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**Lee Kwan Yew's Masterwork:
His Post-independence Singapore Narratives.
How to tell a compelling narrative within a public
policy context.**

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ABSTRACT

Narratives, a compelling platform for managing imagination, have the power to persuade and motivate people. Because this basic leadership technique is entertaining, moving, and memorable, those who master the storytelling ability can exert significant influence and build an enduring legacy. This thesis aimed to apply psychodynamic approaches to the exploration of the effectiveness of storytelling in strengthening one's organization, engaging one's audience and advancing one's mission by analyzing selected narratives from Lee Kwan Yew's post-independence Singapore speeches. The different frameworks for people to understand how to tell a good narrative shall be analyzed and the core elements of storytelling broken down to discuss how these narratives helped Lee Kwan Yew to shape the policies of a nation.

This paper is a study of the politics of public policy-making within the context of nation building by examining the central means in which Lee led and inspired others through his narratives. It explores the conceptualization, execution, and gaps of the late Lee Kwan Yew's stories on Singapore. It shows how Lee provided context, articulate the core story of who he was, how he articulated the story of who Singaporeans are and where Singaporeans are heading.

Key Words: Character, Confirmation Bias, Leadership, Narratives, Nudging, Policy Making, Plot, Storytelling.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Since time immemorial, human beings have been drawn to powerful narratives both for intellectual and emotional satisfaction (Steele, 2003). So, what is a narrative? Stripped to the most basic level, narratives are a sequence of related events that culminate in a meaningful conclusion (Czarniawska, 1999; McComas & Shanahan, 1999; Verweij et al., 2006). However, in order to craft a compelling narrative that can transform business organizations or build a nation, one has to invest time and effort into putting together the structural components of a narrative: a gripping plotline (Jasinski, 2001; Escenbach, 2003), inspiring and relatable characters (Reissenweber, 2003; Rowland, 2005; McKee, 2014), and a vivid setting (Rowland, 2005). Only then will the narrators be able to succeed in conveying their intended message, also known as the theme, within a narrative (McKee, 2014).

This is why narratives can be such a powerful tool of persuasion within the contexts of policymaking and businesses to motivate people and inspire action (Duarte, 2012). For Patton (2014), narratives constitute the “Ultimate Leadership Tool” (p. 17), highlighting that utilizing narratives, images and visions can create the following effects:

- Enhance attention and retention (a multiplier impact);
- Leave a more memorable impression than “data” (avoids data smog);
- Create shared meaning/experiences (sense-making); and
- Offer a powerful directive for future human behavior.

When linked directly to a company’s strategic and cultural context, they can offer a powerful means of simultaneously building strategic competence and strengthening organizational character (Ready, 2002). Within organizational contexts, narratives would be specifically targeted to achieve both general and specific business (or policy) objectives (Forman, 2013).

More than just a one-way communication, organizational narratives are a social and relational ritual. The teller and the listener create a relationship of mutual belonging and sharing (Adorasio, 2009). If leaders can offer a compelling narrative,

they will be able to gain and strengthen the trust of the intended audience(s) to inform, persuade, and even inspire them (Forman, 2013). By aligning all stakeholders with a shared vision, leaders can then spur stakeholder buy-in and action (Duarte, 2012).

Another critical factor that needs to be taken into consideration in narratives specific to organizations, as opposed to those for one's edification or entertainment, is the authenticity of the message and the communicator. According to Forman (2013), successful storytelling in business should be authentic, i.e., credible, realistic, tangible, and truthful. This element lies at the very foundation of these types of narratives, without which the message undermined and the objectives unlikely to be fulfilled.

Based on the above discussion, it is evident that the crafting of a compelling narrative for leaders of organizations to motivate their followers to achieve targeted objectives is no mean feat. It requires an integrated understanding of the core structural components of a narrative (plot, character, setting, and theme) and its particular applications in different contexts for one to be useful in creating a compelling narrative that will engage the audience.

1.2 Research aim and objectives

What this research study sought to do was to contribute to the narrative discourse by applying a self-formulated framework that is based on a thoughtful integration of existing research on narratives in general, as well as in businesses and policymaking, to the analysis of selected narratives from the post-independence speeches by Lee Kuan Yew, the founding father of Singapore. By situating the elements above within the overarching framework comprising the three rhetorical components of "message," "audience," and "communicator" ("Rhetorical Triangle," n. d.), the research study "dissected" extracts from three of Lee's speeches to evaluate the effectiveness of their conceptualization. Mostly, this framework would be used to determine to what extent Lee's speeches were effective in conveying its specific messages to the targeted audience. Given the dramatic nature of these speeches, the framework would offer insights into Lee's first steps in galvanizing his fellow citizens in taking the first steps towards building a nation.

While this focused research study has obvious implications for policymakers, it could indeed be invaluable for leaders of business organizations seeking to build high-performing teams. This self-formulated, integrated narrative framework could thus prove to be an invaluable tool for any leader in organizational contexts to craft compelling narratives, particularly during challenging transitions when their followers will need to be inspired to act and embrace change.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This section will begin with a discussion of the broad perspectives of the roles of narratives in policymaking before delving into the diverse elements that went into the making of my self-formulated framework for a detailed analysis of narratives. The following topics will be covered:

- **Rhetorical Effects of Narratives for Organizations:** This subsection hones in on the two types of narratives that are specific to organizations, one that seeks to persuade through arguments, often involving the audience as characters, while the other addresses the transformation of a community.
- **The significance of Narratives in Policy Process:** In this discussion, the extent to which narratives play a crucial role in ensuring that policies are targeted, formulated, implemented, and evaluated correctly in the policy cycle is illuminated.
- **Rhetorical Components of a Compelling Narrative:** This transition segment shifts the discussion from the broader elements of the use of narratives in organizations to the structural elements of narrative analysis. I will also introduce the rhetorical structure of my framework for a detailed structural analysis of organizational narratives: message, audience, and communicator.
- **The Rhetorical Triangle:** In this comprehensive section, I delve in detail into the core elements of each of the three components of the rhetorical structure of my framework. Under the component of the message, the elements of plot, characters, setting, and the theme will be addressed. With regards to audience, psychological factors that would influence the audience's receptiveness were discussed. Finally, the qualities of the communicator, which would also impact the willingness of the audience to accept the message, were also highlighted. Concepts regarding narratives of

different genres including policymaking and business organizations were also incorporated in the discussion.

2.1 Rhetorical Effects of Narratives for Organizations

It is essential to understand the different rhetorical roles present for narratives to understand the specific type of tale that should be formulated to achieve intended objectives. Jasinski (2001) explained that narrations are influenced by three effects of rhetorical practice: 1) aesthetic, 2) instrumental, and 3) constitutive. As this thesis is focused on Lee's narratives, only the latter two effects are most relevant.

Narratives are instrumental when responding to exigencies and manifesting arguments and persuasive appeals (Jasinski, 2001). Advocates can utilize stories to depict a current problem or possible consequences vividly. In a deliberative narrative that relies on reason and arguments, choices must be made by central agents, usually the audience (Jasinski, 2001). In this way, the viewer can also be considered to be the principal characters in the unfolding narrative (Lewis, 1987). As Duarte (2012) pointed out, when the audience can feel that they are essential characters playing a central part in the narrative, they would be even more inspired to be a part of the experience. This involvement of the audience is a significant factor in determining whether the communicator would be able to galvanize the audience into action.

Constitutive rhetoric applies when narratives help shapes how a community views its world and when they bring about the destruction, creation, or transformation of the social world (Jasinski, 2001). In this way, stories are ultimately interwoven with an ideology. Constitutive rhetoric can be used to reinforce the status quo on the one hand or challenge and lessen dominant ideological beliefs on the other (Jasinski, 2001). Therefore, the awareness of this effect also comes into play, particularly for organizations, with their different agenda (Duarte, 2012).

2.2 Significance of Narratives in Policy Process

Narratives lie at the heart of the government's policy process that comprises an ongoing policy cycle of the following series of related functions:

- Problem Recognition and Definition;

- Policy Formulation (and decision-making);
- Policy Implementation; and
- Policy Evaluation (Ramesh, 2015).

This policy cycle is critical in the government's construction of narratives to ensure that the policies are relevant, as well as adequately formulated and implemented (Ramesh, 2015). If the narrative is to produce sound policy, then it must take into all of these functions as parts of a more extensive process. Mostly, the composition of a narrative must factor in these stages of the policy cycle as an integrated whole (Ramesh, 2015).

Two broad approaches drive narratives related to policymaking in understanding policy implementation: top-down and bottom-up (Ramesh, 2015). For practical purposes, governments need both top-down and bottom-up approaches, which should be taken into account in the narratives.

Top-down approaches that emphasize the design aspects of policies seek to ensure that implementers are given clear guidance on what to do. The focus of such narratives would thus be on the senior decision-makers, particularly the integrity of their vision. They should thus make sure that the policies are well-designed with implementation challenges addressed in the policy and conveyed. In contrast, bottom-up approaches concentrate on the personal and organizational goals, preferences, and networks of implementing officials, which thus depend on the commitment and skills of the latter. In this regard, narratives should also reflect an understanding of the key stakeholders' interests, resources, and perceptions, and the willingness to address them, while offering incentives to frontline implementers and other strategies that could promote desired behavior.

2.3 Rhetorical components of a compelling narrative

Although policy narratives may have some distinctions from other types of narratives like stories, they also encompass structural characteristics that are present in other narratives:

- a. **Setting** (Ney & Thompson, 2000; Ney, 2006; Verweij & Thompson, 2011; Verweij et al., 2006);

- b. **Plot** with a temporal element (beginning, middle, and end) (Roe, 1994; Stone, 2002; McBeth, Shanahan, & Jones, 2005), basic causal mechanisms and the relationships between the setting and characters (Stone, 2002);
- c. **Characters** who are fixers of the problem (heroes), causes of the problem (villains), or victims (those harmed by the problem) (Stone, 2002; McBeth, Shanahan, & Jones, 2005; Ney, 2006; Jacobs & Sobieraj, 2007).
- d. **Theme:** the moral of the story, where a policy solution is usually offered (Ney & Thompson, 2000; Stone, 2002; Ney, 2006; Verweij & Thompson, 2011; Verweij et al., 2006).

In this section, all the elements above will be discussed within a rhetorical structure that will go into the making of my self-formulated framework for analyzing organizational narratives. The rhetorical structure of message, audience, and communicator was chosen as the overarching edifice of my framework, after an exhaustive review of multiple frameworks in the literature. It provides both a relevant and sufficiently broad umbrella to encompass diverse concepts about narratives from all genres, including those of organizations like business and policymaking.

2.4 The Rhetorical Triangle

The overarching artifice of my self-formulated framework can be considered to be a sophisticated and in-depth extrapolation of the following rhetorical triangle, as shown in Figure 1.

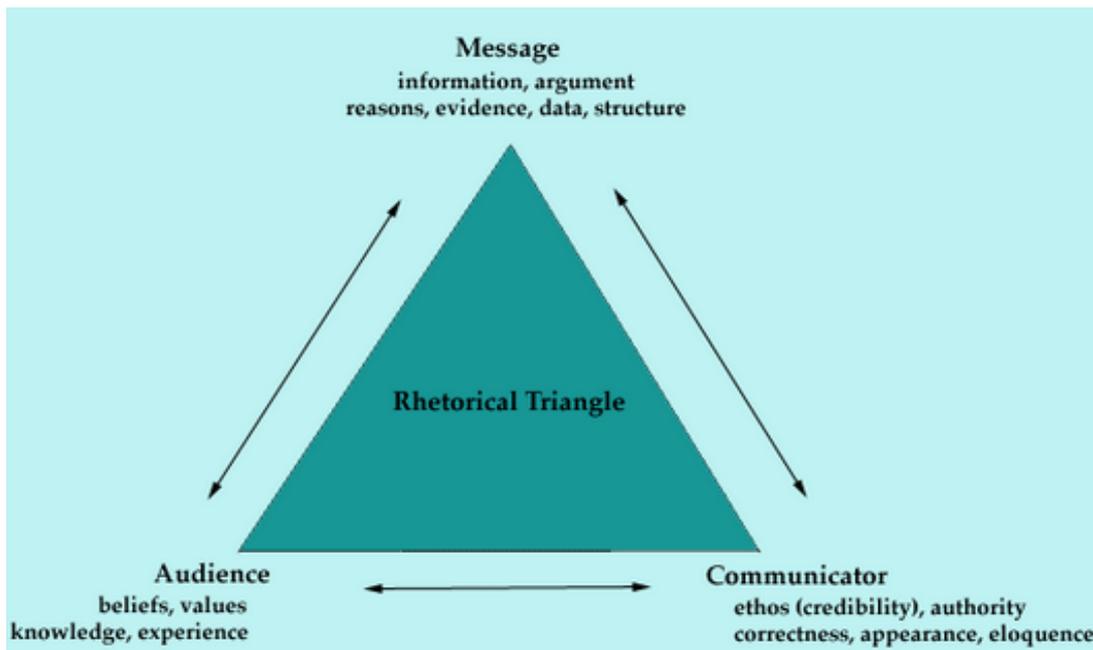


Figure 1. Rhetorical Triangle. Reprinted from AP English and Composition Wiki, in *Fandom*, n. d., Retrieved from http://aplangu.wikia.com/wiki/File:Rhetorical_triangle.gif.

It comprises the three fundamental components:

1. **Message:** This component is not just about the information that is presented, but also how it is put together convincingly *and* in an engaging way, which would be backed up by evidence, to move the audience towards the communicator's desired outcome. However, even for narratives meant for organizations, communicators should not just be presenting data, which are not as memorable as engaging and vivid stories (Patton, 2014). Therefore, care should be made to elements found in a conventional story like setting, plot, characters, and theme to deliver a message that can tap into the emotions of the audience.
2. **Audience:** To achieve their ultimate objective of engaging their audience, communicators need to have a firm understanding of their targeted audience. This is built upon the combined knowledge of social science disciplines, behavioral economics, and psychology, which offers insights into the biases of the listeners. The presence of such biases affects their motivation

to change their behavior (Bryson, 2004; Williams & Miller, 2002; Chen, 2015; Dolan et al., 2012; Gaba, 2018).

- 3. Communicator:** Another determinant that could influence audience's receptiveness to the narrative is its perception of the communicator. The communicators' qualities that influence their credibility, their professional authority stemming from their position, the authenticity of their message, and their ability to engage the audience with their speaking skills, encompass the factors that affect their audience on the audience (Chen, 2015; Dolan et al., 2011).

2.4.1 Message

We begin with a discussion of the core elements of a narrative, which enable the communicator to develop a compelling story that makes an emotional connection with stakeholders (Barnes, 2003; Aaker & Smith, 2010; McKee, 2014): a) plot, b) characters, c) setting, and d) theme.

2.4.1.1 Plot

A compelling narrative has a strong central plotline that typically follows Gardner's three universal storylines: 1) Who are you? 2) Who are we? and 3) Where are we going? (as cited in Barnes, 2003). What moves the narrative along is a sequence of events, involving a protagonist's pursuit of his/her goal in the face of challenging obstacles that need to be resolved before the goal can be attained (Escenbach, 2003; Jasinski, 2001; Goodman, 2003). In telling the story, the communicator must present a relatable, engaging, and compelling story arc — from the setting of the scene and the rising action to the climax and the denouement — which captures the attention and imagination of the audience (Aaker & Smith, 2010; McKee, 2014).

Within the public policy context, the typical plotlines are the narrative of decline, a stymied progress narrative, or “change as only an illusion” (pp. 138-45). Such tales could also be causation stories that include intentionality, inadvertence, accidents, and that of a mechanical nature (Stone, 2002). Stone (2002) argues that policymakers tend to think that they have defined a problem when they have described its causes, and that policy debate is dominated by the notion that the issues are solved by finding reasons and treating the symptoms. However, Stone feels that an analysis of causes and conceptualizing the ideas in the plot would be more helpful.

Stone (2002) illustrates that when causes define a policy problem, the conception of “cause” being used states the following:

- Every issue has a broad or primary reason.
- The object can be found if one looks hard and carefully.
- Reasons are objective, and in principle can be proven by scientific research.

Ultimately, with this conception, Stone (2002) argues that the exact cause of the problem can then be defined, and then eliminated, reduced, or neutralized by policy.

2.4.1.2 Characters

A critical factor that makes a plot engaging and relatable is the character. A good narrative brings characters to life and makes people care about them. There are many different ways to draw audiences to the characters. Closely related to the plot is the creation of characters that are under pressure (Reissenweber, 2003). Compelling characters need to want something and narratives need to identify what the characters want and communicate that in a way the audience understands (Reissenweber, 2003). The desires can be concrete (e.g., money, a cure for a sickness) or abstract (e.g., love or personal growth) (McKee, 2014). Once the audience identifies with the protagonist, they will be rooting for the protagonist to overcome obstacles and achieve the goal (McKee, 2014). The audience is also mainly engaged with the protagonist who emerges transformed from the experience in some meaningful way. This often leads to a more profound revelation for the audience (Duarte, 2012).

Other ways of creating engaging characters that audiences can connect with are to reveal the character's unique, unexpected qualities (Reissenweber, 2003). The audience may either relate to characters who are similar or different. Characters who are similar generate a sense of commonality, while those who are different to the

audience often take on a heroic dimension (Rowland, 2005), which can make them inspiring.

Characters also play an essential role in public policy narratives (Ney, 2006; Stone, 2002). They can vary in their specific characteristics but occupy one of three general categories: heroes (and allies), villains (and enemies), and victims (McBeth, Shanahan, & Jones, 2005; Ney, 2006; Verweij et al., 2006). These categories also correspond to four classes of socially-constructed actors: advantaged, contenders, dependents, and deviants in the Policy Design Theory (Ingram, Schneider, & DeLeon, 2007). These categorizations may provide character types and critical variables in narrative framework models for policies, perhaps explaining how these groups are assigned meaning in the first place. For instance, McBeth, Shanahan, and Jones (2005) used characters to quantify two essential policy beliefs in their interest group's narratives in an environmental policy dispute. The authors used victimhood to measure a group's construction of the policy belief of humans and the role of nature. Similarly, Small, Loewenstein, and Slovic (2007) used an experimental design to demonstrate how individuals are more likely to give charitable contributions to an individual and identifiable victim than a statistical and unidentifiable victim. This study thus highlighted the importance of using historical character portrayals to represent a problem and influence the behavior of the audience.

2.4.1.3 Setting

The setting of the narrative — the place or world in which the story occurs — is another critical component. One way to get the audience's attention quickly is by describing a situation, circumstance, or premise with such vivid detail that the audience can relate to it (Goodman, 2003). Such a description can thus "break down barriers to understanding" by allowing the viewer to develop insight into another location, period, or culture (Rowland, 2005, p. 138).

Institutions or policy settings typically form the basis of a narrative for policymaking. This could be defined by geography, institutional venue, scientific and economic terms, or assumptions, which have deeper cultural, moral, and spiritual roots (McBeth et al., 2005, 2007; Ney, 2006; Verweij et al., 2006).

2.4.1.4 Theme

A theme is a critical aspect of the narrative. Themes often convey particular values or morals that may evoke an emotional response in the audience (Rowland, 2005). Narratives with an intent to persuade must convey the theme to audiences convincingly. To be effective, the audience should be able to identify with the belief or action the narrative is promoting (McKee, 2014). An important idea to keep in mind is to focus on a clear goal that is actionable and measurable. By the end of the narrative, the audience should be very clear about why the communicator is telling the narrative.

Moreover, the communicator should also have conveyed what the audience should be feeling, thinking, or doing at the end of the narrative (Gollwitzer & Brandstatter, 1997; Bandura & Cervone, 1983; Becker, 1978; Erez, 1977). Therefore, narratives that show others going through a similar transformation that your audience will go through can be compelling. This would encourage the latter to cross over from the everyday world into the world of one's ideas and step back into their world transformed, with new insights and tools (Duarte, 2012).

Within the context of policymaking and other organizations, the theme or moral of the story is a must-have ingredient. After all, the theme in a policy narrative typically involves a call to action (Stone, 2002) and a policy solution (Ney & Thompson, 2000; Verweij et al., 2006), which requires concerted action from the audience.

Dr. Leong Ching, Assistant Professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy specializing in communication strategies, provided additional insights on the delivery of messages in policy narratives in the 4th run of the Executive Program on "Essentials of Policy Development" held on 17-21 August 2015, at the LKY School, NUS Bukit Timah Campus, Singapore. First, Leong advised policymakers to stay on message when conceptualizing and executing their narratives (C. Leong, personal communication, August 19, 2015).

Second, the government's frame should always be "the third side," i.e., what matters most for both parties (C. Leong, personal communication, August 19, 2015). An example in Singapore would be the Water Reuse policy — treating wastewater (sewage) so that the water is potable and can be consumed by humans. Water reuse is a complex issue. It is possible to frame successful implementation positively and not to negate the "anti" discourse (C. Leong, personal communication, August 19, 2015).

In Australia, when policymakers adopted the 'more information approach' for anti-re users of water, it resulted in more concerns being raised as a result of the information being provided. The successful implementation of the Water Reuse policy in Singapore shows that people do not need more information. Instead, they need an interpretive framework that embeds their history and policy realities (C. Leong, personal communication, August 19, 2015).

A convincing delivery of the theme, or message, in an organizational narrative is also dependent on the perceived authenticity of the narrative (Forman, 2013). This is influenced by three factors: a) accuracy, b) compatibility with reality, and c) representativeness (C. Leong, personal communication, August 19, 2015). Regardless of the specific objective of an organization's narrative, the narrator needs to give scrupulous attention to the accuracy of the narrative's details. Authentic narratives about a government are data-based narratives. The details of the narrative, as well as those in the documents that often serve as a companion piece to the narrative, need to be fact-based and fact-checked with multiple sources (C. Leong, personal communication, August 19, 2015). Not only do narratives embed facts, but they also work in tandem with other government communications, the primary purpose of which is to provide data, such as policy regulations or explanations of policy (C. Leong, personal communication, August 19, 2015). Using reliable data forms the groundwork for the integrity of narratives for policy-making.

Furthermore, according to Leong, "words — in this case, narratives — must match deeds" (C. Leong, personal communication, August 19, 2015). This is a critical ethical criterion in judging narratives (C. Leong, personal communication, August 19, 2015). One must tell the truth about the reality by letting the public know what is happening and providing an accurate picture of the organization's character, ideals, and policies (Arthur W. Page Society, 2011). One has then to prove it with action (C. Leong, personal communication, August 19, 2015). Public perception of an organization is determined 90 percent by what it does and 10 percent by what it says (Arthur W. Page Society, 2011). If the narrative is not true in this instance, can the narrative (or narratives) be realistically aspirational?

Finally, narratives should not be a single expression of the government's leadership. Only when it takes into account the voices of significant others, such as

civil servants, communities, and citizens will it be fully embraced (C. Leong, personal communication, April 19, 2015).

2.4.2 Audience

Crafting useful narratives that can motivate desired behavioral change also requires a comprehensive understanding of the psychological factors that can influence the receptiveness of the listeners. The considerable research in this area shows the importance for communicators of narratives to recognize these invisible dynamics that may even be influencing the audience at the unconscious level.

Some of these psychological factors relate to the various types of biases people have. Addressing the phenomena of belief perseverance and confirmation bias, Chen (2015) explained that after forming strong hypotheses, people are often too inattentive to new information that contradicts their beliefs. As a result, they tend to misread evidence as additional support for their hypotheses. Another bias is the loss aversion bias — how we value losses more than gains of the same size (Gaba, 2018). Mostly, once a person comes to possess a good, he immediately values it more than before he possessed it (Gaba, 2018). Dolan et al. (2011) wrote about the status quo bias whereby individuals tend to prefer the current situation to changes that involve losses of some goods, even when the gains of other goods offset these losses. All in all, the presence of these biases highlights the uphill task that communicators face when they have to persuade people to embrace change, mainly when it involves giving up familiar thinking and things.

Another narrative strategy related to the understanding of human psychology and its influence on the audience is the manipulation of the reference level. According to Chen (2015), people, in general, are more sensitive to how their current situation differs from a reference point than to the absolute characteristics of the situation. In particular, highlighting the losses associated with a choice makes that choice less attractive. A frame that exploits diminishing sensitivity by making losses appear small regarding the scales involved makes that option more attractive (Dolan et al., 2011). For instance, Chen (2015) referred to a study that showed that the take-up rate of a medical procedure increased significantly when doctors told the patients that they had a 90% chance of surviving as opposed to a 10% chance of dying from the procedure.

Thus, how one frames a narrative could make a world of difference in presenting information that may be unappealing to the audience.

Appealing to feelings, rather than analytical thinking, has also been found to be effective in stirring action. It is often believed that people persuade by appealing to only the left side of the brain, or reason. However, persuasion occurs just as much (if not more) through emotion (Barnes, 2003). Chen (2015) gave an example of a study in which people were asked how much they would be willing to donate to various charitable causes. When the people were shown a picture of a single starving child, they were willing to donate generously.

In contrast, the second group of people shown statistics of starvation throughout Africa produced a 50 percent lower donation (Small, 2007). According to Chen (2015), the problem with statistics is that they do little to activate one's morals or emotions. The depressing numbers leave us numb, as our mind cannot comprehend suffering on such a massive scale. According to cognitive psychologist Jerome Bruner, narratives are up to 22 times more memorable than facts or figures alone (as cited in Harrison, 2015). Therefore, if one uses narratives in one's presentation, the audience can recall what they have learned and even spread the word.

Another factor to consider in formulating one's narratives to the audience is the decision-making style of stakeholders, as described by Williams and Miller (2002):

- a. **Charismatics** are intrigued by new ideas, but experience has taught them to make decisions based on balanced emotion, not just emotions.
- b. **Thinkers** are risk-averse and need as much data as possible before coming to decisions.
- c. **Skeptics** are suspicious of data that do not fit their worldview, and thus, make decisions on their gut feelings.
- d. **Followers** make decisions based on how other trusted executives, or they, have made similar decisions in the past.
- e. **Controllers** focus on the facts and analytics of the actions because of their fears and uncertainties.

Narrators who fail to tailor their presentations to take into account these different styles do so to their detriment (Williams & Miller, 2002). The authors argued that the recognition of these decision-making styles of the audience for hearing or seeing

certain types of information at particular stages in their decision-making process can substantially improve one's ability to tip the outcome in one's favor.

Apart from understanding the underlying psychological factors that influence audience receptiveness to the message, communicators could also manipulate the dynamics of the audience experience with what Duarte (2012) called a persuasive story pattern (see Figure 2).

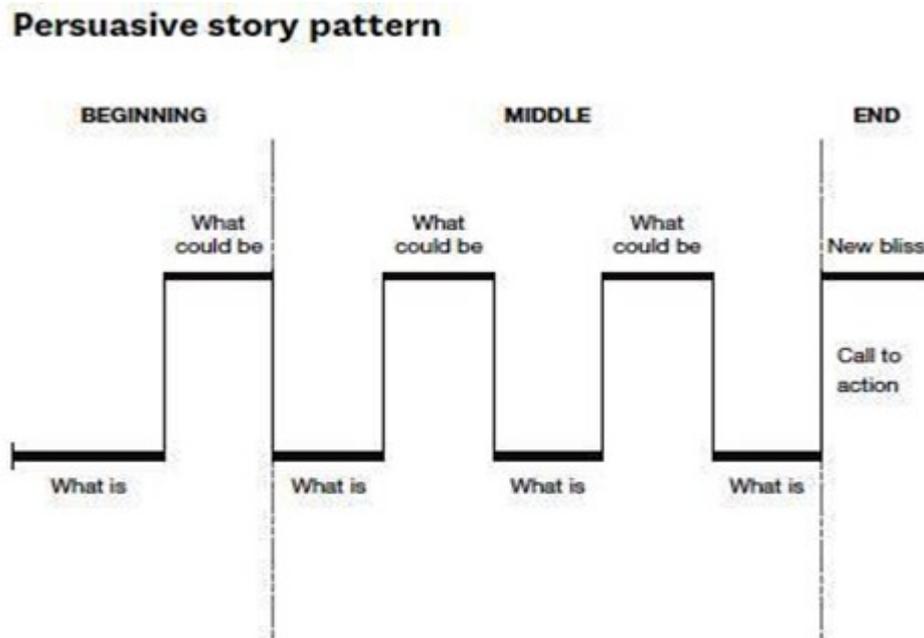


Figure 2. Persuasive story pattern. Reprinted from HBR Guide to Persuasive Presentations (p. 66), by N. Duarte, 2012, Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Publishing Corporation. Copyright 2012 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

According to Duarte (2012), the most persuasive communicators create conflict by juxtaposing “what is” with “what could be” throughout the beginning and the middle of the narrative. Essentially, they alternately build tension and provide release by toggling back and forth between the status quo and a better position. At the start of the narrative, the narrator should describe life as the audience knows it to create a bond with the audience, thus setting the baseline of “what is” before introducing the idea of “what could be.” The gap between the two will throw the audience off balance and create unresolved tension. This gap is further accentuated in the middle part of the

narrative with the alternation between these two options to make the audience find the status quo unappealing and the alternative alluring. “New bliss” is achieved only when people adopt the beliefs and behaviors proposed by the narrator with the call to action (Duarte, 2012).

The ending of the narrative should leave people with a heightened sense of what could be and a willingness to believe in or do something new. Instead of ending with a list of action items, Duarte (2012) recommended skillfully defining future rewards to capture how happy the people's world will be when they adopt the proposed ideas:

- **Benefits to them:** What needs of theirs will your ideas meet? What freedoms will the audience gain? How will your ideas give the audience greater influence or status?
- **Benefits to their “sphere”:** How will your ideas help the audience's peers, direct reports, customers, students, or friends?
- **Benefits to the world:** How will your ideas help the masses? How will they improve public health, for instance, or assist the environment?

It is noticeable that Duarte's (2012) strategy here endeavors to counter the inherent biases of the audience and overcome their skepticism by highlighting the positive aspects at several levels.

2.4.3 Communicator

How the communicator comes across in delivering the narrative also exerts a significant impact on how the audience will receive the narrative. For a start, the credibility of the communicator is essential, which reflects the perceived authenticity of the narrative (the extent to which it shows the truth) and the authority of the communicator. According to Chen (2015), we tend to listen to experts or perceived authorities. Finally, speakers must be fluent in engaging the emotions and intellect of stakeholders with compelling communication techniques (Forman, 2013). Therefore, apart from displaying their knowledge and presenting their audience with information, narrators should also be willing to reveal their challenges and vulnerabilities in highly

personal narratives, to make their audiences feel more affection for them. This would be highly effective in swaying their audience (Duarte, 2012).

3. Application of the Proposed Framework for Structural Narrative Analysis

3.1 Introduction

Though each of the three components was discussed separately for the clarity and depth of discussion in the previous section, the simultaneous dynamic between them must be taken into consideration when one is formulating and delivering a narrative. This was why the application of this self-formulated framework loaded with many elements to a detailed analysis of Lee's post-independence Singapore speeches was so invaluable in testing its usefulness with actual texts. In the process, the framework would also offer an evaluation of the effectiveness of their conceptualization regarding desired outcomes — the achievement of Lee's nation-building objectives.

3.2 Proposed Framework for Analyzing Lee Kwan Yew's Narratives on Singapore

For the structural analysis of Lee's narratives in detail, all the relevant narrative elements, previously classified under the rhetorical framework of message, audience, and communication, were utilized. To give some specific insights as to how the elements above would apply in the analysis of the extracts of Lee's speeches, it is important to highlight some contextual factors that are specific to these narratives and situate them within this framework. First of all, Lee's narratives took place in the aftermath of a challenging and dramatic period for Singapore — after its independence — when the country's survival was fraught with uncertainty. Therefore, what Lee was talking about were critical life-and-death issues that would have a tremendous impact on the lives of the audience (the people of Singapore). In the midst of these trying times of significant uncertainty, the audience (people of Singapore) would be terrified of what lay ahead for them and desperately be looking for leadership. Thus, one would imagine that his speeches would be highly engaging for the audience, in and of themselves, regardless of how compelling were. However, this

would require them to have tremendous faith in their leadership to guide them through the future unknown. As both the protagonist and the communicator in these narratives, Lee bore a tremendous responsibility in needing to come up with a narrative that could simultaneously convince the audience that: a) he was the leader that they could count on, and b) they should follow his vision. To succeed in these objectives, he must not only offer an engaging narrative but also convey the authenticity of his person and his message.

Furthermore, Lee's narratives were also analyzed to see if they incorporated anecdotes that added emotional appeal and engaged the intellect based on earlier discussion on the techniques for engaging the audience, such as Duarte's (2012) framework of contrasting what is with what could be. The analysis would also show whether Lee Kwan Yew left an impression on his audience to remember, be it shocking statistics, evocative visuals, memorable dramatization or emotive anecdotes like gripping personal stories. Such an analysis would thus determine the extent to which Lee Kwan Yew succeeded in engaging his audience and driving his big idea home.

To provide some structure in guiding this narrative analysis, I came up with a series of questions based on the components of my self-formulated framework to help me in my selection and subsequent analysis of the extracts. The relevant elements of the framework are placed in parentheses:

- a. Who was he? What did he stand for? Where was he going? Why was he doing so? (Character, Plot, Authenticity).
- b. What was at stake? What was the arc of the journey? (Plot).
- c. Who was the targeted audience? (Audience, Objectives, Theme, Character).
- d. Moreover, why should others follow him? (Theme, Message, Objectives, Call to Action, Authenticity).
- e. What was his hook to engage the listener? (Audience, Psychology, Character, Theme, Communicator).
- f. To what extent did Lee Kwan Yew make his narrative engaging? What were the narrative strategies used with his audience? (Plot, Audience, Character, Communicator).

3. Application of the Proposed Framework for Structural Narrative Analysis

- g. What were the “ah-ha” moments when the audience realized the theme? (Plot, Audience, Theme).
- h. To what extent was the correct framing applied to the narrative to achieve the intended effect? (Audience, Psychology).
- i. To what extent did Lee Kwan Yew succeed in staying on message and framing the third side in his narratives? (Objectives, Theme, Call to Action).
- j. To what extent were the approaches top-down or bottom? To what extent was the policy solution clear? (Policy, Objectives, Theme, Call to Action).

4. Lee Kuan Yew's narratives and the implementation of public policies in Singapore

4.1 Overview: The Historical Context of Singapore and its Phenomenal and Exemplary Economic and Social Rise Story

Fast forward to the present, and Singapore is now one of the world's global cities. It has evolved rapidly from a small trading port to a dynamic, multicultural, and cosmopolitan city-state. Modern Singapore's transformation and development during the country's first few decades after independence have gained global recognition. It is especially notable since the country lacks natural resources and domestic raw materials (Lee, 2015).

Most Singaporeans would be familiar with the story of how their modern independent country came to be. Racial tensions between the Chinese majority in Singapore and Malay minorities coupled with the special privileges given to the Malay community by the federal government of Malaysia led to Singapore's expulsion from the federation and its independence in 1965. It then continued with the young island nation's transformation from rags to riches. At the center of the narrative is the first generation of leaders of modern Singapore: Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and old guard ministers such as Dr. Toh Chin Chye and Mr. Lim Kim San. Lauded as the architects of modern Singapore, they shaped strategies in areas ranging from the economy to foreign policy, housing, and culture (Lee, 2015). When one speaks of nation-building narratives, the narrative of their struggles comes to mind.

Respected as a pragmatic and forward-looking nation, Singapore has consistently adopted best practices in developing its solutions. Political leadership, strategic planning, policy design and the implementation of effective policies have resulted in a higher standard of living and a sound environment for citizens and investors alike. Singapore's government is seen as one of the world's most competent and efficient, and the least corrupt. This is considered a critical factor in the successful development of Singapore in the sectors of banking, manufacturing, research and development, education, and healthcare. Furthermore, Singapore has become a metropolis of diverse

cultures and perspectives through its geographical accessibility, right smack in the equator, a few hours flight away from major cities in the Asia Pacific region, ease of communication with English as their business language, high levels of security, safety, and business-friendly climate. Therefore, it is no surprise that many multinationals and international organizations have chosen to locate their headquarters in this country.

In Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore had a visionary leader who took Singapore from the Third World to the First with his People's Action Party (PAP), Singapore's leading political party, which has won every General Election, since the country's independence in 1965:

- Even though the rate of home ownership was 22% in 1965, 90% of Singaporeans now own their homes, 82% of which is public housing.
- Every child today can get a good education, and Singaporean students top the world in education rankings, though formal education was limited to a minority in the past.
- Singapore has created a high-value, highly-skilled workforce from an initially low-skilled labor pool.
- A racially harmonious society.
- Healthcare has been transformed, with infant mortality dropping dramatically and life expectancy increasing.
- Once utterly dependent on Johor, Malaysia for water, Singapore has become a world leader in water technology.
- Once defenseless, today the Singapore Armed Forces is a respected force in protecting Singapore's sovereignty, island and its people.
- It has tackled communist insurgents, triad gangsters and extremist terrorists to bring crime under control and create a safe and secure home for the country's families and children (Lee, 2015).

As seen above, the overall government policies geared towards the following: a) evolving its economic strategies in response towards the changing market conditions, b) tying educational emphases to industrial requirements.

4.2 The Visionary Who Dared

4. Lee Kuan Yew's narratives and the implementation of public policies in Singapore

Henry Kissinger once called Lee Kwan Yew one of the asymmetries of history, because the odds of a small country such as Singapore yielding a powerhouse like Mr. Lee are improbable (Kassim & Ali, 2016, pp. 102-107). When he died, the nation mourned his passing, as encapsulated in the words of his son, Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong: "He inspired us, gave us courage, kept us together, and brought us here. He made us proud to be Singaporeans" (as quoted in Abdoolcarim & Chowdhury, 2015).

At the same time, Lee Kwan Yew's transformation of the city-state into a prosperous country came at the cost of freedom. In an article, "Briefing Lee Kwan Yew," published in *The Economist*, Lee Kwan Yew was described as follows: "The founder of Singapore, who died on March 23, turned the island into an economic success story while curbing democratic freedoms."

The first time I read about my former prime minister was in the papers in 1987. I read an interview with Mr. Lee about structuring how Singaporeans lived and acted. I did not understand much of what he said. Many people, including myself, experienced this structured idea of patriotism on a daily basis both in and outside of school. It did not occur to me at the time that people would find this sort of government oversight upsetting. Being eight years old at the time, I was none the wiser.

As I grew older, Mr. Lee's opinions and ideas and the public policies he implemented began to play more prominent roles in my life. Academia was a big agenda: my education process was refined to emphasize the sciences rather than the arts, or any leisurely pursuits for that matter.

Singapore has a history that predated Mr. Lee of course, but it was through his vision for Singapore that it expanded and went from an ex-British colony with a minuscule treasury to one of the top economies in the world. To do this, Lee had to enlist the help of his government and citizens and have them support his decisions. That was his real talent, and he did it in part with his narratives.

It started with a coherent conversation with the country's brightest minds on how to establish infrastructure, develop a new economy without any natural resources, and provide security through a system of natural conscription. Some might say this was an impossible task. What Lee is stepping up to this challenge is best summed up by this famous quote: "This is not a game of cards. This is your life and mine. I have spent a lifetime building this!" (Khaleej Times Files, 2015). With his cabinet, he worked to

establish the core principle of the country: a system based on meritocracy, economic development, and social progress.

4.3 Lee Kwan Yew's Stories About Post-independence Singapore (Conceptualization, Execution, and Gaps)

The elements of narrative structure — (setting, plot, characters, and theme) were assessed with belief systems based on my proposed framework to develop a series of specific hypotheses at some levels regarding Lee Kwan Yew's narratives on Singapore.

After studying the critical speeches that Mr. Lee Kwan Yew made in the House during critical moments in Singapore's history, edited excerpts from three critical speeches Lee delivered in the House in the first few years of independence as a member of Parliament in Singapore were selected. The selected, edited excerpts are located in the Appendix.

These three narratives were selected based on 1) the background context that was provided on Singapore and Lee Kwan Yew in the earlier sections of Chapter 4, and 2) they are the most representative of Gardner's (1996) three universal storylines of "I," "We" and "Going." Because they tap into all three of these fundamental narratives, founder stories can be particularly powerful in shaping the culture of an organization (Barnes, 2003). These three narratives shall be examined to see how Lee led and inspired his countrymen and how Lee has shaped every aspect of modern Singapore's culture and Singaporeans understanding of themselves. It shall be shown how developing and communicating these "stories" are a core component and essential skill of effective leadership. Narratives such as the ones I have selected to analyze are sets of instructions provided by the communicator, outlining the scope of the task. It helps the audience better understand the communicator's intentions, objectives and perceived challenges.

Lee's speeches were delivered with clarity and conviction and focused on the challenges facing Singapore at various stages of its evolution. His narratives laid the foundations upon which Singapore would continue to thrive in the generations to come. Note that "*italicized*" passages in the main body of the following subsections and the Appendix are extracted from the speeches of Lee Kwan Yew.

4.3.1 The “Who am I?” Narrative (July 21, 1959)

“**Who am I**” narratives delineate how life experiences shaped an individual identity and character (Barnes, 2003). Barnes (2003) pointed out, an effective “Who am I” narrative helps people see what one wants them to see about oneself, without saying it directly. Brouwer defines the “I,” the self-concept as our filters for reality. Everything that one does or say, everything one hears, feels or otherwise perceives is influenced by how one sees oneself (Brouwer, 1964). Brouwer (1964) argues that the reason that self-concept, the mental image one has of oneself is vital is that it has a great deal to do with a person’s development— with being a growing person and eventually realizing one’s potential. Moreover, because most of the work has to come from the individual himself, Lee could have used the “Who am I” narrative to help his team members in the government and the people of Singapore understand themselves in their situations at that present time, and then trust that they would be able to find the best solutions and set their paths for their future.

July 21, 1959: SURVIVAL

The People's Action Party (PAP) had just swept the 1959 Legislative Assembly general election, winning 43 out of 51 seats. It was the first time the PAP, which had been an opposition party, came to power. Mr. Lee Kuan Yew was 35 years old when he delivered his first speech in the Legislative Assembly as Prime Minister (NAS, 2015).

Conceptualization and Execution

One of the primary goals of Lee’s speech was to advocate for himself as prime minister of the people (who he was, what he stood for, and why he stood for those causes) (Communicator). His targeted audience was the people within his party, those of the opposition party who stood against the PAP, the civil servants opposed to its policy changes, and the people of Singapore (Identified Stakeholders). More than just promoting himself, Lee sought to convey the message that the founding leaders stood for *“a government, which is honest, effective and efficient in protecting its people and allowing opportunities for all to advance themselves in a stable and orderly society,*

where they can live a good life and raise their children to do better than themselves" (Shared Values) (Communicator). The setting of the narrative was the institutional venue of Parliament House and its context the newly-formed government and Singapore (Setting). The characters were Lee and his government (Characters).

Lee vowed to cleanse the system of the evils of the past and assured voters that the PAP stood with the masses and that party leaders remained dedicated to the service of Singapore (NAS, 2015). Lee's "Who am I" narrative was useful in its delivery in a conversational tone. He described his political party and the path it took to get where it was today. He offered a rationale for why his political party decided to fight to win the general election that year and to form the first government of a self-governing Singapore, instead of just aiming to be a strong opposition in the Legislative Assembly. This was not because conditions were propitious, but to ensure that, after the British hand-over of power, corruption did not set in and become a problem that would be impossible to eradicate afterward.

Lee articulated in his speech that it was not enough, however, to see his government as they were now. Such an understanding was a necessary starting point, or basis on which to build. However, Lee and his government must also see what their real selves could be and grow into— "*...judge us not in the next five years by the standards of the British House of Commons and the British Government in Whitehall. Judge our performance in the context of our objectives and the realities of our situation, and at the end of five years, you will certainly not find us wanting in courage, in skill, and sincerity*" (NAS, 2015).

According to Brouwer (1964), the people in history who were strong have had one psychological characteristic in common: as persons, they seem always to have been themselves—

...Beethoven continued to compose after he became deaf;

...Milton did not allow blindness to interfere with this writing;

...Keller became a lecturer on opportunities for the disabled despite being both deaf and blind.

People like the ones mentioned above have given meaning to the phrase, "to fulfill one's destiny" (Brouwer, 1964).

In less dramatic form, Lee used this “Who am I” narrative to express his desire for his government and himself to fulfill themselves as they live lives that are an unfolding of their potential. They must be themselves which is why “*the PAP Government had put its cards on the table before it assumed office*” (NAS, 2015).

In this sense, the self-concept of the stable government—“*Until the advent of the PAP, no group proclaiming the democratic socialist cause ever struck roots in the mass of the people*” (NAS, 2015), is a continually changing and evolving organization, as they continuously realize themselves—“*... I tell the Opposition this. They provide us, and I hope they will continue to provide us in the next five years, with that vivid contrast which will throw up the virtues of the PAP into magnificence*” (NAS, 2015).

Can all his cabinet members aspire to be this strong—to accomplish such self-realization? Of course not. However, Lee as a leader believed that growing people (his cabinet members) had unrealized power if their self-concept, their self-expectation, their self-direction, and their continually broadening perceptions allow them to find it—“*This is a Government consisting of people who put their ideas, their ideals and the welfare of their people above themselves...*” (NAS, 2015).

The difference between a stable government and a weak one may not be a difference in ability, for many politicians have the drive or intelligence; but many ambitious people get nowhere. Nor is it the lack of opportunities, for somehow or another, strong people create chances. No, the difference lies in “self-concept”—“*But if we fail, let me tell them that this is not a constitutional position of Tweedledum and Tweedledee, Democrats and Republicans in America, or Tories and Labor in Britain*” (NAS, 2015).

Brouwer argues that it is a psychological fact that manager development means a change in the manager's self-concept (Brouwer, 1964). For example, how much does one value one's convictions? What does one want to do with their lives? What must one do to be true to oneself?

Lee is saying that a stable government has emerged with clear-cut answers to such questions—“*...a party which has the courage of its convictions, which is prepared to pursue what it believes to be right in the interest of the people without deviating for opportunist reasons*” (NAS, 2015), whereas weak opposition parties equivocate and temporize and never dare—“*If we fail, and we are unable to make the system work, it is not they who are going to come back. They will be fleeing for their*

lives because behind us there is no other alternative which is prepared to work the democratic system” (NAS, 2015).

Thus growth, finally, is the evolvment of personal goals and the sense of venture in pursuing them. This is the meaning of dedicated people, a dedicated government for the people. Their personal goals, their country goals, and their job goals have coincidence to a great extent; and their power is directed single-mindedly toward seeing themselves about the fulfillment of their government’s potential— *“If we succeed, as we intend to, in building a climate not only of national solidarity but a climate in which the ordinary people begin to believe that institutions of government in the country are run by people who are loved and revered because they are working for the mass of the people, then we will have done a service, not only to ourselves, our party and our movement, but we will also have done a service to the democratic socialist movement” (NAS, 2015).*

Once he had sought to establish the legitimacy of his political party, Lee shifted the narrative to share his vision with his constituents, the party’s aspirations for the future (where he hoped to be going) (Plot).

He spoke of his government's intent to build an honest public service that would serve the people of Singapore and not take care of itself at the expense of public interest. Also, he put forth a case for creating a meritocratic system in which people succeeded through their efforts and ability, not by wealth, status or ill-gotten gains. Through these statements, Lee sought to build trust in his audience not only by informing them of his intentions but also by persuading them to embrace his vision of a better future.

All in all, from a structural narrative standpoint, Lee was highly effective in crafting a compelling narrative by comparing what was happening at the moment and what could be — conflicts and challenges, which needed overcoming. His story also had a dominant theme with the resolution of creating a clean and uncorrupted Singapore. Lee clinched his argument by detailing the connection between the two by displaying fluency in engaging emotions and intellect with his narrative.

Gap

What was missing from his narrative was that Lee could have cited a life event that revealed his strength or vulnerability to show what he took from the experience.

4. Lee Kuan Yew's narratives and the implementation of public policies in Singapore

Stephen Denning (2004), the former Program Director, Knowledge Management, at the World Bank, wrote that one is unlikely to lead people through a wrenching change if they do not trust you. If they are to believe you, they have to know you: who you are, where you are from, and how your views came about. Ideally, they will end up not only understanding you but also empathizing with you.

Despite this limitation, Lee was able to “demonstrate” who he was rather than simply “declaring” who he was in this narrative. With his “Who am I” narrative in his speech, Lee showed what leaders had overcome to prove that they had the experience, attitudes, and beliefs to lead Singapore. Moreover, Lee managed to construct an exciting narrative about himself and his party with a bottom-up approach, as described by Ramesh (2015), by focusing on the interests of the citizens and pointing out his sense of responsibility for the survival of the two million people in Singapore.

4.3.2 The “Who are we?” Narrative: “Quest for A Just and Enduring Future for Everyone.” – Lee Kwan Yew (December 14, 1965).

“**Who are we**” narratives demonstrate the experience, attitudes, and beliefs of the group (Barnes, 2003). This particular “Who are we” narrative about the government’s aim to achieve a fair and egalitarian society for the people of Singapore gave a clear-eyed view of the challenges Singapore will face. The narrative also touches on how making a fair, equal society is a collective responsibility. Barnes (2003) argues that the higher the group consensus on the challenges the group face, the more likely they are to succeed in overcoming these challenges.

December 14, 1965: RACIAL POLITICS



Figure 4.1. Two overturned cars on Paya Lebar Road, near the Geylang Fire Station, during the 1964 racial riots. Reprinted from Mr. Lee Kuan Yew's ten most significant speeches in Parliament, in *The Straits Times*, by National Archives of Singapore (NAS), 2015, Retrieved from <http://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/mr-lee-kuan-yews-10-most-significant-speeches-in-parliament#xtor=CS1-10>. Copyright 2015 by NAS.

Mr. Lee said in 1965: "*Whilst we are unable to say... what will happen in the next two years, I think we can safely predict that in two decades, either there is a tolerant, multiracial society comprising us in this region, or this will be an area of constant strife, very much like what the Balkan States were before and after the First World War*" (NAS, 2015).

This particular "Who are we" narrative was one for Singaporeans' reflection. In the first Parliament sitting after Singapore became an independent country, the then-Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew spoke to the House, denouncing the opposition party, Barisan Sosialis, and exposing its communist links (Characters: Villains and Antagonists who block the protagonist Lee from achieving his goal). He discussed racial politics in Malaysia and how they would impact Singapore. This speech would

come to set the tone for the country's multiracial policies in the decades ahead (NAS, 2015).

Conceptualization and Execution

Lee explored the source of political and racial conflicts in the new republic (Setting). The earlier experience of racial riots convinced Lee and his government that Singapore must strive to be a multiracial society that accorded equality to all citizens regardless of race, language or religion.

Lee used a narrative to make the case that these conflicts, often framed in scientific and economic terms, in fact, have deeper cultural and moral roots— "*The statistics do not tell the world the factor that really decides performance, the quality of each individual digit, the intensity of the effort that the digits are capable of, and the efficacy of the framework within which they can be marshalled and organized for high performance*" (NAS, 2015), as described by McBeth, Shanahan, and Jones (2005, 2007). Lee understood that Singapore's diverse people needed inclusive values if they were going to make it through these turbulent times.

To foster collaboration with the citizens, Lee generated a familiar narrative around people's concerns and goals, thus engaging their emotions and intellect.

He began with a plot of the small country— "*SIR, we are nearly two million people - 1.9 million - in an island of 224 square miles with a few adjacent islands*" (NAS, 2015), that sparked a narrative about joining and leaving Malaysia, which was perceived initially as essential due to its larger framework— "*For us, survival has always been hazardous. We sought to make it less so by seeking the larger framework of Malaysia, but it was not to be*" (NAS, 2015) (General Government Objectives - Build Trust: Inform Persuade and Inspire).

The plot was then further developed to emphasize how the country's survival depended on Singaporeans being united as one people and one nation — the central theme of his speech. This "Fostering Collaboration" (Plot) narrative contained a compelling plotline with new shifts. While the people of Singapore (protagonists) were portrayed as victims at the beginning of the story, they turned into fixers of the problem, i.e., heroes (Characters). Furthermore, this narrative employed a bottom-up approach of targeting and involving local actors that included the population at large (Audience). The solution of the story was clear. Lee did not obscure his message with

“too much” by talking too much, using too many words, or including unnecessary information (Ramesh 2015).

Lee reminded the citizens that nothing is really black-and-white and the need to overcome their inherent biases as fellow citizens of Singapore— *“But in the other wider fields of inter-racial harmony and tolerance, there are so many other factors that even though we are independent, we have not got an exclusive prerogative to decide what are to be that relationship even between our own citizens”* (NAS, 2015). Although they may live together as fellow Singaporeans, they still do not have a deep understanding of each other's cultures. Lee understood that no two people would see anything the same way.

Carmon (2017) explained how everything from our inherited biology to our learned biases influences the way we take in the world. Not only do we as individuals notice, observe, and collect information differently, we also perceive what we have gathered immediately using our System 1(Fast-Automatic) responses, our “gut” feelings (Carmon, 2017).

Carmon (2017) talked about how perception is the way we interpret the information we gather during observation; he described it as an internal filter. It can color, cloud, or change what exists into what we think we are seeing. Our brains find ways to seek out the comfortable and cross off that which makes us uncomfortable. Different people from different backgrounds will have different interpretations of things. Our culture and our personal experiences influence how we perceive what is happening (personal communication, Dec 1, 2017).

Lee was reminding his citizens not to rely on interpretations or perceptions, but to use facts and objectively assess and analyze things. Lee also emphasizes the need to be open to the same input from others, both to learn their perspectives and to help balance one's own— *“We are on our own... not helpless, but nevertheless in the center of an extremely tumultuous arena of conflict. Our survival depends upon our capacity first to discern where the dangers are for us as a distinct and separate community in South-east Asia; and, second, our ability to convince the bigger powers interested in this region that it is in their interests to ensure our separate survival, and in the end, whatever happens, to ensure that we have got enough will and capacity to see that no policies, no solutions, are attempted which will destroy our right to be ourselves in this corner of South-east Asia”* (NAS, 2015).

One's cognitive biases shape one's decisions and stoke one's actions. Like one's perspectives and perceptions, one's preferences are unique and developed by one's biology, beliefs, and experiences. Prof. Anil Gaba demonstrated using a series of questionnaires and in a game of "experts," how our cognitive biases like anchoring, availability overconfidence and loss aversion can give us an illusion of control (Gaba, 2018).

So, how does one go from preventing strife to creating a broad sense of inter-ethnic solidarity?

Prof. Z. Kinias used valence and stereotype Implicit Association Tests (IATs) to show how our implicit biases can form quickly, but they too can change rapidly if we restructure our environments to crowd out stereotypical associations and replace them with egalitarian ones. This we can do with pure awareness and conscious replacement (Kinias, 2017). Prof. R. Lehman argues that there are positive elements of stereotypes that make the complex world we live in and things more understandable. We only need to examine how our perceptions can lead to biases that affect our actions and learn how to adjust for them accordingly" (personal communication, Feb 25, 2018). Lehman added that "the human brain is plastic. One can change one's perceptions, make new neural connections, and train it to think differently" (personal communication, Feb 25, 2018).

The facts remain that they are all Singaporeans regardless of their race, language and religion— "*those who were here when the British came, those who came when the British were in control, and those who are willy-nilly now rooted in this corner of South-east Asia and whose destinies are interwoven*" (NAS, 2015) and that the Singapore people have to find a way to achieve "*a just and enduring future for all the people who made up the society - - whatever we would have wished it to be.*" (NAS, 2015). That was what Lee's emotive definition, a qualitative, not quantitative test, of a Singaporean, is, the bonds they share in this diverse nation and to be faithful to the inclusive values and perhaps be comforted that answers can emerge from stressful situations. Even if they may come from communities before or after the British, or who never intended to be Singaporean but were without choice there now.

Therefore, guided by values that emphasize tolerance and accommodation, and exhorted by their anthem to "*sacrifice*" and to progress towards "*securing a more enduring future*" for themselves— "*We have not sought this particular formula of*

survival, but it is now the basis on which we move forward; and with independence comes an independence of action in policy and planning which can help establish that enduring basis for ourselves in South-east Asia” (NAS,2015), Lee hoped that future Singapore would be one that is a *“tolerant, multicultural society.”*

Ultimately, social cohesion is sustained by a shared sense of empathy, belonging, responsibility and fair play. An honest, just and harmonious society is better placed to surpass the best facets of its predecessors’. To young Singaporeans brought up in a socially cohesive and racially harmonious environment, the racial riots that left more than 30 dead in 1964 seem implausible. A narrative like this could serve as a constant reminder to Singaporeans of the value of this harmony.

Gap

Lee could have used success stories from the different Singaporean communities. They would have served as “heroes” who can inspire the young people in each community (Stone, 2002; McBeth, Shanahan, & Jones, 2005; Ney, 2006; Jacobs & Sobieraj, 2007). Coincidentally and quite remarkably, Singaporeans had these “heroes” from the very beginning when this “Who are we?” narrative was made. The other two key founding fathers were Dr. Goh Keng Swee, born in Malacca in the Straits Settlements into a Peranakan family and Mr. S. Rajaratnam, born in Sri Lanka of Tamil descent and raised in Malaya. Singapore’s first president was Mr. Yusof Ishak, born in Malaya of Malay descent, whose face still adorns all Singaporean currency notes. These are all extraordinary Singaporean success stories which could have complemented this particular “Who are we?” narrative, reinforcing Singapore’s commitment to prevent strife and build a harmonious interracial society with a quest to build solidarity, so that all Singaporeans have confidence that their skills and ideas will be evaluated on merit, and not based on stereotypes.

4.3.3 The “Where are we going?” Narrative: “Maintaining Confidence in Singapore's Continued Stability.”– Lee Kwan Yew (September 8, 1967).

“Where are we going” stories explain the necessity for change and express excitement about the future direction of the group (Barnes, 2003). According to Kotter, leaders do not make plans, they do not solve problems; nor do they even organize

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people. Leaders should only prepare organizations for change and help them cope as they struggle through it (Kotter, 2007), and what better way to do it then through a “Where are we going” narrative to set Lee’s vision for tomorrow and articulate his idea and direction for success for Singapore.

September 8, 1967: WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS



Figure 4.2. A farewell parade on Oct 29, 1971, at Kangaw Barracks in Sembawang, where the Union Jack came down in Singapore for the last time, marking the end of British military command here. Reprinted from Mr. Lee Kuan Yew's ten most significant speeches in Parliament, in *The Straits Times*, by National Archives of Singapore (NAS), 2015, Retrieved from <http://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/mr-lee-kuan-yews-10-most-significant-speeches-in-parliament#xtor=CS1-10>. Copyright 2015 by NAS.

In 1967, the British announced that they would be withdrawing their military presence from bases all over Asia, including Singapore. British bases in Singapore, built in the 1930s, were responsible for as much as 20% of Singapore's economy at the time. In his speech to the House, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew laid out the difficult options on the table (NAS, 2015).

Conceptualization and Execution

This narrative is what Denning (2004) would categorize as a “Leading people into the future” narrative (p. 127) (Plot). Lee needed a narrative that could evoke the future he wanted to create without overwhelming his audience with excessive details. According to Denning (2004), such narratives could inspire such responses as “When do we start?” and “Let us do it!” in one’s targeted audience (p. 127).

The topic is about the layoffs as a result of the withdrawal of the British troops from Singapore as well as creating the maximum amount of jobs with the economic aid that was promised by the British government (Setting). A topic like layoffs is inherently charged and naturally lends itself to emotional appeal. Others, like creating jobs and how to finance it, invite more analytical treatment. Therefore, direct, forthright communication, especially concerning troubling issues is needed. Minimizing, sidestepping, or denying others’ concerns will not make the problem go away and can hurt the relationship the government has with its citizens.

“IT IS a problem of considerable magnitude and complexity. Put simply, it is this: what to do with this vast military complex, one naval base and a dockyard, three military airfields, and a vast army complex of workshops, supply depots and other supporting services.”

*“For whilst we will inherit all the fixtures which have been built over the years on lands made available by the Singapore Government to the British armed services, we will also inherit more than 40,000 **bread-winners and their families** who have come to Singapore from India, West Malaysia, and from places as far off as Hong Kong and Weihaiwei.*

With their families, they now comprise some half a million persons; three-quarters of them are now our citizens.

NAS (2015)

The description was an authentic portrayal of the situation. We can translate Lee’s skill in assessing the case that is out of our comfort zone into handling difficult communication, because while giving a speech is most likely not part of our daily routine, managing sensitive information is. We all have to deal with stressful

situations and discuss uncomfortable topics. Professionally, at some point, we are going to have to ask for a raise, challenge a new company policy, reprimand an employee, or resolve a dispute. Personally, at some point, we are going to have tough talks with our parents, partner, or child.

Real leaders can handle an uncomfortable conversation as quickly as a crisis. They know how to digest and deliver bad news without displaying subjectivity or emotion, even when they do not like it. They are the ones who even when everyone else says, "I do not like this," or turns away, say with a definitive nod, "Interesting." Their brains are engaged, overriding their guts and their body language.

Just as with narrative skills, during times of stress or duress, one has to separate the objective from the subjective. In assessing, we separate fact from fiction. In analyzing, we separate inference from opinion. In stressful communication, we must separate the message from any emotion if and when possible—

*"First, our ability to maintain that climate of quiet confidence and the establishment of labor attitudes and social conditions which will assure local investors and overseas investors of the certainty of their planning assumptions for the **establishment and expansion of their industries.***

Second, the capacity of our population to adapt and to adjust, without any whimpering or wringing of hands, as a way of life to which they have been accustomed for over 30 years comes to an end.

*The least of the changes contemplated means that dockyard workers, working on naval vessels for naval commanders, who are not concerned with the time a vessel is out of service whilst undergoing repairs, have now to adjust their attitudes to work and adapt their methods of work, and also the manner in which they may be rewarded for work, to meet the needs of ship-owners who want their vessels repaired in as little a time as possible, as **every hour in repair means vast sums of money in loss of earnings.***

At the worst, it means being able, sometimes at a very difficult age of life for the people in their middle 40s and above, to make the painful change of earning a living in a different way - from being a storekeeper or a clerk to a skilled, semi-skilled or even a manual worker.

*The third factor is whether the economic aid that we have been promised will be substantial enough and utilized intelligently enough to **create the maximum number of jobs.**"*

NAS (2015)

Lee managed to strike the right balance between what Duarte (2012) would describe as analytical and emotional in his speech without alienating the audience and diminish his credibility. From an intellectual standpoint, he was making a case for the people of Singapore to work with him by being willing to adapt and adjust their work skills to a new working environment. Lee knew how to hook the audience's interest with phrases such as "*create the maximum amount of jobs*" and "*establishment and expansion of their industries*" which was of the utmost importance to them. He also wanted his cabinet (Characters: Heroes) to utilize the economic aid that they were promised to help create jobs. Eventually, Lee addressed the rest of the people (Identified Stakeholders) whose lives were ultimately affected by his ideas, and that was the heart of his emotional appeal. Lee laid out three thought-provoking factors by asking "why" questions to unearth his big idea's emotional appeal: "Why do the people need to be able to adapt and to adjust without complaining?" The answer was "to prepare his countrymen to be adaptable and upgrade or reskill to be more competitive and attractive." The next question was "Why do we need our workers to be more competitive and attractive?" The country needed a competitive and attractive workforce to attract local and foreign investors who wanted to establish and expand in Singapore. Lee's government could make the best use of the economic aid to create the highest number of jobs for Singaporeans. By crafting his narrative so fluently with brilliant reasoning, Lee was effective in selling the idea to his people of the comparative advantage that Singapore would have based on the intelligence and the dedication of the population.

Lee also sought to appeal to the people from an emotional standpoint by humanizing this speech. He referred to the people losing their livelihoods with these words, "*breadwinners and their families*" who had come a long way from their native countries to work in Singapore. Lee effectively used victimhood to acknowledge the layoffs and admit that creating jobs for the laid-off workers would be difficult. He also

gave an example of how time was now a concern for dockyard workers since the customers had changed in tandem with the national circumstances. He spoke with conviction, not only by describing what needed doing and why, but also by capturing the urgency of the situation: “*Every hour in repair means vast sums of money in loss of earnings*” (NAS, 2015).

Gap

What could have made this speech more effective could have been the use of an identifiable individual victim instead of the *half a million persons* to illustrate his point of victimhood in his narrative.

As Small, Loewenstein, and Slovic (2007) had shown in their research study, individuals have more empathy for an individual and identifiable victim than a statistical and unidentifiable victim.

In the novel by Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Atticus Finch, a primary character, tells his daughter, Scout, “You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view ... until you climb into his skin and walk around in it” (Lee, 1960). To do so is to elicit empathy, which is a vital competency for collaboration, managing conflict, and creative thinking in both professional and personal settings (Book, 2016).

Forbes magazine calls empathy “the force that moves the business forward” (Boyers, 2013). Boyers (2013) writes, “The reality is that for business leaders to experience success, they need to not just see or hear the activity around them, but also relate to the people they serve.”

British philosopher and author Roman Krznaric asserts that empathy is also “the key to having a successful marriage, getting your teenager to talk to you, or stopping the inevitable toddler tantrum...Empathy is the demonstrative act of stepping into the shoes of another person and understanding their feelings and perspectives,” he says (Greene, 2015).

Just as important as seeing things from others' points of view is making sure they are privy to ours. Letting other people know what we experience adds both to mutual understanding and to the aggregate of information collected.

Nonetheless, Lee still managed to create a compelling “Leading People into The Future” Narrative or “Where are we going?” Narrative by explaining the necessity for

change and expressing excitement about the future direction of the country. The moral of this story is a simple one: every challenge also comes with an opportunity.

4.4 Conclusion

Through the analysis of the narratives above, it can be seen that all of the selected Lee Kwan Yew's narratives were indeed built on a foundation of authenticity. Lee was himself in all of his speeches above. Apart from being smart and articulate, it was even more important to be open and sincere to inspire trust from others. Lee did all that. He understood that the audience wanted him to be real. Lee knew that authenticity meant claiming who he was.

Playing small and meek when inside he knew (and the audience knew) he was a giant will not win him any friends (Foundation: Authenticity).

Lee's narratives on Singapore had memorable characters. Lee Kwan Yew was a strong character in his stories on Singapore. Lee demonstrated he was a master at telling the tale of his rise, overcoming the odds for Singapore, working determinedly within and through the ranks, competing intensely for foreign direct investments in the new republic and describing the kind of determination and focus Singapore needed to succeed.

As one can see in these selected narratives, Lee put in much emotion in the stories he told. His tales had emotional content to attract supporters and keep his cabinet motivated. It not only gave power and authenticity to a narrative but also helped to build bonds of trust with the audience.

Lee was a master storyteller with a clear sense of purpose. Each of the selected speeches analyzed had a crystal-clear moral — a reason to take his audience on specific journeys with him. Lee reinforced particular values while being consistent with his narratives. Lee stayed on message and framed the third side in his stories when required to do so, as advocated by Leong (personal communication, August 19, 2015).

5. Conclusion and Discussion

5.1 Conclusion

Present day Singapore has progressed significantly and is celebrating 53 years of relative peace and prosperity. One can see how useful Lee Kuan Yew's narratives on policymaking have been by examining the various policies Lee championed and implemented over the years bearing fruit. They have enabled Singapore to be an economically prosperous and harmonious society today. The Republic emerged top out of 142 countries in the annual Legatum Prosperity Index 2017 for safety and security (Legatum Institute, 2017), and is ranked as the world's third-most competitive economy this year in the annual Global Competitiveness Report, compiled by the World Economic Forum (WEF, 2018).

In retrospect, one can see that the trust between Singaporeans and the Singapore government was hard-earned, and faith could be the single most critical factor that the PAP has remained in power since independence. This trust between citizens and government may also mostly be attributed to Lee Kwan Yew's stories on Singapore and reinforces the hypothesis of authenticity as the foundation of narratives for policymaking. At the Global Transformation Forum in Kuala Lumpur on October 21, 2015, the former prime minister of New Zealand, Ms. Helen Clark, noted that the public was often most incensed when leaders "promise what (they) cannot deliver." Former Australian prime minister Kevin Rudd also agreed that "trust is a very fragile thing," and when politicians begin to engage in grand rhetorical statements, and then nothing happens," faith in them begins to evaporate (Teoh, 2015). It is therefore essential to be able to gain the trust of the citizens for the right public policies to be implemented and what better way to do this than with a compelling narrative.

5.2 Limitations and suggestions for further research.

We have seen from this paper how policymakers can communicate with their audience to try to get perceptions to meet, to let the audience feel what the communicator feels, to be recognized. The best way to do so I think is to make the

audience believe that they have autonomy by giving them room and more space to tell their narratives to the government. I was reminded of the deep listening and listening with the third ear exercise in EMCCC Module 1: Building Foundations where participants were divided into trios, taking turns as speaker, listener, and observer. To listen more and speak less, to seek to understand (Lehman, 2016). As Professor Manfred F.R. Kets de Vries suggested in his lecture on "Understanding Why You Behave the Way You Do: A Developmental Orientation Presentation," use storytelling as a tool if necessary to better communicate with people (personal communication, Sep 23, 2016).

I have explored the use of narratives as problem statements for policymakers that the audience is engaged in solving. Most of the audience would need time to allow their ideas to ferment as they receive the message, clarifying the communicator's intentions and returning to the communicator with more questions. The citizens should be able to challenge the narrative. Being able to do so is critical for discovering assumptions, preconceived ideas and blind spots that may impede the full potential of the policy to be implemented.

Performed correctly, this dialogue between the communicator and audience serves as due diligence to align definitions and prevent misinterpretation. Executed well, the practice will uncover new insights along with opportunities. It clears the space for genuinely refreshing approaches and innovative thinking.

However, policymakers can prepare and practice their narratives and do their best to be objective, but there could still be times where the government could deliver policies that are unsuitable and not customized to the individual citizen. There is a need for more feedback and data from the audience, the citizens.

Singapore has seen a new number of policies rolled out recently. How does a policy maker confirm that the citizen has received the message of his or her narrative? No matter how good a policy is, if the citizen does not understand it, he or she will not be able to reap its benefits. Further research could be done to see how narratives can play a part in customizing policy communications for citizens.

Although narratives targeting senior citizens help them to understand policies better, their younger family members should not be left out of the message. The younger generation is often the ones most frustrated and disillusioned with the government's policies, often because they do not understand, misinterpret, or are

unaware of them. Being able to watch the news, read leaflets in their mailboxes and conduct searches on the internet may not necessarily result in them being better informed and assured. How can the audience reveal something about awareness to the communicator and not misunderstand and be cynical of the intentions of the government?

Also, one can explore how to make the communication between policy makers and citizens more human and transparent. A narrative may help, but it is easy for a citizen to be cynical and distrust a faceless bureaucracy. Instead of allowing the conversation between governments and their citizens to degenerate, governments and citizens can consciously choose to communicate better by repeating each other's concerns.

Lastly, research could be done to find out how to enable sufficient knowledgeable about available avenues of help, how to allow the permeability of the government's osmotic relationship with its citizens. It is my personal belief that the government serves only one purpose: to exist for the public. Therefore, sound public policies are not just the narratives of the government, but the narratives of people as well and right policies should not reflect just the government's thoughts, but to tailor to the ordinary people and have enough space for everyone to find something to enjoy the benefits and appreciate.

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Appendix

1. JULY 21, 1959: SURVIVAL

"MR SPEAKER, Sir, may I say that the PAP Government had put its cards on the table before it assumed office. We did it over three months of campaigning beginning from the famous day of 15th February at Hong Lim.

It was there the Deputy Prime Minister said things and set off a chain reaction which finally ended with the routing of the rogues and scallywags that used to haunt this Chamber.

We have placed before the people the mandate that we sought of them. We did not try to deceive anyone.

We know exactly what is expected of us because we have made these promises. Unlike the previous government, we gave no hostages to fortune.

Plainly and simply, we took the stand which we knew was necessary and in the interest of the survival of the democratic state in order, first, to cleanse the system of the evils of the past, and to retrieve some of the liberalism, the tolerances which were the good things we should carry into the future.

I tell the Opposition this. They provide us, and I hope they will continue to provide us in the next five years, with that vivid contrast which will throw up the virtues of the PAP into magnificence.

But if we fail, let me tell them that this is not a constitutional position of Tweedledum and Tweedledee, Democrats and Republicans in America, or Tories and Labor in Britain.

If we fail, and we are unable to make the system work, it is not they who are going to come back.

They will be fleeing for their lives, because behind us there is no other alternative which is prepared to work the democratic system.

And therefore, in the last analysis, if we fail, then brute force returns.

I am sure no one in this House nor would anyone in the country want this to happen. And therefore, I say to all those who wish us ill, that if we fail, woe betide them.

But to those who wish us well, I give this message. This is a Government consisting of people who put their ideas, their ideals and the welfare of their people above themselves.

This is a party which has the courage of its convictions, which is prepared to pursue what it believes to be right in the interest of the people without deviating for opportunist reasons.

This will be an era which will light up the dark pages of the history of Singapore, post 1945.

If we succeed, as we intend to, in building a climate not only of national solidarity but a climate in which the ordinary people begin to believe that institutions of government in the country are run by people who are loved and revered because they are working for the mass of the people, then we will have done a service, not only to ourselves, our party and our movement, but we will also have done a service to the democratic socialist movement.

Until the advent of the PAP, no group proclaiming the democratic socialist cause ever struck roots in the mass of the people.

Let me say, Mr. Speaker, Sir, judge us not in the next five years by the standards of the British House of Commons and the British Government in Whitehall.

Judge our performance in the context of our objectives and the realities of our situation, and at the end of five years, you will certainly not find us wanting in courage, in skill, and in sincerity."

(NAS, 2015)

2. DEC 14, 1965: Racial Politics

"SIR, we are nearly two million people - 1.9 million - in an island of 224 square miles with a few adjacent islands. The statistics do not tell the world the factor that really decides performance, the quality of each individual digit, the intensity of the effort that the digits are capable of, and the efficacy of the framework within which they can be marshalled and organized for high performance.

For us, survival has always been hazardous. We sought to make it less so by seeking the larger framework of Malaysia, but it was not to be.

We are on our own... not helpless, but nevertheless in the center of an extremely tumultuous arena of conflict.

Our survival depends upon our capacity first to discern where the dangers are for us as a distinct and separate community in South-east Asia; and, second, our ability to convince the bigger powers interested in this region that it is in their interests to ensure our separate survival, and in the end, whatever happens, to ensure that we have got enough will and capacity to see that no policies, no solutions, are attempted which will destroy our right to be ourselves in this corner of South-east Asia.

Whilst we are unable to say, having gone through so many changes in a matter of two years, what will happen in the next two years, I think we can safely predict that in two decades, either there is a tolerant, multiracial society comprising us in this region, or this will be an area of constant strife, very much like what the Balkan States were before and after the First World War.

We are here in South-east Asia for better or for worse, and we are here to stay.

Our policies are designed to ensure that we stay peacefully in South-east Asia in accord and amity with our neighbors, but with a right to decide how we order our own lives in our own home.

Every action, every policy, must be decided by this yardstick.

Any policy which endangers our long-term interests as a separate and distinct community in this region must be eschewed.

Any act, any programmed, any decision which will help to secure a more enduring future for ourselves and our progeny in this region must be pursued, whatever the sacrifice.

We have not sought this particular formula of survival, but it is now the basis on which we move forward; and with independence comes an independence of action in policy and planning which can help establish that enduring basis for ourselves in South-east Asia.

It is with confidence - a confidence born out of the past performance of our people - that we feel we can overcome problems of economic development, problems of unemployment.

But in the other wider fields of inter-racial harmony and tolerance, there are so many other factors that even though we are independent, we have not got an exclusive prerogative to decide what are to be that relationship even between our own citizens.

For as I have said, Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are other factors, factors outside our dispensation, which can affect our own position.

But whatever the result will be, we would like those who come after us to believe, and to have grounds for believing, that we did not leave a stone unturned in seeking a just and enduring future for all the people who made up the society - those who were here when the British came, those who came when the British were in control, and those who are willy-nilly now rooted in this corner of South-east Asia and whose destinies are interwoven - whatever we would have wished it to be."

(NAS, 2015)

3. SEPT 8, 1967: WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS

"IT IS a problem of considerable magnitude and complexity. Put simply, it is this: what to do with this vast military complex, one naval base and a dockyard, three military airfields, and a vast army complex of workshops, supply depots and other supporting services."

"For whilst we will inherit all the fixtures which have been built over the years on lands made available by the Singapore Government to the British armed services, we will also inherit more than 40,000 bread-winners and their families who have come to Singapore from India, West Malaysia, and from places as far off as Hong Kong and Weihaiwei.

With their families, they now comprise some half a million persons; three-quarters of them are now our citizens.

Both in their public statements and in discussions and communications between British ministers and ourselves, they have made it plain that they shared our interests in maintaining confidence in the continued stability and prosperity of Singapore and were anxious to assist in meeting economic problems which the run-down of their bases, according to programmed, will cause.

They have stated that they would be ready to consider with us the most effective and productive uses of the economic and technical resources they could provide."

"Mr. Speaker, however significant the aid, the future of Singapore depends upon our capacity to maintain orderly and stable economic and social conditions as we go through the pangs of withdrawal of British base expenditure. The success of this operation depends upon three factors.

First, our ability to maintain that climate of quiet confidence and the establishment of labor attitudes and social conditions which will assure local

investors and overseas investors of the certainty of their planning assumptions for the establishment and expansion of their industries.

Second, the capacity of our population to adapt and to adjust, without any whimpering or wringing of hands, as a way of life to which they have been accustomed for over 30 years comes to an end.

The least of the changes contemplated means that dockyard workers, working on naval vessels for naval commanders, who are not concerned with the time a vessel is out of service whilst undergoing repairs, have now to adjust their attitudes to work and adapt their methods of work, and also the manner in which they may be rewarded for work, to meet the needs of ship-owners who want their vessels repaired in as little a time as possible, as every hour in repair means vast sums of money in loss of earnings.

At the worst, it means being able, sometimes at a very difficult age of life for the people in their middle 40s and above, to make the painful change of earning a living in a different way - from being a storekeeper or a clerk to a skilled, semi-skilled or even a manual worker.

The third factor is whether the economic aid that we have been promised will be substantial enough and utilized intelligently enough to create the maximum number of jobs."

(NAS, 2015)