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**MAHATHIR'S LEADERSHIP COMMUNICATION FOR SOCIAL
CHANGE ON INDIAN COMMUNITY IN MALAYSIA: INDIAN
HINDU SPIRITUAL VALUES**



DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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Awang Had Salleh
Graduate School
of Arts And Sciences

Universiti Utara Malaysia

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Assoc. Prof. Dr. Chang Peng Kee

Tandatangan
(Signature)

Pemeriksa Dalam:
(Internal Examiner)

Dr. Ahmad Zaharuddin Sani Ahmad Sabri

Tandatangan
(Signature)

Nama Penyelia/Penyelia-penya: Dr. Mohd Khairie Ahmad
(Name of Supervisor/Supervisors)

Tandatangan
(Signature)

Nama Penyelia/Penyelia-penya: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Norhafezah Yusof
(Name of Supervisor/Supervisors)

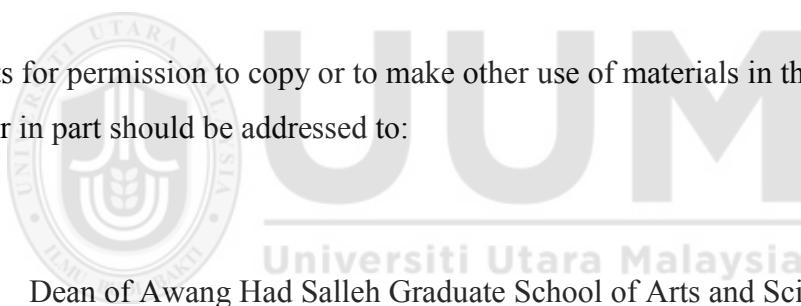
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Abstrak

Penyelidikan ini adalah tentang komunikasi kepimpinan Mahathir dalam mewujudkan perubahan sosial di kalangan masyarakat India. Walaupun banyak penyelidikan berkaitan komunikasi kepimpinan telah dijalankan, namun kajian tentang hubungan pemimpin yang berasal daripada kaum majoriti dengan pengikut kaum minoriti (India) dari sudut pandangan budaya tidak banyak dikaji sebelum ini. Oleh itu, penyelidikan ini meneliti komunikasi kepimpinan Mahathir dari sudut pandangan budaya masyarakat India di Malaysia. Penyelidikan ini telah menemui-bual masyarakat Hindu yang terdiri daripada golongan pemimpin serta rakyat biasa. Seramai 23 responden telah dipilih berdasarkan teknik persampelan purposif. Pengumpulan data telah dilakukan melalui teknik temu-bual, pengambilan nota dan rakaman audio. Respons deskriptif masyarakat India terhadap komunikasi kepimpinan Mahathir ke arah perubahan sosial diterokai dan dibentangkan berdasarkan teori kepimpinan transformasional. Penemuan dan konslusni yang dibentangkan adalah berdasarkan data yang dikumpul, persoalan penyelidikan dan kajian literatur. Berdasarkan analisa tematik, lima tema telah dikenalpasti iaitu konsep komunikasi kepimpinan masyarakat India, komunikasi kepimpinan Mahathir, pengaruh budaya India dalam pembentukan persepsi terhadap komunikasi kepimpinan Mahathir, pengaruh komunikasi kepimpinan terhadap perubahan sosial, respons dan kehendak masyarakat India terhadap komunikasi kepimpinan Mahathir. Berdasarkan penemuan kajian, model komunikasi kepimpinan yang bersesuaian dengan masyarakat India telah dibentuk. Model ini dapat dijadikan sebagai panduan dalam mengurus dan menangani isu masyarakat India yang merupakan masyarakat minoriti. Penyelidikan ini sememangnya memberi pemahaman yang mendalam terhadap komunikasi kepimpinan, khususnya perhubungan antara pemimpin dari kaum majoriti dengan pengikut minoritinya dari sudut pandangan budaya.

Kata Kunci: Komunikasi Antara Budaya, Minoriti, Komunikasi politik, Komunikasi transformasi

Abstract

This research focuses on Mahathir's leadership communication in creating social changes among Indians in Malaysia. Various studies were conducted on leadership communication but researches which touches on the leadership communication between a leader of a majority community (Malay) and his/her followers from the minority group (Indian) from the cultural perspective are limited. Therefore, this study investigates the leadership communication of Mahathir from the Indian perspective. The researcher interviewed Indians in Malaysia including leaders and commoners based on purposive sampling method. A total of 23 informants have been recruited as the study informants. Data were collected through interviewing, note-taking and audio recording. Descriptive accounts of the Indians' responses towards Mahathir's leadership communication for social changes from the Indian perspective were explored and presented using the transformational leadership theory. Based on the thematic analysis, five themes were emerged to answer the aims of the study; Indians leadership communication conception, Mahathir's leadership communication, the influence of Indian culture towards Mahathir's leadership communication, leadership communication for social change, responses to Mahathir's leadership communication and the expectation of Indians towards leadership communication. Based on the findings of this study, a leadership communication model from the Indian perspective is developed which could be used as a reference in managing the Indians who are the minority community. This study provides an insight of leadership communication towards bringing social change, particularly focusing on the relationship of a leader and his followers from the minority community.

Keywords: Intercultural communication, Minority, Political communication, Transformational communication

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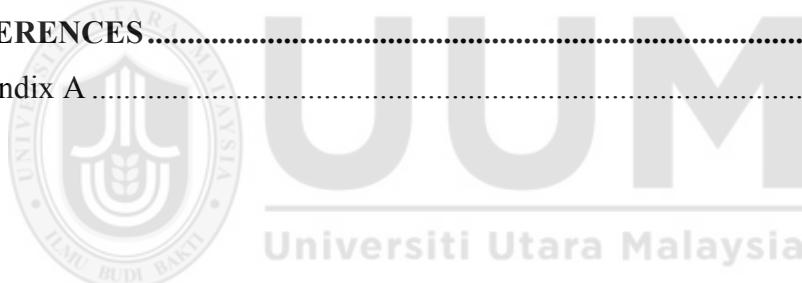
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Glossary of Terms

Vedas- ancient Hindu text

Bhagavad-Gita- The Holy Book of Hindu; the highest and most authentic authority in Hindu. Quotation from the Bhagavad-Gita is normally followed by a reference to the number of the chapter and the number of the quoted verse

Valmiki Ramayana- ancient Hindu literature

Gunas- attributes; “sattva”, “rajas” and “tamas”

“*Sattva guna*” refers to the qualities of an individual who work for the harmonization and betterment of the people and they are self-less

“*Rajas*” refers to the quality f an individual who only think for himself or herself, aiming at only ego, fame, name and power.

“*Tamas*” refers to the quality of an individual who is corrupted and driven by his/her personal interest, and willing to sacrifice anyone for selfish goals.

Krishna- Hindu God

Arjuna- Lord Krishna’s follower

Sri Rama-Incarnation of Lord Krishna

Sita-Wife of Sri Rama

Muni-Sages

Ayodhya-Sri Lanka

Guru-master/teacher

Karma- Action

Dakṣyam - Problem-Solver

Sattva-samuddhi- Ethical

Yagna- Inclusiveness

Buddhi Yoga- Critical

Satyam - Fulfilling promise

Yoga- Control and manage

Brahma-bhuta- sacrificing

Buddhi- Intellectual

Karma-refers to the action that one engages which involves body, mind and speech

Karma-yoga-duty-oriented

Yoga- refers to device or intelligent method

Upanishads-ancient Hindu literature

Mahabharata- a part of Bhagavad-Gita

Sraddha- utter faith

Susrusa –obedience

Sama- refers to the way of explaining to people by using common sense and logical explanations.

Dana- refers to the explanation by providing an incentive

Bheda- refers to selective discrimination and differentiation.

Danda - the use of force

Nishkama karma -selfless action

Yagna- Participatory Leadership

Brahma-bhuta- Pure service

Jnana- Knowledge

Tapah van mayam- Clear message and Delivery

Buddhi- Intelligent in various field

Dakshyam- Problem-solver

Vijnana- Wisdom

Sattva-samuddhi- being ethical

Satyam- Sincerity

Abhijatasya-Value-driven

Nirguna- Not-corrupted

Buddhi Yoga- Visionary



List of Abbreviations

MIC-Malaysian Indian Congress

UMNO-United Malays National Organisation

HINDRAF-Hindu Rights Action Force

TLT-Transformational Leadership Theory

NEP-New Economic Policy

NDP-National Development Policy

IKIM- Institut Kefahaman Islam Malaysia (Institute of Islamic Understanding Malaysia)

GLOBE- Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness

NGO- Non-Governmental Organisation



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 An Overview

This chapter begins by describing the background of the study. It also discusses the need of the study, followed by problem statement, research questions, research objectives, study significance and scope. Next, the conceptual definitions are explained and finally the summary of the thesis is given.

1.2 Research Background

Researches on transformational leadership theory for more than twenty-five years indicated that transformational leadership affects followers' attitude and behaviour (Mhatre & Riggio, 2014) and it was evident that there is a sufficient conceptual gap in understanding the functionality of transformational leadership theory (Yukl 2006; van Knippenberg & Sitkin, 2013). However, it was found that research investigating transformational leadership theory from a contextual perspective is still underdeveloped and not fully explored, specifically leadership communication involving leaders who belong to majority community and their followers from the minority group in cultural context (Ayman, & Korabik, 2010). Consistent with the idea, Burns (1978) stated that transformational leadership theory explains that a leader who possesses cultural knowledge of his followers will be able to contribute towards betterment of the followers. It was further supported by Kanungo and Misra (2004) who stated that transformational leadership is influenced by culture. Further, Singh and Bhandarker (1990) also strongly asserted that a leader can bring change in society if his leadership communication is consistent with the culture of his or her followers.

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Appendix A

Interview Protocol:

Exploring Mahathir's leadership communication towards social change among Indians community in Malaysia

Time of interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Position of interviewee:

Question:

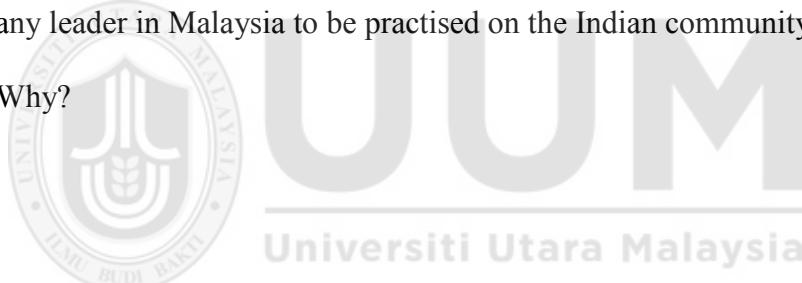


1. How do you define leadership communication?
2. What do you think should be the characteristics of a good leadership communication?
3. From your understanding, what is the importance of leadership communication? Do you think a leader with a good leadership communication can bring some social change in a society? Probing: Why and how?
4. Based on what you heard on Tun Dr. Mahathir's speech, what do you think about Tun Dr. Mahathir's communication? Is it effective?

5. What is the characteristic of Mahathir leadership that you preferred the most?

Probing: Why do you think so?

6. Do you think Mahathir's leadership communication has helped Indian community to achieve a better standard of living? If yes, why and in terms of what aspects?
7. What is your response towards the policies implemented by Mahathir?
8. Do you think the Indian cultural values affect the way you perceive Mahathir's leadership communication?
9. How those values are related to Mahathir's leadership communication?
10. Do you think Mahathir's leadership communication can be the best model for any leader in Malaysia to be practised on the Indian community? Probing: Why?



(Thank you for participating in this interview session. All the information provided is private and confidential, to be used only for the research purpose).