

Discourse Strategies in the ‘*Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Reformasi*’ by Anwar Ibrahim

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ABSTRACT

A leader's discourse provides a window into his guiding principles, values, and vision for his followers and the broader community. Through this communication, the leader's strategies, intentions, and decision-making approach become apparent, shaping his influence and impact. Malaysia MADANI was introduced by Malaysia's 10th Prime Minister, Anwar Ibrahim, to elucidate his approach to leadership and highlight the interactions between a leader and the community. Therefore, this study aims to identify and discuss the discourse strategies used by the Prime Minister in his leadership practices. Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992, 1995) and Interdiscursivity of Discourse Functions (Aman, 2006) are used as the theoretical framework for this analysis. Anwar Ibrahim's book, 'Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi', is used to analyse discourse strategies. Findings show that Anwar Ibrahim uses both intertextuality and interdiscursivity in his writing. Intertextuality is emphasised through metadiscourse, a crucial tool in constructing Anwar Ibrahim's discourse. Interdiscursivity is evident in discourse functions such as informing, ensuring understanding, presenting/defending views, relaying intention, and criticising, forming the essence of the current 'Malaysia MADANI' discourse. It is found that the book *Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi* employs both discourse strategies to ensure a comprehensive understanding of Anwar Ibrahim's leadership and the nation's development.

Keywords—discourse strategy; intertextuality; interdiscursivity; leadership discourse; critical discourse analysis

INTRODUCTION

Leadership entails an individual's ability, process, or function to influence, coordinate, direct, and mobilise a community to accomplish tasks according to predetermined orders to achieve specific goals. Hence, leaders often opt for discourse to communicate their leadership policies to the people they lead. In essence, the discourse produced by leaders also contributes to realising leadership aspirations. This supports the role of discourse as a linguistic unit that connects language and society (Stubbs, 1983).

The discourse used by leaders can be observed through their speech or writing. Commonly, such texts are also known as leadership texts. *The Art of War* by Sun Tzu and *Leadership on the Line* by Ronald Heifetz are two examples of leadership texts.

When strategically employed, the elements of language in leadership texts can significantly enhance their impact. These texts often utilise various discourse strategies to engage and persuade audiences. Aman and Fatkur Rahman (2014) explain that multiple aspects, including grammar, content, discourse characteristics, and production context, play significant roles in text production. These elements collectively form what is known as 'discourse strategy.' Thus, discourse strategy is crucial for determining the success of any relayed discourse and for realising the author or speaker's intentions.

A discourse strategy refers to the methods an author or a speaker uses to construct a discourse to achieve specific aims and objectives. Abd Hamid and Abdul Jabar (2020) describe discourse strategy as a deliberate effort to facilitate communicative understanding and comprehension. Through distinct discourse characteristics, each discourse contains varied content, is conveyed through different methods, and is tailored for various target audiences.

Aman and Ab Hamid (2015) state that leadership and language are inseparable, serving as the core and essence. In conducting all matters associated with leadership, language is essential for shaping a highly civilised society.

It is very common that people of a country eagerly anticipate a President or Prime Minister's leadership discourse. Through such discourse, they can gain insight into the leadership policies of the elected figure entrusted with their mandate. This includes Malaysia.

In the 15th Malaysian General Election (PRU15), Pakatan Harapan under Anwar Ibrahim, won 82 seats and garnered the most popular votes, totalling 5,810,429. This seat count enabled Anwar Ibrahim to form a coalition government with other parties. In 2022, Anwar Ibrahim was appointed as the 10th Prime Minister of Malaysia. Upon assuming office, he launched his leadership policy, Malaysia MADANI.

How does the 10th Prime Minister of Malaysia convince the public through his leadership policies? This is what will be discussed in this study. This study analyses the discourse strategies employed by Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim, the 10th Prime Minister of Malaysia. The intertextuality and interdiscursivity in his book, *Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi* will be identified to discuss his discourse strategies.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study aims to discuss the use of discourse strategies in the *Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi*. The primary objective of the study is to identify the discourse strategies used and then analyse how these strategies are employed. Specifically, the research questions are as follows:

1. What are the discourse strategies used in the *Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi*?
2. How are these discourse strategies employed in the *Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi*?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Leadership texts are written materials that provide insights, guidance, and inspiration on the topic of leadership. They are produced by, attributed to, or associated with leaders or leadership practices. These texts can take various forms, including books, articles, speeches, historical documents or even social media posts where leaders express their ideas, strategies, visions, or decisions.

Individual leaders, leadership teams, and organisations often adopt preferred leadership styles and communication approaches without consciously realising it. These choices are often deeply ingrained in cultural norms and expectations. Nevertheless, various factors influence the attraction to specific leadership discourses (Western, 2011).

The elements of language in leadership texts play a crucial role in shaping their effectiveness and impact. Leadership texts not only convey the ideas and visions of leaders but also reflect the underlying language choices that shape these messages. The language used in leadership texts is often a reflection of the preferred leadership styles and communication approaches adopted by individual leaders, teams, or organisations. These language choices, whether consciously made or unconsciously embedded in cultural norms, play a crucial role in how leadership is perceived and practised.

Leadership texts, while often produced by individuals or organisations with specific leadership styles and values, also reflect broader cultural and societal influences. The language used in these texts, from the choice of words and phrases to the rhetorical devices employed, can reveal the underlying discourse strategies that shape leaders' communication.

These strategies, often unconsciously adopted, can be influenced by cultural norms, personal beliefs, and the

specific goals and objectives leaders seek to achieve. By analysing the language in leadership texts, we can gain valuable insights into the complex interplay between individual leadership styles, cultural context, and the discourse strategies that underpin effective leadership.

Leadership texts are often analysed to understand the values, goals, and rhetorical strategies of leaders, as well as how they seek to influence, inspire, or direct others. Several studies on leadership discourse have been conducted such as those by Aman (2006, 2011), Md Nasir (2005), Haron (2012, 2016), Haroon et al. (2020), as well as Abd Hamid and Abdul Jabar (2020). These studies have focused on speech delivery and its relationship with social practices of leadership and society based on linguistic aspects. In the political context, it is found that leaders who exhibit strong leadership characteristics who use language that reflects togetherness, minimises anxiety, and avoids blaming any party, have the potential to remain as leaders (Windsor et al., 2018). In the context of natural disasters, it shows that the use of language that refers to accusations (i.e., the cause of the disaster) and demands for recognition increases among leaders after a disaster, and leaders strategically use language when going through a crisis (Windsor et al., 2014).

In conducting all matters related to leadership, language is one of the most important tools to shape a highly civilised society. Leadership and language are intertwined and inseparable. Language is crucial in executing all leadership-related issues that shape a highly civilised society (Aman & Ab Hamid, 2015). Language's importance cannot be underestimated in the leadership process (Aman, 2004).

However, comprehending the language of leaders is no easy task. This is because policies are often veiled within the discourse presented (Fairclough, 1992). Success or failure begins with the attitudes and responsibilities of political leaders managing the governance entrusted to them, prioritising the welfare and comfort of the people they lead.

Studies on discourse strategies involving leadership discourse have gained attention among researchers. Nearly all these studies emphasise discourse production, namely intertextuality and interdiscursivity, as the primary focuses. Among them is Marliana et al. (2023), who discovered that intertextuality in the aspect of metadiscourse exists in the speech made by the Vice Chancellor of Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia and it functions through the affirmation of other textual sources, metaphors, and paraphrases that are academic, didactic and flexible when demonstrating the social practices of leadership.

Ellah (2022) also describes how the political discourse of President Mohamadu Buhari's 2015 Inaugural Speech utilises intertextuality regarding discourse representation, presumption, reference and denial in his social ideology practice. Meanwhile, Haroon et al. (2021) find five main functions: informing, ensuring understanding, presenting/defending views, expressing intention, and giving instructions. The study also finds that the speaker, Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yasin, employs three new techniques in the function of expressing intentions, namely empathy, advice, and appreciation, which lead to practical social concern with the needs amid the COVID-19 pandemic and Movement Control Order.

Abu Bakar et al., (2021) also uncover similar findings concerning utilising metadiscourse in intertextuality. The study finds that interdiscursivity aspects refer to discourse types, such as reports, arguments, narratives, descriptions, debates and expressions. Both discourse practices reflect the ideology brought by Dato' Seri Najib Tun Abdul Razak in his leadership.

Malaysia Madani Framework

Malaysia MADANI is a new concept that charts Malaysia's path towards becoming an advanced and prosperous nation-state. This new concept was introduced by the 10th Prime Minister of Malaysia, Anwar Ibrahim. MADANI is an abbreviation for six pillars: sustainability (keMampanan), prosperity (kesejahteraan), innovation (Daya cipta), respect (hormat), trust (keyakinan) and compassion (Ihsan).

According to Prime Minister, Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim (2022), the MADANI framework embodies an integrated and holistic approach. These six components do not operate in isolation; instead, they are closely interconnected. Their mutual reliance ensures that all policies introduced are more humane and constantly

improved through consultation and feedback from the people. Hence, this framework will collectively form the groundwork for building a Madani, progressive, adept and cohesive society. MADANI also expresses a vision to develop Malaysia into a sustainable and prosperous nation founded on the principles of creativity, respect, trust and compassion. This includes inclusivity and equality as core principles in shaping a just society.

Now, he has begun to expand his leadership policy, Malaysia MADANI, through a book titled *Membangun Negara MADANI Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi*. In this book, he extensively discusses his economic, political, and social leadership. The six components under MADANI are also explained. While the policy framework is not entirely new to the public, it is not easy to comprehend the language of the leaders (Fairclough, 1992). Moreover, the public must understand and embrace the MADANI policy, particularly regarding the proposed cultural cultivation.

Thus, when Anwar Ibrahim was appointed, he asserted that the MADANI theme would stay relevant and capable of rescuing the nation as it represents trust forged between the government and the people based on transparency and cooperation. Now, after a year in the office, he also faces criticisms from the people regarding various issues, particularly economic concerns leading to price hikes, income issues, etc. These criticisms serve as indicators of the people's trust in his governance. High levels of trust and confidence among the people will help the government steer the nation to ensure continued prosperity and harmony. Integrity and fulfilling promises are vital (Mohd Ali, 2021).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study employs Fairclough's (1992, 1995) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework, augmented by Aman's (2015) theory of Interdiscursivity, to provide a comprehensive analysis of Discourse Strategies in the *Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi* by Anwar Ibrahim.

CDA is a branch of discourse analysis that examines how and why discourse is constructed, interpreted, and explained through macro structures to comprehend culture and ideology. Norman Fairclough's theory of CDA has become a widely used framework in discourse analysis due to its several key strengths. It offers a comprehensive, critical, and interdisciplinary framework for analysing discourse. Its focus on power, ideology, and context makes it a valuable tool for understanding how language is used to shape social meanings and maintain or challenge power relations.

CDA integrates insights from linguistics, sociology, political and cultural studies. This interdisciplinary perspective allows for a comprehensive analysis of how language is used to construct social meanings and power relations. It emphasises the role of language in reproducing and challenging power structures and ideologies. CDA involves a three-dimensional analysis of discourse: (i) textual analysis that examines the linguistic features of the text, such as vocabulary, grammar, and rhetorical devices; (ii) intertextual analysis that considers the relationship between the text and other texts, such as genres or discourses; and (iii) contextual analysis that analyses the social and historical context in which the text is produced and received.

In discourse production, intertextuality incorporates sources from other texts to generate a new text. In a contemporary or new discourse, a combination of different texts is usually involved in its production. This implies that intertextuality refers to the apparent use of other texts in constructing a new text (Aman, 2006). Therefore, intertextuality analysis involves interpreting and identifying whether other texts are utilised in creating discourse. Intertextuality is explained in four ways: (i) discourse representation, (ii) metadiscourse, (iii) denial, and (iv) pre-assumption. This study focuses on metadiscourse.

Metadiscourse is a manifestation of the intertextuality of discourse in distinguishing its text from other texts. What is interesting is that the discourse producer exists outside of their discourse and possesses the power to manipulate the text to achieve their goals (Fairclough, 1992). Metadiscourse also reflects the identity of the discourse producer.

In the context of this study, metadiscourse is examined to analyse Anwar Ibrahim's efforts to convince the public about the framework he introduced. This is evident during the Opening of the First Meeting of the Third

Session of the 15th Parliament, where the opposition party leader asked Anwar Ibrahim and the Pakatan Harapan (PH)-Barisan Nasional (BN) coalition government to clarify the concept and ideas of Malaysia MADANI to prevent confusion among the public. This is because elements of secularism, liberalism, and pluralism can be found in other texts used as references in constructing the concept and framework of the Malaysia MADANI policy (Mohd Salleh, 2024).

Interdiscursivity is related to intertextuality but focuses more on the types of discourse, texts, genres, or other activities utilised by the author or speaker when producing a discourse or text at a given time. Analysing interdiscursivity within a text involves analysing the specific combination of genres, discourses, and styles that form its basis and how various genres, discourses, and styles are brought together (or 'blended') in the text. This level of analysis functions as the link between linguistic analysis of a text and various social analyses of social practices (Fairclough, 2003). Thus, this study's analysis of interdiscursivity elements focuses on discourse functions.

For this study, the Interdiscursivity of Discourse Functions is adapted from the four original functions within the Interdiscursivity Framework proposed by Aman (2006), namely: i) informing, ii) ensuring understanding, iii) presenting/defending views and iv) relaying intention. Informing reveals information about what, who, when, or how. This function allows the public to know information about their leadership. Ensuring understanding involves explaining or revealing something in greater detail. This function goes beyond informing by explaining the 'why' behind certain information or facts. In other words, it functions to achieve the goal of the discourse. Presenting/defending views discusses issues that are questioned. Its function is to convince the public. Relaying intention serves to express leadership intentions so that people being led understand their leader's direction. All of these functions aim to encourage the public to support the leadership of the speaker or author.

METHODOLOGY

This qualitative study aims to examine the discourse strategies employed by the 10th Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim, in his leadership practices. Text analysis is used as the research method to identify these strategies. For this purpose, his self-authored book, *Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi*, serves as the corpus of the study. This book is written in Malay. For the purpose of this article, some examples have been translated into English to aid readers' understanding.

This book, launched on January 19, 2023, spans 217 pages and contains 14 chapters, covering the following sections and chapters:

- i. Preface
- ii. Our Vision
- iii. The MADANI Narrative
- iv. The MADANI Policy Framework
- v. The MADANI Policy
- vi. MADANI for Post-Covid Malaysia
- vii. MADANI to Address the Cost-of-Living Issue
- viii. Priority Policy Towards a MADANI Nation
- ix. Epilogue

This book highlights the MADANI framework including discussions on the economy and finances, legislation, institutions, education, society, culture, and urban and rural areas. According to Anwar Ibrahim, in the post-normal world, the MADANI policies must be prepared to face the speed, scale, scope, and concurrence of numerous conflicts, increasing complexities, and the ability to cope with disruptions.

As a key political figure, the Prime Minister's discourse offers valuable insights into the leadership style, political strategies, and decision-making processes that have shaped national policies and public opinion. Analysing these strategies can reveal how language is used to construct authority, persuade the public, and navigate complex socio-political landscapes.

The book may engage with or respond to other political texts, speeches, or narratives, making it a rich source for exploring intertextuality and interdiscursivity. This can provide a deeper understanding of how the Prime Minister’s discourse interacts with existing political and social discourses, shaping and being shaped by the broader context. The discourse strategies used in the book may showcase unique rhetorical and linguistic techniques that reflect the Prime Minister’s personal style or political agenda. Analysing these can contribute to the field of discourse analysis by highlighting how political figures craft their messages to achieve specific outcomes.

All chapters discussing the MADANI framework in this book will be analysed. Therefore, this study will identify discourse strategies from 667 paragraphs. Each sentence will be analysed individually to ensure that all discourse strategies are identified. Intertextuality will be classified and discussed based on Fairclough's (1992, 1995) Critical Discourse Analysis theory, and interdiscursivity will be classified according to Aman’s (2006) Interdiscursivity of Discourse Functions.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Analysis found that Anwar Ibrahim extensively discussed the MADANI framework by explaining each of the six MADANI policies which are the people's agenda. It is evident that he uses intertextuality and interdiscursivity discourse strategies in his book, *Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi*.

Intertextuality

Intertextuality refers to how a text (written, spoken, or visual) is shaped by and references other texts. It highlights the connections and relationships between different texts, suggesting that no text exists in isolation but rather interacts with and is influenced by the broader web of cultural and literary works. This can include direct quotations, allusions, references, or the adoption of themes, styles, and genres from other texts.

Data collected shows that there are ten elements of metadiscourse found in the discourse as shown in Table I.

Table I: Elements of Metadiscourse in *Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi*

No .	Elements of Metadiscourse	Frequency	Percent age (%)
i.	Translation	55	45.08
ii.	Verses of al-Quran	3	2.46
iii.	Hadiths	3	2.46
iv.	Arabic vocabulary/phrase	16	13.11
v.	English vocabulary/phrase	13	10.66
vi.	Book excerpts	16	13.11
vii.	Novel excerpts	1	0.82
viii .	Proverbs	1	0.82
ix.	Speech text	13	10.66

x.	Philosophical text	1	0.82
	Total	122	100

Table I shows a total of 122 data of intertextuality found in the *Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi*. All these data can be categorised into ten categories; (i) translation, (ii) verses of al-Quran, (iii) hadiths, (iv) Arabic vocabulary, (v) English vocabulary, (vi) book excerpts, (vii) novel excerpts, (viii) proverbs, (ix) speech text and (x) philosophical text.

Translation is the most frequently used element of metadiscourse in the book analysed, accounting for 45.08% of the overall data collected. Arabic vocabulary and book excerpts are the second most frequently used elements of metadiscourse, with 16 (13.11%) instances each followed by the third most frequently used, English vocabulary and speech text with 13 (10.66%) instances each. Novel excerpts, proverbs, and philosophical texts are the least frequently used elements, with only one instance (0.82%) in each category.

Data 1

Dan janganlah kamu berbuat kerusakan di bumi setelah ia berada dalam keadaan baik (islahiba). Berdoalah kepadaNya dengan rasa takut dan penuh pengharapan. A2. Sesungguhnya rahmat Allah teramat dekat dengan orang-orang yang berbuat kebaikan (muhsinin). A3. Dialah yang meniupkan angin sebagai pembawa khabar gembira, sebagai mendahului kedatangan rahmatNya, sehingga apabila angin itu membawa awan mendung, A4. Kami bawanya ke suatu daerah yang tandus, lalu Kami turunkan hujan di daerah itu. A5. Kemudian Kami tumbuhkan dengan hujan itu berbagai macam buah-buahan. A6. Seperti itulah Kami membangkitkan orang yang telah mati, mudah-mudahan kamu mengambil pelajaran. A7. Dan tanah yang baik akan menumbuhkan tanaman-tanamannya subur dengan izin Tuhan; sementara tanah yang buruk, tanaman-tanamannya akan tumbuh merana. A8. Demikianlah Kami menjelaskan berulang kali tanda-tanda bagi orang-orang yang bersyukur.

Translation:

And do not commit destruction upon the earth after it has been set in order (islahiba). Call upon Him in fear and hope. A2. Indeed, the mercy of Allah is near to the doers of good (muhsinin). A3. He is the one who sends the winds as the bringer of good tidings, going before His mercy until the wind brings dark clouds. A4. We drive them to a barren land, then rain down upon it. A5. We bring forth, thereby, fruits of every kind. A6. Thus, that is how we bring forth the dead; perhaps you may be reminded. A7. And the good land- its vegetation emerges by permission of God; but that which is bad, nothing emerges but sparsely, with difficulty. A8. Thus, we diversify the signs for grateful people (translation by the authors).

Surah al-A'raf: 56-58

(Anwar Ibrahim, 2022: 42)

Data 1 shows two elements of metadiscourse found in the *Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi*. This data is originally three verses from al-Quran, Surah al-A'raf, verses 56 to 58. The book was written in Malay language and Anwar Ibrahim includes the translation of the verses. Therefore, this data shows that (i) translation of (ii) verses from al-Quran are used in the discourse.

He uses the verses to explain that the sustainability policy he introduces entails the capability for collective and continuous cooperation, encompassing all layers of society residing in rural and urban areas. This relates to MADANI's first framework, sustainability. The sustainability policy also mandates well-being and balance, emphasising mutual respect and affection among humans and the environment, including animals and plants. These excerpts help people understand the imperative of continuous sustainability within the nation and society.

Data 2

خَيْرُ أَيْمَتِكُمُ الَّذِينَ تُحِبُّونَهُمْ وَيُحِبُّونَكُمْ،
وَتُصَلُّونَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَيُصَلُّونَ عَلَيْكُمْ

Sebaik-baik pemimpin adalah mereka yang kamu kasih dan mereka pula mengasihimu, serta mereka yang sentiasa kamu doakan dan mereka pun selalu mendoakan kamu.

(Riwayat Muslim)

Figure 1: Example 1 of the Use of Hadiths in the Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi.

الرَّاحِمُونَ يَرْحَمُهُمُ الرَّحْمَنُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى
إِرْحَمُوا مَنْ فِي الْأَرْضِ يَرْحَمَكُم مِّن فِي السَّمَاءِ

Para pengasih akan dikasih oleh yang Maha Pengasih Maha suci dan Maha Tinggi, kasihilah mereka di muka bumi, nescaya akan mengasihimu mereka di langit.

(Riwayat al-Tirmidhi)

Figure 2: Example 2 of the Use of Hadiths in the Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi.

Data 2 shows the use of (i) translation and (iii) hadiths in the book. The author, Anwar Ibrahim, includes both texts to relate them to himself as a leader and to the principle of Ihsan that he advocates.

In the first hadith narrated by Muslim, Anwar Ibrahim as the author of the book portrays himself as a leader who loves and prays for his people. Through this hadith, he hopes that the people will reciprocate by doing the same for him. Only then he will be considered as a good leader. This subtle persuasion is seen as a clever approach especially since he (Anwar Ibrahim) is not the preferred candidate for some in the community. Nevertheless, he remains confident that the people will pray for the best for him as the Prime Minister.

Whereas the second hadith narrated by al-Tirmidhi relates the author's intention for the people to embrace the principle of Ihsan in a broader context. Typically, people are concerned about the less fortunate, but no initiatives are taken to meet their needs. Thus, the use of this hadith serves as a reminder that the government will emphasise and address the needs of this group.

Data 3

Dengan kerangka ini, semoga kita mampu segera memulihkan negara kita melalui Reformasi yang substantif, sekaligus melangkah bersama rakyat menuju masa hadapan yang lebih cerah, **Insha Allah**.

Translation:

With this framework, may we be able to swiftly restore our country through substantive reforms, while also moving forward together with the people towards a brighter future, God willing.

(Anwar Ibrahim, 2022: 31)

Data 3 shows the use of the (iv) Arabic phrase Insha Allah (which means "if God wills" or "God willing." It is mentioned in the Quran and is required to be used when speaking about future events). Thus, in the context of using this phrase, Anwar has made a promise in the name of Allah to restore Malaysia by utilising the Malaysia MADANI framework. In the Malay Muslim community, making such a promise is a serious matter because it involves invoking the name of Allah and must be fulfilled. Clearly, the use of this promise has

encouraged the public to trust the MADANI policy.

Data 4

Kita juga harus menggalakkan penyelidikan terhadap apa yang disebut sebagai 'daya cipta kerakyatan' (communal innovation)

Translation:

We should also encourage research into what is called 'communal innovation'.

(Anwar Ibrahim, 2022: 80)

Data 4 shows that English (v) vocabulary/terms have been included to provide meaning to the Malay terms. In this context, all citizens need to be aware of the Daya Cipta (Creative Drive) policy introduced in the discourse. Research or efforts to empower the community's spirit are also included in the Daya Cipta policy through the provision of various educational programs, whether physical or virtual, covering a wide range of fields and interests.

Data 5

'Masa hadapan tidak datang dengan sendiri, ia terbit sama ada dari tindakan atau ketidaktindakan kita.'

Translation:

'The future does not come by itself; it arises from our actions or inactions.'

Ziauddin Sardar, *Future: All That Matters*

(Anwar Ibrahim, 2022:57)

Data 5 is (vi) an excerpt from a book by another author, Ziauddin Sardar. This excerpt explains Ziauddin Sardar's views regarding the importance of a nation's future are easily understandable. The government, as the Empowerment Institution, will implement initiatives by revising them in line with the nation's sustainability policy. The referred views indicate that the desired future envisioned by the people will not materialise if the government and the people do not strive to achieve it. Anwar Ibrahim also frequently expresses views and ideas to ensure that the people understand the meaning of sustainability under the government's policy. Discourse representation shows that his leadership policies will prepare and assist the people towards the nation's sustainability. For example, courses and training will be held to initiate policies.

Data 6

Aku tidak menulis untuk generasi ini. Aku menulis untuk zaman yang lain. Jika generasi ini membacaku, tentunya mereka akan membakar sekalian bukuku dan segala tulisanku. Sebaliknya, generasi yang mampu menafsirkan tulisan ini, mereka akan menjadi generasi yang terpelajar; mereka akan memahamiku dan berkata: 'Tidak semuanya nyenyak tidur di kepekatan malam pada zaman moyang kita''.

José Rizal, *Novel Noli Me Tangere*;

(Anwar Ibrahim, 2022: 193)

Data 6 refers to a quote originally written in Tagalog and translated into Malay language and included in the discourse by Anwar Ibrahim. This quote was written by a Filipino statesman, Jose Rizal in his (vii) novel *Noli Me Tangere*. He criticised Spanish colonization of his country. In the eyes of the Filipino people, Jose Rizal is regarded as a hero for awakening the national identity of the Filipino people, even under the grip of the enemy. This Filipino fighter explained his struggle for the future of his country.

When this story is viewed within the context of Anwar's discourse, he draws inspiration from it and urges the people to carry forward the policies he has introduced in the future. He believes that the upcoming generation will support what he has initiated and advance the nation because the phrase "Not everyone slept soundly in the deep of night during the time of our ancestors" seems to refer to him being in a similar situation to Jose Rizal, who deeply loved his country.

Data 7

Hormat kerana takut tidak pernah tulen, penghormatan kerana hormat tidak pernah palsu.

Translation:

Respect out of fear is never genuine, and honour out of respect is never fraudulent.

Chinese Proverb

(Anwar Ibrahim, 2022: 99)

Data 7 is another example of (i) translation used by Anwar Ibrahim in his book. The proverb is a Chinese (viii) proverb that has been translated into the Malay language to accommodate the target readers.

This Chinese proverb is related to the fourth policy, i.e., respect. The government under Anwar Ibrahim leadership implements this policy to encourage professional advocacy for respect in the workplace, at home, and in society. To implement this effort, leadership by example is instilled through the government's transition towards the practice of and policy of respect. Through this policy, Anwar also attempts to instill respect as a national value and enhance Malaysia's international reputation.

Data 8

"Kunci kepada kemajuan dan kesejahteraan tidak terletak pada kepuasan menikmati apa yang telah dicapai, tetapi pada keazaman yang utuh untuk melakukan yang lebih daripada itu pada masa hadapan."

Translation:

"The key to progress and prosperity doesn't rely on contentment with what has been achieved, but on the steadfast resolve to strive for more in the days ahead.."

Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj,

First Malaysia Plan, 1965

(Anwar Ibrahim, 2022: 13)

Data 8 indicates that Anwar Ibrahim uses discourse representation from other leaders' (ix) speech text to explain circumstances post-normal times. Anwar Ibrahim refers to the views of Tunku Abdul Rahman, the first Prime Minister of Malaysia, regarding the ways to advance and prosper the nation of Malaysia. He also asserts that being content with the current situation is not practical because, in reality, the conventional approach is no longer practical post-COVID-19 pandemic. Malaysia's national policies must be revamped to understand the post-normal world and maintain its traditional values within its multi-cultural society.

Data 9

Apabila persetujuan dibuat berlandaskan kebenaran, maka kata-kata yang diucapkan akan menjadi baik. Apabila rasa hormat dizahirkan berdasarkan apa yang betul, maka seseorang itu akan terpelihara daripada keaiban dan kehinaan.

Translation:

When agreement is based on truth, then the words spoken will be good. When respect is expressed based on what is right, then a person will be protected from disgrace and humiliation.

Confucius, Analects

(Anwar Ibrahim, 2022:94)

In explaining the definition of respect, the author chooses (x) philosophical text, specifically the Analects by Confucius as a way of inviting people to understand the concept behind this policy. In Data 9, the sentence Apabila persetujuan dibuat berlandaskan kebenaran, maka kata-kata yang diucapkan akan menjadi baik highlights that the people can respect each other. Brotherhood within Malaysia's multicultural society must be preserved. Therefore, the author as the Prime Minister urges the people to strengthen the racial unity as a united nation, despite the differences in religion, ethnicity and culture.

Interdiscursivity

Analysis on the aspect of interdiscursivity also records various discourse functions. As illustrated in Table II, Anwar Ibrahim as the author of the book extensively utilises discourse functions deemed suitable for writing the book on MADANI policies. The following are the discourse functions employed in the book.

Table II: The Use of Discourse Functions in

Membangun Negara MADANI: Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi

Discourse Functions	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Informing	423	55.51
Ensuring understanding	120	15.75
Presenting/defending views	162	21.26
Relaying intention	42	5.5
Criticising	15	1.98
Total	762	100

Findings show that there are 792 frequencies of discourse functions. All these data can be categorised into five functions. Informing is the most frequent function used in the discourse with 423 frequency or 55.51%. The second most frequently used discourse function is presenting/defending views with 162 frequency or 21.26% of the data collected. It is followed by ensuring understanding function with 120 frequency (21.26%). Relaying intention is the second least discourse function used in the book with 42 frequency (5.5%).

Aman (2004) suggested that there are four classifications of discourse functions. Nevertheless, findings show that an additional discourse function was also discovered. Criticising is the fifth discourse function found employed in the book. it is the least used discourse function with 1.98% of the data collected.

The Function of Informing

The discourse function of informing is associated with the informative nature of discourse. In this discourse function, it is evident that the Prime Minister tells the people about each MADANI policy that will be implemented under his leadership.

Data 10

Dalam soal kebijakan hak pekerja, kita telah ketinggalan untuk menggubal undang-undang yang mampu melindungi hak-hak pekerja, terutama dalam menghadapi tantangan yang diakibatkan oleh automasi dan robot. A2. Demi kemaslahatan generasi seterusnya, pertimbangan wajib dibuat untuk menjenayahkan tindakan merosakkan alam sekitar sebagai suatu jenayah terhadap masa hadapan. A3. Untuk itu, badan kehakiman harus terus bebas agar kesejahteraan rakyat dapat dilindungi.

Translation:

Regarding workers' rights, we have fallen behind in enacting laws that can protect workers' rights, particularly in facing challenges stemming from automation and robotics. For the betterment of future generations, considerations must be made to condemn actions that harm the environment as crimes against the future. Hence, the judiciary must remain independent so that the welfare of the people can be protected.

(Anwar Ibrahim, 2022: 64)

Data 10 shows that Anwar Ibrahim uses the discourse function of informing regarding welfare from the legal perspective. This discourse function is used to inform the nation that under this welfare policy, emphasis is placed on issues of workers' welfare and environmental damage. The clause has fallen behind in enacting laws that can protect workers' rights, highlighting an issue closely related to the people, thus underlining the importance of the welfare policy and that the government prioritises it.

The function of ensuring understanding

The function of ensuring understanding is crucial to the author, particularly the Prime Minister, when explaining the intricacies of his leadership, especially the MADANI policy, to the people. He uses this function to ensure that the people understand his policy working towards it together.

Data 11

Antara penghalang utama kepada upaya daya cipta adalah kerapuhan sokongan ekonomi dan kewangan. Justeru kita harus membangunkan agenda ekonomi dan kewangan baharu yang berteraskan daya cipta. Agar kestabilan ekonomi terus terjamin dalam menghadapi cabaran, suatu sistem percukaian baharu yang memberi ganjaran kepada kreativiti dan daya cipta harus dilaksanakan.

Translation:

The main obstacles to innovation efforts are the economy's fragility and financial support. Therefore, we must develop a new economic and financial agenda based on innovation. To ensure economic stability continues to be guaranteed when facing challenges, a new taxation system that rewards creativity and innovation needs to be implemented.

(Anwar Ibrahim, 2022: 77)

In data 11, the referenced policy is the Innovation policy. In the context of this policy, the author seeks to enable the understanding of the people through the clause kerapuhan sokongan ekonomi dan kewangan (the fragility of the economy and financial support). This paragraph indicates that a new taxation system is needed for artistic works, particularly in creativity and innovation, to combat the misuse of innovation practices.

The Function of presenting/defending views

Presenting or defending is the discourse function that entails presenting arguments against ideas, concepts, or information put forward by the author to the readers. As the author of the book, Anwar Ibrahim persuades the people through this discourse function regarding the implementation proposal. It is not easy to convince people when presenting an idea or concept. However, as the Prime Minister, he needs to show a concept as a clear

direction for the people regarding the pathway of his governance.

Data 12

Kita harus merangka program yang radikal untuk menyelesaikan kemelut hutang di Malaysia (hutang isi rumah, hutang pinjaman pelajar dan sebagainya) dengan kerjasama Bank Negara dan institusi penting kewangan negara untuk menentukan moratorium yang diperlukan serta membatalkan hutang yang tidak munasabah, terutamanya yang terkait dengan bencana alam, pandemik COVID-19 dan PKP, sambil berusaha untuk mengurangkan hutang negara agar kita mampu mengharungi kemelut masa hadapan dengan berjaya.

Translation:

We must revise a radical program to resolve the debt crisis in Malaysia (household debt, student loan debt, etc.) in collaboration with Bank Negara and key financial institutions of the country to determine necessary moratoriums and cancel unreasonable debts, especially those related to natural disasters, the COVID-19 pandemic, and MCO, while also striving to reduce national debt so that we can successfully navigate through future crises.

(Anwar Ibrahim, 2022:112)

Through data 12, the clause harus merangka program yang radikal untuk menyelesaikan kemelut hutang (must revise a radical program to resolve the debt crisis, which highlights the view presented by the author in his leadership policy. This issue has indeed gained people's attention, especially after the COVID-19 pandemic, which has affected every aspect of human life. The author intends to convince the people that he will ensure that every action and view aligns with the aspiration to build a MADANI society. The conviction policy is critical in gaining the support and trust of the people. This can help the author to retain his power and government in the future.

The function of relaying intention

Data 13

Walhasil, kalianlah yang akan mencatat sejarah untuk tatapan anak-cucu kita. Dengan menyedari kerumitan yang ada, memahami kekacauan, dan melangkaui percanggahan, janji-janji kosong dan kegagalan semalam akan dirungkai demi menggosok

negara ke lembaran seterusnya.

Translation:

Ultimately, it is you who will make history in the eyes of our descendants. By recognizing the complexities, understanding chaos, and transcending conflicts, empty promises, and past failures will be unraveled to propel the nation forward to the next chapter.

(Anwar Ibrahim, 2022: 188)

Data 13 illustrates the author wants to relay his intention to his people. Statement kalianlah yang akan mencatat sejarah untuk tatapan anak-cucu kita (it is you who will make history in the eyes of our descendants) as the statement of the author inviting the people to embrace the MADANI policy as a means to ensure that Malaysian society achieves the values of a progressive MADANI society in terms of intellect, spiritual and material well-being by instilling family values. Despite the perceived challenges, the author remains steadfast in believing that all hardships and failures of the previous government can be rectified for the nation's prosperity.

The Function of criticising

Findings show that there is an additional discourse function used by the author in his book. The function of criticising is a way for the speaker to relay his needs when generating the MADANI policy. In the context of this function, the speaker criticises the previous government in the Preface section. The author also urges the people to reject the old governance style and embrace his MADANI idea.

Data 14

Di era terdahulu, tatkala para pemimpin mencari hala tuju baharu, idea atau slogan politik, mereka seringkali mencedok dari luar. Pentadbiran lama mengambil pendekatan memandang ke Jepun atau China (Dasar Pandang ke Timur), seringkali ke Barat, seakan negara-negara luar ini telah atau mampu menyelesaikan segala-galanya. Mereka telah mendewakan nilai, adat dan kejayaan dari luar, serta meremehkan idea untuk menjadikan tradisi, budaya dan sejarah tempatan kita sebagai asas membina kejayaan.

Translation:

When leaders sought new directions, ideas, or political slogans in past eras, they often borrowed from external sources. The old administration tended to look towards Japan or China (Look East Policy), often to the West, as if these foreign nations had already solved everything. They idolized the values, customs, and successes from abroad while underestimating the idea of building success through local traditions, culture, and history.

(Anwar Ibrahim, 2022: 14)

In Data 14, the sentence Mereka telah mendewakan nilai, adat dan kejayaan dari luar, serta meremehkan idea untuk menjadikan tradisi, budaya dan sejarah tempatan kita sebagai asas membina kejayaan (translation: They idolised the values, customs, and successes from abroad while underestimating the idea of building success through local traditions, culture, and history.) is used as a criticism of the previous government. Many previous governments advocated leadership policies that promoted progress in the industrial and economic sectors, particularly from the East. Through this criticism, the author hopes that the people can accept the new ideas the current government brings.

In the analysis conducted, it is clear that Anwar Ibrahim as the author employs both intertextuality and interdiscursivity discourse strategies in his leadership discourse. He designs each pillar of the MADANI policies so that the people may understand and accept his leadership. It is not easy to ensure the people's acceptance of his reform framework, including those who do not support him. In this discourse, he strategically uses his discourse to foster the people's acceptance of his governance.

The intertextuality strategy used involves metadiscourse through diverse texts within the current discourse that is comprehended by the people. The use of these additional texts serves as a method for the author to ensure all aspects of the MADANI policies are understood by the people, and he offers insights into each policy.

These additional texts provide evidence and support for the direction the nation will pursue under his governance. Most of the chosen texts explain the needs of specific policies and their implementation.

This study's analysis identifies ten elements in metadiscourse, namely translation, excerpts from the al-Quran, hadiths, excerpts from books, excerpts from independence movement novels, the use of Arabic and English vocabularies, proverbs, philosophical texts, and excerpts from speeches by political figures.

These findings confirm what Marliana et al. (2023) have discovered that intertextuality in the aspect of metadiscourse exists through the affirmation of other textual sources, metaphors, and paraphrases that are academic, didactic and flexible when demonstrating the social practices of leadership. Ellah (2022) also describes how the political discourse of President Mohammadu Buhari's 2015 Inaugural Speech utilises intertextuality regarding discourse representation, presumption, reference, and denial in his social ideology practice. Abu Bakar et al., (2021) also uncovers similar findings concerning utilising metadiscourse in intertextuality.

The interdiscursivity strategy also shows that the author uses discourse functions to ensure that his goals and intentions to convey his leadership policy, Malaysia MADANI, are well-received by the people. The functions of informing and ensuring understanding serve as a report, although it is primarily written to define and conceptualise a policy. On the other hand, the function of presenting and defending views allows the author to articulate arguments or layout plans and implementations. The function of expressing intention is a characteristic of leadership that is necessary because a leader will be hopeful that the people will follow and execute what has been planned. In this leadership discourse, a criticising function is discovered when the speaker criticises the previous government. The criticism aims to justify the need to adopt the MADANI policy under his leadership.

CONCLUSION

This paper discusses the discourse strategies in a leadership discourse by the 10th Prime Minister of Malaysia, Anwar Ibrahim. The discourse analysed, Membangun Negara MADANI, Visi dan Kerangka Dasar Reformasi is found to utilise discourse strategies. It is found that ten elements of metadiscourse related to intertextuality are employed in the discourse. It is also evident that the author uses five discourse functions in his discourse. It is shown that all these discourse functions are used to help him to inform, ensure understanding, present/defend views, relay intention and criticise. All these intertextuality and interdiscursivity are aligned with the authors' perspective and intervention to promote the Malaysia MADANI framework.

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