# Factors Influencing Confidence in The Government During Tun Dr Mahathir's Leadership Era Among Industrial Workers

AINI MAZNINA A.MANAF
TENGKU SITI AISHA TENGKU AZZMAN SHARIFFADEEN
SYED ARABI IDID
*International Islamic University Malaysia*

## ABSTRACT

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad was seen as an influential leader when, for the second time in his political life, he was appointed as the Prime Minister of Malaysia at the age of 94 years old. Despite his age, he managed to garner strong support for his leadership when he took over the government following the country's 14th general election (GE14) in May 2018. Nonetheless, little is known about what contributed to public confidence in the government during his leadership tenure. This paper uses leadership trait theory to discuss the factors influencing public confidence in the government's capability in managing the country during Tun Dr Mahathir's tenure as the prime minister. This study is part of a larger study that examines media use, political behavior, and well-being of industrial workers in Malaysia. A self-administered questionnaire was distributed to 475 industrial workers in Malaysia to gauge their perception of the factors contributing to their confidence in the government led by Tun Dr Mahathir. Overall, the findings revealed positive relationships between perception of the condition of the country, Tun Dr Mahathir's leadership, and confidence in the government. However, no significant relationship was found between media use and public confidence in the government. Implications of leadership trait theory are also discussed.

**Keywords:** *Industrial workers, leadership trait theory, media use, public confidence, Tun Dr Mahathir.*

## INTRODUCTION

Country leaders around the world are becoming increasingly concerned about public confidence in their governments. Essentially, public confidence in government is viewed as a central component of a democratic system (Beshi & Kaur, 2020). Citizens are also anticipating their government to be accountable for all its efforts and actions, as well as to meet their needs. Notably, the decline of public confidence in the government may have an impact on government activities which would help strengthen sound governance in a country (Kikuchi, 2007, Beshi & Kaur, 2020). As such, it is critical to enhance public confidence at all levels of government in order to properly implement policies and strategies.

Public participation in government activities requires trust between citizens and government agencies and the leaders (Beshi & Kaur, 2020). The prime minister's leadership is indispensable in spearheading the societal and economic development of a country, thus becoming a basis for providing better governance (Sharon, Joseph, David, & Kikelomo, 2016). It is, in essence, the process of influencing the activities of an organised or structured group towards the creation and achievement of goals. The progress of any country under an able leadership has a significant influence on the well-being and optimism of subgroups in the society, including industrial workers, which are the focus of this study.

An understanding of the perceptions held by different subgroups in society is important. Many of the subgroups are still neglected by researchers even though research on their views of the government leadership and activities could help researchers gain better

insights into public trust in the government's ability to lead the country. Industrial workers are an example of the marginalized groups (A.Manaf, Idid, & Buyong, 2018). Despite the importance of the manufacturing sector in Malaysia (A. Manaf, Tengku Azzman, & Idid, 2021) and this group's contribution to the national economy, there is a dearth of research on their perception of government leaders and how this perception affects their confidence in the government. Although the study conducted by A.Manaf et al. (2018) examined industrial workers' perception of a Malaysian prime minister's leadership, the study's focus was on the sixth Prime Minister Najib Abdul Razak. In the current study, the researchers are interested in examining industrial workers' perception of the longest-serving prime minister of Malaysia, namely Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad.

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad, the fourth and seventh prime minister of Malaysia, has been described as the premier of the nation due to his role in bringing numerous developments to the country during his long tenure as the prime minister from 1981 until 2003 (22 years) and then from 2018 until 2020. He is considered as the backbone of the country's tremendous developments (Suppiah, Ahmad, & Gunasekaran, 2018).

He displayed creativity and innovation, churning numerous feasible ideas regarding how to develop the country and modernize Malaysian society, such as the adoption of the Japanese work culture. Tun Dr Mahathir introduced the Look East Policy, heavy industry policy, and privatization policy, with some success. He implemented administration reforms of the Malaysian public service with the introduction of online systems and applications. During his tenure, he relocated the Malaysian administrative capital from Kuala Lumpur to Putrajaya, a newly developed township south of the city (Udin, Omar, Khamis & Yusoff, 2020). In 1983, he became the founder of the establishment of Bank Islam Malaysia Berhad, the first Islamic bank in Malaysia, in the effort to develop Islamic banking in the country (Mohd Shafi & Mohd Rosdi, 2016). He is a pragmatic and intellectual person who prioritizes the prosperity and advancement of all Malaysians, particularly the Bumiputera (ingenious people) (Mashitah, Rusdi & Kamarul Azman, 2020).

In terms of the cultural values of the community, Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad champions Asian values. He believes that the Malay can only succeed if they adopt progressive values (Mashitah et.al., 2020). Among these ideals are respect for elders and the administration; wearing modest clothing; adoption of decent behavior and religious practice; responsibility for marriage, family, and employment; and attributes of righteousness. He also emphasizes community and family values over individual interest, as well as respect for elders, particularly the relationship between parents and their children (Jaes & Basar, 2013). Tun Dr Mahathir's leadership patterns demonstrate his strong ambition and intellectual power, along with his capability to establish a long-term vision and mission for Malaysia (Udin et al., 2020). However, there is a dearth of research on the influence of his leadership traits on the people's confidence in the government he led.

In addition to the contribution of leadership, this study also focuses on the use of media among industrial workers. Media can have a huge impact on people by setting the national agenda (McCombs, 2002), with substantial and lasting impact on those utilising it. Depending on the type of media utilized, the information that the public obtains from the media on the leaders of the country could shape their opinions and attitudes towards the ruling government. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine the factors influencing industrial workers' confidence in the government's capability in managing its people during Tun Dr Mahathir's tenure as the prime minister of Malaysia. Specifically, this study is

conducted to examine the relationships between leadership traits, media usage, and confidence in the government during Tun Dr Mahathir's era.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Leadership Trait Theory

Numerous definitions of leadership have been presented in the literature. This study takes the approach that its meaning can be profoundly understood from the leader's attributes or personal traits. This study uses leadership traits theory as its theoretical framework. This theory is one of the earliest on leadership, initially derived from Thomas Carlyle's "great man theory" (1849), and it is one of the most accepted theories in the 1940s and early 1950s (Deshwal & Ali, 2020). In a similar vein, Dan (2019) proclaims that trait theory can be construed as the "great person" theory due to its special attention to the personalities and qualities of good leaders. However, Chow, Mohd. Salleh, and Arif Ismail (2017) claim that leadership trait theory is different from great man theory, which assumes that leaders are born rather than made; in contrast, trait theory takes a more systematic approach to evaluating leaders. Leadership trait theory does not presume that leadership qualities are inherited but rather underscores the distinction in traits between leaders and nonleaders (Chow et al., 2017).

According to Udin, Omar, Khamis, and Yusoff (2020), traits (spirit, emotions, or skills) refer to a person's behavior in dealing with difficult situations. Chow et al. (2017) assert that "human qualities" is the most common term used to describe traits. Gestures, physical activities, emotions, feelings, and attitudes that can be observed in the long term are known as personality, which is a part of the trait concept. Leadership trait theory relies heavily on human personality and qualities such as physical, intellectual, and social traits in distinguishing leaders from followers (Chow et al., 2017).

Trait researchers often develop lists of attributes that they believe are linked to effective leadership. Some researchers have combined different aspects of attributes ranging from behaviors to skills, in addition to traits related to temperament and intellectual ability (Fleenor, 2006). Recent studies have categorised five traits of effective leadership: intelligence, self-confidence, determination, integrity, and sociability (Dan, 2019; Chow et al., 2017). This study uses leadership trait theory to illustrate the factors influencing public confidence in the government's capability in managing the country during Tun Mahathir's tenure as the prime minister of Malaysia.

### Leadership Traits of Tun Mahathir

Leadership traits refer to personal characteristics that are often associated with the success of leaders in an organization or country. When it comes to influencing and attracting followers, effective leaders must be able to make reasonable judgments with optimism, hope, and resilience. Notably, such leaders should also be able to define the country's short- and long-term objectives and goals (Udin et al., 2020). Tun Dr Mahathir is a classic example of an effective leader. His wisdom, intellectual power, skills, and ways of doing things have impressed the people at large, influencing them to trust his leadership.

For decades, Tun Dr Mahathir has conquered Malaysian politics. As the world's oldest prime minister, Tun Dr Mahathir is known as a bold and outspoken leader who is steadfast in his decisions, trustworthy, disciplined, and punctual. With a humble and calm appearance, he is well liked and recognized as a competent leader with a high intellect who is unhesitant to

offer or receive criticisms (BERNAMA, 2019). Tun Dr Mahathir's 22-year tenure from 1981 to 2003 made him the country's longest-serving prime minister. Consequently, Tun Dr Mahathir became the country's oldest prime minister at 92 years old in 2018 after stepping out of one and a half decades of retirement to topple the kleptocratic regime.

Strategic and visionary thinking is one of the greatest leadership attributes of Tun Dr Mahathir as the prime minister of Malaysia. During his first term as the country's 4th prime minister, Tun Dr Mahathir spurred numerous advances of the Malaysian economy, transforming it from an agricultural economy to an industrial-based economy through the implementation of diverse policies, visions, and missions for the nation (Reza & Yasmin, 2019). He was honored with the title of "Father of Modernization" owing to his numerous development projects, such as the North-South Highway, Kuala Lumpur City Centre, Petronas Twin Towers, Putrajaya, Cyberjaya, and Kuala Lumpur International Airport (Velu & How, 2019). Additionally, Malaysia's Vision 2020, which was introduced by Tun Dr Mahathir in 1991, provided a well-defined direction for Malaysia in accomplishing its goal of attaining a developed nation status by 2020 (Reza & Yasmin, 2020).

Today, Malaysia has become a prosperous and economically developed country, as envisioned by the forward-thinking leader, Tun Dr Mahathir in Vision 2020. All the government ideologies and concepts were conveyed effectively to the public by Tun Dr Mahathir to gain support and ensure the prosperity of Malaysia (Suppiah, Ahmad, & Gunasekaran, 2018). Tun Dr Mahathir has the ability to engage people's minds when he speaks, as he speaks calmly and confidently to express his views effectively, with favorable impacts on people at all levels. Tun Dr Mahathir also prioritizes peace and harmony in the country. Therefore, as the leader of a multiracial country, he introduced the concept of "Bangsa Malaysia" to foster unity and uphold the ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity for the country's stability and growth (Suppiah, Ahmad & Gunasekaran, 2018).

*Industrial Workers in Malaysia*
It is commonly acknowledged that the nature of industrial workers' jobs necessitates lengthy hours of work. In China, 50 percent of workers in the textile industry and 80 percent in electronics manufacturing work more than 60 hours a week, while an estimated 80 percent regularly work more than seven days in a row on a regular basis (Fair Labor Association, 2021). Workers will suffer as a result of the excessive working hours. Industrial workers in Malaysia, on the other hand, work according to the Malaysian Employment Act, in which work weeks are 48 hours, with a maximum of 8 working hours per day and 6 working days per week. Nevertheless, many choose to work overtime due to their low salary. In this regard, the 'quality risk' for the corporation is one of the risks of the productivity related wage system, as workers race to increase quantity, compromising the product's quality (Iranmanesh, Nabiha, & Sabbah, 2012). As a result, it is typical to see industrial workers working overtime to help their families cope with the high cost of living. An industrial worker in Butterworth reported that his salary is RM 1700 and could earn up to RM 2500 with overtime (New Straits Times, 2020). Salary Expert (2021) reported that the average compensation for an entry-level factory worker (13 years' experience) is RM29,581. A senior level manufacturing worker (8+ years of experience), on the other hand, receives an average income of RM45,365. Malaysia's average manufacturing worker gross salary is RM38,057 per year, or RM18 per hour.

Apparently, low wages and excessive working hours are among the major challenges faced by industrial workers. In a recent study conducted among industrial workers by A.Manaf, Tengku Azzman, Idid and Buyong (2019), the majority of respondents revealed that they received a small amount of salary and considered the amount as inadequate to support their family due to the high cost of living. On top of that, working overtime makes them exhausted as so much time is spent at work, leaving little time for leisure. Strict working hours, especially for those in the production line create unhappiness among the industrial workers as little time could be devoted to their family (A.Manaf et al., 2021). As a result, these factors may influence their confidence in the government as well as their perception about the Prime Minister's leadership.

*Factors Influencing Public Trust in the Local Government*
The reality of society is heavily constructed through the media, which is very powerful in propagating values and information to the masses (Pollack & Kubrin, 2007). Before the emergence of the Internet, the masses depended primarily on mainstream media, particularly newspapers and television, to obtain information from time to time. With the introduction of new media in the 21st century, the term "the world is at your fingers" has become a reality. The Internet is a window of information that presents myriad information to the worldwide audience (Cortesi & Gasser, 2015). As a result, the fast growth of the media has altered how society interacts with and is influenced by it, including their trust in the government.

The media has also been significantly shaping public confidence, especially concerning political and current issues (A.Manaf et al., 2018). This is because the public depends on the media as the watchdog to monitor the government's performance and action from time to time. Therefore, the role of the media is not only to educate, inform, entertain, influence, and give reason to society, but it could also influence the public, whether intentionally or otherwise. To illustrate, Happer and Philo (2013) reported that "in those cases in which audiences do not possess direct knowledge or experience of what is happening, they become particularly reliant upon the media to inform them" (p. 321). As a result, public opinion and perception about issues that are handled by the ruling government, ranging from leadership to economic, social, health, education and so on, will highly depend on the messages and information delivered by the media.

The public, including industrial workers, who make up a large number of the population of workers in Malaysia (A.Manaf et al., 2019), are also exposed to the media. According to the Department of Statistics Malaysia (DOSM), the manufacturing industry, which is the country's largest employment sector, employed 2.23 million people in April 2021, an increase of 3% from 2.16 million in April 2020 (BERNAMA, 2021). Industrial workers are heavy consumers of television (58%) and the Internet (43.4%), with these two media being used more frequently on a weekly basis than radio (35.4%) and newspaper (27.8%) (A.Manaf et al., 2018). Despite the lack of media usage at work due to stringent standard operating procedures (SOP) to maintain product quality, industrial workers continue to use the media at home, particularly television and the Internet, for information and entertainment (A.Manaf et al., 2018). Therefore, industrial workers' perceptions of trust in the government, which are habitually shaped by the media, are critical since they imply active engagement and participation in government programs.

*Trust*

Trust, as many scholars have stated, is a multidimensional, complex, and ambiguous concept that many find difficult to define and examine (Beshi & Kaur, 2020). Consequently, the definition of trust may take on various interpretations. Houston and Harding conceptualize trust as the readiness to rely upon others to act on one's behalf considering that others can make good judgments while considering one's interests (2013). Thus, trust in the government refers to citizens' level of faith and confidence that the government will "do the right thing" and work reliably and honestly on behalf of the public (OECD 2015 as cited in Schmidthuber, Ingrams, & Hilgers, 2021; Barnes & Gill, 2000; Thomas, 1998). According to Jameel, Asif, and Hussain (2019), citizens' trust is indispensable due to the dual process effects. This happens because citizens' trust strengthens social unity, which in turn, affects the governments' capacity to rule effectively. Chen and Shi (2001, as cited in Zhao & Hu, 2017) also found that greater citizens' trust results in more efficient, effective, and successful governments relative to countries with low trust in the government.

The media is regarded as an important source of information that seeks to fulfill its function in the dissemination of global and national news, serving the concept of a fourth estate after witnessing the advent and downfall of the nation's leaders and political parties. Consequently, the fourth estate transcends its role of importance in being able to cover and report (Daim & Harun, 2019). In general, the mass media has three roles concerning the government (Rosales-Viray & Versoza, 2018): (i) it enables the people to understand the operations of the government, (ii) it involves the public in policy decisions, and (iii) it makes the responsible officials accountable. Due to the transparency and variety of information available on political news media, the study conducted by Marcinkowski and Starke (2018) confirmed that media consumption has a favorable impact on political views by improving political personnel's image, democratic procedures, and faith in the national government.

Similarly in China, individuals who are strongly influenced by the Chinese official media (e.g., CCTV or People's Daily) have a high level of government trust (Chen & Sun, 2019). However, if there happens to be a discrepancy between the public's expectations and the actual performance of government institutions as reported in the media, the public will perceive the government or political leaders as incompetent, inefficient, dishonest, and untrustworthy.

Other studies have also highlighted the importance of good governance practices in influencing public trust in local governments (e.g., Beshi & Kaur, 2020). The study found that in Ethiopia, participants who perceived the existence of transparency, accountability, and responsiveness had greater trust in the local government. In a similar vein, researchers in China found that those who were satisfied with the quality of public service and transparency by the government were generally more trustful of the local government (Zhao & Hu, 2017). Consequently, it is predicted that those who perceive the government as being more proactive in managing and handling current issues surrounding social and economic challenges, such as rising cost of living and crime in Malaysia, should have greater trust and confidence in the Malaysian government.

The relationship between optimism and public trust in the government is less clear. Some researchers have speculated that those with certain personality traits, e.g. agreeableness and conscientiousness, are more likely to express greater optimism and confidence in the government (Ha, 2019) and convey national pride (e.g. Ha, 2019; van De Vliert & Euwema, 1994; Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz & Knafo, 2002). Specifically, those who are agreeable and conscientious are expected to engage in collaborative work with others,

express more optimism and trust, and be dutiful; consequently, they will express greater support for political figures and the local government (Ha, 2019). In the present study, it is predicted that those who exhibit higher levels of optimism about their own future and the future of their community and family are more likely to express greater confidence in the ruling government.

Previous empirical studies on how news media usage affects trust in the government have yielded inconclusive results. While some studies have found that access to various forms of news media, particularly television, has a negative impact on trust in the government (Avery, 2009; Pietsch & Martin, 2011), others have found a beneficial impact (Moy, Pfau, & Kahlor, 1999; Norris, 2000). While faith in traditional media has been declining globally, that is not the case in Malaysia. Malaysians have more trust in traditional media such as newspapers, magazines, television, and radio than they had five years ago (Yusof, 2019). This is evident in a study conducted by Marcinkowski and Starke (2018) in which traditional media promotes more favorable impressions of politicians and of several critical features of the democratic process, such as transparency, responsiveness, efficiency, and procedural justice. As a result, people who often use the media to stay informed about current affairs have a higher level of faith in the national government. Therefore, based on the literature review, the research questions and hypotheses developed for this study are as follows:

RQ1:   What is the relationship between Tun Mahathir's leadership and perception of the current condition of the country?

RQ2:   What is the relationship between Tun Mahathir's leadership and optimism about the country's future?

RQ3:   How are media use, Tun Mahathir's leadership, perception of the current condition of the country, and level of optimism with the country's future linked to confidence in the government's ability to manage its people?

*H1(a)*: Tun Mahathir's leadership significantly influences optimism about the future of the country

*H1(b):* Tun Mahathir's leadership significantly influences perception of the current condition of the country

*H2(a)*: Optimism about the future of the country significantly influences confidence in the current government

*H2(b):* Tun Mahathir's leadership significantly influences confidence in the current government

*H2(c):* Perception of the current condition of the country significantly influences confidence in the current government

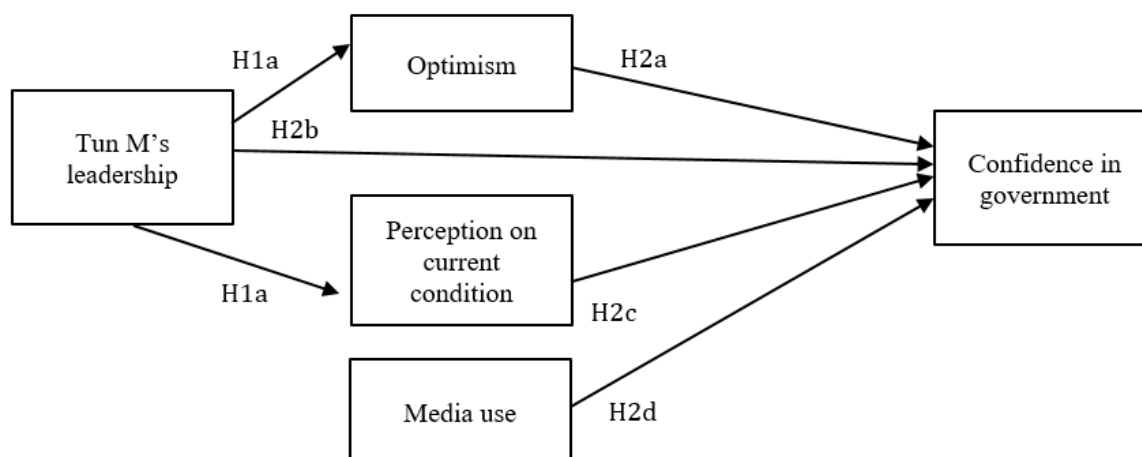*H2(d)*: Media use significantly influences confidence in the current government

Figure 1: Conceptual framework of the study

## METHODOLOGY

*Sampling*

To answer the research questions of the study, a quantitative approach was employed. A survey of 475 respondents was conducted in 2019. The respondents were industrial workers based in several states in Peninsular Malaysia, namely Selangor, Kedah, Melaka, Pahang, Johor, and Pulau Pinang. These states were selected to represent each zone in Peninsular Malaysia; North, South, East, West and central. They were selected using stratified random sampling. Data collection was conducted by trained enumerators.

The industrial workers who participated in the survey represented various races, including Malay, Chinese, and Indian, regardless of their religion. The main language used in the survey is Malay. The selected respondents were industrial workers, including line workers, operators, engineers, supervisors, and administrative officers. The collected data were analysed using the SMARTPLS 3.3.3 software.

*Research Instrument*

A set of questionnaires was constructed as the main instrument for data collection. It consisted of eight sections. However, data from only six sections were analyzed for this paper: (a) respondent's background, (b) media use, (c) Tun Mahathir's leadership, (d) perception of the current condition of the country, (e) optimism, and (f) public confidence in the current government.

*Respondent's background.* In the first section, the respondents were asked about their demographic information, namely gender, race, religion, age, highest level of education, marital status, current position at the factory, type of house they lived in, number of years of working at the factory, who they lived with, and monthly salary.

*Media use.* In this section, the question focused on the respondents' media usage. They were asked to indicate the frequencies, in the number of days from 0 to 7 days, that they used the television, radio, printed newspaper, online newspaper, and Internet.

*Tun Mahathir's leadership.* This section gauged the respondents' perception of Tun Mahathir's leadership as the prime minister of Malaysia. It consisted of seven questions asking the respondents' opinions of whether Tun Mahathir: could carry out his duties well, was honest, was concerned for the people, fulfilled his promises, was efficient in

administration, had family values, and was reliable. A five-point Likert scale was used, ranging from 1 to 5, where 1 = *Very dissatisfied*, 2 = *Dissatisfied*, 3 = *Moderate*, 4 = *Satisfied*, and 5 = *Very satisfied*.

*Perception of the current condition of the country.* Questions regarding respondents' perception of the current condition of the country were asked in this section. The questions focused on job opportunities, cost of living, racial integrity, crime, and quality of education. A five-point Likert scale was used, where 1 = *Very bad*, 2 = *Bad*, 3 = *Moderate*, 4 = *Good*, and 5 = *Very Good*.

*Optimism.* This section comprised six items concerning the respondents' perception of the future of the country and their level of optimism with the future of the country. The questions focused on the economy, family well-being, living standard, life achievement, health, and safety of life. These items were measured using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5, where 1 = *Very bad*, 2 = *Bad*, 3 = *Moderate*, 4 = *Good*, and 5 = *Very Good*.

*Public confidence in the current government.* This section consisted of 10 items related to the respondents' confidence in the government's ability to manage the country. The questions asked include their opinion regarding the ability of the government to manage or monitor the prices of daily necessities, the quality of public service, the price of petrol, crime rates, job opportunities, corruption, toll price, minimum wages, race issue, and welfare of industrial workers. These items were measured using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5, where 1 = *Strongly disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Moderate*, 4 = *Agree*, and 5 = *Strongly Agree*.

*Data Analysis*
In this study, both the structural model and the measurement model were tested using SMART PLS 3.3.

## RESULTS AND FINDINGS
*Profile of Respondents*
Out of a total of 475 respondents of this study, the majority are males (63%). The respondents' racial composition of 72.5% Malays, 16.5% Chinese, and 10% Indian reflects the population of the country. Half of the respondents were youth and highly educated. Almost half of the respondents (44.8%) were diploma holders, while another one-fifth (21.7%) studied up to the bachelor's degree level. Close to half of the respondents (42.4%) were in the 19–30 years old age category, 24.6% were 31–40 years old, 23.1% were 41–50 years old, and a small minority (9.9%) were 51 years old and above (See Table 1).

Table 1: Demographic information of respondents

| Socio-demographic profile | Items | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Gender | Male | 63 |
| | Female | 37 |
| Race | Malay | 72.5 |
| | Chinese | 16.5 |
| | Indian | 10 |
| Age | 19-30 | 42.4 |
| | 31-40 | 24.6 |
| | 41-50 | 23.1 |
| | 51 above | 9.9 |

| Level of education | Primary/secondary school | 33.3 |
| --- | --- | --- |
| | Diploma | 43.4 |
| | Degree | 23.4 |

## Media Use

The respondents were asked to indicate their weekly media usage. The findings show that slightly more than half of the respondents (54.8%) used the Internet every day. Nearly a quarter of the respondents (24.3%) reported that they listened to the radio 3–4 days in a week. Regarding the frequency of reading online newspapers, over a fifth of the respondents (23.2%) did so 5–6 days in a week, 22.7% read them every day, and 22.2% read them 3–4 days in a week. Print newspapers are no longer the main media used by the industrial workers, where almost half of the respondents (41.3%) reported that they did not read print newspapers anymore. Interestingly, television remained popular among the industrial workers, where almost half of the respondents (46.1%) watched television 5–7 days in a week (refer to Table 2).

Table 2: Media usage per week

| Type of Media/ Weekly usage | Not Using % | 1-2 days % | 3-4 days % | 5-6 days % | Everyday % |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Internet | 2.9 | 4.6 | 13.2 | 20.9 | 54.8 |
| Radio | 16.4 | 23.4 | 24.3 | 17.3 | 18.6 |
| Online newspaper | 17.5 | 14.5 | 22.2 | 23.2 | 22.7 |
| Print newspaper | 41.3 | 28.7 | 15.3 | 7.8 | 6.8 |
| Television | 10.3 | 18.6 | 23.4 | 21.5 | 24.6 |

## Measurement Model

A measurement model depicts the relationships among the constructs and the indicator variables. In the evaluation of the measurement model, indicators with low factor loadings (i.e., values below 0.60) are excluded from further analysis (Gefen & Straub, 2005). In this study, only one item was removed due to low loading, which is item 1 (MU1) for media use. To examine reliability, the composite reliability was scrutinized first, where the desirable cut-off value is .70 (Ringle, Sarstedt, Mitchell, & Gudergan, 2018). This criterion is met, indicating that all the latent constructs of the model possess composite reliability (refer to Table 3 for detailed results). Further, the Cronbach's alpha values for all constructs are well above the cut-off point of .70, with the minimum value of .788 (Chin, 2010). Based on these outcomes, the latent constructs have appropriate reliabilities and are appropriate for the next set of analysis. Next, average variance extracted (AVE) procedure was used to assess the convergent validity of the measurement model. The cut-off criterion for AVE is .50 (Ringle et al., 2018), which is met in the present study. Thus, the study constructs have excellent convergent validity values (refer to Table 3).

Table 3: Reliability and validity

| Variables | No. Items | Mean | SD | CA | CR | AVE |
|-----------|-----------|------|-----|------|------|------|
| CC | 8 | 3.06 | 0.73 | 0.988 | 0.990 | 0.922 |
| LD | 6 | 3.21 | 1.07 | 0.996 | 0.997 | 0.979 |
| OP | 5 | 3.47 | 0.74 | 0.957 | 0.967 | 0.853 |
| MU | 3 | 3.00 | 1.65 | 0.788 | 0.878 | 0.708 |
| CG | 9 | 3.28 | 0.96 | 0.957 | 0.967 | 0.853 |

Note: CC = Perception of the current condition of the country, LD = leadership, OP = Optimism, MU = Media use, CG = Confidence in the government, SD = Standard deviation, CA = Cronbach's alpha, CR= Composite reliability, AVE = Average variance extracted.

Next, discriminant validity was assessed using cross-loadings and the Fornell-Larcker procedures. First, upon checking the cross-loadings, 5 item were deleted (i.e., CC8 under perception of the current condition of the country, CG5 for confidence in the current government, L3 under leadership of Tun Dr Mahathir, and items O6 and O7 for optimism) due to cross-loading values of < 0.1 (Chin, 1998; Snell & Dean, 1993) so as not to compromise the discriminant validity. These deletions did not exceed 20% of the total indicators in the model, as recommended by Hair et al. (2017). Further, the item loadings confirmed the discriminant validity of the constructs. The complete results are depicted in Table 4.

Table 4: Loadings and cross-loadings

| Items | CC | Confidence | Leadership | MU | Optimism |
|-------|------|------------|------------|-------|----------|
| CC1 | *0.965* | 0.854 | 0.320 | 0.108 | 0.818 |
| CC2 | *0.965* | 0.855 | 0.324 | 0.108 | 0.818 |
| CC3 | *0.982* | 0.891 | 0.372 | 0.186 | 0.873 |
| CC4 | *0.961* | 0.836 | 0.348 | 0.167 | 0.819 |
| CC5 | *0.959* | 0.861 | 0.358 | 0.177 | 0.845 |
| CC6 | *0.982* | 0.891 | 0.373 | 0.186 | 0.872 |
| CC7 | *0.935* | 0.892 | 0.372 | 0.128 | 0.832 |
| CC9 | *0.933* | 0.922 | 0.389 | 0.136 | 0.860 |
| CG1 | 0.872 | *0.961* | 0.461 | 0.104 | 0.751 |
| CG10 | 0.899 | *0.985* | 0.428 | 0.101 | 0.775 |
| CG2 | 0.893 | *0.972* | 0.445 | 0.172 | 0.780 |
| CG3 | 0.846 | *0.939* | 0.400 | 0.149 | 0.740 |
| CG4 | 0.824 | *0.919* | 0.408 | 0.153 | 0.719 |
| CG6 | 0.872 | *0.962* | 0.412 | 0.100 | 0.751 |
| CG7 | 0.893 | *0.972* | 0.446 | 0.165 | 0.780 |
| CG8 | 0.869 | *0.945* | 0.481 | 0.160 | 0.758 |
| CG9 | 0.920 | *0.988* | 0.462 | 0.171 | 0.803 |
| LD1 | 0.374 | 0.458 | *0.982* | 0.116 | 0.282 |
| LD2 | 0.375 | 0.459 | *0.990* | 0.100 | 0.283 |
| LD4 | 0.376 | 0.459 | *0.990* | 0.100 | 0.283 |
| LD5 | 0.365 | 0.447 | *0.996* | 0.113 | 0.275 |
| LD6 | 0.357 | 0.438 | *0.983* | 0.108 | 0.268 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| LD7 | 0.366 | 0.448 | *0.997* | 0.112 | 0.275 |
| MU2 | 0.143 | 0.122 | 0.090 | *0.876* | 0.150 |
| MU3 | 0.136 | 0.135 | 0.072 | *0.909* | 0.123 |
| MU5 | 0.114 | 0.114 | 0.116 | *0.729* | 0.085 |
| OP1 | 0.778 | 0.685 | 0.262 | 0.152 | *0.895* |
| OP3 | 0.868 | 0.765 | 0.277 | 0.127 | *0.969* |
| OP5 | 0.792 | 0.707 | 0.218 | 0.130 | *0.895* |
| OP7 | 0.819 | 0.764 | 0.274 | 0.128 | *0.929* |
| OP9 | 0.793 | 0.739 | 0.264 | 0.124 | *0.926* |

Note: CC = Perception of the current conditions of the country, CG = Confidence in the current government, LD = Leadership, MU = Media use, OP = Optimism. The Italic values in the matrix above are the item loadings, and other values are the cross-loadings.

Next, the Fornell-Larcker criterion (1981) was employed to accomplish the discriminant validity of each construct. The Fornell-Larcker criterion is assessed using the square root of the respective construct's AVE, where the square root of the AVE for the construct must be greater than the correlation among the other constructs (Hair, Risher, Sarstedt, & Ringle, 2019). Table 5 shows that the study has adequate discriminant validity for each construct based on the Fornell-Larcker criterion.

Table 5: Discriminant validity (Fornell-Larcker)

| | CC | CG | LD | MU | OP |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CC | **0.960** | | | | |
| CG | 0.913 | **0.961** | | | |
| LD | 0.373 | 0.456 | **0.990** | | |
| MU | 0.156 | 0.147 | 0.109 | **0.841** | |
| OP | 0.878 | 0.794 | 0.281 | 0.143 | **0.923** |

*Model's Goodness of Fit with Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR)*
Following the recommendation of Hair et al. (2019), the study model's goodness of fit was evaluated using the SRMR index. A model is considered fit when the SRMR value is less than 0.08. For the current model, the SRMR value is 0.031. Thus, the result indicates that the model has a good fit.

*Structural Model*
Having achieved acceptable reliability and validity, the next step of analysis is to test the hypotheses of the study using the structural model. The structural model displays the relationships (paths) between the constructs based on the proposed study model. The structural model was tested using bootstrapping procedures with a resample of 5,000 (Hair et al., 2017) to assess all the relationships among the constructs, its corresponding beta, and *t*-values. The adjusted $r^2$ value for the four exogenous constructs (i.e., optimism, Tun Dr Mahathir's leadership, perception of the current condition of the country, and media use) explains 85% of the change in public confidence and trust in the current government. However, the adjusted $r^2$ value for one exogenous construct (i.e., Tun Mahathir's leadership)

explains 14% of the change in the current condition of the country and only 7.9% of the change in optimism.

The model's standardized path values, *t*-values, and significance levels are displayed in Table 6. The first path analysis, H1a evaluates whether LD is positively related to OP. The path coefficient between LD and OP indicates a significant and positive relationship between LD and OP ($\beta = 0.281$, $t = 2.866$, $p < 0.01$). Therefore, H1a is supported. H1b measures whether LD has a significant impact on CC. The results show that LD does affect CC significantly, and the relationship is positive ($\beta = 0.373$, $t = 3.790$, $p = 0.0001$). Thus, H1b is supported. H2a evaluates whether OP is positively related to CG. The path values show that OP does not have a significant impact on CG ($\beta = -0.007$, $t = 0.057$, $p = 0.96$). Consequently, H2a is not supported. Next, H2b examines the effect of LD on CG; the results indicate a positive relationship between LD and CG. Thus, H2b is accepted ($\beta = 0.135$, $t = 1.982$, $p < 0.05$). For H2c, the analysis examines the relationship between CC and CG; the path values indicate the relationship is significant ($\beta = 0.869$, $t = 7.014$, $p < 0.0001$). Thus, H2c is accepted. Finally, H2d examines the effect of MU on CG; the results indicate that the relationship is insignificant ($\beta = -0.002$, $t = 0.074$, $p = 0.94$). Therefore, H2d is not supported.

Table 6: Hypothesis testing

|  | Path Coefficient | Standard Deviation | *T* statistics | *P* Values |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| LD -> OP (H1a) | 0.281 | 0.098 | 2.866 | 0.004 |
| LD -> CC (H1b) | 0.373 | 0.098 | 3.790 | 0.000 |
| OP -> CG (H2a) | -0.007 | 0.116 | 0.057 | 0.955 |
| LD -> CG (H2b) | 0.135 | 0.068 | 1.982 | 0.048 |
| CC -> CG (H2c) | 0.869 | 0.124 | 7.014 | 0.000 |
| MU -> CG (H2d) | -0.002 | 0.025 | 0.074 | 0.941 |

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Tun Mahathir has demonstrated that the will to be a leader and knowledge are the most critical qualities of becoming a great leader (Reza & Yasmin, 2019). His broad understanding stems from his daily interactions with people from all walks of life. During his tenure as the prime minister of Malaysia, Tun Mahathir's leadership traits won the hearts of many people. Overall, the findings show that his traits of honesty, concern for the people, fulfilling his promises, efficiency in administration, family values, and reliability had a positive influence on the industrial workers' perception of him.

This study found that Tun Mahathir's positive personality leadership traits (H2b) and industrial workers' positive perceptions of the current conditions of the country (H2c), as determined by current issues, were the factors contributing to public confidence in the ability of Mahathir's government to rule the country. Further, Tun Dr Mahathir's leadership skills significantly influenced optimism about the future of the country (H1a) and contributed to a positive perception of the government's management of the country (H1b). Thus, evidently Tun Dr Mahathir's good leadership traits created trust among industrial workers regarding his ability to govern the country, thereby enhancing their optimism with the government's ability to care for their well-being as citizens of the country. His traits as a capable, confident, pragmatic, and intellectual leader whose concern is on the progress and advancement of all Malaysians (Udin et al., 2020) boosted public confidence in him as the prime minister and in his capability to govern the country.

Leadership traits transform a leader into a great leader and Tun Dr Mahathir is one of the best examples of a great leader not only to Malaysians but also to the rest of the world. His good interpersonal and public communication skills, strategic and visionary way of thinking, and ability to influence people with his speeches are some of the exemplary leadership traits seen in him which a great leader should possess (Reza & Yasmin, 2019). As a leader representing the majority community, Tun Dr Mahathir had established numerous policies, visions, and missions for the country. As the leader of the nation for 22 years, he brought numerous developments to Malaysia. His long tenure as the prime minister of Malaysia provides evidence of the people's recognition of his good leadership traits.

Apart from Tun Dr Mahathir's positive leadership traits, the media undeniably plays a crucial role in bringing greater civil society participation in decision-making and government activities. However, this study did not find a significant relationship between media use and the public's confidence in the way the ruling party governs the country (H2d). This perhaps can be attributed to the sample of the study; the main respondents are industrial workers who work for a significant number of hours, and for line workers especially, their regimented work hours may leave very little time for media use (A.Manaf et al., 2018). This notion is supported by the descriptive data, where the average media usage is about 3 times a week. Therefore, they may not have the luxury to spend a significant amount of time on using the media.

Unlike other positive personality traits that influence political support (Ha, 2019), optimism also did not contribute significantly to the public's confidence in the ruling government that was managing the country (H2a). One possible factor could be the political situation in Malaysia, which rarely sees a change in government. For instance, the first change in government only occurred in 2018, which is 63 years after the first direct election was held in the country in 1955. It was a shocking change as it was Malaysia's first new government in six decades (Ketchell, 2018). Therefore, for industrial workers in Malaysia, optimism does not significantly contribute to their level of confidence in the Malaysian government, as they perceive little change in their future with regards to Malaysia, and optimism will not change the way the government operates.

On the other hand, consistent with previous studies (i.e., Beshi & Kaur, 2019), the study also found rather conclusively that the public's perception of the current condition of the country does significantly influence confidence in the current government (H2c). Being seen as proactively practicing good governance can increase public trust in the government. Therefore, to garner support for the ruling party and to maintain public confidence in the current government, it is imperative that the government take over the reins and is seen as effectively managing current issues. This also indicates the public is concerned with the social and economic challenges in Malaysia; if these problems are handled, naturally public confidence in the government will follow suit. This finding is important for policymakers, politicians, and government officials who are working to improve public trust.

Overall, the study concludes that confidence in the ruling government needs to be supported by effective leadership by the prime minister, as well as effective management of the country by the ruling party. Tun Mahathir's good leadership traits predominantly influenced Malaysian citizens' positive perception of the government's capability in running the country. Hence, the study asserts that leadership traits should not be neglected when considering its effect on public trust and confidence in the government. However, future studies should also consider examining the effect of Tun Mahathir's leadership on other

demographic variables such as age, i.e., whether his positive leadership traits wane and be rendered ineffectual among young Malaysians (i.e., teenagers and young adults) whose views of politics and the government in Malaysia may be different from older voters.

This study has several limitations. It only covered industrial workers in six states in Peninsular Malaysia, and they are not representative of the wider population. Therefore, future studies are suggested to cover factories in other parts of Peninsular and East Malaysia. In addition, this study employed survey as its research method, which limits an in-depth understanding on the topic being studied. Future research may consider in-depth interviews and participant observations, or a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies, which may allow for an extensive analysis of Mahathir's leadership traits and citizens' confidence in the government.

## BIODATA
*Aini Maznina A.Manaf* is an associate professor at International Islamic University Malaysia. Email: maznina@iium.edu.my

*Tengku Siti Aisha Tengku Azman Sharifuddin* is an assistant professor at International Islamic University Malaysia. Email: taisha@iium.edu.my

*Syed Arabi Idid* is a professor at International Islamic University Malaysia. Email: sarabi@iium.edu.my

# REFERENCES

A.Manaf, A. M., Idid, S. A., & Buyong, M. (2018). Perception of issues by factory workers in Malaysia: The role of media. *International Journal of Arts and Humanities*, *2*(11), 605-615. https://www.journal-ijah.org/more2018.php?id=39

A.Manaf, A. M., Tengku Azzman, T. A., Buyong, M., & Idid, S. A. (2019). The relationship between individual well-being, working environment and job satisfaction among factory workers in Malaysia. *Intellectual Discourse, 27*(1), 221–243.

A.Manaf, A. M., Tengku Azzman, T. A., & Idid, S. A. (2021). Happiness, demographic variables, and self-perception as predictors of job satisfaction among factory employees in Malaysia. *SEARCH Journal of Media and Communication Research*, *13*(2), 21-36.

Avery, J. M. (2009). Videomalaise or virtuous circle? The influence of the news media on political trust. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *14*(4), 410–433. https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161209336224

BERNAMA. (2019, May 12). World recognises Dr Mahathir's influence, leadership quality. *New Straits Times.* https://www.nst.com.my/news/politics/2019/05/487768/world-recognises-dr-mahathirs-influence-leadership-quality

*BERNAMA*. (2021, June 11). April manufacturing sales hit highest growth of 72.5% y-o-y at RM130.6 billion — DOSM. https://www.bernama.com/en/business/news.php?id=1970848

Beshi, T. D., & Kaur, R. (2020). Public trust in local government: Explaining the role of good governance practices. *Public Organization Review, 20*(2), 337-350. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11115-019-00444-6

Barnes, C. & Gill, D. (2000). *Declining government performance? Why don't citizens trust government* (Working paper no. 9). State Services Commission's. Retrieved from http://www.ssc.govt.nz

Carlyle, T. (1849). *On heroes, hero-worship, and the heroic in history*. Boston: Houghlin Mifflin.

Chow, T. W., Mohd. Salleh, L., & Arif Ismail, I. (2017). Lessons from the major leadership theories in comparison to competency theory for leadership practice. *Journal of Business and Social Review in Emerging Economies, 3*(2),147-156.

Chen, J., & Sun, L. (2019). Media influence on citizens' government trust: A cross-sectional data analysis of China. *International Journal of Public Administration*, *42*(13), 1122-1134.

Chin, W. W. (2010). How to write up and report PLS analyses. In Vinzi, V. E., Chin, W. W., Henseler, J., & Wang, H. (Eds), *Handbook of Partial Least Squares*. Springer.

Chin, W. W. (1998). Commentary: Issues and opinion on structural equation modeling. *MIS Quarterly*, *22*(1).

Cortesi, S., & Gasser U. (2015). Youth online and news: A phenomenological view on diversity. *International Journal of Communication, 9*, 1425-1448.

Daim, N., & Harun, H. N. (2019, October 22). Challenges to improving press credentials. *New Straits Times*. https://www.nst.com.my/news/nation/2019/10/532230/challenges-improving-press-credentials

Dan, H. (2019). The analysis of LG and Haier with trait theory and leadership style theory. *The Frontiers of Society, Science and Technology*, *1*(3).

Deshwal, V., & Ali, M. A. (2020). A systematic review of various leadership theories. *Shanlax International Journal of Commerce, 8*(1), 38-43.

*Fair Labor Association.* (2021). Examining the impact of long hours on factory workers. https://www.fairlabor.org/tr/node/1620

Fleenor, J. W. (2006). Trait approach to leadership. In Rogelberg, S. G. (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of industrial and organizational psychology*. Sage.

Gefen, D., & Straub, D. (2005), A practical guide to factorial validity using PLS-Graph: Tutorial and annotated example. *Communications of the Association for Information Systems, 16*(1), 91-109.

Ha, S. E. (2019). Positive correlates of political support: Evidence from South Korea. *Asian Journal for Public Opinion Research, 7*(4), 207-225. https://doi.org/ghjn82

Hair, J. F., Risher, J. J., Sarstedt, M., & Ringle. C. M. (2019). When to use and how to report the results of PLS-SEM. *European Business Review, 31*(1), 2-24.

Hair, J. F., Hult, G., T. M., Ringle, C. M., & Sarstedt, M. (2017). *A primer on Partial Least Squares Structural Equation Modeling (PLS-SEM)*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, Incorporated.

Happer, C., & Philo, G. (2013). Special thematic section on "societal change": The role of the media in the construction of public belief and social change. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *1*(1), 321–336. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v1i1.96

Houston, D. J., & Harding, L. H. (2013). Public trust in government administrators explaining citizen perceptions of trustworthiness and competence. *Public Integrity, 16*(1), 53–76.

Iranmanesh, M., Nabiha, A. K., & Sabbah, M. (2012). The retention of trained production workers in a small manufacturing company in Malaysia. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business, 16*(1), 71-82.

Jaes, L. & Basar, A. (2013). Ruling ideas and leadership styles of Mahathir-Suharto in developing their nations and creating mutual regional understandings from the eyes of Lee Kuan Yew. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social and Political Issues, 1*(3), 271-291.

Jameel, A., Asif, M., & Hussain, A. (2019). Good governance and public trust: Assessing the mediating effect of E-government in Pakistan. *Lex Localis*, *17*(2), 299-320.

Ketchell, M. (2018, May 11). Malaysia's first new government in six decades revels in a shocking victory. *The Conversation.* https://theconversation.com/malaysias-first-new-government-in-six-decades-revels-in-a-shocking-victory-96369

Kikuchi, M. (2007). Assessing government efforts to (re)build trust in government: Challenges and lessons learned from Japanese experiences. *International Public Management Review (IPMR), 8*(2).

Marcinkowski, F., & Starke, C. (2018). Trust in government: What's news media got to do with it? *Studies in Communication Sciences, 18*(1), 87-102.

Mashitah, M.U., Rusdi, O., & Kamarul Azman, K. (2020). Tun Dr Mahathir's leadership patterns and the success story of Malaysia. *Test Engineering and Management*, *82,* 10290-10302.

McCombs, M. (2002). *The agenda-setting role of the mass media in the shaping of the public opinion.* Paper presented at Mass Media Economics 2002, London, 28-29 June 2002. http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/extra/McCombs.pdf

Mohd Shafi, N. H., & Mohd Rosdi, M. S. (2016). The implications of Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's leadership on Islamic economic development in Malaysia. *Sains Humanika, 8*(3-2), 81-86. https://doi.org/10.11113/sh.v8n3-2.967

Moy, P., Pfau, M., & Kahlor, L. (1999). Media use and public confidence in democratic institutions. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *43*(2), 137. https://doi.org/10.1080/08838159909364481

New Straits Times. (2020, March 2). *Factory workers demand high wages*. https://www.nst.com.my/news/nation/2020/03/570988/factory-workers-demand-higher-wages

Norris, P. (2000). *A virtuous circle: Political communication in post-industrial societies.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pietsch, J., & Martin, A. (2011). Media use and its effect on trust in politicians, parties and democracy. *Australasian Parliamentary Review*, *26*(1), 131–141.

Pollack, J. M., & Kubrin, C. E. (2007). Crime in the news: How crimes, offenders and victims are portrayed in the media? *Journal of Criminal Justice & Popular Culture, 14*(1), 59-83.

Reza, M. H., & Yasmin, N. (2019). Development of Malaysia under the leadership of Mahathir Mohamad: Turned Malaysia into a rich country. *PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences, 5*(1), 498-506.

Ringle, C. M., Sarstedt, M., Mitchell, R., & Gudergan, S.P. (2018). Partial least squares structural equation modeling in HRM research. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management, 31*(12), 1617-1643.

Roccas, S., Sagiv, L., Schwartz, S. H., & Knafo, A. (2002). The Big Five Personality factors and personal values. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28(6), 789-801. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167202289008

Rosales-Viray, K., & M. Versoza, S. (2018). *Media engagement and ethnic identity: The case of the Aeta Ambala of Pastolan Village*. Paper presented at 4th International Research Conference on Higher Education, KnE Social Sciences, pp. 1223–1234.

*Salary Expert.* (2021). Factory worker: Average base salary. https://www.salaryexpert.com/salary/job/factory-worker/malaysia

Schmidthuber, L., Ingrams, A., & Hilgers, D. (2021). Government openness and public trust: The mediating role of democratic capacity. *Public Administration Review, 81*(1), 91-109.

Sharon, N.O., Joseph, K. O., David, I., & Kikelomo, E. I. (2016). Good governance and leadership: Pathway to sustainable national development in Nigeria. *Journal of Public Administration and Governance, 6*(1), 36-49.

Snell, S. A., & Dean, J. W. (1992). Integrated manufacturing and human resource management: A human capital perspective. *Academy of Management Journal*, *35*(3), 467-504. https://www.jstor.org/stable/256484

Suppiah, S. M., Ahmad, M. K., & Gunasekaran, H. N. (2018). Mahathir's leadership communication: Exploring the Indians' political and non-governmental organisations experience. *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication, 34*(2), 205-222. https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2018-3402-13

Thomas, C. W. (1998). Maintaining and restoring public trust in government agencies and their employees. *Administration and Society, 30*(2), 166–193.

Udin, M. M., Omar, R., Khamis, K. A., & Yusoff, K. Z. H. (2020). Tun Dr Mahathir's Leadership patterns and the success story of Malaysia. *Test Engineering and Management, 82,* 10290- 10302.

Van de Vliert, E., & Euwema, M. C. (1994). Agreeableness and activeness as components of conflict behaviors. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *66*(4), 674–687. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.66.4.674

Velu, U. R. A. R., & How, C. (2019). Symbolic representation of Tun Dr Mahathir: Visual analysis of a Malaysian short film. *3L: Language, Linguistics, Literature, 25*(4), 138-155.

Yusof, T. A. (2019, July 10). Study: Malaysians buck global trend, trust traditional media more*. New Straits Times.* https://www.nst.com.my/news/nation/2019/07/503254/study-malaysians-buck-global-trend-trust-traditional-media-more

Zhao, D., & Hu, W. (2017). Determinants of public trust in government: Empirical evidence from urban China. *International Review of Administrative Sciences, 83*(2), 358-377.