After our Merdeka, we cannot compete with Japan, but compared to the Asian country, I can say that our country is considered developed, but overall is a developing country but compared to Asian region, we seem like we have been developed. We have done good things, not including Japan, Japan is a very developed country, so is like he did something which actually try to increase living style and our social influence in society, not only in society but worldwide.”

Informant 8

“Reform will be a suitable word. Due to how our current society behave.”

4.5.3 Intercultural Communication Skills

Intercultural communication skills play a crucial role in Malaysia giving that this is a multicultural country. Mahathir is able to use this as his advantage in his rhetorical communication because he could understand the public from different ethnic groups have different perspectives and requires different ways to maintain a proper two-way communication with them.

This indicates that Mahathir has sufficient intercultural communication skills to convince the public and able to bring all races together towards the same goal. Examples of

his intercultural communication skills can be perceived from statements made by the majority of informants. Informant 1 mentioned that he does not marginalised any specific ethnic groups and in return, he gained the respect and support from everyone. Informant 3 noticed that although Mahathir is only stating the facts, his speech is still able to sway the Malay community into trusting him. This is clearly stated in the following transcript:

Informant 1

“He leads the voters to the right way. During his speech, he is able to lead the voters and straighten their mind. People start to support him when he stands up for Malaysia again.

So I think the role would lead the way for the voters.”

“When he delivers the speech, we know that he is not a leader that only concern for majority ethnic, this will lead other ethnic to support him again. The words that he uses is always for every ethnic group.”

Informant 2

“Everyone was afraid to change in the past especially Malay ethnic group, but Mahathir stand for Pakatan Harapan, this able to change their mind to vote for Pakatan Harapan.

The way he speaks able to influence voters to trust him.”

“Influencing the voters in GE14. The words he uses is straight to the point, he knows what his audience needs during GE 14. His role giving a huge impact on GE 14, when he used rhetorical communication, he able to bring everyone stand as one and trust from the voters to believe in him.”

Informant 3

“Before Mahathir came over to Pakatan Harapan, the Malay community do not fully believe the claims on DAP regarding all this Najib being a thief under the IMDB. When Mahathir saying this, is really bring up a strong message to the Malay community.”

“Mahathir play an important role but it wasn't playing a main cause in GE 14. It was a significant impact in Malay community but also due to social media to getting more aware of getting all the news on the previous government.”

Informant 6

“He is a father figure. He groups everybody together. He has an ability to get everyone together and he is the one who brings the unity. Even others politics from other parties also look he is like a father figure and the new generation are love it.”

Informant 8

“It is a collective party's decision that we needed him to win the election. We saw that he has the “magnet” to pull us together.”

4.5.4 Visionary

Visionary is an essential quality in becoming a transformational leader. Mahathir, as a transformational leader has a clear vision on what he wants to do. He has set long term goals for the country and for himself. He knows his goal and vision, which are vital in transforming the country. This element has allowed him to gain trust from the voters.

Based on the interview sessions, most informants mentioned that visionary is one of the transformational leadership qualities of Mahathir. Informant 3 mentioned that during his position as the fourth prime minister, he introduced vision 2020. Now, he is back to set new goals for the future of the country. Informant 8 also explicitly stated that he has a very

clear vision towards how should Malaysia proceed into a developed country. This is evident in the following transcript:

Informant 3

“He has proven himself to be a politician and a country leader that can bring about change to the country in a lot of ways. He brought about the vision 2020, I even know that we are far from achieving it, but he has set the goals and consider a lot of things for a long run for Malaysia. He is also working to better the nation.”

Informant 4

“he keeps away his personal issue but able to put Malaysia first before other issue that he might consider.”

Informant 5

“what he has done to the country when he is governing the country, he is managing the country, he is the Prime Minister of Malaysia, how he develops the country, what are the transformation that he has actually done to Malaysia.”

Informant 8

“He has a very clear vision.”

“We had a meeting with him, where everyone is trying to convince him to be the candidate. He rejected the ideas as he has a solid reason and vision. He knows what he is doing.”

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusion

Based on the findings, this study had answered the two research questions. This chapter will further discuss the findings based on the method used. The first research question is to identify the characteristics of Mahathir's rhetorical communication that influence voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign and the second research question is to explain Mahathir's rhetorical communication influence voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE14 political campaign.

5.1 Rhetorical Communication Conception

According to the findings, the concept of rhetorical communication preferred by the informants are the concern about public needs, easy to understand, persuasive and social influence. **Rhetorical communication** falls under the umbrella of transformational leadership communication. Rhetorical skills consist of **Ethos, Pathos and Logos** by Aristotelian to influence or persuade the intended audience (Barrett, 2014). Barrett (2014) further describe **Ethos, Pathos and Logos** as the three types of rhetorical communication appeals aimed to manipulate public opinion.

Firstly, according to the informants, one of the concepts of rhetorical communication is **concerned public needs**. Rhetorical communication is a way of how a speaker send out their message to his or her public. Moreover, an excellent rhetorical communication is the leader who is able to understand and concern about their audiences. By understanding the audience's exact needs, the leaders are able to send out a powerful rhetorical communication which is easy to understand and received by the audiences. This can be associated with the appeals which is provided by Barrett (2014), Ethos. It is the means of understanding the

public's concern or requirements and tries to satisfy them. It is considered the most ethical way of speech a leader can use to create social change and gather the support of the public.

Secondly, the next concept of rhetorical communication is **easy to understand**. Based on the findings, rhetorical communication is a powerful communication that is obvious and easy to understand by a large number of audiences. Furthermore, simply comprehended and reliable. The findings can be considered as a new discovery in rhetorical communication field.

Next, the following concept of rhetorical communication mentioned by the informants is **persuasive**. Based on the findings, the informants indicated that rhetorical communication has power of persuasion to change people's mind and get a favourable response from the audiences. Moreover, rhetorical communication is more on emotional, is a way to convince and influence people emotionally, rhetorical communication is also a good way for speakers to target their audience. This can be associated with the definition provided by Barret (2006), which is creating a positive ethos aids in the art of persuasion, understanding what motivates others to listen and to act will help as well, thus the importance of emotional intelligence for any leader. Without emotional intelligence, leaders cannot communicate with and manage others effectively. The findings can be related to **pathos** appeal which is defined as how a speaker appeals to the emotion of his publics and the intonation of the speech (Demirdogen, 2010).

Based on the findings from the informants, **social influence** can be defined as one of the concepts of rhetorical communication. Rhetorical communication able to influence people in decision making, and a good characteristic of rhetorical communication included leadership skill and the personality which able to influence people. This is a new discovery for rhetorical communication.

5.2 Characteristics of Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication

A rhetoric power plays a role in the rise of power for leaders since classical age of Pericles (Crick, 2018). In our modern world, speeches are everywhere but speeches with the rhetoric element in it will give it vitality and impact, soothing for the ears of the mass (Dlugan, 2008). Dlugan (2008) also mentioned that a strong rhetorical communication must include the ingredients of rhetorical communication in order to influence the public in attitude or behaviour change. Based on the findings, there are different ingredients of Mahathir's rhetorical communication that is being preferred by the informants such as **charismatic, concern about public needs, concern with current issue, emotional appeal, intercultural communication skills of competence, logic communication and spontaneous**. This finding is relevant with four "I" of rhetorical communication that includes idealized influence, individualized consideration, intellectual stimulation and inspirational motivation (David, 2014).

According to the informants of the study, one of the characteristics of Mahathir's rhetorical communication is charisma. Mahathir's **charismatic personality** is able to influence the voters in attitude and behaviour change. Mahathir delivering the political speech with confidence and without any reference from the script, this led the voters to focus on his speech and build trust between the voters. He has his own charismatic personality that lead the voters able to listen to him and respect him. He has a kind of aura that able to influence the voters to follow and trust him. This finding is relevant to one of the four "I" of rhetorical communication, idealized influence. According to Imani (2015), idealized influence can be expressed through a transformational leader that willing to take the risk and such leaders have a set of values and ethical principles in their actions. Through this concept of idealized influence leader, they are able to build trust and confidence towards their followers or the public.

Next characteristic of Mahathir's rhetorical communication is **concern about public needs**. Based on the findings, Mahathir is a leader that is able to listen and understand the public wants and needs so that he can communicate better with the public. Each ethnic group has specific needs and wants and he is able to listen to it and care about it. This led the voters to trust him when he is delivering any speech during GE 14. Informants also mentioned that **concern with current issue** is one of the characteristics of Mahathir's rhetorical communication. As a developing Asian country, Malaysian citizens are bound to face many issues that has yet to be solved by the previous government. They are looking forward for the new government to implement new strategies to overcome those issues. Mahathir's rhetorical communication transmitted a solid message to the people of Malaysia in solving these matters upon Pakatan Harapan becoming the new government. Mahathir's rhetorical communication tackles on the current issues that are believed has gained the trust of his people. These characteristics of Mahathir's rhetorical communication is relevant with one of the four "I" of rhetorical communication which is individualized consideration that provided by David (2014). He defined that individualized consideration is a characteristic of a leader that understand about the public needs and desires. The leader must able to recognize those needs and desires through observation so that able to influence or motivate the followers.

Based on the findings, the informants mentioned that **emotional appeal** can be defined as one of the ingredients of Mahathir's rhetorical communication. Mahathir is a leader who often uses his emotional to influence the voters. Mahathir poses a strong emotional appeal whenever he delivers his speech or when he posts anything on social media. He will place himself into the voter's perspective. Hence, the voters feel that everyone stands together as one through the emotional appeal of Mahathir. Next characteristic will be **intercultural communication skills of competence**. As Malaysia is a

multicultural country, is very important that a leader should have intercultural communication skills of competence. When Mahathir is delivering his speech, the voters know that his rhetorical communication is not only focused on the majority ethnic group but all ethnic groups in Malaysia. This is able to influence the voters to listen to him. He has the “magnet” to pull all of the ethnic stand together. This leads the followers or voters to involve in the decision making and to vote for Pakatan Harapan. This finding can be supported by one of the four “I” of rhetorical communication which is intellectual stimulation. According to Ayub, Manaf and Hamzah (2014), intellectual stimulation values the creativity or the skills that came from the leader to influence the followers to change. The leader is able to challenge assumptions and solicits ideas to the followers without criticizing. The most important thing in intellectual stimulation is able to change the way, the attitude or behaviour of the followers with the skills of rhetorical communication.

Based on the findings from the informants, **logic communication** can be defined as one of the characteristics of Mahathir’s rhetorical communication. Mahathir’s rhetorical communication consists of the way on how he delivers the message with logical appeal. He always argued when delivering his speech with strong evidence as one of the characteristics that the informants like about him. He used his words and logical appeal to convince the voters and able to influence them. Other than that, **spontaneous** also one of Mahathir’s rhetorical communication’s ingredients that preferred by the informants. Mahathir is spontaneous, able to transmit powerful messages, speaks with facts and has an excellent body language. He able to stay calm and answer the questions both directly and indirectly. He is able to turn the questions into his talking point effortlessly. This finding can be associated with the inspirational motivation in four “I”. Inspirational motivation refers to the leader that able to inspire confidence and motivate the followers to change. The leader must convey his or her message with a sense of authority and ability to point out the positive. This

aspect of rhetorical communication requires a strong communication skill as a leader that able to motivate the followers to change (David, 2014).

5.2 Impact of Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication on Voters Decision Making

Mahathir's rhetorical communication has brought a great impact towards the voters' decision making. In our study, we have discovered that Mahathir's rhetorical communication is able to **bring confidence in the public, lead the voters in having a shared vision and lead to public change in terms of attitude and behaviour.**

Based on the findings from the informants, they claimed that Mahathir's rhetorical communication can **bring confidence** to them. This confidence has motivated them to make a new change in the society. As a leader for a country, experiences and communication plays an important role. Mahathir is a former lecturer and he had experience in leading the country for 22 years. All these factors are one of the persuasive points which can gain trust and confidence in the public. One of the informants explained that the way Mahathir speaks has also gained confidence in public where Mahathir mentioned that the country's debt will be solved once he is the prime minister of the country. Public trust his enthusiasm and confident can bring Malaysia to a brighter future.

Besides, Mahathir has successfully led the voters in **having a shared vision**. Based on our study, the informants highlighted that they feel interested in listening to Mahathir's speech. The voters are able to foresee the future of the country from the way Mahathir delivers his speech. The voters are clear about the future plan of Mahathir in Malaysia. Other than that, Mahathir also used Najib as his stepping stone for him to influence the voters' decision. During his speech, he promised to Malaysians that he will start investigating the 1MDB Issue once his coalition takes over the government. This is also one of the mutual

interests between Mahathir and the voters which has led to the changes of the voters' decision making.

Another impact of Mahathir rhetorical communication towards voters' decision making is the **public change**. Out of 8 informants, half of them emphasize that Mahathir is a transformational leader who is able to transform them regardless of attitude or behaviour. The informants mentioned that Mahathir has the aura that made people believed in him and strived forward together to change the current society. This can be seen clearly in GE 14. Mahathir is able to use his speech and his words in changing the public's attitude and behaviour. The voters' attitude towards Pakatan Harapan and Mahathir is strong and this has marked a victory for Pakatan Harapan in GE 14. This can prove that Mahathir's rhetorical communication brings a great impact towards the public.

5.3 Transformational Leadership Quality of Mahathir

Mahathir's transformational leadership qualities is an accomplishment of the four dimensions of a transformational leader: idealized influence, inspirational motivation, individualized consideration, intellectual stimulation (Boies, Fiset & Gill, 2015). Mahathir has notable transformational leadership qualities that we can spot from the way he leads. Based on the informants in this study, there are four significant transformational leadership qualities which Mahathir had successfully portrait, gaining uncountable compliments for his people of Malaysia. The four qualities are: **effective communication Skills, adaptive, intercultural communication skills, and visionary**.

Transformational leadership is a development of a leader and his followers to bring up one and another to a higher prospect of morality and motivation (Mehari, 2015). Therefore, a transformational leader should be equipped with qualities based on the need of his followers. According to informant in this study, Mahathir is a transformational leader

that is equipped with **effective communication skills**. Mahathir is being held up as a role model for leaders to follow as he build a bridge for the other leaders to crossover. This statement can be referred with **idealized influence** explains that Mahathir leads in a way whereby his followers would want to imitate, or to surpass him as the role of a leader (Boies, Fiset & Gill, 2015). To add on, Mahathir's communication skills effectiveness is to an extent that his messages are able to influence the minds of his followers and his people. Mahathir communicates to the public with a higher order thinking skill and he is also rational when comes to decision making. According to Boies, Fiset and Gill (2015), **intellectual stimulation** is a form whereby the leader challenges his followers' preconceived ideas by encouraging innovation as well as creativity in solving problems. Our informant stated that when Mahathir is in position, he said that "I cannot abolish the toll, it will affect the country income, because we have to think rationally". This statement shows the intellectual stimulation of Mahathir in challenging public's ideas to abolish the toll and emphasis that they (public) should think rationally as abolishing the tolls will affect the welfare of Malaysia.

The second transformational leadership qualities of Mahathir is **adaptive**. Mahathir adaptiveness able to be viewed when he decided to change party during the GE14, leading the coalition toward the success of Malaysia's first political change since Merdeka. Based on our informant, people might perceive a 93 years old leader's thinking would be traditional and unable to comprehend with the current society but it is appeared to be different from what people perceive. Mahathir is able to accept and adapt to the current changes, thus putting in significant effort in reforming current society. Mahathir possessed an open mind and being flexible which he is able to accept the changes and adapt to new environment to influence the public including the newer generation. According to Su-Hie (2018), different culture is susceptible to different types of rhetorical communication. Therefore, it could be

shown that Mahathir is able to adapt his communication, fitting it with what his people need to hear and know.

Mahathir transformational leadership qualities also includes **intercultural communication skills**. Bardhan (2018) stated that rhetorical communication theories affirm the advocacy to approach intercultural context and situations for intercultural rhetoric. The interpretation of rhetorical communication is beneficial by the comparative approach which provides the speculations with due respect in other cultures. Mahathir understands that Malaysia is a multicultural country with a diverse ethnicity and each of them have different way of thinking, therefore it is a necessity to adapt and improvise when dealing with them. Mahathir is able to bring people from different ethnic together moving towards the same goal, which is making Malaysia a better place. Based on our findings, an informant stated that “When he delivers the speech, we know that he is not a leader that only concern for majority ethnic, this will lead other ethnic to support him again. The words that he uses is always for every ethnic group.” (He, referring to Mahathir), proven that people are willing to listen and support his decision as the leader of a country. It is the rhetorical communication contribute to the reason Dr Mahathir’s leadership blossom for many years and his speeches often contain the rhetorical speeches of the rhetorical triangle when communicating with the audience (Paramasivam, 2014). Mahathir is able to gain the trust of the people even though they are from different ethnicity.

Lastly for the qualities of a transformational leader of Mahathir, he is no doubt a **visionary** leader that has the development of Malaysia planned few years down the road. He is clear of what he was doing and what he is going to do when it comes to leading the development of the country. Informants have stated that “What he has done to the country when he is governing the country, he is managing the country, he is the Prime Minister of Malaysia, how he develops the country, what are the transformation that he has actually

done to Malaysia.”, “He has proven himself to be a politician and a country leader that can bring about change to the country in a lot of ways. He brought about the vision 2020, even I know that we are far from achieving it, but he has set the goals and consider a lot of things for a long run for Malaysia. He is also working for the better of the nation.”, “He has a very clear vision.” has significantly shown that Mahathir’s action in leading the country are also felt and impacted by the society. People perceived Mahathir as a Visionary leader. According to Tyssen, Wald & Spieth (2014), transformational leadership consist of a few dimensions which is person-oriented factors and one of it is visionary leadership, thus it is presumed that a transformational leader is able to generate positive changes in their followers’ beliefs and expectations.

5.4 Model of Rhetorical Communication for Voter’s Decision Change

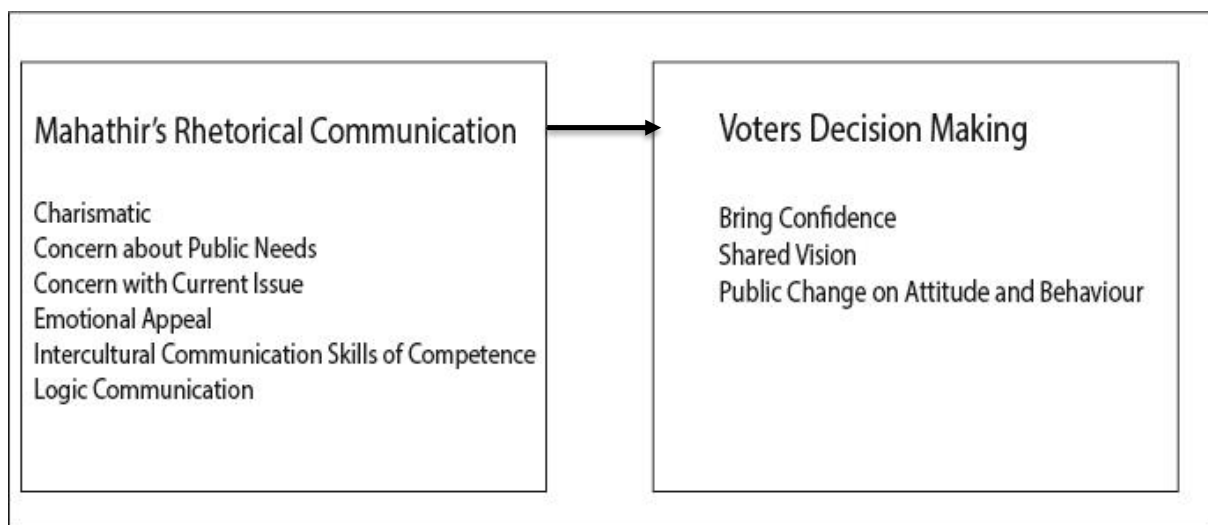


Figure 5.1.1 Model of Rhetorical Communication for Voter’s Decision Change

Rhetorical communication is an essential element for a transformational leader. Hence, in this study, a new model of rhetorical communication for voters’ decision change has been discovered. Leader who has the characteristics mentioned (Charismatic, Concern about Public Needs, Concern with Current Issue, Emotional Appeal, Intercultural Communication

Skills of Competence, Logic Communication and spontaneous) is able to influence an individual's decision making.

This model aims to act as a guideline for leader who wants to persuade and influence an individual's decision making. By referring to this model, leader will understand the element they need in order to create social change. Due to this, they can communicate more effectively towards the listener and persuade people towards a social change.

This research has successfully interviewed 8 informants from different background and different culture. The finding is on multicultural perspective. In another words, this model has a great contribution to the leaders from the multicultural society. It is effective for leaders who are going to take part in the upcoming election. They can refer to the model and they will able to gain support from their followers and voters. Moreover, this model is helpful in the future research study. Future researchers can rely on this model for them to explore more on the similar topic. They will have a clearer understanding when they are studying on the similar topic.

Thus, this model may significantly become a reference for anyone who has a same interest in becoming a transformational leader and the future researcher.

5.5 Contribution

There are a few notable contributions generated from this study. It is contributed both practical and theoretical towards the **public** and **leaders**. By studying the model of Mahathir's rhetorical communication, future leaders can imitate it as a guideline towards better leadership communication skills by using rhetoric power and effectively create social change for the society. Focusing on theoretical aspect, body of knowledge regarding rhetorical communications can be improved for the society. The dimension of rhetorical

communication can also be further developed following the study model; thus, providing more support towards the literature of rhetorical communication.

5.6 Limitation of Study

All research papers are faced with limitations and this study is not excluded. In this study, an assumption is made that all informants interviewed is based on honest reflection. By conducting the interviews, there are many opinions and information were generated from different sources and different educational background. However, there are no means to determine whether this information were the honest opinions from the informant. They might be providing information biased towards the study in order to conform to the topic or provide information that was circulated in the public instead of their personal thoughts. The interviews conducted can only be converted into transcription based on the assumption and trust towards the truthfulness of the informant. Thus, it may generate a negative impact towards the quality of the findings.

The second limitation found in conducting this study is the context of discussion. This study focuses on the multicultural aspect of rhetorical communication towards a transformational leader such as Mahathir. This study also focuses on how rhetorical communication create an impact during general election. Therefore, it is considered a very niche topic that might not be applicable to many contexts especially towards research that focused on a single culture. As the study proceeds towards how different cultures and ethnic groups perceive rhetorical communication, it has a deficit of an in-depth understanding towards one particular culture but instead, it fuses all opinions of different cultures and perspectives. This study also focuses on the impacts towards general election whereby all our findings revolve around how a leader create social change during election period. In this case, the context of discussion was only generated towards general election and not of any other context which may not be applicable in different situations.

5.7 Suggestion of Future Research

After conducting this study, it was found out that a few improvements can be made by future researchers regarding similar topics. The first suggestion is to generate a **wider sample** of data. As public's opinion towards rhetorical communication and leadership skills are different, seeking out a few representatives from different background or education may not provide the most comprehensive of data. Furthermore, most of the sample were collected in bigger cities such as Kuala Lumpur and Ipoh but none in rural areas, coastal areas or even west Malaysia. In order to further increase the understanding of rhetorical communication and Mahathir's impact during general election, an interview of bigger sample scope should be initiated that includes all geographical locations and a wider demographic.

Moving on, it is suggested that future researchers can create a model to be used by other leaders. This study focuses heavily on how Mahathir's rhetorical communication created an impact towards the general election. Although it can be utilised by other researchers and leaders, it may only be applicable to a certain extent. There are some cases where the model of this study might not suit the situation or context given. Therefore, future researchers can use this model as a guideline and create a general model regarding rhetorical communication skills for other leaders.

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APPENDIX I: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

PROJECT TITLE

The Influence of Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication in Malaysia's GE 14 Political Campaign: A Qualitative Study

INVITATION

You are being invited to take part in a research study on exploring the influence of Mahathir's rhetorical communication towards the voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign. This research suspects that Mahathir's rhetorical communication has contributed to the Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign. Thus, this research aims to understand what is the characteristic of Mahathir's rhetorical communication and how Mahathir's rhetorical communication influence the voter's decision making in Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign. We are Janice De Cruz, Lee Ei Kei, Loh Kah Heng, Wilbur Kenneth Kwok Zoen Ting and Wong Kah Wai. We are a Degree candidate at Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman (UTAR). My supervisor of this research is Mr. S. Maartandan a/l Suppiah (Lecturer, Faculty of Arts and Social Science, Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman). Further, this study has been approved by the Faculty of Arts and Social Science of Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman. I am cordially inviting you to participate in this research to contribute some data for this research purpose.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN

In this study, you will be asked to share your experiences and understanding towards how Mahathir's rhetorical communication influence the voter's decision making in Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign. The interview session will take around 45 minutes to 60 minutes. You will be given an Interview Protocol (consist of a set of questions that will be asked) along with an informed consent form. The interview session will be voice recorded using a voice recorder with your permission. This research also will ensure the confidentiality of the data that will be provided, issues of confidentiality with publication of the findings, and fairness in the reporting of the findings. All the information provided in this interview session will be kept strictly confidential. Further, the interview session will be conducted at your preferable location.

TIME COMMITMENT

The study typically takes 30-45 minutes (one interview session).

SPONSORSHIP OF THE RESEARCH

This research is sponsored by UTAR

PARTICIPANTS' RIGHTS

You may decide to stop being a part of the research study at any time without explanation. You have the right to ask that any data you have supplied to that point be withdrawn/destroyed.

You have the right to omit or refuse to answer or respond to any question that is asked of you (as appropriate, "and without penalty").

You have the right to have your questions about the procedures answered (unless answering these questions would interfere with the study's outcome). If you have any questions as a result of reading this information sheet, you should ask the researcher before the study begins.

BENEFITS AND RISKS

There are no known benefits or risks for you in this study.

COST, REIMBURSEMENT AND COMPENSATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You will receive some token of appreciation in return for your participation.

CONFIDENTIALITY/ANONYMITY

All the information that will be collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. The data will be collected do not contain any personal information about you except your name. The data provided is fully will be used for Final Year Project and related publication.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

Mr. S. Maartandan a/l Suppiah will be glad to answer your questions about this study at any time. You may contact him at maartandan@utar.edu.my, *or 0167828471*. If you want to find out about the final results of this study, you should contact the Faculty of Art and Social Science, Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman or contact Janice De Cruz at *0124568375*.

APPENDIX II: INFORMED CONSENT FORM
INFORMED CONSENT FORM

RESEARCH TITLE:

THE INFLUENCE OF MAHATHIR'S RHETORICAL COMMUNICATION IN MALAYSIA'S GE 14 POLITICAL CAMPAIGN: A QUALITATIVE STUDY

RESEARCH SUMMARY

This research focuses on exploring the influence of Mahathir's rhetorical communication towards the voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign. In short, this study aims to understand the influence of Mahathir's rhetorical communication on voters' decision making in Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign. Based on that, this study aims to develop a rhetorical communication model that could best describe the voters' decision the Malaysia's GE 14 political campaign.

By signing below, you are agreeing that: (1) you have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet, (2) questions about your participation in this study have been answered satisfactorily, (3) you are aware of the potential risks (if any), and (4) you are taking part in this research study voluntarily (without coercion).

Participant's signature

Participant's Name

Name of person obtaining consent

Signature of person obtaining consent

APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

The Influence of Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication in Malaysia GE 14

Political Campaign: A Qualitative Study

Time of interview:

Date:

Venue:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Question:

Section A: Transformational Leadership Communication & Rhetorical

Communication

1. Based on your knowledge, what is rhetorical communication?
2. What are the characteristics of a good rhetorical communication? What are the characteristics of Mahathir's rhetorical communication?
3. In your opinion, do you think that Mahathir is a transformational leader? Why?
4. Do you think Mahathir possess a strong rhetorical communication?

Section B: Mahathir's Rhetorical Communication

1. Can you provide a few examples of Mahathir's rhetorical communication?
2. In your opinion, what do you think about the role of Mahathir's rhetorical communication in GE 14?
3. What is the most prefer rhetorical communication of Mahathir?

Section C: Social Change

1. In your opinion, how does Mahathir's rhetorical communication influence the voters' decisions in Malaysia's General Election 14? What is the most unique characteristic of Mahathir's rhetorical communication that influence you?
2. Did Mahathir's rhetorical communication manage to influence your decision towards Malaysia's General Election 14? Why?
3. How do you view Mahathir? Is he a leader for everyone who is able to transform Malaysia? Yes? In what ways?
4. In your opinion, can we use Mahathir's rhetorical communication as a model for future leaders? Why?

(Thank you for participating in this interview session. All information retrieved and private and confidential, to be used only for research purposes.)

APPENDIX IV: STUDENT DECLARATION FORM
 Department of Public Relations
 Academic Honesty Regarding Final Year Projects

The following are examples of academic dishonesty extracted from “Student Handbook” that are more applicable to final year projects.

- plagiarism, i.e., the failure to properly acknowledge the use of another person’s work;
- submission for assessment of material that is not the student’s own work;
- collusion, i.e., obtaining assistance in doing work which is meant to be solely the student’s own work;
- use of fabricated data claimed to be obtained by experimental work, or data copied or obtained by unfair means;

It is important that the student reads the Student Handbook and understands the seriousness of academic dishonesty. The student should pay particular attention on how to avoid plagiarism.

Student Final Year Project Declaration

I have read the student handbook and I understand the meaning of academic dishonesty, in particular plagiarism and collusion. I declare that the work submitted for the final year project does not involve academic dishonesty. I give permission for my final year project work to be electronically scanned and if found to involve academic dishonesty, I am aware of the consequences as stated in the Student Handbook.

FYP Title:

A QUALITATIVE STUDY ON THE INFLUENCE OF MAHATHIR’S RHETORICAL
 COMMUNICATION IN MALAYSIA’S GE 14 POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

Student Name:

Student ID:

Signature:

Date: